

THE EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND INTEGRATION
OF INDIAN AND PAKISTANI YOUTHS IN
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE. AN EMPIRICAL STUDY.

By

John H. Taylor, B.A.

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INTRODUCTION

The Subject of the Research

This is a study of Indian and Pakistani youths growing up in one northern English city. I examine in turn their educational performance, their employment, their attitude towards religion, their friendships and their relations with their parents, particularly over the question of marriage. I discuss how they saw themselves and how they saw their future. Finally, I try to define the emerging style of integration.

As the basis of the study I sought to interview all the Indian and Pakistani boys who reached leaving age in the city's schools over the six years 1962-67. I succeeded in interviewing 67 of them, aged between 15 and 21. I originally intended to include Indian and Pakistani girls in my research, but I gave up after a series of encounters with glowering fathers who would not let me past the front door.

I give the city its proper name of Newcastle upon Tyne. Partly this is because I dislike blank topographical

pseudonyms like "North City". Partly it is because this is a study in depth in which I seek to embed the young Indians and Pakistanis firmly and, I hope, vividly in the context of locality and region.

Newcastle in its population of 249,240 had, according to the 1966 Sample Census, 150 persons born in the West Indies, 390 born in Pakistan and 1,200 born in India. This - undoubtedly an underestimate - represents a proportion of 0.7 per cent.¹ The proportion throughout the Tyneside conurbation was 0.3 per cent.² It may be argued that because of these small percentages Newcastle is untypical of areas in which Indians and Pakistanis have settled. It may be so, but it must first be established.

This is an unashamedly local study of Indian and Pakistani youths in Newcastle, but I use for comparison all available data from other parts of the country, such as it is. In reaching my conclusions I take account of such differential factors as density of settlement, industrial structure and school-leaving patterns. I believe it is only by being painstakingly local that one can distinguish between general and specific considerations.

¹ Facts Paper: Colour and Immigration in the United Kingdom 1969, London, Institute of Race Relations, 1969, p. 10.

² Ibid., p. 6.

An Unexplored Field

This to my knowledge is the first completed full-length account of the younger generation of any of the coloured immigrant groups in England. This despite all the newspaper editorialising about the second generation and despite the fact that in Birmingham by 1978 one school-leaver in six will be coloured.¹ My fieldwork was carried out during 1968, but even three years later all that is available at the time of writing - July 1971 - is a number of generally brief studies which focus narrowly on educational performance and employment. Equality in these fields is of crucial importance of course. Yet there is almost complete ignorance about the wider questions of how far the younger generation of Indians and Pakistanis is being pulled away from the traditional values and norms of their parents, whether a gulf of inter-generational conflict is opening up, how far, in what respects and to which particular segments of society these youngsters are integrating.

This ignorance is well illustrated in the totally conflicting assessments of two commentators which recently appeared in print within a fortnight of each other. I quote them in turn.

- - - - -
¹ Press release from the Social Science Research Council, quoted in A.H. Halsey, "Race Relations: the Lines to Think on", New Society, March 19, 1970, p. 472.

..Increasingly the only difference that remains between the black youth of 20 and his white counterpart is pigmentation. Immigrant parents may try to encourage sentimental affection for what happens "back home". But their children have found a new life in a new country. ¹

And on the other hand,

/mysterious It is one of the great race relations myths that this is only a first-generation problem; that the immigrants' children will, by some */alchemy* presumably performed at school, be magically transformed into black Englishmen. So far as the Asians ... are concerned, this is, with rare exceptions, most unlikely. ²

Stalking both camps and mixing ignorance with prejudice is the sinister figure of Enoch Powell. "At present," he says,

large numbers of the offspring of immigrants, even those born here in Britain, remain integrated in the immigrant community which links them with their homeland overseas. With every passing year this will diminish. Sometimes people point to the increasing proportion of immigrant offspring born in this country as if the fact contained within itself the ultimate solution. The truth is the opposite.

/or Asian The West Indian */does* not, by being born in England, become an Englishman. In law he becomes a United Kingdom citizen by birth; in fact he is a West Indian or Asian still. Unless he be one of a small minority - for number I repeat again and again, is of the essence - he will by the very nature of things have lost one country without gaining another; lost one nationality without acquiring a new one. ³

¹ Roy Hattersley MP, "Caging our own Kith", The Guardian, March 8, 1971.

² Nigel Lawson, "Race: the Real Problem", The Sunday Times, February 21, 1971.

³ Speech at Eastbourne, The Times, November 18, 1968.

It is not, of course, "in the very nature of things" that the children of coloured immigrants should fail to find a new homeland and a new identity. But if it does happen Powell's sustained campaign of vilification and exclusion will undoubtedly be partly responsible.

Robert Moore has pointed out this self-fulfilling element in the racists' prognostications: "Powell prophesies racial doom on the basis of an analogy with America, whilst himself playing the role of Governor Wallace."¹

The Findings

The aim of my research has been to establish the truth about the younger generation of Indians and Pakistanis in one particular English city. The majority of my respondents were, it is true, not born in England and thus are not strictly of the second generation. Sufficient of them, however, had been in England long enough to offer a reliable guide to the future development of the second generation proper.

My main findings, in brief, are as follows.

¹ Robert Moore, "A Reply to George Young", Race Today, January 1971, p. 13.

- (1) The Indian and Pakistani youths did better academically than a control sample of English youths who attended the same schools at the same time.
- (2) The young Asians obtained a similar proportion of apprenticeships to the control sample, but a smaller proportion of non-manual jobs.
- (3) Both in profession and practice the young Muslims adhered to their religion much more strongly than either Sikhs or Hindus, particularly the latter. Among the young Sikhs and Hindus there was a good deal of scepticism and religious nonconformity. These doubts and transgressions were however carefully concealed out of "respect" and a concern not to hurt their parents. There was no open rebellion on the issue.
- (4) The young Indians and Pakistanis generally condemned as rough and delinquent the white teenagers living in the main area of Asian settlement. The majority with English best friends drew them exclusively from more respectable parts of the city. There was very little delinquency.
- (5) The major test of traditional parental control came with marriage. In the event the majority of the

Indian and Pakistani youths were prepared to accept marriages initiated by their parents, though most of these reserved for themselves the right of final refusal. They were motivated by respect for their parents and the knowledge that defiance would disgrace the family and perhaps cause themselves to be cast out. These considerations exerted great pressure to conform even on the independent-minded minority who wanted to initiate their own marriages.

- (6) On the question of how the young men saw their future, it was paradoxically those who came to England young, those with the better jobs and those with expectations of academic success who were more in favour of returning than those who had not these apparent advantages for settling. I conclude that this was due to their greater sense of social marginality, the awareness that whatever they achieved, they would still be pointed out as coloured.
- (7) It is argued that few of the young Indians and Pakistanis will in fact return voluntarily and for good. The inclination to return expressed by a substantial minority I interpret as evidence of a strong identification with their country of origin. Whether they said they thought they would settle or return, almost all the young men felt themselves to be unambiguously Indian or Pakistani, not English. There was no crisis of identity.

- (8) The young Sikhs and Hindus were more ready than the Muslims to see their communities adjust, at least outwardly, to English society. The former adopted too a much more laissez-faire attitude towards their children's marriages.
- (9) Using Milton M. Gordon's assimilation variables I found - to confine myself to the most important axes - that my respondents were substantially assimilated economically and partially assimilated structurally, that is, in terms of entry into white primary groups. On the variable of cultural assimilation - i.e. the acquisition of English values and behaviour patterns - the young Muslims were substantially not assimilated, but the Hindus and Sikhs were assimilated in part.
- (10) Each of the three religious groups showed a different balance between structural and cultural assimilation. I draw a parallel between the assimilation style of the Sikhs - the biggest of the Indo-Pakistani minorities in England - and the pattern of structural pluralism in the United States, that is, great cultural assimilation within structurally separate subsocieties. I point out the Jewish precedent for this pattern in England and argue that the other Asian minorities will follow the same path as the Sikhs, but more slowly.

- (11) John Rex maintains that the assimilation of coloured colonial workers is different from that of other immigrants, above all because their children and grandchildren will not be accepted into the stratification system of the host society. It will be shown, I believe, that despite mounting racial hostility the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle were being so accepted, and that they were making great strides "out and up" from the bottom of society.

The Use of the Tape-Recorder

There are, in conclusion, two points to mention. The first is that I felt it very important to let my respondents speak for themselves. It seems to me always a major loss in descriptive sociological writings when verbatim speech is filtered and diluted into a flat, grey, third-person paraphrase. Direct speech is almost always more revealing, as well as more vivid. This is likely to be particularly true of members of an immigrant group interviewed in their adopted language. It seemed to me vital to catch precisely the idioms and nuances of expression with which my respondents clothed their ideas and experiences.

I therefore used a portable tape-recorder in conjunction with a formal questionnaire and encouraged them to elaborate

their answers over the machine. The tape-recorder was not an intrusive presence and imposed no self-consciousness on our conversations. One simply switched it on and talked. With this combination of questionnaire and tape-recorder I obtained data which was both quantifiable and, I hope, rich with the texture of reality.

The great majority of the quotations from respondents are taken from these tapes, though a few are based on shorthand notes. There has been only slight editing. Mostly this consisted of excising the ubiquitous "you know"s and occasionally other particles which go unnoticed in speech but are an annoyance in a transcript. I have on the whole not indicated either hesitations ("er", "um") or pauses, but I have generally left in false starts and unfinished phrases. A number of quotations contain elisions. Finally, in order to get a more logical sequence, I have rearranged passages in a few of the longer extracts.

The Names

The names given to my respondents in the text are not their real ones. If any of these pseudonyms chance to be the same as those of actual individuals, it is, as they say at the beginning of novels "purely accidental". The names are not intended to refer to real people.

The major findings, outlined above, indicate the shape of the study that follows. It begins with an account of the parental background of my Indian and Pakistani respondents.

THE PARENTS

1. PARENTS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

It was mentioned in the Introduction that of the Asian youths who form the subject of this study the great majority were born in India and Pakistan. They came to England to join an older male relative. Most came to live with their father, but a few settled in with an uncle or elder brother. These fathers and uncles and brothers I call for convenience parents. Who were they? Where did they come from and what did they do there? This chapter presents a picture of the parents' Indian and Pakistani background. The picture is indistinct and incomplete in places, because it is refracted through the younger generation, many of whom migrated at an early age. However I have filled out my respondents' account with material from other sources.

The Punjab

Seventy-two per cent of the parents came from the Punjab, the region, now partitioned, in the north-west of the Indian sub-continent, the name of which means "Five Waters", after the rivers Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Beas which flow through it. All are tributaries of the Indus. Except for

the Salt Range in the north the Punjab is one vast plain. It is very hot in summer and very cold in winter.

The east of the province has always been very fertile. The British opened up the arid west for agriculture by building a great system of irrigation canals. By 1921 the total area of the Punjab thus watered was more than ten million acres, nearly equal to all the ploughed land in England and Wales at that time. By 1930 the total area rose to the unprecedented figure of 12.4 million acres.¹ The British gave the Punjab the motto Crescat e Fluviiis ("Strength from the waters").² The land is fertile, but the east in particular is densely populated.

Throughout history the Punjab has been a frontier no-man's land across which have swept successive waves of invaders on their way from Afghanistan to the Indian interior.³ The best known are Alexander the Great and Tamerlaine. The river Beas marks in fact the limit of Alexander's conquests. It was here that his homesick army, faced with yet another flood-swollen river to cross in the summer heat of 326 BC,

¹ Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 119.

² Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol. 2 (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 116.

³ Hugh Tinker, South Asia: a Short History (London, Pall Mall Press, 1966), pp. 16-17.

finally sat down and refused to go any further. ¹

The pitiless Tamerlaine sacked Delhi in 1398. "Not a bird moved a wing in the city for two whole months", wrote an eye-witness. ² The Mongol horde then devastated its way back across the Indus. One writer says: "The utter horror of his massacre of hundreds of thousands of spectators, bystanders in the high game of power politics, has no parallel except Hitler's systematic extermination of the Polish and Jewish peoples in our own day". ³ Before, between and after Alexander and Tamerlaine came the invasion forces of other mostly forgotten empires. Dravidians, Aryans, Scythians, Parthians, Ionians, Bactrians, Huns, Arabs, Persians, Turks, Afghans - all followed the same route into the Punjab. ⁴

Fifty-one per cent of the parents of my respondents came from the Indian East Punjab, and most of these from the Jullundur Doab ("Two Waters"), between the Sutlej and the Beas. Of the young men who mentioned particular towns, the majority

¹ Malcolm Lyall Darling, Rusticus Loquitur or The Old Light and the New in the Punjab Village (London, Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 1.

² Richard V. Weekes, Pakistan: Birth and Growth of a Muslim Nation (Princeton, Van Nostrand, 1964), p. 54.

³ Tinker, op. cit., p. 24.

⁴ Khushwant Singh, The Sikhs (London, Allen and Unwin, 1953), p. 18.

said their parents came from Jullundur district. Others came from or near Hoshiarpur, Amritsar and Ferozepur. (For the location of these and other places, see map 1 at the back of the volume.) Of the 21 per cent from the Pakistani half of the Punjab, the biggest single group said their parents came from Lyallpur district. The rest came from in or around Lahore, Rawalpindi, Montgomery, ¹ Jhelum and Gujrat. ²

At least some of both the Indian and Pakistani parents originated from the other side of the frontier, but fled at partition in 1947. Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus lived intermingled in many parts of the Punjab, particularly in the central tract between the Chenab and the Sutlej where they were "as mixed up as the ingredients of a well-made pilau". ³ Partition in the province produced worse communal butchery and a bigger exodus of refugees than

¹ Sir Robert Montgomery and Sir James Lyall were Victorian Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab.

² Not to be confused with the state of Gujarat which is situated on India's western seaboard, north of Bombay. Both are named after the Gujars, a Central Asiatic tribe who invaded India in the sixth century AD and are traditionally cattle breeders. See H.A. Rose, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, Vol. II (Lahore, "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1911), pp. 306-18.

³ Malcolm Lyall Darling, At Freedom's Door (London, Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 109.

anywhere else in the subcontinent. Within a week of independence

gigantic panic-stricken two-way displacements of population were in progress, moving under appalling physical conditions, on a scale probably never before experienced in human history. Many of these people went in foot-convoys, often to be set upon, looted and slain. But road-trudging emigrants were in less dire peril than those trying to get away by train; for planned attacks on refugee-trains, after they had been derailed or otherwise halted, became a horrible speciality of the whole affair. ¹

Between eight million and eleven million Punjabis were driven from their homes. ² The number slaughtered has been put as high as five hundred thousand. ³

Kashmir and East Africa

In addition to the Punjabis, a further twelve per cent of my respondents had parents from the Mirpur area of

¹ Ian Stephens, Pakistan: Old Country New Nation (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1964), p. 223.

² The lower figure is cited by Percival Griffiths in Modern India (London, Benn, 4th revised ed., 1965), p. 110. Percival Spear, among others, accepts the higher figure. A History of India, Vol. 2 (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1965), p. 238.

³ Spear, loc. cit. Penderel Moon suggests a much lower figure, estimating that sixty-thousand people were killed in the Pakistani west and rather more in the Indian east. Divide and Quit (London, Chatto and Windus, 1961), p. 293.

Pakistani-controlled Azad ("Free") Kashmir, which abuts West Punjab to the north. Table 1 gives other details of where the parents came from.

TABLE 1

Asian parents: * Where they came from

INDIA:		37
East Punjab	34	
Delhi	2	
Bombay	1	
PAKISTAN:		26
West Punjab	14	
Azad Kashmir	8	
Karachi	3	
Unspecified	1	
EAST AFRICA:		4
<hr/>		
Total		67
<hr/>		

* There were in all nine pairs of brothers, so that the number of different parents was 58, not 67. Since however I am interested in the parents not for their own sake but for the background they give my respondents, I continue to count them here and elsewhere as separate individuals.

Three of the East African Asians came from Nairobi in Kenya, and the other came from Malawi. Their parents all originated from the Punjab, and they themselves had all spent some time there. They came to England before the great exodus from Kenya at the beginning of 1968. None of the parents, it should be noted, came from the other two main areas of emigration to England, that is, Gujarat in western India and Pakistani East Bengal.

Religious Background

Thirty-nine per cent (26) of the parents were Sikhs, members of the small monotheistic and egalitarian sect which broke away from Hinduism in the sixteenth century. Its founder, Guru Nanak, was born near Lahore, and its followers were almost wholly confined to the Punjab, though they did not represent anything like a majority of the population.¹ The same proportion of the parents were Muslims, and 22 per cent (15) were Hindus.

¹ In 1931 14.3 per cent of the population of the undivided Punjab were Sikhs, 30.2 per cent were Hindus, and 42.4 per cent were Muslims. Tinker, op. cit., p. 119.

A Tradition of Migration

Both the Punjab and Kashmir have a long tradition of migration. In the Punjab, as elsewhere, population pressure was a "push" factor, but this particular tradition developed there because for a long time the British held that only certain "races" had military capacity. The Sikhs and Muslims were included among these, with the result that virtually the whole of the Indian Army was recruited from the Punjab and the North West. In both peace and war over half the army came from the Punjab. No other province approached it in terms of recruits. During World War I, for example, the Punjab with a population of twenty million, provided 350,000 combattants, while Bengal, with a population of forty-five million, supplied only seven thousand.¹ For the tens of thousands of Punjabis who passed through it the army was an uprooting, horizon-widening experience. It often took them overseas and gave them the self-assurance to seek their fortunes far afield.

Another form of migration took place on a large scale when the irrigation system brought water to the west of the province. During the decade 1921-31, it has been calculated,

¹ Davis, op. cit., p. 181 (n). Darling, At Freedom's Door, op. cit., p. 336. This Punjabi dominance continues in the independent Indian and Pakistani armies and explains why West Pakistan was able so easily to crush the autonomy movement in Bangla Desh.

no fewer than 240,400 people left their homes in the overcrowded east of the Punjab to settle in the newly-established canal colonies.¹ There was also seasonal migration to these colonies once or twice a year to pick the cotton or cut the wheat.² Then there were the enforced migrations which followed partition.

The Sikhs in particular were over-represented in the old Indian Army. In fact they were more heavily represented in proportion to their size than any other religious or ethnic group. In 1944 they accounted for ten per cent of all recruits - seven times their proportion of the total population.³ Similarly, of all Punjabis the tradition of migration appears to be particularly strong among the Sikhs.

Aurora writes:

Sikhs of East Punjab may be found working as taxi-drivers in Calcutta, policemen in Singapore, smelters in the Tata Iron and Steel Works in Jamshedpur-Bihar, lumberers in Canada, fruit-gatherers in California, labourers in British factories.⁴

¹ Davis, op. cit., p. 120.

² Malcolm Lyall Darling, The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt (London, Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 29.

³ Davis, op. cit., p. 181 (n).

⁴ G.S. Aurora, The New Frontiersmen (Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1967), p. 27.

The Mirpuris from Azad Kashmir have likewise long been accustomed to migrate for work. The push factor here is poor soil. The "pull" in this case was not towards the army, but towards the British steamship companies who recruited many of their Lascar seamen from the district. Some of these jumped ship and settled in port towns of England and Wales. "There was thus a traditional link between these areas and England which had its influence on the migrations in the 1950s".¹

Like the Punjabis, the Mirpuris were affected by partition. Before partition they used to travel to the Vale of Kashmir (now under Indian control) to work in the catering trade or as porters.² More recently people from 250 villages were displaced by the Mangla dam hydro-electric scheme.³

Parents' Occupations

Sixty per cent (40) of the parents came from rural areas. In terms of occupation the biggest group, representing 40 per cent, were farmers. Twenty-two per cent were shopkeepers, manufacturers or entrepreneurs. Of these one parent had a

¹ E.J.B. Rose and Associates, Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1969), p. 59.

² A.G. Azim, Race Today, August 1969, p. v.

³ Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 59.

farm and a shop. It is to be noted that only 21 per cent of the parents were employees. Table 2 gives the details.

TABLE 2

Asian parents: Occupations before they came to England*

Farmers	27
Shopkeepers	5
Farmer and Shopkeeper	1
Manufacturers/Entrepreneurs	9
Employees:	14
Social class I & II (Professional/Intermediate)	3
III (skilled) non-manual	4
manual	2
IV & V (semi- & unskilled) manual	5
Students	4
Unclassifiable	5
Don't know	2
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 67 <hr/>

* I have sought to classify the occupations of the employees according to the five social classes of the Registrar General for England and Wales. Obviously they are not entirely appropriate to the Indian/Pakistani context, but I use them because they nevertheless seem to make reasonable distinctions of status and skill.

Shopkeepers, Manufacturers and Entrepreneurs

These parents were more or less evenly split between town and country. Two of the shops were grocers', one also selling clothes and drapery. One was a shoe shop, one a draper's, and another a hardware shop. The other shop was just described as that, but this particular Sikh parent was more than an ordinary shopkeeper. He had travelled across Africa by car, selling goods as he went. On another occasion he had driven to Africa with a couple of trucks and had come back loaded with elephant tusks to be made into ornaments. He was a pioneering migrant, a good example of what Aurora calls the Punjabi "frontiersman".¹

The other enterprises were very varied. One parent had a flour mill and what was described as a steel factory, employing 25 people. Another had his own school where he taught Punjabi. Another was a tailor. One parent had a haulage business with two lorries. One was a carrier, conveying goods between the village and the town on a camel. Another had what his son called an "oil mill", where oil which came in tanks was packed into tins.

The father of two respondents manufactured rubber things, like balls and small toys. Before that he was a catering

¹ Aurora, op. cit.

contractor in some Ministry of Defence offices, and before that again he and his brother ran a canteen concession at a railway station. The final entrepreneur-parent was another frontiersman - this time a Muslim - who had sought his fortune overseas. He had set up as a clothing manufacturer in Arabia.

Me father had a good business started up there, tailoring, with me uncle. They had been partners for a long time. And he used to work for the Americans up there and he used to work for the king up there, I can't remember his name. And he used to make dresses as well for ladies, and any kind of work to do with the government.

Employees

The small number of employees were, like the shopkeepers and entrepreneurs, evenly divided between town and country. In the Professional and Intermediate category, one parent was a dentist. The second was manager of a wholesale drapery shop. The third was a middle rank official in the Kenyan Post Office.

I classified four parents as "skilled non-manual". One was a personal secretary in the Civil Service. Another was sales agent for a textile factory. (Before that he had a shop and his own small handloom "factory".) The father of two respondents was what one called a surveyor-draughtsman and the other a draughtsman-architect: "He used to design

buildings".

Both skilled manual parents worked on the buses - one was a driver and the other a driver-conductor. Finally there were the five unskilled or semi-skilled employees. One "worked in a hospital", two were bus conductors and the father of another pair of respondents was a civilian employed at an army ordnance depot.

Five parents' previous occupations were, as given, unclassifiable in terms of skill and/or, more important, in terms of employment status, that is, whether the parent was an employee or self-employed. One of these parents helped his uncle in his shop. Another worked "in a medicine shop". One was a soldier, one a salesman, and the other "some kind of mechanic". Even if one takes the last four to be employees, however, the predominance of farmers, shopkeepers and entrepreneurs is still remarkable.

Religious Differences

Before I consider the farmers, there are interesting differences of background to note between the three religious groups. In the first place, as Table 3 shows, Hindu parents were much more urban than either the Muslims or the Sikhs. Only 13 per cent of the Hindus lived in the country,

compared with 65 per cent of the Muslims and 81 per cent of the Sikhs.

TABLE 3

Asian parents: From country or town in India etc.
By religion

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
Country	17	21	2	40
Town	9	4	12	25
Don't know	-	1	1	2
Total	26	26	15	67

Secondly, none of the Hindu parents were farmers.

Table 4 shows that this contrasts with 54 per cent of both the Sikhs and Muslims.

TABLE 4

Asian parents: Occupations in India etc.
By religion

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
Farmers	14 [*]	14	-	28
Shopkeepers/ Entrepreneurs	6 [*]	3	6	15
Non-manual employees	-	3	4	7
Manual employees	5	2	-	7
Other	2	4	5	11
Total	26	26	15	67

* Includes one parent who had both a shop and a farm.

Table 4 shows, thirdly, that more Hindu and Muslim parents than Sikh parents were shopkeepers and entrepreneurs. The proportions are respectively 40, 23 and 12 per cent. Though, as already mentioned, the shops and enterprises were overall evenly divided between town and country, those owned by Muslims were mostly in the country, but those owned by Hindus mostly in towns. It is seen, lastly, that parents who were non-manual employees were either Hindus or Sikhs. Manual employees were mainly Muslims.

To summarise: Hindu parents were predominantly townsmen and largely in business or non-manual employment. Sikh parents were overwhelmingly country people. Among them the biggest single category - over one-half - were farmers. The other half were spread evenly over business enterprises and manual and non-manual employment. The Muslim parents included the same proportion of farmers, but on the whole they were not quite so rural as the Sikhs. The non-farmers were concentrated either in shops and enterprises or in manual employment.

Farmers

I now turn to the 40 per cent of parents who were farmers. Parts of the irrigated Punjab plain were as densely populated as anywhere in pre-partition India, with, in 1941, over 800

people to the square mile.¹ Population pressure, fragmentation of landholdings, particularly in the east, indebtedness to money-lenders - these have been the facts of Punjabi agriculture, despite the mighty irrigation schemes.

Small holdings are the result of large population and of laws of inheritance which prescribe that each son shall get an equal share of his father's land. That is bad enough, but what are we to say of a custom which requires that the few acres each son receives should be split up into as many fragments as there are different soils in the village, so that all may get an equal share of every kind of land - good, bad and indifferent?²

The British took strong legislative measures to try and prevent peasant proprietors being dispossessed by money-lenders.³ They and the Indian government after them promoted the consolidation of landholdings. But the upheavals of partition only added to the land hunger. In 1951 one-quarter of the landholdings in Jullundur district were still of less than one acre.⁴

The general view is that it is the marginal landholder who, in Aurora's words, "gambles his last" by emigrating.⁵

¹ Davis, op. cit., map 8, p. 19.

² Darling, The Punjab Peasant, op. cit., p. 30

³ These were the 1901 Land Alienation Act and the 1918 Usurious Loans Act. Ibid., pp. 187, 209.

⁴ Aurora, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵ Loc. cit.

Aurora seems however to contradict himself when he says a little later: "It is obvious that intercontinental migration is a luxury which only the comparatively rich among the peasantry can afford".¹ He says that up to 1954, when most migrants travelled by sea, the cheapest fare was around £60. He conservatively estimates additional expenditure at £20 per person.² Later it was normal to come by air. In the late nineteen-sixties the cost of the flight from Pakistan was about £140.³ One obtains an idea of the cost in real terms when one notes that the average annual per capita income in Pakistan was only £30 in 1966⁴ and in India only £25.⁵ With £35 a year the Punjab⁶ has a higher average income per head than any other Indian state.⁷

¹ Ibid., p. 44.

² Ibid., p. 26.

³ Information from respondents.

⁴ Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 59.

⁵ Roger T. Bell, "The Indian Background", New Backgrounds, ed. Robin Oakley (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1968), p. 52.

⁶ This refers to the separate Punjabi-speaking state the Sikhs succeeded in obtaining in 1966. The southern overwhelmingly Hindu part of the old state of East Punjab - not an area of emigration - became the new state of Haryana.

⁷ M.B. Lal, "Growing Pains for Bustling Punjab", Special Report on India, The Times (London), October 13, 1969.

Mirpur in Azad Kashmir has an average of only £19 a year.¹
 The figure for the United Kingdom is over £400.²

In view of this uncertainty as to whether it is prosperous or less prosperous farmers who migrate, it would be illuminating to compare my farming parents with Punjabi agriculturalists as a whole. Unfortunately I often failed to ask respondents about the size of their parents' holdings. From the details I did get, they seemed to vary a great deal. Four said their parents had small farms of two or three or six acres which just supported the family. Two said their holding was "a fair size" or "pretty big". Others do indeed appear to have been extensive. Sharif said his father had roughly 100 acres. Chanan said their farm was of 150 acres. Rasul said their holding covered one square mile. Hardev said his father and two uncles had between them 700 acres. Nazir said his father had "two really big farms, worth millions of rupees". How big exactly? "Oh hell, it's a lot of place. From here [Grove Street] to the Central Station, you would say. From here to the Central Station, square, all/round square." In other words, about one square mile.

¹ John Rex and Robert Moore, Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1967), p. 119 (n).

² Bell, op. cit., p. 53.

What, then, is the average size of landholdings in the Punjab, the region from which most of the parents migrated? Official statistics, like my data, are rather inadequate. On the Pakistani side there are no figures for the Punjab alone. There is only the information from the First Census of Agriculture, 1960, that the average size of a farm in West Pakistan as a whole was ten acres.¹

This figure may, of course, conceal important regional differences. Certainly many of the estates used to be huge. In the Punjab six per cent of the landowners held over twenty per cent of the entire cultivable area.² Even President Ayub Khan's 1959 land reform put the ceiling on holdings as high as 500 acres of irrigated and 1,000 acres of un-irrigated land.³ If many of the farms were very big, many again must have been very small, so that the bare mean is of little help in measuring the relative prosperity of our migrant farmers.

Statistics on the Indian side are more plentiful, but they are also rather surprising in view of the population pressure

¹ Economic Survey of Pakistan 1963-64 (Karachi, Government of Pakistan Press, 1964), p. 29.

² Stephens, op. cit., p. 310.

³ Weekes, op. cit., p. 139.

and fragmentation already mentioned. For by the time the Third Five-Year Plan was published in 1961 there were apparently in the Punjab no longer any owned holdings of less than five acres. According to the Plan

83.9 per cent of holdings were between 5 and 10 acres;
12.7 per cent were between 10 and 30 acres;
3.4 per cent were above 30 acres. ¹

The 1961 Census Atlas gives the average size of holding over most of the area of migration as 12-16 acres per cultivating household. For the remainder of the area it was between eight and 12 acres. ² This transformation is presumably the result of the consolidation of fragmented plots. By the first years of the nineteen-sixties nearly 95 per cent of the entire sown area in the Punjab had been consolidated. ³

If my respondents are to be believed, it seems clear that on either side of the border some of the parents' farms were large by Punjabi standards. ⁴ What is not certain is

¹ Figures quoted in: "Consolidation of Holdings in India (Review of Progress)", Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, June 1963, p. 791.

² Punjab Census Atlas (Census of India 1961, Vol. XIII, Part IX), p. 206.

³ Economic Survey of Indian Agriculture 1960-61. Quoted in "Consolidation of Holdings in India", op. cit., p. 800.

⁴ The state government in the (Indian) East Punjab was empowered to take over surplus land for the resettlement of tenants where holdings were bigger than 30 acres (or 50 acres in the case of displaced persons). It seems either that the government did not put this power into effect or that parents got round the limit by, for example, deeding land to relatives while retaining effective control.

whether these holdings were as large when the parents set out for England. Probably, like the father of Nazir, quoted above, they built them up with remittances they sent back from this country. Lachman was another who said his father did this:

These fields were going, and we were after these fields for a long time, because we wanted to get all the good fields in this area and get the farm started. And my grandfather wrote to us and he says, "This man, he's getting old and he wants to sell the fields. Now we've got a good chance to buy them, please send this much money.

So we had to sell that good house. We liked it very much, we missed it all. Didn't want to sell it but we had to. We had to sell the car as well though, and so we got a van. And the money we got, we sent it to India and my grandfather bought the farm after that.

A Substantial Middle-Class Element

The evidence in the end is too full of gaps to enable one to generalise about the relative standing of the farming parents. Such, however, were the occupations in India and Pakistan. (Three of the four "African" parents were students, so there is nothing much to say about them.)

Most of the entrepreneurs - with such undertakings as a "steel factory" and a flour mill, a two-lorry haulage business, a clothing factory - would appear to have been prosperous by Indo-Pakistani standards. So probably were the shopkeepers, who are often rich and powerful (and hated)

as money-lenders to the peasantry. These parents, I suggest, may reasonably be described as middle-class, as may the white-collar employees, though the latter, one imagines, were less wealthy.

Altogether these parents represent 33 per cent of the total. There were in addition a number of farmers with holdings of a size which would probably put them in the same category. Exactly how many is not known because of the incompleteness of the data. One can only say in conclusion that the parents of my respondents included a substantial middle-class element, the precise size of which cannot be determined.

Certainly at least some of the parents regarded themselves as middle class in Indian and Pakistani terms. I lack systematic information on the point, but here are a couple of comments. First Rasul, whose father had a farm and a shop in the Punjab:

I came from a, what, purely a middle class sort of society. We were sort of middle class in Pakistan. We came here and, why, you could say we were very lower class, you know, lower class, looked on as lower class anyway. But my thinking is the same as, and my parents' attitudes towards things is the same as a middle class person in England. They have the same type of attitude, they have the same type of attitude toward finances and social problems, and this sort of thing. They have a middle class, very middle class attitude.

Tarlok's father, whose family had a shop, made a similar observation.

See, Punjab is the only fertile province in India. I mean if you go to India you'll find Punjab more, what do you say, fertile. And there's not so much poverty. People are middle class, prosperous.

(People are what?) Like a middle class, neither very rich or very poor, because they work hard and they make a nice living. They are not lazy, you see, but in some province they are not the same.

They are not what you call poverty-stricken. I mean you haven't been to India, but if you go, you will find some of the provinces very poor. People are lying on the pavement, they have no houses, and there's a lot of begging going on. But not this kind of thing in Punjab.

Caste

It will have been noted that a few of my respondents were hazy about their parents' background. Some did not know what their previous occupations were, or whether they came from the town or the country. Others were vague about the size of landholdings. One or two of the young men were even uncertain what part of the sub-continent their parents came from. One said, "I think it's East Punjab - I've no idea".

However the greatest ignorance - or rather incomprehension - became apparent when I enquired about their parents' caste. I asked this of 21 young men before giving up in embarrassment at putting an evidently meaningless question. Only one was able to answer straight out. This was a Sikh who said his father (the designer of buildings) was a member of the Loхар,

or blacksmith, caste. Perhaps he knew because, as I later learned from his father, there were only two Lohar families in the whole of Newcastle. This respondent's brother however gave the more usual reply, "He's an Indian".

Five of the thirteen Hindus I questioned understood what I meant, but none could answer. Two said, "I wouldn't know". Inder said, "I'll have to check up, I'm not very religious". He left the room to ask his father, then came back and announced, "Khanna - but I don't know what it means". Pratap also had to consult his father. He was told he was a Khatri, but he again did not know what this signified. Lal said: "He's a Hindu. You could class him as a Brahmin, I suppose, but I'm not certain". The other Hindus replied, "Er, Hindu", or "Hindu, that's all I know", or "What do you mean"?

Bhagwant, a Sikh, found on enquiry that he too was a Khatri, but he again did not know what it meant. Other Sikhs and Muslims denied that caste applied to their religions. "He's not a Hindu." "Muslims don't have castes."

Despite their formal egalitarian denial of the institution, both faiths have in fact adopted caste in accepting Hindu converts.

¹ Marian W. Smith, "Social Structure in the Punjab", Indian Villages, ed. M.N. Srinivas (Calcutta, West Bengal Government Press, n.d.), p. 151.

The same is true of Buddhism and Christianity.¹ The system is however less rigid and divisive than among the Hindus. In the Muslim village of Mohla, near Gujrat, for example, Zekiye Eglar found that though zamindars (landowners) and kammis (craftsmen) married only within their castes, they nevertheless sat and ate together, smoked a common hookah, drew water from a common well and prayed side by side. To the villagers caste was a custom borrowed from the Hindus which referred primarily to an inherited occupation.²

My respondents' ignorance of the facts of caste tells one a great deal about the young men, but very little about their parents. However research and further enquiries establish that the bulk of the Indian and Pakistani parents belonged to one of two castes. Some, in the first place, were members of the Khatri caste, incomprehendingly mentioned by two respondents. The Khatri are in fact a powerful trading

¹ Max Weber, The Religion of India (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1958), p. 29. A bull formally sanctioning caste restrictions in the Roman Catholic Church in India was issued by Pope Gregory XV (1621-3). Davis, op. cit., p. 174.

² Zekiye Eglar, A Punjabi Village in Pakistan (New York, Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 29. For an account of caste in the Sikh village of Daleke, in Amritsar district, see Indera P. Singh, "A Sikh Village", Traditional India: Structure and Change, ed. Milton Singer (Philadelphia, American Folklore Society, 1959), pp. 279-81. In the 1931 Census 29 of the 58 Punjab castes important enough to be listed in the Imperial Caste table had Sikh branches. Davis, op. cit., p. 165.

caste in the Punjab who are heavily represented too in civil administration. ¹ Khanna, also cited, is the name of a Khatri subcaste. In all twelve of the fifteen Hindus are revealed as Khatri by their second names, including the one who thought he was a Brahmin. This ties in with the earlier finding that Hindu parents were largely in business or non-manual employment. To give the caste names would be to identify the young men, but they can be found under the entry Khatri in Rose's invaluable glossary. ² Two of the young Sikhs were also distinguishable as Khatri.

The other major caste represented is that of the Jats. This is the agricultural caste from which the Indian Army drew most of its Punjabi recruits. The Jats were much admired by the British not only for their martial qualities but for their farming ability. Whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, says Darling, they "have a tenacity of character and a skill in farming which make them the best cultivators in India". ³ Whilst the great majority of the Hindu parents were Khatri, I was told by older Indian and Pakistani informants that in Newcastle almost all the Sikhs and the greater part of the Muslims were Jats. It was seen that

¹ H.A. Rose, op. cit., pp. 506-7.

² Ibid., pp. 501-26.

³ Darling, The Punjab Peasant, op. cit., p. 38.

something over 50 per cent of both the Sikh and the Muslim parents were farmers, so it may be that these were not entirely typical. On the other hand, they may have been Jats who had abandoned farming. Only a very few of my Jat respondents were distinguishable by caste name. Strangely, not one of them mentioned the term Jat to me.

What was the status of these two castes in the Punjab? The ethnologist Denzil Ibbetson, writing at the end of the last century, concluded, "The Khatri ... probably takes precedence of the Jat. But among the race or tribes of purely Hindu origin, I think that the Jat stands next after the Brahman, the Rajput, ¹ and the Khatri". ² On the other hand, Aurora, writing much more recently, says that Jats, and sometimes Sikh Rajputs, are the elite of Punjabi village society. In a hierarchy of twenty-two castes, he ranks the Brahmins in third highest, and the Khatri in sixth highest position. ³

It is clear that from a purely caste-status point of view

¹ The Rajputs are a former ruling caste - the name means "sons of kings" - who are now by occupation agriculturalists. Unlike the Jats they are poor farmers. See H.A. Rose, op. cit., Vol. III (Lahore, "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1914), pp. 272-302.

² Quoted in H.A. Rose, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 367.

³ Aurora, op. cit., pp. 115-6.

both Jats and Khattris are of high social standing.¹ Aurora warns however that the status situation in the Punjabi village is more fluid than in the other parts of India.

New families after earning a great deal of money abroad buy up land and property in and around their villages, outgrowing the local 'zamindars'² and rich peasants. Not all of these 'new rich' of the Punjabi villages belong to the Jat families, though probably the majority would ... Thus, land ownership and wealth is another factor which plays its part besides caste and occupation in judging the individual's status in the village.³

Language

Finally, what languages were my respondents brought up to speak? Table 5 shows that 58 per cent gave Punjabi as their mother tongue. Twenty-seven per cent gave Urdu, and twelve per cent gave Hindi. Punjabi is of course the language of the Sikhs. The Punjabi script, known as Gurmukhi ("from the mouth of the guru") is popularly believed to have been invented by Angad Dev, the second of the religion's ten gurus. In fact however it predates Nanak.⁴ In addition to all the

¹ On the other hand, H.A. Rose says that the social position of the Lohar is low, even for a menial. Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 36. Aurora ranks him thirteenth equal. Op. cit., pp. 115-6.

² Here: feudal landlords.

³ Ibid., p. 114.

⁴ Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 309-10.

Sikhs, seven of the fifteen Hindus and eight of the 26 Muslims also gave Punjabi as their mother tongue. The young man who answered "Punjabi and English" was one of the Kenya Asians.

TABLE 5

What language were you brought up to speak as a child?

Punjabi	39
Urdu	18
Hindi	8
Punjabi & English	1
No response	1
<hr/>	
Total	67
<hr/>	

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that 72 per cent of the parents of the young Indians and Pakistanis who are the subject of this study came from the Punjab. Twelve per cent came from Azad Kashmir. It was noted that both these areas have a long tradition of migration.

Sixty per cent of the parents came from rural areas.

Forty per cent were farmers. Twenty-two per cent were shopkeepers and entrepreneurs. Only 21 per cent were employees. There were notable differences of background between the three religious groups. The Hindu parents were predominantly urban, engaged largely in business or non-manual employment. Against this, the Muslim parents were overwhelmingly country people, and the Sikh parents even more so. Somewhat over half of both the Sikhs and Muslims were farmers.

My data was too incomplete to generalise about the relative standing of parents who were farmers. I concluded however that the shopkeepers, entrepreneurs, white-collar employees and larger farmers represented a substantial middle-class element among the parents. Some of the parents definitely regarded themselves as middle-class in Indian and Pakistani terms. The young men I questioned were almost entirely ignorant about caste. I was nevertheless able to establish that the bulk of the Indian and Pakistani parents were either Khatri or Jats. The one were traders and administrators, the others skilled farmers. In terms of caste status both were of high standing. Finally, almost 60 per cent of the young men gave Punjabi as their mother tongue.

I have shown where the parents came from in India and Pakistan. In the next chapter it will be seen where they settled in Newcastle.

2. ELSWICK

The majority of the young Indians and Pakistanis in this study lived in Elswick, less than a mile west from the centre of Newcastle. More specifically, they lived in a wedge-shaped part of Elswick, rising up the hill from Westmorland Road in the south to Westgate Road in the north, and marked off in the west by Elswick Park.¹

The wedge-shaped part is divided for the half mile of its length by Elswick Road, which runs east-west. The area never seems to have had any distinctive name, but the lower half south of Elswick Road became known as Rye Hill by the Council (though not by the people) after one of the streets there. I call this part Rye Hill also, as it will doubtless achieve fame as such through Jon Davies's study of the local planners' arrogant, botched-up attempt to revitalise the area physically and socially.² The upper half, between

¹ See maps 2 and 3.

The precise boundaries of the area were Westgate Road, Kingsley Terrace, Malvern Street, Beech Grove Road, Westmorland Road and Summershill Terrace.

² The Evangelistic Bureaucrat (Tavistock Publications, forthcoming).

Elswick Road and Westgate Road, I call High Elswick.

The wedge-shaped area as a whole I refer to as twilight Elswick.

Though I know the whole district well, having lived there throughout the time I was doing my research, I am indebted to Jon Davies for much of the information in this chapter about the Rye Hill half. Information about High Elswick is more sketchy.

Rye Hill

What was the history of this part of Newcastle? Rye Hill was built for the upper middle class between the eighteenth-thirties (Rye Hill street in the east) and the eighteenth-nineties (Beech Grove Road in the west). Then, gradually at first, these handsome streets of mostly large houses suffered a social decline. Jon Davies suggests it may have begun early with the building of working-class houses to the west and south-west for the families of "Armstrong's men", employed at what is now Vickers-Armstrong's armaments factory on Scotswood Road at the bottom of the slope by the Tyne. The firm, founded by William George Armstrong, a former solicitor, in 1847, by 1885 covered more than a mile of the river bank with workshops, shipyards and blast-furnaces. In forty years the population of Elswick leapt from 3,539 in

1851 to 51,608 in 1891.¹ Armstrong himself could survey his smoking empire from his home at Elswick Hall, in the middle of Elswick Park.

It is perhaps indicative of the neighbourhood's early deterioration that the Royal Grammar School, which moved into new buildings on lower Rye Hill in 1870, abandoned them for Jesmond in 1906, having opened a branch there in 1897.²

The decline was aided, between the wars, by the clearance of the old overcrowded rookeries in the city centre, which brought multi-occupation into the district, and by the flight of the middle class to the outer suburbs where prices were low and, because of the depression, credit terms easy. Nevertheless Jon Davies estimates, on the basis of Ward's Directory of Newcastle, that the population "retained its overall gentility" until at least the outbreak of World War II. In 1939 manual workers (predominantly skilled) still accounted for only 31 per cent of occupied males.

Thereafter the deterioration was swift, with the war, the post-war housing shortage, continuing slum clearance

¹ Sydney Middlebrook, Newcastle upon Tyne: Its Growth and Achievement (Wakefield, S.R. Publishers, reprint edition 1968), p. 265.

² Ibid., p. 294.

(Particularly in Scotswood Road) and finally in the nineteen-sixties the Council's buying up of property all contributing to the district's decay.¹ "The houses became cheap and available", says Jon Davies, "and thus proved attractive to immigrants of all types."² Locally Indians and Pakistanis were also blamed for spoiling the area by multi-occupying their houses. Many English people fled when they began to arrive in relatively large numbers. Then in turn the Asians lamented the decline of the neighbourhood. One respondent's father, for instance, recalled the bourgeois idyll of Beech Grove Road in 1951:

It used to be a nice area. When I bought this house it was a beautiful area, now it's deteriorating. Yes, I'm thinking to shift as well.

All business people and doctors used to live in this street, you know. Very select area it used to be. It was very nice, very quiet. I mean in fact wife used to go to the park and leave the door open. Now you can't trust one single moment.

High Elswick

North of Elswick Road the streets of High Elswick were

¹ Some of these Council-acquired houses were left bricked or tinned up, supposedly to await "comprehensive development" by revitalisation (i.e. modernisation) but in fact to be reduced to shells by scrap thieves and firewood seekers. Others were used to house what older residents regarded as "problem" families.

² The Evangelistic Bureaucrat. Emphasis in original.



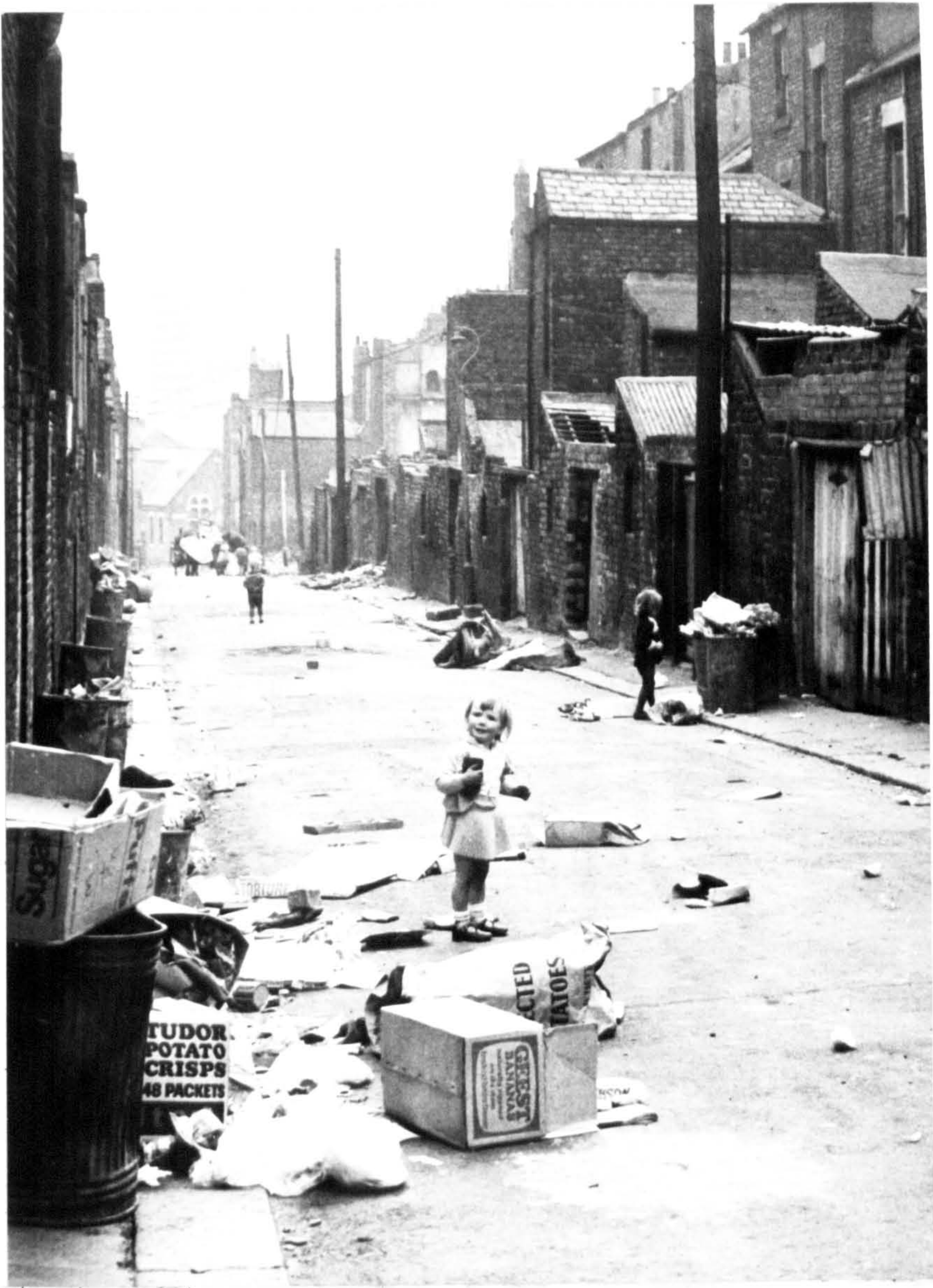
1. Elswick Road.



2. Rye Hill. Beech Grove Road.



3. Rye Hill. Wentworth Place.



4. High Elswick. back lane between Grove Street and Ashfield Terrace West.



5. High Elswick. Grove Street.

built out from the east over the same period, though the western end (Crown Street, Malvern Street) were finished in the eighteen-seventies, two decades before Beech Grove Road at the corresponding end of Rye Hill. Last to be built - in the eighteen-eighties - was the triangle of streets (Normanton Terrace, Kingsley Terrace, Hartington Street) at the top end between Sceptre Street and Westgate Road.

The houses were, however, smaller than those in all but half a dozen streets in Rye Hill. Parts of several streets consisted of Tyneside flats, that is, two separate dwellings, one on top of the other but with their front doors side by side, inside what appears to be a single house. This, as the name suggests, was a distinctively Tyneside form of working class accommodation. But even if High Elswick was socially several grades below Rye Hill, it nevertheless seems to have been predominantly middle class. In Ward's directory for 1881-2, for example, there are many people described simply as "gentleman". A ladies' school and no fewer than four clergymen were established in Grove Street, which by the end of the nineteen-sixties had become the most broken-down street in the whole neighbourhood.

One must suppose that High Elswick's decline followed the same pattern as Rye Hill's, with in places perhaps worse overcrowding in smaller houses. The only difference was

that the death blow, in the shape of Council intervention, was longer delayed - some would have said too long - because the streets between Elswick Row and Gloucester Road, together with those below Sceptre Street were marked down, not for revitalisation, but for demolition in the 1971-76 slum clearance programme. As a result it was only at the end of the nineteen-sixties (and not at the beginning as in Rye Hill) that the Council acquired houses in any number. It bricked hardly any up, and so for most of the decade there was less dereliction and planning blight. So too High Elswick retained a little longer a higher proportion of owner-occupiers and long-established tenants. The streets below Sceptre Street were in the worst condition. Their decay accelerated suddenly at the very end of the decade.

By the time I did my interviewing both Rye Hill and High Elswick were characterised by bricked-up houses and derelict ruins, raggy curtains across grey windows, crumbling outhouses, and back lanes adrift with garbage. Detached gardens, where people once took tea in summer, were overgrown or used for rubbish dumps and scrap-breaking. In less busy streets children now played amid a permanent sprinkling of half-bricks and broken glass.

The People of Twilight Elswick

By that time too the district (thanks largely to repetitious, sensational but superficial reports in local papers) had long had a reputation, not only for slum housing, but for prostitutes, petty criminals, social welfare malingerers, down-and-outs - and coloured immigrants. What are the facts about the population?

A confidential report by the city planning officer, published in 1965, found indeed that all factors of social malaise analysed had a higher incidence in Rye Hill than in the city as a whole. Rye Hill, for instance, had three times the average number of notifications of respiratory tuberculosis, about twice the death rate from bronchitis and pneumonia and two-and-a-half times the average number of perinatal deaths.

Rye Hill had three times the average number of suicides and five times the average number of illegitimate births. It had four times the average number of offences against the person and four times the average number of people on probation. It had nearly six times the average number of persons (other than old people) on National Assistance and nearly five times the average number of people who applied for help to the Corporation health and social services department. Rye Hill had nearly 13 times the city

average of new VD notifications. ¹

In his study of Rye Hill in 1966 Jon Davies found 90 per cent of his sample were manual workers. ² Eighty-two per cent were tenants. Thirty-nine per cent were single-person households. Fifty-three per cent claimed to have incomes of less than £10 a week. Twenty-nine per cent were unemployed at the time of interview. Forty-four per cent had been to the National Assistance in the previous twelve months. A survey of High Elswick would probably have produced similar findings, though with the difference, mentioned above, that there would have been a higher proportion of owner-occupiers and long-established residents.

Though the area undoubtedly did serve as the city's sump and collected a concentration of deviants, drop-outs and derelicts, these were still only a minority of the English population. Apart from the surviving owner-occupiers and other "old respectables", the majority were working-class families, who were rough perhaps but not deviant, in the

¹ Social Malaise and the Environment: Interim Report by the City Planning Officer (Newcastle upon Tyne, Committee as to the Rehousing and Welfare of Difficult Families, 1965), pp. 20,28.

² Thirty-nine per cent were skilled, 18 per cent were semi-skilled and 33 per cent unskilled. Compare this with the already quoted proportion of only 31 per cent manual workers in 1939.

sense that the man worked, provided for his children, and with his wife tried to make a reasonable home.

