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ACCENT, CLASS AND RELIGION:

Reactions of East End teenagers to Christian testimony given in Cockney and Standard English.

It is a generally accepted fact that the church as a largely white, middle class dominated institution is in many ways out of touch and indeed out of place in the working class inner city areas of Great Britain. The Borough of Newham in the East End of London is in many ways typical of such inner city areas. The established churches in this area are seen by the local white community as largely irrelevant to the daily life of the ordinary person except as dispensers of the "magic" involved in the various rites of passage. The perceived irrelevance of the church is borne out by the low numbers attending the majority of church services and the fact that many churches have been forced to close down in the years since the second world war.

Studies of the church history of the area (Marchant, Hill) have stressed the fact that the churches in general, with the exceptions of the Roman Catholic and latterly the West Indian led churches have never really secured the loyalty of large numbers of the working classes of the East End. In addition there has been a classic example of the process of "redemption and lift" (McGavran 1970) in operation with the result that working class church adherents have been encouraged to adopt middle class value systems and norms of behaviour. As a result many committed Christians have moved away from the area to live in the suburbs around London. Some have continued to worship and hold leadership positions in the churches in which they were raised. As a result leadership has not been indigenous with ministers and lay leaders who come in from the outside usually bringing with them the values of British middle class culture. Often these values are at variance with the values of the local working class community. As a result the working class Christian in the East End is caught in a conflict of behavioural norms while the non Christian is faced with many unnecessary stumbling blocks and a sense of alienation from the fellowship that he finds in local churches. Christian Faith and in particular commitment in the form of church membership is seen as something which is alright for "them" but not for "us".

One medium through which social and cultural values are transmitted is language. It is well known that British English is a language in which there are many identifiable varieties of speech which are correlated with regional and social origin of speakers. Listeners to various accents and dialects of English tend to make stereotyped social judgements about the speakers who use them. In general it has been shown (Giles and Powesland 1975 Smith impress) that standard English speech (R.P or talking "Posh") is generally stereotyped as high status and reflecting a high level of education, power and social success while regional and working class accents (in the case of the East End, Cockney) are generally stereotyped as low status. These stereotypes seem to be held by all sections of the speech community. However it is also clear that especially for working class listeners the speech associated with their own class tends to be preferred on measures of social distance, sociability and certain other valued personality traits such as modernity and toughness.

On the basis of the considerations outlined above it was decided to design an experiment investigating the preceptions of religious messages in the contrasting accents of Cockney and standard English. The general hypothesis to be tested was that Religious language in the form of a Christian testimony when presented in the standard English which is normal in Church contexts would raise unnecessary barriers amongst working class Newham white adolescents to the communication of the message. The same message delivered in Cockney though it would perhaps be perceived as odd or incompatible with the accent would be more favourably perceived.

Over the last few years much research work has been undertaken in many different cultures using matched guise or verbal guise experiments to measure stereotypes and perceptions of ethnolinguistic groups by various groups of listeners. Most relevant for the present study is my own work (Smith 1978) on the general linguistic ethnic and social stereotypes of adolescents of the Asian and white community in Newham. Work by Powesland & Giles (1975) on the persuasiveness of standard or regionally accented English in the context of political messages has been taken as one model for the present experimental design. Similar work on the social significance of non standard and standard speech in American courtrooms has been undertaken by Lind & O-Barr (1979).

Experimental Design

In view of the field of interest outlined above the following experiment was designed.

Recordings were made of four speakers as they read from a script testimonies/arguments from a pro or anti (evangelical) Christian point of view. The recordings took the form of a short interview session with the researcher asking three stimulus questions in each case. Two of the speakers recorded both pro and anti Christian statements from a script. The other two speakers responded spontaneously to the questions since they were only to be used as filler voices in the eventual experiment. Linguistically one of the speakers was a speaker of standard English with slight vestigial traces of the Bristol accent of his childhood. The second main speaker was a working class native of Newham who's normal accent can easily be recognised as Cockney. However he consciously broadened his accent (perhaps a little too much in the case of the non-Christian speaker) towards a stereotypical Cockney while making the recordings. Each of the four recordings was presented as coming from a different named speaker.

Thus the following four speakers were to be presented as the main experimental stimuli with the variables of accent and content distinguishing them.

