LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY IN NEWHAM

A Preliminary Report of some Fieldwork carried out in
Newham secondary schools between October 1976 and
March 1977, being an investigation of language and
social attitudes of English and Asian adolescents as
part of an M.Phil. in the Linguistics Dept. of U.C.L.

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(A contribution of 25p per copy would be appreciated
to help cover printing costs.)

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The research programme I am presently engaged in undertaking is an investigation of the attitudes of Teenagers from the English and Asian Communities of the London Borough of Newham towards language, society and religion. The main techniques being used are matched guise experiments, where bilingual speakers are recorded in both languages saying the same thing and listeners evaluate their voices and personalities, and Likert attitude scales.

The Matched guise experiments

Preliminary work so far (to June 1977) has consisted of designing a matched guise experiment to contrast Gujerati with different varieties of English speech. The stimulus tape consists of three paired guises in which speakers count up to thirty twice. The paired guises (bilingual speakers) are:

<div align="center">

Male Cockney   -   Gujerati

Male Indian English   -   Gujerati

Female Standard English - Gujerati.

</div>

These guises have been played to a sample of 124 listeners (fifth year pupils in Newham comprehensive schools), approximately 30 of whom are English boys, 30 English girls, 30 Asian boys, 30 Asian girls. Two-thirds of the Asians are Gujerati native speakers.

The listeners were asked to rate each speaker on 14 semantic differential scales, each being a pair of opposite meaning stereotype adjectives. They were also asked to rate the speakers on a social distance scale and to guess the geographical and social background of the speakers. (This, in fact, helps to validate at least some of the guises, as representative of the socio-linguistic group they are selected to represent.)

Results So Far

Statistical analysis has already been carried out by computer to compare the different race and sex groups on each stereotype scale for each pair of guises and for the two male Gujerati guises. One complication has arisen in that it has been discovered that for some guises, notably the Indian English and the Gujerati guises, there has been wide disagreement when it came to guessing geographical origin of the speaker. This is especially true for the English listeners, who tend to label the foreign sounding guises as "European" as readily as "Asian". The Asian listeners, too, show similar disagreement over English language guises. They easily accept that an Asian may speak in English without sounding too "Asian". To analyse this mess has been difficult, but statistical comparisons of those who see a guise as "Asian" with those who label it as something else have been made, showing that sometimes at least there is a significant difference. This has also tended to confuse the Sex differences, since there is a bias between the sexes when they guess about origins of a speaker, girls on the whole tending to be more accurate.

Obviously, with such a small scale experiment and with these complications in statistical analysis (or experimental design), any results or conclusions produced at this stage are highly tentative. However, some sort of pattern does seem to be emerging.

Stereotype Patterns for different kinds of speaker

From the six guises, together with the information about perceived origins, the following representative "voices" have been isolated. These are taken to represent the following sociolinguistic groups:

1) Cockney male

2) Gujerati speaking Asian male

3) English speaking Asian male

4) Gujerati speaking Asian female

5) Standard/neutral English female.

There is quite a lot of evidence in the stereotyping scales that there is a community wide stereotype pattern for each type of "voice" which is usually more intensely held by listeners of the same group than by those of the outgroup.

1) **The Cockney Male**

The English listeners rate the cockney male as:

<u>Very</u> tough, irreligious, unsnobbish, ugly. dishonest, modern, poor, unsuccessful.

<u>Moderately</u> lazy, bad tempered, friendly, stupid.

<u>Neutral</u> kind/unkind, clean/dirty.

The Asian listeners follow this pattern quite closely. Where there are significant differences the Asians rate him nearer the mid point of the scale, except that with the scale rich/poor he is rated moderately rich.

2) **The Gujerati Speaking Asian Male**

There are two speakers representing this "voice" and scarcely any difference between their stereotype ratings except on the scale hardworking/lazy. Asians rate them as:

<u>Very</u> hardworking, friendly, kind, intelligent, clean, religious, honest, successful and good tempered.

<u>Moderately</u> gentle, unsnobbish, goodlooking.

<u>Neutral</u> old-fashioned/modern, rich/poor.

The English listeners (when those who label the speaker as foreign but not Asian have been accounted for (there is no significant difference on many of the scales anyway)) on most of the scales give the same stereotype pattern as the Asians, with less intensity,

i.e. They see this voice as:

<u>Moderately</u> hardworking, friendly, kind, intelligent, clean, gentle, unsnobbish, honest and good-tempered.