The only major failing of this latter group was to have lost out in the competition for housing, and they resented being classed as the detritus of society. Ann Blair, secretary of the West End Tenants' Association, expressed the feeling thus:

The majority of people in this area are ordinary decent people struggling against great odds to bring up their children decently, not (as the Chronicle would have their readers believe) jailbirds, prostitutes, dole-wallahs and drunkards.¹

Above all one must emphasise the area's very mixed character, with, as Jon Davies puts it,

Highly respectable old ladies living next door to prostitutes, or highly ambitious immigrants surrounded by what, to them, was the white trash of our society, or with "ordinary" whites unable to find the decent accommodation they wanted, living in the same house or same terrace as people whose life-styles were, to say the least, bizarre.²

¹ West End Tenants' Association Bulletin, no. 8, May 1969, p. 5.

² The Evangelistic Bureaucrat

The Pattern of Indian and Pakistani Settlement

This then was the part of Newcastle where most coloured immigrants first established themselves. There were a few West Indians and Africans, but the overwhelming majority were Indians and Pakistanis. The numbers were small, no doubt because of the region's harsh economic climate. As mentioned in the Introduction, there were in Newcastle according to the 1966 Sample Census 150 persons born in the West Indies, 390 born in Pakistan and 1,200 born in India. In a total population of 249,240 this was a proportion of 0.7 per cent. There were throughout the Tyneside conurbation 280 West Indians, 630 Pakistanis and 1,950 Indians, a proportion of 0.3 per cent.¹ These figures, though certainly an understatement, do show that the bulk of the conurbation's coloured Commonwealth immigrants lived in Newcastle.² Most of these in turn started their new life in twilight Elswick.

If one examines the electoral roll over the years for Indian and Pakistani names, one sees that Rye Hill was the

¹ Facts Paper: Colour and Immigration in the United Kingdom 1969 (London, Institute of Race Relations, 1969), pp. 6, 10.

² South Shields had of course a long-established Arab community. See Sydney Collins, Coloured Minorities in Britain (London, Lutterworth Press, 1957).

main area of settlement in the nineteen-fifties. Some of the early arrivals first lived south of Westmorland Road, but were driven up the hill by the clearance which made way for the high flats of the Cruddas Park development at the end of the decade. ¹

The proportion of Indians and Pakistanis in Rye Hill seems never to have been very high. The 1961 electoral register gives the proportion of Asian voters as only 6.6 per cent of the total. The total and the proportion are certainly only approximate, since the registration both of immigrants and of people in multi-occupied property is known to be generally defective.

Nevertheless later electoral rolls do reflect the observed fact that in the early sixties the centre of immigrant concentration moved still further up the slope and across Elswick Road. High Elswick, which had only 5.7 per cent Indian and Pakistani voters in 1961, had 12.2 per cent in 1966, compared with 6.3 per cent in Rye Hill. (In the latter area the number of Asians dropped sharply, but so did the

¹ Sid Chaplin's excellent novel about this lower district, The Watchers and the Watched (Panther Books, 1965), ends with a race riot in what is clearly Scotswood Road. Before its extensive demolition this was a renowned long tough street of innumerable pubs, many with names appropriate to Armstrong's, like the Forge Hammer, the Vulcan, the Rifle, the Hydraulic Crane.

total population.)

The reason for the shift north was the Council's intervention in buying houses for revitalisation and the sharp decline in the area caused by planning blight. Indians and Pakistanis as a whole, it should be emphasised, did not want to become Council tenants. Rasul, for example, said of his parents,

They wouldn't live in a Council house, that's for sure. They wouldn't live in any rented place. They would buy it to live in it because they like to feel secure, that it's their own and it belongs to them and nobody can push them out of it.

(Secure from whom?) Secure from people, from the Council, say, because they feel that any time the Council wishes, any time the neighbours object, people can raise riots and can often have them kicked out. They do feel this very strongly. And there are economic considerations as well, because they think it's cheaper to have your own house than to have a one from the Council.

Not all the Indians and Pakistanis who moved into High Elswick in the early sixties had shifted from Rye Hill, of course. Many more were later arrivals who went straight there. Though total numbers were fairly small, the concentration in some streets was quite high. On the 1966 electoral register Malvern Street, Grove Street and Ashfield Terrace East each contained over 20 per cent Indians and Pakistanis. This was a higher proportion than had ever lived in any of the streets in Rye Hill.

The concentration in High Elswick built up still further, reaching 15.2 per cent in 1970. But already many were moving north again, this time across Westgate Road to join compatriots in Arthur's Hill, a lower middle/upper working class district of terrace houses and Tyneside flats. They clustered particularly around Brighton Grove. The proportion of Indians and Pakistanis on the electoral register for the polling district which covers the area ¹ rose from 0.9 per cent in 1961 to 3.9 per cent in 1966, to 6.9 per cent in 1970.

This looked like becoming the area of secondary settlement. At the same time there was a fanning out, as there had been when some families moved from Rye Hill. The other favoured districts were Jesmond, Gosforth, Fenham and Benwell. ²

The distribution of my particular respondents reflected the settlement pattern of the Indians and Pakistanis as a whole. Sixteen per cent (11) lived in Rye Hill at the time of interview. Forty-three per cent (29) lived in High Elswick. Seventy-three per cent (49) lived in one or other part of twilight Elswick at school leaving age, and all but half a dozen had lived there at some point.

¹ Polling district NC.

² See below for a description of these areas.

One young man lived just outside the area, still in Elswick but south of Westmorland Road. This leaves 39 per cent (26) who were living outside Elswick altogether at the time of interview. The biggest group - seven (10 per cent) - lived in Arthur's Hill. Four lived in Gosforth, a middle class suburb on the northern edge of the city.¹ Four lived in Jesmond, a formerly select but now rather mixed district north-east of the centre, where fears of a second Rye Hill, through student multi-occupation and coloured landlords, were periodically expressed. One lived in working-class Benwell, next to Elswick in the west, and one in Blakelaw in an area of middle-class semis away to the north-west of the city.

Finally seven youths I interviewed had left Newcastle altogether. Two brothers had gone to Edmonton in north London, one had gone to Glasgow, one to Huddersfield, one to Bradford and one to Wolverhampton. Only half a dozen of the young men had lived elsewhere in England before coming to Newcastle. A similar small number had left Newcastle at some point, but returned.

¹ For the location of these districts, see map 2

Summary

This chapter gave a brief account of the part of Newcastle which was the main area of Indian and Pakistani settlement. I call the district twilight Elswick and follow its decline from high middle-class respectability in the last century. By the nineteen-sixties it had become an environmentally derelict neighbourhood, notorious for its concentration of poverty and social malaise.

In the nineteen-fifties the Indians and Pakistanis mainly lived in Rye Hill, the area, that is, between Elswick Road and Westmorland Road. By the middle-sixties, however, the greatest concentration was in High Elswick, between Elswick Road and Westgate Road. By the end of the decade many Indians and Pakistanis were moving north again, this time across Westgate Road to recluster in the Brighton Grove district. At the same time there was a fanning out to other parts of the city. The reason for the shift north was the deterioration of the area and the Council's intervention in buying houses. It was emphasised that Indians and Pakistanis did not want to become Council tenants.

✓ The distribution of my respondents reflected this settlement pattern.

Having described the part of Newcastle where most of the young men grew up, I turn to their parents' place in it. First, housing.

3. ASIAN PARENTS' HOUSING

"The disadvantages of coloured immigrants in respect of their housing conditions are generally understood", says Rose.¹ This does not mean that in an inner-city area such as that described in the last chapter coloured immigrants necessarily form an undifferentiated sub-proletariat, even more underprivileged than their white neighbours. It is however often assumed. Stuart Hall, for example, writes:

/ Vacated by the older residents, [the twilight areas] have become transition zones for immigrants of all kinds, who are drawn to them by employment opportunities. This group includes people from the North, where relative industrial decline has hit some areas; the Irish and - on the lowest rung of the ladder - West Indians, Pakistanis and Indians.²

In fact the differing housing and employment experiences of different coloured immigrant groups are by now well known.³

¹ Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 120.

² Stuart Hall, The Young Englanders (London, National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967), p. 9.

³ See R.B. Davison, Black British (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1966); Peter Collison, "Immigrants' Varieties of Experience", New Society, June 26, 1969, pp. 990-2; Rose and Associates, op. cit., chs. 12-13.

And in Newcastle the parents ¹ of my Indian and Pakistani respondents had won themselves a distinctly favourable position in housing. ²

Housing Tenure

If one examines tenure style first, one finds that all but a mere six per cent of the parents were house-owners. More than that. According to the sons 39 per cent of the parents owned more than one house. Table 6 gives the details.

¹ As in chapter 1 the term covers not only fathers, but uncles and elder brothers, where one of these was the senior male relative. However whereas in chapter 1 the data referred to the person my respondent came to England to join, in this and the following chapter it relates to the household head, except where otherwise stated. In only seven cases were the two different.

² In an earlier article Peter Collison concluded that, in Oxford at least, Indians had an advantaged housing position, not only compared with other coloured immigrants, but in relation to other citizens generally. The trouble is that because of the university Oxford may be assumed to have a substantial proportion of Indians who are untypical of the normal run of immigrants. See: Peter Collison, "Immigrants and Residence", Sociology, Vol. 1, No. 3 (September 1967).

TABLE 6

Asian parents: Tenure style and house ownership

Owned one house	35
Owned two houses	18
Owned three houses	5
Owned four houses	2
Owned five houses	1
No. owned uncertain *	2
Tenant	4
<hr/>	
Total	67
<hr/>	

* Both these parents owned the house they lived in.

The proportion of house-owners (94 per cent) is startling. It is well above the national figure for Indian and Pakistani households of around 60 per cent,¹ which is itself notably high. But it is not completely without parallel elsewhere. In the West Midlands conurbation and in selected West Midland inner city wards 80 per cent of Indians owned their own homes.²

¹ Sample Census 1966, G.B. Commonwealth Immigrant Tables (London, HMSO, 1969), p. 237.

² Sample Census 1966, special tabulations, Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 137.

A striking contrast nevertheless remains between the very high level of Asian house-ownership detailed above and the level obtaining in Rye Hill and Newcastle as a whole. According to Jon Davies' survey, 16 per cent of households in Rye Hill owned their own homes. The city-wide figure was 28 per cent.¹ That 39 per cent of the Asian parents should have had more than one house is even more remarkable, though here there is no data from other parts of the country to enable comparisons to be made.

Jon Davies makes a distinction between owner-occupiers, who have a whole house to themselves, and "resident landlords" who take tenants into the house which they own and occupy. Among the Asian parents were relatively few resident landlords. Of the 63 house-owning parents only 17 (27 per cent) came in this category, though another two had relatives staying rent-free. Table 7 gives the details.

¹ Sample Census 1966, Northumberland (London, HMSO, 1967), p. 15.

It is true, as shown in the last chapter, that two-fifths of the Asian parents no longer lived in twilight Elswick. But when they did they almost all owned at least the house in which they lived.

TABLE 7

House-owning Asian parents: Owner-occupiers and resident landlords

Owner-occupiers	41
Resident landlords:	17
One tenant household	10
Two tenant households	6
Four tenant households	1
Relatives living rent-free	2
Other *	3
<hr/>	
Total	63

* These were parents who owned a house (or houses) but lived in someone else's property. Two lived above a shop which they rented. The third lived in a house he was looking after for the owner who had returned to Pakistan.

The tenants were usually English people, but occasionally West Indians and Africans. They were only rarely other Indians and Pakistanis because these, from a sense of obligation towards fellow-countrymen, were generally accommodated rent-free. Two of the parents who were tenants did however have landlords who were Pakistanis like themselves.¹

¹ One of these, paying £3 a week for an unfurnished downstairs flat applied to the Rent Officer for a fair rent to be fixed because the landlord (his father-in-law) would not carry out repairs. He got the rent reduced by 11s.

Significantly, 71 per cent (12 out of 17) of the parents who were resident landlords also had one or more other houses. On the other hand, 86 per cent (30 out of 35) of the parents with only one house had no tenants living in with them, i.e. had no tenants at all. This suggests, as in any case does the high proportion of parents with more than one house, that (in Newcastle at least) Asian landlordism was not caused by the necessity to finance house-purchase by borrowing at a high rate of interest as the only means of obtaining accommodation. Rex and Moore maintain that this was the case in Birmingham.¹ Their argument is that the immigrant householder can only meet the heavy repayments by taking in tenants. I put this point to many of my respondents, but hardly any of them agreed. Here are a few of the comments.

Rasul:

I think it's just a question of making money. This is all it is, because basically they just want to make money. This is one way of doing it. Jobs aren't all that easy to find, but you can get hold of the money to get a house, you can make some money. I think this is the most important element. There may be in the case of some people an element that they were landowners before and they've gone to this - they've bought land here as well, this sort of thing. I don't think it's very strong this. I don't feel it myself and I don't think me parents do.

¹ Race, Community and Conflict, op. cit.

Lachman:

Nobody have to do it. Oh no, I don't think so. I don't think that's necessary at all. They take in just to- probably say, "That room's empty. We might as well have somebody living in there", and there's probably just two or three bob extra. And I think that's the main reason. Otherwise they don't have to.

Sudesh:

Most of the Indians who come to this country are, you know, they've got a very poor financial situation - I mean when they come to this country - and they would like to get as much money as they would like. And their commitments don't just finish with their own- I mean their own family, their own children and their wife. They have commitments in India as well, looking after, say, grandfather or some other person, some other relative. So they would like to make as much money as they can. (So they are not obliged to take in lodgers in order to pay for the house?) I don't think so. Well it might be - it's mostly the financial position. I mean I don't think most of them have to pay higher interests or anything. It's just the commitments they have. If you just take the example of my uncle, he's got to support such a large family. So I mean, having limited means, he has to do something.

Rex claims that in Birmingham the Asian landlord is someone who "in order to house himself, must also house others".¹

I suggest that in Newcastle on the contrary Indian and Pakistani house-owners did not have to take in tenants to pay for the house. They took them in because they were an optional extra source of income.²

¹ John Rex, "Integration: the Reality", New Society, August 12, 1965, p. 14.

² This critique is developed fully in Jon Gower Davies and John Taylor, "Race, Community and No Conflict", New Society, July 9, 1970.

Sharing

As the foregoing indicates, there were among the Asian parents not only a very high proportion of house-owners but also a high proportion who had a whole house to themselves. Of all 67 parents only 23 (34 per cent) shared a dwelling with another household. This total includes the two parents who had relatives living rent-free.

In the inner London boroughs, by contrast, 80 per cent of Asian households shared their accommodation. In the West Midlands the figure was 35-40 per cent.¹ The amount of sharing by the Asian parents was substantially greater than that in Newcastle generally. According to the Census only 4.2 per cent of all households in the city shared a dwelling.²

¹ Sample Census 1966, special tabulations, Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 136.

² Sample Census 1966, Northumberland, op. cit., p. 20. These comparisons are somewhat tentative because of the 1966 Census's rather unsatisfactory definition of what is a structurally separate dwelling where several households live in one house. The Census says that, "Accommodation was regarded as structurally separate if it was all contained behind its own front door; bathrooms and water closets did not count as part of the accommodation for this purpose".

It goes on, "If several households lived in a converted house and occupied flats each of which was contained behind its own front door, then each household occupied a structurally separate dwelling, but if one of these households occupied accommodation which had more than one room opening on to a hall or landing then the whole house was regarded as one dwelling." The Census explains that bed-sitting rooms were counted as separate dwellings only if they had their own bathroom and cooking facilities within the

Housing Density

Table 8 gives the relevant figures for the households of my young Indians and Pakistanis. Adults and children, it should be noted, are counted alike as one person.

TABLE 8

Asian households: Density of occupation.

Average no. of persons per household	6.05
Average no. of rooms per household	5.26
Average no. of persons per room	1.15

N=64.

No response/not applicable:3.

The last figure is the important one. The currently accepted definition of overcrowding is a ratio of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room. It is clear that by this yardstick the Asian families as a whole were not overcrowded.

2. (continued)

accommodation. It appears however that accommodation of two or more rooms which had only one door leading on a hall or landing was classed as a separate dwelling even if it did not contain its own bathroom or cooking facilities or toilet. Sample Census 1966, G.B. Commonwealth Immigrant Table, op. cit., p. xviii.

It has been pointed out that the Census does not distinguish between owner-occupiers and resident landlords. (Davies and Taylor, op. cit., p. 68.) The ambiguity about what is structurally separate makes it impossible to establish the distinction obliquely.

However this average needs to be further broken down. This is done in Table 9. At the same time I compare the density of occupation of my respondents' households with that of Indian and Pakistani households nationally.¹

TABLE 9

Density of occupation: respondents' households in Newcastle compared with Indian and Pakistani households in England and Wales. *

Persons per room	NEWCASTLE ASIANS		INDIANS (E & W)	PAKISTANIS (E & W)
	No.	%	%	%
Over 1½	10	15	6.4	12.6
Over 1 and up to 1½	21	31	9.3	15.8
½ and over and up to 1	33	49	61.1	59.5
Less than ½	-	-	23.2	12.1
No response/ Not applicable	3	4	-	-
Total	67	100	100.0	100.0

* Sample Census 1966, Commonwealth Immigrant Tables, op. cit., p. 237.

¹ My definition of "room" differs slightly from that of the 1966 Census. The latter included a kitchen as a room, and a scullery if used for cooking. I excluded both unless they were big enough for eating.

Table 9 shows that only 15 per cent of the Asian households were overcrowded, but that overall they lived at a greater density of persons per room than Indian and Pakistani households over the country as a whole. Comparisons are complicated not only by the different definitions of room, already mentioned, but because the Census figures undoubtedly contain a proportion of "white" Indians and Pakistanis, i.e. persons of English parentage born in these countries.

Rose makes statistical adjustments to exclude these white Asians. It is seen that even without them Indians and Pakistanis in the London conurbation were living at a lower average density (0.93 and 0.99 persons/room respectively) than my Asian parentsⁱⁿ Newcastle (1.15). The density of occupation of Indians and Pakistanis in the West Midlands was much closer at 1.13 and 1.09.¹

More important perhaps, my Asian parents need to be compared in this respect with the populations of Rye Hill and of all Newcastle. This is done in Table 10.

¹ Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 122.

TABLE 10

Density of occupation: respondents' households compared with all Rye Hill and all Newcastle households. *

	ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS	RYE HILL	NEWCASTLE HOUSEHOLDS
Persons per room	%	%	%
Over $1\frac{1}{2}$	15	24.3	2.6
Over 1 and up to $1\frac{1}{2}$	31	8.7	6.7
$\frac{1}{2}$ and over and up to 1	49	57.0	58.5
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	-	10.0	32.2
No response/ Not applicable	4	-	-
Total	100	100.0	100.0

* Data on Rye Hill derives from Jon Davies' research, that on Newcastle from the Sample Census 1966, Northumberland, op. cit., p. 13.

One sees that a smaller proportion of Asian households than Rye Hill households fell into the overcrowded category. Overall, however, the Rye Hill households lived at a slightly lower density than the Asian households, 1.02 persons per room as against 1.15. And the Asians were substantially more overcrowded than Newcastle households generally, a third of whom lived at a density of less than half a person per room.

To sum up: in terms of overcrowding and ownership the housing of my Asian parents compared respectively favourably and very favourably with housing in Rye Hill as a whole. They were at a disadvantage in overcrowding and sharing when measured against all Newcastle households - but easily retained their superiority in house ownership.

Household Structure

I have discussed the size of the Asian households, but not their structure. What relatives did they consist of? Did they reproduce the traditional joint family? I try to answer this in Table 11 and order the households into five types:

Nuclear;

Nuclear with spouseless relatives;

Joint, i.e. more than one married couple, perhaps also with spouseless relatives; ¹

Incomplete - a "mini-nuclear" household with only one parent;

Incomplete with spouseless relatives.

¹ In questioning respondents I defined household as "members of your family living in this house who take meals with you and anyone else in the house who eats with you". Irawati Karve, it should be noted, includes two other considerations in her definition of a joint family. It is, she says, "a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred". I did^{not} ask about the common ownership of property or about common worship, so it may be that I am using the term joint family somewhat loosely. For my purposes a joint family is a household, defined as above, which consists of more than one married couple. See Irawati Karve, Kinship Organisation in India (Poona, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1953), p. 10.

Almost all respondents lived with brothers and sisters, and other relatives listed often had small children. These dependants have been omitted from Table 11 for the sake of simplicity. All relationships, of course, are to the respondent.

TABLE 11

Asian families: Household structure

NUCLEAR:

Father, mother, respondent	27
Uncle/brother; wife <u>or</u> Sister/aunt, husband, respondent	4
Respondent, wife	1

NUCLEAR WITH RELATIVES:

Nuclear family as above, plus one or more relatives (uncle, g'father, cousin) without spouses	15
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JOINT (more than 1 married couple):

Father, mother, Uncle/cousin/brother, wife, respondent	8
Father, mother, respondent, wife	4

INCOMPLETE:

Father/uncle/mother (no spouses), respondent	3
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INCOMPLETE WITH RELATIVES:

Incomplete family as above, plus other relatives without spouses	3
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No response/Not applicable	2
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Total	67
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It is seen from Table 11 that a high proportion (48 per cent) of young Asians lived in nuclear families. Forty per cent, moreover, came from the most conventional English nuclear

pattern for young men of their age, that of the father and mother, the respondent and, if he had any, his brothers and sisters.

Notable on the other hand is the low proportion (18 per cent) of joint households. This (like the popularity of nuclear households) results, one imagines, not so much from the unsuitability of English houses, because many in Elswick were very large and most had three bedrooms plus attics - but from their relative availability in Newcastle, as shown above in the city-wide figures for sharing.

There were, it is true, another 22 per cent of the households which had adhering to them various unmarried, widowed or separated relations (mainly male, apart from the odd grandmother). This situation of a quasi-bachelor or aged parent living in is common enough in England, though perhaps more to be expected among immigrants. They do not however make a joint family because by themselves they do not constitute even a nuclear family.

The division of families into nuclear households does not prevent close proximity. The three elder brothers of one respondent (unmarried and still at home) contrived each to buy a terrace house in the same street and literally only a few doors away from their father. In any case Asian relatives visit each other very diligently. The largest

joint family I encountered consisted of the father and mother, two brothers and their wives and children, the respondent and his unmarried brother and sister. This was the only joint family which contained more than two married couples.

Six of the young Asians were married. Five were doing the traditional thing and living with their wives in their own parents' home. If this proves to be the future pattern, then the joint family among Asians in England is far from the cast-off thing that my data might suggest.

Four of these young married Asians were living with their mother and father. One was living with his father alone (and so gets listed in Table 11 as "nuclear with relatives"). The sixth, Nazir, had lived with his eldest brother when he first brought his wife back from Pakistan. Then they had a quarrel because Nazir was sick of working in his brother's shop for no wages. He and his wife left and stayed at the house of another married brother. Then he bought his own house in Grove Street.

Finally, Table 11 indicates the absence of the all-male household, which in the country as a whole was still apparently the domestic situation of most Pakistanis.¹

¹ Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 445.



6. A Sikh front room, showing left to right among the family photographs Lord Krishna, Guru Nanak and the Blessed Virgin.

Only four of my young Asians (three of them Pakistanis, out of 26) lived in households like this.

In short the household structure of most of the young Asians was fairly conventional by English standards. Whether it remains so would seem to depend on whether or not my respondents and their future wives stay in a joint family with their parents when they have children of their own.

Family Life-Style

The front rooms in which I usually did my interviewing were in most cases comfortably furnished in a conventional English style, with typically a three-piece suite, a coffee-table and a fitted carpet. The decor was almost always smart and sometimes frankly opulent. The only colour television set I saw in Elswick was in an Indian house. Occasionally the room had no distinctive Indian or Pakistani feature at all. Generally it had over the mantelpiece at least a Muslim calendar or a picture of white-bearded Guru Nanak or a rather garish print of Lord Krishna. Often there were a number of posters with religious pictures or, in the case of the Pakistanis, quotations from the Koran. Occasionally there were Asian film posters on the wall or, stuck high up under the picture rail, sepia family photographs of staring-eyed old men in turbans. Also sometimes adorning

the walls were old-fashioned pictures presumably left behind by previous English occupants. I noticed, for example, one great sombre print of highland cattle and a watercolour depicting the Bishop's palace at Wells.

Most of the Indian and Pakistani families followed the English pattern of keeping the front room for visitors. If the parent was a credit draper it was often stacked with shirt-boxes and the like. Sometimes there was a bed in the corner. The family's everyday living was generally done in the back room of the house, which had furniture and decor much like the front room. Here the family took its meals. Here friends of the family squashed on to the sofa placed against the wall. Children played here in front of the fire in winter and watched television. Here the mother of the house sat cross-legged on the carpet to work the sewing-machine.

Summary

This chapter showed that, far from being on the lowest rung of the housing ladder, the Asian parents had established themselves very advantageously. Ninety-four per cent were house-owners, and thirty-nine per cent owned more than one house. Only 34 per cent shared accommodation. Only 15 per cent lived at an occupational density of more than

one-and-a-half persons per room.

I argue against Rex and Moore's thesis that Asian landlordism results from the fact that the householder has to take in tenants in order to house himself.

I produce evidence and testimony to the effect that it is one optional form of business, one possible source of income.

It was seen, finally, that almost 48 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis lived in nuclear households, while only 18 per cent lived in the traditional joint family. The latter however was probably far from dead as five of the six married respondents had remained in their parents' home. Only six per cent of the young men lived in all-male households.

4. ASIAN PARENTS' JOBS

The jobs of the Asian parents were as distinctive as their housing. For while by occupation 79 per cent were unremarkably working class (falling into the bottom three of the Registrar General's five social classes), they were unusual in employment status in that as many as 55 per cent were self-employed. Most of the latter were credit drapers, the rest had shops or other businesses. ¹ Table 12 gives the details. ²

¹ The non-working-class minority, representing 19 per cent, were the shopkeepers and "other own business", whom the Registrar General places in social class II (Intermediate).

² The Registrar General's social class III (Skilled) is an over-broad category, including, for instance, both jeweller and van driver, bricklayer and bakery worker. So I have followed Frank Bechhofer and divided the class into two sub-categories: those who are strictly skilled "by virtue of an apprenticeship or equivalent"; and those who are "relatively skilled" or "skilled by habituation".

The latter Bechhofer describes as workers who have "no formal qualification, but acquire a skill by long practice and carry out work that requires more than a few hours' training (unlike most semi-skilled jobs) or has some additional responsibility". He gives as examples unapprenticed motor mechanics and fitters, skilled miners, painters and decorators and public service vehicle drivers. See: Comparability in Social Research, ed. Margaret Stacey (London, Heinemann for the British Sociological Association and the Social Science Research Council, 1969), pp. 115-6.

TABLE 12

Asian parents: Occupation.[‡]

SELF-EMPLOYED:

Credit draper	24
Shopkeeper	11
Other own business	2

EMPLOYEES:

Social class I and II (Professional/Intermediate)	-
III (Skilled) non-manual	1
manual:	
strictly skilled	-
relatively "	14
IV (Semi-skilled) manual	6
V (Unskilled manual)	8
Unclassifiable	1

Total	67
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[‡] In four cases the household head was the mother, the respondent himself or an uncle who had just arrived from Pakistan. In these instances I took for this table the job of the parent whom the respondent had come to England to join.

The Employees

I first consider the parents who were employees. What precisely were their jobs? Table 12 shows that fourteen

had relatively skilled manual jobs. Seven of these were bus drivers. Two were crane drivers. Two were bakery workers. One was a breakdown mechanic. One was a lens polisher. One was a charge-hand in an engineering factory. The solitary employee-parent in non-manual employment was a salesman for an (English) drapery firm.

Six parents had semi-skilled manual jobs. Of these four were bus conductors. One was a plant operator. One was a shipyard painter. Eight parents were in unskilled occupations. One was a cleaner, and the remainder were labourers. Of these three worked in the shipyards, one at an ironworks, and one at a sweet factory. Two were building labourers: one had been employed on the construction of the Derwent reservoir outside Newcastle, the other was working on the new Scotswood Bridge across the Tyne.

I turn now to the parents who were self-employed. I propose to devote more space to them because the high proportion - particularly of credit drapers (36 per cent) - is, as I have suggested, unusual. As far as I can see, this latter form of entrepreneurial activity by Indians and Pakistanis in England has never been examined in detail before.

The Credit Drapers

The credit drapers were travelling salesmen. At the beginning they humped a suitcase and went by bus. Later most of them acquired cars. Gradually they built up a round of regular customers to whom they sold articles of clothing. The basic system was that the customer chose from the vendor's selection or ordered, say, a pair of corduroy jeans, then paid off the debt at so much a week, for which the salesman called. When he had collected the last payment, or before, the salesman would try to persuade the customer to take some other item. The idea was to never quite let the customer settle up, and so keep him on your books. One parent said, "We was not accepting full money. We wanted to make the customers, because that way you sell more".

The credit draper made his basic profit by buying wholesale at a discount of 30 or 33 per cent and selling at normal retail prices, though some also added a percentage to this. To the customer the great advantage of the arrangement over other forms of credit, such as hire purchase, was that there was no deposit nor, in many cases, any extra on the cash price.

The credit drapers seem to have started from a simpler form of peddling. Khushie Mohammed, one of the doyens of

the Pakistani community, came to Newcastle in 1938.

He recalled rather brokenly,

When I came here, is nobody buying anything of the door business much, you know, very little. But always that Belgian scarf, you know, ties, scarf, or something like that. I put them on the shoulder, just go to the street, just shout and that, "Buy anything, Missus, buy anything!" Selling cheap stuff, you know, two-and-six or five bob. People buying that like that, well it's cheap.

According to Mr. Mohammed the very early Indian immigrants (as they were then) all took up peddling because they could not get factory employment. Then came wartime and post-war rationing which offered great opportunities for door-to-door trading. One imagines that often these Asians were dealing in black market goods. As one parent said, "In 1952 the nylon was in the pocket. If you will give the nylon, you will make the customer". These pioneers having done well, they evidently encouraged countrymen who came over in the nineteen-fifties to go into credit drapery too. Dalip's elder brother said:

It's been going on ever since the war. In the wartime was a few old fellows. They could not speak English, so they did this business. There was a shortage of clothes, things were on coupons. When new fellows came they said to them, "You might as well do this." They told them the same things, like leading a dog.

With some parents the system took a more sophisticated form. Instead of driving round with a carful of goods,

these parents simply gave the customer a credit note for so much on their account with one or more of the wholesalers and let him buy what he wanted. Tarlok's father explained:

I give them a note of the warehouse where they want to go, and they have a choice. They have five or six warehouses to choose from, you see. Supposing if a person gets a note for £50 and he need not to spend £50 in one place. He can go any one warehouse he want to go, he have a choice.

Supposing they want to buy a coat. You see, I can't take very many coats, you see, they won't have no choice. But when they come to the town, they can pick what they like, there is a choice there. I have to carry about ten or twelve coats to let her have one. Well it's far better for them and better for me. They can come in and pick it. I mean I got no headaches, and they can please themselves. If the stuff is faulty, they don't blame me, they have to blame to the shop, you see.

This particular credit draper said he had over a thousand customers whom he saw every week. He did not add anything to the retail price, but fixed weekly payments at a shilling in the pound, so that each debt was repaid in twenty weeks. He said he collected each week "roughly" £250. Since he enjoyed a 30 per cent discount from the wholesalers, this represents a weekly profit of about £80, though of course the cost of petrol and car maintenance must be deducted from this.

I have no systematic information as to profits. The credit drapery business, I was told, had now hit hard times,

but at least in the past profits had been high. One old-timer, who bought a car at the end of the war, worked up a round of over a thousand customers in the next few years and claimed to have made a profit of £100 a week. Rasul's father said that with a thousand customers also he had been taking £180-£200 a week in the middle fifties, making a profit of between £30 and £40.

Typically, Tarlok's father did most of his business in the mining communities of Durham and south Northumberland:

Well, I do Ashington, Newbiggin, Morpeth, you know. In County Durham, say, West Hartlepool and Horden, Easington Village, Easington Colliery, these places. Stanley, you know. All those places. You see I have a different day for a different place. See Monday, say, I do Ashington, then Newbiggin, and Tuesday I do Stanley. Wednesday is a different place altogether. Thursday different, West Hartlepool, and Friday Ashington. Saturday Morpeth, you know. Different places.

It should be noted that some of these towns and villages are a fair distance from Newcastle. Ashington and Newbiggin are 17 miles north, Hartlepool is 28 miles south.

But why mining communities? Tarlok's father explained:

They were more scope. All people were working, you know, in the pits and they were making good money. The miners were making about £25 or £20 a week, you see, good money, and it's quite- well the business was quite all right. Lot of houses. You know, you have to see, you have to consider the area where you go to. You must see, well, whether you can extend the business here.

Dalip's elder brother gave the same reason and added another:

Twelve to fifteen years ago pitmen were good workers getting regular money and did not mind spending a few bob. If you go to the bungalows they won't entertain you. Some don't like coloured people. In the collieries they live and let live. These big-shot people they wave you through the windows to go away and have signs on the doors saying "No hawkers".

Most Indian and Pakistani credit drapers appeared to do most of their business in mining areas. Dalip's father and elder brothers used to go further afield.

In Scotland, just after the winter finishing, they are out of clothes and things when the snow finishes. But they could not afford to go to the town, and you made a lot of sales. But now there are salesmen all over. We used to split up. My father would drop me off in a small village. I've been all over Scotland - Oban, Fort William, Dundee, Inverness, even little places where you take a fishing boat to go across. And if there's sixty people on a small island, there's definitely forty-five people buying something from you.

A case of Indians neatly out-scotching the local Scotch drapers. ¹

Table 12 shows that 55 per cent of my parents were self-employed and that 36 per cent were credit drapers

¹ Though the term has come to be synonymous with pedlar, Professor Kathleen Bell tells me that the true Scotch draper was a tailor who visited expatriates in their homes to measure them up and deliver them suits etc. of dependable Scottish durability. I am unsure whether credit was involved, but as a bespoke tailor who happened to travel to his customers, he was obviously a cut above a mere pedlar.

operating in the way I have just described. Now, this high level of self-employment distinguishes them not only, obviously, from the local English population, but also from Indians and Pakistanis in most other parts of Britain.

Self-employed Asian males were admittedly over-represented among the parents of my Indians and Pakistanis, because, clearly, to have sons aged between 15 and 21, they must have been among the older members of the community, and on the whole it was older men who took up credit drapery. All the same the 1966 Census shows that in the Tyneside conurbation 10.8 per cent of economically active immigrant males over 15 were self-employed.¹ In the whole of Great Britain, by contrast, only 4.6 per cent of Indians and 3.3 per cent of Pakistanis were self-employed. In the Greater London conurbation the proportions were 3.5 and 5.9 per cent, in the West Midlands conurbation, 2.9 and 1.7 per cent.² Rose comments that in these conurbations all immigrant groups (apart from the Cypriots in London) were far less well represented in the ranks of the self-employed

¹ Sample Census 1966, Commonwealth Immigrant Tables, op. cit., p. 76. The figure refers to all immigrants from the New Commonwealth, but since the overwhelming majority were Indians and Pakistanis we may take it as a fairly accurate index of their employment status.

² Ibid., pp. 40, 52, 64.

than the total population.¹

Figures for other areas refer only to all New Commonwealth immigrants, which since they all contain greater or lesser numbers of West Indians, conspicuous for their lack of entrepreneurship, must pull down the total proportions of self-employed. Nevertheless there are some parts of the country where the levels of New Commonwealth self-employment are comparable with Tyneside. These are the remainder of the Northern region, the South East region apart from Greater London and the outer metropolitan area, the South West region, Merseyside and, significantly, Scotland and Wales.² Interestingly, most of these were not major areas of immigrant settlement. Scotland and Wales were also of course mining regions.

The occupations of the parents of my young Indians and Pakistanis indicated, and my knowledge of the community confirms that in Newcastle the bulk of the self-employed were credit-drapers. However though the Census distinguishes between self-employed persons with and without employees, it does not tell us what exactly such people did in other areas.

¹ Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 153.

² Sample Census 1966, Commonwealth Immigrant Tables, op. cit., pp. 76-88.

They might also be credit drapers, but equally they might be manufacturers or shopkeepers providing services for their fellow countrymen. These latter sorts of business are quite well known. Desai, for instance, spends much of his book discussing the social role of the Gujarati grocer.¹ Rose says that in Bradford in 1967 there were 51 Pakistani grocers and butchers, 16 Pakistani cafes, five Pakistani banks and no fewer than 50 Pakistani driving schools. In Balsall Heath, Birmingham, in the same year, there were 60 Pakistani shops and cafes. In Glasgow there were one hundred Pakistani retail grocers and twenty-five wholesale stores.² Dilip Hiro has given examples of Asian manufacturing enterprises in the clothing industry.³

The credit drapers in Newcastle differed from the shopkeepers and tradesmen just described in that they did not serve their own community, but did business exclusively with English people. References in the literature to the latter kind of commerce are mostly perfunctory. Rose says,

¹ Rashmi Desai, Indian Immigrants in Britain (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1963).

² Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 443.

³ Dilip Hiro, "Colour is no bar to being your own boss", Observer (London), March 23, 1969.

Yet another group of Indians in Britain at this time [the end of the forties] was the Sikh pedlars, but although they certainly have contact with the post-1945 migrant communities, their own origins date back to the First World War. ¹

Aurora, it is true, uses the present tense.

The major avenue of ascension in social status is by earning through trade. Successful young men usually start peddling clothes and other knick-knacks and go on to import all manner of goods from India to sell there. ²

This information, however, relates to before 1959.

The only writer to give anything like a full account of door-to-door hawking is Desai. He cites the case of one Sikh from the East End of London who sold goods on credit more or less in the way I have described. He sold "to the West Indians mainly, but also to the poorer class of English, the Irish and to his fellow Indians". ³ Desai does not suggest, like Rose, that this form of business was pursued only by early arrivals. He does present it as a closed shop which is very difficult for an Indian to enter unless he has a relative who is a pedlar or wholesaler. ⁴

¹ Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 70.

² Aurora, op. cit., p. 118.

³ Desai, op. cit., pp. 66-7.

⁴ Ibid., p. 66.

Desai says there are in the country about 500 Indians engaged in the hawking trade, either directly or as middlemen.¹ (His book appeared in 1963.) Elsewhere he says there are between 3,000 and 4,000 pedlars, counting dependent wives and children.² It appears that nationally, unlike in Newcastle, hawking or credit drapery does not represent an important segment of economic activity.

This is confirmed by the "area reports" issued as supplements to the Institute of Race Relations Newsletter between 1963 and 1967. There were fifteen of these reports, but only three, or possibly four, made any mention at all of Indian and Pakistani pedlars. In Slough, Halifax, Sheffield, Coventry, Aston, Southall, Bolton, Nottingham, Smethwick, Huddersfield and Oxford they evidently either did not exist or were of negligible significance. Most reports, however, mentioned Asian-owned shops.

The areas where pedlars are mentioned are Stepney, Leeds and Glasgow. Apropos of Stepney Kenneth Leech says merely, "The older group of Sikhs were mostly pedlars".³

¹ Loc. cit.

² Ibid., p. 5

³ Kenneth Leech, "Area Report on Stepney", Supplement to Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, September 1964.

In Leeds Eric Butterworth found that "the Indian group has a fair number of pedlars and traders".¹ The report on Glasgow states, "In general the Indians ... tend to be pedlars and the Pakistanis ... shopkeepers".² The ambiguous case is Bradford, of which Butterworth writes: "There are a few professional men and some students, as well as a larger number who own shops or who are engaged on business; but the vast majority are in manual occupations".³ It is unclear whether those "engaged in business" include door-to-door pedlars.

The Census data and these area reports combine to establish, I think, that, in comprising such a high proportion of self-employed men and particularly of pedlars or credit drapers, Newcastle's Indians and Pakistanis were distinct from Asian communities in most other parts of Britain. (I stick to the more prestigious term credit draper as more appropriate to the former's sophisticated version of the trade.) Even the closest other Indian and Pakistani communities, those on Teesside, had only about a dozen people in this line of business.⁴

¹ Eric Butterworth, "Area Report on Leeds", ibid., March 1964.

² "Area Report on Glasgow", ibid., September 1965.

³ Eric Butterworth, "Area Report on Bradford", ibid., December 1963.

⁴ Information from my friend Mohammed Youssaf Mehdi, secretary of the Teesside Pakistani Association.

Why then did so many Newcastle Asians come to follow this trade? For a start, it should be said that there is nothing peculiarly Asian about it. Several of the parents mentioned that there were many more English people doing the same thing. Some worked on their own account, some were employed by wholesalers. The Asians, old and young, generally described the work simply as "doing business". The person who did it was a "commercial traveller", a "draper" or "credit draper". Curiously none of them used the traditional local term which all Tynesiders would understand - that of tallyman.

Nor was the trade by any means new, though I do not know when it started. Certainly Jewish immigrants who settled in Newcastle at the turn of the century took it up in some numbers,¹ and like the Asians did a lot of selling to pit villagers. The Jews first settled in Blenheim Street and Blandford Street, near the Central Station, because this was within walking distance of the synagogue. By the end of the First World War they had moved out, largely into twilight Elswick, which was still quite select. Blenheim Street and Blandford Street were then purely residential ('a little better than Beech Grove Road and Warrington Road are today'). In 1971 there were in and around Blenheim

¹ Other occupations were: slipper making, cap making, tailoring, cabinet making, photography, credit jewellery.

Street half a dozen Indian and Pakistani wholesale drapery businesses. From similar small beginnings in peddling there grew in Newcastle a number of (much larger) Jewish-owned stores, particularly wholesale stores. Many Asian credit drapers in fact had accounts with the latter. ¹

In the last century many Jews, especially in the provinces, were engaged in hawking and peddling. The trade became generally less profitable in the second half of the century, ² but it was in this period that the most successful of English Jewish pedlars began his business career. He was Michael Marks, co-founder of Marks and Spencer.

Michael Marks escaped from what was then Russian Poland, in the early 1880s, just as my father did, and for the same reason, and settled in Leeds. He decided to earn his living as - well - a pedlar, a bagman, as a "Scotch draper" as they were called, walking from village to village in the Yorkshire dales, with his buttons, pins, needles, darning wool, stockings etc., in a knapsack on his back. He did well. ³

¹ This information was kindly supplied by the late Mr. G.D. Guttentag, of Newcastle, who made a study of the early history of the Tyneside Jewish community.

² Lloyd P. Gartner, The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914 (London, Allen and Unwin, 1960), pp. 58-9.

³ Interview with Lord Sieff, the firm's president, Observer Magazine, June 30, 1968, p. 9.

Unlike the Jews on Tyneside, Marks does not appear to have given credit. However these parallels between the two groups of immigrants are arresting.

The credit draper is not peculiar to the North East. Tallymen or their equivalent are common in all working class areas of the country. However the use of credit-notes brings tallying very close to check trading, and there is evidence that this particular way of obtaining credit is more popular in the North East than in many other parts of England.

Check or ticket trading works as follows. The customer gets credit from a check trader in the shape of a "ticket" or "club check" for a given amount. The customer then buys what he wants, not from a wholesaler, but from any retailer who will accept payment in this way. Tickets from the big firms are accepted in most places. The smaller firms issue a list of traders who will accept their particular checks.

A company agent then calls at the customer's home each week and collects in instalments the amount borrowed, plus five per cent. Again no initial deposit is demanded, but the company gets a further percentage (up to 15 per cent) from the retailer, for when the latter redeems the check he gets this proportion deducted from the face value. This is

in a way similar to the tallyman getting a wholesale discount.¹

There are many check trading firms, big and small, but the largest in the country is the "Provi" - full name the Provident Clothing and Supply Company - which was founded 90 years ago and has its headquarters in Bradford. It claims to hold nationally between fifty and sixty per cent of the market. According to information kindly provided by the company, it reaches nationally about twelve per cent of all households and approximately sixteen per cent of "C2, D and E households", i.e. the poorer ones. These, it says, comprise its principal market. In the North East however it does business with approaching twenty per cent of these poorer households. The proportion is still higher in Scotland and South Wales.²

¹ At the same time it is less normal, because after all a retailer expects to sell at retail and a wholesaler at wholesale prices. Many retailers, I am told, find the rate of discount uncomfortably high, but continue to accept club checks because such a volume of business is conducted in this way. This they would lose altogether if they refused to take the checks. A further twist to the story is that customers, in need of cash, often get into more debt by selling the ticket at less than its goods value, while having to keep up the payments. I am grateful to my friend David Goldstein, of Middlesbrough, for the introduction to this (I think) academically unexplored field.

² Letter from Mr. A.M. Edgar, marketing director, October 29, 1969.

Thus the indications are that Indian and Pakistani parents in Newcastle have taken up this particular form of commerce because the tradition of tallymen and check trading is stronger in the North East than in most other regions where Asians have settled. In other words, they found a ready-made entrepreneurial role. Both Rasul's and Tarlok's fathers said they went to mining areas because, among other reasons, miners were used to buying in this way.

You see, only time you can sell things when there is somebody been before. It's like habit of like that. You see in these pit villages the housewives they know they can get things on credit basis, and that is why we keep on going there.

It is interesting that the amount of check trading should be even greater in Scotland and South Wales, for it was here that the level of immigrant entrepreneurship was particularly high. Perhaps Indians and Pakistanis slotted into a similar tradition in these areas too.

Obviously another reason why credit drapery accounted in Newcastle for a significant proportion of Indian and Pakistani economic activity was that the communities remained small. However rich the seam, too many prospectors would have exhausted it. It was noted before that the parts where the level of New Commonwealth self-employment (which means in practice largely Asian self-employment) was highest, were mostly not areas of major immigrant settlement.

I was told on all sides that the credit drapery business was now in decline. Both Rasul's and Tarlok's fathers said many people had given it up and taken jobs in factories and on the buses. Rasul's father, who claimed to have taken £180-£200 a week in the fifties from a thousand customers to make a weekly profit of £30-£40, said he had only 100 customers left. He took £50-£60 a week and made only £13-£14.

Most people agreed that colliery closures were chiefly to blame. Rasul's elder brother had also done credit drapery, but was now on the buses. He said:

The pits have closed down all around Blyth and in County Durham. A lot of pits have closed down. And the people they were good payers, good business. Whatever they wanted, they'd say, "Right, Johnny. Can you get us this? We'll pay you." Because they knew what they were gaining.

But now, because they've lost jobs, even if they only change jobs, they're not making as much as they were making when they were working in the pits. The pits paid them good wages, they made good money. And when they lost their jobs, found another job, they might have to shift. There's all these other expenses, travelling expenses. Or perhaps they even have to shift altogether from the village. And that has an effect and they had to cut down their spending.

Other reasons given for the hard times were competition from supermarkets, street markets and hire purchase, the fact that coloured tallymen no longer enjoyed the rarity value they once had and indeed that they were regarded with suspicion and hostility as a result of the national controversy about coloured immigration.

During the period of my research many parents followed each other out of credit drapery and out of the factory into shopkeeping. Several respondents remarked on the way Indians and Pakistanis copied each other and sought to account in this way for the different employment patterns in different communities. Rasul's brother said:

I think it's actually not just the Pakistanis. I think if you go to a foreign country yourself, if you will go to one of our country, you will find all the different communities sort of following each other's steps because they have nothing else to look after.

When foreigners come, they sort of exchange views. "I want to go into business now. What do you think I should do?" And if this fellow's already in business, if he's had a bit of experience in one, he'll tell you what's good and what's bad, and so this is how it goes.

I mean, if an English people wants to take an advice, he can take an advice off anybody here. There are a million people up here, English people. But if I, a Pakistani, want to take it, I only got two or three hundred people up here and out of that two or three hundred I might only know a hundred. So I can only take advice of those hundred people in all the country.

Dalip's brother, who spoke of newcomers being led into credit drapery like dogs, said:

If they find something good, they tell each other. The word gets round, and they say, "There must be some profit". Before it was houses. They found they could make money from tenants. There was a joke about the Indian who went to Bingo. Someone shouted "House" and he shouted, "I'll buy it!"

The Shopkeepers

Shopkeepers were the second biggest self-employed category among the parents of my young Indians and Pakistanis. Four had draper's or tailor's shops. Seven had grocer's or general stores.

Though I did not specifically check every one, these Asian stores served mostly English customers, which again seems to distinguish them from Indian and Pakistani shops in other cities. I found only three grocer's which provided wholly or chiefly for Asian palates. These, all in Sceptre Street, in High Elswick, purveyed unfamiliar vegetables and herbs, Indians sweets and tins of things like Garlic powder, mango pulp and "curried kabli chana". Sceptre Street was the nearest Newcastle had to an Asian shopping centre. In 1969 seven of the 14 shops (five grocer's, two draper's) belonged to Indians or Pakistanis.¹

Other grocer's, though smelling strongly of spices, supplied mainly English customers. One big shop, still bearing an English name (and which had taken over two

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¹ English-owned were three grocer's and a grocer's-cum-off licence, a ladies' hairdresser, a betting shop and an old clothes shop.

adjoining shops for storage) had an Asian counter and an English counter. Another, still in the same street, had trays of sticky or floury Indian sweets resting in the window on top of packets of sliced superbread and cartons of Fairy Snow. In many of the windows were Indian film posters, all heroic profiles and expressions of star-crossed passion.

However a majority of the grocer's catered exclusively for the local English population. These were the traditional corner shops of any working class area, manned by members of the family from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. seven days a week - but in Indian and Pakistani ownership.

A few were obviously the shops of the poor. They smelled of dirt and were stacked high with the poor's expensive necessities - wrapped bread, sterilised milk and 28lb bags of coal. One had the familiar notice on the wall: "Please do not ask for credit as refusal often offends", but this shop like the rest was ready to sell, as Jon Davies noted, "infinitely small amounts of cheap commodities (single cigarettes, two eggs)".¹

¹ The Evangelistic Bureaucrat. In fact local people complained the shops were expensive. A few however did give credit.



7. "Charlotte's" Westgate Road.



8. Elswick Stores, Elswick Road.



9. Allendale Store, Kenilworth Road.



10. Bogan Store, Sceptre Street.

Most shops were ordered and tidy, with prompt, rather deferential service. Occasionally the proprietor was on genuinely friendly terms with his customers. I noticed, for example, that Dalip's genial brother called all his women customers "my dear" and made a point of always enquiring after their health. He handed several old men their regular packet of Woodbines or whatever without their even having to ask. The customers seemed to appreciate this solicitude. In most shops contacts were polite but formal. In the slum shops the familiarity was contemptuous on both sides.

One respondent's parent not only owned two drapery shops, but also had a stall at various local markets. He went regularly to markets at Berwick, 63 miles away, as well as Morpeth, Chester-le-Street, South Shields and sometimes Hexham, all within a radius of twenty miles.

Another parent, the one with three shops side by side, was also a wholesaler for other shops, fetching groceries from London and Birmingham in his big van. The son said:

I mean, a couple of weeks ago we got a hundred bags of onions, and we've got none now. He takes it to all the shops and that. He's a wholesaler and retailer. In wholesale I think it's more Indian stuff, because with all the rest of the shops only having small vans, he can, say, get a load, make hisel a bit money out of it and get supplies for hisel, y'knaa.

As has been said, large numbers of Indians and Pakistanis were taking over shops. This trend, I would judge, started in 1968 and developed chiefly in Arthur's Hill - particularly around Stanhope Street - and to a lesser extent in Benwell and Jesmond. In other words, most shops were being bought in the areas into which the Indians and Pakistanis were fanning out residentially. Individual Asians did, however, acquire shops in districts which were hardly settled at all. I know, for example, of shops in Lemington, Byker, Walker and Wallsend.

The sudden competition was unwelcome to some longer-established shopkeepers and produced a spectacular arson case. Two Englishmen, charged with setting fire to a newly opened Indian grocer's on Elswick Road, were said at Newcastle Assizes in 1968 to have been hired for the job for £15 apiece by a Pakistani who owned another grocery shop only fifty yards away. The prosecution said the men, one a local, threw petrol bombs made out of milk bottles and a thermos flask through the shop window and started a fire which caused £1,875 of damage. The men were each jailed for four years, but the Pakistani managed to skip the country. ¹

¹ Evening Chronicle (Newcastle), March 12, 1968.

Other Businesses

There were lastly two other kinds of business owned by Indian and Pakistani parents. The first was a dressmaking factory owned by the father who had had the clothing factory in Arabia. The firm started off with premises in Blenheim Street and about twenty women employees. (English women, according to the son, were preferred because they were better at sewing machine work.) The father then bought a former furniture factory on Elswick Road where he hoped to employ two hundred women.

The other parent had an Indian sweet-making business behind a blue painted-over shop front, next to a dirty magazine emporium on Westgate Hill. My respondent said his father, employing four men, supplied shops as far as Bradford and Manchester. An uncle in Bradford supplied down to London.

No Sharp Division

I have emphasised the high proportion of self-employed parents, because this differentiated them from the native English population and from Indian and Pakistani communities in most other parts of the country. This is not to say there was among the Newcastle Asians a sharp social

division between those who were self-employed and those who were employees.

Let me illustrate the point. The parent who was a lens-polisher and the one who was a plant operator both "did business" part-time. The latter had done it full-time, and the former eventually opened a grocer's shop. Nazir, whose father was a cleaner, had an elder brother who owned a flourishing corner shop and seven or eight houses. Baldev, whose father was an ironworks labourer, had an uncle who owned one of the wholesale drapery businesses in Blenheim Street. Dalip's brother acquired first a newsagent's and tobacconist's, then a grocer's shop. Before taking up shopkeeping he had been employed as a slinger on the docks. Before that again he had worked as a credit draper for four years. The career of Rasul's brother had followed the same pattern, except that before buying himself a grocer's shop in Gateshead he had worked as a bus driver.

These examples show, firstly, that members of the same family could be widely separated in employment status. Secondly and more important, they indicate the relative ease with which a worker became a businessman. There is no doubt that this was the ambition of very many of the Indian and Pakistani adults.