- | | | |
|----------|------------------|----------------|
| 1) Dave | Cockney | Pro Christian. |
| 2) Sid | Cockney | Anti Christian |
| 3) Paul | Standard English | Pro Christian |
| 4) Peter | Standard English | Anti Christian |

(Speakers 1 & 2 and 3 & 4 are in fact the same individual answering to different names on tape).

The two filler voices with their spontaneous testimony were

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------|----------------|
| 5) Phil | Standard English | Pro Christian |
| 6) John | Jamaican accented English | Pro Christian. |

Texts of the recordings can be found in the appendix.

Respondents/listeners were to be assigned to four basic groups. Two of the groups would listen to Dave and Peter the second group with the order of speakers reversed on either side of the filler voice (Phil). The other two groups would then listen to Sid and Paul in alternative experimental orders around the filler voice (John). In terms of experimental design this would allow direct comparison of the relevant pairs of voices Dave/Paul Dave/Sid & Paul/Peter with maximum economy for the size of sample yet without the need to use repeated measures design. In the statistical analysis the intention was to do analysis of variance on each of the pairs of speakers to test for the effects of speaker, sex of listener, basic religious attitude of listener, (order of experiment) and social class of listener.

A questionnaire was designed (see appendix) in which 25 measures in the form of Likert scales were used to obtain reactions to the three speakers each respondent would listen to. Basic demographic information together with a series of items measuring basic religious attitude was included. These religious attitude scales were taken from two sources, a) previous work undertaken in the course of my doctoral research, in particular the index developed by factor analysis from a large pool of likert scales on religion which measures basic religious commitment. Smith (impress b) a series of Likert scale items used in the national survey of religious attitudes of Young people (Bible Society 1978).

The 25 Likert scales for each speaker were designed with a view to isolating separate dimensions of religiosity, status, Cockney-ness, solidarity sociability etc. The following specific hypotheses were put forward at this stage.

- 1) Different subgroups of listeners will be differentially disposed to the different speakers. a) In particular girls are likely to be more favourably disposed to the standard English and pro Christian speakers than are boys. b) Higher class listeners and listeners with a basically favourable to religion attitude are also likely to be better disposed towards the same kinds of speakers.
- 2) Cockney speakers will be seen as considerably more incompatible with a pro Christian message than standard speakers.
- 3) Cockney speakers will be rated lower on a) stereotypes of status than the standard speakers though on b) solidarity related scales the pattern will be reversed.
- 4) In view of the generally low level of religious commitment which is anticipated it is likely that pro-Christian speakers will receive lower ratings on solidarity/identification type measures than the anti Christian ones.

The sample and the data collecting

In order to obtain a sample of listeners consisting of over 100 adolescents of mixed sex and indigenous white racial background an approach was made to Brampton Manor School, a large comprehensive situated in the Southern part of the borough of Newham. This area is one of the few neighbourhoods in the borough which is still predominantly white in ethnic background. In terms of social class the neighbourhood is one of the few relatively mixed areas in a solidly working class borough, there is a mixture of Council housing and well kept relatively large and modern terraced housing which is largely owner occupied. Through the generous co-operation of the school (despite extreme difficulties during a period which saw a month long closure due to a caretaker's strike) we obtained access to six groups of fourth year (15-16 year old) pupils. The vast majority of these were white though as the groups were regular English or R.K. classes the dozen or so West Indian or Asian pupils involved also took part. These questionnaires from non-indigenous pupils were discarded from subsequent analysis.

However one major problem of analysis did arise in that the class groups which completed the experiment were streamed according to academic ability. Three of groups belonged to the more academic streams (Band 1) while the other three belonged to the less academic stream (Band 2). Two groups of Band 1 pupils listened to the Dave/Peter tape while two groups of Band 2 listened to the Sid/Paul tape. This introduced a significant bias which could have some effect on results but would be very hard to measure.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

a) Basic Religious Attitudes

The first fifteen questions on the questionnaire proper were a series of likert scales designed to elicit a measure of the respondents basic religious attitude and level of religious commitments (in the Christian context). It seems 6-9 are the same ones as used in previous work with Newham teenagers (Smith) while the remainder are borrowed from the survey of religious attitudes conducted by the Bible society (1978). Thus each item can be compared with the findings from other samples, of this age group.

The mean and frequency scores for these fifteen items together with figures from previous work are set out below.