They differ from the Asians on the following scales, seeing the Asian males as:

<u>Extremely</u> religious

<u>Very</u> ugly, old-fashioned, poor

<u>Slightly</u> unsuccessful.

3) **The Asian Male speaking English but labelled "Asian"**

Follows basically the same pattern as '2' above.

The differences are that both groups see him as slightly lazy (probably a voice quality effect, as the same speakers' Gujerati is seen as lazy). English listeners see him as slightly more unfriendly, less old-fashioned and more or less neutral on the rich and successful scales in comparison with '2' above.

The Asians see him as slightly less intelligent, more modern and a little less successful than voice 2.

4) **Female Asian Speaking Gujerati**

With the Asian listeners the pattern is almost identical with the male. The only real difference is that the girl is seen as extremely gentle and very modern.

The English listeners tend to follow the Asian pattern, except that she is seen as slightly old-fashioned. They are much more favourable in their judgements to her than to the male Gujerati, rating her as:

> **Very** hardworking, friendly, kind, intelligent, clean, gentle, religious, honest and good-tempered.
>
> **Slightly** unsnobbish, old-fashioned, poor
>
> **Neutral** Goodlooking/ugly, successful/unsuccessful.

5) **The English Female (Neutral Accent)**

The English listeners see her as:

> **Very** friendly, kind, intelligent, clean, gentle, honest
>
> **Moderately** hardworking, unsnobbish, goodlooking, modern, rich, successful, good-tempered
>
> **Neutral** religious/irreligious.

The Asians largely follow this pattern, but see her as less gentle and more modern and less friendly. A number of the stereotypes seem to be held less intensely by Asians.

Summary

The most interesting thing on the stereotype scales is the negative view of the Cockney and the largely positive view of the Asians from both racial groups of listeners. Classical Matched guise theory might well have predicted the reverse of this in that usually it is the subordinate, minority group which is stereotyped negatively and the majority group positively. Obviously, work is needed on the semantic content of the different scales and further fieldwork is necessary to confirm these results, but there is at least a fascinating hint that the Asians are behaving as a majority, dominant group and the Coekneys as an "oppressed" minority.

The Social distance scales

The analysis of the social distance scales in the matched guise experiment is more complicated than the stereotype scales for the following reasons:

1) The six items in this section do not form a scale (of the scaleogram type).

2) There is an independent sex effect, which is confused by a bias in terms of perceived origins of speaker.

The most obvious overall feature is that each group tends to be more friendly to those speakers belonging to its own linguistic or perceived racial group. Broadly speaking the English listeners are positively hostile to Speakers or guises they label as Asian. While the Asians are positively friendly to these guises. Reactions towards English and English perceived guises are more complex. The difficulty in analysing these features is compounded by the presence of a double sex variable in listeners and the bias in terms of perceived origins between the sex groups of listeners. Broadly speaking female guises seemed to be received with less hostility than male and female listeners seem to be less hostile to all guises than males. There is a special case with the Asian girls, who seem to be outstandingly friendly towards the female guises. This probably reflects the fact that free mixing of the sexes is not yet accepted in the Asian community.

One very surprising result is the hostility (especially from the boys) with which the English listeners react to the Cockney guise. There is obviously

some doubt as to the validity of the experimental evidence from only one guise of this kind (though the supplementary tapes seem to suggest the same reactions for another Cockney speaker.) There is also doubt about the linguistic content of the Cockney guise. Despite the fact that many listeners label Vijay as a lower class East Londoner could there not be cues in his speech which produce the impression of, say, an Asian born in this country? Obviously there is room for much further investigation here. Also, could the layout of the questionnaire be responsible for this hostility? answers to the stereotype questions perhaps conditioning replies on the social distance scales. If, however, this sort of hostility can be proved, it will be a remarkable conclusion. A low view of Cockney speakers on stereotype scales is not without precedent, but hostility towards one's own group in terms of social distance scales (or stereotype scales of friendliness, etc.) would indicate an amazing level of anomie and alienation within the listeners. However, at the present stage extreme caution is necessary. Further work must be done, the matched guise results must be compared with overt attitude scales and the problem of variability between different speakers of the same language variety must be investigated (especially considering the significant variation between reactions to the two Gujerati males from English as well as Asian listeners on four of the six social distance scales.)