Parents' Jobs in England and Overseas

Was there, finally, any correspondence between the Asian parents' occupations in India and Pakistan and the jobs they had in this country. Table 13 makes the comparison. Parents who were students in India/Pakistan or whose occupations were unclassifiable are omitted.

TABLE 13

Asian parents: Occupations in India/Pakistan and England compared

Occupation in India/Pakistan	Occupation in England	
* Farmer (28):-	Shop/business	7
	Credit draper	8
	Employee	13
* Shopkeeper/ Other enterprise (15):-	Shop/business	4
	Credit draper	6
	Employee	5
Employee (14):-	Shop/business	2
	Credit draper	6
	Employee	6

* Total includes one parent who had both a farm and a shop.

It is seen that there is in fact no close relationship between parents' occupations before and after coming to England. There is however the suggestion that farmers in India and Pakistan tended to become employees over here more often than the other two groups, certainly more than parents who had had shops or other enterprises. Two-thirds of the latter succeeded in establishing either shops in this country as well or credit drapery and other businesses.

The Entrepreneurial Spirit

In their study of Sparkbrook Rex and Moore raise the following interesting question, "How do Pakistani peasants have the entrepreneurial spirit and business acumen when West Indian and Irish peasants lack them?"¹ I do not know the answer either, but there are a couple of fairly simple points to be made. It seems firstly wrong to suggest, like Rex and Moore, that it is Islam which encourages this commercial spirit.² On the one hand, the Koran forbids the taking of interest (riba) as a deadly sin.³

¹ Rex and Moore, op. cit., pp. 124-5.

² Ibid., p. 165.

³ Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 256.

On the other hand, I found a similar spirit in Newcastle among Hindu and Sikh parents. Of the 26 Muslim parents 11 (43 per cent) had shops or credit drapery or other businesses. Among the Sikhs and Hindus the proportions were respectively 16 out of 26 (62 per cent) and nine out of 15 (60 per cent).

There is, secondly, an interesting precedent for the business enterprise shown by these and other Punjabi peasants. This is the emergence of the agriculturist money-lender. The 1901 Land Alienation Act, mentioned in chapter 1, sought to cut the rise in rural debt and break the grip of the traditional money-lender by forbidding non-farming castes from acquiring land from members of farming castes.¹ The idea was that the traditional money-lender, deprived by the Act of the security of the land, would only lend up to the limit of what could be repaid from the produce. The legislation was frustrated in part because many of the farmers took the opportunity to set up as money-lenders themselves,² and borrowing soon became as easy as ever.³

¹ Darling, The Punjab Peasant, op. cit., p. 187.

² Ibid., pp. 229-31.

³ Ibid., p. 280.

White Hostility, Black Contempt

The Asian parents, then, were a remarkably successful entrepreneurial group. Two-thirds, it was seen, still lived in twilight Elswick, and their achievements stood them in marked contrast to the English people who dwelt in this area of squalor, failure and exploitation. As many of them were landlords, English people were generally bitter about their success. Though there was no lack of white landlords, the Indians and Pakistanis were often the immediate embodiment of oppression, so that, like the Jews in Harlem,¹ they attracted racial hostility.

With the harshness of self-made men, the Asians in their turn tended to regard both the local English and often the English working class generally as "white trash". This attitude of contempt was impressed, generally rather faintly, on many of my young Indian and Pakistani respondents. It stood out most clearly in Nazir, a bus conductor who had bought a house in Grove Street for £630 and had tenants on the first floor and in the attics. He said:

They don't like Pakistanis because Pakistanis got money. And your people can't save money because they drink too much. There's people

¹ James Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son (London, Michael Joseph, 1964), p. 68.

get their wages, I know people get their wages every week and they used to come in, they get their wages on a Friday, used to come in on a Monday for tick in the shop, in our shop. I mean them kind of people bet horses and do all these things. They're not going to do anything, are they?

I mean these people jealous of us buying houses. Lookey, we bought houses here. I bought this house. If I was to drink and smoke and do god knaas what with my money, I wouldn't be in this position, would I? Your people if they save up, they can buy houses. Yes, that's what. We are hard workers. We work for it and save up for it, and that's how we get in this position.

I got this house now and I working real hard to pay the money off. I put a lot of overtime in. A lot of your blokes, inspector comes up, "Do you want to put overtime in?" "Why no, man. I want to go home, watch the- gan to get a pint" and all this. I mean this is not it. I don't think about the pint. I says, anybody come up say for me to do overtime, I never refuse them. I never refuse yet. "Oh ay, I'll dee it". I might as well do the half shift, get another about twelve or thirteen shillings, it'll help me out. I think about that.

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that 55 per cent of the Asian parents were self-employed, as credit drapers, shopkeepers and other kinds of entrepreneur. The Census shows that this high level of self-employment distinguishes New Commonwealth immigrants on Tyneside from those in most other parts of the country. I described the rise and decline of the credit drapery business and argued that the Indians and Pakistanis took up this particular form of

commerce because the regional tradition of tallymen and check trading provided them with a ready-made entrepreneurial role.

The current strong trend, it was noted, is for Indians and Pakistanis to buy corner shops. It was emphasised that there was no sharp social division between those who were self-employed and those who were employees. Members of the same family were often widely separated in employment status, and workers fairly readily became businessmen. There was little correspondence between parents' occupations in India/Pakistan and their jobs in England. In twilight Elswick the local English were resentful of the Indians' and Pakistanis' success, whilst the Indians and Pakistanis were contemptuous of the English people's failure.

EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE

5. THE SCHOOLS AND THE PUPILS

I now come to the first part of the study proper, which is an account of the young Indians' and Pakistanis' educational performance. One should first perhaps remind oneself who these young men were. They comprised all those - less a few who could not or would not be interviewed - who reached leaving age in Newcastle schools in the six years 1962-67.

The Schools

There were 67 of them, aged when interviewed between 15 and 21, and they went to twelve different secondary schools.¹ Eighty-one per cent (54) were however concentrated in just five schools in the west end of the city. Three of these - Cambridge Street, Cruddas Park and Westgate Hill - were bleak, red-brick secondary moderns, situated in Elswick itself and built round about the turn of the century. Cruddas Park was for boys only, the other two were mixed.

¹ Some respondents changed schools, as will be seen in a moment. I refer (except in the comparisons with English pupils) to the school last attended. For further details, see Appendix.

The fourth school, John Marlay,¹ built in 1959, was a boys' technical school which later became a comprehensive. The fifth school was Slatyford, a purpose-built steel-and-glass comprehensive which was opened in 1965. These last two schools stood in spacious surroundings on the north-western edge of the city, about three miles from Elswick.

The technical school, it should be explained, was a selective school to which pupils transferred at eleven. It taught all the usual grammar school subjects, except Latin. Indeed according to the headmaster, it had no particular science bias, though it had very good workshops. Nevertheless, it ranked lower than the grammar schools proper. They took the "first creaming" of the abler 11-plus passes. John Marlay and the other technical schools took the rest. John Marlay had a fair-sized Sixth form. In the four years 1964-7 it comprised 75, 63, 57 and 58 pupils respectively. Relatively few pupils however stayed on until the seventh year. The numbers who did so in these four years were 34, 22, 22 and 17.² Slatyford, as one would

¹ Sir John Marlay (or Marley) was mayor of Newcastle during the Civil War. Under his "vigorous leadership" the town held out for three months against the Cromwellian Scots who besieged it after the battle of Marston Moor in 1644. Middlebrook, op. cit., p. 75.

² Letter from the Director of Education, August 10, 1971.

expect in a new school, had a very small Sixth form. In the school year 1968-9 it numbered only 20 pupils.¹

The Switch to Comprehensives

The switch to comprehensive education in the western half of the city took place in September 1965, during the six year period with which I am concerned.² Slatyford, the new comprehensive, replaced the three Elswick secondary moderns (plus one other). Pupils already in these schools - they became primaries - were transferred to Slatyford, which took, at 11, both what were termed "non-selected" pupils (i.e. 11-plus failures) and some of those who passed and who would previously have gone to technical school. The "cream" continued to go to grammar school. The Slatyford pupils with whom I am concerned were streamed, though subsequent intakes were not.

John Marlay, the former technical school, was joined with a secondary modern school two miles away and became the upper school of the resulting comprehensive. The lower school's intake was now the same as Slatyford's: boys who had failed

¹ Information from the school's Senior Housemaster.

² The eastern half followed in September 1967.

the 11-plus and boys who had passed but were in the second creaming.

The change to comprehensives complicates the patterns of secondary education. It also affords valuable insights and comparisons because of the different opportunities for staying at school beyond the statutory leaving age of 15 offered by the old secondary moderns and the new comprehensives.

Newcastle Education Department rather played down the contrast. When I enquired, they maintained that secondary modern pupils were not compelled to leave school at fifteen. I was told that pupils who asked or were recommended by their head to stay on could have been transferred to a technical school.

On the other hand, hardly anyone ever was. The Education Department admitted this. They also conceded that most pupils did not know this possibility was open to them. But they insisted the opportunity was there. They said it was not seized because of the same apathy towards education (of which much more later) that stopped secondary modern schools getting enough pupils to stay on in order themselves to run fifth year O level courses.

Against this again, the former headmasters of the three

Elswick secondary moderns, when I spoke to them, were no more aware than the pupils of any possibility of transfer after 12-plus and 13-plus. For them a continuation of full-time study meant going to the College of Further Education.

The argument is clinched, I think, by the following comment by the Director of Education on the O level successes in Newcastle's first comprehensive school of erstwhile 11-plus rejects.

It is not too much to say that if the Kenton School had not been available for these children, none would have had even the opportunity of taking GCE O level examinations by the age of 16. It is a reasonable assumption from these figures that there are many children in secondary modern schools who, if given the opportunity which is at present denied them, would reach similar standards.¹

These remarks make clear that in practice secondary modern pupils had no chance of staying at school after fifteen. This new opportunity was claimed as a major advantage of the new system. It will be seen in due course what use comprehensive pupils made of it.

¹ Organisation of Secondary Education in the City on Comprehensive Lines: Report of the Director of Education (Newcastle upon Tyne Education Committee, 1963).
 My emphasis.

The Indian and Pakistani Pupils

Such, then, were the schools and such was the educational setting. All that remains, before I look at the educational performance of the young Indians and Pakistanis, is to say how old they were, to show at what age they came to England and to give one or two other background facts. Table 14 gives the ages of the young men.

TABLE 14

All Asian respondents:
Age at interview

Age	No.
15	7
16	14
17	17
18	7
19	10
20	10
21	2
<hr/>	
Total	67
<hr/>	

Table 15 gives the ages at which my respondents first arrived in this country. The ages are grouped to correspond to the divisions in the English school system.

TABLE 15

All Asian respondents:
Age of arrival in England

Born in England	5
Came under school age	7
" at infant school age (5-6)	5
" at junior school age (7-10)	16
" at lower secondary age (11-12)	11
" at upper secondary age (13 & over)	23
Total	67

It is seen that only seven per cent of the young men were true second generation immigrants, born in this country. The rest belonged to what Thomas and Znaniecki term the "half-second" generation,¹ i.e. they were child immigrants. On the other hand, 49 per cent were either born in England or came over at Primary School age and below. At the opposite end of the scale 34 per cent of the total were thirteen and above when they arrived. Of these fifteen (22 per cent) did not come until the age of fourteen.

Nevertheless, in terms of the length of my respondents' English schooling, the situation in Newcastle compared

¹ William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York, Dover Publications, 1958), p. 1776.

favourably with that to be found, for example, in Birmingham. There, of immigrant pupils (Asian and West Indian) who reached leaving age in 1966, 78 per cent had been in this country under four years, and 34 per cent under one year.¹

Every one of my respondents said he was still at school at the time he left India or Pakistan. However school attendance figures in these countries serve, I think, to cast doubt on this unanimity. In Pakistan in 1960 only 42 per cent of children of the appropriate age group attended primary school, and only 12 per cent attended secondary school.² In the Indian Punjab in 1961 the proportion of boys in primary classes varied according to district in the area of emigration from 32 to 48 per cent.³

Almost 70 per cent of the young men spoke very good English when interviewed. Just over half spoke perfectly, in the sense that they were fluent and correct and had no trace of Indian accent. (They often had a Tyneside accent.) Many, as will be seen, were extremely articulate. Table 16 gives my rough assessment of their spoken English.

¹ David Beetham, Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service in Birmingham (London, Institute of Race Relations Special Series, 1967), p. 4.

² John Goodall, "The Pakistani Background", New Backgrounds, op. cit., p. 83.

³ Punjab Census Atlas, op. cit., p. 152.

TABLE 16

All Asian respondents:
Assessment of spoken English

Perfect English	34
Fluent and correct but with Indian accent	12
Fluent but broken	6
Halting	10
No English	5
Total	67

Summary

This chapter gave a brief account of the five secondary schools in the west end of Newcastle which the great majority of Indian and Pakistani pupils attended. This half of the city went comprehensive in the middle of the period with which I am concerned. I noted the effect of the reorganisation on these particular schools. It was established that under the selective system secondary modern pupils had no option but to leave school at fifteen. One of the major advantages claimed for the comprehensive system was that 11-plus failures would now have the opportunity to stay on and take O level.

It was seen that while only seven per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis were born in England, 42 per cent came over at primary school age or below. On the other hand, 34 per cent were aged 13 and over when they arrived. Almost 70 per cent of the young men spoke very good English.

6. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

A Double Disadvantage

Except for the handful born in England and probably the few who came over when they were below school age, all the Indian and Pakistani youngsters suffered from a double educational disadvantage. Firstly, they had to adjust to the bewildering "culture shock" of being uprooted from a familiar, probably village community and transported to a part of a strange, cold, grey city with decaying tenements and drab terrace houses. Then they were immediately thrust into an unfamiliar sort of school where they had to master a new language before they could either understand the other strange children or follow the lessons. Kirpal recalled his frustrations when he started at a secondary modern at the age of 12:

I mean you go to school to learn someink, but if you can't understand, he [the teacher] go to next and next and high, high, and you're still stuck there and keep watching the black-board. See what I mean? I mean, everybody's reading a book there. You're just keeping watching, "Where is it and where is it?" and they got to another page and you're still on that one. See, y' never knaa, y' lost it.

I now examine how far my Indian and Pakistani respondents overcame these handicaps. First I consider the young Asians in isolation and try to account for differences in educational performance within the group. Then, in chapter 10, I compare the attainments of the Indians and Pakistanis with those of a control sample of English youths.

Selected and Non-Selected Pupils

The first question to ask of my Indian and Pakistani respondents in isolation is what proportion got into grammar and technical schools.

The pattern requires a little unravelling because it is complicated by comprehensivisation. On the "non-selected" side there are, obviously, the secondary modern pupils. Also on the non-selected side come the pupils who attended Slatyford, the new comprehensive. They either had originally been assigned to secondary modern schools, or, as late arrivals, undoubtedly would have been so allocated because of their lack of English.

On the selected side there are the boys who went to grammar and technical schools. The John Marlay had become a comprehensive by the time some of its pupils reached leaving

age, but nevertheless those with whom I am concerned first went there as selected technical-school pupils. So it is clearly right that they should be counted as such.

A couple of secondary modern boys passed the 13-plus, only to be told that there were no places available in any of the selective schools. Instead they stayed where they were and transferred at fifteen to another secondary modern which ran a special O level course. I continue to count them as non-selected pupils, because they did not get to a selective school and because the school to which they transferred had an O level class, but no Sixth Form.

Table 17 gives the picture of my respondents' secondary education restored to its true colours. What I have done is to sort the young men first into those who were selected and those who were non-selected pupils. Then I have separated them according to the type of school last attended, unless, as in the case of John Marlay pupils, this conceals that they were originally selected.

It is seen that 24 per cent of the young Asians went to selective schools. One obtains however a more realistic measure of their actual ability by considering the achievement just of those who were in England young enough to take the 11-plus. There were 33 of these, of whom twelve went to selective schools.

TABLE 17

All Asian respondents:
Selected and non-selected pupils

SELECTED

Grammar	5
Technical	11

NON-SELECTED

Secondary modern	22
Comprehensive	29

Total	67
-------	----

Of the four others who got into selective school after the age of eleven, three were East Africans with a fluent command of English. The other was transferred at 12-plus.

Age of arrival in England was a major determinant of success at 11-plus. Most of the boys who passed were either born in this country or came at Infant School age and younger. Most of those who failed came at Junior School age. This is shown in Table 18.

TABLE 18

All Asian respondents who arrived young enough to
take 11-plus: Success at 11-plus by age of arrival

	SELECTED	NON-SELECTED	ALL
Born here	3	2	5
Under school age	4	3	7
Infant School age	2	3	5
Junior School age	3	13	16
Total	12	21	33

Terminal Education Age

The next measure of educational attainment to consider is the terminal age of full-time education. Table 19 gives the breakdown.

TABLE 19

<u>All Asian respondents:</u>	
<u>Terminal age of full-time education</u>	
AGE	NO.
15	29
16	8
17	2
18	1
Still in f.t. education	27
<hr/>	
Total	67
<hr/>	

One sees that 57 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis continued full-time education beyond the minimum leaving age of fifteen. This total, it should be noted, includes five respondents who, though only fifteen at the time of interview, did in fact stay on at school until at least sixteen. ¹

¹ I should also explain that I adjusted the terminal education age of five other respondents where there was a discrepancy between the age at which they left and the form they were in when they left. In each case I reduced their real age, as given to me, to correspond to the "school age" given to the school. One is thus left with a measure of how long these youths continued studying beyond the school age at which they could have left. All five are listed in Table 19 as having left at a school age of fifteen, though their real ages,

Still in Full-Time Education

The third measure of educational attainment is the proportion of my Indian and Pakistani respondents who were still in full-time education at the time of interview. Table 19 again gives the answer, which is 27 (40 per cent). Of these 21 were in school, and six were in some form of higher or further education.

Certificates Obtained by Leavers

Forty-six of the young men, it follows, had left school. What qualifications did they leave with? This is the fourth measure of achievement. Table 20 shows the certificates the young men obtained. A certificate is a pass in one or more subjects at a particular standard.

1 (continued)

as I say, were older. Three came to England at a real age of fourteen or over, and two must certainly have given false ages to get into school at all.

It is a dismal thought that if, deliberately or from uncertainty, others too gave incorrect ages but stuck to them consistently, the relevant data may be somewhat unreliable. A Wolverhampton alderman complained in 1967 about moustached Indians carrying off athletics prizes in Junior Schools (Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, May 1967, p. 205). It seems to me however that latecomers, like three of the five in this case, are much more likely than younger children to give wrong ages, in order to get into school or indeed into the country. Only dependent children of under sixteen have statutory right of entry to the United Kingdom.

Since, as I shall show, late arrivals soon left school again, I believe the degree of possible distortion is slight.

TABLE 20

All Asian respondents who had left school: Certificates obtained.

Northern Counties *	1
CSE	5
CSE & Northern Counties	1
GCE O level	2
O level & Northern Counties	2
GCE A level	1
NO CERTIFICATE	34
<hr/>	
Total	46
<hr/>	

* The Northern Counties School Certificate was set by the Northern Counties Technical Examinations for children leaving school at 15. The standard was below that of CSE and GCE O level, which are normally taken at 16.

It is seen that 74 per cent of the young men who had left school departed with no certificates at all. I should stress that I am not here concerned with certificates they may have obtained after leaving school. Even those who did leave school with certificates secured only a rather meagre number of passes. If one counts in the earlier CSE and O level successes of the young man who got A level (three subjects), those with Northern Counties passes averaged 4.5 subjects each, those with CSE 3.6 subjects and those with O level 4.2 subjects.

Summary

In this chapter I examined the educational attainments of the young Indians and Pakistanis. Their overall performance appears to be fairly impressive on three of the four measures employed: that is, the proportion getting into selective schools, the proportion continuing full-time study beyond the statutory leaving age and the proportion still in full-time education at the time of interview. One needs however comparative figures for an accurate assessment of the Asians' achievement. These will be considered in due course.

7. EDUCATIONAL AND CAREER ASPIRATIONS

The young Asians who had completed full-time education mostly took up manual employment. The jobs they had are described in chapter 14. This chapter concerns the educational and career goals of the 27 young men who at the time of interview were still in full-time education. This fifth measure thus in part marks academic aspirations rather than academic achievements. I do however examine how far the young men had moved towards their chosen goals.

Preliminaries

The 27 ranged in age from fifteen to twenty. Table 21 gives the distribution.

TABLE 21

All Asian respondents in full-time education: Ages.

	Age:						Total
	15	16	17	18	19	20	
At school	5	6	7	2	1	-	21
At College/University	-	1	1	2	-	2	6
Total	5	7	8	4	1	2	27

What qualifications had the young men obtained so far? To take the schoolboys first: at the time of interview thirteen of the 21 had certificates in CSE or GCE O level. Table 22 gives the details.

TABLE 22

All Asian respondents still at school:
Certificates so far obtained.

CSE	3
GCE O level	6
CSE <u>and</u> O level	4
No certificate yet	8
<hr/>	
Total	21
<hr/>	

The seven with CSE passes had an average of 4.9 subjects each. The ten with ordinary levels had an average of 4.6 subjects. One young man with O levels had also a solitary A level pass, having failed his other two. He was staying for a third year in the Sixth to take all three again.

What about the qualifications the six young men in further and higher education brought with them from school? Two had no certificates at all. One had three CSE passes. One had five CSE passes and one pass in Northern Counties. The fifth had five subjects in Northern Counties and three subjects at O level. Only one, with eight O levels and three A levels,

had any passes of significance.

Educational Aspirations

If their achievements to date were only modest, the young Indians and Pakistanis pitched their aspirations high. Thirteen of the 21 who were still at school said they expected to stay there until they had taken advanced levels. Another five said, more tentatively, that they would stay on for A levels if they did well at ordinary level. In all twelve of the 21 expected to go to university. I emphasise that, in order to discourage fantasy answers, the young men were asked, not what they hoped or wanted, but what they expected to do.

What courses were the full-time students following? Two were working first for ordinary then for advanced levels at the College of Further Education. Two were at local Technical Colleges. One of these was completing his Higher National Certificate in electronics. The other was taking Ordinary National Certificate in mechanical engineering, but intended to go on to HNC. One young man, on a sandwich course in marine engineering, was working for his Second Engineer's ticket. The sixth of the students was reading for a degree in chemistry at university.

Career Aspirations

What is remarkable is that all but three, or possibly four, of the 27 young men in full-time education expected to enter professional, meritocratic occupations. Table 23 gives their answers in detail.

TABLE 23

All Asian respondents in full-time education:
Job expectations.

MEDICINE:	
-Doctor/surgeon	4
Dentist	1
Pharmacist	1
SCIENCE:	
Physicist	2
Research in chemistry	2
Medical research	1
Fuel technologist	1
ENGINEERING:	
Working with computers	2
Electronics engineer	1
Electronics or mechanical engineer	1
Design engineer	1
Civil engineer	1
Chief engineer on ships	1
Ship's radio officer	1
OTHER PROFESSIONAL:	
Lawyer	1
Teacher	1
Industrial designer	1
OTHER:	
Musician	1
Father's business	1
Manual	1
Unclassifiable	1

It is seen that these young men not only set their expectations on professional careers, but sought them overwhelmingly in the fields of medicine, science and engineering.

Prem, the future pop musician included in the "Other" category was a dapper mod who was at different times singer and lead guitarist with various local groups (the Barbwire, the Insect, the Tenth Avenue All Stars). Yet even he intended first to get his A levels and go to university.

(What do your parents want you to do?)
 Become a doctor or something like that.
 Want me to go on the academic side.
(Would you have left school already if you'd had a free choice?)

I don't know. See, I want to do both. I want to prove something to society, to everybody, that studying and playing in a pop group can mix. My father doesn't believe that, but I want to prove it. I want to prove that I can be good on the academic side, that I can do both.

Included in the same category was the young man who expected to enter his father's business. This was Allah, whose father had bought the new factory on Elswick Road. He too wanted to stay on for advanced level, at least if he did well enough at O level. And then: "I want to do business administration, business studies."

With the possible exception of the unclassifiable case, only one young man expected to take a manual job. This was Muzaffer who had been in England only thirteen months and was staying at school to acquire some rudiments of English. He said he would do any kind of mechanical job when he left.

Table 24 shows the reasons the young men gave when I asked what attracted them to their chosen careers. Many gave more than one reason, so that the replies add up to more than 27.

TABLE 24

All Asian respondents in full-time education:
Reasons for choice of career.

Good at/interested in subject	14
Wide scope and opportunities	6
Want to help people	3
Want to help India/Pakistan	3
It's in the family	3
Good pay	3
Attractive conditions	3
Other	3
No response	1

The kinds of replies indicate that the biggest single attraction was the intrinsic nature of the chosen career. It is true there were rather more explanations in which the job was seen as a means to something else. But the young men who gave this sort of answer mentioned a variety of different ends.

There is, pace Beetham,¹ a remarkable lack of overt parental influence towards particular careers, though (as I

¹ Beetham, op. cit., p. 20. I discuss this issue more fully in relation to all respondents in chapter 15.

shall show) the parents undoubtedly encouraged the young Indians and Pakistanis to succeed academically. Only three of the young men gave family reasons at all. It is quite possible that parents may have implanted in respondents' minds some of the other reasons given. However the wide range of specific career choices; the number who gave as an explanation their interest and ability in the field itself; the articulateness and detail of the answers: all this, I suggest, argues against great parental influence. Here are some of the answers as given.

Gulam (physicist):

First, the thought that in our country there's a great need for that type of job, to help the country through. And another thing: I'm quite good at physics.

Surinder (fuel technologist):

It's just that I'm interested in things like that. I want a job where I can make good money but enjoy myself at the same time. I want a job I can do in India if I have to go back. I read about fuel technology in the careers library and saw a film, and the Youth Employment Bureau gave a talk on it.

Gurmakh (doctor):

When you travel, you see different kinds of people of different standards, and in India and in Africa I've travelled, I've seen so many people suffer from lack of medicine, medicine and doctors. And therefore I think I would like to help them, if I can possibly help them, [as] a doctor or surgeon or anything to do with medicine, go on just to help them to cut down the suffering of people.

Harbhajan (lawyer):

I don't know, it was just interest when I was very young. I felt it was more adventurous and extremely exciting. That was it. And well, my subjects are for that, and I'm interested in the subjects which will lead to it.

Kamlesh (dentist):

Well one thing, I've read a lot of books on it and I like the practical side to it, making the dentures, fillings. And the money, of course. (Laughs) Then there's the fact, of course that my father was a dental surgeon, and my sister's going to be, and I'll carry on the tradition sort of thing. But I'm not being forced into it or anything like that. If I wanted to take medicine or if I wanted to do Arts- but that would be pretty impossible now, to take Arts. There's also, well, a fascination in the art of it really. I've always been fascinated with dentists, well the just - how can I put it? - the filling of teeth, you know. (Laughs) I can't describe it in words but I've always been interested in it.

Follow-up of Progress

The young Indians and Pakistanis still studying were certainly aiming high. Beetham's survey, however, puts a doubt in one's mind. He argues that because of their limited English education, their lack of qualifications and poor English, coloured school leavers in Birmingham were unrealistic to aspire even to apprenticeships, which is what most of them wanted.¹ Might not my respondents' meritocratic ambitions turn out even more unrealistic? In view of their hard work,² their thoughtful facility

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¹ Beetham, op. cit., p. 20.

² Tarlok, for instance, regularly studied right through the weekend. Gurmakh not only went to school and did his homework, he attended the College of Further Education four evenings a week.

with words and the encouragement of their parents, I would have answered no. However, as a check on this subjective confidence, I made a follow-up of their progress after the GCE results came out in the summer of 1971. This was three years after the original interviews. Table 25 shows the broad pattern of achievement.

TABLE 25

All Asian respondents in full-time education:
Follow-up of progress.

Degree course:	
University	7
Polytechnic	5
HND "	2
Other	1
Still trying to get into higher education	2
Dropped out of f.t. education	7
Non-contacts	3
<hr/>	
Total	27
<hr/>	

My confidence is seen to be justified to the extent that fourteen of the 27 young men had secured admission to university or polytechnic and that twelve had been accepted for degree courses.¹ This represents respectively 21 and 18 per cent of all the young Indians and Pakistanis.

¹ One of the latter had subsequently abandoned his studies.

Of the twelve respondents who got on to degree courses, six gained admission at the first attempt. Five had to resit A levels a second time, and one had to make three attempts. Most succeeded in getting in to do the subjects they mentioned to me. For example Harbhajan and Prem, quoted above, were respectively reading law and psychology. On the other hand, none of the aspiring doctors did well enough at advanced level to get into Medical School. Two had opted instead for dentistry, one had gone in for pharmacy and one had taken up chemistry.

The most unusual route to university was taken by Rasul. He had got his Higher National Certificate in electronics and had obtained the job he wanted as a ship's radio officer. The company however kept him on local runs down to London or across the Channel. Rasul found the job dull and his colleagues unexciting, so he applied and was accepted to read electronics at university. His idea was to get into research and development.

Allah was duly doing a Higher National Diploma in business studies preparatory to joining his father's firm. Finally there was Yash, the "other" listed in Table 25. He had never aimed at university or polytechnic, but had succeeded in getting his Second Engineer's ticket.

At the other end of the scale seven young men had abandoned full-time education altogether. One of these was Muzaffer,

the late arrival who was just staying on to learn English. He left Slatyford at the end of the term I first spoke to him because the teachers told him that "my age was getting too big."¹ His English was still very defective, but after three months' unemployment he worked first as a machinist in a clothing factory, then as a labourer at a paintworks.

Of the other six who had dropped out of full-time education, only Raj and Iqbal had more than a couple of O levels. Raj had five passes, but left school when he failed all his advanced levels. He had wanted to be a pharmacist. Now he settled for a job as a laboratory technician. Iqbal, the aspiring teacher, also had five O level passes, but it took him two attempts to get them. (He was at the College of Further Education.) When he failed all his A levels he left and joined his father in his credit drapery business.

Of the rest Subah, who had wanted to be a doctor, was working full-time in his father's shop. Lachman, who had wanted to become an industrial designer, was now a telephone engineer. Atma, who had aimed to get to university to study electronics, had now to be content with a job as a computer operator. He travelled 37 miles by train to Darlington every day, having failed to get work on Tyneside. Ram had wanted to become a physicist. He had now been accepted for a radio and television course at a Government Training Centre. He had not been able

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¹ I discuss other instances of this in chapter 9.

to take up his place for a year, so in the meantime was working as a clerk at "the Ministry" (of Pensions and National Insurance), ¹ situated at Longbenton, on the edge of Newcastle.

That deals with the two extremes, those young men who had got to university or polytechnic, and those who had abandoned the idea of a meritocratic career. In between were two youths who were still trying to get into higher education, even though they had twice failed to do well enough at A level. One of these was Kamlesh, quoted above, who wanted to be a dentist.

Summary and conclusion

In this chapter it was seen that all but a handful of the young Indians and Pakistanis still in full-time education at the time of interview set their expectations on higher professional occupations. They sought them predominantly in the fields of medicine, science and engineering. The biggest single attraction of the chosen career was the intrinsic nature of the work itself. There was very little sign of parental influence in the choice of careers.

I conducted a follow-up of the young men's progress

¹ Now, of course, the Department of Health and Social Security.

three years after the original interviews. This, I suggest, reveals three things. It shows, firstly, that by getting to university or polytechnic a substantial proportion of these respondents (fourteen out of 27) were well on their way to a professional, meritocratic career.

It demonstrates, secondly, the hard-working persistence with which they pursued this goal, taking A levels a second and even a third time if they failed to do well enough at the first attempt. Perhaps the best example of this doggedness was Mahmoud, a stolid and untypically inarticulate youth. He got into university at the second try to read electrical engineering. His headmaster admitted to me that none of the staff thought he would get even one advanced level.

The follow-up shows, thirdly, that though they were determined, most of the youths had their feet firmly on the ground. Some were prepared to adjust their sights from university to polytechnic. Others abandoned the idea of higher education entirely when they realised their limitations. Because of this and because of the considerable number who did get into higher education, I conclude that these young Indians and Pakistanis were not unrealistic in their aspirations.¹

¹ I discuss this question in relation to all the young Asians in chapter 18.

8. TWO PATTERNS OF EDUCATION

Looking back over the last two chapters and ahead to the chapters on employment, one cannot but be struck by the two distinct patterns of education and job or job aspiration among the young Indians and Pakistanis.

On one side were the 29 young men who left full-time education at fifteen to take up (as I shall show) mostly manual occupations. Their highest aim was generally a skilled trade. On the other side were the 27, discussed in the last chapter, who when interviewed were pursuing full-time studies beyond fifteen and who generally set their sights on A levels, university and a professional career. In between, but joining the first group in terms of jobs, were eleven who stayed at school after fifteen, but then left to start work, mostly at 16, with at best a few O levels.

I call these two patterns the proletarian and the meritocratic. How does one account for their existence? I did not attempt to measure the young men's intelligence, for cross-cultural intelligence tests are generally regarded as unreliable. Oscar Ferron, for example, writes,

Previous investigators in Africa have criticised the use of western type intelligence tests with African children owing to the language handicap. The research evidence does suggest that the gap can be reduced by the use of non-language tests, but there is also evidence to suggest that where cultural ways of life and patterns of child rearing are significantly different, or because of cultural mores and traditional attitudes, African children may be even more seriously handicapped in picture and performance tests. Theoretically it should be possible to devise an intelligence test that is suitable for any particular culture, but such a test would be useless for purposes of inter-cultural comparison. ¹

/ between
white and
non-white
children

Age of Arrival and Terminal Education Age

How, then, to explain the two patterns? I have shown that age of arrival was an important factor in determining successes at 11-plus. Perhaps it also determined who continued studying past fifteen. Table 26 provides the

¹ Oscar Ferron, "The Test Performance of 'Coloured' Children", Educational Research, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (November 1965), p. 53. Similarly Philip Vernon writes: "Most psychologists nowadays would agree that it is unprofitable to talk about, or investigate, racial differences in intelligence - for two main reasons. Firstly, that the intelligence we can observe is always the resultant of interaction between genetic potentialities and environmental pressures; and secondly, that intelligence is no one thing, but rather a name for a group of overlapping mental skills whose content depends considerably on what a particular culture values, or on what psychologists who belong to that culture like to include within their concept." Philip E. Vernon, "Environmental Handicaps and Intellectual Development", part 1, British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vd. 35 (February 1965), p. 9.

analysis. It divides respondents into early arrivals, i.e. those who came at Junior School age and below or who were born in England, and late arrivals - those who came at Secondary School age.

TABLE 26

All Asian respondents: Terminal age of full-time education by age of arrival.

	EARLY	LATE	ALL
Finished at 15	9	20	29
Continued after 15	24	14 [*]	38
Total	33	34	67

^{*} This total includes the four East African Asians who all arrived at thirteen-plus. They came from a much more sophisticated, English-language educational system, so that, though late arrivals, they were very good educational material.

One sees that almost three-quarters of the early arrivals did indeed study on, compared with just over two-fifths of the late arrivals. In all rather more than three-fifths of those who continued in full-time education were early arrivals. Age of arrival appears incidentally to account for most of the differences in educational performance between the three religious groups. Nevertheless the contrast presented by Table 26 is not as sharp as one might expect. There is a substantial proportion of contrary cases.

Parental Encouragement

There appears to be some other factor involved. Might it be the degree of parental encouragement? I attempted to measure this by asking: "How keen are/were your parents (or uncle etc.) for you to stay at school?" I now see that the question was ambiguous in the case of the young men who had left school, but remained beyond the minimum leaving age. To them it could have meant either: "How keen were your parents for you to stay at school after 15?" Or: "How keen, when you left, were your parents for you to stay on still longer?"

Bearing in mind this weakness (which affects 14 responses in the second column), one has the answers in Table 27.

TABLE 27

All Asian respondents: Terminal age of full-time education by parental encouragement to stay at school.

	Finished at 15	Continued after 15	ALL
Parents were:			
Very much in favour	9	26	35
Fairly much in favour	8	2	10
Pro-Con *	5	3	8
Rather against	3	4	7
Very much against	3	1	4
No response	1	2	3
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 29	<hr/> 38	<hr/> 67

* This covers situations where the respondent said that his parents had no strong feelings on the matter ("He left it up to me") or that they thought the advantages and disadvantages cancelled out or that one parent wanted him to study while the other wanted him to leave.

The question as posed referred specifically to school, so was not entirely germane to other forms of full-time education. Nevertheless the figures do indicate strong parental enthusiasm for the sons' continued study. Sixty-seven per cent were in favour, 52 per cent were very much in favour, and only 16 per cent were against.

The headmaster of the Secondary Schools that took most of my Asian respondents confirmed these claims:

Generally the parents without exception were very ambitious for their children and prepared to make sacrifices for them.

The parents have a high regard for education and attend parents' meetings.

The Asian parents place far more value on education.

The parents of the Indians and Pakistanis were a better type, quite different from the English.

Some of the young men's own comments further illustrate the point:

Allah:

You see, he's not educated and he wanted to be educated, but he couldn't because his father, that's our grandfather, he died very, you know, when me father was only about seven or eight, and he couldn't be educated. So he had to go out and work to earn a living for the family. And he wanted to be educated but he couldn't, so he wants us to be educated now. My father says that's the only way you can live properly now, in this world.

Kamlesh:

Well, they're always going to see the headmaster, see how I'm doing. Anything goes wrong, and then ahh! (Laughs) They are pretty keen, they always attend the lectures, you know, the lectures at

school and see my teachers regularly.
 (How often do they see the headmaster?)

Well every time I get a report, and usually half way through the year, just to see how I'm going on.

Rasul:

I hate to admit this but I used to say like, well me parents used to say, "You should stay on at school and you should go to college", and this sort of thing. I knew what they were saying it for. You know, they used to say, "Well, if his son's doing this and his son's doing that." And I used to say, "Well, I don't want to be like them. I'm different. I'm a different person. If you want their son to do that, you go and get him." And that used to really nark them like.

So anyway, I went to college, in a way to satisfy meself. I was doing it for meself, but I though it'll be satisfying my parents as well. It gives them pleasure. I hate to admit this, but it does give them some sort of satisfaction.

(I think it's^a quite legitimate satisfaction myself.)

It's the class distinction they tend to bring about it. "Oh, my son's doing this, you know, this, that and the other." And whether it's my mother or whether it's somebody else's mother saying this, oh it upsets me very much.

(I think this is a reasonable kind of pride.)

This would nark me. I don't know, I don't accept this sort of thing meself like - you know, people just because they've got, because somebody's got a degree or something, it makes him any better than his next door neighbour. It's an achievement, it's a satisfaction to the man who's done it, but it doesn't downgrade the man who hasn't done it any more.

Table 27 does show a relationship between parental encouragement and staying on. Over three-fifths of the young Indians and Pakistanis who said their parents were in favour did in fact stay on. Almost three-quarters of those who did continue said their parents were in favour.

Nevertheless the pattern is by no means clear cut. And parental keenness does not account for the contrary cases in Table 26. Of the nine who came to England early yet gave up studies at fifteen, six said their parents wanted them to stay on. Is there any other variable which might crystallise the pattern and give it sense?

Parental Occupation Overseas

I first tried to see if there was any apparent connection between the age at which the young men finished full-time education and their parents' occupations in India and Pakistan. I found there was a strong but unusual relationship. The young men whose parents were shopkeepers and entrepreneurs, whose parents were professional and white collar employees and whose parents were manual employees all generally studied past fifteen (though the numbers in the last two categories were very small). In decisive contrast, most of the farmers' sons gave up full-time education at that age.

No fewer than six of the nine who arrived early but left at fifteen were the sons of farmers. Yet I do not believe that parental occupation back home is the variable I am seeking. For in urban Newcastle the farming life could exercise no direct attraction on the young men themselves,

so this factor could only affect them through the medium of their parents' attitudes towards education. And (according to my respondents) the ex-farmers were only slightly less keen on their sons staying at school than were the shopkeepers and entrepreneurs. Fourteen of the 27 former were in favour, compared with nine of the fifteen latter. So it seems one must look elsewhere for the missing variable.

Parental Occupation in England

I next consider the parents' occupations in this country. It was seen that the parents do not conform either to the conventional English middle class or to the conventional English working class pattern. On the one hand, 79 per cent were undoubtedly working class by occupation. On the other hand, 55 per cent were self-employed, 94 per cent were house-owners, and 39 per cent possessed more than one house. I believe one is nevertheless justified in categorising the self-employed as a small-scale entrepreneurial and shop-keeping middle class. The indication is that these saw themselves as middle class. For example, a Pakistani grocer and butcher told the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration when it visited Oxford: "I have had no difficulties here because I am not in working class, because I have got a shop".¹

¹ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, Report from the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (London, HMSO, 1969) Vol. II: Minutes of Evidence, p. 319. It was seen in chapter 1 that some parents at least regarded themselves as middle class in Indian and Pakistani terms also.

If one simply divides the parents, then, into a self-employed middle class and a working class of employees, all but one of whom were manual workers, how does this dichotomy correlate with the educational indices? It shows an interesting relationship with parental support for further study. Excluding the East Africans, who are a special case, only twelve of the 25 working class parents were in favour, compared with 29 of the 38 middle class parents.

The parents' class is also apparently associated with the young men's actual performance. Only ten of the 25 working class youths continued full-time study beyond fifteen, compared with 24 of the 38 middle class youths. The difference dwindles however when one further divides the young Asians according to whether they arrived early or late. Table 28 shows the pattern.

TABLE 28

All Asian respondents (except "Africans"): terminal age of full-time education by parents' class in England and respondents' age of arrival.

Arrived:	MIDDLE CLASS			WORKING CLASS		
	Early	Late	All	Early	Late	All
Finished at 15	5	9	14	4	11	15
Continued after 15	19	5	24	5	5	10
Totals	24	14	38	9	16	25

It is seen that if one takes age of arrival into account there is no important class difference in the terminal education age of latecomers. There remains a difference between early arrivals. Columns one and four show that five of the nine working class early arrivals studied beyond fifteen, compared with nineteen of their 24 middle class counterparts.

Is this a real class difference? It has been seen how parental class could have operated on the young men, because there was the relationship mentioned previously between parents' class and their attitude towards continued study. On the other hand, the number of working class respondents who arrived early is very small. Among the early arrivals who nevertheless finished education at fifteen were more who were middle class than working class. Moreover two of these four working class respondents said their parents were in fact very much in favour of their staying on.

These doubts are reinforced when one recalls the way in which parents could apparently "change class" by moving from employed to self-employed status. If, as was the case, present employees had entrepreneurial ambitions, and if, as I have shown, these were fairly readily achieved,¹ then

¹ See above, p. 103.

clearly present class differences were only interim. One would therefore expect no clear-cut distinctive class attitudes towards education or anything else.

One is reminded of Gartner's comment that the Jewish immigrant worker in England "did not regard himself as one endowed with a fixed station in life, and this partially explains his adaptability to the vicissitudes of his fortunes".¹ Gartner quotes John Dyche, who at the end of the last century was first a Jewish trade unionist in London, then went to the United States, where he became general-secretary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Dyche said the Jewish worker did not belong to the "great, inert mass of dull, torpid industrial slaves", for each was instead "always pushing his way forward".² This disparaging attitude to the proletariat is surprising in a trade union leader, but it is similar to that expressed by Nazir on p. 107.

I conclude that the differences in Table 28 may be class differences, but I do not think it can be convincingly demonstrated.³

¹ Gartner, op. cit., p. 66.

² Loc. cit.

³ The possible class patterns remain similar to those in Table 28 if one includes in the middle class category not only self-employed parents, but also those owning more than one house. They remain similar also if one takes as the index of educational attainment not whether respondents stayed

Summary

In this chapter I sought to account for the two patterns of education and job or job aspiration found among the young Indians and Pakistanis. I call these patterns the proletarian and the meritocratic.

Age of arrival in England was found to be associated with terminal education age. However the relationship was not as clear-cut as one might expect. There appeared to be some other factor involved. I examined in turn the degree of parental encouragement to stay at school, parental occupation in India/Pakistan and parental occupation in England. I concluded that none of these was the variable I was seeking.

3 (continued)

in full-time education after fifteen, but whether they remained after sixteen, or whether they obtained any O levels. Whatever the definition of middle class and attainment, there is a close likeness in the achievements of late arrivals of both classes. One also finds the same or sometimes a more marked difference in the performance of early arrivals.

The number of working class early arrivals by this new definition becomes still smaller however, and I still prefer the alternative explanation to be explored in the next chapter.

9. TYPES OF SCHOOL

The missing variable is, I suggest, another factor - the type of secondary school attended. The effect of this is clearly shown in the "contrary cases" of the nine young men who finished full-time education at fifteen even though they came to this country early. Six of the nine were secondary modern pupils.¹ In fact almost three-quarters of all Indian and Pakistani secondary modern pupils finished at the minimum leaving age, no matter how old they were when they came to England.

The Comprehensive Gain

It is perhaps surprising that even a quarter of the secondary modern pupils studied past fifteen, since in Newcastle, as explained in chapter 5, they could not normally

¹ Secondary modern pupils continue to account for the majority of contrary cases also under the other definitions of middle class and attainment mentioned at the end of the last chapter, except where one includes owners of more than one house in the middle class category and measures attainment by O levels.

stay at school longer. The contrast with comprehensive pupils is marked. Though likewise non-selected, three-fifths of these continued full-time education after fifteen. Table 29 gives the details.

TABLE 29

All Asian respondents: Terminal education age by type of school last attended.

	Terminal education age:		
	15	After 15	All
Secondary modern	16	6	22
Comprehensive	11	18	29
Selective	2	14	16
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 29	<hr/> 38	<hr/> 67

The contrast is heightened when one notes that taken as a whole secondary modern pupils came to England much younger than comprehensive pupils. Nineteen of the 22 secondary modern pupils arrived at lower Secondary age (i.e. 12) and below. Seventeen of the 29 comprehensive pupils arrived by contrast at upper Secondary age, that is, aged thirteen and above. This is shown in Table 30.

TABLE 30

All Asian respondents who last attended secondary modern and comprehensive schools: Terminal education age by age of arrival

	Terminal education age:		
	15	After 15	All
SECONDARY MODERN:			
Infant age and below	4	1	5
Junior age	2	4	6
Lower Secondary age	7	1	8
Upper Secondary age	3	-	3
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 22
<hr/>			
COMPREHENSIVE:			
Infant age and below	-	2	2
Junior age	1	6	7
Lower Secondary age	2	1	3
Upper Secondary age	8	9	17
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 11	<hr/> 18	<hr/> 29
<hr/>			

Tables 29 and 30 strongly suggest that the change to the comprehensive system enabled a lot of non-selected pupils to continue full-time education who before, in the old secondary moderns, would probably have finished at fifteen. The indication is that it also permitted them to raise their expectations and realise their potential. Of the eleven comprehensive pupils still in full-time education at the time of interview, nine said they expected to take up meritocratic jobs. One of the others was the lad who wanted to qualify

in business studies before entering his father's firm. At the time of my follow-up four of these young men had dropped out of full-time education. On the other hand, two had been accepted for degree courses, and two were taking an HND. One was still trying to get into higher education. Two were non-contacts.

Comparison with Table 25, on p. 135, shows that the comprehensive pupils were less successful in getting into higher education than the generality of young Asians pursuing full-time study. Nevertheless comprehensive education gave them higher expectations, or so the figures suggest. One cannot of course establish that these young men would not have gone to further education under the old system. The fact remains that previously only a quarter of the secondary modern pupils did continue past fifteen.

The Secondary Modern Loss

The obverse of the argument is that a secondary modern education blunted the potential of other young Indians and Pakistanis and fashioned them for manual jobs when they might have achieved more. The statistical evidence is the same and is, I think, persuasive that this was the case.

The comments of a few of the 15-year-old secondary modern

leavers make it plain that they, at least, would have benefited from a different kind of education. Yusuf, doing a full-time ONC in mechanical engineering, said:

The education there was hopeless. They don't teach much in secondary modern schools like these.

(In what way was the education hopeless?)

Well I mean the system, the teaching. And you don't have any examinations set, or course, things like that, like you do in grammar school. You can take GCE O level subjects, you can take standard exam. The teaching wasn't very good. They didn't give any homework, all we done just was school-work. The pupils didn't care much. The school I went to, nobody wanted to work.

Yash left school at fifteen: "It was the normal thing to do. I didn't even think about it." He worked for a year as an apprentice fitter and turner, but threw the job up eventually to take a sandwich course in marine engineering. He described his time on the factory floor:

I was unhappy there. I knew I had a better ability than that, and it was then that I left and I went to Bath Lane [the College of Further Education].

I mean, I think once somebody said that you can teach monkeys to do stuff like that. It was just mass production. I went into the principle of how the machines work, and once you know something, there's nothing to it.

For instance, if you were on the drilling section, you'd get a batch of jobs, and the setter comes. He sets the job up, and you just have to drill holes. All you used to do, you set the job in the jig, keeping the drill down, you just drill a few holes. I mean it wasn't a case of accuracy either. The jobs were set, and all you had to do was just drill it out.

I wasn't going to stay in that kind of humdrum life, because I mean if you work like that, all you do, you get your wages at the weekend and just blow it on booze and kind of smoking, gambling, stuff like that.

To me that's no real life. I'm the sort of ambitious type. I don't want to stay in the rut. The only person who's making anything out of that bit of cake is the guy who owns the place, and I want to be like him. (What about the people?) I was interested in novels, sort of international novels mainly, sort of the class Hemingway, Tolstoy, and there they'd come with a lot of rubbish. And the usual vulgar conversation, you heard it day and night. I mean it's worse now. I'm used to it now like, but at the time that was one thing I just couldn't take.

Zamir, three years younger, was a fitter and turner at the same factory and went through a similar experience.

I just wanted to do an apprenticeship. But later on I found out that I didn't like it. I wanted to be back at college, but I mean, my uncle, you see, I didn't want to give him much trouble about keeping me. Because, I mean if it was my own parents, they wouldn't mind, but with uncles it's different, see. (What didn't you like about the apprenticeship?) Just that I didn't like the job. It was filthy job, smelly and all oily. I don't like the factories.

Later the family (including the uncle) moved to London to join the respondent's father who had come over to work at the Pakistani High Commission. Zamir got a job as a trainee telecommunications engineer, but said he would resume his studies to get to university and become an aeronautical engineer.

I intend to go back to college to do my GCEs, to get my qualifications to go to university. I didn't get this chance before, so now I'm going to. I'm getting this chance now because my parents are here. They're willing to support me, see.

(Isn't it ambitious to say you're going to university?) Yeh, ambitious. I mean you've got to reach higher if you want to get somewhere. You can't just tell yourself that, "I can't be that". If you have inferiority complex, you'll never get there.

The most spectacular example of undeveloped potential was Rasul, one of the 13-plus passers who had to be content with another secondary modern with a special GCE stream.¹ Rasul left at sixteen with a mere three O levels: "I wanted to leave school. I was sick of school life." He went after an apprenticeship and took a full-time HNC at Technical College only because he failed to obtain one. Eventually, as was seen, he was accepted for university.²

Generally, the 15-year-old leavers were not explicit that secondary modern schooling had caused them to underestimate their ability. It is nevertheless perhaps significant that a number of the secondary modern pupils who finished full-time study at fifteen gave as their reason for leaving school replies similar to Yash's "It was the normal thing to do". For example:

I was too old for school. Everybody in my class was leaving, so I just left.

They said I'm fifteen, I'll have to leave school. That's it.

I could not stay on any longer.

That's as far as I could go. They used to chuck you out at fifteen.

Six of the sixteen secondary modern pupils who completed full-time education at fifteen gave this reason, compared with only one of their eleven comprehensive counterparts. Table 31 shows these and the other replies.

¹ See above, p. 121.

² See above, p. 136.

TABLE 31

All Asian respondents: Reasons for leaving school by terminal education age and type of school attended.

	Terminal age 15:		After 15:
	Sec.Mod.	Comp.	All types of school
Didn't like school	1	-	2
To take a job	5	8	4
To earn some money	-	-	1
Didn't want parents to keep me any more	3	1	-
Everyone left	6	1	2
Wasn't doing very well	3	1	6
Other	-	-	3
No response	1	-	-
	N=16	N=11	N=17

Few of the other replies in column one betray any awareness by respondents that they might have benefited from a different kind of school or from continuing their education. This however is not surprising if secondary modern schooling had so shaped their expectations that leaving at fifteen to seek an apprenticeship was "the normal thing to do".

It might be argued that if certain of the young men, despite the obstacles and disincentives of a secondary modern schooling, eventually bobbed up again in further education, others could have done the same. The fact that these others did not, it might be said, suggests they would not have gained from more and different education. This argument, however,

runs counter to the unanimous view of the former headmasters of the three schools which most of the Asian secondary modern pupils attended. They all agreed that many could usefully have pursued their education beyond fifteen:

The abler pupils would have gained by coming to a comprehensive.

I believe quite definitely that a number, if they had arrived earlier, could have gone to grammar school.

I would say the average Pakistanis were A level pupils in a secondary modern school. They would definitely have benefited by going to comprehensive school. They would have stayed on at school because their parents thought that way.

To conclude, the evidence seems to me strong that while the secondary moderns narrowed and restricted the educational and career expectations of non-selected Asian pupils in Newcastle, comprehensive schooling enabled others to raise their eyes to wider possibilities.

One may now answer the question posed at the beginning of the previous chapter of how to account for the two contrasting educational and career patterns found among the young Indians and Pakistanis. Most secondary modern pupils in the city followed the proletarian pattern, finishing full-time studies at fifteen and becoming manual workers. Most pupils in selective schools stayed on and developed meritocratic career expectations. This is as one would expect. The type of school attended thus modified the association between terminal

education age and age of coming to England. The contribution of the comprehensive school was to switch some of the non-selected Asian pupils from the proletarian to the meritocratic pattern.