Item	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Mean (high = agree)
<u>6) I believe very strongly in my religion</u>						
Present sample	3	17	44	45	16	2.6
Lister School.	2.4%	13.6%	35.2%	36%	12.8%	
Previous sample approx (Smith 79)	2%	9.9%	27.5%	32%	27%	
<u>7) Everyone ought to pray to God every day</u>						
Present sample	2	9	28	61	26	2.2
	1.6%	7.1%	22%	48.4%	20.6%	
Previous (Smith 79)	0	0	17.5%	41%	41.5%	
<u>8) I admire the saints of my religion</u>						
Present sample	4	16	41	48	15	2.6
	3.2%	12.9%	33%	38.7%	12.1%	
Previous sample approx. (Smith 79)	6%	10.5%	27.5%	25.5%	28.5%	
<u>9) I often go to church</u>						
Present sample	3	5	3	78	38	1.9
	2.3%	3.9%	2.3%	61.4%	29.9%	
Previous sample Smith 79 (approx)	2%	6%	4%	25%	63%	
<u>10) I think church services are boring</u>						
Present sample	26	52	23	18	9	3.5
	20.3%	40.6%	18%	14.1%	7%	
National sample	21%	28%	24%	19%	6%	

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Mean (high = agree)
11) <u>I believe God helps people.</u>						
Present sample	5 3.9%	40 31.5%	46 36.2%	23 18.1%	13 10.2%	3.0
National sample	16%	36%	31%	7%	7%	
12) <u>I think the Bible is out of date.</u>						
Present sample	6 4.7%	28 22.2%	51 40.5%	33 26.2%	8 6.3%	2.9
National sample	8%	14%	26%	35%	15%	
13) <u>I believe that God listens to prayers</u>						
Present sample	5 3.9%	22 17.5%	52 41.3%	35 27.8%	12 9.5%	2.8
National sample	15%	23%	38%	12%	11%	
14) <u>Religious education of any kind should be stopped.</u>						
Present sample	18 14.3%	23 18.3%	27 21.4%	47 37.3%	11 8.7%	2.9
National sample		13%	16%		66%	
15) <u>Only Christianity should be taught in school</u>						
Present sample	1 .8%	15 12%	30 24%	56 44.8%	23 18.4%	2.3
National sample		14%	20%		61%	

The overall picture from these items is that our present sample is somewhat more favourable towards religion in general than was the previous sample of Newham youngsters though in comparison with the national sample ^{they} seem to be less religious than the average in their peer group. The former difference is probably the result of the difference in neighbourhoods between Brampton (Present) and Lister (previous) schools with the former area being rather more respectable. The difference from the national sample is to be expected in such a group from the inner city, largely working class background of Newham. Indeed a breakdown of the national sample in the Bible Society survey did show this expected difference between city and suburban subgroups.

Overall Summary of results (For raw scores see the graphs) analysis of variance was carried out on all 25 scales and the following results were found.

a) Speaker effects

On 18 of the 25 scales there were significant differences in ratings between at least one of the pairs of speakers. These scales can be grouped in the following way.

- 1) those where ACCENT alone produces a difference.
- 3) I don't think he believes what he is saying (hypothesis 3a confirmed)
- 15) He doesn't talk properly.

On these two scales the two Cockney speakers Sid & Dave score higher than the two Posh speakers but not differently from each other. In other words listeners agree that Cockneys don't talk properly whatever the message content and don't sound as sincere as Posh speakers.

- 2) Those where RELIGIOUS CONTENT of the message alone produces a difference.
- 9) I wouldn't get on with him very well.
- 18) People like him get on my nerves.
- 19) I agree with what he says.
- 22) I could listen to him talking like this for hours.

On these four scales the two Christian speakers Paul & Dave are rated unfavourably in comparison with the two irreligious speakers. The implication is that our listeners tend to find Religious speakers more boring, irritating and harder to get on with or agree with than irreligious ones no matter what accent or social background they come from (hypothesis 4 confirmed at expense of 3b).

3) Those scales where ACCENT makes the most difference but Religious content makes a difference within one accent group.

- 8) He's not a typical Cockney
- 11) He probably lives in a posh area. (hypothesis 3a confirmed)
- 16) He's good at explaining what he believes.

For items 8 and 11 the two Cockneys (Dave and Sid) score roughly the same but significantly lower than the posh speakers. But in both scales the Christian Posh speaker (Paul) scores higher than the Posh irreligious speaker (Peter).

For item 16 the two Posh speakers score (equally) higher than the Cockneys but the irreligious Cockney scores higher than the Christian one.