It had originally been hoped to create some kind of additive index of the six social distance scales for each guise or type of guise. It had been assumed the six scales would work as a scalogram or, like the Bogardus scale, that they represented a descending order of xenophobia, i.e. Listeners will more readily admit an outsider to the country as fellow citizen than to their family as an in-law. However, the fact that graphs do not form a straight downwards slope indicate that this assumption does not hold. In general the deviations from the pattern are as follows:

1) English listeners tend to be more hostile than expected on the scales of Neighbour and Emigration. It is likely that the need to reverse the polarity of the scale of Emigration complicates things. But the main reason for hostility on these scales is probably that these are politically charged issues in Newham's

white community, while the actual presence of Asians in class-
room and playground has possibly raised the level of acceptance
of the Asians. (Changing order of items would form a scale, ofcourse)

2) The Asian listeners reactions on the marriage scale are extremely
hostile even to guises which are recognisably Asian (Though much
more to the English or English labelled guises). It is probable
that the Asian prejudice against exogamy (at caste/religious/
language group level) is still quite strong.

There is also a less friendly attitude on the Neighbour scale,

especially from Asian boys, to both outgroup and owngroup guises. The

reasons for this seem worthy of future investigation.

THE MATCHED GUISE EXPERIMENTS IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

A brief summary of work in this field in other cultures

The matched guise technique for investigating social attitudes and

stereotyping in cross-cultural situations was originally developed in Quebec

by Wallace Lambert and his colleagues from the late 1950' onwards. Quebec

is the classic case of a bilingual community where the daily language of the

majority of the common people is French Canadian, while the language of the

dominant culture and of national administration is English. Personal

improvement in socio-economic status is to a large extent dependent on ability

to use English. Many people are fluently bilingual, but there are still

plenty of monolingual English and French speakers to be found.

Lambert designed an experiment in which two groups of students listened

to bilinguals reading a passage in their two guises without knowing the speak-

ers were the same. The first group of English speaking listeners rated the

English guises more favourable than the French on such stereotypes as good-

looking, tall, intelligent, dependable, kind, ambitious and having character.

They rated the French guises only as more humorous. French Canadian listen-

ers surprisingly rated the English guises superior except on kindness and

religiousness.

Later work in Canada showed a number of elaborations on this basic pattern. Firstly, European as opposed to Canadian French was consistently given more favourable ratings. Experiments with child listeners showed that stereotyping patterns only became fixed around the age of 12. Sex differences were also discovered both from the listener and speaker side. Female French speakers were consistently upgraded by English listeners (especially the men), while French Canadian male listeners preferred English guises of both sexes, but French Canadian female listeners upgraded French male guises.

In the Canadian studies early explanations talked in terms of self denigration or negative self image. A distinction was made between three types of stereotyping scales, those referring to competence, personal integrity and social attractiveness. But as it was mainly on competence scales that French Canadians downgraded their own group, it was possible also to explain the results in terms of community wide knowledge of socio-economic reality.

However, a study by Tucker (1968) in the Philippines comparing Tagalog, Filipino English, and American guises showed some downgrading on personal evaluative traits of the Tagalog guises, i.e. not "competence" traits.

A number of studies have been carried out more recently in the U.S.A. Generally it has been found that "Network English" is rated highly by all groups in comparison with Negro English and Southern Accent. Negroes and Northern whites were found to upgrade Negro English above the Southern, while Southern white listeners placed the Negro English bottom.

Studies of Franco American bilinguals in Maine have shown that they do not share the downgrading associated with Canadian French.

Mexican Americans (Spanish bilinguals) and English monolingual control groups have both been found to downgrade spanish guises on status or competence scales, but to upgrade them on solidarity or sociability scales. This is particularly so where Spanish is being used in appropriate domestic contexts and English in appropriate educational ones. But Mexican accented English was generally downgraded even on solidarity scales in home contexts. Broadening the accent of the speak also resulted in a less favourable view of the speaker.

This raises the question of whether a speech variety is a discreet entity correlating with group membership and the associated stereotype of whether a sliding scale model is more realistic.

Studies in Britain have mainly been the work of Howard Giles and his colleagues. Comparisons of R.P. with Yorkshire and Scots accents have tended to show that R.P. speakers are rated as more competent than accented speakers by all kinds of listeners, but that accented speakers are regarded as possessing greater personal integrity and social attractiveness, particularly by their own group listeners, by also by R.P. speaking listeners (note, all listeners were students).