Other Research on Comprehensives

That comprehensive education should have encouraged some of these latter to study longer supports the claims made for Kenton, Newcastle's first comprehensive,¹ and for comprehensive schools elsewhere. Robin Pedley, for instance, gives examples of GCE successes achieved in comprehensive schools by pupils who failed the 11-plus. He concludes that "there is overwhelming evidence that comprehensive schools are giving justice, in so far as that is possible, to children whose early progress has been held back".²

The young Indians and Pakistanis of course fit this description precisely. Pedley's conclusions are supported by other writers, such as H.R. Chetwynd³ and Margaret Miles.

¹ See above, p.114.

² Robin Pedley, The Comprehensive School (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1967), p. 102.

³ H.R. Chetwynd, Comprehensive School: The Story of Woodberry Down (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 125-31.

Both are heads of comprehensive schools in London. The latter writes:

The effect of the change [from grammar school to comprehensive] was not to make those who ought to stay at school leave early but to encourage many who in other circumstances would have left to stay on. ¹

Recent research severely qualifies the optimism of such proponents of the comprehensive school by showing that working-class pupils do not in fact gain from the new system. D.N. Holly studied 800 children in one comprehensive school and concluded:

Streaming by ability within the comprehensive does not seem ... to result in producing a new elite based on attainment or intelligence quotients: it seems merely to preserve the traditional class bias of educational selection. ²

Julienne Ford compared pupils in a grammar school, a secondary modern school and a virtually uncreamed comprehensive, i.e. one whose contributory primary schools sent hardly any of their abler children to selective schools. Those of her conclusions relevant here are that it is not proven that comprehensive education produces better

¹ Margaret Miles, Comprehensive Schooling: Problems and Perspectives (London, Longmans, 1968), p. 10.

² D.N. Holly, "Profiting from a Comprehensive School: Class, Sex and Ability," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. XVI, no. 2 (1965), p. 157. The evidence for this class bias is discussed in chapter 11.

examination performances; ¹ that there is little evidence that comprehensive education as at present practised will modify the characteristic association between social class and educational attainment; ² and that comprehensive education has little effect on the occupational choice of a working class boy of average ability. ³ Like Holly, Ford blames streaming, both in the comprehensive school and at primary school, for the failure of the new system to produce educational and social justice. ⁴

I have categorised the self-employed majority of Asian parents in Newcastle as middle-class and have shown that many of the present employees sought the same independent status. Holly and Ford, on the other hand, are chiefly concerned with the performance of working-class pupils. Because of this it is not entirely clear whether Ford's middle-class comprehensive pupils merely maintained the same class advantage as their counterparts in secondary modern school or whether they actually did better. ⁵

¹ Julienne Ford, Social Class and the Comprehensive School (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 24.

² Ibid., p. 41.

³ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴ Ibid., p. 133-4.

⁵ Holly, of course, is only concerned with the one comprehensive school.

Ford shows that 68 per cent of middle-class pupils of high IQ were placed in the A stream at the comprehensive school, compared with 82 per cent of equivalent children in the secondary modern school.¹ Clearly there was no gain here. Ford says nothing about eventual levels of attainments and nothing about the effect of comprehensive education on the job choice of middle-class children. The only apparent gain - a very modest one - was in leaving intentions. Thirty-five per cent of middle-class pupils in the comprehensive school said they intended to stay on beyond the fifth year, compared with 21 per cent of those at the secondary modern school.² It appears therefore that Ford's middle-class children drew little or no extra advantage from comprehensive education.

I conclude, on the other hand, that a good number of the Indian and Pakistani pupils in Newcastle did do better as a result of the change to comprehensive education. The fact which, I believe, dovetails the two findings was the extreme backwardness of Newcastle's secondary modern schools in not offering fifth year and GCE courses.³ Surprisingly

¹ Ford, op. cit., p. 37.

² Ibid., calculated from Table 3.3, p. 38.

³ See chapter 5.

Ford nowhere explicitly states whether her secondary modern had an O level stream. It is nevertheless the case that by 1959 over one-third of all secondary modern schools entered pupils for O level,¹ representing in 1960 almost 40 per cent of all secondary modern pupils.²

It is on these grounds that Ford supports Robin Davis in rejecting Pedley's claim that comprehensive schools had better GCE success rates than secondary modern schools. Davis points out that Pedley's figures relate only up to 1962, before the secondary moderns started to enter candidates for GCE on a large scale. He compares the 1965 O level successes of children in London comprehensives with those of secondary modern children and finds no important differences.³

I conclude therefore that the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle gained from the change to comprehensive education largely because it offered them a GCE course they had never had before. They profited less from anything intrinsic in the comprehensive school than because of the deficiency of the previous secondary modern provision. But profit they did.

¹ Ford, op. cit., p. 6.

² William Taylor, The Secondary Modern School (London, Faber and Faber, 1963), p. 118.

³ Robin Davis, The Grammar School (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 130-41.

The Non-Beneficiaries

Going back to Table 29 one notes that there are exceptions which mar the symmetry of the contrast between the terminal education age of Asian secondary modern and Asian comprehensive pupils in Newcastle. Six of the former continued full-time education past fifteen. More important, eleven of the latter left at the minimum leaving age despite the opportunity for staying on which other young Asians seized.

When one examines the matter, one finds that these comprehensive pupils who left at fifteen were mostly very late arrivals who came to England aged thirteen and over. The truth is that though their need was great latecomers benefited least from the change to comprehensive education. Most of those who did stay on did not remain long, but left at sixteen. Table 32 gives the details.

TABLE 32

All Asian comprehensive pupils: Age of arrival by terminal education age

	Terminal ed. age 15	Terminal ed. age 16	Terminal ed. age 17+/ Still in f.t. ed.	ALL
Infant school age and below	-	-	2	2
Junior school age	1	-	6	7
Lower Secondary age	2	1	-	3
Upper Secondary age	8	5	4*	17
Total	11	6	12	29

* Total includes one African.

One sees clearly that the pupils who gained most from comprehensive education were the early arrivals. Two-thirds of those who continued full-time education after sixteen were in this category, that is, had come to England at the age of ten or younger.

Table 32 shows that seventeen comprehensive pupils, most of them very late arrivals, had finished full-time studies by the age of sixteen. The comprehensive school they all attended was Slatyford. Slatyford had a remedial "English as a foreign language" class, and for that reason latecomers were generally sent there. Both Newcastle Education Department and a senior member of the school's staff assured me (in the latter's words) that late arrivals were encouraged to stay on "just to improve their English, even if they'll never get any formal exam passes."

Why then did they mostly leave so soon? The reason was not that they had all acquired good or even adequate English. Table 33 gives my rough assessment and shows that even later, at the time of interview, the seventeen's command of the spoken language was very modest.

One sees that, far from being proficient even in spoken English, the seventeen early comprehensive leavers included twelve whose English was either halting or non-existent.

TABLE 33

Assessment of respondents' spoken English. Comprehensive pupils with terminal education age 15 and 16 compared with respondents as a whole.

	Comprehensive pupils with terminal ed. age 15 and 16	All respondents
Perfect English	1	34
Fluent and correct but with Indian accent	2	12
Fluent but broken	2	6
Halting	8	10
No English	4	5
Total	17	67

The seventeen included the great bulk of all respondents whose English was assessed as falling in these very defective categories.

Some of these young men's explanations of why they left school suggested that official policy towards latecomers had not in fact been implemented. Yakub, with poor but perhaps just serviceable English, said:

They told me if you want to do GCE it take four or five years, it's too long. Headmaster said, "It's good if you find the job", so I found the job.

Arjan spoke hardly any English. His English step-mother said:

The headmaster said it would be pointless for him to stay on. There were so many, he could not be given individual attention.

Riaz, after a year's tuition, still spoke no English at all. His cousin translated:

Teacher told him to leave because his English was not very good. I think she wanted him to go to the College of Further Education to improve his English.

Riaz was persuaded to leave school at Easter, though he could not start College until the autumn. When autumn came, he did not go to the College of Further Education, but instead went after a motor mechanic's course at a local Technical College. He was not accepted because of his bad English. The College of Further Education had in any case no full-time course in English as a foreign language, only a part-time course two afternoons a week.

I have already quoted Muzaffer's comment that the teachers told him "my age was getting too big". Altogether it sounded as though, despite official declared policy, late arrivals were not encouraged to stay on, but urged to leave because of their poor English. One of the remedial English teachers at Slatyford confirmed to me that on the whole this was indeed the case, at least until the school year 1968-9. It had been so decided in order that priority could be given to helping linguistically backward children from the first and second years, who could be fully integrated into the school.

Until this teacher, a young language graduate, joined Slatyford in September 1967 English as a foreign language

at the school had been taught by one middle-aged Indian lady. She said that in the year 1966-7 she had about forty children to cope with single-handed, except for eight periods a week when she had help from another woman teacher. There were so many pupils that they had to be split into two classes. One the remedial teacher taught in the morning, the other in the afternoon. The other half of the day the children presumably learned nothing.

The matter eventually blew up to a minor, unproductive public controversy at the end of 1967, when the headmaster of Slatyford suggested that late arrivals should be withdrawn from the school to a special centre in the city for intensive instruction in English. The Director of Education explained:

The school is finding that it is receiving newcomers from the Commonwealth who have no English at all.

They are coming at a time when they are conscious that they will soon be leaving, and they don't get assimilated into school life. This is a growing problem for the school. ¹

The Director of Education said he would examine the problem and report back to the education committee. Meanwhile the Commonwealth Immigrants' Working Group, a Council sub-committee, unanimously rejected the idea of a special teaching centre. The chairman claimed it "smacked of separatism" and maintained:

¹ Evening Chronicle (Newcastle), November 9, 1967.

If the children have difficulty in English they should be specially treated in school, so that they can join in with the other pupils.

About forty of the 100 immigrant children in a school of 1,100 pupils were said to have problems with the language.¹

A month later the Director of Education's report recommended that any plan for a special centre should be rejected. He suggested instead that additional part-time teachers be appointed to "problem" schools. The committee agreed,² and there the matter ended, apart from a rejoinder by Slatyford's headmaster, who said he was very bitter at the way his ideas had been misinterpreted.³ The brief and muffled controversy appeared to stir no public interest.

¹ The Journal (Newcastle), November 9, 1967.

² Ibid., December 5, 1967.

³ Evening Chronicle, December 7, 1967. He explained:
"I'm perfectly happy to have immigrant children in my school. I'm not advocating segregation. It's not the problem of behaviour in the school, but of what to do for the best for these children."

The real difficulty concerned the few teenagers who came to the school for only a matter of months before they reached leaving age.

Not only did they have no chance of learning to speak English, but the school surroundings were sometimes quite inadequate to their needs. Some of the older Pakistani children had been out of school for two to three years in their own country.

"The whole school situation is something to which they are unused. Already in their own minds they are adult, and they may indeed have been working in the adult world. This is only a minimal difficulty, but to me it is of enough importance to make me think that something should be done about it."

No extra part-time teacher appeared at Slatyford. When I enquired what had happened to the additional teachers who had been promised, the Education Department gave me a list of eleven "schools of exceptional difficulty" which had been allocated additional staff to help with remedial work.¹ Following the Plowden report on primary education Newcastle has in all nineteen such schools. Since however the eleven were all Infant and/or Junior Schools, supplementary teachers there were quite irrelevant to the problem which agitated the headmaster of Slatyford: that of Asian boys arriving at fourteen and fifteen.

The headmaster may simply have been over-reacting in his request for a special teaching centre. He himself spoke in his letter of "the few teenagers" and "a minimal difficulty". Head teachers in other parts of the country would doubtless have been delighted to have a problem the size of his. The Director of Education for Wolverhampton, for instance, said in February 1968 that immigrant children were coming into the town at the rate of 20-30 a week. They were concentrated in 23 schools, where they constituted over 30 per cent of the population. In ten schools they comprised over 50 per cent of the

¹ Letter from the Director of Education dated August 1, 1969.

population.¹

Another member of staff suggested that the head wanted the special centre because the older Indian and Pakistani boys, despite his denial, were causing social as well as educational difficulties. He said there had been "quite a lot" of racial trouble. The Asian lads became very frustrated and hostile because of their lack of progress in English. The younger English children were frightened of them because they were often very big.

Or again, the headmaster may have calculated that only a desperate and dramatic plea would make the Education Committee do anything at all. Faced with a very small problem Newcastle Council tried to ignore it.² The

¹ Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, March 1968, p. 100. In Wolverhampton in January 1968 11.8 per cent of all pupils were immigrants, in Warley 9.6 per cent, in Birmingham 9 per cent and in Bradford 8.2 per cent. Most London boroughs had over 10 per cent immigrant pupils. Kensington and Chelsea had 17.9, Islington 23.4, Hackney 23.6, Brent 25.1 and Haringey 27.1 per cent. Even such an unlikely place as Bath had 2.1 per cent, but Newcastle could not raise even this proportion. This shows the smallness of its problem. These are Department of Education and Science figures quoted in the Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, November-December 1968, pp. 429-30. The official DES definition of "immigrant" is
 1. children born outside the British Isles who have come to this country with or to join parents, other relatives or guardians whose country of origin was also abroad.
 2. children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose country of origin was abroad and whose parents, to the best of the head teacher's knowledge, have not been in this country more than ten years.

² The Council passed in May 1967 from Labour to Conservative control, though I am not suggesting this was of any relevance.

Immigrants' Working Group, in a commendable desire not to adopt a segregationist solution, allowed the Education Department to get away with a piece of sleight-of-hand. Instead of drafting in the necessary staff to give intensive English tuition, it did nothing. As a result Asian latecomers were thrown on to the labour market with little or no English.

Summary

In this chapter I concluded that the missing variable needed to explain the two divergent patterns of education and job or job aspiration was the type of secondary school the young men attended. I argued that while most secondary modern pupils followed the proletarian, and most selected pupils the meritocratic pattern, the contribution of the comprehensive school was to enable some of the non-selected pupils to raise their expectations and to switch them from the former to the latter.

I related this conclusion to other research on comprehensive schools. This suggested that the young men gained from the change-over less from anything intrinsic in the new system but because of the inadequacy of the old secondary modern provision.

I showed finally that despite their need it was the

late arrivals who benefited least from comprehensive education. I found that, contrary to the Education Department's formal policy of encouraging such children to stay on, they were in fact urged and encouraged to leave. Instead of providing a proper number of remedial teachers, the Education Department preferred to ignore this small but real problem.

10. ASIAN AND ENGLISH ATTAINMENTS COMPARED

The Matched English and Asians

Four-fifths of the young Indians and Pakistanis, as already mentioned, went to one of five secondary schools in the west end of Newcastle. These were the three secondary moderns, Cambridge Street, Cruddas Park and Westgate Hill; John Marlay, the technical school which later became the top half of a comprehensive school; and Slatyford, the purpose-built comprehensive.

These are the Asian pupils whose educational performance I compare with that of a control sample of English boys.¹ The English respondents were matched with the Asians by year of reaching school-leaving age and by type of school - secondary modern, technical or comprehensive - attended at that age.² The object was to ensure that both groups

¹ The remaining Indian and Pakistani youths could not be used for comparison because they were scattered so thinly over seven schools that a control sample could not be drawn. Also dropped was one lad who was the only Asian boy in his year in the technical school. For details of the matching procedure, see the Appendix.

² The classification of the Asians by type of school thus differs slightly from that used in the preceding chapters. There it related to type of school last attended.

reproduced the same age-range and had had the same teaching in the same schools.

The result of the matching was an English example of 56 and an Indo-Pakistani group of 53. The latter, it should be noted, were not a sample but comprised all the Asian respondents who had reached leaving age at the five schools over the six-year period with which I am concerned.¹ The totals were made up of the following numbers in each type of school.

TABLE 34

Matched Asians and English:
Nos. in each type of school.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Secondary modern	18	17
Technical [*]	10	16
Comprehensive	25	23
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 53	<hr/> 56

^{*} It will be recalled that though the technical school went comprehensive in September 1965, pupils from the school listed here had all been selected. The pupils from the other schools were all non-selected.

¹ Less, that is, the one respondent mentioned in footnote 1 on p. 176.

An immediately noticeable difference between the two groups is the higher proportion of selected pupils in the English sample. The reason for the difference is explained in the Appendix.¹ It will be taken into account in the course of our comparisons.

It will be remembered that I used five measures of educational performance when considering all the Indians and Pakistanis in isolation. These were success at 11-plus, terminal age of full-time education, the certificates obtained by leavers and the number of young men in full-time education at the time of interview. The fifth measure was a follow-up check on the extent to which the latter had realised their educational expectations. I now show how the Asian and English youths measured up on each of these five counts.

Success at 11-plus

The matched groups are in fact no help in respect of this first measure precisely because they were paired by type of secondary school attended. To get a comparison one has to use the figures for Newcastle as a whole and set them against the data for all the young Indians and Pakistanis, and not just the matched ones.

¹ The Appendix also discusses other lesser differences and examines the representative^{ness} of the matched Asians.

It was seen that of the Asians who were in England young enough to take the 11-plus, 33 per cent - 12 out of 33 - succeeded in getting into selective schools. Table 35 shows, for comparison, the proportion of the age group over the whole of Newcastle (boys and girls) who were admitted to selective schools in each of the years 1957-63.¹

TABLE 35

Children admitted to selective schools in Newcastle:
% of age group each year 1957-63.

	No. in age group	No. selected	% selected
1957	4105	1268	30.9
1958	5240	1629	31.1
1959	4543	1410	31.0
1960	4216	1461	34.7
1961	3910	1494	38.2
1962	3797	1492	39.3
1963	3568	1492	41.8
Total 57-63	29379	10246	34.9

¹ The figures were kindly provided by Newcastle Education Department. The seven-year period is covered because until the change to comprehensive schools, selected pupils were not listed as having reached leaving age until they were 16, and such pupils listed in 1962 - the oldest group of leavers - would have taken the 11-plus five years previously in 1957. The youngest group, 15 in 1967, would have taken it four years before in 1963.

The comparison is slightly distorted by the fact that the Asians are of course included in the city-wide figures. However this matters little since the number of Asians was so small. It is apparent that of the young Indians and Pakistanis who arrived young enough to sit the 11-plus, the proportion who got to selective schools was close to the proportion of all pupils throughout the city over the same period.

Terminal Education Age

There is a dramatic difference between the matched Asian and English youths on this second measure of educational performance. Table 36 shows that 53 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis pursued full-time studies beyond the statutory leaving age, compared with only 23 per cent of English respondents.

TABLE 36

Matched Asians and English: Terminal age of full-time education.

AGE	ASIANS	ENGLISH
15	25	43
16	7	6
17	2	2
18	1	1
Still f.t. education	18	4
<hr/>		
Total	53	56
% continuing f.t. ed. after 15	53%	23%

The difference in the proportions continuing full-time education after fifteen is statistically highly significant ($p < .005$)¹ - this despite the over-representation of selected pupils in the English sample. Indeed if one analyses the two groups according to the type of school attended one finds the same consistent pattern. Whether at secondary modern, selective or comprehensive school, a higher proportion of Asian than English pupils studied beyond fifteen. Table 37 gives the details.

TABLE 37

Matched Asians and English: Terminal age of full-time education by type of school.

	Terminal age:				Still in f.t. education	Total	% continuing f.t. education after 15
	15	16	17	18+			
SECONDARY MODERN							
Asians	13	3	1	-	1	18	28%
English	17	-	-	-	-	17	0%
TECHNICAL							
Asians	1	-	1	1	7	10	90%
English	7	4	2	1	2	16	56%
COMPREHENSIVE							
Asians	11	4	-	-	10	25	56%
English	19	2	-	-	2	23	17%

¹ I used the Chi Square goodness-of-fit test to test the goodness-of-fit of the English sample to the matched Asians. For a fuller discussion of the procedures used, see the Appendix.

I argued in the last chapter that the change to comprehensive education benefited at least early arrivals among non-selected Indians and Pakistanis. Table 36 shows that whilst twice as many Asians now continued their studies than under the old system (56 compared with 28 per cent), the pattern of English leaving changed only slightly. Seventeen per cent now studied past fifteen, compared with none at all before. The Indian and Pakistani pupils clearly profited much more from the reorganisation than their English counterparts.

It is seen that there is a similar difference between the two groups in respect of selected pupils. These young men were able enough to pass the 11-plus, yet of those in the English sample 46 per cent left at fifteen and 69 per cent had given up full-time education by the age of sixteen. By contrast, only one of the ten English selected pupils finished younger than seventeen. By any standards the English pupils did not make much use of their selective education. The young Asians put it to distinctly better advantage.

The differences in the proportions of comprehensive and selected pupils remaining in full-time education after fifteen are highly significant statistically ($p < .005$). The difference in this respect between the two sets of secondary modern pupils is rather less so ($p < .025$).

All in all it is evident that the young Indians and Pakistanis scored considerably higher on this index than the English control sample.

Certificates Obtained by Leavers

The third measure of educational attainment consists of the certificates the school-leavers took with them when they left school. A certificate, it will be recalled, is a pass in at least one subject at a particular standard. On this score the Asian and English youths were closely matched, with both groups making a poor showing. Seventy-nine per cent of the Asian and 78 per cent of the English leavers obtained no certificate at all. It should be remembered, however, that the English leavers included a higher proportion of selective pupils - 27 as against 11 per cent - which makes their performance all the worse. Altogether ten of the sixteen English selected pupils left school with no certificate. Table 38 gives the details.

TABLE 38

Matched Asians and English who had left school: Certificates obtained.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Northern Counties	-	1
CSE	5	2
GCE O level	2	3
O level and CSE	-	5
A level	1	1
No certificate	30	42
<u>Total</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>54</u>

The few in each group who left school with a certificate of some sort mostly passed in only a fairly small number of subjects. Table 39 (which includes the earlier CSE and O level successes of the two young men with A level but excludes any subjects obtained after leaving school) compares the average number of passes at each examination standard.

TABLE 39

Matched Asians and English: Average number of examination passes at each level.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Northern Counties	-	5.0 (N=1)
CSE	3.3 (N=6)	4.1 (N=7)
GCE O level	5.3 (N=3)	2.55 (N=9)
GCE A level	3.0 (N=1)	1.0 (N=1)

It is clear that on this index the difference between the Asian and English youths is very slight indeed.

Still in Full-time Education

A big difference opens up again between the two groups on the fourth measure of attainment, which is the proportion still in full-time education at the time of interview.

This is shown in Table 40.

TABLE 40

Matched Asians and English: Numbers in full-time education at the time of interview.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Still at school	15	2
Full time further/ higher education	3	2
Total in full-time education	18	4
Total in matched group	53	56
% of group in full- time education	34%	7%

One can see that the young Indians and Pakistanis again took better advantage of their opportunities. Thirty-four per cent of the Asians were still in full-time education, compared with a mere seven per cent of the English sample. Those who had abandoned full-time studies included fourteen of the sixteen English selected pupils.

There is one qualification to be made. Three of the English sample had just left school, and one had just left Polytechnic. Since, as explained in the Appendix, interviewing of the English sample did not begin until after the end of the academic year, the four are classified as having left full-time education. If, like most of the Asians, they had been interviewed before the end of the academic year, they would still of course have been in full-time education. This would have raised the English total

to eight and the proportion to 14 per cent. Nevertheless the difference between the matched Asians and English would have remained highly significant statistically ($p < .005$). The Indians and Pakistanis undoubtedly scored higher on this index than the English youths.

Aspirations and Follow-up

The fifth and last measure of educational performance is the extent to which the young men still in full-time education at the first interview had fulfilled their educational expectations at the time of the follow-up three years later. It will be recalled that the word "expect" was deliberately used in questions in order to discourage fantasy answers.

Of the fifteen matched Asians still at school, seven expected to stay there until they had taken A level. Both the English youths said the same. Another five Asians said they would remain for advanced level if they did well at ordinary level. Altogether seven of the Asians expected to go to university. One of the English pupils said the same.

Before considering career expectations, one should examine what the full-time students were studying. Of the three matched Asians, one was working for ordinary and then advanced

level GCE at the College of Further Education. One was at a local Technical College taking ONC (to be followed by HNC) in mechanical engineering. One was reading for a university degree in chemistry.

On the English side one of the two students was also at the College of Further Education, doing A levels. The other was working for his Army Certificate part 1 (equivalent to CSE grade 2) at an Army Apprentices' College. He said he would end up with a Trade Test Certificate, an Army qualification somewhat lower than City and Guilds.

I have shown that the young Indians and Pakistanis still in full-time education sought overwhelmingly to get professional, meritocratic jobs. In terms of expectations the matched Asians included, among others, three doctors, one pharmacist, one dentist, five assorted scientists, five engineers of various kinds and an industrial designer.

Of the four still studying in the English sample, the one who wanted to go to university expected to get an undefined "office job". The other young man still at school wanted to be an airline pilot. The Army apprentice said he would like to do marine engineering, though in fact he would have no say in the matter when he was qualified - he would be "put on a job". The fourth young man had left technical school at 16 with one O level because he had "failed

academically". When interviewed aged 21, he had acquired at evening class four more ordinary levels and an A level and was working for two more advanced level passes at the College of Further Education in order to become a teacher.

So not only were there many fewer English youths than Asians still following full-time education. It is apparent also that the job expectations of this small number were more modest. Most, it will be seen, left school to get manual employment, though a number found routine clerical work.

Expectations, of course, are one thing. Table 41 shows what these young men had actually achieved three years after the first interviews.

TABLE 41

Matched Asians and English in full-time education:
Follow-up of educational progress.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Degree course:		
University	4	-
Polytechnic	3	-
HND "	2	1
<u>College of Education</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Still trying to get into higher education</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>
Dropped out of f.t. education	5	3
Non-contacts	2	-
<u>Totals</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>5</u>

It will be remarked that five of the English sample are included in Table 41, though only four were still in full-time education. The extra individual was the young man who had just left Polytechnic where he had obtained a Higher National Diploma in business studies. Strictly, this young man was unemployed at the time of interview, but it seems only accurate to include him here, since he had got into higher education.¹ Only one other English respondent had succeeded in this. He was the young man who had wanted to be a teacher and had now got into a College of Education.²

What had happened to the other three English youths? The one who had been at Army Apprentices' College had been bought out by his mother and was now working as an apprentice motor mechanic. The one who had wanted to be an airline pilot had left school with four O levels and after working as a chemist's dispenser had secured a job as a laboratory technician. The third young man had wanted to go to university and from there to get some "office job". He had left school with one A level and was now employed as a trainee accountant with a local Council.

Table 41 shows clearly that, expectations apart, the matched Asians still in full-time education had achieved more

¹ In any case, as explained above, had the Asian and English interviews been conducted simultaneously he would have been still at college.

² This young man later abandoned his studies, as did one of the Asian university students.

academically than their English counterparts. Leaving aside those who might yet possibly get to university or polytechnic, one sees that ^{seventeen} / per cent of all the matched Asians had already got into higher education (lines 1-4), compared with only four per cent of the English sample. Statistically this difference is fairly significant ($p < .025$).

Overall the matched Asians did better than the English on three of the five measures of educational attainment. They did better, that is, in terms of the proportions continuing full-time study after fifteen, the proportions still in full-time education when interviewed and in terms of the proportions who had gained admission to higher education. The young Indians and Pakistanis achieved this despite the initial disabilities of culture-shock and lack of English, and even though 42 per cent (22) did not come to England until the age of thirteen and above. They achieved this even though the English sample included a higher proportion of selected pupils.

Possible Objections

This is a surprising conclusion and one which therefore needs to be examined for flaws. In the first place, it might be argued that since I did not re-interview the whole English sample, one or two of the economically active youths

may have packed up work and got into university or polytechnic. This, I suggest, is highly unlikely when one recalls the meagre qualifications with which these young men left school.

Secondly, there are the non-contacts and refusals. Nine of these would have been included among the matched Asians. Four were secondary modern, five comprehensive pupils. Two of the comprehensive pupils are known to have continued full-time education beyond fifteen and to have still been in full-time education at the time I sought to interview them. One of these subsequently gained admission to higher education. Even if one assumes that the other seven young Indians and Pakistanis abandoned full-time education at fifteen, all the differences between the matched English and Asian groups detailed above remain, with one exception, statistically significant at the level quoted. The exception concerns the proportions of secondary modern pupils who pursued full-time studies after fifteen. The difference between these two groups now drops somewhat in statistical significance ($p < .05$). It still remains however fairly significant. The other differences between the attainments of Asian and English pupils are completely unshaken.

It might, thirdly, be argued that two of the three measures on which the young Indians and Pakistanis outstrip the English sample are, implicitly at least, measures of aspiration.

One does not stay at school for its own sake, it might be said, but in order to achieve some other goal. Until one can see whether these ends are gained the indices are only interim.

There is clearly some truth in this suggestion. These are however recognised measures of academic performance. Moreover I have shown in my follow-up that a significantly higher proportion of the matched Asians than of the English youths had already got into higher education.

In short I believe there are no methodological faults which invalidate my findings.¹ Nevertheless they are remarkable. They do not square with the assessments of most informed commentators in the race relations field.

Other Informed Opinion

The Community Relations Commission, for example, has stated:

The fact that immigrant families, with linguistic and cultural barriers to surmount, so often live in twilight areas certainly introduces an element of social and educational disadvantage. The fault does not of course lie in any inherent ineducability in the children themselves. The sad fact is that, if a child attending school in this country today is coloured, there is a high probability that the child will also fall into the category of educationally underprivileged and deprived children.²

¹ For possible sources of error, see Appendix.

² The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit.,
 Vol. II, p. 245.

Other writers make the same point: that coloured immigrant children share the education deprivations of the areas in which their parents settle. For instance:

As the situation of Pakistani families in Britain stands at present, children are likely to be disadvantaged from the outset by virtue of their concentration in the "slum" schools of British cities. ¹

So shall we have riots? The answer must partly depend upon how far the nation can solve the problems of overcrowding, second-rate education, and the less-than-even chance we often give the immigrant child. ²

Some commentators make explicit what is foggily suggested in some of the preceding quotations - that immigrant children are in fact doubly deprived. The statement from the Community Relations Commission goes on to make this point. Daniel Lawrence says that while most immigrant children will suffer from the same social cultural disadvantages which hamper the educational progress of most capable working-class children, "they are likely to suffer to a far greater extent". This is because very few will have received a normal primary education, because many have difficulty in communicating in English and because there are, particularly with Indians and Pakistanis, important cultural differences. ³ Fred Milson says:

¹ Goodall, op. cit., p. 91.

² Brian Priestley, "Birmingham is no Detroit, but there are Storm Signals", The Times (London), July 27, 1967.

³ Daniel Lawrence, "Area report on Nottingham", Supplement to the Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, June 1966.

Many of the difficulties of coloured immigrants in Birmingham appear to be general to their social class rather than their colour. The figures suggest that they are suffering some of the "relative deprivations" of the urban working-class youngster in the older neighbourhood. (Though it must be admitted that in some respects, say educational opportunity, they appear to be the "underprivileged among the underprivileged").¹

That coloured immigrant children suffered from this two-fold educational disadvantage appears to be the general view. It resembles the commonly held opinion that coloured immigrants are the underprivileged among the underprivileged in housing in the slum areas where they settle. Chapter 3 showed that this was not the case in twilight Elswick.

There have been, however, a few reports which point in a contrary direction, towards my findings:

The evidence from schools in North London where there are many Cypriot children is that they compare very favourably with the rest as far as academic performance is concerned.²

More and more immigrant children at secondary schools are taking GCEs and passing them. In schools with large numbers of them they tend to be the pace setters, and often raise the whole academic standard. In many cases Asian children arrived in Slough with little

¹ Fred Milson, Operation Integration Two: The Coloured Teenager in Birmingham (Birmingham, Westhill College of Education, 1966), p. 17.

² Robin Oakley, New Backgrounds, op. cit., p. 44.

or no English so they did not pass the 11-plus, but once the handicap was overcome they often surged ahead and became the pace setters at around the age of 13 to 14. ¹

Previous Research

Such is the judgement of informed observers. What are the conclusions of previous research on the performance of coloured immigrant pupils in this country?

C.K. Saint, in Smethwick, found that Punjabi pupils in secondary schools were educationally backward and in certain subjects very often did not participate in class work at all. Their performance on a non-verbal intelligence test showed a wide variation, though on the whole it was well below the norm of the test. However there was a significant positive correlation between their IQ on the test and the length of time they had lived in England. There was also evidence of a relationship between test performance and length of schooling. ²

¹ Charles Smyth, Chief Education Officer for Slough, Slough Observer, July 11, 1969. Quoted in the Runnymede Trust's Race Relations Bulletin, no. 4, August 1969, p. 4.

² C.K. Saint, The Scholastic and Sociological Adjustment Problems of the Punjabi-speaking Children in Smethwick (Unpub. M.Ed. thesis, University of Birmingham, September 1963), p. 3.

J.S. Dosanjh measured the performance on two non-verbal intelligence tests of Punjabi primary school children in Nottingham and Derby. He found that English pupils scored higher than Punjabi pupils at all ages and levels. The results of both tests, however, were identical in pointing to a positive relationship between the Asian children's test scores and the length of time they had lived in this country, and similarly between their test scores and the amount of English schooling they had had. ¹

V.P. Houghton compared the measured intelligence of two matched groups in West Indian and English Infant pupils. All but two of the West Indian children had lived in England for at least two years. Both groups of children came from socially deprived backgrounds, either in the area of study or in Jamaica. Houghton found that the test scores of the two groups did not differ significantly, though both scored below the mean for the test. ²

David Beetham found that West Indian and Asian children were persistently concentrated in the lowest streams of the

¹ J.S. Dosanjh, Punjabi Immigrant Children: Their Social and Educational Problems in Adjustment (University of Nottingham Institute of Education, Education Papers no. 10, no date), pp. 38-9.

² V.P. Houghton, "Intelligence Testing of West Indian and English Children", Race, Vol. VIII, no. 2 (1966), pp. 147-56.

Birmingham secondary schools he studied. This was the case even at the younger end of the school where one would expect many more to have had some primary education in England.

"This suggests", says Beetham, "that a low level of educational attainment on the part of immigrant school leavers may perhaps not be such a temporary phenomenon."¹ Unfortunately he is not explicit on what basis the children were streamed.

At the same time Beetham found that, compared with English pupils, over twice the proportion of immigrant 4th year children expected to stay into the fifth year.² He concluded however that most immigrants were unlikely to reach more than a minimum level of education because they were unable to surmount the disabilities caused by coming to England in mid-schooling.³ Beetham shows that in the event Asians in particular were much less successful at getting even skilled manual jobs than English leavers.⁴

Silvaine Wiles, in a study of a large London comprehensive school, found that a "disturbingly large percentage" of

¹ Beetham, op. cit., p. 9.

² Ibid., p. 14.

³ Ibid., p. 16.

⁴ Ibid., p. 32.

immigrant pupils (predominantly West Indians) were placed in the lowest of the three ability bands. (Here again it is not clear how the children were assessed.) However when the author examines in isolation immigrant pupils who had had a full education in England, she concludes that the figures give "a fairly clear indication that the immigrant child who has been to school in the UK from the age of five is doing at least as well as his English counterpart, if not slightly better".¹

Little, Mabey and Whitaker studied 52 Inner London Junior Schools in which over one-third of the pupils were immigrants and examined how the latter performed in English, verbal reasoning and mathematics, as compared with all the education authority's pupils. Children due for transfer to secondary school were placed in one of seven "profile groups" in each of these three "subjects". The placings were made by a mixture of teacher assessment and specific tests. Over half the immigrant children were West Indians, almost a quarter were Cypriots, and only seven per cent were Asians.

The report found there were more immigrants in each descending profile group in each subject. The performance of the immigrant children differed significantly from that

¹ Silvaine Wiles, "Children from Overseas" (part 1), Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, February 1968, p. 84.

of all the authority's pupils. For example, whereas half of all the authority's pupils scored below the average, this was true of four-fifths of the immigrants.

There were significant differences in the attainments of the different immigrant nationalities. Particularly noticeable was the poor performance of the West Indians, as compared with the other groups. Knowledge of English was found to be strongly associated with attainment, as was length of English education. Little and his colleagues state, "There is a consistent and marked improvement in immigrant performance with increasing length of education".

They however add cautiously:

The evidence on completed primary schooling and immigrant performance is not clear cut, and it would be unwise to conclude that even with full English primary education the performances of immigrant pupils is the same as non-immigrants in these schools. Statistical tests suggest that the differences are not wide enough to be statistically significant, but it would be safer to conclude only that the distribution of scores fits closer to that of the non-immigrants the longer the length of education in the UK.¹

Joti Bhatnagar made a study of West Indian and Cypriot pupils in a large secondary modern school in

¹ Alan Little, Christine Mabey, Graham Whitaker, "The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Inner London Primary Schools", Race, Vol. IX, no. 4 (1968), pp. 439-52. A less detailed version of this research appeared as The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Primary Schools (London, Inner London Education Authority, 1967).

north London. He found that these immigrant children had a significantly lower achievement on academic subjects than a control sample of English children. There was however no significant difference in attainment between the two immigrant groups.¹ Bhatnagar found that though many immigrant children stayed on after school-leaving age, "only a very small proportion managed to get any O levels or even good marks at the school examinations".² He found there were highly significant correlations between the academic performance of the three groups of children and their scores on various measures of adjustment.³

Finally, W.M. Peace compared the progress of two groups of matched Asian and English infant schoolchildren in Bradford. He found that the Asian pupils scored less well than the English control group in "simple infant level skills", in terms of mean reading age and in frequency of linguistic mistakes.⁴

¹ Joti Bhatnagar, Immigrants at School (London, Cornmarket Press, 1970), p. 112.

² Ibid., p. 153

³ Ibid., p. 113.

⁴ W.M. Peace, "A Study of the Infant School Progress of a Group of Asian Immigrant Children in Bradford", English for Immigrants, Vol.4, no.2 (Spring 1971), pp. 26-31.

Four of these eight pieces of research, those by Saint, Dosanjh, Wiles and Little et.al., are in agreement that academic performance improves the longer immigrant children have lived in England and/or the longer they have had an English education, which comes to much the same thing. Beetham, on the other hand, found no evidence of any such improvement. The other three studies have nothing to say on the subject.

My research supports the majority conclusion. Indeed it might be argued that performance in such concrete terms as certificates obtained and terminal age of full-time education is harder evidence than either assessment or test score. I suggest this for two reasons. In the first place it is doubtful whether a culture-free or culture-fair intelligence test exists. Secondly, a teacher's estimate may not be a reliable indicator of ability either, particularly if (as is possible) he or she does not regard coloured pupils as good academic material and thus gives them neither stimulating teaching nor an optimistic assessment. ¹

Yet, apart from a hint by Silvaine Wiles and an even fainter suggestion in the Inner London report, ² there is no

¹ Christopher Bagley, "The Educational Performance of Immigrant Children", Race, Vol. X, no. 1 (1968), pp. 91-3.

² "It is now becoming clear that in some under-privileged areas many immigrant pupils are providing a reservoir of ability which is very welcome in the secondary schools." The Education of Immigrant Pupils in Primary Schools, op.cit., p. 1.

precedent for my finding that in Newcastle the Asian pupils as a whole did better educationally than English boys in the same schools. These results appear unique. I try to explain them in the following two chapters.

Summary

In this chapter the educational performance of four-fifths of the young Indians and Pakistanis who went to five secondary schools in the west end of Newcastle was compared with a control sample of English youths drawn from the same schools and matched by year of reaching^{leaving}/age and type of school attended. The matched Asians did better than the English control sample on three of the five measures of attainment. These were the proportions in each group continuing full-time education after fifteen, the proportions still in full-time education at the time of interview and the proportions, finally, who entered higher education. For the most part these differences are highly significant statistically. The other two measures of attainment were success at 11-plus and the certificates obtained by school-leavers. On these the English and Asian pupils were evenly matched.

Almost all previous research on immigrant pupils in English schools finds that they perform less well than English children, though a majority of these studies show that the performance of the immigrants improves the longer they have lived in England. There is no precedent for my finding that in Newcastle the young Asians as a whole did better than their English counterparts.

11. DISABILITIES OF CLASS AND REGION

I have stressed the distinctive tenure style and employment status of the Indian and Pakistani parents. Among the parents of the matched Asians 94 per cent were house-owners, 38 per cent owned more than one house, and 55 per cent were self-employed. The proportions are almost identical to those of all Asian parents.¹ In chapter 8 I decided that the self-employed parents might justifiably be categorised as middle-class. The first task now is to examine the background of the young men in the English sample to see if there is any class difference which might account for the big disparity in educational attainment.

English Sample's Working-Class Background

Table 42 shows that 64 per cent of the fathers of the English sample were working-class by occupation - that is, they fell into the Registrar General's social classes III, IV and V. Fifty-nine per cent had manual occupations. On the

¹ See pages 60-1 and 77.

other hand, only nine per cent were in social classes I and II.¹

TABLE 42

English sample: Father's occupation.

Social class I (Professional etc.)	1
II (Intermediate)	4
III (Skilled) non-manual	3
manual:	
Strictly skilled	12
Relatively skilled	10
IV (Semi-skilled) non-manual	1
manual	8
V (Unskilled manual)	2
Unclassifiable	2
No father in household	13
<hr/>	
Total	56
<hr/>	

Sixty-nine per cent of the manual workers (and 39 per cent of all the parents) were in social class III manual. The strictly skilled¹ comprised a fitter and turner, a welder,

¹ Information is unfortunately missing for thirteen young men who lived in households which lacked a father or other senior male relative, since, by an oversight, the questionnaire for the English sample asked about the occupations only of members of the household. Four of the respondents were married and living away from their parents. In the other cases the father was either dead or separated from the mother. To judge by the respondents', mothers' and wives' occupations, these fathers were all almost certainly working-class too.

² See footnote on p. 77.

a woodworker, a joiner, a bricklayer, a building ganger, a maintenance electrician, an engineer, a millwright, a tin-smith, a roll grinder, a cable jointer. The relatively skilled were a variety of drivers, a guillotine operator, a machine moulder, a butcher and a panelbeater. The semi- and unskilled manual workers were a pavior, an opencast banksman, a generator operator, a bus conductor, a boilerman, a weighbridgeman, a window cleaner, a labourer and a kiln-burner. The non-manual working class parents were a clerk, a policeman, an insurance representative and a park keeper.

The handful of fathers in the two top social classes were a brigadier in the Salvation Army, a university technician, a department manager with the Co-op, an area sales manager for a brewery and the owner of a chain of six baker's shops. (It was his son who had the HND in business studies.)

The English fathers were not only predominantly working-class by occupation, engaged in a wide variety of normal industrial jobs. More important for the comparison with Asian parents, 75 per cent were employees, not self-employed. Only the English father with the chain of shops was known to have his own business, though this might conceivably also have been true of others for whom I have no data.

In equally strong contrast only twelve per cent (7) of

the English parents were house-owners and only five per cent (3) owned more than one house. Seventy-nine per cent (44) were tenants.¹ In short, the youths in the English sample were predominantly working-class by parental occupation, by parental employment status and by parental tenure. It is seen therefore that a prima facie class difference does exist between the two groups of young men.

English Sample Exceptional?

However the explanation of the differences in educational attainment is not the easy and obvious one that the English sample included many of the sometimes savagely deprived children of the "poor whites" of twilight Elswick. For while 68 per cent of the matched Asians were still living in this decaying district at the time of interview (and had practically all lived there at some stage), only nine per cent (5) of the English sample lived there even when they reached school-leaving age. The basis of matching was that both samples attended secondary schools which served this part of Newcastle. The residential difference arises because the catchment areas (particularly of the comprehensive and technical schools) included other districts as well.

¹ There was no information about the tenure style of parents in the four cases where the respondent had set up home on his own. The Salvationist family lived in a Salvation Army house.

When they attained school-leaving age ¹ a further 27 per cent (15) of the English youths lived, it is true, in more or less adjacent parts of Elswick to the west, south and south-west. ² The housing here was mixed in quality. Eight had new or prewar Council or still sound private housing. Seven were in poor accommodation, either in old houses about to be demolished or in the prison-like blocks of Council maisonettes known as Noble Street Flats. Even if we take all Elswick for our comparison, the contrast still holds. Eighty-six per cent of the matched Asians lived there at leaving age, but only 36 per cent of the English sample.

The remaining 64 per cent of the English sample were widely scattered. But almost all lived in areas which were better than slum Elswick, superior in housing and environment, more sound and solid in community. Eight lived in Benwell, four further west again in Scotswood, seven in Denton, still further west but to the north. Seven lived in Arthur's Hill, three in Fenham to the west, one in Spital Tongues just north and two in Kenton the other side of the Town Moor. One lived in a Children's Department home in Jesmond. The rest lived

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¹ I take the addresses at school leaving age as the basis of residential comparison, in order to establish a more accurate connection between housing, locality and education.

² For the boundary of twilight Elswick, see p. 43.

outside Newcastle - at Westerhope and Throckley in the west and at Dunston, on the other side of the Tyne.

So much for locality. What about housing conditions? Complete information relating to school leaving age is lacking, though only a minority (36 per cent) of the English sample had changed addresses since that time. However the density of occupation of the two samples at the time of interview was remarkably similar, as Table 43 shows. (Adults and children are counted as one.)

TABLE 43

Matched Asians and English: Density of occupation.

	ENGLISH	ASIANS
Average no. of persons per household	5.24	6.23
Average no. of rooms per household	4.84	5.27
Average no. of persons per room	1.08	1.18
	(N=55)	(N=52)

One sees that the average English household was very nearly one person smaller than the average Asian one and had about half a room less. However the all-important density of persons per room differs only by a tenth of a person, and it is the English sample which has the edge. On average neither the English nor the Asian households were overcrowded

in the sense of having a ratio of more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ persons per room. Table 44 makes a detailed comparison.

TABLE 44

Matched Asians and English: Density of occupation
in greater detail.

Persons per room	ENGLISH		ASIANS	
	No.	%	No.	%
Over $1\frac{1}{2}$	9	16	10	19
Over 1 and up to $1\frac{1}{2}$	15	27	19	36
$\frac{1}{2}$ and over and up to 1	30	54	23	43
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	-	-
No response/ Not applicable	1	2	1	2
Total	56	100	53	100

These figures again illustrate the English sample's slight advantage in housing density. Fifty-five per cent of the English households had a ratio of one person per room or less, compared with only 43 per cent of the Asian households. But the differences are small and at any one degree of density amount at most to eleven per cent.

Table 45 shows that in density of occupation the English sample (like the matched Asians) compared unfavourably with Newcastle households in general. Nevertheless only a small proportion were overcrowded and, in any case, Table 44 showed

that the two matched groups were very similar in occupational density. The poor English educational performance cannot therefore be explained by family living conditions. Nor can it be explained by family size because the average English household was smaller than the average Asian one (Table 43).

TABLE 45

Density of occupation: English sample and all Newcastle households compared.

	English sample %	Newcastle households [‡] %
Over $1\frac{1}{2}$	16	2.6
Over 1 and up to $1\frac{1}{2}$	27	6.7
$\frac{1}{2}$ and over and up to 1	54	58.5
Less than $\frac{1}{2}$	2	32.2
No response/ Not applicable	2	-
<hr/> Total	100	100

[‡] Sample Census 1966, Northumberland, op. cit., p. 15.

I showed before that only a handful of the young men in the English sample lived in twilight Elswick. I listed the different parts of the city where they lived. Most of these were respectable working class and middle class areas. But there were a couple, which while by no means as decayed, deprived and exploited as twilight Elswick, were generally

recognised as rough districts. These were Scotswood and South Benwell.

If one added the young men living in these two districts at the time of reaching leaving-age to the young men who lived in all Elswick and threw in for good measure the boy who was in Council care and those from overcrowded homes not already counted (two only) - if one did this, one could argue that 55 per cent (31) of the English sample came from an untypically deprived background, even though they were not severely underprivileged in housing. This may or may not have been the case. There is really no knowing, since one cannot confidently deduce the home from the neighbourhood.

What one can usefully do at this point is to compare the academic performance of the English sample/with that of the city and the region. There are three measures for which statistics are available. These are the proportion of pupils remaining at school until sixteen, the proportion remaining at school until seventeen,¹ and the proportion of leavers

¹ To be precise, the figures represent the number of pupils aged sixteen and seventeen as a proportion of those aged thirteen respectively three and four years before. The figures for the first two measures are taken from the Department of Education and Science's Statistics of Education 1967, Vol. 1: Schools (London, HMSO, 1968), p. 93, and the Statistics of Education 1969, Vol. 1: Schools (London, HMSO, 1970), p. 27. The figures for the third measure were collected from the Statistics of Education 1963, Part 3 (London, HMSO, 1964), p. 41, and the Statistics of Education 1967, Vol. 2: GCE, CSE and School Leavers (London, HMSO, 1968), p. 89.

obtaining at least five O levels and/or one A level pass.

Table 46 shows the comparative figures.

TABLE 46

Educational performance of Asians and English compared with that of Newcastle and Northern region.

% of boys remaining at school till 16

ENGLISH SAMPLE	MATCHED ASIANS	ALL ASIANS	NEWCASTLE	N. REGION*
20	51	52	23.4 (67)	14.3 (62)- 20.5 (67)

% of boys remaining at school till 17

ENGLISH SAMPLE	MATCHED ASIANS	ALL ASIANS	NEWCASTLE	N. REGION*
9	32	33	13.3 (67)	8.0 (62)- 11.3 (67)

% of boy leavers with 5 O levels and/or 1 A level

ENGLISH SAMPLE	MATCHED ASIANS	ALL ASIANS	NEWCASTLE	N. REGION*
5	20	22	N.A.	13.9 (62-3)- 17.9 (66-7)

* For the sake of simplicity I have not given figures for each year of the period under consideration, but the regional percentage increased regularly each year on all three measures.

It can be seen that on the first two measures of attainment the performance of the English sample is close to the regional performance. One cannot make a precise comparison because one lacks a regional figure for the whole six years. The 1967 Newcastle figures, one notes, are two or three per cent above those for the region. The Department of Education and Science did not publish separate statistics for other years, but if this somewhat better record was maintained throughout the period, then on these two measures the matched English probably fell short of the city-wide level of attainment. The difference however would only be small.

On the third measure - the proportion of boy leavers who obtained five O level passes and/or one A level subject - the DES does not publish separate figures for each local education authority. It is seen that the performance of the English sample falls way below that achieved by all boy leavers regionally. In this respect there is no denying that these youths from the west end of Newcastle did show an untypically low level of educational attainment.

It is apparent at the same time that, irrespective of whether the English sample was typical or not, the young Indians and Pakistanis also did better than the generality of pupils in the city and region.¹ The difference is particularly great in respect of the proportions of pupils

¹ The sample was not of course intended to be representative even of all English pupils in the five west end schools since its characteristics were determined by the Asians with whom they were matched. This is explained in the Appendix.

staying on at school until sixteen, and until seventeen. It is also apparent on the third measure. Twenty-two per cent of the Asians got five passes at O level and/or one at A level, compared with between 13.9 and 17.9 per cent of all the boy leavers in the region. Therefore in the end the superior educational performance of the young Indians and Pakistanis is not simply to be accounted for by the unusually poor achievements of the particular youths in the English sample.

Is one, then, left with a simple class explanation? The class differences are certainly there. On the one hand the sons of property-owning entrepreneurs, on the other the sons of rent-paying workers. The question is, do the class differences account for the educational differences?

Class Disadvantage

I think they undoubtedly explain the poor attainments on the English side. Research has repeatedly established the inferior educational performance of working-class pupils. In this country Floud, Halsey and Martin, who did investigations in Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough in the nineteen-fifties, discovered that the mean IQ of children from the highest occupational group was 15-20 points greater than that of children from the lowest. Differences within

occupational groups were however greater than those between them.

Floud and her colleagues found that the hypothetically "perfect" or "expected" social distribution of grammar school places by class according to IQ was very close to the actual distribution. They concluded that there was in this sense "equality of opportunity".¹

J.W.B. Douglas, in The Home and the School, strips away the reassurance of even this limited kind of equality. His longitudinal study of five thousand children all over the country who were born in the same week of 1946 found, at eight and still more at eleven, the same sort of class differences in average test score.

Douglas, however, shows also that among groups of children whose test scores at eleven were similar "the middle class children are consistently at an advantage until very high levels of performance are reached". He cites as an illustration children who scored between 55 and 57 in the tests. Among them grammar school places were awarded at

¹ J.E. Floud (Ed.), A.H. Halsey and F.M. Martin, Social Class and Educational Opportunity (London, Heinemann, 1956), pp. 44-7. The table on p. 53 nevertheless shows the share of places obtained by children of unskilled workers was well short of the perfect distribution in both areas.

the age of eleven to 51 per cent of those from the upper middle-class, to 34 per cent from the lower middle-class, to 21 per cent from the upper manual and to 22 per cent from the lower manual working-class.¹

In All Our Future, a second volume about the secondary school career of the five thousand children, the authors pinpoint similar differences at the same level of ability in early leaving and in success at O levels. Thus 50 per cent of lower manual working-class pupils of high ability left school after taking O levels, compared with only ten per cent of upper middle class pupils of high ability. Again, 77 per cent of upper middle-class pupils of high ability obtained a "good" O level certificate consisting of at least four passes in at least three of the four main academic fields. This was true of only 37 per cent of equally able lower manual working-class pupils.²

Regional Disadvantage

One could quote other studies which make the same point about class differences in educational performance. Just

¹ J.W.B. Douglas, The Home and the School (London, Macgibbon and Kee, 1966), pp. 46-8.

² J.W.B. Douglas, J.M. Ross, H.R. Simpson, All Our Future (London, Peter Davies, 1968), pp. 25-6.

as well known is the fact that there are strong regional variations. On almost every measure of attainment the Northern region, which comprises Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, Westmorland and the North Riding of Yorkshire, compares badly with all other regions of England and Wales.

The Northern region had, for instance, in 1967 the lowest proportion of boys remaining at school until 16 and (with East Anglia) the equal lowest proportion of boys staying on till 17.¹ It had the lowest proportion of boy leavers with at least five O levels and/or at least one A level, the lowest proportion with two or more A levels and the lowest proportion going on to full-time further education.²

Within the Northern region Newcastle actually made a better showing on the first two measures than the majority of local education authorities. (The other indices are not analysed in this way.) In terms of the proportion of boys staying at school until 16 Newcastle (23.4 per cent) ranked fifth among the 14 LEAs in the region and had the highest percentage of any authority in the North East except Darlington.