The implication is that being a Christian adds to the perceived degree of Poshness/non-Cockneyhood for the Posh speakers while for the Cockney makes one less skillful at explanations.

4) Those scales where Religious Content makes the most difference but there is an accent difference for one religious group.

- 10) He'd never convince me I ought to believe what he does.
- 17) He's not very different from me.
- 21) The way he talks puts me off
- 23) He's a religious nutter
- 25) I'd be surprised to see him in church.

Items 10, 17 & 21 group together in that the two religious speakers get equally unfavourable ratings with a difference between the irreligious ones. (Sid preferred on 17, a difference dimension and Peter on 10 (convincingness) and 21 (though perhaps not significantly). (hypothesis 3b partially refuted)

Items 23 & 25 give equal ratings for the irreligious pair with Paul the posh Christian being seen as more of a religious nutter and more likely to be in church than Dave, the Cockney Christian.

The other items with significant speaker effects are.

12) "He's just a cissy a weakling." Here Paul the Posh Christian is rated more of a cissy than any of the other three speakers.

24) "What he says sounds odd coming from someone like him".

On this scale only Dave the Cockney Christian is high scoring. In other words it is only the combination of a Christian message with a cockney speaker that is seen as incompatible. (Hypothesis 2 confirmed).

13) "Id like to meet this man".

On this item there appears to be an additive effect of the accent and message variables in that the Cockney Non Christian is definitely preferred, the Posh Christian speaker does least well and the two other speakers achieve equal intermediate scores.

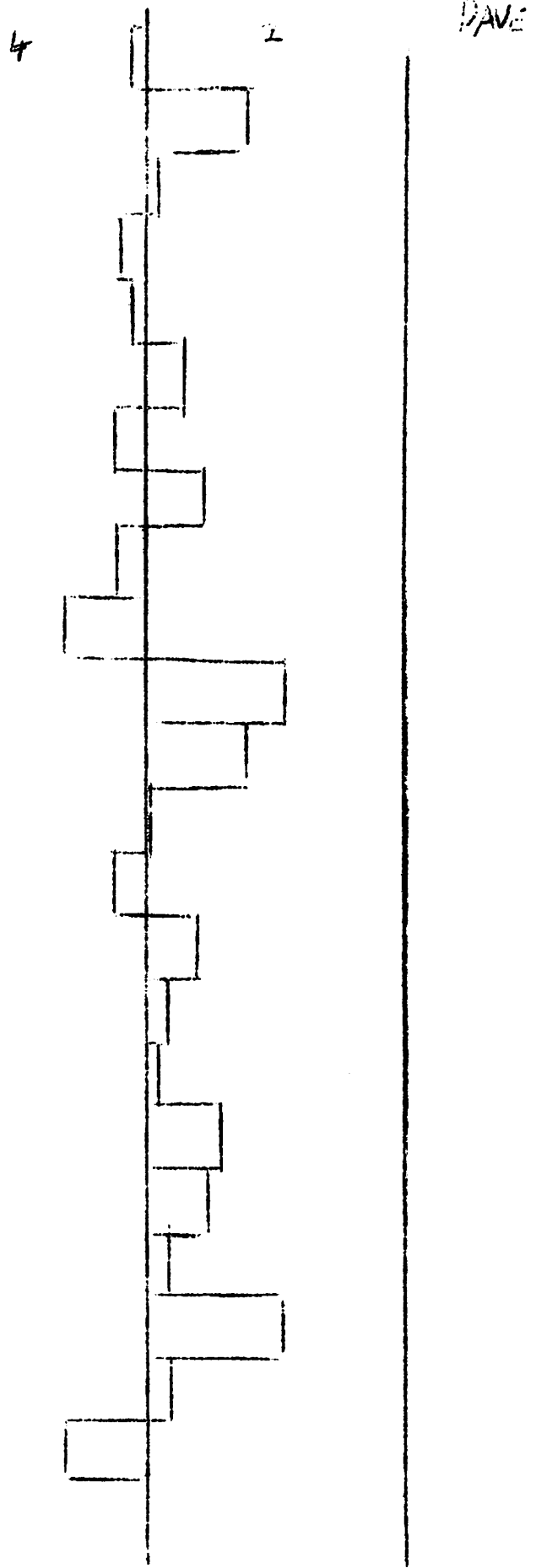
The overall picture on the speaker effects is one where both accent and message play some part. On the whole the Cockney and irreligious speakers are seen by the listeners as most like themselves, and are rated more favourably, except on speech stereotypes (convincingness, skill at explanations, living in posh area etc). There are indications that it is abnormal for a Cockney to be a committed Christian.