Similar findings to these were reported by Giles using South Welsh and Somerset accent in contrast with R.P. for listeners from the Somerset and South Wales communities. In short, it seems that for some British accents at least regional speakers are perceived favourably on scales like honesty, friendliness, etc. However, it must be pointed out that little convincing work has been done as yet on the lowest prestige accents such as Cockney or other urban working-class speech, or on the difference between different kinds of listeners (e.g. according to class).

Giles and his colleagues have also conducted a considerable amount of experimental work in connection with bilingual Welsh speakers. With Welsh listeners the Welsh language guises were perceived more favourably than Welsh accented English and this, in turn, more favourably than R.P. The only scale on which R.P. was rated definitely more favourable was self-confidence. Although direct comparison with his own earlier study is difficult, Giles believes he has detected a more favourable view of Welshness as expressed by language and accent because of changes in the socio-political climate in Wales around 1972. Because of the rise in nationalistic aspirations, the Welsh self-image is now highly positive even on traits of competence as well as in terms of social attractiveness and personal integrity.

As an outcome of these studies a certain amount of theorising has been done. In general it is accepted that reactions to a speech variety correlate with reactions to the social group it represents. More particularly it is assumed that the reactions to an in-group voice are correlated to the listeners' group self-image. Our own results with the problem of speak group identification and the Mexican English and broadness mildness experiments suggest that things may not be necessarily quite so simple. There is also a problem of relating stereotypes from matched guise experiments to overtly expressed stereotypes, since it is usually assumed that matched guise experiments produce the honest reactions rather than the expected ones. Also, there are many other variables affecting stereotyping of individuals and groups, e.g. colour, dress, etc., which have to be taken into account.

Comparing our own results with some of the other work raises some interesting questions. The negative view by London born teenagers of the Cockney guises obviously reflects the French Canadian results. But there seems so far to be no trace of favouring the Cockney on personal or solidarity as opposed to competence scales. Indeed, great hostility was shown to the Cockney on Social distance scales (which as far as I know have not been used before in such experiments). Admittedly, Asian guises were received with even greater hostility on social distance ratings from English listeners.

The results from our Asian listeners obviously are similar to Welsh and French American results where the minority culture is very positively valued. By why should English listeners who are extremely hostile to the minority group share a positive stereotype of them?

Because of the small scale of experimental work so far and some of the methodological problems, it is very difficult to be confident of our own results until further work is complete. Therefore it is obviously difficult to fit our own results into a theoretical framework. But this short review of other experimental work has shown us that there has not really been enough work in enough different cultures to enable a comprehensive general theory to be constructed. The task before us is rather to continue with experimental investigation and to relate our findings to more particular theoretical and applied theoretical approaches to the sociology and social psychology of our own particular multi-

cultural inner city situation.

THE GENERAL ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

An attitude questionnaire was designed and administered to the same sample of respondents. It consisted of a large number of items of the Likert Scale type (statements which the respondents were asked to say whether they agreed or disagreed with). There were five main sections to the questionnaire: Family, Education Cockney, Religion and other kinds of people. Each section was subjected to factor analysis and when the factors had been extracted weighted indexes were constructed from the items scoring highly on the main factors (This meant a process of date reduction from a large number of individual items to the general factors which make up the overall attitude structure on these areas of attitude).

The indexes were named as follows:-

1) Famhap,   general personal happiness within family

2) Fam Resp,   respect for authority, parents within family

3) Fam Of.,   beliefs that parents are old-fashioned

4) Educatt,   general attitude towards education

5) Cockatt,   general attitude to Cockney

6) Relatt,   general negative attitude to religion

7) Relcom,   personal commitment, religious belief

8) Pakatt,   attitude towards Asians

9) Britatt,   positive attitude towards English people/Londoners (with a "Matiness" connotation).

10) Goraat,   negative attitude towards British people.

A comparison between the groups of respondents revealed the following differences of sex and race:-

1) <u>Famhap</u>   No race of sex difference, everybody seemed happy

2) <u>Fam resp.</u>   Asians significantly more respectful, traditional towards parents

3) <u>Fam Of</u>   Girls of both races see parents as more old-fashioned than boys

4) <u>Educatt</u>   Girls more favourable to education than boys.
Asians much more favourable than English.

5) <u>Cockatt</u>   English more favourable to Cockney than Asians. No sex difference.