Newcastle's record is however seen to be much worse when

¹ Statistics of Education 1967, Vol. 1: Schools (London, HMSO, 1968), pp. 98-9.

² Statistics of Education 1967, Vol. 2: GCE, CSE and School Leavers (London, HMSO, 1969), p. 89.

national comparisons are made. Of 141 LEAs in England and Wales (excluding Greater London) the city ranked only 96th in the proportion of boys staying on till 16. The national average (England and Wales) was 28.6 per cent. The authority with the highest proportion (46.2 per cent) was Solihull, outside Birmingham. West Hartlepool, in County Durham, had the lowest proportion, 12.9 per cent. ¹

It is well known that the middle class is under-represented in the Northern region, as compared with England and Wales as a whole. The region's educational backwardness would appear however to be worse than can be accounted for by its socio-economic structure. Moser and Scott showed that children's terminal age of education correlated highly but not however completely with the social class composition of the towns in which they lived. ² It is unclear whether this extra backwardness arises through a poorer performance by working-class or by middle-class children, or by both.

Surprisingly, not even the subjective reasons for the tradition of early leaving in the North East have been properly investigated. The long and continuing history of economic hardship is almost certainly one of the major factors.

¹ Statistics of Education 1967, Vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 90-7.

² C.A. Moser and Wolf Scott, British Towns (London, Oliver and Boyd, 1961), p. 75.

A recent report by the Northern Economic Planning Council put the matter thus:

Memories of heavy and prolonged unemployment during the inter-war years are still very much alive and, indeed, have been nourished by an unemployment rate which even now is nearly twice the national average.¹ All this creates a climate in which parents may simply consider that the need to have an extra wage coming into the household outweighs any questions of a child staying on at school. Others may fear that if their sons do not leave school at the earliest possible moment, they may miss the chance of securing the "best" jobs or of getting an apprenticeship - which many parents still regard as the height of attainment for a boy.²

Even where it is not a question of naked economic necessity, working-class parents in the region, perhaps more than most, tend not to place much value on education, since they are not familiar with the sort of careers that continued studies can lead to. This is in part because there is in the region a shortage of white-collar and professional jobs.

Among young men themselves there seems to be a fairly strong feeling still that it is soft and babyish to stay stuck behind a desk when one might be entering the man's

¹ I give a full account of the region's employment situation and industrial structure in chapter 13.

² Report on Education, Part 1 (Newcastle upon Tyne, Northern Economic Planning Council, 1970), p. 18.

world of the shipyard, the heavy engineering firm, the steelworks or the mine. These, the traditional industries of the region, prize strength as well as skill. Young people, as the Planning Council report says, are under very strong pressure from their peers to start earning as soon as possible.¹

An apprenticeship is regarded as a good job because it promises good money in the future, because it is relatively safe from unemployment and because, I think, the skills it teaches have an intrinsic satisfaction. Less important probably, but still a consideration is the fact that an apprenticeship offers the prospect of qualifications and advancement. Many an able boy sees his way forward not through the Sixth Form and A level, but through day-release, ONC, HNC, then perhaps block-release and HND, which is said to be equivalent to a pass degree. It must be said, however, that of the economically active in the English sample, only a rather unimpressive 35 per cent (18 out of 52) were following any kind of day-release course.

The final reason for the popularity of the apprenticeship results from the limited types of manual employment available in the region. The proportion of boy leavers in the region who take up apprenticeships each year is consistently above

¹ Loc. cit.

the national average. In 1967, for example, 48.4 per cent of boy leavers in the Northern region entered apprenticeships, compared with 42.6 per cent in Great Britain. The proportion is higher in the Northern region than in any other except Yorkshire and the North West.

At the same time, however, an above average proportion of boy leavers in the region enter employment with no planned training at all. In 1967 again 37.9 per cent of boy leavers in the Northern region took jobs in this category, compared with 34.3 per cent in Great Britain. What is relatively lacking in the region are jobs which while not apprenticeships nevertheless involve a period of planned training. The proportion of boy leavers in the Northern region who entered this sort of job in 1967 was 5.5 per cent, compared with 13.0 per cent in Great Britain.¹

It is true that Newcastle, as regional capital, has a higher than average percentage of boys leaving school to take up clerical work. The relative lack of traineeships in the region means however that in manual employment there is an all-or-nothing situation. One either gets an apprenticeship or one has to be satisfied with unskilled or semi-skilled work. This of course enhances the value of an apprenticeship. —
It encourages boys to leave school early in order to be sure

¹ Detailed figures for other years are given in chapter 13.

of getting one, though according to the Youth Employment Service this is in fact still quite possible at sixteen or seventeen.

For all these reasons there is in the region a lack of interest in pursuing formal academic study. This lack of interest reinforces, and is itself reinforced by, the poor educational provision. The Northern region, for instance, had the highest number of pupils per teacher in secondary schools and the second highest in primary schools.¹ Mention has been made already of the lack of O level courses in Newcastle's secondary modern schools.

I am here chiefly concerned not with all, but with just five of the city's secondary schools. Nevertheless the English sample's answers do illustrate some of the general points I have made. First, the lack of parental keenness for them to stay on. Table 46 makes the comparison with the matched Asians.² The figures show that only 21 per cent of the English parents were actively against their sons staying on (compared with 17 per cent of Asian parents). The commonest attitude (that of 45 per cent) was of indifference, or perhaps a feeling that the advantages and

¹ Statistics of Education 1967, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 4.

² One must however bear in mind the ambiguity noted on p. 143.

disadvantages balanced out.

TABLE 47

Matched Asian and English: Parental encouragement to stay at school.

	ENGLISH	ASIANS
Parents were:		
Very much in favour	8	26
Fairly much in favour	11	7
Pro-Con	25	8
Rather against	11	6
Very much against	1	3
No response	-	3
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 56	<hr/> 53

The high degree of parental encouragement reported by all Indian and Pakistani respondents was noted in chapter 8. Of the matched Asians 49 per cent said their parents were very much in favour of their staying on, compared with only 14 per cent of the English sample.

What reasons did the young men themselves give for leaving school? Table 48 shows their replies, which are again compared with those of the matched Asians.

TABLE 48

Matched Asians and English:
Reasons for leaving school.

	ENGLISH	ASIANS
Didn't like school	13	2
To take a job	27	16
To earn some money	8	1
Didn't want parents to keep me any more	3	3
Everyone left	6	6
Wasn't doing very well	5	10
Other	4	3
	(N=54)	(N=38)

The replies do not, admittedly, give much explicit indication that positive economic necessity compelled many of the English sample to leave. But noticeable is that a much higher proportion of English than Asian respondents said they left to take a job, to earn some money or because they did not like school.

It is interesting too that of those in both matched groups who gave answers relating to getting a job, the Asians seem to have had a clearer idea of what they wanted. Ten of their 16 replies in this category were specific in the sense that they either had a job already lined up or wanted a particular job or at least sought an apprenticeship or a

"good job". The English seem to have been much vaguer. Sixteen of their 27 replies were simply: "To get a job", "I wanted a job" or "I wanted to work".

The other feature to note is the very small number in the English sample who said they left because they were not doing well. Table 47 shows lack of enthusiasm among the English youths rather than lack of ability. These points are illustrated by some of the English answers to the question why they left school.

I wanted to get a job. I didn't want to stay on.
I didn't like school.

To get a job and make some money.

Because I was old enough.

I had a job. Most people left when they were fifteen.

I got sick of it and fancied working.

Summary

In this chapter it was shown that, in contrast to the matched Asians, the English sample was predominantly working-class by parental occupation, by parental employment status and by parental tenure. The explanation of the difference in educational performance was not however that the English sample included many children from twilight Elswick. The majority lived in solid and respectable parts of the city.

The poor English attainments could equally not be accounted for by bad housing conditions.

Comparisons were made to see whether the school performance of the English sample was untypical of the city and the region as a whole. On two of the three measures for which there were figures the English sample did in fact come close to the city and regional level of attainment. On the third the young men fell badly short. It was emphasised however that the young Indians and Pakistanis did better on all three measures than boy pupils generally in the city and/or region. Thus the difference in the educational attainment of the two matched groups of youngsters did not arise simply because the English sample consisted of untypically bad performers.

In the end I decided there was a straightforward class explanation for the poor level of achievement on the English side. This inferior class performance was compounded by a regional backwardness in education. The historic and economic reasons for this were discussed.

12. THE ASIAN ADVANTAGE

Not a Class Advantage

If the class difference largely explains the academic performance of the English sample, does it then also account for that of their matched Asian counterparts? Here the answer must be no. For it was seen in chapter 8 that though there were indications of a class difference in attainment among the young Indians and Pakistanis themselves, this disappeared when other factors were controlled. The difference was in the end more convincingly explained by the age at which the young men came to England and by the type of secondary school they attended.

In other words, though a majority of the young Indians and Pakistanis were (sort of) middle-class and performed accordingly in school, it was not because they were middle-class. The record of working-class Asians was hardly any different when other considerations were taken into account. Overall the young men did well not because they were middle-class, but because they had middle-class educational attributes.

Parental Encouragement

The most important of these was undoubtedly parental encouragement. I have stressed how keen the Indian and Pakistani parents were that their sons should continue their education, (though it was noted that working-class youths reported less encouragement than middle-class respondents).¹ In his analysis of the national survey of 3,000 parents of primary pupils carried out for the Plowden Report, G.F. Peaker concluded that, of the known groups of variables, parental attitude was precisely the factor which accounted for the biggest single difference in the children's school performance. It accounted for more than either material home circumstances or variations in school and schooling.² The Plowden Report showed that it was in this sort of positive interest in their children's education that middle-class parents scored better than working-class parents.³

Despite its importance, one must beware of making a straightforward equation between parental encouragement

¹ See p. 148.

² Children and their Primary Schools. A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), Vol. 2 (London, HMSO, 1967) p. 180. Douglas had reached the same conclusion. See The Home and The School, op. cit., p. 57.

³ Children and their Primary Schools, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 35.

and educational success. As Josephine Klein has put it:

It must not be assumed that the inculcation of achievement motivation can be simply equated with parental encouragement of the child, or exhortations to do well ... Parents who push their children hardest do not thereby necessarily create the right conditions for the child to develop in the desired direction. ¹

The point is well illustrated by the West Indians in Britain. It appears that West Indian parents also are generally ambitious for their children to succeed educationally. Of 200 West Indian women interviewed in Reading, for example, some 75 per cent said they would like to see both sons and daughters go on to higher education. Seventy-three per cent wanted a son to go into one of the professions. ² Among children Bhatnagar found that young West Indians had the most and English pupils the least favourable attitudes towards school. ³ Yet despite this the West Indians performed significantly less well than the English children. ⁴ It was seen that Little and colleagues found that West Indians had a lower level of attainment even

¹ Josephine Klein, Samples from English Cultures, Vol. II (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 510.

² Robert R. Bell, "The Lower-class Negro Family in the United States and Great Britain: Some Comparisons", Race, Vol. XI, no. 2 (October 1969), pp. 178-9.

³ Bhatnagar, op. cit., p. 138.

⁴ Ibid., p. 112.

than other immigrant pupils.¹

Katrin FitzHerbert lists a number of factors in the cultural background of the West Indian family which negate the parents' enthusiasm for educational success. These include the tradition of unstable families, the fact that there are many single mothers, the belief in Victorian child-rearing practices and the tradition of fostering and informal adoption.² Indian and Pakistani children, by contrast, enjoyed the invaluable educational support of a warm, close-knit family life. I found nothing of the irrationally ambitious demands that West Indian parents are sometimes said to make of their children.³ This secure home background was undoubtedly a factor in the academic success of the young Indians and Pakistanis.⁴

¹ See p. 199.

² Katrin FitzHerbert, West Indian Children in London (London, Bell, 1967), p. 40.

³ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 245 (Evidence of the Community Relations Commission). John Lambert, Crime, Police and Race Relations (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1970), p. 247.

⁴ The point has been made that strong family ties are a hindrance to educational and career success since these generally require residential mobility. There may be a future conflict here for the Indian and Pakistani achievers, but it was not apparent yet. It is noticeable however that of the fourteen young Asians in higher education eight were studying either in Newcastle or (in one case) Sunderland. All three young men at Newcastle University were explicit that they had chosen to go there precisely in order to stay at home with their parents. See Fred L. Strodbeck, "Family Integration, Values and Achievement", Education, Economy and Society, ed. A.H. Halsey, Jean Floud and C. Arnold Anderson (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 321. Also: Kingsley Davis, op. cit., p. 216.

An Elaborated Code?

I have said that many of the young Indians and Pakistanis were extremely articulate, and this is evident from some of the quotes already given. Indeed it seems to me that once they had acquired a basic mastery of the language, many of them shared the "elaborated code" that Basil Bernstein says is the characteristic usage of middle-class children, and not the "restricted code" of working-class children.¹

These terms would appear to correspond to what Bernstein earlier called "formal" (middle-class) and "public" (working-class) language, though this is not clear because of Bernstein's own considerable linguistic obscurity. Apropos of the latter dichotomy he emphasises that "initially in the middle class child's life it is not the type of word or range of vocabulary that is decisive, but the fact that he or she is sensitised to a particular organisation of words and structural connections, which become the major medium for the expression of difference and separateness".²

¹ Basil Bernstein, "A Socio-linguistic Approach to Social Learning", Penguin Survey of the Social Sciences 1965, ed. Julius Gould (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 144-68.

² Basil Bernstein, "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning", Education, Economy and Society, op. cit., p. 294.

Bernstein defines some characteristics of formal (middle-class) language as follows:

1. Accurate grammatical order and syntax regulate what is said.
2. Logical modifications and stress are mediated through a grammatically complex sentence construction, especially through the use of a range of conjunctions and subordinate clauses.
3. Frequent use of prepositions that indicate logical relationships as well as prepositions that indicate temporal and spatial contiguity.
4. Frequent use of impersonal pronouns, "it", "one".
5. A discriminative selection from a range of adjectives and adverbs.
6. Individual qualification is verbally mediated through the structure and relationships within and between sentences. That is, it is explicit.
7. Expressive symbolism discriminates and distinguishes between meanings within speech sequence in fine graduations, rather than reinforcing specific dominant words and/or accompanying utterances in a generalised diffuse manner.
8. A language use that points to the possibilities inherent in a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organising of experience. ¹

I suggest that the following rather more extended selections of tape-recorded speech fall under this definition of formal

¹ Ibid., p. 311.

language, as far as I understand it. There are, at the same time, considerable differences between the examples, with Kusam, Hardev and Khan speaking in a much more proletarian, demotic style than the others.

(Lal, aged 20, came to England at 15 from Kenya, left technical school at 17, now a draughtsman, uncle a busdriver):

Like I said before [my father] he's very religious minded, and he's got a very good personality. He can hold you for hours, he can hold your attention for hours, talk to you and you'll never be sick of listening to him. If you will argue with him about anything, when you're finished, you'd think twice about what he had said. In fact if he didn't manage to convert you, the next time when you were speaking to him, you'd always think he was right in everything he said. And he's a firm believer in what he does, he's very, he's very sort of perfectionist. He likes everything to be the way it should be.

(Is he religiously strict?) Yes, very strict. Ah, I mean coming from me it sounds stupid because you'd say, "He can't take care of his own son", or something like that. I mean, you'd say his father's so very religiously strict, whereas the son isn't. But he is, he is. What is said about the religion, about our religion, he likes everything to be the way it's said by the, by the priest, and all that.

(Was he less friendly to you when you took a different view on things?) No, he wasn't, it didn't change at all. He wasn't less friendly because in his mind he thought that one day he would be able to- I would be able to see his point of view, that I'd see like the way he was trying to tell me, and I'd change. And I think he still holds that belief that one day I'm going to change, that whatever he's said to me hasn't gone to waste, it's had some effect on me. But I mean the arguments and things like that have never made him feel different to me.

(You were not able to be very close to him?) Well, I think it was because I was scared of him. Or because I was more- you cannot be close to two people at the same time. Either you're closer to your mother or you're closer to your father, and we were, I was more closer to my mother than I was to my father.

And I think it was the fatherly figure that I was, that's-, the thing I was most scared about was the fatherly figure, than my father as a person. It was just the thought of him being a father that scared me more.

(Kusam, aged 20, came to England at eight, passed the 13-plus but only transferred to another secondary modern with a special O level course. Left at 16 and became a motor mechanic, brother has two drapery shops):

You see, all me brothers, they've got money, but they haven't got the knowledge and the experience of actually doing anything. So they had to rely on somebody and I was the one who was picked like. So I went after a course which, when I go back home, would make our family's name. And I chose automobile engineering, well I chose it, nobody else did. And this is what I did.

(If your mother wanted you to go to university, who decided that you should not go, but should get qualified?) Well, nobody decided it.

Put it this way. They all left it to me. See, it had to be my own decision. I mean me elder brother explained everything, so did all me other brothers. Me mother also explained. Then it was left to me to choose which I thought was more important to me, the family or my own career.

(Then there was what your father said.) Well, the request he made was when he left me at the bus stop, from our home town, (because he didn't come to the ship with us. He couldn't stand the strain, put it that way) was that, "When you come back home, son, be engineer and try and make my name famous. In other words, if you're not engineer, or if you don't become anything, don't ever come back home." That was his own words.

So in a way I tried to fulfil, I'm trying to fulfil them. Shortly afterwards, I mean four nights after I arrived here, he died. I mean, at that time it doesn't sound much. I mean, I was only nine then, it wasn't much. But as it grew up, as I grew up, I mean, the memory of my father. And these were the only two things which stuck out most than anything else, you know, his last dying words, as everybody says. Well, those were the ones which pulled me towards this, more than anything else.

So in a way, if you say, "Who decided it for me not to go to college, you know, further into me studies, or to choose this side", well, you could say it was me father.

Why did you particularly choose to be a motor mechanic?) Well, as I told you, back home it's just a new industry. I mean a person who wants to buy a car, he's got to wait five years for a car. Now there's a demand for more vehicles coming on the road. They've got to be looked after and everything. A garage is just the right thing which would prosper, to my knowledge. So that was one of the points I chose.

And the other one: I've always had fascinations about cars and that. Another thing is that you're always learning something new about cars. I mean a car changes every year, whatever country, whatever model it is. So I mean you're learning every day new something. At the same time I'm hoping I'll prosper in business myself. And in the long run I'm hoping in some other way or another I'll try and build me own vehicles, if I can.

(Think you might be the Indian Ford?) Ha! That's a dream. (Laughs) Well, put it that way - I'm trying.

I'm hoping to go back home in about five years' time, or between that time anyway. I'll buy a couple of taxis, well, cars, and I mean, there are many people up there who are willing to take these cars off my hands. And they'll run as taxis, and they can give me 50 Rupees a day for this car. And while they're being run, see, if they want any services or anything else, they will come to me. And at the same ^{time} all the petrol they use has got to be bought from me. See, in this way I'll be building the garage up.

See, I want something which will build up back home, so that all the rest of me brothers can come into it. See, as I was telling you, the eldest brother, well, he has his, he's a salesman, from starting his life he was. Well he could go on the sales side. And the other one who's done aeronautical engineering, the one who lives in London, well he could come in with me. And the one who does the buses, well, he's a Union man, he's done all the Union courses up here, I mean, he can go as a member of the, head of the Union and all this, if he wants to. So he could look after the public side of it.

And the other one who's done examiner's job in railways, he still is examiner, well, he could come in as buyer or organiser. So all five of us could somehow come into it and spread it even more out. This is ^{what} I'm hoping, anyway. But it all depends on how it goes.

I feel that they are trying to tell me something.
 Could I be one of those insignificant dots
 Insignificant, yet with so much to tell?
 I feel myself nailed to a giant roulette wheel
 Taking me to some destination I know not where.
 Could I drift callously through life
 And accept nature but not God?
 I hate life. Oh how I hate it.

Conclusion: My commonsense rejects the idea
 of an existence of God, but living by nature's
 rule seems just as pointless."

(What do you mean when you say you hate life?)
 Well, that's what I felt at the moment, the time
 of writing that poem. Well, I was just sort of
 confused. There are some people who say you've
 got to believe in something. But I just could
 not find any answer. I could not believe in
 anything, so therefore now I've gradually come
 to accept that, okay that I'm here, therefore
 I'm going to live just for life, for its kicks.
 So I think I would be saying that I believe in me.

(Khan, aged 17, came to England at 11, left
 secondary modern at 15 and became a motor
 mechanic, father a credit draper):
 People I work with, they- really I think they've
 got used to me. I mean when you're younger you
 really feel these differences of colour, but
 soon as you're grown up, I don't feel anything
 at all. Well they call me all sorts of names,
 and I call them back, and we carry on all day
 like that. I can tell when a bloke says, if he
 says, "You black so-and-so", I can tell whether
 he means it friendly or, you know, he's trying
 to be rude or something like that. And we just
 carry on all day like that, calling each other
 all sorts. Well I mean, let's say if a bloke
 was walking on the road and he really meant what
 he said, he said "Black so-and-so", well I would
 really take some action against him.

(What would you do?) Well if he was about my
 size, I would probably have him, you see. But
 if he was bigger, so you would give in, that's
 all you can do, isn't it?

(You were more sensitive about your colour when
 you were younger?) Oh yes, very sensitive.
 Well there was one, when I left school, you see,
 he used to call me names, and we even had a fight
 through it. Well after he went into the Army.

I met him the other day, and I mean to say he's one of me best mates. I mean he's one of the best lads I've known. Well I mean it's only when you're young that you feel that way. You don't really know what you're saying and what you mean. (How were you made to feel different?) Well by somebody calling me names and, well mainly by calling me names and keeping me- well at playtime all the English lads would play football and they'd probably not let you have a game or owt like that. (Were there many other lads from Pakistan where you went to school?) Oh well there was at school. There were quite a few that were Pakistani lads. We even used to have a separate game of football ourselves. So I mean to say it was all right. But I mean the majority of lads they didn't mind, they didn't think of colour and that. There was odd ones who really wanted to be stupid.

(Rasul, aged 20, came to England at seven, passed 13-plus, transferred to another secondary modern with an O level course, left at 16, failed to get an apprenticeship, did HNC in electronics full-time at technical college, became a ship's radio officer, went to university to do a degree in electronics. Father a credit draper):

My personal sympathies lie with both the Indians and Pakistanis and the white people who live in this area. The Pakistanis and Indians because they are illiterate. Their lack of education doesn't allow them to understand the other things in life. They seem to understand only that there's financial aspects of it, making money is one very important task to them.

The white people because their own society doesn't give them a fair share of the national cake. It seems to want things for itself more than it wants anything for people. It seems to be catered for financial and economic and mechanical considerations. It seems to be based on economics, it isn't based on human beings and human needs. Human beings could die out, and computers and robots could take over quite happily. Society as it is doesn't really cater for the human being, it caters for industry. And people round here are accidents, sort of style. I feel strongly towards them. Having anything in engineering doesn't make me feel any less sympathetic towards them, that progress in science is more important than progress in social understanding and the social needs of people. I feel very strongly that these needs should be understood and should be met. And these people who live in this area have suffered from this lack of understanding from society.

It's lack of education, it's lack of upbringing as well for the children, because they're brought up in these sort of conditions, they can only think in that sort of way. Their minds are trained to a particular idea. You

know, you go to the bar, you go to the bookie's and you can live on the dole any time, you don't need to work and there's no need to get any higher. This need doesn't seem to be apparent to them they they should look for a higher standard of life, they should ask more from life except for just beer and sex and nothing else. They should look for other things for their children, for their children suffer as well from this, with parents who've come to this sort of state of just- probably just giving up.

They've tried. I'm not saying they haven't tried. They probably have tried, but they've found it impossible, and I don't blame them for giving up. But I think society should help them to stand up on their feet again. I mean making them understand what life is about. Just lectures, simple talks, and trying to make them see that there is a bigger world, that the world doesn't just consist of Elswick, it consists of a lot of other people as well, the needs of other people. And that their own needs are intermingled with the needs of millions of other people and that they should try to look after themselves. Society should lend a helping hand, instead of just hindering them with regulations, rules, papers, and this sort of thing, which is what it seems to do. I think that "Cathy Come Home" thing was very true. Society does bring you down once you're on the downward path. (Would you say these people are exploited by Indian and Pakistani landlords?) That's a difficult question to answer. Let me put it this way: If the English people living in this area are exploited by the Indians and Pakistanis, then the Indians and Pakistanis are exploited by the people living in this area. You know, it works both ways. One exploits the other, one lives off the other. This is how it is because the English people make use of the Indians and Pakistanis, in their meagre understanding, they think they use them, some of them anyway. In fact they use them very successfully, some of them, because some of them are, well, criminals in a way, and they use them because the Indians and Pakistanis don't particularly care whether you're a criminal or not and they're prepared to take you on, and the English people use you in that way. But the Indians and Pakistanis probably exploit you in this way that they give you a room to live in and they probably charge higher rents than you probably pay elsewhere, and the conditions probably aren't so good. In fact I'd say definitely they aren't good. In fact it's awful, but the point is it exists. So it works both ways, I think. One is exploited by the other. There's no one way to it.

Readers may judge for themselves the socio-linguistic characteristics of these extracts. Dosanjh says it is his impression that even some of the illiterate Punjabi peasants use an elaborated code in their own language.¹ This

¹ Dosanjh, op.cit., p. 17.

suggestion however does not really square with other accounts of the Punjabi language. Prakash Tandon says it "is a quaint language, slow, indelicate and lusty", one which "excels in love and in abuse".¹ Darling says the Punjabi peasant has a "shrewd, picturesque humour which makes his language a joy to those who delight in vivid expression".² The proverb I like best is quoted by Tandon: "Never stand behind a horse or in front of an official".³ Khushwant Singh gives examples of what he calls Punjabi's "charming vocabulary of braggadocio":

A Sikh describes himself as sava lakh (the equal of 125,000) or as an army (fauj). When he goes to urinate, he says he is going to "see a cheetah off"; when he defecates he announces he is going to "conquer the fort of Chittor" or "give rations to a Kazi" ... A one-eyed man was, and often is, called Lakh-netra Singh, the lion with a hundred thousand eyes. Death is simply an order to march - and so on.⁴

I imagine that this vivid, vigorous, earthy, peasant language is far removed from what Bernstein understands by the elaborated code.

¹ Prakash Tandon, Punjabi Century 1857-1947 (London, Chatto and Windus, 1961), p. 68.

² Darling, The Punjab Peasant, op. cit., p. xiii.

³ Tandon, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴ Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 128 (n).

More Ambitious than the People They Join?

The problem, then, largely remains. One may explain the superior educational performance of the matched Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle by reference to the strong encouragement they received from their parents and to their secure home background. But how to account for this parental eagerness for education if one cannot do it by social class?

A standard explanation is an extension of the common argument that people who migrate have more ambition and enterprise than those who stay put. Ronald Goldman states the idea thus:

I myself have a major hypothesis about immigrant children: that they are above average intelligence. If the evidence from any other immigrant movement in the world's history is to be taken as good evidence, it is already established that it is generally the people with initiative and drive and with a high ability who leave a poor and difficult situation to find something more promising. They tend to have, either genetically, or by environmental influence, more intelligent children than those who remain at home.¹

Goldman states the argument in an extreme form. He apparently believes that the children of immigrants are more

¹ Ronald Goldman, Research and the Teaching of Immigrant Children (London, National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, no date), p. 8.

intelligent not only than the children of people who stay behind in areas of emigration, but also than children in the receiving society. For he goes on:

It therefore seems anomalous that fairly large numbers of these above-average children (if my hypothesis is correct) are relegated to backward or retarded or remedial classes labelled in terms of the educationally sub-normal. ¹

Goldman is careful to emphasise that what he says about intelligence is only conjecture. To prove his case will mean crossing the minefield of culture-fair tests. I have already stated that my research has no evidence to offer on this point. However Goldman is making a very bold hypothesis about all immigrants everywhere. The unwritten link in his argument is that migrants also have more "initiative, drive and ability" than people in the country they migrate to. In the same way Dilip Hiro ends an article on Asian and West Indian entrepreneurship: "But then immigrants all over the world tend to be more enterprising than the native". ²

Now this has never been proved and is probably unprovable. And one can think of many exceptions to the proposition. Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York, for example, have

¹ Loc. cit.

² Dilip Hiro, op. cit.

remained overwhelmingly "a submerged, exploited and very possibly permanent proletariat".¹ One may object that both these groups have been kept down by colour discrimination. The Puerto Ricans, in addition, are very recent arrivals.² This is true, though discrimination only part explains the problems of the Negro community.³

The Italians in New York, however, are equally an exception to the argument. They are of course white, and the bulk of them came before the quota act of 1924. In 1950 three-quarters of the first-generation men were manual workers. Two-thirds of the second-generation men were also manual workers.⁴ The Italians too have been very slow to move out of the original areas of settlement.⁵

Generalisers seem to be led astray by the success story of Jewish immigrants and their children. Milton M. Gordon says the reasons for their phenomenal rise in occupational

¹ Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (New York, MIT Press and Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 299.

² Ibid., pp. 93-4

³ Ibid., pp. 50-3.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 205-6.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 187-8.

status relate to the cultural history of the Jews before they came to America.

The traditional stress and high evaluation placed upon Talmudic learning was easily transferred under new conditions to a desire for secular education, if not for the parent generation, at least for the children. The restrictions of Jewish occupational choice in medieval and post-medieval Europe had placed them in the traditional role of traders, self-employed artisans and scholars. Thus the Jews arrived in America with the middle-class values of thrift, sobriety, ambition, desire for education, ability to postpone immediate gratifications for the sake of long-range goals, and aversion to violence already internalised.¹

Compare this now with Glazer and Moynihan's account of the Italian immigrant's attitude to education.

The South Italian immigrants came from villages in which schools were only for the children of the galantuomi (sic), and the peasant's child (should his parents have the strange idea of sending him) was unwelcome. Education was for a cultural style of life and professions the peasant could never aspire to. Nor was there an ideology of change; intellectual curiosity and originality were ridiculed or suppressed. "Do not make your child better than you are", runs a South Italian proverb.

Nor, despite a strong desire for material improvement, did the Italian family see a role for education in America. One improved one's circumstances by hard work, perhaps by a lucky strike, but not by spending time in a school, taught by women, who didn't even beat the children.²

The fact is that different immigrant groups bring with them differing attitudes towards "getting on" which are determined

¹ Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 186.

² Glazer and Moynihan, op. cit., p. 199.

by their diverse economic, social and cultural heritages. I suggest one can by no means generalise that they are more enterprising than the people among whom they settle.

More Ambitious than the People They Leave?

The more common generalisation is that migrants have more initiative than the people who remain behind and do not uproot themselves. One writer puts the idea thus:

In the ancient Homeric myth, Ulysses is perhaps the embodiment of the more enterprising and adventurous individual who feels caged and imprisoned in his environment and wants to break away to new lands. There must be many a Ulysses among today's migrants who are searching for their own discoveries.¹

One might well however oppose Ulysses with another heroic figure, that of Aneurin Bevan. Bevan, writes his biographer, contemplated migrating overseas in the early nineteen-twenties.

Yet always in the end, with his father's sympathetic approval, he reached the same conclusion. He knew little enough about what went on in the faraway lands advertised in the emigration posters but no Marxist would suppose that the misery and the struggle could be conjured away by a passage across the seas. Above all, he did not wish to escape the struggle. Nothing in the apparatus of capitalism infuriated him more than the enticement or economic pressures employed to drive men from the half-derelict hometowns they still loved.²

1 John Triseliotis, "Psycho-Social Problems of Immigrant Families", New Backgrounds, op. cit., p. 93.

2 Michael Foot, Aneurin Bevan: A Biography, Vol. 1 (London, Four Square Books, 1966), p. 38.

Bevan, it is true, migrated in the end to London. But was he less enterprising than the men who abandoned South Wales for New South Wales? Obviously not.

This generalisation is nevertheless more plausible than the first, though it is far from having been "already established", as Goldman claims. The good evidence to which Goldman refers is not adduced in his bibliography.

The true state of current knowledge is very different from what Goldman suggests. In his editorial introduction to a recent reader on the sociology of migration, Clifford Jansen writes:

Demographers have repeatedly tried to establish "universal" migration differentials which would apply in all countries and at all times. But to date the only differential which seems to have stood the test, in research undertaken in various countries and at various times, is that persons in young adult ages 20-34 are more prone to migrate than other age groups.¹

Jansen goes on to quote D.J. Bogue's contention that "further universal differentials do not exist and should not be expected to exist".²

Certain distinctive characteristics have been established about particular migrant groups. It is generally agreed,

¹ Clifford J. Jansen (Ed.) Readings in the Sociology of Migration (Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1970), p. 14.

² D.J. Bogue, "Techniques and Hypotheses for the Study of Differential Migration", paper presented to the 1961 International Population Conference, p. 1.

for instance, that skilled men are over-represented among West Indian immigrants in this country.¹ Again, Puerto Rican immigrants to New York in the nineteen-fifties were, according to the migration division of the island's Department of Labour, better educated than the average Puerto Rican, they had a rather higher level of skill and they tended to come from urban areas.²

Such facts still do not permit one to make the additional step of saying that because on average migrants are more skilled or better educated than the sedentes, therefore they are more ambitious and enterprising. The better qualified migrants may equally have come from families in which the father had a high level of skill or education. In which case they would be simply taking advantage of the father's social position or just following in his footsteps. Peach concludes anyway that unemployed men were also over-represented among West Indian immigrants to Britain, though not to the same degree as skilled men.³

As for Indians and Pakistanis, there has been no research to see whether immigrants to Britain differ - either in skill,

¹ Ceri Peach, West Indian Migration to Britain (London, Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 23-31.

² Glazer and Moynihan, op. cit., p. 96.

³ Peach, loc. cit.

social position and education or in "ambition" - from those who stayed behind. Peach has however noted one distinctive feature in the pattern of migration from India and Pakistan. He argues cogently that the major determinant of the annual fluctuations in West Indian migration in the nineteen-fifties was not internal conditions in the Caribbean, but labour demand in Britain. Allowing a time lag of three months, he found a correlation of 78 per cent between the number of vacant jobs and the number of West Indian arrivals.¹

The response of Indian and Pakistani migration to variations in this economic pull was more sluggish, however. Peach found that "though the bottom of the economic depression was reached in 1958, the net inflow of Pakistanis and Indians did not reach a corresponding trough until 1959".² He offers no explanation, nor is one readily apparent.

Even though nothing is known for certain about the differential aspects of migration from India and Pakistan, the usual claims are made:

It is felt ... that the people who come to England often tend to be those with an above-average share of initiative. Their reason for leaving Pakistan is not that they are rejected by their own community but rather that, being enterprising and ambitious, they are unable to reconcile themselves to the lack of opportunities.³



¹ Ibid., pp. 38-9.

² Ibid., p. 56.

³ Arif Hussain, "Pakistan Takes Emigration Lightly", New Society, November 11, 1965, p. 24.

I suggest, however, that three facts weaken this view of Indian and Pakistani migrants. The most important is that both the Punjab and Kashmir, as shown in chapter 1, have had a long tradition of migration.¹ The same is true of Gujarat and Sylhet, in East Bengal, the other two areas of emigration to England from the sub-continent.²

Migration to England has not been merely restricted to these four regions. It has been confined to particular districts within these regions.³ Here there has been not only a tradition of migration in general. There has developed a tradition of specific migration from particular localities in India/Pakistan to particular towns in this country. Goodall, for instance, noted in 1966 that Pakistanis in Huddersfield were drawn particularly from villages in Toba Tek Singh and adjacent tehsils in Lyallpur district.⁴ In the same year Bell found that most of the

¹ It will be remembered that 78 per cent of the parents of the Newcastle Asians were from the Punjab either immediately or originally, and twelve per cent from Azad Kashmir. The proportions among the matched Asians were 79 and 15 per cent respectively.

² Rose and Associates, op. cit., pp. 57-9.

³ Ibid., pp. 441, 452.

⁴ John Goodall, "Area Report on Huddersfield", supplement to the Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, October 1966. A tehsil is an administrative subdivision of a district.

Indians in Smethwick could be traced back to Jullunder district, and even to a dozen or so towns and villages in the south-east of the district - Jandiala, Batala, Phugwara, Nurmahal etc. ¹

The second fact about Indian and Pakistani migration to which I wish to draw attention is that of sponsorship. Rose argues, apropos of West Indians, that since a single ticket to the United Kingdom cost the equivalent of half a year's wages for an unskilled worker, "it was therefore likely to be the most enterprising who decided to make the journey". ²

It was seen that the air fare from Pakistan represents over four times the country's annual average per capita income, so that the real cost of migration to a Pakistani peasant is even greater. The point however is that he has not had to find all the money himself. He could raise contributions from his kinsmen and indeed might be readily sponsored by them in a family venture to make their fortunes as well as his. Desai writes of the Gujaratis:

/in India It is usually the junior members of the extended family, whose labour on the family land or business is superfluous, who come to the United Kingdom. The junior member is the young son or the brother, unemployed or badly employed in India, and his journey is financed by the family. ³

¹ Roger Bell, "Area Report on Smethwick", Ibid., September 1966.

² Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 50.

³ Desai, op. cit., p. 7.

Rasul's brother confirmed this:

There's a lot of people who couldn't afford, who borrow the money from friends. "Lend us some money. I want to go to England and I'll pay you as soon as I get there", and things like that. And they've come over. They're very poor back home, and things like that, and they've helped their family, you know, to live good life.

The sponsorship has continued over here:

The Indian who migrates to this country comes not as a private individual to a lonely bed-sitter but as a member of a family to the home of a kinsman. Each Indian is part of a family, which is itself part of a village which is part of a wider linguistic or religious community. Thus an Indian comes with the agreement of his family and village kinsmen in India to the home of his sponsor: the sponsor in turn is part of the same village-kin network which extends throughout India and the countries abroad where there are settlements. This network will ensure that he is met at the airport, found accommodation and work, and cared for in every possible way. If he is unable to find work in one town he will be passed on to village-kin in others until he is successful.¹

The third fact about Indian and Pakistani migration is that since settlement has been concentrated in certain inner areas of our cities, Indians and Pakistanis have been able in some measure to recreate something of their previous communal life. The newly-arrived Indian or Pakistani has thus enjoyed the psychological reassurance and social warmth of having about him relatives and

¹ Roger T. Bell, "The Indian Background", New Backgrounds, op. cit., p. 54.

co-villagers, or at least other members of the regional-linguistic group.

In the beginning, of course, this concentration arose largely because only certain areas provided the Indians and Pakistanis with accommodation that was cheap and available. It has undoubtedly been maintained in part at least by discrimination in housing, though I do not believe this was a major factor in Newcastle. At the same time it performed the invaluable function of preventing social and psychological dislocation. Milton Gordon characterises this function well when writing about the United States:

The self-contained communal life of the immigrant colonies served, then, as a kind of decompression chamber in which the newcomers could, at their own pace, make a reasonable adjustment to the new forces of a society vastly different from that which they had known in the Old World.¹

For these reasons - the tradition of migration, sponsorship and the recreation of communal life - I would argue strongly that Indian and Pakistani parents did not need to be particularly ambitious and enterprising in order to migrate to England. These characteristics of migration from India and Pakistan are not, of course, peculiar to those countries. Referring to John S. Lindberg's study of Swedish migration

¹ Gordon, op. cit., p. 106.

to the USA,¹ William Petersen, for example, writes:

As communities in the new country grew in size and importance, the shift from Sweden to America required less and less of a personal adjustment. Before the migrant left his homeland, he began his acculturation in an American-Swedish milieu, made up of New World letters, photographs, mementoes, knick-knacks. There developed what the peasants called "America fever": in some districts there was not a farm without some relatives in America, and from many all the children had emigrated.²

Petersen distinguishes generally between pioneers and followers. He goes on:

Migration becomes a style, an established pattern, an example of collective behaviour. Once it is well begun, the growth of such a movement is semi-automatic: so long as there are people to emigrate, the principal cause of emigration is prior emigration ... When emigration has been set as a social pattern, it is no longer relevant to enquire concerning the individual motivations.³

I have, I believe, made out a similar case. The first Indians and Pakistanis to leave their villages for this country may perhaps be described as Ulyssian adventurers - but surely not the rest with such a well-trodden, well-hostelled path to follow.

¹ John S. Lindberg, The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1930).

² William Petersen, "A General Typology of Migration", in Jansen, op. cit., p. 64.

³ Ibid., p. 63. Emphasis in the original.

Energetic, Enterprising Castes

If one cannot account for the motivation of the Asian parents and their children in terms of their being migrants, the explanation must lie somewhere in the fact that they are Indians and Pakistanis. I would suggest two main reasons for the young men's educational success.

The first reason relates to the particular characteristics of the two castes, Jat and Khatri, to which the great majority of the Newcastle parents belonged. The Jats have a well-merited reputation for industry, enterprise and fierce independence. The latter has for centuries brought them into conflict with both civil and religious authority.

The relationship of a Jat village with the state was that of a semi-autonomous unity paying a fixed sum of revenue. Few governments sought to assert more authority, and those which did soon discovered that sending out armed militia against fortified villages was not very profitable. The Jat's spirit of freedom and equality refused to submit to Brahmanical Hinduism and in its turn drew the censure of the privileged Brahmins of the Gangetic plains who pronounced that "no Aryan should stay in the Punjab for even two days" because the Punjabis refused to obey the priests.¹

The spirit of freedom and equality expressed itself eventually in Sikhism. This, as already noted, was

¹ Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 15. The quotation comes from the Mahabharata, the great Hindu epic written between the third century BC and the first century AD.

monotheistic ("There is no Hindu, there is no Mussulman", said Guru Nanak) and opposed to caste distinction.¹ The Jats from the central plains took over the leadership of Sikhism from the non-militant urban Khastris when Gobind Singh (1666-1708), the last of the ten founding Gurus, turned it from a pacifist to a martial sect in order to protect his followers from extermination by the Moguls.² The Jats were the backbone of the Punjabi nationalism which established a Sikh kingdom stretching at the beginning of the 19th century from the Himalayas to the deserts of Rajputana.³ They became the ruling class and the aristocracy.⁴

By no means all Jats are Sikhs, of course. In 1925 one-third were Muslims, only one-fifth were Sikhs, and the rest were Hindus.⁵ Whatever their religion, Darling says

¹ Khushwant Singh, The Sikhs, op. cit., pp. 24, 41-2. Nanak also preached equality of the sexes: "How can [women] be called inferior when they give birth to the greatest of men?" DeWitt John Jr. Indian Workers' Associations in Britain (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1969), p. 65(n).

² Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 89.

³ Ibid., p. 14. Khushwant Singh, The Sikhs, op. cit., p. 58. Britain annexed the Punjab in 1849.

⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

⁵ K.R. Qanungo, quoted in Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 14.

they have "a tenacity of character and a skill in farming which make them the best cultivators in India". He goes on:

As a settlement officer says, "unremitting in toil, thrifty to the verge of parsimony, self-reliant in adversity and enterprising in prosperity, the Jat ... is the ideal cultivator and revenue-payer". Ploughing, weeding or reaping, he will bear the burden and the heat of the day, and at night will take his turn at the well. Of the same fibre are the women, and if the Rajput wife is an economic burden, the Jatni is an economic treasure.¹

Though the Jats are pre-eminent, there are also other skilled agriculturist castes in the Punjab, such as the market-gardening Arains.² The result in the Indian East is that the yields of all major crops are higher than the national average.³ East Punjab has far more than her share of agricultural machinery. In 1961 the state had, for example, 20 per cent of all iron ploughs and 25 per cent of all tractors in the whole of India.⁴ Because of its prosperous agriculture, East Punjab, it was estimated, was the third richest state in the country.⁵ In his last book,

¹ Darling, The Punjab Peasant, op. cit., p. 38.

² Ibid., p. 50.

³ John, op. cit., p. 9.

⁴ Ibid., p. 12.

⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

written on the eve of independence and partition, Darling claimed the Punjab had perhaps the most prosperous peasantry in all Asia. ¹

So much for the Jats. The Khattris are equally enterprising and successful, though in different fields. The ethnologist Sir George Campbell wrote:

Trade is their main occupation; but in fact they have broader and more distinguishing features. Besides monopolising the trade of the Punjab and the greater part of Afghanistan, and doing a good deal beyond these limits, they are in the Punjab the chief civil administrators, and have almost all literate work in their hands.

He concludes:

Altogether there can be no doubt that these Khattris are one of the most acute, energetic and remarkable races in India. ²

These two castes, I suggest, have been largely responsible for giving all Punjabis the reputation among other Indians for hard-working, forceful individualism. As evidence of this quality one might cite not only the fact that Sikhism was born in the Punjab but also that the Hindu reform movement Arya Samaj established particularly strong roots there. The movement, the name of which means Society of the Aryan People, was founded in 1875 by Swami Dayanand Saraswati,

¹ Darling, At Freedom's Door, op. cit., p. 65.

² Quoted in H.A. Rose, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 506.

from Gujarat. He denounced idol-worship, caste, polygamy and child-marriage. He preached one omnipresent but invisible God and advocated a return to the simplicity of Vedic ritual and manners.¹ Again, the Punjab is one of the centres of Indo-Pakistani Christianity.² The Jullundur Doab is something of a communist stronghold.³

Another symptom of Punjabi enterprise is migration itself. "If there were land in Mars we would go there", one man told Darling in the Canal Colonies.⁴ Several writers ascribe this quality to the province's history, already noted, of always having been a frontier no-man's-land through which waves of invaders, colonists and immigrants passed into India. Kusum Nair writes:

¹ Ronald Segal, The Crisis of India (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 92-3. Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 138-9.

² Weekes, op. cit., p. 43.

³ Aurora, op. cit., p. 79.

⁴ Darling, At Freedom's Door, op. cit., p. 81.

✓ I am not here contradicting what I said earlier about the characteristics of migrants. I am not arguing that the migrants showed more enterprise than those who remained behind, but that migration is evidence of a quality which migrants shared with these others.

The Punjab has borne the brunt and the first impact of almost all the major invasions by foreign powers from time immemorial, this having been the traditional route of entry into the subcontinent. The result has been that the people of the Punjab have developed an unusual capacity for adjustment to change, which makes them one of the least "rooted" communities in India, mentally, culturally or physically. ¹

Education Actively Desired

These distinctive caste attributes of hard work and enterprise are, I suggest, the first reason for the young Asians' educational success. The second reason is the great esteem in which education is held in India and Pakistan.

In the value-system of the immigrants literacy and education, and above all a university education, give prestige. ²

Although few Indians have studied English before, all are aware of its importance and all have a very high regard for British education. Education as such has always been greatly valued by Indians. Literacy is especially highly regarded. ³

Education is not just respected in theory. It is actively desired even by the peasantry, at least in the Punjab.

¹ Kusum Nair, Blossoms in the Dust (London, Duckworth, 1961), p. 112.

² Desai, op. cit., p. 9.

³ Bell, New Backgrounds, op. cit., p. 65.

Malcolm Darling, who was registrar of peasant co-operatives in the Punjab, reported after one of his horseback tours of the province in the nineteen-thirties:

Apathy can of course be found, especially where the teaching is bad and the master holds aloof from the village. But the 1,400 miles I rode left me with the strong impression that the peasant now wants education for his boys.¹

This is an account of one of the daily meetings he had with villagers on the tour:

All along our route I find an indifference to politics and a keenness for education. Yesterday when I asked the gathering what were the advantages of going to school, the tongues were unloosed. "With education one can measure the land, understand accounts, perhaps get service", said a tenant. "One becomes a human being; one does not eat fraud", added an older member who had read in the Primary School. Then quoting Saadi:² "Without knowledge one cannot recognise God." "Which is the greatest advantage of all?" I asked.

"He who reads may take part in the assembly (ijlas) of a king."

Another less ambitious said: "He knows how to rise and sit down, and he can get service."³

¹ Malcolm Lyall Darling, Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village (London, Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 326. Darling, it is interesting to learn, was a friend of the novelist E.M. Forster. Forster dedicated his book The Hill of Devi to him. Darling himself appears in the narrative, as he desperately tries to bring some order to the disorganised and bankrupt court of the Indian princeling to whom Forster was private tutor.

² Saadi (1184?-1291) was a famous Persian poet.

³ Wisdom and Waste, op. cit., p. 31.

The service referred to here is government service.

Darling noted on a previous tour:

As everyone knows, the peasant's object in sending his boy to school is to secure him admission to government service. A Rajput educational official of the tahsil says this is largely because service promises a regular income, whereas farming often leaves a man with no income at all. ¹

On his farewell tour in 1947 Darling found that returned soldiers in particular wanted education for their sons. ²

Other witnesses confirm ordinary people's enthusiasm for education. Tandon writes in his autobiography:

There was an overall class of Punjabi professionals who had been educated at Lahore, and this was not a caste of birth or inheritance, for in many colleges, especially those started by charitable trusts, there was a large number of students from humble homes in towns and villages. Punjabi parental ambition to give their sons, and soon their daughters, higher education was indeed great, and often touching. ³

Zekiye Eglar found the same eagerness among villagers she lived with near Gujrat, in what had by then become Pakistan. ⁴ Finally, Rasul's elder brother, who went back to his grandparents in a village near Lyallpur and continued studying

¹ Darling, Rusticus, op. cit., p. 9.

² Darling, At Freedom's Door, op. cit., p. 54.

³ Tandon, op. cit., p. 192.

⁴ Eglar, op. cit., p. 191.

for a couple of years on leaving secondary modern school in Newcastle, recalled in similar terms:

Well, everybody, I mean, there wants their kids to have a better life and everything, and they try and send them to school. That's the most important thing. There are people, especially in our villages, people, lot of kids who went to school with us, they sort of wanted their children to go to school, but they had to pay fees.

You have to pay your own expenses, books and everything, and you've got to have your uniform before you go to school - although it's only sort of a white pyjama or a white shirt, but it still costs bit of money in our country when people don't earn so much.

But I knew these, lot of people in our country, they sort of instead of eating their own meal twice, they eat it once and let the kids go to school, save that up.

This, then, is how I account for the young Asians' educational achievements. I explain it not in terms of class or in terms of a theory about migrants, but by the parents' distinctive caste traditions of energetic, enterprising individualism and by their active desire for education back in India and Pakistan. These two background factors took the form in Newcastle of strong parental encouragement to study and prevented many (but not all) Asian youths from accepting the attitude of indifference to academic education which was dominant among English pupils in the schools. The English pupils, it was seen, lacked this positive parental support.

The Factor of Colour

It was said earlier that the explanation of the achievement motivation of the Asian parents and their children must lie somewhere in the fact that they were Indians and Pakistanis. There is a variant of this explanation which ascribes part at least of their motivation to the fact, not that they were specifically Indians and Pakistanis, but that they were coloured. Dipak Nandy is one who puts this view. He suggests that the unrealistic aspirations reported by Beetham in Birmingham "may also reflect an understanding by coloured immigrants and their children that in an alien and white world they must aim higher and be better to get as far as their white counterparts". ¹

Only one of my respondents in fact mentioned this consideration to me, but I think it was almost certainly an influencing factor. It will be seen in chapter 27 that many of the young men suffered from a strong sense of being different, of not belonging. I would argue nevertheless that this is not the main explanation. With such strong indigenous traditions behind them, the young Indians and Pakistanis would surely be motivated to succeed educationally

¹ Dipak Nandy, "Unrealistic Aspirations", Race Today, May 1969, p. 10. Emphasis in original.

whichever country they migrated to and whatever the colour of its population.

Why Was Newcastle Different?

The explanation is not yet complete, because these background factors applied equally, one imagines, to Punjabi pupils in other parts of England. Why did they take effect in Newcastle, but not apparently in other areas where investigations have been carried out? ¹

It might be contended that parental influence operated in Newcastle because there was only a small number of immigrant pupils in the city's schools. ² I would not accept this explanation, because in the first place Newcastle Education Department, as seen in chapter 9, did not cope at all competently even with those non-English-speaking pupils it did have.

It might still be said that if there are only two or three such children in a class, then they have the advantage over those who formed part of a much higher proportion. The

¹ For other research, see chapter 10.

² For figures, see p. 173.

argument is that they make faster progress in English because they simply have to absorb the language they hear spoken around them. It seems generally agreed however that this is a fallacy, at least as concerns secondary pupils. The Ministry of Education pamphlet English for Immigrants says that while by mere exposure to the language children will pick up a good deal of spoken English which is adequate for everyday social situations, "it will be a very long time before they acquire in this way sufficient English to enable them to pursue their studies in the more literary subjects". Indeed, the pamphlet concludes,

When there are comparatively few overseas children in a school, the problem is in some ways aggravated since it will be more difficult to make special provision for them; a larger number would merit special facilities in the way of staffing, accommodation and equipment. ¹

June Derrick confirms this view. She says that when a teacher has a large class of which immigrants form only a small proportion

The non-English-speaking pupils are often carried as passengers through lesson after lesson without their being able to participate in any way. The language problem in this case remains untackled, and it remains so - or part of it remains so - even if these same pupils begin to pick up a little English. For they will still lag behind the rest of the class, and many of them will be unable to follow a normal lesson fully in any subject. ²

¹ Ministry of Education, English for Immigrants (London, HMSO, 1963), p. 12.

² June Derrick, Teaching English to Immigrants (London, Longmans, 1966), pp. 2-3.

For these reasons it is not possible to maintain that the Indian and Pakistani pupils in Newcastle gained from being only a small proportion of the school population. I strongly suggest that the answer lies rather in the fact that a relatively high proportion of my respondents - 49 per cent overall, 42 per cent of the matched Asians - arrived in England early, that is, below the age of eleven, or were born here. These, in other words, had had at least four years' English education.