Other effects

Sex There are nine scales where there are significant speaker sex interactions. In almost every case the girls give more favourable ratings to the Christian or Posh speakers than do the boys. (Hypothesis 1a partially confirmed). The items involved are nos. 1,4,5,13,16,20,21. On item 19 the sex effect for Peter has more boys than girls agreeing with his non Christian message. Item 3 has girls doubting Daves sincerity more than boys and boys doubting Paul's.

Class There are only three scales where there is a significant class effect or interaction in relation to one or both of the Posh speakers. Two items '8 & 11 actually involve the use of the terms "Cockney" and "Posh". On item 8 the lower class respondents rate the Posh irreligious speaker as a more typical cockney than the higher class listeners do. On item 11 the highest 2 and the lowest class groups predict the two Posh speakers more likely to live in a posh area than do the skilled working class respondents. On item 13 (strangely) it is the lower class groups who would most like to meet the two posh speakers.) (Hypothesis 1B refuted).

- 1) I think he doesn't know what he's talking about.
- 2) He sounds just like a typical Vicar.
- 3) I don't think he believes what he's saying.
- 4) He sounds quite friendly.
- 5) He has a reasonable view of life.
- 6) I wouldn't trust a man like him.
- 7) I don't expect his family and friends share his views.
- 8) He's not a typical Cockney.
- 9) I wouldn't get on with him very well.
- 10) He'd never convince me I ought to believe what he does.
- 11) He probably lives in a posh area.
- 12) He's just a cissy, a weakling.
- 13) I'd like to meet this man.
- 15) He doesn't talk properly..
- 16) He's good at explaining what he believes.
- 17) He's not very different from me.
- 18) People like him get on my nerves.
- 19) I agree with what he says.
- 20) He's a lazy good for nothing.
- 21) The way he talks puts me off.
- 22) I could listen to him talking like this for hours.
- 23) He's a religious nutter.
- 24) What he says sounds odd coming from someone like him.
- 25) I'd be surprised to see him in church.



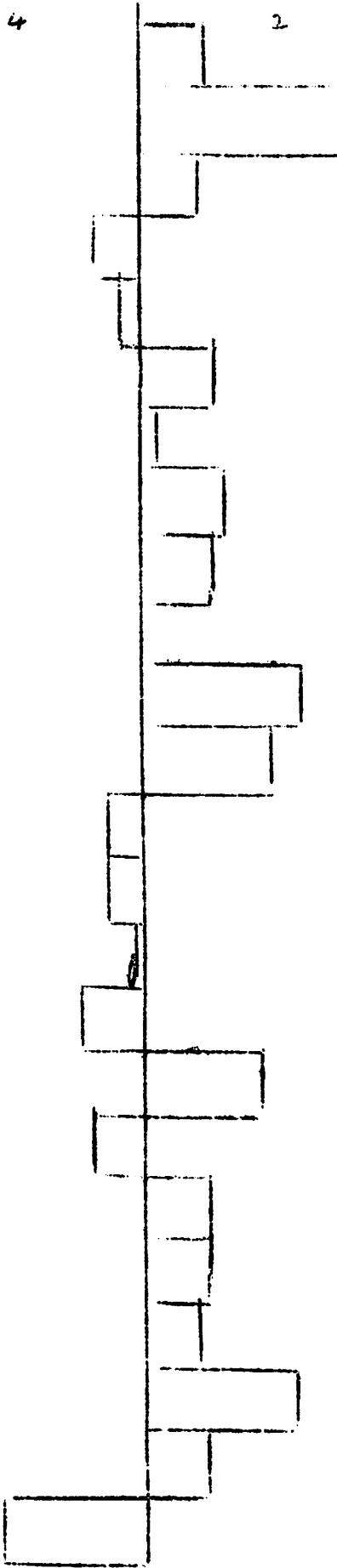
Speaker No. 2 Sid (Cockney) Non Christian High score = agreement