6) <u>Relatt</u>   Asians less negative than English to religion. Boys of both
                races more negative than girls.

7) <u>Relcom</u> Asians more committed to Religion than English
                Girls   "   "   "   "   " boys.

8) <u>Pakatt</u> English hostile to Asians. Asians not hostile.

9) <u>Britatt</u> English more favourable to British than are Asians. No sex
                difference with English respondents, but Asian boys less
                favourable than girls.

10) <u>Goratt</u> Asians more negative than English towards English people.
                No sex difference.

THE MOTHER TONGUE USE AND ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

A supplementary questionnaire was designed and administered to the Asian pupils in the sample. It consisted of four main sections, each being a pool of Likert scale type items, to investigate the following topics:-

A) The situations in which, and extent to which the respondents claim to use the Mother tongue and English.

B) Attitudes towards the Mother tongue.

C) Attitudes towards English.

D) Attitudes towards Asian culture and religion.

Each section was subjected to factor analysis in an attempt to reduce the large amount of data to a series of attitude indexes, which could then be used to test significant differences between the sexes, language groups and long or shorter term residents in the U.K. In addition, such indexes will form the bases for shortened questionnaires in future experimental work.

Results (Summary)

A) <u>Language Use.</u> A number of different kinds of situation were identified, which can be related to the way in which the respondent reports his choice of whether to use English or the Mother tongue. The main determining factor seems to be who the participants in the conversation are and whether they are

competent to speak and understand English. In the vast majority of cases where a member of the older generation is involved   use of the Mother tongue is highly likely if not certain. This is particularly true when children are talking to their mothers, who are much less likely than fathers to have learned any English.

When the conversation is between children and their peers or siblings, the general pattern would seem to be a mixture of English and Mother tongue. On the whole, the respondents claimed to use more English than Mother tongue when talking in these situations.

Context of situation also seems to play some part where a choice of language is available. In the context of the wider community such as in school, even where the option of communicating to, say a teacher, in the Mother tongue is open, there is a reported use of only English. Closely related to this seems to be the dimension of formality/informality or intimacy with English preferred for the more formal situations and Mother tongue for the intimate ones.

One further area of interest is the written language. Most of the respondents claimed that they could read and write English better than the Mother tongue (and over half could not read or write Mother tongue at all), though speaking and listening were just as easy in either. And so for cultural activities, especially those with a written dimension, the respondents were limited to English. To a lesser extent, the dominance of English as a vehicle for mass culture (films, pop, etc.) was clearly reported.

Significant differences were found between different groups in the sample. On personal language use the girls reported more use of English than the boys. On both personal and family language use the Gujeratis reported more use of Mother tongue than the others (mainly Punjabis). This may be a reflection of length of residence in the U.K., for those here over eight years reported significantly more use of English in the family if not personally, than those here less than eight years. Gujeratis on the whole are more

recent arrivals following the exodus from East Africa in the early 1970's, and even though they are generally thought of as more educated and well-to-do than other Asians, it seems the time factor is most important in the change-over to more widespread use of English which is obviously taking place.

Attitudes to Mother Tongue

The general picture from the attitude section of the questionnaire is of a highly positive (or at least defensive) attitude towards the Mother tongue. The first major factor which was made into an index related to a series of negative statements about the Mother tongue as relevant for the present day and age. Almost all the respondents disagreed with this sort of sentiment. Interestingly enough, the girls were significantly more in favour of their Mother tongue than the boys (a strange inconsistency with their scores on language use which needs further investigation).

The second factor was based largely on a group of positive "aesthetic" attitude statements about the Mother tongue. Again the general picture was very positive. An interesting significant difference between the language groups with the Gujeratis more favourable than the rest shows that this factor is not a simple mirror image of the first. Further factors indicate that the Mother tongue is seen positively as a vehicle for Asian culture and religion, but that there is a certain amount of disagreement when it comes to counting the cost of maintaining the Mother tongue as a viable language in the U.K.

Attitude to English

The first factor extracted from the section of items on attitude to English is a fairly general one expressing like/dislike of the English language. Generally there is no sign of dislike or hostility towards English, though the boys are significantly less well disposed towards English than the girls. It may be that this is the result of racial tension in the classroom, which is probably shown up in aggressive confrontation between English and Asian boys more than amongst girls. As a group solidarity mechanis they may become more

hostile to English, and indeed use it less. But at the same time we have
to account for less favourable attitudes towards the Mother tongue than the
girls have. It may be that the boys, being more involved in career ambitions
and hence the wider English speaking culture, are more realistic about the
actual need of the two languages (There are some hints in the Matched guise,
social distance and stereotype scales that this may be the case). Once
again here the tentative nature of these suggestions should be stressed.