In the other areas that are known about the picture is different. It has already been seen that in Birmingham in 1966 78 per cent of coloured pupils of school-leaving age (Asian and West Indian together) had been in England under four years and 34 per cent under one year.¹ In 1968 some 47 per cent had had less than two years' English schooling.²

In Ealing the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration was given figures which show that of the immigrant pupils who reached leaving age in the school year 1967-8, 70 per cent had received less than four years' English education. Forty-four per cent had been at school in England less than two years.³ In Huddersfield in the

¹ Beetham, op. cit., p. 4.

² The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 133.

³ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 518.

two years 1967 and 1968, 78 per cent of immigrant leavers (the bulk of whom left at 15) had lived in England less than four years. Fifty-six per cent had lived in England less than two years.¹ In both places two-thirds of these pupils were Asians, and one third West Indians. Finally, Bob Hepple states that of all coloured immigrants eligible nationally to leave school at the end of the summer term of 1966, one-half had had less than two years' English education.²

I suggest that parental encouragement, however strong, could not overcome this sort of disadvantage. Good results admittedly were reported from Ealing,³ but these were not necessarily achieved by late arrivals. This study, as well as previous research by Saint, Dosanjh, Little and Wiles,⁴ all make the point that performance improves the longer immigrant children have had English education.

One may still ask why Indian and Pakistani secondary modern pupils succumbed much more than comprehensive pupils to the

¹ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 664.

² Bob Hepple, Race, Jobs and the Law in Britain (London, Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1968), pp. 15-6. Hepple does not cite any source for this information.

³ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 524.

⁴ See chapter 10.

English ethos of ^{not} continuing education, if parental enthusiasm and their classmates lack of it were constant in each case. The teachers' encouragement may have been a factor here, but I think a more important explanation is the quality of adaptability, the determination to make the best of any given situation, which is strongly implicit in the earlier account of the parents' background. Certainly the secondary modern pupils wanted education, but not at all cost and to the exclusion of all else. The attitude was, I suggest, that if studies cannot conveniently be continued past fifteen - very well, let's get an apprenticeship which "when I go back home [will] make our family's name".¹

Summary

In this final chapter in the education section of this study I argued first that the middle-class background of a majority of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle does not account for their educational performance, since there was earlier found to be no difference in attainment between children of self-employed and of non self-employed parents. I maintained that the young men did well in school not because they were middle-class but because they had

¹ Kusam, quoted above, p. 234.

middle-class educational attributes. The most important of these was strong parental encouragement to study. They had also the support of a stable family life.

After an inconclusive excursion into the mysteries of the restricted and elaborated code, the problem remained of finding the origin of this parental eagerness for education. I examine the argument that it is because migrants are "more enterprising" than those who stay behind and/or than those among whom they settle. I attempt to refute this generalisation by showing that different immigrant groups bring with them differing attitudes towards getting on. I show that hardly any universal migration differentials have been established. I argue finally that where, as in the Punjab and Kashmir, migrants follow a strong tradition of migration to particular places, where they are sponsored and cared for by relatives who have transferred something of the old life to the new land, then they do not need to be particularly enterprising in order to migrate.

I conclude that the motivation of the parents and children lies in the fact that they are Indians and Pakistanis. I isolate two main reasons. The first is the distinctive quality of hard-working, energetic enterprise which characterises the two castes (Jat and Khatri) to which the bulk of the Newcastle parents belonged. The second reason is the strong desire for education which exists in the Punjab.

Almost certainly another consideration, though I think less important, was the realisation by the young men and their parents that in a white world they must aim higher in order to get as far as their English counterparts.

I argue lastly that the background factor took effect in Newcastle, but not apparently elsewhere because immigrant pupils in other areas on the whole arrived in England older. Parental encouragement could not surmount this disadvantage.

EMPLOYMENT

13. INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT ON TYNESIDE

When me father was a lad
 Unemployment was so bad
 He spent best part of his life down at the dole.
 Straight from school to the labour queue
 Raggy clothes and holey shoes
 Combin' pit-heaps for a manky bag o' coal.
And I'm standing at the door, at the same old bloody door
Waiting for the pay-out as me father did before.

Nowadays we've got a craze
 To follow clever Keynesian ways
 And computers measure economic growth.
 We've got experts milling round
 Writing theories on the pound
 Caring little whether we can buy a loaf.
And I'm standing at the door, at the same old bloody door
Waiting for the pay-out like me father did before.

- Alex Glasgow. ¹

This part of my study deals with the sort of jobs obtained by the Indian and Pakistani lads who had abandoned full-time education. As in the section on education I shall compare their experiences with those of the English control sample.

¹ From Alan Plater's Close the Coalhouse Door (London, Methuen Playscripts, 1969), pp. 49-50.

To get a full understanding, however, of how well or badly they did, one needs to place their record in its local economic context. One needs to be familiar with the pattern of industry in the region. One must take into account the availability of the jobs sought and the jobs obtained. One must be aware of the employment situation in general. I fill in this economic background in the first chapter.

A History of Unemployment

The fall from prosperity has been summed up thus:

Tyneside's golden age was in the nineteenth century; a change came after the first world war. Coal exports diminished, shipbuilding suffered increasingly from foreign competition, and Tyneside was plunged suddenly into the depths of depression.¹

In 1927 one worker in four in the North East was unemployed.

In 1932 almost one in three was without a job. In Jarrow in 1933 after National Shipbuilders Security Ltd. had bought up and scrapped Palmer's shipyard, the proportion was over three in four.²

¹ Report and Proposals for the Tyneside Special Review Area (London, HMSO, 1963), p. 3.

² Helen G. Bowling, L.C. Coombes, Robert Walker, The Land of the Three Rivers (London, Macmillan, 1958), pp. 282-3.

Those decades of decay have left their mark on the region. One writer, not an over-impressionable Southerner, but born and bred in industrial Lancashire, remarks:

The visitor cannot drive up here, through Blackhall Colliery, through Horden, through Easington, through Seaham, and through Ryhope, without recalling a score of news-printed pictures of pithead disaster scenes; he cannot push on through Sunderland, through Shields, through Hebburn, through Felling, and into Gateshead without remembering that a book called The Town that was Murdered was once written about these parts; for all his journey is through places still grim enough to stir the most appalling half-memories.¹

One often gets the feeling too that the years of defeat have taken away some of the people's fight and benumbed them into resignation.

After World War II unemployment in the North East shrank to within a point or two of the national figure. From 1955, however, the gap started opening up again.² During the six-year period 1962-7 in which my young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle reached school-leaving age, unemployment in the Northern region stood at or about twice the level for Great Britain. In most of these years the unemployment rate for Tyneside was slightly higher still.

¹ Geoffrey Moorhouse, Britain in the Sixties: The Other England (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1964), p. 168.

² Newcastle upon Tyne City Council, Development Plan Review 1963, p. 39.

Table 49 compares the three sets of unemployment figures for each of the six years.¹

TABLE 49

Percentage unemployed (male and female) in Tyneside, Northern region and Great Britain 1962-67.

	TYNESIDE	NORTHERN	GREAT BRITAIN
1962	3.9	3.7	2.0
1963	5.1	5.0	2.5
1964	3.4	3.3	1.6
1965	2.6	2.6	1.4
1966	2.7	2.6	1.5
1967	4.0	4.0	2.4

Sources: The Northern and GB figures are taken from the Employment and Productivity Gazette. The Tyneside figures are calculated in the same way, that is, by averaging for each year the monthly unemployment totals made available by the regional office of the Department of Employment and representing these as a percentage of the total employee population at the middle of the preceding year.

¹ The Northern region of the Department of Employment consists of the three North East counties (Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire North Riding) plus Cumberland and Westmorland, on the other side of the Pennines. According to the Hailsham Report, the North East contained about 90 per cent of the region's employees. The North East: A Programme for Regional Development and Growth (London, HMSO, 1963), p. 43(n).
Tyneside comprises the area covered by the following Employment Exchanges and Youth Employment Bureaux: Blaydon, East Boldon, Felling, Gateshead, Jarrow and Hebburn, Newburn, Newcastle, Elswick, Walker, North Shields, South Shields, Wallsend, West Moor, Whitley Bay.

It is seen that the worst year for unemployment was 1963, when an average of 5 per cent were out of work in the Northern region. The figure reached 7 per cent in February of that year. The rate then dropped until it was only 2.6 per cent in 1965 and 1966. In 1967 however it rose sharply again to 4 per cent.

One notes that the Northern region's best year was still worse than Great Britain's worst year. To paraphrase a song of a few years' ago: "Even the good times are bad". In each of the six years unemployment in the North was higher than in any other region of the country, except Wales (two years), Scotland (four years) and Northern Ireland (every year).

Industrial Structure

Between 1960 and 1964 the number of male employees in employment in the Northern region actually dropped by 2.8 per cent, whilst in Great Britain as a whole it rose by 3 per cent.¹ In Challenge of the Changing North the Northern Economic Planning Council said this had happened, "despite the attraction ... of a large amount of new industry",²

¹ Northern Economic Planning Council, Challenge of the Changing North (London, HMSO, 1966), p. 12.

² Ibid., p. 9.

for three main reasons, two of which are relevant to Tyneside.

Firstly, the region had an above-average proportion of those manufacturing industries which were in decline during the period. These more than cancelled out growth in other manufacturing and in service industries.¹

To put it another way, the region had less than its fair share of growth industries. In 1960 industries with an employment expansion rate of over 20 per cent employed 24 per cent of the total insured population of Great Britain, but only 14.5 per cent of the insured population of the Northern region.²

Secondly, according to the Planning Council, the region suffered a contraction of employment in declining industries proportionally greater than that experienced nationally.³ The main industries in decline were mining and shipbuilding, those pillars of the North East's former prosperity. Between 1960 and 1964 mining in the Northern region lost 20.5 per cent of its workforce, and shipbuilding and marine engineering 25.6 per cent.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 12.

² Development Plan Review, op. cit., p. 40.

³ Challenge, op. cit., p. 12.

⁴ Ibid., p. 79.

The third reason the Planning Council gives for the region's loss of male jobs is increased productivity.¹

It particularly mentions industries such as chemicals and metal manufacture, which suggests that this factor applied perhaps more to Teesside than to Tyneside.

The region's dependence on mining, even after the drastic contraction just detailed, is reflected in its distinctive industrial structure. Table 50 compares the distribution of employment across the main types of industry in mid-1964 with that in Great Britain generally.

TABLE 50

Proportion of employees in employment (male and female)
by type of industry: Northern region and Great Britain

	NORTHERN	GREAT BRITAIN
Extractive [*]	11.9%	5.2%
Manufacturing	32.3	38.1
Construction	7.5	7.1
Services	46.3	49.6
	100.0	100.0

^{*} This category comprises agriculture and fishing as well as mining and quarrying.
Source: Challenge, op. cit., p. 79. This includes construction among the service industries.

¹ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

One notes that in the Northern region over twice the proportion of employees than nationally worked in extractive industries. At the same time lower than national proportions worked in both service and manufacturing industries.

This, then, was the pattern of employment by industry about halfway through the six years during which my respondents reached leaving age. In the latter three years mining continued to decline apace. But the contraction in shipbuilding and marine engineering was largely halted.¹

As Table 49 showed, the Northern region enjoyed two relatively good years in 1965 and 1966. Then the government's deflationary policies started to bite, and the Northern region was bitten worse than any. Unemployment jumped in 1967. By 1969 it was 4.8 per cent in the region and 5.2 per cent on Tyneside, i.e. as bad as in the black year of 1963.²

New jobs were of course created during these years. The government gave industry rich inducements to expand in the North. In 1969 the region received £57 million in investment

¹ Estimated number of employees in production, June 1967. Ministry of Labour Gazette, April 1968, pp. 286-8.

² For the source of these figures, see the note after Table 49. By 1969 Tyneside also included the area covered by Prudhoe exchange.

grants, employment premiums, advance factories, and the like.¹

Yet it is generally agreed that the new jobs did not even keep pace with the employment lost in declining industries. One commentator, writing in 1968, estimated the annual job loss in the North East at around 16,000.

He went on:

In the past six years the average number of new jobs has been 10,876. Thus at least a further 5,000 per year are needed to maintain the present level of economic activity.²

Mr. Fred Dawson, director of the North East Development Council, confirmed this assessment:

To cut migration and reduce unemployment a total of 24,000 new jobs for males annually is desirable and at least 18,000 are vital. By comparison the average yearly number in the 1960s was 10,700 jobs for males.³

¹ Dave Peers, Unemployment in the North East (Newcastle, International Socialism pamphlet, 1970), pp. 2-3.

² Kenneth Cooper, "Seven years' slog: for what?" The Journal (Newcastle), September 24, 1968.

³ North East Development Council, Ninth Annual Report 1969-70, p. 5. Department of Employment officials to whom I spoke at regional headquarters tended to dismiss these figures on the grounds that it is not possible to measure precisely the number of jobs either created or lost.

Migration

Another symptom of the region's economic health is migration. This is really hidden unemployment, consisting of people who leave or lose their jobs, but do not appear in the out-of-work statistics. Estimates of the number of migrants have varied, but Challenge of the Changing North put the region's net loss through migration between 1951 and 1964 at 92,600 people.¹ It suggests that from 1959 onwards the net loss averaged about 12,000 people a year, of whom over two-thirds were males.²

Earnings

One other indicator of the region's economic condition may be referred to here. This is individual earnings, which MacLeod and Watkin argue are more informative than regional unemployment data because they are "more sensitive to economic conditions and a more precise index of economic performance".³

¹ Challenge, op. cit., p. 75.

² Ibid., p. 13.

³ Kenneth MacLeod and Eirgwyn Watkin, Regional Earnings and Regional Development (London, Centre for Environmental Studies: University Working Papers, 1969), p. 7.

Thus in 1965-6 the annual average earnings of fully employed males in the Northern region were, at £1,034, lower than all but three of the other ten regions of Great Britain. The average for Great Britain was £1,103. The highest average earnings were £1,201 in Greater London.¹

Again, in the same year 55.2 per cent of fully-employed males in the Northern region earned less than £1,000 a year. This compared with 49.5 per cent in Great Britain and only 40.53 per cent in Greater London.²

Unemployment among Young People

However - it is unemployment, and in particular juvenile unemployment, that is of most relevance, because one of the main purposes of this chapter is to show how readily jobs were available to my respondents. The most vivid illustration is provided by the Central Youth Employment Executive in its Monthly Statement on the Employment Situation for Young Persons. This compares, by regions, the number of vacancies for youngsters under 18 per hundred unemployed.

¹ Ibid., Table 3.

² Ibid., Table 12.

In Table 51 I have averaged for each year 1962-67 the monthly total of vacancies per hundred out-of-work boys.¹ I compare the annual figures for the Northern region not only with those for Great Britain, but also with those for London and the South East, the Midlands and Yorkshire. I include these regions because they were the settings for other research on the jobs obtained by coloured leavers.

TABLE 51

Vacancies for boys per 100 unemployed. Annual average 1962-67. Selected regions* and Great Britain compared

	NORTHERN	YORKS	MIDLANDS	LONDON & SE	GB
1962	31	350	381	286	157
1963	13	142	220	249	92
1964	50	515	1023	705	303
1965	120	770	1200	925	474
1966	146	802	1208	895	485
1967	53	322	363	405	205

* Only the Northern region remained unchanged throughout the period. Before April 1962 the Yorkshire figures referred to the ~~West~~ ^{East and} Ridings. Then they related to Yorkshire (minus the North Riding) plus Lincolnshire. Then in April 1965 the region became Yorkshire and Humberside.

Before April 1962 there were separate data for Midland and North Midland. My figures relate to the former. From that date figures for the two regions were combined, though the boundaries of the region were redrawn again in April 1965. London and the South East were also redefined on the same date.

The figures for these regions should therefore be treated with caution for the years in which the changes occurred.

¹ Each Statement gives provisional figures for the month before. I have used the corrected figures supplied for comparison a year later.

This table shows dramatically the grim juvenile employment situation in the Northern region. For two years only was there even a modest excess of vacancies over lads seeking work. In the best year, 1966, it amounted to 50 per cent, i.e. there were one-and-a-half unfilled jobs for each unemployed boy. For two years there was only one job available for every two boys on the dole. For two years the ratio was worse even than that.

The contrast with the other regions listed is stark indeed. In 1963 there was only one vacancy in the Northern region for every eight boys unemployed, but even in this worst year these other regions still had more unfilled jobs than job-seekers: in the Midlands there were over twice as many, and in London and the South East two-and-a-half times.

In 1966, the best year, the Northern region, as mentioned, had one-an-a-half times as many vacancies as youths who were jobless. Yorkshire had eight times, London and the South East nine times and the Midlands twelve times as many. Solely in the case of Yorkshire - and that only just - did the Northern region's best annual ratio rise above that of the other regions' worst.

The Statement provides a second useful index of youth unemployment in the region. This is the proportion of the last batch of school-leavers (Easter or summer, as the case

may be) who each month were still after their first jobs. I have taken the proportion of summer leavers (boys and girls) who had not yet obtained employment in mid-October, i.e. after about two-and-a-half months. In Table 52 I compare the Northern region with Great Britain and the same selected regions as before.

TABLE 52

Percentage of summer leavers still registered for first employment at mid-October 1962-67. Selected regions* and Great Britain compared.

	NORTHERN	YORKSHIRE	MIDLANDS	LONDON & SE	GB
1962	9.0	3.0	1.6	1.7	2.9
1963	9.8	3.8	2.2	1.4	3.2
1964	4.5	2.0	1.1	0.9	1.6
1965	2.9	1.5	0.9	1.0	1.3
1966	3.6	1.9	1.4	1.3	1.6
1967	5.5	2.4	2.0	1.4	2.1

* See note to Table 51.

It is seen that each year the Northern region had a much higher proportion of summer leavers still seeking first employment in October than any other region listed. In 1962 and 1963 almost 10 per cent were still out of work at this date. The highest proportion elsewhere was 3.8 per cent in Yorkshire in 1963.

So much for the region. Newcastle itself has been one of the more favoured industrial areas of Tyneside and the North East, though the division is largely artificial, with many Newcastle people working outside the city, and many outsiders coming in. This favoured position arises, firstly, because industry, once highly concentrated in the city, has been gradually reduced and redistributed around north Tyneside. There has, secondly, been a large expansion of service industries arising from Newcastle's role as regional capital. Thirdly, the city has not been as dependent on contracting industries as other parts of Tyneside, south-east Northumberland and north Durham. ¹

But if the situation in other parts of the region was worse, Newcastle's unemployment was bad enough. The following are a few indications of how seriously young people in the city were affected. In 1962, as in the previous year, the Youth Employment Officer, Miss Brenda Calderwood, wrote to the parents of all boys and girls due to leave in the summer to warn them about the employment situation. She urged them to allow their children to return to school or attend the College of Further Education until jobs were available. ²

¹ Development Plan Review, op. cit., p. 40.

² City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, Report of the Education Committee, May 1961-May 1962, p. 25.

1963 saw the revival of public works for the unemployed. Newcastle Corporation agreed temporarily to employ 24 boys to help with the clearance of derelict land at Denton Dene and Byker Bank. The Corporation also decided to start a training school for eight apprentice stonemasons. ¹

In 1964 came the opening in Newcastle of the Trafalgar Street Centre, a settlement where unemployed lads made articles for sale under a full-time carpentry instructor and were paid wages while waiting for a permanent job. ² The centre was run by a committee of trade unionists, councillors, churchmen and employers and took in six or seven boys at a time. ³ Some 50 youths worked there in its 15 months' life, but it subsisted on voluntary financial support and it had to close when the Ministry of Labour and other departments refused it a grant. ⁴

¹ City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, Report of the Education Committee, May 1963-May 1964, p. 39.

² They made a pipe-rack which was, optimistically, presented to Mr. Harold Wilson. The Guardian, February 25, 1965.

³ City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, Report of the Education Committee May 1964-May 1965, pp. 43-44. Carter, op. cit., p. 124.

⁴ Newcastle upon Tyne Education Committee, Report on Education 1965-1966, p. 87.

The city Youth Employment Officer wrote:

Although the numbers catered for were only a small percentage of the total unemployed, it did indicate the importance of some measures being taken during periods of unemployment to prevent young people deteriorating. This was probably the greatest danger to young people, the full effects of which have yet to be seen in terms of labour potential ... ¹

Lastly, even in the good year ended September 1966 the Youth Employment Service in Newcastle paid out £11,966 to unemployed youngsters in unemployment benefit and national assistance. ² Newcastle had a population of 253,780. In the same period Sheffield, with a population almost double (486,940), paid out over £9,000 less - only £2,700. ³

Such were the realities of the employment situation which faced my respondents when they left school. One further aspect, mentioned in chapter 11, needs illustrating in detail. This is that in the Northern region a higher proportion of boys entered apprenticeships than in many other parts of the country.

¹ Newcastle upon Tyne Education Committee, Report of the Youth Employment Officer for the year ended September 30, 1965, p. 4.

² That is, to boys and girls up to the age of 18. At 18 they come under the Ministry of Labour. See below, p. 295.

³ Newcastle upon Tyne Education Committee, Report of the Youth Employment Officer for the year ended September 30, 1966, p. 13.

Types of Employment Available for Young People

The Department of Employment Gazette publishes each May the numbers of school-leavers in each region who entered different categories of employment the previous year. Table 53 uses these figures to compare the proportion of boys in the Northern region who took up apprenticeships each year with the proportion in the same selected regions as before and in Great Britain generally.

TABLE 53

Percentage of boys entering first employment who took an apprenticeship to a skilled craft 1962-67. Selected regions* and Great Britain.

	NORTHERN	YORKS	MIDLANDS	LONDON & SE	GB
1962	41.4	43.7	35.0	27.1	36.2
1963	38.9	40.2	32.0	24.4	33.5
1964	41.0	45.0	35.5	25.6	36.4
1965	48.3	49.9	40.2	27.7	40.6
1966	49.6	51.3	42.2	29.7	42.4
1967	48.4	52.4	43.6	29.6	42.6

* See note to Table 51.

The table shows that in the Northern region the percentage of leavers obtaining apprenticeships was consistently above the national average. The proportion was higher than in the Midlands or in London and the South East, but not as high as

in Yorkshire. The only other region which had a higher percentage of apprentices among boy leavers than the Northern region was the North West.¹

If one turns to the other categories of jobs used by the Ministry of Labour, one finds that only a minute proportion of boys in any region entered employment "leading to recognised professional qualifications". The national average varied over the period from 1.3 to 1.7 per cent. There were however notable regional discrepancies in the proportion of boys who left school to take up clerical jobs. This is shown in Table 54.

TABLE 54

Percentage of boys entering first employment who obtained clerical jobs 1962-67. Selected regions* and Great Britain compared.

	NORTHERN	YORKS	MIDLANDS	LONDON & SE	GB
1962	6.3	7.7	7.2	15.5	9.0
1963	7.7	10.1	8.8	19.1	11.2
1964	7.9	9.5	8.1	18.6	10.8
1965	7.1	8.8	7.8	17.9	10.0
1966	7.4	8.5	6.9	15.8	9.1
1967	7.1	7.9	6.7	15.5	8.7

* See note to Table 51.

¹ An important qualification on these comparative apprenticeship figures is discussed on p. 353.

It is seen that the proportion of boys entering clerical employment in the Northern region was consistently below the national average. It was also generally below that for the other regions cited and most years was amongst the lowest for any region. London and the South East was always far ahead of all other regions in this respect: the latter were clustered fairly close together.

The Northern region showed an even more marked contrast with other regions in terms of young men entering jobs which were less than apprenticeships, but yet involved a period of planned training. The definition of such jobs was altered in the years under discussion. For 1962 the description was "Employment with training, lasting at least a year, not covered in previous columns". For 1963 and succeeding years the definition changed to "Employment with planned training, apart from induction training, not covered in previous columns". The change however seems hardly to have affected the region figures, as Table 55 shows.

It is seen that in this respect also the Northern region was well below the national average. Each year its boy leavers got a smaller proportion of traineeships than those in the other regions listed. Of all the regions of Great Britain only Scotland, Wales and occasionally the North West had a lower percentage. London and the South East again had the highest percentage, but unlike with clerical employment, the Midlands was this time much closer.

TABLE 55

Percentage of boys entering first employment who obtained jobs with planned training 1962-67. Selected regions[‡] and Great Britain compared.

	NORTHERN	YORKS	MIDLANDS	LONDON & SE	GB
1962	9.0	12.0	16.9	22.2	13.3
1963	9.4	14.4	19.6	22.1	14.1
1964	9.5	13.6	20.9	25.3	14.9
1965	5.9	10.6	17.3	23.9	12.7
1966	5.5	10.8	17.7	23.4	13.1
1967	5.5	9.2	16.9	24.0	13.0

[‡] See note to Table 51.

The joint result of the small proportion of boys in the Northern region obtaining clerical jobs or traineeships was that, despite the relatively higher number of apprenticeships, a higher than average percentage also entered what the Department of Employment terms "other employment", i.e. work with only induction training or (in 1962) training of less than a year. Table 56 gives the figures.

TABLE 56

Percentage of boys entering first employment who obtained "other" jobs 1962-67. Selected regions[‡] and Great Britain compared.

	NORTHERN	YORKS	MIDLANDS	LONDON & SE	GB
1962	41.9	35.6	39.6	33.7	40.3
1963	42.6	33.7	38.3	32.7	39.9
1964	40.3	30.3	33.9	28.7	36.3
1965	37.5	29.3	33.3	28.9	35.2
1966	36.4	28.0	31.7	29.8	34.1
1967	37.9	29.2	31.4	29.8	34.3

[‡] See note to Table 51.

This table shows that in the Northern region a consistently higher proportion of boys leaving school entered jobs with little or no training than in the other regions listed. Northern had the highest percentage of any region in Great Britain, except Scotland, Wales and (four years out of six) the South West. London and the South East generally had the smallest proportion in "other" jobs each year, the exception being Yorkshire in 1966 and 1967.

I was unfortunately unable to obtain comparable figures for Newcastle or Tyneside for the six years 1962-67. The regional office of the Department of Employment was however able to supply an analysis of the numbers of Newcastle boys entering different types of job in 1968 and 1969. Table 57 compares the proportions who took up different categories of employment in Newcastle in these two years with the proportions in the Northern region in the years 1962-67.

TABLE 57

Percentages of boys entering different types of first employment: Northern region 1962-7 compared with Newcastle 1968-9.

	NEWCASTLE 1968-9	NORTHERN 1962-7
Apprenticeship	45.5%	44.4%
Professional	1.6	1.3
Clerical	11.8	7.2
Traineeship	3.4	7.6
Other	37.6	39.5
Total	100	100

The comparison is not a wholly valid one because the figures do not cover the same period of time. Yet one notes a similarity in the proportions of boys who entered apprenticeships. There were also differences. In Newcastle a higher percentage of boys entered clerical jobs than in the region generally, but smaller proportions went into traineeships and into "other" occupations.

The main fact which emerges is, compared with London or the Midlands, the already mentioned situation of all-or-nothing in manual employment. One either gets an apprenticeship or one has to be content with unskilled or semi-skilled work. There is little in between. This makes an apprenticeship all the more highly sought after.

Tables 53-7 show the proportions of boy leavers entering different categories of first job. Obviously these proportions must indicate fairly closely the relative availability of different kinds of job in different regions; the question is how closely. In London and the South East, for example, relatively fewer boys obtained apprenticeships than in the Midlands. May one therefore conclude that they were more difficult to get in London and the South East?

In this case at least the answer is, not necessarily. Mr. P. Gillet, Principal Careers Officer of the Inner London Education Authority, told the Select Committee on Race

Relations and Immigration that there were not enough boys available for apprenticeships in south-east England, and particularly in London - "and therefore employers tend to be much more elastic about whom they recruit".¹

It is possible that this situation is peculiar to London and the South East, and is due to that region's large number of openings in clerical work. But it is equally possible that in this and other areas of full employment there is less demand for apprenticeships than for other kinds of manual job because of the higher wages the latter offer. This possibility would seem less likely to occur in areas of higher unemployment, because it is widely appreciated, I think, that tradesmen are safer from redundancy than other manual workers.

The moral, I suggest, is that one should be a little cautious in using the proportions in Tables 53-7 as indices of the relative easiness of getting different kinds of job - at least when dealing with regions of high employment, as Yorkshire, the Midlands and the South East were.

¹ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit.,
Vol. III, p. 983.

The Youth Employment Service

One should say a word or two about the Youth Employment Service in this introductory chapter.¹ In Newcastle, where it is now called the Careers Service (I have kept to the old name), the service is run by the City Council and is superintended by a working group (sub-committee) of the Education Committee. This is the arrangement in two-thirds of the country's local education authorities. The Department of Employment operates the service in the others. The Department, however, through the Central Youth Employment Executive, holds overall responsibility at national level.

The service has four main tasks; to disseminate information about jobs, starting when boys and girls are still at secondary school; to give vocational guidance; to help place leavers in suitable employment; and to keep in touch with young workers until they reach the age of 18. At this stage they become the direct responsibility of the Department of Employment and the Employment Exchange.

The service's work centres on four key activities: giving talks to pupils; interviewing and advising them

¹ The general information in this section is taken from Michael Carter, Into Work (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1966), pp. 82-106, where a much fuller account may be found.

before they leave; following them up once they have left; and of course finding them work. Despite, or because of, the lack of employment opportunities, the Youth Employment Service in Newcastle has developed a vocational guidance apparatus much more elaborate than this.

Thus when third form parents' meetings discuss the choice of courses and subjects, Careers Officers are present to advise on the job implications of these choices. They give third year pupils talks on how to think about choosing a career and how to prepare for it. In the fourth year they arrange concentrated information in the form of talks from specialist speakers, visits, films, works experience and a careers convention. They interview all pupils in the fourth year. For those remaining at school this is only a preliminary interview. The service gives them a full interview in the fifth year and, if desired, further interviews in the sixth form.

The endeavour of the Careers Officer is to help [boys and girls] to become "vocationally mature" and to ensure decisions are reached by a process of finding out about jobs rather than by last minute crisis counselling, which in the past has led to many young people complaining that information given was "too little, too late".¹

¹ Newcastle upon Tyne Education Committee, Report of the Youth Employment Officer for the year ended September 30, 1968 (no page nos.).

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that in the years 1962-7 unemployment on Tyneside and in the Northern region was at or about twice the national level. Between 1960 and 1964 the number of male employees in employment in the region actually dropped by 2.8 per cent. During the decade the new jobs created did not even keep pace with the jobs lost in declining industries. The net out-migration from the region averaged about 12,000 people a year.

Indices were given of the serious lack of jobs available for young people in the region. The situation in Newcastle itself was somewhat better, but bad enough.

It was noted that in the region the percentage of boy leavers who obtained apprenticeships was above the national average. At the same time a higher-than-average proportion entered jobs with little or no training at all. There was a paucity of traineeships in the region, which of course enhanced the value of an apprenticeship. The chapter concluded with an account of the work of the Youth Employment Service.

14. PREVIEW

In the raw economic climate described in the last chapter, what kind of jobs were the young Asians able to obtain? There were 40 school-leavers in all. Only 35 of these reached leaving age at one of the five secondary schools from which I drew my control sample of English youths. Before I embark however on a detailed comparison of the occupations of the two groups, of how and why they were obtained, and so on, I shall set the scene by looking at the jobs of all 40 who were what the Census calls "economically active", that is, either working or looking for work.

Table 58 shows the young men's occupations at the time of interview. These are classified according to the Registrar General's social classes except that, as before, his class III manual is divided into "strictly skilled" and "relatively skilled".¹

¹ For the distinction, see p. 77.

TABLE 58

All economically active Asians: occupations by social class

I/II:	Professional and Intermediate	-
III:	Skilled non-manual	3
	Strictly skilled manual	16
	Relatively skilled manual	6
IV:	Semi-skilled manual	6
V:	Unskilled manual	6
	Unemployed	3
Total		40

The striking feature of Table 58 is the high proportion of young men (40 per cent) who had manual occupations which were not just skilled, but strictly skilled in the sense that they required an apprenticeship or equivalent. Only 15 per cent, by contrast, had unskilled jobs, and only 15 per cent semi-skilled jobs. The 16 with strictly skilled manual jobs comprised:

- 7 apprentice motor mechanics
- 3 apprentice electricians
- 2 trainee telecommunications engineers
- 1 general engineering apprentice
- 1 apprentice shipyard plater
- 1 apprentice moulder
- 1 trainee machinist.

The six youths in relatively skilled manual occupations consisted of:

- 2 garage hands
- 1 electroplater
- 1 setter
- 1 weaver
- 1 confectioner who made Indian sweets.

To turn now to the young Asians listed as in non-manual employment: even this small total (8 per cent) is misleading, since two of the youths fell in the category only because they served in their fathers' shops. The sole white-collar worker with an English firm was a jig-and-tool draughtsman.

Six young men, it was seen, had semi-skilled jobs. In this category were:

- 3 bus conductors
- 1 semi-skilled grinder
- 1 machinist
- 1 spinning operative.

Lastly, six respondents had unskilled occupations. All were labourers. Three worked at dairies, one at a brewery, one at a foundry, and one at a dyeworks.

It should be noted here that, when interviewed, five of the workers (plus one boy who was still at school) had migrated to other parts of the country. The weaver, the spinner and the foundry labourer lived in the West Riding. The semi-skilled machinist lived in Wolverhampton. One of

the telecommunication engineers lived in north London.

The fact that these youngsters had moved outside the regional employment context does not seriously affect the findings in the following chapters. In the first place, only one of the five had obtained an apprenticeship, and none had white-collar jobs, so they could not be said to have made any great occupational gain from their move.¹ Secondly, the lad with the apprenticeship was not among the matched Asians, though the other four were.

The overall picture seems, then, fairly encouraging. A substantial proportion of the young men were on their way to becoming time-served tradesmen, a higher proportion than were in unskilled and semi-skilled employment together. Against this there was a very small percentage of non-manual workers.

Having presented the broad outline of the jobs the young men got, in the following chapters I fill in the details of how, why, where and with what difficulty they were obtained, and with what ultimate ambition. For this I confine myself to the matched Asians from the five West End

¹ In fact at least three of the five moved not for economic, but family reasons.

secondary schools, so that I can compare their experiences with those of the English control group, who attended the same schools at the same time. I shall of course also refer where relevant to the few young Asians excluded from the comparison.

First, I consider how and why they got their jobs.

15. HOW THEY GOT THEIR JOBS AND WHY

The "how" and "why" of this chapter's title, though separate questions in theory, are in practice difficult to disentangle when one asks the reasons for job choice after the event. Once a school-leaver has started work, the "choice" must necessarily have been restricted to what was available. Indeed the boy or girl may have opted for a particular occupation solely because it was there to be had. Thus the means (how) has inevitably delimited and may even have determined the end, i.e. why that job and not another.

In any case, says Michael Carter,

It would be a mistake ... to infer that all children - or even the majority - are fairly clear-cut in their motivation, and that they know what they want and go after it with determination. On the contrary, one of the outstanding facts about the transition from school to work is the lack of clarity about job aims; there tends to be a confusion of objectives and an ignorance, bewilderment or indifference as to how to resolve the issues. ¹

¹ Carter, op. cit., p. 65.

Another group of writers use the term "job entry" rather than "job choice". The latter, they say,

has connotations of rational assessment of abilities and opportunities which do not seem to be a general characteristic of those seeking work.¹

The Question of How

One should bear this important caveat in mind. This first question is a straight forward one about means, however, and there is little that is problematic in the replies. It should be noted only that I asked, "How did you get a job with your present employer?", which means that the answers do not necessarily refer to the respondents' present occupation. I asked young men who were unemployed how they got their last job. Excluded therefore are those who were still seeking their first employment. Table 59 gives the answers.

Table 59 lists the different ways in which the young men found work in approximate order of formality. There are, as Beetham says,² three main channels.

¹ E. Teresa Keil, D.S. Riddell, B.S.R. Green, "Youth and Work: Problems and Perspectives", Sociological Review, New Series, Vol. 14, no. 2 (July 1966), p. 123.

² Beetham, op. cit., p. 35.

TABLE 59

Matched Asians and English with employment experience:
How they got a job with their present/last employer

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
I: Through the Youth Employment Service	7	13
Through the Department of Employment	-	4
II: Answered an advertisement	-	5
Applied on the off-chance	8	12
III: Friend/relative/other suggested I apply, Applied because knew someone working there	2	5
Friend/relative/other knew the boss, Applied with or for me, Put in a word for me	10	10
Employer offered me a job	4	1
Other	-	1
No response	1	-
Total	32	51

The most formal and official channel (marked I in Table 59) is the Youth Employment Service and the Department of Employment. The next channel (marked II) is individual initiative. First in this category are those who replied to advertisements. Second, there are those who, less formally, obtained employment by enquiring on spec. The third and most informal channel of all (III) consists of those who got jobs by different kinds of personal and family contact.

The first thing to note about Table 59 is that 33 per cent of the English sample, but only 22 per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis, found their jobs through the Youth Employment Service or the Department of Employment. Statistically this difference is only fairly significant ($p < .05$). In Newcastle as a whole the Youth Employment Service places around 50 per cent of leavers in their first job.¹ Nationally the proportion is about 40 per cent.²

My findings contrast on this point with other pieces of research. In his study in north London, Peter Figueroa found that three-quarters of the West Indian boys interviewed obtained their first jobs through the Youth Employment Service, compared with less than a third of the English boys.³

¹ Figure given to me by the city Youth Employment Officer.

² The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 140. Carter questions the accuracy of official placement figures. He says the criteria for classification vary from one area to another and that many children who find jobs by other means and then inform the Youth Employment Officer "are counted as having been placed by the Service". Op. cit., p. 145

On the other hand, the Newcastle Youth Employment Officer said that many youngsters, who claimed to have obtained jobs independently, had in fact been sent for interviews by the Service.

³ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 208. Figueroa's unpublished research is summarised in the evidence given to the Select Committee by the Institute of Race Relations.

In Birmingham Milson gives figures which show that of the West Indians interviewed who were no longer at school, 44 per cent got jobs with the help of the Youth Employment Officer. This was true of 45 per cent of the Asians, but of only 27 per cent of the Birmingham-born whites. ¹

In Birmingham again, Beetham reports that roughly 75 per cent or more of Asian and West Indian school-leavers found their first jobs in this way. Throughout Birmingham the Service placed on average about 45 per cent of all leavers. ²

Table 59 does not, of course, necessarily refer to first jobs in the way that Figueroa's and Beetham's data does. Like Milson I asked respondents about their present employment - or about their last job if they were out of work. One imagines this different angle explains the all-round lower level of YES placements found by Milson and myself. It seems fair to assume that a lad is more likely to get his first job through the Service than subsequent jobs, for by this time he will have widened his knowledge of the world of work and developed his own contacts.

My data cannot therefore be directly compared with

¹ Milson, op. cit., p. 10.

² Beetham, op. cit., p. 35. Milson's and Beetham's figures are for boys and girls together.

Beetham's and Figueroa's. But it can be contrasted with Milson's. Then again, Beetham says that 45 per cent of visits to the Youth Employment Service in Handsworth, where he did his survey, were made by coloured youngsters, though they formed a much smaller proportion of leavers in the area. He quotes figures for the four months February-May 1966, hardly a time of year when the majority of work-seekers are likely to still be in search of first employment.¹ This indicates that coloured adolescents continued to rely on the Service for later jobs. Thus the contrast holds good between my findings that the young Asians did not make great use of official channels and the results of researches in Birmingham.

What sort of jobs did the Newcastle Youth Employment Service find for my respondents? I cannot answer with complete precision because, as explained, I asked how they got a job with their present employer, and this may not have been the same as their present occupation. Nevertheless the Indians and Pakistanis established by the Service had generally good jobs. Three had strictly skilled manual occupations; three had relatively skilled manual occupations; and the other was the draughtsman.

¹ Ibid., p. 42.

The English youths who had used either the Youth Employment Service or the Ministry of Labour had less good jobs. Of the seventeen, only two had strictly skilled manual occupations, and three had non-manual jobs. On the other hand, seven were in semi-skilled, and four in unskilled employment; one was in the Army.

Carter says there is a belief among many school-leavers that the Youth Employment Service "doesn't have any good jobs", and himself tacitly confirms this view.¹ The analysis given above shows that the Service in Newcastle did supply the English users with more low-grade jobs than jobs with prospects. It however served the Indians and Pakistanis well.

Beetham argues that it is because coloured leavers are lame ducks that they depend so heavily on the Youth Employment Service. He says that the other two channels mentioned (personal and family contacts, individual initiative) "are largely ineffective, or else untried".

Friends and relatives, being mostly in unskilled jobs and not having lived here all that long, are unlikely to have developed the same kind of contacts as English people who have lived in Birmingham all their lives.

¹ Carter, op. cit., p. 148.

On the other hand, because of language difficulties and colour discrimination,

calling round on the off chance is likely to prove a protracted and even distressing experience. Where immigrants are concerned, employers seem more responsive to the persuasion of the YEO than to an individual presenting himself unannounced at the factory gate.¹

This makes sense - but the experience of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle was different, as was their reliance on the Youth Employment Service. To begin with, Table 59 shows that 25 per cent (almost exactly the same as the English proportion) got their jobs by applying on spec.

In addition to what this might be said to indicate about employers' attitudes, it could be argued it shows that at least a fair proportion of the Indians and Pakistanis had the self-confidence to apply for jobs off their own bat, and the ability to obtain them. Yet this is too simple. It depends where they applied and what the jobs were. If, for example, they had all applied for conductors' jobs on Newcastle Corporation buses, where scores of Indians and Pakistanis already worked, this would have said nothing for their ability and enterprise.

¹ Beetham, op. cit., p. 35.

In fact, of the eight who used this channel, three obtained strictly skilled jobs, and two relatively skilled jobs; three got semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Thus the jobs were mixed in terms of skill. However they compare quite well with the jobs the English youths obtained by the same means. Three of the English twelve were in strictly skilled occupations, one had a relatively skilled manual job, three had non-manual jobs; the rest had work which was semi- or unskilled.

The eight Asians found employment with eight different firms. But other Indians and Pakistanis worked for all but one of these, though only two employed more than a handful.

Certainly a couple of the young men pioneered jobs in unexpected places. Kesar was taken on as an electrician at one of the Tyne shipyards. Sharif, also an electrician, wrote to the National Coal Board and got a job at a colliery just outside Newcastle to become the only Pakistani pitman in the great Northern coalfield.¹

One could argue that all but Sharif applied where they did because other Indians and Pakistanis worked there -

¹ Later he was joined by his brother, who got a job as a face worker.

though only one said this. Yet it remains significant both that a quarter of the young men found jobs by personal initiative and that the jobs they got were comparable in status to those obtained in the same way by English lads.

The other sharp contrast with Beetham's coloured leavers lies in the proportion of young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle who used the third channel of personal and family contact to get jobs. Numerous studies have emphasised the importance for English leavers of informal family mediation, influence and advice.¹

Table 59 shows that no fewer than 50 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis got jobs by these means. One should however probably exclude the four grouped under the rubric "Employer offered me a job" as a rather idiosyncratic bunch.² Even without them a higher proportion of Asians (37 per cent) than English (29 per cent) got work through these informal contacts, though statistically the difference is of very low significance ($p < .25$).

¹ Carter, op. cit., p. 142.

² Rashid worked in his father's shop. Ashraf the sweetmaker was likewise offered a job within the community. Bhagwant was turned down at first by the Post Office, but after some months they wrote offering to take him on as a trainee engineer. Hardev was approached to take up his old job as a semi-skilled grinder: "They sent up for me. They asked me to come back because they were stacked out with work."

It will be seen from Table 59 that I have divided the remainder in this "informal contacts" category into two groups. First there are those who applied on someone's advice or because they knew someone working there, though this person did not apparently try to exert any influence. The remainder are those who explicitly obtained their jobs by influence, or at least had somebody to speak for them. These are cases where contacts really counted. Table 59 shows that 31 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis got work in this way, compared with 20 per cent of the English youths.¹

Before making too much of this one again needs to know more about the jobs and the firms involved. Of the twelve Indians and Pakistanis who obtained jobs on the advice or through the influence of informal contacts, four got strictly skilled jobs; four took semi-skilled jobs; four got unskilled jobs. In short, rather more of a mixed bag than that secured by individual initiative.

The Asians did not do as well as the fifteen English lads who found work by this method. Nine of them were in

¹ Statistically the difference is again not significant ($p < 0.1$). The "others" mentioned in Table 59 who were of influence - headmaster, probation officer, former employer - related only to the English sample.

strictly skilled occupations, and two in non-manual jobs.¹
 As before the young Indians and Pakistanis were well scattered, this time over eleven firms. All but two of these employed other Indians and Pakistanis, six of them more than half a dozen.

In other words, though the English youths used contacts less, they appear to have had better ones. The contrast with Beetham's coloured leavers remains however.² The difference is not so much that the Newcastle Asians had contacts. The relatives of Beetham's young Indians and Pakistanis must also have had contacts at least in their place of work and within their communities,³ even if the youngsters, coming straight from school, may themselves have lacked them. The difference is rather that in Newcastle the contacts were used, while in Birmingham they apparently were not. Why this was so is somewhat puzzling.⁴ Here are

¹ It is interesting to note that over three-fifths of the English youths with strictly skilled jobs got them through informal contacts, compared with just over one-third of the Asians. For the overall proportions of Asians and English getting different kinds of job, see the next chapter.

² Three of the five youths who were not among the matched Asians also obtained their jobs in this way.

³ Desai, for example, shows how newly arrived Indians were found work by their village-kin. Op. cit., pp. 79-80.

⁴ I discuss the matter further in chapter 18.

a few of the young men's comments.

Kirpal (brewery labourer):

My uncle knew the man who gives you the jobs and he went and asked for me. That's how I got it.

Arjan (dairy labourer):

A friend was working there, he took me along.

Khan (motor mechanic):

My father knew the foreman and asked if there were any vacancies.

Jagan (electrical fitter):

I went with my father's friend. He did not work there, but he thought there might be a job.

To sum up this section: it has been shown that there were considerable differences between how the Asian and how the English leavers in Newcastle obtained their jobs, though these differences were of low significance statistically. Nevertheless the former contrasted markedly with coloured leavers elsewhere investigated in other studies. These found that young Asians and West Indians depended more heavily on the Youth Employment Service than the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle.

Beetham concluded that the channels of personal initiative and informal contact were largely ineffective or untried, at least for coloured leavers seeking their first job. In Newcastle, on the other hand, 37 per cent of the young Asians used the informal contacts of friends and family; 25 per cent applied on the off-chance; only 22 per cent went through the Youth Employment Service.

The Question of Why

I asked, "Why did you choose your present occupation". If respondents were unemployed, I enquired about their previous occupation. Table 60 shows the replies the two groups gave, though one should heed the warnings about "job choice" made at the beginning of the chapter. (Some young men of course gave more than one reason.)

TABLE 60

Matched Asians and English with employment experience:
Why they chose their present/previous occupation.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Good at/liked/interested in work	5	14
Liked conditions	4	4
Liked the money	4	10
It was a trade	3	4
Good scope/promotion chances	5	9
Can set up on my own	3	-
Couldn't get any other/better job	8	14
Family reasons	2	2
To help our country	1	-
Other	2	6
	N=32	N=51

It can be seen that compared to the English the Indians and Pakistanis gave the different reasons a much more equal number of mentions. The only reason the Asians cited appreciably more than the others was the negative one that

it was the best they could get. For example, Kirpal, a brewery labourer, said:

I thought I might not get any better job, technical job, so I thought I might as well go into the breweries. It's better than the shipyard or the buses.

Figueroa found in London that about twice as many West Indian as English respondents gave negative reasons of this sort for taking their job.¹ In Newcastle however the difference was minimal: 25 per cent of the Asians gave this kind of reason, and 27 per cent of the English.

On the English side some reasons were much more mentioned than others. Most frequently cited were negative reasons, already discussed, and reasons that concerned the intrinsic nature of the work. The ones next most often mentioned related to money and to the opportunities or chances of promotion the job offered.

Parental Influence

In view of the known lack of rationality surrounding "job choice" it seems fruitless to speculate on the

¹ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 209.

differences in the reasons given by the two sets of leavers. What is worthy of discussion at this point is the question of parental influence. Beetham found in Birmingham that this dominated the occupational aspirations of coloured school-leavers, and particularly of Asians. He argues that in turn the parents' aspirations for their children "can best be explained by the employment structure in the country of origin".¹

It can be seen from Table 60 that in Newcastle only two of the Asians offered any kind of family reasons for taking the job they did.² Here are the reasons as given.

Hussain (weaver):
My cousin was in that.

Isher (motor mechanic):
I used to know a man who used to be a motor mechanic, an Indian friend here. He was very close to me and he wanted me to be a motor mechanic, so I just followed.

The influence of the employment structure in India and Pakistan is likewise only meagrely in evidence. Just two respondents said explicitly they chose their jobs with an eye on going back. One was Sharif, the colliery electrician,

¹ Beetham, op. cit., p. 20.

² There was also of course Kusam, who was so affected by his father's farewell exhortation "Son, be engineer". (See above, pp. 234-5. But he was not among the matched Asians.

who said, "If I go back to Pakistan I could be more useful to our country as a tradesman". The other was Ajit, who said he became a motor mechanic because (like Kusam) he aimed to start a garage back in India.

A couple of other young men who gave reasons of the "good scope" variety were less explicit, but seem also to have had the idea of return at the back of their minds. One of them, Shiv, said:

I chose electrician, but I couldn't get that. So motor mechanic was the second choice. I thought it was a good trade. You can get a job practically anywhere in the world.

These are the only overt indications among the economically active of the influence on job choice of parents and the country of origin. A similar low incidence of these factors was found among the reasons the young men still in full-time education gave for their career aspirations.¹ This might suggest that one can write off these considerations as unimportant.

On the other hand, the unclarity surrounding job entry makes it possible that the reasons given for a particular option after the event are a good part rationalisation.

¹ p. 132.

In any case I show later that many more than gave it as a reason here did in fact say they thought they would return to India or Pakistan. ¹

From this one could argue that parental influence and/or reasons relating to India and Pakistan may well have been more important than the respondents themselves allowed. Alternatively one could say that the reasons listed in Table 60 may have been inculcated by the parents.

In the case of the Asians still in full-time education I noted the wide range of specific career aspirations, the high proportion who gave as a reason for their choice their interest and ability, the articulateness and detail of their answers. ² I suggested these facts argued against parental influence on career choice, though, as we also saw, parents gave their children great encouragement to study and do well. ³

There I was discussing career aspirations. This too is what Beetham is talking about. Here I am debating the reasons for jobs actually obtained. There is bound to be

¹ See chapter 27. More also talked at one point or another about starting up on their own in India or Pakistan. See chapter 17.

² p. 133.

³ p. 143.

less evidence of parental influence when one asks about job choice from this perspective. However strong parental influence is beforehand, after the event the raw aspirations have been processed according to the individual's ability, according to employment situation, according to colour discrimination, and so forth, and shaped into real jobs. The eventual job may very often not bear any relation to the original aspirations.¹ Thus there may be little trace of parental influence either. But from this angle it is impossible to tell.

For example, Beetham found that coloured leavers, and Asian boys in particular, aspired to a very narrow range of craft jobs, chiefly as engineers, motor mechanics, electricians, radio and television repairers.² He argues that these restricted choices, contrasting with the "immense variety" of different occupations mentioned by the English boys, derive via the parents from the country of origin, "even though the circumstances here are different and the

¹ In his study of school-leavers in Sheffield Carter found that only one-third of the boys and less than one-half of the girls entered jobs that were closely, or fairly closely, related to their stated aspirations at the beginning of their last term at school. Many did not particularly mind what jobs they got. But the discrepancy between jobs aimed at and jobs entered applied also to almost half of the boys and girls who had seriously set their minds on particular jobs. Op. cit., pp. 138-140.

² Beetham, op. cit., p. 17.

possible choices much more varied".¹

In Newcastle the 32 young Asians were in 19 different occupations, if one counts the various kinds of labouring as one. May one not therefore point to this diversity as an indication of a lack of parental influence? One may. But it may equally reflect a wider range of parental aspirations than in Birmingham, a greater knowledge of possible jobs. Or it may show a greater socialisation of the young men themselves, so that they are aware of a wider career spectrum. More likely than any of this, however, is that the variety of different jobs results from the imperatives of the market.

One may likewise deduce nothing useful from the sort of jobs the Newcastle Asians obtained. For example, a good few got a skilled trade, and others, as in Birmingham, would have liked one. But this does not necessarily betray parental influence. A good number of the English sample got similar kinds of job, so it may equally show the influence of English classmates.² There are always possible

¹ Ibid., p. 20.

² Beetham, I believe, establishes his point about parental influence in Birmingham, but not that the particular choices derive from the home country. Dipak Nandy remarks that (with or without parental influence) such jobs as motor mechanic, engineer, electrician are also desirable "in the urban and industrial context of Birmingham". "Unrealistic Aspirations", op. cit., p. 9.

rival explanations. Without asking specifically, and for preference before job entry, one simply cannot gauge the element of parental influence by means of the jobs themselves. All one can say is that there is little overt sign of such influence.

After these uncertainties, there is at last one piece of hard evidence. The young Indians and Pakistanis did quite often reject their parents' wishes, not over precise job choices (here one can prove nothing) but in the related question of whether they should continue full-time studies.

The parents' enthusiasm for this has been noted. In asking about the subject however I came across a number of young men who stopped their studies less because of a lack of opportunity than because they explicitly, and often more realistically, rejected their parents' enthusiasm. Here are some comments from young men who took this attitude.

Nazir:

He ask me if I want to go to college. I told him straight I'm not good enough to go to the college, you see. You've got to be real educated if you want to go to the college, and I wasn't, so I just left.

(Was he keen for you to go?)

Oh yes. He wanted me to be good.

Ashraf:

Father said stop at school, degree, you know. My heart said start work.

Jamil:

He told me "You have to take GCE", you know, but I said, "Ergh!"

Pratap:

Well the Education Officer¹ come to school, and I was going to take O levels and A levels and that, and Dad said like stay on, but- well he come like. He showed us a couple of jobs and that that I fancied. He showed us apprenticeship forms and that like. I went for a couple of interviews like and I got a job at Reyrolle's and seeing it was a good job like, I didn't really want to miss the opportunity.