- 1) I think he doesn't know what he's talking about.
- 2) He sounds just like a typical Vicar.
- 3) I don't think he believes what he's saying.
- 4) He sounds quite friendly.
- 5) He has a reasonable view of life.
- 6) I wouldn't trust a man like him.
- 7) I don't expect his family and friends share his views.
- 8) He's not a typical Cockney
- 9) I wouldn't get on with him very well.
- 10) He'd never convince me I ought to believe what he
- 11) He ^{does} probably lives in a posh area.
- 12) He's just a cissy, a weakling.
- 13) I'd like to meet this man.
- 15) He doesn't talk properly.
- 16) He's good at explaining what he believes.
- 17) He's not very different from me.
- 18) People like him get on my nerves.
- 19) I agree with what he says.
- 20) He's a lazy good for nothing.
- 21) The way he talks puts me off.
- 22) I could listen to him talking like this for hours.
- 23) He's a religious nutter.
- 24) What he says sounds odd coming from someone like him.
- 25) I'd be surprised to see him in church.

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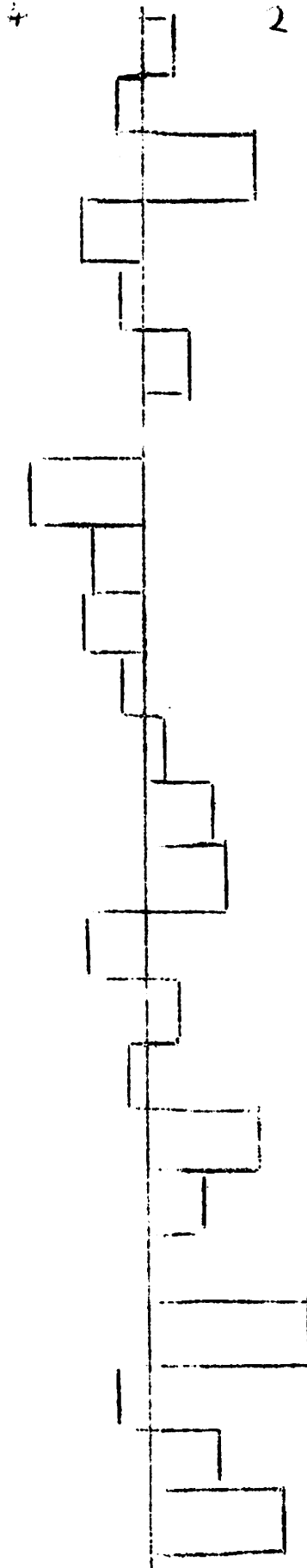
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SID



Speaker No. 3 Paul, Posh Christian High Score = agreement.

- 1) I think he doesn't know what he's talking about.
- 2) He sounds just like a typical Vicar.
- 3) I don't think he believes what he's saying.
- 4) He sounds quite friendly.
- 5) He has a reasonable view of life.
- 6) I wouldn't trust a man like him.
- 7) I don't expect his family and friends share his views.
- 8) He's not a typical Cockney.
- 9) I wouldn't get on with him very well.
- 10) He'd never convince me I ought to believe what he does.
- 11) He probably lives in a posh area.
- 12) He's just a cissy, a weakling.
- 13) I'd like to meet this man.
- 15) He doesn't talk properly.
- 16) He's good at explaining what he believes.
- 17) He's not very different from me.
- 18) People like him get on my nerves.
- 19) I agree with what he says.
- 20) He's a lazy good for nothing.
- 21) The way he talks puts me off.
- 22) I could listen to him talking like this for hours.
- 23) He's a religious nutter.
- 24) What he says sounds odd coming from someone like him.
- 25) I'd be surprised to see him in church.

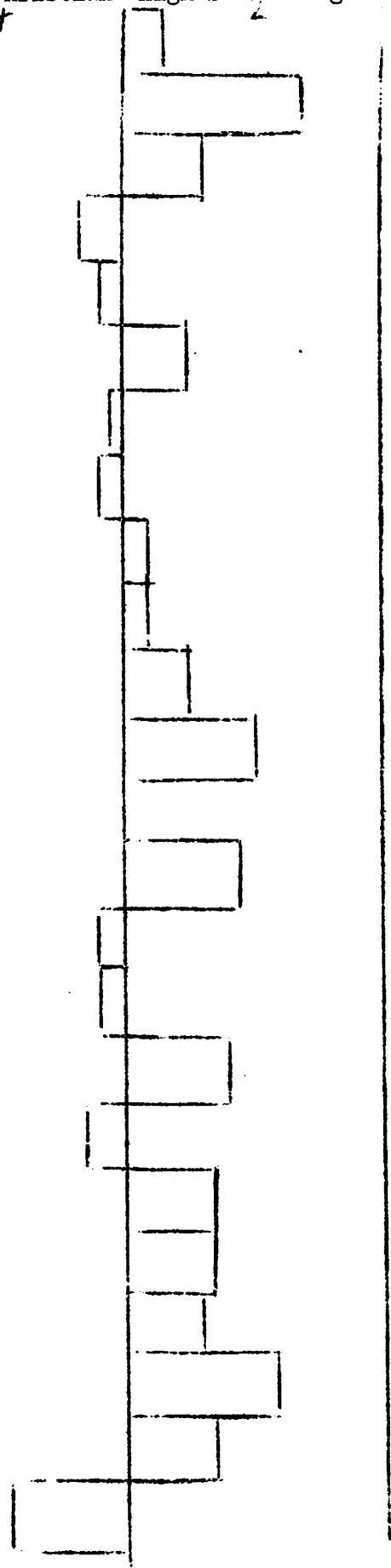


Speaker No. 4 (Peter)

Posh Non Christian High Score = agreement

eter

- 1) I think he doesn't know what he's talking about
- 2) He sound just like a typical Vicar
- 3) I don't think he believes what he's saying
- 4) Ee sounds quite friendly.
- 5) He has a reasonable view of life.
- 6) I wouldn't trust a man like him.
- 7) I don't expect his family and friends share his views.
- 8) He's not a typical Cockney.
- 9) I wouldn't get on with him very well.
- 10) He'd never convince me I ought to believe what he does.
- 11) Ne probably lives in a posh area.
- 12) He's just a cissy, a weakling.
- 13) I'd like to meet this man.
- 15) He doesn't talk properly.
- 16) He's good at explaining what he believes.
- 17) He's not very different from me.
- 18) People like him get on my nerves.
- 19) I agree with what he says.
- 20) He's a lazy good for nothing.
- 21) The way he talks puts me off.
- 22) I could listen to him talking like this for hours.
- 23) He's a religious nutter.
- 24) What he says sounds odd coming from someone like him.
- 25) I'd be surprised to see him in church.



Religious Attitude

18 of the 25 scales showed significant effects between listeners who were basically pro religion against the irreligious ones. With only one exception the pattern is one of the religious listeners making more favourable ratings of the Christian speakers and the irreligious listeners preferring the non-Christians in terms of agreement, with sympathy, with friendliness, sincerity and unfavourable stereotypes of the speaker. Item 24 appears to be an exception to this general pattern with the religious listeners giving higher scores for message speaker incompatibility for the irreligious speakers. Perhaps the simplest explanation here is that they are concentrating on the fact that to them the message sounds odd without taking much notice of the phrase "coming from someone like him." (Hypothesis 1c is confirmed).

Experimental Order

18 of the 25 scales produced significant experimental order effects or interactions a finding which indicates that greater care could well have been taken in terms of experimental design. This tends to highlight the fact that in an experimental situation judgements are very much comparative. In other words when presented with a single voice at the beginning of the experiment the judges will have no reference point or yardstick against which to measure a speaker. They will therefore tend to react with a fair degree of uncertainty and the average scores will tend to be near the mean or cluster around the mid point of the scale. When they hear a second speaker they will tend to have learnt the pattern of the experimental task, to make comparative judgements and therefore more extreme ratings will be expected. Almost all our significant order effects follow this pattern with the two Christian speakers getting more favourable ratings when heard first than when after comparison, and the two non Christian speakers doing better after comparison. There are one or two exceptions to this (see individual tables). Hopefully the fact that one group of listeners heard the tapes in one order and the second in reverse order should cancel out some of the order effects. However as the two groups were not of equal size and had significant biases for academic ability and social class these order effects place a large question mark over some of our results. An experiment redesigned in terms of these results would probably use four separate groups of listeners each listening to only one "real" speaker with a dummy speaker as a trial run. Getting each listener to respond to two voices was clearly a false economy.

Conclusions

The overall picture revealed by this experiment is fairly complex. There are clear indications that our listeners tend to react negatively to Christian messages from both Posh and Cockney speakers. It is clear that adolescents of the indigenous white community in Newham do not have a great deal of sympathy for the message of the gospel however it is presented. It is also clear that they find it hard to believe that a male speaker of Cockney can have a sincere Christian commitment. There are few indications that a Cockney who is presenting a Christian message will be received any better than someone saying the same thing in a posh voice. Indeed the posh speaker is rated more convincing and better at explaining. It would appear that to maintain solidarity with the Cockney community involves sharing not only the accent but also the basic irreligious or at least unchurchy value system of the community. The stumbling block for the gospel appears to be at a deeper level than accent alone. Whether it is mainly the church and the Christian subculture or the theological stumbling block of faith is a matter beyond the scope of this paper.