✓ (How keen were your parents for you to stay at school?) Oh they were very keen like, they would rather have had me staying at school like, but as I explained I went for the job - you know, it was a good job. Me Dad wanted us to go in for medicine, because most Indians either want to make their son doctors or lawyers, one of the two, doctors or engineers. And I was hopeless at biology at school like, and I didn't fancy medicine anyway, and I didn't fancy staying on for A levels or going to university. So a factory was the only other way out really.

Beetham argues that in Birmingham coloured children very often missed out on the socialisation processes which shape the job expectations of English children.

The first is the process fostered by such methods as the eleven plus examination or streaming, according to which those at the lower end of the education system are encouraged to take a distinctly modest view of their own abilities. The other is the process according to which the school leaver comes to limit his aspirations, probably unconsciously, to the kind of job which he sees others of similar ability and background to himself actually getting. In other words, there is a continuous flow of information

¹ He means the Youth Employment Officer.

from the world of employment, mediated by friends, parents or school, which develops and modifies the individual's aspirations, so that he comes to select from that range of jobs which he can reasonably expect to get.

It was because so many coloured children escaped this socialisation, says Beetham, that they depended so heavily on the job choices their parents had for them. He argues that these choices were frequently unrealistic because they took no account of the abilities of the individual, or of the availability of the chosen jobs.¹

The vexed question of unrealistic aspirations must be left until I have considered in detail the jobs obtained by the young Asians. However the related debate on the subject of parental influence can be concluded here.

Let me draw together the threads of evidence on this point. First, no fewer than 42 per cent of the matched Asians - that is, the economically active and full-time students - were either born here or came at the age of ten and below. These therefore did experience the socialising effect of the 11-plus.

Second, I did in fact find among the young Indians and Pakistanis two distinct patterns of education and job or

¹ Beetham, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

job aspiration - the proletarian and the meritocratic. The proletarians generally finished full-time education at 15 or 16 and went into manual occupations. The meritocrats continued their studies beyond this age and aimed at a professional career via A levels and, often, university. I showed that which of the two patterns the young men followed depended largely on

- i. the age at which they came to England, and
- ii. the type of secondary school they attended.

Thus the meritocrats were, firstly, those who went to selective school, and the proletarians were those still attending secondary modern at leaving age. Whether the youngsters went to selective school or not was determined chiefly by their age of arrival. Then with the change from the secondary moderns to the comprehensive came a further development: the selected meritocrats were joined by the longer-established non-selected pupils. The late-comers to the comprehensive continued however to follow the proletarian pattern.¹

There were naturally exceptions to this paradigm. Yet the existence of these two sharply contrasting patterns totally contradicts Beetham's conclusion in Birmingham that

¹ See chapters 8 and 9.

It makes no difference to the immigrant's aspirations whether he has been in the country a long or a short time. A very similar pattern of choice was shown by respondents who had been here over five years, as by those who had been here less.¹

In Newcastle the school clearly was in this respect an effective socialising force.

Third, it has been seen that 37 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle obtained their jobs through informal contacts.² Thus they were not cut off from that "continuous flow of information from the world of employment, mediated by friends, parents or school" which Beetham identifies as another part of the socialising process.³

Fourth, there was very little overt indication of parental influence either on the aspirations of the young men still in full-time education or on the jobs actually obtained by those in work.

Fifthly and finally, it was shown that the young men in a number of cases did reject their parents' wishes by starting work when their parents wanted them to continue their education.

¹ Beetham, op. cit., p. 23.

² p. 312.

³ pp. 324-5.

So what does one conclude? Point four establishes little because, as already remarked, the lack of explicit parental influence among the reasons respondents gave for their choice of jobs, particularly after the event, does not mean that none existed.

Nevertheless the other evidence strongly suggests that the parents were not the, or even a, major influence on specific aspirations and job choices. It suggests strongly that, contrary to what Beetham concludes, the dominant influences in Newcastle were school, English school-mates and English society.

By their encouragement to study the Asian parents were, of course, a powerful force for ambitiousness. They were the reason why the young Indians and Pakistanis did better educationally than the English. But ambitiousness is something different from specific ambition, or specific choice.

The Asians' Greater Difficulty in Getting Jobs

Did the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle have more difficulty obtaining jobs than their English counterparts? The evidence is that they did. I attempted to measure the difference between the Asians and the English by asking two questions. The first was "How long did you wait between

leaving school and getting your first job?" Table 61
 compares the two sets of answers.¹

TABLE 61

Matched Asians and English with employment experience:
How long they waited between leaving school and
getting their first job.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
A week or less	10	27
More than 1 week, up to 4	9	16
More than 1 month, up to 2	3	5
More than 2 months, up to 3	3	-
Over 3 months	6	3
No response	1	-
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 32	<hr/> 51

From these figures it is seen that 53 per cent of the English youths got a job within a week, compared with only 31 per cent of the Indian and Pakistani leavers. (These figures include youngsters who had jobs fixed up before they left school.) Eighty-four per cent of the English obtained a job within four weeks, but only 59 per cent of the Asians.

¹ The question is concerned with the interval between leaving school and securing, not starting, the first job. This means that if a respondent said he had, say, a fortnight's holiday before starting work, these two weeks are excluded if he had already obtained a job, but included if he had not.

On the other hand, 38 per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis took more than a month to secure their first job, as against only 16 per cent of the English. Statistically these differences are all highly significant ($p < .005$).

A similar contrast was apparent in the answers to my second question, which was "To how many firms did you apply for a job before you got your first one?" I explained that by "apply" I meant them to include advertisements they had answered, firms the Youth Employment Service had sent them to, as well as firms they had approached independently. Table 62 gives the replies.

TABLE 62

Matched Asians and English with employment experience:
The number of firms they applied to before getting
their first jobs.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Successful first time	8	11
1-3 firms	8	28
4-9 firms	7	7
10-15 firms	5	4
Over 15 firms	3	-
Don't know/No response	1	1
Total	32	51

Here one sees that while 50 per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis got a job at the first attempt or after applying to

at most only three other firms, the same was true of 76 per cent of the English leavers. Seventy-two per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis had secured a job after applying to nine other firms, compared with 90 per cent of the English. By contrast, 25 per cent of the Asians, but only eight per cent of the English, made more than nine unsuccessful applications before getting their first job. All these differences are again highly significant statistically ($p < .005$).

One cannot from this data say very much about the relative ease with which the two groups obtained different sorts of job. This is because the type of employment a young man eventually took does not necessarily indicate that he had been seeking that kind of work all along. He may well have taken it as second best after failing to get what he really wanted. Or he may have applied for a variety of jobs without having a firm preference in mind.

It might still be useful to compare those of the Asians and English whose first job was an apprenticeship. For though this leaves out of account those who tried for an apprenticeship but did not succeed, it is unlikely that this sort of job was a second best - at least for Indians and Pakistanis, as will be shown. The figures suggest that the Indians and Pakistanis with apprenticeships - like the rest - had more difficulty obtaining them than their English counterparts. Sixty-four per cent of the Asians got theirs within a month,

compared with 77 per cent of the English. Fifty per cent of the Asians, but 69 per cent of the English, had applied to at most three other firms. Since however the numbers involved were fourteen and thirteen respectively, the differences amount to rather little.¹

In general there was among the matched Asians a fairly close relationship between their age of coming to England and both the time it took, and the number of applications they made, before securing their first job. This is a warning that the greater difficulty experienced by the Indians and Pakistanis is not necessarily the result of discrimination. It may reflect - alternatively or as well - the lack of ability or lack of English of some Asians. Or it may indicate that some made hopeless applications, either through ignorance or because of their (alleged) unrealistic aspirations.

Experience of Discrimination

There is no doubt that there was discrimination. The PEP survey established that racial discrimination in employment, housing and the provision of services varied

¹ These numbers refer to first jobs, those in the next chapter to current jobs.

"from the massive to the substantial".¹ I conclude below that the level of discrimination in Newcastle was probably not much different.² A substantial proportion of my respondents maintained they had met discrimination in employment. Table 63 gives the figures.

TABLE 63

"Do you believe you have ever been refused a job because you are an Indian/Pakistani?"
Matched Asians with employment experience
and all economically active Asians.

	MATCHED ASIANS	ALL ASIANS
Yes	12	13
No	15	20
Don't know/ No response	5	7
Total	32	40

The Indians and Pakistanis in the first column are the ones who have been the subject of discussion throughout the chapter. It is seen that 38 per cent thought they had suffered racial discrimination in employment, compared with 47 who thought they had not. The proportions among all economically active Asians (including those who had yet to get their first job) was 32 and 50 per cent respectively.

¹ W.W. Daniel, Racial Discrimination in England (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1968), p. 209.

² Chapter 18.

It is interesting to note that the proportions of young men who alleged discrimination was similar to that found among Indians and Pakistanis by the PEP survey.¹

A claim of discrimination is not of course necessarily proof that there was discrimination. Yet Daniel concludes, "There is no evidence in our findings that coloured people in general are over-eager to attribute their misfortunes to colour and make invalid claims of discrimination".² The following are the experiences of some of the young men who felt they had met discrimination in Newcastle.

Kewal:

I've been plenty of garages. They have no vacancies. They take me interviews, after that they tell me, "I'll let you know". See, he never seen my card,³ he never seen- he never say to come in, y'knaa, he just say, "We are filled up".

Isher:

When I wrote I.--⁴ down for [the firm], they really wanted me. But when I went there, their colour changed and they did not ask so many questions. They did ask questions but in a different way. They said they would write, but after ten days - no letter. But I knew a lad there and he put in a word for me, and that's how I got the job.

¹ Daniel, op. cit., p. 64.

² Ibid., p. 82.

³ Introduction card from the Youth Employment Bureau.

⁴ He had a perfectly English-looking surname.

Gurmakh:

Well in the summer holidays previous year I would say I tried about in 50 places - more than 50 - you know, looked up all those articles in the paper every day and wrote to all. They all replied, "It's taken", or "You should have come two minutes earlier, two hours earlier". (Laughs)

Generally when I went to see the person who was supposed to be the, you know, the interviewer, well he simply said it in such a tone that sort of showed, showed beforehand that he was going to say no.

Rasul:

I applied for a lot of jobs like, but every interview I went to they would sit there and look at you, and when you said you were taking so many O levels they'd just look at you and say er- in a way that you're not going to get them or anything. They thought you were quite incapable. They'd give you a cup of tea and after ten minutes they'd say goodbye, and you knew when you left you wouldn't get the job. In fact one time I walked into a place and they were absolutely surprised to see me. When I says "I've come for the job", they were astonished, and well I knew I wouldn't get it and I didn't. They said they'd write to me and let me know, but I've never heard from them since. This happened at a lot of places.

Rasul said he was turned down in this way by between twenty and thirty firms, both local and national, with whom he sought an apprenticeship. Eventually, as was seen, he was accepted into university to take a degree in electronics.

Summary

It was seen in this chapter that in contrast to coloured leavers in certain other parts of the country, young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle relied less on the Youth Employment Service and the Department of Employment and used informal contacts more as a means of getting jobs. They also differed from the English control sample in these respects, but the difference was not statistically significant.

In contrast to Beetham in Birmingham I concluded that parents were not a major influence on the Asians' specific job aspirations and job choices. I argued that school, English contemporaries and English society shaped these much more than their parents did. Finally, it was found that the Indian and Pakistani leavers had greater difficulty getting jobs than their English school-mates. The differences in this respect were statistically highly significant. A substantial proportion of the young Asians claimed to have met discrimination in employment.

16. THE JOBS THEY GOT

Occupations and Socio-Economic Status

In the last chapter I mapped out how and why the young men obtained the jobs they did. I now consider the jobs themselves. I examine how the jobs held by the young Indians and Pakistanis at the time of interview compared with those of the English control sample. This is of course the crucial question. The main aspect of the answer is presented in Table 64, which classifies occupations by socio-economic status, i.e. the Registrar General's five social classes.¹

So what does one find? The first thing to note is that a higher proportion of English than Indian and Pakistani leavers were in non-manual jobs. On the Asian side, only three young men (nine per cent) had non-manual occupations of any kind. As already seen, even this small percentage is misleading, since only one had a pukka white-collar job with an English firm. This was Lal, the draughtsman. The other two, Chanan and Rashid, served in their fathers' shops.

¹ With the modification explained above, p. 77.

TABLE 64

Economically active matched Asians and English:
occupations by social class.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
I/II: Professional and Intermediate	-	1
III: Skilled non-manual	3	9
Strictly skilled manual	11	12
Relatively skilled manual	6	4
IV: Semi-skilled non-manual	-	1
Semi-skilled manual	6	11
V: Unskilled manual	6	5
Armed Forces (unclassifiable)	-	2
Unemployed	3	7
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 35	<hr/> 52

By contrast, eleven (21 per cent) of the English sample were in non-manual occupations of one sort or another. One, an estimator with an engineering firm, is assigned to social class II, and one, a trainee waiter, to social class IV. The rest fell in social class III.

These comprised three junior clerks, a claims official with an insurance firm and a hospital clerical officer.¹ There was a shop assistant with the Co-op, a carpet salesman and a commercial traveller in toys and fancy goods. There

¹ The last was the sole English respondent to have moved from Tyneside. He lived in the West Riding. For the Asians who had migrated to other parts of the country, see chapter 14.

was an apprentice joiner who designed ship's furniture in a shipyard drawing office. On the whole, then, these were routine non-manual jobs.

This difference in respect of non-manual jobs was expected, though it cannot be tested statistically because of the very small number on the Asian side.¹ There is however an unanticipated similarity between the two groups in respect of apprenticeships.² Table 64 shows that eleven of the Asians and twelve of the English youths (i.e. 31 and 23 per cent respectively) had strictly skilled manual occupations, that is, ones which required an apprenticeship or equivalent.

All five workers excluded from among the matched Asians had strictly skilled manual jobs. This left for the purposes of comparison:

- 4 apprentice motor mechanics
- 2 apprentice electricians
- 1 trainee GPO engineer
- 1 general engineering apprentice
- 1 apprentice plater
- 1 apprentice moulder
- 1 trainee machinist.

¹ The Department of Employment itself admits that retail shop work, clerical work and jobs which require domiciliary visits are among those which young coloured immigrants have most difficulty in entering. The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 84.

² Cf. some of the other studies of coloured leavers detailed later in this chapter.

On the English side there were:

3 apprentice electricians
 2 apprentice fitters and turners
 2 apprentice joiners
 1 apprentice motor mechanic
 1 apprentice bricklayer
 1 fitter with a sheet metal firm
 1 apprentice boilermaker
 1 apprentice welder.

It can be seen that, apart from the English joiners and the English bricklayer, the two groups obtained really rather similar sorts of apprenticeships - they were mostly mechanical, electrical or engineering.

The figures just quoted show that relatively more Indians and Pakistanis than English had strictly skilled manual jobs, though the difference is not of statistical significance ($p < .25$). In any case, one should probably add to the English total the two young men in the Army. One was a radio operator in the Royal Signals, the other a junior rating in the Royal Engineers. Both said they had enlisted because, among other things, the Army would give them a trade. Their addition would raise the English proportion to 27 per cent.

That deals with the strictly skilled manual workers, but it does not account for all the apprentices. For on the English side two, and on the Asian side one, of the non-manual workers were also serving apprenticeships. These were the estimator, the joiner turned furniture-designer and

Lal, the draughtsman. Lal, like the furniture-designer, had started from a skilled manual job (in his case fitting and turning), and presumably the same was true of the estimator. Thus the final proportions of the economically active who had apprenticeships were 34 per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis and 27 per cent of the English - or 31 per cent if one includes the two soldiers.

All these young men were following, or had completed, day- or block-release courses at local technical colleges. For what qualifications? To generalise and simplify, what normally happens is that after an introductory pre-technical course apprentices are sorted into two categories. Craft apprentices (the majority) follow what is known as a technician's course appropriate to their particular occupation. Usually they take the examination of the City and Guilds of London Institute. Able boys take the much more demanding National Certificate and are known as student apprentices. The National Certificate is awarded at two levels, Ordinary and Higher - known as ONC and HNC.

Most of the apprentices in this study - nine of the twelve Indians and Pakistanis and thirteen of the fourteen English - took City and Guilds, or some equivalent technician's course. This, unfortunately, does not tell one very much, because there are different levels of qualification within the City and Guilds. My information is defective on this point.

Often apprentices themselves did not know what examination they were working for. Or they gave cryptic replies like "EIT (B)" and "practical in woodwork and technical drawing". There is usually too a high drop-out and failure rate, something which is also true of the National Certificate.¹

Nevertheless the fact that the young men, or most of them, followed technician's courses does give some approximate indication of their ability. The one other English apprentice was working for ONC. On the Indian and Pakistani side two were taking ONC. And one, Isher, was working for an IMI (Institute of the Motor Industry), an advanced course for motor mechanics.

In addition to the apprentices, there were two English youths in non-manual work who pursued other day-release courses. One was a junior accounts clerk studying chartered accountancy. The other was a junior clerk who was working for the Local Government Training Board clerical examination, a one-year course. The two soldiers also did day-release. Both were taking the Army Certificate in Education, class I which was equivalent to CSE grade 2. Altogether then, eighteen, or 35 per cent, of the English leavers followed day- or block-release studies of some description, compared

¹ Carter, op. cit., pp. 191-2.

with twelve, or 34 per cent, of the Asians.¹ The proportions become more similar than they were in respect of apprenticeship only.

The third point to note, if one turns back to Table 64, is that a higher percentage of Indians and Pakistanis than English (17 as against eight per cent), had relatively skilled manual jobs, i.e. ones which were listed as social class III by the Registrar General, but which did not involve any apprenticeship or the like. The difference is again however statistically not significant ($p < .1$).

On the Indian and Pakistani side the relatively skilled comprised, as already seen:

- 2 garage hands
- 1 electroplater
- 1 setter
- 1 weaver
- 1 Indian sweetmaker.

In the English sample there were:

- 2 painters
- 1 monumental mason
- 1 engineer who looked after the machinery at a bowling alley.

¹ In addition three of the Asians and four of the English went to evening classes.

The fourth thing to point out is again a similarity between the two groups, this time in the proportions of leavers in semi- and unskilled occupations. Thirty-four per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis fell into these categories, and 31 per cent of the English.

Among the Asians in this sort of job there were:

- 3 bus conductors
- 1 semi-skilled grinder
- 1 machinist
- 1 spinning operative
- 3 dairy labourers
- 1 brewery labourer
- 1 foundry labourer
- 1 dyeworks labourer

The semi- and unskilled manual workers on the English side consisted of:

- 4 warehousemen
- 2 tyre-fitters
- 1 store boy
- 1 colour processor at a photographer's
- 1 bus conductor
- 1 checker at a manufacturing chemist's
- 1 milkman
- 2 van boys
- 1 brewery labourer
- 1 labourer at a garage
- 1 coalman

The fifth and final point to note from Table 64 is that two of the economically active English were in the Forces, as was

a third young man counted as pursuing full-time studies.¹
None of the Indians and Pakistanis had enlisted.

I said apropos of all Indians and Pakistanis, matched and unmatched, that the occupational picture seemed fairly encouraging. Table 64 confirms this optimism. The matched Asian and the English leavers comprised similar proportions of apprentices, similar proportions who followed day- or block-release courses and similar proportions consigned to semi- and unskilled jobs. The young Indians and Pakistanis had a higher percentage in relatively skilled manual jobs. They were at a disadvantage only in respect of non-manual employment.

Newcastle Compared with Other Areas

So much for the situation in Newcastle. How does it compare with that in other parts of the country. Figueroa, in north London, found that almost two-thirds of the English boys he interviewed had either apprenticeships or jobs with some form of training lasting more than a month. The same was true of less than half the West Indian boys.² Of all

¹ p. 187.

² The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 211.

the boys getting training of more than two weeks, the West Indians not only got fewer apprenticeships: their average length of training was shorter, and it was more often "on the job" than through day- or block-release.¹ Only one of the West Indians youths, but also only two of the English boys, got non-manual jobs.²

Milson, in Birmingham, found that 14 per cent of Asians interviewed who had left school had apprenticeships, compared with 21 per cent of West Indians and 23 per cent of English Brummies.³ Unfortunately he does not break the figures down for boys and girls.

Beetham, also in Birmingham, does not show what jobs his particular respondents obtained, but he gives figures for the whole city provided by the Youth Employment Service. In terms of skill jobs were graded into three categories, H, C and X. H comprised skilled occupations requiring three O levels or higher qualifications. C jobs were "recognised skilled crafts, and operative posts, with part-time day or block release". X signified "other posts".

¹ Ibid., p. 199.

² Ibid., p. 210.

³ Milson, op. cit., p. 10.

Beetham shows that in 1966 70 per cent of West Indian and 75 per cent of Asian boys entered X ("other") occupations when they left school. None got work in the highest H category. By contrast, only 43 per cent of the English leavers took X jobs. Fifty per cent obtained C, and seven per cent H grade occupations.

In 1965 there was apparently no analysis of jobs obtained by English leavers. But the West Indians did much better, only 52 per cent having to be content with X jobs, and the Asians rather worse: 80 per cent took work in this category. Again none obtained H class jobs. ¹

The last pieces of comparative data are to be found in the evidence presented to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. They consist of detailed breakdowns of first jobs obtained by coloured school-leavers in Ealing and Huddersfield, two of the areas visited by the committee. (Regrettably, there were no comparative figures for white leavers.) ²

¹ Beetham, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

² The minutes of evidence also give the types of occupation entered by leavers (white and coloured) from certain secondary schools in Hackney, another of the areas visited, and in the Inner London Education Authority. The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 920-8, 951-60. Since however there is no indication of how typical these schools were, the figures are of little use.

The information supplied by Huddersfield shows that out of 95 coloured boys who left school in 1968, 23 obtained apprenticeships.¹ If one excludes five who went on to full-time education, this represents 28 per cent of the economically active youngsters. They comprised twelve apprentice engineers, seven apprentice motor mechanics, three apprentice electricians and one apprentice radio mechanic. In 1967 the proportion was 23 per cent (twelve out of 58, less five in full-time further education). All twelve were apprentice engineers. In neither year had any youths obtained clerical jobs.²

Figures from Ealing show that in the year ended September 1968 91 coloured youths left school to enter work. Of these no fewer than 49, or 54 per cent, obtained apprenticeships or traineeships. Unfortunately the data does not distinguish the two.³ These leavers comprised 30 apprentice and trainee engineers, nine motor repair trainees, four apprentice electricians, three woodwork apprentices and trainees, two telephone engineering trainees, one radio/TV trainee. If one discards the occupations in which all

¹ In Huddersfield, as in Ealing, approximately two-thirds of the leavers were Asian and one-third West Indian.

² The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 665.

³ For the difference, see chapter 13.

young men were trainees, and subtracts one from the total in occupations comprising both apprentices and trainees, then one sees that the maximum possible with apprenticeships was 35, or 38 per cent. One young man only had got an office job.¹

Milson's and Figueroa's data are too incomplete to afford any useful comparison with my findings: the former's because he does not distinguish between boys and girls; the latter's because he does not differentiate between apprenticeships and other forms of training. This last inadequacy applies also to Beetham's analysis and to the figures from Ealing.

Nevertheless one can still make comparisons. One can say that in terms of skill Indian and Pakistani youths in Newcastle apparently got better jobs than Asian boys in Birmingham or than coloured leavers in Ealing and Huddersfield.² In Newcastle, as was seen, 42 per cent

¹ The Problem of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 520.

² It will be recalled that my figures are for current jobs, as are Milson's. All the other data in this section refer to first jobs. Apprenticeships in Newcastle as a proportion of first jobs were in fact slightly higher than the percentage quoted above.

of all young Asians obtained an apprenticeship.¹ In Birmingham, in the better year for which there are figures, only 25 per cent of Asian boys entered a craft or operative job with day/block release. In Huddersfield in the better year only 28 per cent of coloured boys secured an apprenticeship. In Ealing the maximum possible of 38 per cent likewise fell short of the Newcastle figure.

It remains unclear whether the Newcastle Asians obtained better jobs than the West Indian boys in Birmingham. In their good year of 1965 48 per cent took up craft or operative posts with day- or block-release. One does not know how many in this percentage had apprenticeships proper. What one can say is that at best the proportion with apprenticeships can have been little higher than in Newcastle, and that, given the large numbers of boys entering traineeships in the Midlands,² the proportion was probably smaller. Few if any of the coloured youths obtained non-manual employment in any of these localities.

¹ That is, out of 40 economically active the 16 with strictly skilled manual jobs (see Table 58), plus Lal the draughtsman from among the non-manual. It is clearly right to use the city-wide figures for comparison with other LEAs, rather than just the figures for the matched Asians from the five west end schools.

² See Table 55, p. 291.

Thus it would appear the young Asians in Newcastle got better jobs than most - probably all - coloured leavers in other places where comparisons are possible. However one cannot say baldly that they "did better", i.e. achieved more, until one takes into account the varying availability of apprenticeships in different parts of the country. For it has been seen that in the Northern region relatively more boys got apprenticeships than in either the Midlands or in London and the South East, but relatively fewer than in Yorkshire.¹ As a further complication, however, I warned caution in using the proportions as indices of the relative ease of obtaining apprenticeships.²

These regional variations cast uncertainty on the relative achievements of coloured boys in Ealing and West Indian lads in Birmingham, because the smaller proportion of apprenticeships in these regions might be said to account for the smaller proportion of coloured apprentices. In London and the South East the contradictory situation has been noted that though this region has the lowest percentage of apprenticeships of any region in Britain, they were still easy to obtain. This means that one has even less idea of what the performance of the Ealing leavers was worth.

¹ See Table 53, p. 288.

² See pp. 293-4.

On the other hand, even granted these variations, the Indian and Pakistani youths in Newcastle apparently did better than Asians in Birmingham or coloured lads in Huddersfield. In Huddersfield relatively fewer coloured boys got apprenticeships even though there were more apprenticeships available in the Yorkshire than in the Northern region. In the other case, the smaller proportion in the Midlands of boys taking up apprenticeships - a difference over the years of between five and eight per cent ¹ does not account for the much greater difference between the proportion of Asian apprentices (or possible apprentices) in Birmingham and Newcastle. The achievement of the Newcastle Asians appears the more impressive when one remembers the bad employment situation and the difficulty of getting jobs at all.

Only in Beetham's and Figueroa's studies were there matched analyses of the jobs obtained by white youths. Both show that the whites were more successful - in Birmingham much more successful - than coloured leavers in securing jobs carrying day- or block-release, or at least some form of training.

In Newcastle, by contrast, it was much more level pegging. Thirty-four per cent of the matched Asians had apprenticeships,

¹ See Table 53, p. 288.

compared with 27 per cent of the English sample; 34 and 35 per cent respectively did block/day release studies of some kind. The proportion of apprenticeships among all my Asians throughout the city was 42 per cent. This compared with a regional average of 44.4 per cent for the period 1962-7 and with a Newcastle average of 45.5 per cent for 1968-9.¹ Thus the similarity in the proportions of Asians and English holds good at both levels of comparison.

There is however a snag which perhaps vitiates all these comparisons. Regional officials of the Department of Employment suggested to me that the overall standard demanded of apprentices was lower in the Northern region than in other parts of the country. This, they argued, was because of the region's relatively high proportion of old-established traditional industries. There were of course, for example, precision engineering firms requiring the highest quality skills, but these sort of concerns were thinner on the ground and accounted for a smaller proportion of apprentices than, say, in the Midlands or Yorkshire.

This was the argument. Newcastle's Youth Employment Officer strongly disagreed. I am not competent to form a judgement, but the warning should at least be sounded.

¹ See Table 57, p. 292.

If it is the case, then regional comparisons have little value. Nevertheless it does not detract from the success of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle in obtaining apprenticeships to the same extent as their English counterparts.

Asian Employment by Industry

Figueroa says at one point that while more of his West Indian than English leavers had engineering jobs, none were in what he calls "traditional" type occupations, e.g. butcher, baker, builder, printer.¹ None of my Newcastle Indians and Pakistanis were in these particular occupations either. But they had found their way into other traditional craft jobs: shipyard plater, shipyard electrician, pit electrician.

So let us now look at the English and Asian leavers in Newcastle according to industry and see if there is any difference in their distribution. I employ the categories of the Central Statistical Office's Standard Industrial Classification (1968 edition). These refer to the industry in which a person works, whatever his job, whereas the previous part of this chapter concerned the job a person did, whatever

¹ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II,
 p. 198.

the industry in which he worked. Thus Table 65, which compares the two groups, classifies, for example, a pit electrician under Mining and Quarrying, but a shipyard electrician under Shipbuilding and Marine Engineering. Table 65 omits industries not represented among the Newcastle leavers.

TABLE 65

Matched Asians and English in employment: Comparison by industry.

Industry:	ASIANS	ENGLISH
II. Mining and quarrying	1	-
III. Food, drink and tobacco	5	1
V. Chemicals and allied industries	1	1
VI. Metal manufacture	3	-
VII. Mechanical engineering	3	7
X. Shipbuilding and marine engineering	2	2
XI. Electrical engineering	1	-
XII. Metal goods not elsewhere specified	2	1
XIII. Textiles	2	-
XVI. Bricks, pottery, glass, cement, etc.	-	1
XVII. Timber, furniture, etc.	-	1
XX. Construction	-	5
XXI. Gas, electricity, water	-	1
XXII. Transport and communications	4	3
XXIII. Distributive trades	2	7
XXIV. Insurance, banking and business services	-	1
XXV. Professional and scientific services	-	1
XXVI. Miscellaneous services	6	7
XXVII. Public administration and defence	-	4
Industry inadequately described	-	2
Total	32	45

The first point to note from Table 65 is that the Indians and Pakistanis were spread across twelve out of 27 industries, whilst the English were distributed over fifteen. The difference is slight.

Secondly, one can pick out the differences between the two groups. The Indians and Pakistanis were completely unrepresented in construction and in public administration and defence. Compared with the English sample they were under-represented in mechanical engineering and the distributive trades. On the other hand, the Indians and Pakistanis were relatively over-represented in the food, drink and tobacco industry, in transport and communications, in metal manufacture and in textiles. In the last two industries the English sample had nobody at all.

One may simplify Table 65 by collapsing the different industries into just four categories: extractive, manufacturing, construction and services. Table 66 compares the patterns in this light.¹

¹ Extractive industries comprise Industry Orders I and II. Manufacturing industries consist of Industry Orders III-XIX and XXI. Construction is Industry Order XX. Services are Industry Orders XXII-XXVII.

TABLE 66

Matched Asians and English in employment:
Comparison by types of industry.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Extractive	1	-
Manufacturing	19	15
Construction	-	5
Services	12	23
Inadequately described	-	2
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 32	<hr/> 45

Now can be seen what is concealed by the detail of Table 65, namely that 59 per cent of the employed Indians and Pakistanis worked in manufacturing, compared with only 33 per cent of the English sample. Conversely, 51 per cent of the English, but only 37 per cent of the Asians, worked in service industries.

Over-representation of coloured immigrants in manufacturing industries and under-representation in services is general throughout the country.¹ The English sample is however untypical of the region in being so skewed in favour of services. This may be seen if it is compared with the regional analysis given in Table 50, p. 277.

¹ Rose and Associates, op. cit., pp. 169-72.

Better still (since to include women presumably inflates the proportion in services) one may compare the sample with a breakdown of the type of industry entered by boys taking up their first jobs in the same year (1964). This is shown in Table 67.

TABLE 67

Boys entering first employment by type of industry: Northern region 1964. %.*

Extractive	13.1
Manufacturing	34.5
Construction	12.7
Services	39.8
<hr/>	
Total	100.0
<hr/>	

* Source: Ministry of Labour Gazette, May 1965, p. 210.

From these figures it may be seen that in Newcastle the young Indians and Pakistanis were indeed hugely over-represented in manufacturing - but not because they were under-represented in service industries; for the proportion approximated to the regional figure. The reason was rather the almost total lack of Asians in the extractive and construction industries.

The Firms They Worked For

So much for distribution over different kinds of industry. What about distribution over individual firms? (For convenience I use the term to cover all varieties of undertaking and establishment.) Were the Indians and Pakistanis perhaps more restricted than the English in the number of different employers they worked for? The figures show that this was not the case. The 45 English workers were employed by 38 different firms, whilst the 32 Indians and Pakistanis were employed by 27.¹

Did the Indians and Pakistanis tend perhaps to work for firms of a different size from those which employed the English leavers? To answer this one must define size as well as separateness, for many firms of course did not have just one establishment, but employed people elsewhere in the region or elsewhere in the country. In these cases I defined size as the total workforce on Tyneside. This gives the size of the firm within reasonable travelling distance to work. I obtained my figures from the firms themselves. On the question of separateness I kept to the distinctions mentioned in footnote 1. Table 68 gives the analysis.

¹ I have counted Newcastle Transport Department separately from the rest of Newcastle Corporation. I have also counted Vickers Naval Yard and Vickers Elswick engineering works as separate firms. I have ignored the amalgamations between Vickers Naval Yard and Swan Hunter and between C.A. Parsons and Reyrolle's.

TABLE 68

Matched Asians and English: economically active compared by size of employing firm.

Employs:	ASIANS	ENGLISH
10 or fewer	5	4
11-99	4	8
100-499	8	13
500-1999	7	4
2000 and over	8	16
Unemployed	3	7
<hr/>		
Total	35	52
<hr/>		

It will be seen that at most levels there was little difference between the two groups. Twenty-five per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis and 23 per cent of the English worked for firms employing fewer than 100 people. Twenty-three per cent and 25 per cent respectively worked for firms employing between 100 and 499 people. Relatively more Indians and Pakistanis - 20 per cent as against eight per cent - worked for medium-sized firms of between 500 and 1,999 people. On the other hand, a somewhat higher proportion of the English (31 compared with 23 per cent) worked for big firms with a workforce or more than 2,000 people.

What the figures show is that the young Asians were well represented in firms of all sizes. One might have anticipated that they would be less likely than the English

to be employed in small firms, on the grounds that where boss and workers are on close terms hiring would be less bureaucratic, less on merit and more because the applicant's face fitted. Table 68 shows however that the Indians and Pakistanis got into firms employing fewer than 100 people to the same extent as the English sample. Even if one properly discounts three of the former who served in their fathers' shops or otherwise worked in the community, this still leaves a respectable Asian proportion of 17 per cent in this category.

It was seen that the 32 Indian and Pakistani leavers were spread over 27 different firms. They might nevertheless still have gravitated to firms where other older Indians and Pakistanis worked. To check this I asked respondents how many other Indians and Pakistanis worked where they worked.¹ Since I am not making a comparison with the English sample I use the figures for all the Indians and Pakistanis, not just the matched ones. Table 69 gives the figures.

¹ I posed the question in this simple way for fear that employees of large firms might not know the total number of other Asian workers. What I have in effect is the number of other Asian workers they were aware of.

TABLE 69

All economically active Asians: About how many other Asians work where you work?

None	9
1-5	13
6-20	6
21-50	3
Over 50	3
Father's shop/in community	3
Unemployed	3
<hr/>	
Total	40
<hr/>	

Seventy per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis did indeed work for firms where other Asians also worked. However, as far as respondents were aware, the other Indians and Pakistanis were mostly few in number. Only fifteen per cent said that more than twenty others worked at the same place as themselves.

Level of Earnings

Lastly in this section, was there any difference in the wages of the Asians and the English? To find out I asked respondents what their take-home pay had been the previous week - or the last week they had worked, had they been off. Table 70 makes the comparison.

TABLE 70

Economically active matched Asians and English:
Take-home pay the previous week.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Less than £5	3	5
£5-£9	13	27
£10-£14	12	7
£15 and over	3	5
No response	1	1
Unemployed	3	7
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 35	<hr/> 52

One sees here that as a whole the young Indians and Pakistanis earned somewhat higher wages than the young English workers. The Indians and Pakistanis were closely divided either side of the £10 division, with 46 per cent earning less and 43 per cent earning more. By contrast 62 per cent of the English lads took home less than this amount, and only 23 per cent took home more. The difference in the proportions earning more than £10 a week is statistically highly significant ($p = <.005$), that in the proportions earning less than this amount rather less so ($p = <.025$).

It is well known, of course, that earnings often fluctuate according to the time of year and the amount of overtime worked in a particular week. So to get an indication of how typical was the amount quoted, I asked whether the previous

week's wage packet was average or not. Twenty-one of the 32 working Indians and Pakistanis said it was average; eight said it was above average, and one that it was below average. Thirty of the 45 English workers also said their previous week's pay was the normal amount. Six said it was below average, but eight said it was more than usual.

Thus one may take the figures given as being generally typical. This difference in earnings applies to apprentices, but is particularly marked among non-apprenticed manual workers. One can make no comparison in respect of non-manual workers because there are so few Indians and Pakistanis among them, but the English ones mostly earned less than £10.

The Unemployed

It will have been seen from previous tables that three of the Indians and Pakistanis and seven of the English were out of work. This represents respectively nine and 13 per cent of the economically active. Thus a slightly higher proportion of the English were unemployed. The Asian numbers are too small to test the difference statistically.

Who were these jobless leavers? On the Indian and Pakistani side, Riaz had been more or less chased out of comprehensive school despite or because of his very poor

English and was waiting (vainly as it proved) to apply in the autumn to go to Technical College or College of Further Education.¹

The other two, Sarwar and Faqir, were still seeking their first employment. They had left school six and eight months previously. Sarwar wanted to be an electrician or mechanic and had applied without success to six or seven firms. Faqir wanted to be a motor mechanic and said he had applied to over 20 firms. Sarwar said he did not want to take an unskilled job like working on the buses because he wanted to better himself. Faqir said he would take anything. Faqir, like Riaz, came to England at late secondary age and had defective English. Sarwar, however, arrived at eight. He spoke well, though he was shy.

Sarwar said he would probably go to college if he failed to get the job he wanted. A couple of other Asians did the same until the right employment came up. The most dramatic instance, of course, was Rasul, who thus started on a career which led to university.²

On the other side, one of the seven English unemployed

¹ See p. 169.

² See pp. 335, 136.

was also still after his first job. This was the youth who had just finished an HND course in business studies. He was looking for a post as a management trainee in marketing.

Of the rest, two - a cable jointer and a coalman - had been laid off with others as the result of redundancy. Two, a market porter and a joiner, had left voluntarily. One, a building labourer, had been sacked while on the sick with a broken ankle. The sixth, a van boy, had lost his job through individual dismissal - "Too much furniture was getting ripped".

One notes that four of the six had unskilled manual jobs. Three had been out of work only a few weeks. But the building labourer had been off two-and-a-half months. The joiner had been unemployed five months, and the cable jointer 10 months.

Though figures are apparently not available, the Youth Employment Officer for Newcastle assured me that coloured boys and girls made up only an "infinitesimal" proportion of the young unemployed in the city. Informal enquiries have confirmed that this was the case. The situation therefore contrasts markedly with that in other areas of immigrant settlement for which there is data. In Wolverhampton the Select Committee was given figures which showed that on three random dates in 1968 coloured immigrant

boys comprised 36 per cent of all boys unemployed in the borough.¹ In Ealing in the year ended September 30, 1968, 22 per cent of the boys who registered for work following previous employment were coloured immigrants.²

The small proportion of Indians and Pakistanis among the youngsters out of work in Newcastle reflects in part, no doubt, both the smallness of the Indian and Pakistani communities and the high level of English unemployment. The unemployment rate among the matched Asians was lower than that of the English sample: nine per cent compared with 13. Yet the fact remains that the city-wide proportion of all young Indians and Pakistanis unemployed (eight per cent) was well above the rate for Tyneside and the region, which in 1968, the year of the interviews, was 4.8 and 4.7 respectively.³ Nevertheless it is perhaps surprising that the Asians were not worse affected by the adverse employment situation. This is particularly the case when one reads that a survey of West Indian adolescents sampled on the "random walk" principle in north London found that 22 per cent were out of work.⁴

¹ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 402.

² Ibid., p. 516.

³ For source, see note to Table 49, p. 274.

⁴ Dennis Stevenson and Peter Wallis, "Second Generation West Indians: A Study in Alienation", Race Today, August 1970, p. 279.

Summary

I showed in this chapter that a smaller proportion of the matched Indians and Pakistanis than of the English had non-manual occupations. On the other hand, similar proportions in each group had apprenticeships and jobs involving day-or block-release. Similar proportions, again, had semi- and unskilled manual jobs.

I showed that in terms of proportions getting apprenticeships the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle did better, despite the bad employment situation, than Asian and coloured leavers in certain other parts of the country. In the comparative studies elsewhere in England white leavers were always more successful than coloured leavers in getting apprenticeships, or at least jobs with some form of training. In Newcastle the Indians and Pakistanis and English were much more evenly matched.

I showed that while both the Indians and Pakistanis and the English were represented in a similar number of industries and firms, the former were much more heavily concentrated in manufacturing industries. They were well distributed over firms of all sizes. Most worked for firms where other Indians and Pakistanis also worked. The young Indians and Pakistanis earned significantly higher wages than the English workers.

It was seen, lastly, that similar proportions of Indian and Pakistani and English leavers were out of work. In contrast, ^{to} coloured youngsters in certain other areas, the Indians and Pakistanis accounted for a very small part of all unemployed boys. Their unemployment rate was, nevertheless, above average.

17. JOB ATTITUDES AND AMBITIONS

This chapter is chiefly concerned with the attitudes of the young Indian and Pakistani workers towards their employment and with their occupational ambitions. Before coming to that, however, I want to look at their employment history, that is, how many different jobs they had had and how long they had been in their present occupation.

Employment History

Table 71 shows the number of employers the young men had worked for since they left school. Alongside are comparable data for English leavers.

It is seen that there is a fairly close similarity between the two groups. Forty per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis and 35 per cent of the English had had only one employer. Sixty and 75 per cent respectively had had one or two employers. Seventy-seven and 85 per cent had had between one and three employers. Such differences as there are are largely accounted for by the higher proportion of

Asians (nine per cent as against two) who had not yet obtained employment at all.

TABLE 71

Economically active matched Asians and English:
no. of different employers since they left school.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
1 employer only	14	18
2 employers	7	21
3 employers	6	5
4-5 employers	4	7
More than 5 employers	1	-
Still after first job	3	1
Total	35	52

On both sides, then, one finds a low level of job-changing: only fourteen per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis and thirteen per cent of the English had had more than three employers. It will be recalled, of course, that respondents ranged in age from fifteen to 21, so that some had had much more opportunity of switching jobs than others.

What do other studies of coloured leavers show? Figueroa found that the West Indian boys he interviewed in North London had held slightly fewer jobs than his English respondents - an average of 1.8 against 1.9.¹ In Birmingham

¹ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 211.

Milson found that young coloured workers also changed jobs less often than native whites interviewed. This was particularly true of Asians. Sixty-six per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis had had only one job since leaving school, compared with 44 per cent of West Indians and 36 per cent of the English.¹

To return to Newcastle: I lack the information on the English side to make a precise comparison as to the reasons why the two groups of workers changed jobs. I did obtain a detailed employment history from most of the Indians and Pakistanis, however, and from this three facts emerge.

Firstly, only a few of the young Indians and Pakistanis had ever been made unemployed by redundancy. Of the 32 matched Asians who had entered employment, only three (nine per cent) said they had been out of work for this reason. Twenty-five (78 per cent) had escaped the experience, and there were four uncertain cases, representing twelve per cent.²

All four (matched and unmatched) who were paid off had what appear to have been strictly skilled manual jobs, i.e.

¹ Milson, op. cit., p. 10. The figures are for boys and girls together.

² Of all 37 young men who had entered employment, four (11 per cent) had been made redundant, compared with 28 (76 per cent) who had not and five (14 per cent) where there was some doubt.

jobs which carried apprenticeships. Three of the four succeeded in getting similarly skilled jobs again. Indeed the second point to be noted is that a number of young Indians and Pakistanis also voluntarily left apparently bona fide apprenticeships and were able to take up others. Seven managed this, including two who also lost other apprenticeships through being made redundant. Thus altogether nine of the Indians and Pakistanis (six of the matched Asians) succeeded in obtaining two or more apprenticeships.

Let me give some examples. Dalip was paid off after a year as an electrician with a building firm. He spent a week or two looking for another job, but all he could find was one as projectionist at a cinema which had long pioneered films with titles like "Nudes in the Snow", "Sweet Sins of Sexy Susan", and so on. He took it - "Better than sticking on the dole". His parents did not mind him working there, but after six months he was bored with the work, despite the nudes, and fed up with the low pay. So he wrote and obtained an apprenticeship as a shipyard plater.

Ajit and Isher left their first jobs as motor mechanics because the garages where they worked were too small and/or were too far away. Shiv left because

I couldn't stand the owner. He was a bit too rough. He always tried to bollock you in front of customers. I didn't like that and told him so.

All three got apprenticeships at other garages.

Finally, Sharif had held no fewer than four electrical apprenticeships. The first was with a Corporation housing department. "It wasn't bad as a trade on the house-wiring side, but for a person like me who wants a general knowledge of everything, it wasn't very good." He left after six months to work for a firm of electrical contractors, but after a further six months he was made redundant. His next job was as an electrical armature-winder. "It was pretty good, but I wasn't really interested in it." He left after three months and, as was seen, wrote and was taken on as an electrician by the National Coal Board - "Definitely the best job I had".

Although, as has been said, my information was incomplete, it would appear that very few of the English sample swapped apprenticeships, for whatever reason. The indications are that such changes were unusual, though according to the Youth Employment Service it was quite possible to get an apprenticeship at 16 or 17, despite the strict age-wage agreements which are supposed to make this difficult.¹ The fact that six of the twelve matched Asian apprentices

¹ See, for example, Anne Lapping, "A hardening colour bar? 1: The faces", New Society, March 16, 1967 p. 379.

(and nine of all seventeen apprentices) succeeded in getting more than one apprenticeship adds of course to the achievements discussed in the last chapter.

The third point to be made is that three of the young Indians and Pakistanis had bad experiences with so-called apprenticeships. All took up "apprentice motor mechanic" jobs which were nothing of the sort.¹ Gurdial had two such experiences. He said:

See, first one they was not teaching me a mechanic see. When I got this job, they just told me, "You are staying six months on the petrol pump". I just stay six months on the petrol pump. Then after that I keep asking them when I am going in the workshop. They keep saying to me, "You are going next month or next month or next week" - like that. And that's where I leave it. I know they won't sent me.

He left after a year and went to another garage. He stayed there three-and-a-half months before again taking his cards.

That's why I leave it, because I supposed to start nine o'clock, finish about six o'clock, and they just let me finish half past six, or half past seven see. On Saturday they just used to say to me

¹ I call them garage hands and have counted them as relatively skilled. It is of relevance here that a survey by the Institute of Youth Employment Officers among children of average and below average ability discovered that one-fifth of the boys interviewed found the job they took was different from what the employer had told them. Carter, op. cit., p. 154.

"You'd better work overtime". And I supposed to finish half past four on Saturday and I used to work one hour overtime and I used to work till half past five. And next week I still haven't got any money for it.

Again there was no proper training:

They don't let me do that things properly. They just ask me to open that nut, then start another car, open that, start another car and then they don't let me try to do that job.

When interviewed this young man had a labourer's job at a dairy.

These, then, are the three things to note about the young Indians' and Pakistanis' employment history: the small number of redundancies, the substantial number of apprentices who had had more than one apprenticeship, and a small but worrying number of fake apprenticeships.

I also found a few interesting individual reasons for job-changing. Kewal was sacked from his first job as an apprentice wireworker for fighting.

He was calling me funny names. Just when I called him something, he tried to hit me. He threw the wire-cutter at me. I went down, I got it through my head here, on top of it. I hit him first with the wire - like solid bars, y'knaa.

(What did he say?) He was just saying me Darkie.

Chanan also worked as an apprentice wireworker, but with a different firm. His father made him leave.

He said I wasn't getting enough money or something. I didn't want to leave, because I was happy up there, but he just sort of forced us to do it. I held out for a few weeks, but I couldn't say nowt with all the family against us. Because I was really happy at that job. I used to play football with the factory lads

Chanan next got a job at a dairy, but he soon became sick of working seven days a week for a few pounds extra. When I interviewed him, he was bitterly working behind the counter of his father's shop, all for 30s a week pocket-money. He had told his father he would like to take up a trade -

But he says there's nobody to take over the shop if I leave. I've asked him loads of times. I says, "I'm going to leave the shop. Get me big brother working in here." But me father doesn't trust him because he gambles too much on the horses. It's really turned me off. They run my life. They think it's their life they're running.

The young man who had had the most jobs was Hardev. He had had seven: foundry worker, labourer at a car factory and machinist's mate in the Midlands, bakery worker, bus conductor, progress clerk and grinder. Between times he helped in his father's shop. His father even bought him his own small shop in Stanhope Street, but after six weeks he saw the chance to sell it again at a profit. Hardev explained:

I like to move around mostly, and then it depends on the money, you know, the people that work there. Mostly I get sick of most jobs. I mean it's either me foreman or the manager, either he doesn't like me or I don't like him. Otherwise I just get sick

of the job. Especially during the summer months. Foundry work and factory work, it's boring through the summer, because it's nice and warm and you're wanting to get out and you can't, because for the simple reason there's either the foreman or the manager there.

Hardev, however, was untypical in other ways as well^{as} in this, as will be seen.

Finally in this section, Table 72 shows how long the Asian and English workers had been working for their present employers.

TABLE 72

Matched Asians and English in employment: How long they had been working for their present employers.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Up to 1 year	15	19
Over 1 year, up to 2	9	10
Over 2 years, up to 3	4	8
Over 3 years	4	8
Total	32	45

It is seen that English workers in employment had been working for their present firm rather longer than their Indian and Pakistani counterparts, though the difference is small. Thirty-four per cent of the English lads had been with their employer for more than two years, compared with 25 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis.

Job Satisfaction

I asked respondents: "How satisfied would you say you were with your present job with your present employer?" By posing the enquiry in this way, I hoped they would consider both the occupation itself, and the firm, and such things as working conditions.

It has been claimed that this direct approach is not the best way of getting an accurate response on the subject. John Goldthorpe and his co-authors, for example, say that a number of studies show "that the large majority of workers, if asked how they like their jobs, tend to give generally favourable answers", even "in cases where other evidence has indicated fairly clearly that the workers in question experienced quite severe deprivations in performing their jobs". They follow Robert Blauner in suggesting that a worker will find it difficult to admit he dislikes his job without threatening his self-respect.¹

Against this, it is really rather hard to accept that this particular question is any more delicate than many others which a respondent might equally feel were dangerous

¹ John H. Goldthorpe, David Lockwood, Frank Bechhofer, Jennifer Platt, The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 11.

to his self-esteem, for example, enquiries about the size of his income. Perhaps I should have adopted the oblique approach employed by Goldthorpe and his colleagues, yet I have no reason to think that the replies to my question (Table 73) were in fact misleading.

TABLE 73

Matched Asians and English in employment:
"How satisfied would you say you were with
your present job with your present employer?"

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Very satisfied	13	19
Fairly satisfied	17	17
Pro-Con	-	1
Rather dissatisfied	-	4
Very dissatisfied	2	4
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 32	<hr/> 45

I read respondents the four main answers and asked them to score themselves. It is seen that while very similar proportions - 41 per cent of Indians and Pakistanis and 42 per cent of the English - said they were very satisfied, a higher percentage of the former said they were fairly satisfied: 53 per cent as against 38. Thus overall more Indian and Pakistani workers were satisfied than English workers. At the same time and with respect to Goldthorpe, One should note that a majority of the Indians and Pakistanis were careful to specify that they were only

fairly satisfied.

One may compare these answers with the findings of other studies. Figueroa reports that his West Indian boys were more dissatisfied than their English counterparts.¹ Milson asked his youngsters: "Is your present job what you would like to do?", which is not quite the same thing, but near enough.² Seventy-four per cent of the young Asians said it was, compared with 68 per cent of the English and only 54 per cent of the West Indians.³

To elucidate their answers, I asked respondents (according to their previous reply) what it was they liked/disliked about their job. Table 74 gives the explanations of those who said they were satisfied. I follow the authors of The Affluent Worker and group the reasons into three classes: those relating to the intrinsic rewards of the job (e.g. the opportunity to use skill or initiative); those relating to extrinsic rewards and considerations (that is, as a means of getting, for example, good wages); and those relating to

¹ The Problem of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 211.

² I discuss the desire to change occupations later in this chapter.

³ Milson, op. cit., p. 11. As usual these figures include both boys and girls.

the physical and social environment (e.g. pleasant conditions, good workmates).¹ Many young men of course gave more than one reason.

TABLE 74

Matched Asians and English satisfied with their present job: What they liked about it.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
INTRINSIC:		
The work itself	11	12
It's an easy job	5	2
There's plenty of variety	2	12
You get a good training	2	4
Nobody bothers you	1	3
Other intrinsic	3	-
EXTRINSIC:		
The money's good	5	2
Other extrinsic	1	2
ENVIRONMENTAL:		
I like the people I work with	8	7
I like the boss/foreman	3	1
Hours/conditions are good	2	2
Other environmental	3	3
Everything	-	1
Nothing in particular	-	2
Don't know	1	-
	N=30	N=36

¹ Goldthorpe, et. al., op. cit., p. 14.

Table 74 shows that the reason most frequently given by the young Asians was the intrinsic satisfaction of the work itself. Just over one-third of the Indians and Pakistanis mentioned this, compared with a little over one-quarter of the English. On the English side this was one of the two most cited reasons, sharing first place with the fact that the job had variety. The latter point occurred to the young Indians and Pakistanis hardly at all: they apparently either did not have it or did not value it. More of them than of the English did however single out the virtue that the job was easy.

The reason given second most often by the Indians and Pakistanis and third most often by the English related to the people they worked alongside of. Twenty-five per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis mentioned this, compared with sixteen per cent of the English. Rather more Indians and Pakistanis than English also cited as a cause for satisfaction a good management in the shape of boss or foreman, though they got many fewer mentions all round than good workmates.

In the extrinsic category, finally, more Indians and Pakistanis than English gave money as a reason for satisfaction. Yet it was by no means felt to be a major cause for satisfaction; only sixteen per cent of the Asians and four per cent of the English mentioned it.

One notes overall that many more of the reasons given fell into the intrinsic than into the other two categories. Table 75 makes this clearer.

TABLE 75

Previous table simplified: Total number of reasons in each class.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Intrinsic	24	33
Extrinsic	6	4
Environmental	16	13
Other	1	3
<u>Total reasons</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>53</u>

It is seen that in fact 51 per cent of all the reasons why the young Indians and Pakistanis said they were satisfied with their jobs and 62 per cent of all the English reasons were of an intrinsic kind. In sharp contrast is the very small number of extrinsic reasons: a mere thirteen per cent of the Asians, and eight per cent of the English total. Finally, 34 per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis gave replies in the environmental class, compared with 25 per cent of the English.

Thus while there were differences of detail in the reasons for the overall general job satisfaction of both the English and the Indian and Pakistani youths (Table 74), in broad

terms the two groups gave the same sort of reasons.¹

In emphasising intrinsic satisfactions both differed greatly from the affluent workers in Luton, who showed a markedly instrumental orientation to work. Pay and security appeared to be the considerations most powerful in binding them to their jobs.² A large part of the difference is likely to be due to the low level of wages both among my respondents³ and in the region as a whole.⁴

By way of illustration here are a few of the Indian and Pakistani reasons as given.

Mumtaz (moulder):

I like doing casting and everything. It's not too big, you know, little small place like. There's friendly people there.

Nihal (machinist):

It's light, clean, respectable job. No gaffers telling you what to do.

Pratap (engineering apprentice):

I'm on a piecework job now like, and the money's good, and the time passes quick on the job like. I know all the lads there an all like, they're all me mates now.

¹ At the risk of stating the obvious I should point out that the detailed differences in Table 74 do not necessarily reflect different cultural attitudes to work. They may just as well arise because the two groups worked for different firms.

² Goldthorpe et. al., op. cit., pp. 37-8.

³ p. 363.

⁴ pp. 280-1.

Lal (draughtsman):

I like my relationship with the management itself and the people I work with. They're very helpful. They try to help me out in every way they can possible.

Sharif (pit electrician):

Going down the pit, that's the part I like the best. You have great feeling inside you, and it's quite fun going down.

But really I enjoy the life because it's- they're all happy people, and outside- I mean to say outside people, outside workers are totally different to the mineworkers. They're much more polite, much more happier than the outside working men. The outside working men they class them as rough, but they're quite gentle and they take an interest in every side of life. They say there's no difference between a coloured man working in the mine and a white man working in the mine, because you get black all the same. I mean to say, at the end of the shift they come out black, so do I.

What reasons did the dissatisfied minority give for their discontent? The two on the Indian and Pakistani side gave environmental reasons relating to their conditions of work. Arjan, a labourer at a dairy, complained he was always getting cut with broken glass and that it was too cold in winter and that there was no proper canteen. Chanan, quoted above,¹ complained about having to serve in his father's shop with never a day off.

Among the English sample three were dissatisfied because of the work itself. Four gave extrinsic reasons, two

¹ pp. 376-7.

complaining about the pay and two about the lack of prospects. Three had environmental grouses - about the bosses, the other employees and the early start in the morning.

More illuminating perhaps are the discontents of the young men who said they were satisfied overall. When I had questioned them as to what they liked about the job, I asked: "Is there anything you dislike about it?" Table 76 lists the items mentioned which are grouped in the same three classes before, but in less detail.

TABLE 76

Matched Asians and English satisfied with their present job: What they disliked.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
INTRINSIC:		
All	7	5
EXTRINSIC:		
The money's bad	1	6
Other	1	-
ENVIRONMENTAL:		
Bad hours/conditions	3	6
Other	1	2
Nothing	17	17
Don't know	2	-

N=30 N=36

A high proportion of both groups, but rather more of the Indians and Pakistanis - 57 compared with 47 per cent - said there was nothing they disliked. The class of complaints most mentioned by otherwise satisfied young Indians and Pakistanis were intrinsic. In most cases they related not to the whole job but to some aspect of it, for example, that it was hard work or that it was sometimes boring. Twenty-three per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis gave this sort of answer, as against 14 per cent of the English.

The largest category of English complaints, mentioned by 22 per cent, concerned the work environment. Most related to hours and conditions. Seventeen per cent were discontented about extrinsic matters - in every case the pay they were getting.

Here are a few of the Indian and Pakistani comments.

Hardev (grinder):

You work yourself very hard. If you don't work, you don't make your money.

Shiv (motor mechanic):

It's just a bit dirty, that's all.

Ahmed (conductor):

The wages are poor. And you get bad shifts - you come home 12 o'clock and get up again five in the morning. You can't really go out.

Dalip (plater):

I can't really say actually. I suppose it's just the job. I don't like work actually. I just hate getting up in the morning. You know, you say: Oh back to work again!

To sum up this section. It was found that the great majority of both groups of workers were satisfied with their jobs, whilst the Indians and Pakistanis were rather more content than the English. This was apparent both in the proportions who expressed positive satisfaction and in the proportions of those who said they had no dislikes. In the kinds of explanation respondents gave for being satisfied there was a broad similarity between the Indians and Pakistanis and the English: both emphasised intrinsic reasons most and mentioned extrinsic reasons least.

Occupational Ambitions

I asked my respondents: "Do you intend to stick to your present occupation or do you intend to change to another?" Table 77 shows the replies, which were also a further index of job satisfaction.

It is seen that a majority of both the Indians and Pakistanis and the English intended to stay in their present occupations. The differences between the two groups are slight: 53 per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis and 60 per cent of the English said they would stick, 31 and 33 per cent respectively said they would change.

TABLE 77

Matched Asians and English in employment:
"Do you intend to stick to your present
occupation or do you intend to change to
another?"

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
Stick	17	27
Change	10	15
Don't know	4	3
No response	1	-
Total	32	45

The question, it should be admitted, would have been better had it been worded less definitely ("Do you expect to stick", etc.). The replies of some of those who said they would change make it clear they were speaking only tentatively, or wishfully. Yet they give one insight into the sorts of different occupations they were inclined to favour. Table 78 classifies these.

TABLE 78

Matched Asians and English who said they would
change: Occupations preferred.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
White-collar	-	4
Strictly skilled manual	5	2
Rel. skilled manual	2	3
Business	2	-
Other	1	2
Don't know/Unclassifiable	-	4
Total	10	15

The main point to note here is that four of the fifteen English youths had white-collar aspirations (draughtsman, social worker, teacher, clerk of works), whereas none of the Indians and Pakistanis mentioned this sort of occupation. This suggests that if few of the young Indians and Pakistanis had non-manual jobs,¹ equally few of those at work showed any desire for them.

On the contrary, most of the Indians and Pakistanis who desired to change favoured strictly or relatively skilled manual occupations: motor mechanic, mentioned by three, electrician (2), psv driver, motor mechanic or electrician. All but one of these held less skilled jobs. The other wanted to move sideways to a different occupation of equal skill.

One sees also from Table 78 that two of the Indians and Pakistanis who said they would change jobs wanted to go into business. More of them in a moment.

A similar picture emerged when I questioned the young men about the occupations they saw themselves doing in the more distant future. I asked: "What job do you expect to be doing in 10 years' time?" The enquiry met some bewildered

¹ See p. 337.

amusement ("I wouldn't know whether I'll be alive or dead then!") Table 79 gives the replies (and includes the unemployed).

TABLE 79

Economically active matched Asians and English:
"What job do you expect to be doing in 10 years?"

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
The same as now	6	17
Change to:		
White collar	2	8
Skilled manual	6	10
Business	4	-
Other	-	4
Don't know	17	13
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 35	<hr/> 52

One notes again that apparently very few of the Indians and Pakistanis had their sights on white-collar jobs, and one of the two who had (Lal the draughtsman) was already in the category. He wanted to become an engineering planner. The other was Bhagwant, the telephone engineer, who expected by then to have an executive position in the company. Against this meagre six per cent, fifteen per cent of the English mentioned this sort of job: draughtsman (3), area manager for a furnishing company, accountant, social worker, teacher, marketing executive. Admittedly half these respondents already had white-collar jobs, but this does not

alter the Indians' and Pakistanis' patent lack of interest in this kind of employment.

Also of interest is the much smaller proportion of Indians and Pakistanis - 17 compared with 33 per cent - who in ten years' time thought they would still be in the same job. This does not mean that they were more ambitious. Rather it indicates that they were more uncertain and unsettled about their future, and in particular no doubt about whether they would stay in this country or return to India and Pakistan.¹ That it was a question of uncertainty is confirmed by the much higher rate of Asian "don't knows" - 49 per cent as against 25 per cent.

Finally, one remarks again in Table 79 that some of the Indians and Pakistanis wanted to start up in business. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of what they had in mind.

Of the 35 economically active matched Asians, eleven at some stage of the interview expressed the intention or mentioned the possibility of starting up their own business. (Among all 40 economically active Asians the number was thirteen, or again nearly one-third.) By this most did not

¹ I discuss this question in chapters 27-8.

mean following many of the older generation into commerce as shopkeepers or credit drapers. The biggest single group had the idea, not always definite, of setting up an enterprise on the basis of a particular skill.

There were eight of these among the grand total of thirteen. One who mentioned the possibility was Sharif the electrician. Another was Kewal, a setter who was thinking of perhaps starting a small workshop - "like making surgical instruments". A third was Ahmed, a bus conductor. He said:

I'm trying to get a psv [licence], that's what I'm after. Then I'm away. I'll either go home or go somewhere where I can earn some money. £13 a week, that's no good, is it? When you get a psv, you can do your own business, or things like that.

The rest of the eight were all motor mechanics. I have already given Kusam's elaborate account of his plans to start a garage with his four brothers.¹ Five out of seven motor mechanics had this in mind (four firmly, one less so), and it was undoubtedly one of the attractions of the job. Three of the five intended returning to India or Pakistan, the others were undecided.

One young man who was a miscellaneous case was the embittered

¹ See pp. 234-5.

Chanan. He was so sick of life in England that he wanted to go back to the Punjab and help his grandfather work the family farm.

The other four had ideas of commerce. Hardev thought he would probably finish up with his father buying him another shop. Pratap and Dalip envisaged going into business with their father or older brother (both shopkeepers) if they got tired of working as the other sort of tradesmen. Dalip, who so hated facing the shipyard each morning,¹ said:

If my brother's shop keeps up, I might build something on that. Then I wouldn't mind giving up my job. If I can get a business of my own started, that would be even better.

—(Why a business?) — You know where you stand then. It's up to you, how to make money and that. Whereas if you're just working for a firm, you just get the same wages every week. And it's just the same standard of life week after week, no progress and that. There's no future.

Lastly, there was Nazir, a bus conductor. He wanted to open a shop, but he intended to raise the finance not only by working but by buying houses (he already had one) and letting rooms.

¹ p. 388.

If I pay off for this house first, then I would like to save money up and go into business. How would I start? If I had about another £800, I would buy another house. In the houses I would let tenants - you know, fix it up, do it up and put tenants in and just charge them rent and just work yourself way up like that see, by buying houses. If I had the money I would go in the business. I think with your own business, you can relax when you like, you can do what you like. But on the buses you can't tell the passengers what you like, can you?

House-ownership, I have suggested, is with credit drapery and shopkeeping a major business activity for the older generation of Indians and Pakistanis.¹ But Nazir was the only one of my respondents who even mentioned going in for it. By 1970, two years after the interview, he owned four houses, all in Grove Street.

Two clearly marked patterns of education and job or job aspiration have been noted among the young Indians and Pakistanis. The professionally-aspiring meritocrats, it was seen, went to selective school or were early arrivals at comprehensive school. The proletarians went to secondary modern school or were latecomers in the comprehensive; they went into manual occupations.² One now needs to modify this last category to take account of the substantial

¹ See chapters 3 and 4.

² See chapters 8 and 9.

minority who thought to escape from wage-labour into entrepreneurship. It should be stressed again, however, that their possible entrepreneurship was generally different from their parents', since in most cases it was to be based on a particular skill.

Summary

In this chapter there was seen to be a low level of job-changing among both English and young Indian and Pakistani workers. The two groups had been working for their present employers for similar lengths of time. Few of the Indians and Pakistanis had lost jobs through redundancy. A substantial number had had more than one apprenticeship.

The great majority of both groups of workers were satisfied with their jobs, though the Indians and Pakistanis were rather more content than the English. There was seen to be a broad similarity in the reasons the two groups gave for being satisfied: both stressed intrinsic considerations and made little mention of extrinsic factors.

I showed finally that very few of the Indians and Pakistanis who had left school showed any sign of aspiring to white-collar occupations. A third of them did however mention the possibility of going into business or setting up on their own.

18. UNREALISTIC OR SUCCESSFUL?

This last chapter on employment finally gets to grips with the debate about the alleged unrealistic aspirations of coloured leavers. It goes on to try and assess the record of young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle in the field of employment and concludes with an attempt to account for their relative success and failure.

Aspirations in Birmingham

David Beetham argues, as was seen, that coloured school leavers in Birmingham escaped the socialising processes which shape the expectations of the English child "so that he comes to select from that range of jobs which he can reasonably expect to get". The aspirations their parents have for them come to exert, therefore, a major influence on their career choices. School and the Youth Employment Service, says Beetham, are ineffective in modifying these aspirations, which are

...often unrealistic in the English situation - not in that they are necessarily beyond the scope of someone from a secondary modern school (except of course a doctor), but in that they

take no account of the abilities of the individual, or the available supply of these particular jobs.

This conclusion reflects closely the opinion of the Youth Employment Service. Indeed Beetham quotes Birmingham's Chief Youth Employment Officer to the effect that immigrants "frequently make unrealistic choices".² The Central Youth Employment Executive reiterated this view in a memorandum to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration.

Youth Employment Officers have found that many immigrants are unrealistic in their choice of employment. Young people who have lived for many years in this country learn, perhaps from watching other people's experiences, what levels of ability are appropriate to particular occupations. New immigrants, however, many of whom have not grown up in a developed industrial society, do not have a clear idea of the standard required for the jobs they seek and it may be difficult to persuade them that their ambition of becoming, say, an engineer, doctor or accountant is unlikely to be realised.³

Beetham's analysis has been sharply criticised by both

¹ Beetham, op. cit., pp. 22-4.

² Ibid., p. 24.

³ The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 125. See also: H. Heginbotham, "Young Immigrants and Work", Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, May 1967, p. 216; and Rose and Associates, op. cit., pp. 304, 482.

Dipak Nandy and Sheila Allen. Nandy objects that what is missing is "any real consideration of these children as members of a minority group". He suggests, as already mentioned, that part of the explanation may be that the unrealistic aspirations "reflect an understanding by coloured immigrants and their children that in an alien and white world they must aim higher and be better to get as far as their white counterparts". He complains that Beetham is "remarkably complacent" about the lowly aspirations of English leavers. He says there is a difference between unrealistic aspirations which result from individual failure of adjustment and those which arise from a social definition of what is and what is not appropriate.

In the first instance we may legitimately insist that the individual trim his desires to fit existing possibilities. But when Oliver Twist asks for more we are clearly dealing with the second kind of "unrealism" ...

Nandy concludes by suggesting that it is the "social arrangement" which is unsatisfactory and that high aspirations may well, on a longer view, be an advantage both for the immigrants and for English society. ¹

Sheila Allen makes a similar point. She criticises

¹ Nandy, op. cit., pp. 9-11. Beetham replied to these criticisms with "Those unrealistic aspirations", Race Today, October 1969, p. 167. Nandy returned again ("Unrealistic aspirations revisited") in the November 1969 issue, p. 223.

Beetham for adopting a static approach which takes for granted the dominant structure and value systems.

If the class structure, the education system and the youth services provisions and policy are accepted as given and "non-problematical" the explanation then rests on an analysis of how a particular group fits or does not fit into such a system ... The only "solution" then is to change these minority characteristics.

She suggests an alternative approach in which

... the structure is not defined as something external to process and action. This approach enables us to see under what social conditions and by what social processes modification is possible. ¹

Nandy repeatedly emphasises the coloured children's higher aspirations. By way of a preliminary comment I would point out that in Beetham's study the coloured boys at least were more ambitious than their English counterparts only in a very modest and unspectacular way. Very few, apparently, had any desire for a professional career. Beetham refers only to the ambition to be a doctor, which was mentioned by a mere eight per cent of Asians boys and six per cent of West Indian boys. ²

The difference is slighter than this. It consists of the fact that most of the coloured lads wanted a trade,

¹ Sheila Allen, "School Leavers: Problems of Method and Explanation", Race Today, December 1969, p. 236.

² Beetham, Immigrant School Leavers, op. cit., p. 17.

whilst some of the English boys sought more humble, more or less unskilled jobs. Beetham cites as an "extreme example" that one might find in the same class an English boy aspiring to be a butcher, gardener or roundsman and an immigrant pupil planning to be an aeronautical engineer.¹

Unfortunately Beetham presents the data on English job choice so unhelpfully that it is impossible to tell exactly what proportion of the English boys aimed at these lowly occupations. He shows that 25 per cent said they were after the same particular skilled manual occupations which most of the coloured lads had in view. He notes that eight per cent wanted to become draughtsmen, and four per cent commercial artists, both jobs of a higher socio-economic status than a skilled trade.

But instead of trying to classify the choices of the remaining 63 per cent according to skill and status, he lumps them all together in the category "miscellaneous". He says they ranged "from the routine unskilled (such as roundboy, milkman, shop assistant) to the more skilled (printer, photographer, lab. assistant) and the out of the way (jockey, stone mason, archaeologist, musical instrument maker)."²

¹ Ibid., p. 22.

² Ibid., p. 17.

Thus it is seen that while some of these choices were for unskilled jobs, others were evidently for highly skilled occupations. Beetham gives no proper analysis.

The difference between the ambitions of English and coloured leavers is minimised when one considers certain other facts which Beetham produces. He rightly stresses, for example, that the job attribute thought most important by the coloured lads was "the chance to learn a trade".¹ Seventy-three per cent of the Asian boys and 86 per cent of the West Indian boys ticked this item on the list. Beetham's Table 13 shows however that 86 per cent of the English sample also rated it important - they gave it (with two other items) the second most mentions.²

Now the fact that most of the English leavers recognised this attribute as important does not, of course, necessarily mean that a trade was what they wanted. They may have felt it was beyond their ability or, when it came to making a choice, they may have been swayed by some other consideration, for example, more money. However, if this is true of the English, it also applies to the coloured youths. And indeed Beetham goes on to say that many of the latter were prepared

¹ Ibid., p. 18.

² Ibid., p. 19.

to accept a job working with machinery which was less than a full apprenticeship, and not in the precise field they first set their mind on.¹ (Just as many, to be sure, were unwilling to do this.)² This serves to reduce further the contrast between the Asians and West Indians, and the English.

Lastly, it is worth noting that the job attribute the English lads thought most important was "good chances of getting on". Ninety-two per cent ticked this item, compared with only 56 per cent of the West Indian boys and 34 per cent of the Asian boys.³

Nandy asserts: "The contrast between the aspirations of the English and immigrant children should cause at least as much concern for the diffidence of the former as for the ambitiousness of the latter".⁴ If he had looked more carefully at the data he would have seen that the contrast is nowhere near as dramatic as he suggests. The sole important difference is the existence of this unknown proportion of English leavers who sought only semi- or unskilled occupations.

¹ Loc. cit.

² Ibid., p. 20.

³ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴ Nandy, "Unrealistic aspirations", op.cit., p. 11.

Thus the coloured leavers were not unrealistic because they had exaggeratedly high ambitions. Beetham does not claim this. He admits, as was seen, that their job choices (except that of doctor) were not necessarily beyond the scope of someone from a secondary modern school. He says they were unrealistic, not in themselves, but chiefly because they took no account of either ability or availability.¹ He mentions also that the coloured youths showed a much narrower range of job choice,² and that many clung obstinately to these particular options.³ He shows finally that relatively many fewer of the Asians and West Indians than of the English could see obstacles to securing the jobs they had chosen.⁴ Only in these senses were their aspirations unrealistic.

Having cleared away this misunderstanding one may deal with Nandy's and Sheila Allen's two main criticisms. The first is that Beetham takes for granted a social structure which is unsatisfactory, or as Allen says, problematic. By social structure Allen, as seen, means the class structure, the education system and youth provisions and policy. Nandy when he criticises the social arrangement means the same

¹ Beetham, Immigrant School Leavers, op. cit., p. 22.

² Ibid., p. 19.

³ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

things: "I would want to argue that it is the effect of a selective educational system and the handicaps accruing to social class which are the real 'problems' here".¹

The argument, in other words, is that the coloured leavers were slapped down as "unrealistic" because they presumed to aspire to jobs which the system deemed inappropriate for working class pupils from secondary modern schools. It has just been shown however that in most respects their job choices were similar to those of English boys and that, despite what Nandy and Allen seem to think, they did not seek non-working class occupations. Therefore the baleful accusation that Beetham accepts the class system as given is irrelevant. He has no need to criticise it because the aspirations of the coloured leavers were not in conflict with it and did not call it in question.

The other central criticism is that, with one minor exception, "racial discrimination never makes an appearance in Beetham's general explanatory scheme".² Against this Beetham claims, "Anyone who reads my study will see that the existence of discrimination is taken for granted throughout".³

¹ Nandy, "Unrealistic aspirations", op. cit., p. 11.

² Nandy, "Unrealistic aspirations revisited", op. cit., p. 224.

³ Beetham, "Those unrealistic aspirations", op. cit., p. 168.

Now, if Beetham does not explicitly assume the existence of discrimination throughout, he certainly discusses it fully in the final chapter. Yet it is also true that it hardly figures in his explanation of why coloured leavers get the jobs they did. The reason is that Beetham found the chief reason to be their own lack of ability.

His study is unsatisfactory above all in that it examines the job choices of leavers in five schools in Handsworth, but gives only a Birmingham-wide analysis of the kinds of job actually obtained. Beetham admits that the coloured pupils he interviewed were untypical in that they had been in England longer than the bulk of coloured youngsters in the city.¹ So for all one knows, every one of them may have secured apprenticeships.

Beetham produces good evidence, all the same, that lack of ability was the main reason why most coloured leavers could get only poor jobs. He shows, on the city level, that 78 per cent had been in England under four years and 34 per cent less than one year.² He gives evidence that while a high proportion continued education beyond 15,³ most were

¹ Beetham, Immigrant School Leavers, op. cit., p. 4.

² Ibid., p. 4.

³ Ibid., p. 13.

unlikely to achieve more than a minimum level of attainment.¹
 He shows, lastly, that coloured pupils at a cross-section
 of schools were heavily concentrated in the lowest streams.²

This seems to me to establish Beetham's case. With this
 sort of qualifications it is not surprising that coloured
 leavers did not get better jobs. Certainly there will have
 been discrimination, but in the face of these other
 disabilities it is most unlikely to have been the main reason
 for their lack of success.

The second major way in which, according to Beetham, the
 coloured leavers were unrealistic was in terms of the short
 supply of the jobs they sought. Beetham several times
 repeats this claim, but brings no evidence to support it.
 Indeed, apart from two very brief references to the existence
 of a labour shortage,³ he makes no mention of the employment
 situation in Birmingham or of the relative number of openings
 for different kinds of job. This is another serious
 deficiency.

To conclude this discussion I have, I believe, rebutted

¹ Ibid., p. 16.

² Ibid., p. 9.

³ Ibid., pp. 31. 37.

the criticisms that Beetham is justifying the class system and failing to take account of racial discrimination. Does this mean I accept that the coloured leavers' aspirations were unrealistic? The question, I believe, cannot be answered, because whilst Beetham gives us his respondents' aspirations, he tells us neither what their educational level was, nor how good their English was, nor what jobs they eventually obtained. Lacking this data, one cannot make a judgement.

Aspirations in Newcastle

What of the job choices of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle? Were they unrealistic? I have argued, it will be recalled, that parents were not a major influence on the specific aspirations of these young men, that choices were much more formatively shaped by school, school-mates and English society.

In particular I showed that there were among the young Indians and Pakistanis two distinct patterns of job or job aspiration - the proletarian and the meritocratic - and that which they followed was determined largely by the age at which they came to England and by the type of secondary school they went to.¹

¹ See chapter 8 and 9.

The proletarians generally stopped full-time education at 15 or 16. They mostly sought apprenticeships and indeed were as successful in obtaining them as English leavers. This is true whether one compares the matched Asians from the five West End schools with the English sample from the same schools,¹ or whether one compares the Indian and Pakistani leavers over all Newcastle with all boy leavers in the region.² Likewise similar proportions were relegated to semi-skilled and unskilled occupations.³ The matched Indians and Pakistanis were admittedly less well represented than the English in non-manual jobs,⁴ but then they gave very little sign that they wanted them.⁵

On the other hand were the meritocrats, still in full-time education, who sought higher professional careers as, for example, doctors, engineers or scientists.⁶ When I revisited the 27 Indians and Pakistanis in this category throughout the city, seven, it was seen, had dropped out of

¹ p. 341.

² pp 352-3.

³ p. 344.

⁴ p. 337.

⁵ pp.390-3.

⁶ Table 23, p. 130.

full-time education altogether, and another two were advancing only laboriously towards their goals. Yet twelve had been accepted for a degree course, and two others were taking a Higher National Diploma.¹

This substantial minority, then, had made very good academic progress. The matched Asians amongst them had already outstripped the English control sample.² One would say that these young men had every chance of attaining their ambitions.

There is however the major obstacle of colour discrimination. This is particularly relevant here because the PEP investigation concluded that in employment, "It is, on every criterion, the ablest people who experience the greatest discrimination."³ The survey found, as to qualifications, that

Experience of discrimination was highest among people with the highest qualifications, including English trade, professional and school-leaving qualifications, and lowest amongst those with no formal qualifications.⁴

This finding is very important as a counterweight to

¹ Table 25, p. 135.

² Table 41, p. 188.

³ Daniel, op. cit., p. 68. My emphasis.

⁴ Ibid., p. 81.

undue optimism. Yet there are factors, I suggest, which make these young men's prospects not wholly gloomy. In the first place one should note that the finding is based on a survey of nearly one thousand coloured informants, only two of whom had English degrees. (Both, as it happened, said they had not experienced discrimination in employment.) Certainly all informants with English professional qualifications claimed they had encountered discrimination - but again there were only five of them in the survey.¹ I suggest these figures are not adequate for one to say anything useful about the amount of discrimination operating against holders of English qualifications at this very highest level.

Secondly, the PEP enquiry found that personnel managers least objected to employing coloured people as senior staff when the latter were in specialist technical positions. "Informants generally agreed that it is easier to employ coloured immigrants in this 'behind-the-scenes work'". All the national employers interviewed had coloured people in this type of job, though the survey found there was still widespread resistance from local employers.² As examples of these "boffins" Daniel mentions engineers, designers,

¹ Ibid., p. 228.

² Ibid., p. 106.

chemists and computer programmers.¹ This sort of job is precisely what the bulk of the Newcastle meritocrats had in mind.²

The 1968 Race Relations Act made of course racial discrimination in employment illegal. However a survey of white-collar discrimination carried out in 1969 by means of matched letters of application found that "immigrants who completed all their secondary schooling (and further or higher education) in Britain did not encounter significantly less discrimination than more recent arrivals".³ The jobs applied for were in sales and marketing, accountancy and office management, electrical engineering and secretarial work. According to the study Asian applicants met the greatest discrimination. Only 35 per cent received positive replies to their letters of application, compared with 69 per cent of West Indians and Cypriots and 78 per cent of Englishmen and Australians.⁴

It is not clear from the report exactly what proportion

¹ Ibid., p. 101.

² Table 23, p. 130.

³ Roger Jowell and Patricia Prescott-Clarke, "Racial Discrimination and White-collar Workers in Britain", Race, Vol. XI, no. 4 (April 1970), p. 413.

⁴ Ibid., p. 408.

of the coloured applicants claimed to have received English higher education, so one does not know on how many cases this part of the conclusion is based. Nevertheless the study is powerful evidence of discrimination in the general field of white-collar employment.¹ It is particularly disturbing because, as the authors say,

In none of the cases of discrimination found could a complaint feasibly have been made under the Race Relations Act by the disadvantaged applicant: he or she would simply never have known that discrimination was taking place.²

On the other hand, one should make the point that while the existence of discrimination makes it much more difficult, much more time-consuming and much more humiliating for a coloured person to get the position he seeks, it does not generally make it impossible. I suggest it is in most cases wrong to equate discrimination with unattainability. For these reasons I would argue that, despite undoubted discrimination, the meritocrats reading for degrees had, if not every chance, then at least a good chance of realising their ambitions.³

¹ The West Indians were more successful than one might have expected however.

² Ibid., p. 413.

³ If, that is, they chose to remain in England. A good number of respondents said they thought they would return to India or Pakistan. See chapters 27 and 28.

One may now conclude this discussion on unrealistic aspirations. I have shown that the proletarian Indians and Pakistanis secured apprenticeships to the same extent as their English counterparts. I have shown that 52 per cent of the meritocrats had got to university or polytechnic, and that the matched Indians and Pakistanis did better academically than the English sample. These achievements by a substantial minority in each Asian group make it very difficult to say that, as a whole, either the apprenticeship-seeking proletarians or the meritocrats were over-ambitious, either in relation to their own ability or in relation to the jobs available. I conclude that the job choices of young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle were not unrealistic.

Young Asians in Employment - an Assessment

One should now try and appraise in more detail the employment record of young Indian and Pakistani workers in Newcastle. On the positive side, it has been seen that they obtained a similar proportion of apprenticeships as white leavers. Indeed a number secured more than one apprenticeship.¹ Again, similar proportions of matched Asian and English youths had to be content with semi-skilled or

¹ p. 373.

unskilled jobs. A higher percentage of the matched Asians than of the English sample had relatively skilled jobs. ¹

Still on the positive side, I have shown that the matched Indians and Pakistanis, while over-represented in manufacture, were distributed over ^{only} slightly fewer different industries. ² They were not concentrated under a few employers, but were scattered over many different firms. ³ They were well represented in firms of all sizes. ⁴ Lastly, the matched Asians tended to earn higher wages than leavers in the English sample. ⁵

On the negative side, it was seen that the matched Indians and Pakistanis had greater difficulty getting jobs than their English counterparts. ⁶ The unemployment rate among all young Indians and Pakistanis in the city was higher than that obtaining on Tyneside as a whole. ⁷ Finally, the matched

¹ p. 343.

² pp. 356-7.

³ p. 359.

⁴ p. 360.

⁵ p. 363.

⁶ pp. 328-35.

⁷ p. 367.

Indians and Pakistanis, as has been seen, were less well represented in non-manual employment.

To the negative scale should be added one other consideration. This is that while practically all the economically active Indians and Pakistanis saw an apprenticeship as the most desirable sort of occupation, the same was almost certainly not true of all the young English workers. It is unlikely that at any rate many of those in clerical occupations would have sought or preferred an apprenticeship. One unfortunately does not know to exactly how many of the English sample this applies. But if one accepts that there must have been some, then the effect is to enhance the English achievement.

Thus if, for example, none of the unapprenticed non-manual workers among the matched English and Asians wanted an apprenticeship, then the value of those obtained as a measure of success in employment, i.e. as a proportion of those who did desire one, is 33 and 36 per cent respectively. This compares with the actual proportion of apprentices among the economically active, which was 27 and 34 per cent.

These figures indicate, however, that the true "achievement value" of the English apprenticeships is unlikely to be significantly higher than that of the Indian and Pakistani ones. This, I suggest, is because few of the manual workers

would spurn an apprenticeship. Tyneside, as has been mentioned, is not an area where there are many opportunities for highly paid unskilled work. A time-served tradesman gets a fairly good wage (better than a clerical worker's), and he is recognised to be relatively safe from unemployment.

On the positive side of the balance and outweighing this last consideration, however, is the fact that the economically active matched Indians and Pakistanis included a much smaller proportion of former selected pupils than did the English sample. The proportions were nine per cent and 27 per cent respectively. The difference arose because, as explained, seven-eighths of the English selected pupils had abandoned full-time education, compared with only one-third of the Indians and Pakistanis; and because the English sample contained a higher percentage of selected pupils in the first place - 29 per cent compared with 19.¹

The young Indians and Pakistanis did as well as they did, despite this apparent English advantage, as a result of the rather poor performance of the English selected pupils, in employment as well as in school. Their indifferent achievement is shown in Table 80.

¹ Table 37, p. 181.

TABLE 80

Matched Asians and English: Occupations of former selected pupils only.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
I/II: Professional and Intermediate	-	-
III: Skilled non-manual	1	5
Strictly skilled manual	2	4
Relatively skilled manual	-	-
IV: Semi-skilled manual	-	2
V: Unskilled manual	-	1
Armed Forces (unclassifiable)	-	1
Unemployed	-	1
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 3	<hr/> 14

The five English leavers in non-manual occupations comprised two junior clerks, an accounts clerk, a claims official and a salesman. Only two of them were taking day or block release courses. Altogether only six of the fourteen English were following such courses, compared with three out of three Indians and Pakistanis, all of whom were apprenticed. At the bottom end of the scale these English ex-selected pupils included a van boy, a warehouseman and a junior rating.

If one considers the level of jobs obtained by non-selected pupils only, one finds much the same similarities and differences as between all leavers in the two groups, selected and non-selected. This is shown if Table 81 is

compared with Table 64 on p.338.

TABLE 81

Matched Asians and English: Occupations obtained
by former non-selected pupils only.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
I/II: Professional and Intermediate	-	1
III: Skilled non-manual	2	4
Strictly skilled manual	9	8
Relatively skilled manual	6	4
IV: Semi-skilled non-manual	-	1
Semi-skilled manual	6	9
V: Unskilled manual	6	4
Armed Forces' (unclassifiable)	-	1
Unemployed	3	6
<hr/>		
Total	32	38
<hr/>		

A similar under-representation of selected pupils applies to all economically active young Asians in Newcastle, not just to the matched Asians. Of the former total of 40 only four (10 per cent) had been to selective school. The proportion of all young men in Newcastle entering employment will undoubtedly have been higher than this. This fact heightens the Asian success in obtaining a similar percentage of apprenticeships as all boy leavers in the region.

To sum up then: the young Indians and Pakistanis (matched

and city-wide) obtained parity in apprenticeships with young English workers. The matched Indians and Pakistanis did better in relatively skilled jobs, did the same in semi- and unskilled jobs, but worse in non-manual employment, which they however did not appear to want.

The young Indians and Pakistanis achieved this despite the few selected pupils among them; despite the many late arrivals, who comprised 72 per cent of all the economically active, and 77 per cent of the matched ones; despite discrimination; and despite high unemployment. They apparently did better than Asian and West Indian leavers in certain other parts of the country where the employment situation was much more favourable.¹ For all these reasons I would account their achievement a success.

Reasons for Success

The first possible explanation of this success is the one which concerns numbers. It has been assumed throughout the preceding chapters that there was racial discrimination in employment in Newcastle and on Tyneside. But it may perhaps be argued that because the proportion of coloured

¹ pp. 345-52.

people was small, so the amount of discrimination each of them met was less than in, say, Birmingham or the West Riding. The PEP study was of course carried out in areas of heavy immigrant settlement.

As far as can be discovered, there has been no research on this point in England, though there are a few contradictory pieces of evidence on the connection between degree of contact with coloured people and level of white prejudice. Thus T. Kawwa found that children living in an area of London which had many immigrants preferred their own ethnic group when choosing friends and were highly ethnocentric. English children in Lowestoft, however, where there were no immigrants, were more tolerant towards West Indians and Cypriots. ¹ Similarly Hartmann and Husband found that prejudice towards coloured people among white working-class secondary modern children was more common in areas of high immigration than in areas of low immigration and in schools with appreciable numbers of immigrant children than in schools with few or none. ² Christopher Bagley, on the other hand, who used data from Mark Abrams' much criticised

¹ T. Kawwa, The Ethnic Prejudice and Choice of Friends among English and non English Adolescents (Unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1963).

² Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband, "The Mass Media and Racial Conflict", Race, Vol. XII, no. 3 (January 1971), p. 268.

investigation of white attitudes carried out for the Survey of Race Relations in Britain, found that those in each social class living furthest away from coloured neighbours had higher prejudice scores.¹

Hubert Blalock includes a proposition which is relevant, however, in his theory of Negro-white relations in the United States. This is the expectation that there will be a positive, though non-linear, correlation between the percentage size of the minority and discrimination, or at least, motivation to discriminate. Blalock distinguishes between discrimination based on the threat of competition and discrimination prompted by fear of the minority's political power, though he says behaviour in the United States will normally be motivated by a combination of both. He argues that the relationship will have a decreasing slope in the former case, but an increasing slope in the latter.²

Blalock qualifies this proposition by emphasising that certain forms of discrimination are likely to be only weakly correlated with the relative size of the minority. He cites here areas of discrimination which involve intimate contact,

¹ Christopher Bagley, "Coloured Neighbours", New Society, August 7, 1969, p. 213.

² Hubert M. Blalock Jr., Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations (New York, John Wiley, 1967), pp. 144-5, 147, 150.

such as barriers against intermarriage, residential segregation, segregation in friendship cliques, private clubs and other informal organisations. He says discrimination in these fields is apt to reach a high level, even where the minority percentage is very small.¹ Blalock also observes that the existence of discrimination at a given level, even where the minority is too small to pose a political or economic threat, can be understood if one assumes that a certain amount of prejudice is explainable in terms of frustration and aggression hypotheses, authoritarianism, or status needs.²

These exceptions are not really relevant to this discussion, which is about discrimination in employment. One may agree, I think, that in England racial hostility and discrimination are motivated much more by fear of competition (for housing and welfare services, as well as jobs) than by fear of black political power. If this is so, then the relationship between percentage coloured and degree of discrimination will follow a curve with a decreasing slope. That is, the level of discrimination will first rise steeply the greater the relative size of the coloured population, then flatten off.

¹ Ibid., pp. 159-60, 186-7 (proposition 79).

² Ibid., pp. 159-60.

May one account in this way for the relative success in employment of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle? Certainly the proportion of coloured people was small. According to the 1966 Sample Census persons born in the West Indies, India and Pakistan represented only 0.7 per cent of the population of Newcastle and 0.3 per cent of the population of Tyneside. ¹

Yet the proportion in other parts of the country was also small. In the West Yorkshire conurbation West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis comprised only 1.8 per cent of the population, in Greater London 3.2 per cent, and in the West Midlands 3.3 per cent. ² Of towns and cities outside London, High Wycombe, with 4.9 per cent, had surprisingly the highest proportion of immigrants from these countries. Among places with a reputation for heavy settlement, Wolverhampton had 4.8 per cent, Birmingham 4.2 per cent, Bradford 4.2 per cent, Huddersfield 4.1 per cent. ³

Only in certain London boroughs (six out of 32) did the proportion exceed 5 per cent. In Hammersmith and in

¹ Facts Paper, op. cit. pp. 10, 6.

² Ibid., p. 6.

³ Ibid., pp. 6-10.

Islington it was 5.4 per cent. In Haringey it was 5.6 per cent. In Lambeth it was 6.7 per cent, in Hackney 7.1 per cent and in Brent 7.4 per cent. In Ealing, where the jobs obtained by coloured leavers were discussed in chapter 16, the proportion was 4.9 per cent.¹

The difference between the proportion of coloured immigrants in Newcastle and that in other parts of the country is really rather small. Is it large enough to lead to any markedly greater level of discrimination in, say, Birmingham or Bradford? Apropos of the United States Blalock remarks that there appears to be a percentage threshold, below which the minority "may not be sufficiently visible to be subjected to the degree of discrimination that would be expected under a linear model".² He cites an earlier piece of research in which he used data from a sample of 150 counties in the American South. Here he concluded that the threshold seemed to be a non-white percentage of somewhere between five and ten per cent.³

The United States of course is not Britain. But this

¹ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

² Blalock, op. cit., p. 158.

³ H.M. Blalock Jr., "Per cent non-white and discrimination in the South", American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, No. 6 (December 1957), p. 682.

is the best evidence I have been able to discover. It suggests that even in the localities in this country with the highest proportions of coloured immigrants, the percentage is below the level where it begins to make a difference to the severity of discrimination. Thus one cannot argue with any confidence that coloured leavers were likely to encounter less discrimination in Newcastle than in these other places. ¹

How else might one account for the success in employment of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle? Age of arrival perhaps? This proved to be an important factor in educational success. Table 82 gives the analysis in respect of jobs.

TABLE 82

All economically active Asians: Apprenticeships obtained by age of arrival in England.

	APPRENTICESHIPS	OTHER/ UNEMPLOYED
Infant school age and below	5	1
Junior school age (7-10)	3	2
Lower secondary age (11-12)	6	5
Upper secondary age	3*	15
Total	17	23

* Includes one "African".

¹ It is fair to point out that one senior Department of Employment official with experience both of the North East and of the West Riding to whom I spoke maintained that the difference in the proportion of coloured immigrants in the two areas did make a difference to employers' readiness to give them work.

It can be seen that there is a strong relationship between the age at which the young men came to England and whether or not they secured an apprenticeship. Eight of the eleven early arrivals (i.e. those who came at ten and under) were successful in this respect, compared with nine of the 29 latecomers.

Yet age of arrival cannot be advanced as a reason for the young Asians' achievement in employment. For whilst 49 per cent of all the young Indians and Pakistanis - economically active and in full-time education - and 42 per cent of the matched Asians, were early arrivals, it was shown in chapters 8 and 9 that these early arrivals tended to continue their full-time studies. Twenty-two of all 33 early arrivals were still in full-time education when interviewed.

The result is that of all the economically active young men only 28 per cent were early arrivals. Among the matched Indians and Pakistanis the proportion was only 23 per cent. Thus they came to this country at much the same age as coloured youngsters in other areas for which there are figures. In Birmingham and Huddersfield 78 per cent of coloured leavers (Asian and West Indian) had been in England less than four years. In Ealing only 23 per cent had had more than four years' schooling.¹ There is no difference

¹ See chapter 12.

here which would account for the jobs the Newcastle Indians and Pakistanis obtained.

What of the explanation that some of the Indians and Pakistanis may have had a higher ability than many of the English leavers? If true, it would apply particularly to secondary modern pupils because they, unlike children at comprehensive or selective school, did not have the opportunity to stay on after fifteen. In the earlier discussion about the effect of type of school on educational performance, I concluded that secondary modern schools stunted the Indian and Pakistani pupils' academic and occupational potential.¹

Turning to the jobs the eighteen Asian secondary modern leavers actually got, one finds that no fewer than eleven secured apprenticeships. Among the matched Indians and Pakistanis the proportion was seven out of fourteen, which compares with five of the seventeen English secondary modern leavers. One may argue that the young Indians' and Pakistanis' above-secondary modern ability showed itself in the selection tests and enabled them to get apprenticeships despite both colour discrimination and the job shortage. Unfortunately, in seeking evidence of this, one finds oneself

¹ pp. 155-60.

pursuing the circular argument that they get apprenticeships because of their higher ability - which showed itself in their success in getting apprenticeships.

There remains the statistical evidence in Tables 29 and 30 (pp. 153-4) together with the testimony of those young men who admitted they found secondary modern education or secondary modern jobs below their capabilities. The difficulty in using this to substantiate the argument is that many Indian and Pakistani pupils in other parts of the country must also, through lack of English, have been placed in secondary modern schools, even though their potential too was higher. The 11-plus is also likely to have mis-allocated many working class English pupils. Therefore while the line of argument is tempting, there seems to be no evidence that the undoubtedly underdeveloped abilities of the Indians and Pakistanis who were secondary modern pupils did in fact enable them to be more successful than the English at getting apprenticeships.

Another explanation to consider is that the young Indians and Pakistanis were more motivated than English leavers to succeed in the field of employment and, or alternatively, that these English leavers reached only a low level of achievement. This, after all, was found to be a large part of the reason for the Asians' educational success.

On the second point - the possible low level of English achievement - it is true that the proportion of the English sample who obtained apprenticeship (27 per cent) was well below the percentage of boy leavers throughout the region, which was 44.4 per cent. Yet if the regional educational performance was poor, it has been argued that in general apprenticeships were keenly sought. Despite this the proportion of all Indian and Pakistani leavers in the city who succeeded in getting an apprenticeship (42 per cent) was close to the regional figure.¹

This leaves the explanation that the young Asians were perhaps more motivated to succeed. They were indeed strongly motivated - but so, as Beetham showed, were young Indians and Pakistanis elsewhere. Strong parental encouragement to study admittedly also applied to the Birmingham Asians. However the economically active Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle did not have in employment the advantage of early arrival that made the difference in academic attainment.

On the English side I have stressed throughout that, because of unemployment and lack of traineeships in the region, apprenticeships were highly prized. On the face of things, then, there would appear to be no lack of motivation

¹ p. 353.

here. Yet it was the experience of Youth Employment Officers to whom I spoke that English job-seekers were less persistent than young Indian and Pakistani leavers. Certainly English youths tried to get apprenticeships, but if they did not succeed they tended to give up trying and were often unwilling to go after less skilled jobs. The young Asians, by contrast, plugged away much more doggedly in pursuit of apprenticeships and they were generally prepared to accept less skilled jobs rather than remain unemployed.

The suggestion, in other words, is that the English youths in Newcastle were more rapidly infected with the demoralisation and apathy which comes from living in an area of high unemployment. In regions of low unemployment, on the other hand, English leavers did not need to be persistent in order to secure a good job. It would appear therefore - though I have no data on the point - that in this situation of job-scarcity the young Indians' and Pakistanis' strong motivation was a factor in their success in obtaining apprenticeships.

I suggest that the second reason for the young men's success lay in the nature of their parents' employment. It was argued earlier that one could categorise the self-employed shopkeepers and credit drapers as a small-scale

entrepreneurial middle-class.¹ Of all young Indians and Pakistanis who were economically active, nineteen out of 40 (48 per cent) had parents who were middle-class in this sense. Of the 35 matched Asians, sixteen (46 per cent) were middle-class. Table 83 analyses the relationship between apprenticeships and parents' class.

TABLE 83

All economically active Asians: Apprenticeships by parents' class.

	MIDDLE CLASS	WORKING CLASS
Apprenticeships	12	5
Other/unemployed	7	16
Total	19	21

It is seen that 63 per cent of the middle-class Indian and Pakistani leavers secured apprenticeships, compared with only 24 per cent of working-class leavers. Of the leavers who obtained apprenticeships, 71 per cent were middle-class. Table 83 thus shows an apparently strong relationship. One needs to be cautious however, for it was found earlier that the association between parental class and educational performance largely vanished when the analysis was controlled for the young men's age of arrival.² Perhaps the same will be true here. Table 84 gives the answer.

¹ p. 147.

² Table 28, p. 148.

TABLE 84

All economically active Asians: Apprenticeships by parents' class and respondents' age of arrival.

	MIDDLE CLASS			WORKING CLASS		
	Early	Late	All	Early	Late	All
Apprenticeships	6	6	12	2	3*	5
Other/unemployed	1	6	7	2	14	16
Total	7	12	19	4	17	21

* Includes one "African".

Table 84 shows that the class difference remains when one divides the young Indians and Pakistanis into early and late arrivals. One sees in particular that six of the twelve middle-class late arrivals secured apprenticeships, compared with only three (eighteen) ^{per cent} of the seventeen working-class arrivals. There still remains however a possibly significant difference in arrival age among the late arrivals. This is shown in Table 85.

TABLE 85

Economically active Asians - late arrivals only: apprenticeships by parents' class by respondents' age of arrival.

	MIDDLE CLASS			WORKING CLASS		
	Lower	Upper	All	Lower	Upper	All
Apprenticeships	4	2	6	2	1*	3
Other/unemployed	3	3	6	2	12	14
Total	7	5	12	4	13	17

* This was the "African".

One now sees that six of the nine late arrivals who obtained apprenticeships came to England at lower secondary age, i.e. at eleven or twelve. On the other hand, fifteen of the 20 late arrivals who did not have apprenticeships came at upper secondary age, i.e. thirteen and over. Indeed among these fifteen, two of the three middle-class youths and nine of the twelve working-class youths arrived at the age of fourteen and above. There persists a class difference in the lower line, but the numbers on the middle-class side are so small that it would be unwise to build an argument on them.

One must, I think, conclude that the jobs the young Indians and Pakistanis obtained cannot be unequivocally shown to be accounted for by their parents' class. Yet I believe that the existence in Newcastle of many older Indians and Pakistanis who had this self-employed status was a major reason for the young men's success in gaining apprenticeships. It has already been established that Indians and Pakistanis on Tyneside included a higher proportion who were self-employed than was the case in most other parts of the country.¹

I am not suggesting that these middle-class Indians and Pakistanis had a different attitude towards employment from working-class Asians, or that they somehow encouraged

¹ pp. 85-90.

children in the community to do better or to aim higher. I am suggesting that they had a wider range of contacts and probably a greater degree of influence than working class Indians and Pakistanis working in a factory or on the buses. This was likely to be particularly true of adults who were credit drapers and drove widely over Northumberland and Durham on their rounds.

The discussion now links up with an earlier finding. This was that 37 per cent of the matched Indians and Pakistanis got their jobs by means of informal personal or family contact.¹ Among all economically active Asians the proportion was 38 per cent (fifteen out of 40). Seven of these fifteen informal contacts led to apprenticeships. Most of the apprenticeships thus obtained were as motor mechanics, a type of employment which was difficult even for a white leaver to enter.² Five of the total of seven motor mechanics got their jobs in this way. These are some of their comments.³

Paramjit:

Me father knew the gaffer and asked him.

Bashir:

Me father knew the manager well - he took his car there.

- - - - -

¹ p. 312.

² Information from the city Youth Employment Officer.

³ See also the quotes on p. 315.

Kusam:

I left it to my brother. He got me it -
he knew the manager.

Kusam said at another point: "Influence has played a big part in my life so far". It might be argued that older Indians and Pakistanis did not need to be self-employed businessmen, but simply car-owners, in order to establish this sort of contact with garage proprietors. The likelihood remains however that a credit draper travelling the county will call at more garages than a weekend motorist, and he will certainly use much more petrol and thus be a more influential patron. In any case, though I did not ask systematically, it is my strong impression that most of the parents who were not self-employed did not run a car, probably because they were saving too hard.

Six of the seven young men who got apprenticeships by this channel had in fact middle-class parents. Table 85 showed that in general however it was not possible to establish an unalloyed connection between parental class and jobs obtained. In any case in three of these six instances it was not the parent who helped the youngster secure the apprenticeship, but some other friend or relative.

It has been emphasised that there was no hard and fast social division between Indian and Pakistani parents who were employees and those who were self-employed

businessmen.¹ Young men whose own parents were working-class could quite possibly therefore still get help from the contacts of middle-class relatives, though none of my working-class apprentices said they had got their job in this way.

The fact that Tyneside had a considerably higher percentage of self-employed middle class Asians than the West Midlands may very well explain the non-use of informal contacts by young Asians and West Indians in Birmingham.² Asians who ran businesses of their own were "few and far between" in Beetham's sample.³ As argued already, friends and relatives of the Birmingham leavers must have had some contacts, even though they were mostly in unskilled work, but perhaps they and the young men felt that these would not lead to jobs of the quality they wanted. Hence they relied instead on the Youth Employment Service.

One other point should be made. Though I lack complete information on how long Newcastle parents had lived in England, it was on the whole the older and earlier established men who did credit drapery. (The opening of

¹ pp. 102-3.

² pp. 309-10.

³ Beetham, Immigrant School Leavers, op. cit., p. 35.

shops was a much more recent development.)¹ Thus the class difference between employed and self-employed Indian and Pakistani parents included also a time difference: most middle-class parents had probably been longer in the country than most working-class Asians. In other words, middle-class parents had the further advantage of having had a longer time in which to develop contacts. Beetham noted, by contrast, that friends and relatives in Birmingham had not lived there "all that long".²

The connecting link of informal contact or influence cannot be demonstrated in every case. Only seven of the seventeen apprentices said they got their jobs by this means. Yet it is a sufficient proportion to make a considerable difference.

There is one subsidiary explanation, which affects Sharif, the pit electrician, and Kesar and Dalip, who worked in the shipyards. The fact is that the drastic decline of these industries had the paradoxical result of making it not harder but easier to get into them as an apprentice. This was because many boys were unwilling to enter an industry which appeared to have no future.

¹ pp. 97, 101.

² Beetham, loc. cit.

Thus a report in the Journal in 1968 quoted a National Coal Board spokesman as saying:

We have 70 apprenticeships open this month in the Sunderland and Chester-le-Street area. But when we were interviewing at Sunderland during the week we had only 16 applications. This is surprising when 600 youngsters are reported to be out of work in the area. ¹

In the shipyards, I was told, the problem was not so much a complete lack of applicants for apprenticeships, as lack of good applicants. The situation had improved since the middle sixties. This was partly because the contraction of shipbuilding had been halted, but partly also because the quality of training had improved with the establishment of an Industrial Training Board following the Industrial Training Act of 1964. ²

I suggest that these young men were probably helped in getting apprenticeships by the general absence of demand for them in these particular industries. It should be emphasised however that there was no lack of competition in the other industries (engineering, motor engineering, telecommunications) in which the other young men were successful in getting apprenticeships.

¹ "Boys prefer dole to pit", The Journal (Newcastle), September 30, 1968.

² I am grateful for this information to Mr. Sam J. Rowan, apprentice recruitment officer with the Swan Hunter and Tyne Group.

Summary

In this final chapter on employment I concluded that overall the job choices of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle could not be said to be unrealistic. I argued that the employment record of the economically active should be accounted a success. I isolated two main reasons for this success. Firstly, the young Indians and Pakistanis were more persistent in seeking jobs despite high unemployment. Secondly, there was in Newcastle, but not in other parts of the country, a stratum of self-employed Asian businessmen who developed a range of informal contacts which helped the younger generation in getting jobs.