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Appendix

Scripts for Speakers.

A. Christian

Interviewer I'd like to ask you about what you believe?

Speaker Well I'm very definitely a Christian. I didn't used to be, it was only two years ago that I was converted - I never went into church except for christenings and weddings and funerals.

Interviewer What made you change?

Speaker Well I had some friends who were Christians and they were always talking to me. They even took me along to church one day, and when the preacher got up it was as if he was talking just to me. I don't really know what happened, but when I came out I felt like a new person.

Interviewer What difference has it made?

Speaker Well, I know now that God loves me, and forgiven all my sin I know he's helped me give up some of my bad habits - God is making me into a better person. I don't lose my temper so much, and lots of other things. I go to church every week and have made lots of friends there. I pray and read the Bible and I try to tell my friends about Jesus, cos I think everyone ought to become Christians.

B. Non Christian

Interviewer Now tell me what you believe about religion.

Speaker Well I'm not very religious really. I did used to go to Sunday School but I got fed up with it when I was about twelve. I haven't been in a church since I got married, and anyway it was only the wife that wanted a Church wedding. A Register Office would have been good enough for me.

Interviewer Don't you believe in God at all then?

Speaker No I think its a load of rubbish personally. After all they say God made the world in six days but the scientists have proved it took millions of years to evolve.

Anyway if God made the world who made God?

Interviewer What do you think of people who do believe?

Speaker Well I suppose its their own business what they believe, but I know a lot of them are hypocrites - they're no better than anyone else, but if it helps them to believe in a Big Father figure in the sky then it makes no difference to me.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES SURVEY

In this survey we are trying to find out what young people think about religion and what they think about other people's religious beliefs.

In Section A you will be asked a number of questions about yourself and what you believe. Then you will listen to a number of speakers on tape talking about what they believe. For each speaker there will be a page of questions asking what you thought about the speaker and what he said.

SECTION A

1) Are you

male

female

2) What is your date of birth? _____

3) What is your father's job? _____

4) What religion are you?

Catholic

Church of England

Free Church
(Methodist, Baptist
etc)

No religion

Other (please specify) _____

5) How long have you lived in Newham?

less than 5 years

5 - 10 years

10 - 15 years

all your life

If you have lived here less than 10 years please say which other places you lived in

2.

Now say what you think about the following statements:

	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
6) I believe very strongly in my religion.					
7) Everyone ought to pray to God every day.					
8) I admire the saints of my religion.					
9) I often go to church					
10) I think church services are boring					
11) I believe God helps people					
12) I think the Bible is out of date					
13) I believe that God listens to prayers					
14) Religious education of any kind should be stopped					
15) Only Christianity should be taught in school					

SECTION B

NOW LISTEN TO THE TAPE RECORDINGS OF THE VARIOUS SPEAKERS AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ABOUT EACH ONE.

THERE IS ONE PAGE FOR EACH SPEAKER

	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1) I think he doesn't know what he's talking about					
2) He sounds just like a typical vicar					
3) I don't think he believes what he's saying					
4) He sounds quite friendly					
5) He has a reasonable view of life					
6) I wouldn't trust a man like him					
7) I don't expect his family and friends share his views					
8) He's not a typical Cockney					
9) I wouldn't get on with him very well					
10) He'd never convince me I ought to believe what he does					
11) He probably lives in a posh area					
12) He's just a cissy, a weakling					
13) I'd like to meet this man					
14) I don't suppose he's any better than me					
15) He doesn't talk properly					
16) He's good at explaining what he believes					
17) He's not very different from me					
18) People like him get on my nerves					
19) I agree with what he says					
20) He's a lazy good for nothing					
21) The way he talks puts me off					
22) I could listen to him talking like this for hours					
23) He's a religious nutter					
24) What he says sounds odd coming from someone like him					
25) I'd be surprised to see him in church					

Date	Description	Debit	Credit	Balance	Remarks
					Initial deposit of \$100.00
					Interest on deposit
					Withdrawal of \$50.00
					Transfer to savings
					Monthly contribution
					Dividend payment
					Bank charges
					Final balance