The second factor index on the Attitude to English section clearly
refers to the utility of the English language as a passport to the wider English
speaking community, throughout the world. There is a general agreement that
English is very necessary in this context and no significant differences
between the groups of respondents. Other factors and the scores for them
indicate that it is felt worthwhile and interesting to spend time learning
English, but that there is a definite reluctance to move towards a mono-
lingual English speaking community for fear of losing or betraying the Asian
culture.

Attitude to ASIAN Culture & Religion

The first factor extracted from the items about Asian culture is
based on a series of statements expressing the superiority of Asian ways
and behaviour to English ways. There is general agreement that Asian life
is equal if not better than English. The second factor is related to state-
ments expressing the need for Asians living in the modern western world to
modify their way of life. There seems to be considerable uncertainty over
this factor. On neither factor are there found significant differences
between groups within the sample. Other factors indicate a positive attitude
towards Hinduism, and a desire to keep the traditional religion, particularly
in the face of Christianity. In short, there seems to be a strong expressed
loyalty towards the traditional culture and religion, with some questioning
as to how it can be modified and modernised.

Overall Attitude Structure: Preliminary Results

An obvious extension of the statistical analysis completed so far is to attempt to investigate whether there is an overall attitude structure (or separate ones for the different races) by means of correlating (or factor analysing) the attitudinal indexes which have been created. Also, there is a need to correlate the findings of the matched guise experiment with the results of the Likert attitude scale questionnaire.

Some of this work is still in the process of computer analysis, but it is probably worth reporting in general terms some of the results obtained so far.

Factor Analysis of General Attitude Questionnaire

A second order Factor Analysis has been performed on the data for the general attitude questionnaire, taking all the respondents as one group. The indexes created from the factors extracted from the sections of the questionnaire, plus an index based on the social distance scales for Gujerati guises, have been factor analysed. The result is a reduction to three factors.

Factor One is heavily weighted on the following items in this order:
Relcom, Educatt, Pakatt, Relatt (Negative), Index 1 (Negative),
Fam Resp. and Cockatt (Negative).

This means that if a respondent is committed to religion he is likely to also be favourably disposed to Education, Asians, Religion in general, Asians in the matched guise experiment, traditional values of authority in the family, and unfavourable to Cockney. It seems clear that this factor highlights a simple racial difference of attitude pattern, with the typical Asian responding as above and the typical English respondent responding in the opposite manner.

Factor Two is heavily weighted on Britatt, Cockatt, Pakatt (Negative, Educatt (Negative), and Index 1. This means that a respondent who is positive towards British people is likely to be favourably disposed towards Cockney and hostile to Asians and to education, and hostile to Gujerati voices on the social distance scales. Again this is mainly a racially determined factor, probably representing ethnocentrism from a British angle.

<u>Factor Three</u> is weighted heavily on Goraatt, Fam Of and Fam Hap (Negative). This means that a respondent who is hostile towards English people in terms of stereotypes is likely to think his/her parents old-fashioned and be less than perfectly happy within the family. It is quite hard to pin this factor down, but it may well be something to do with an individual's personal bitterness, or alienation from the life he/she is forced to lead.

The English Respondents

A second order factor analysis was carried out for the English respondents only for all the items on the factor index list and for five separate indexes based on the matched guise social distance scales (1 = Gujerati male, 2 = Gujerati female, 3 = Cockney male, 4 = Indian English male, 5 = English female).

Four main factors were extracted:

<u>Factor one</u> weighted heavily on Relcom, Relatt (negative) and Educatt. This means that a respondent who expresses strong religious commitment is also likely to be generally favourable towards religion and education. This is probably also correlated with a sex difference, the girls being more pro religion and education than the boys.

<u>Factor two</u> scores highly on Cockatt and Britatt. A person who is favourable towards Cockney is also likely to be favourable towards English/London people. In short, this factor is probably a measure of in-group identification and solidarity.

<u>Factor three</u> weights heavily on Index 1, Index 2 and Pakatt (negative). Those who are hostile to Gujeratis on the social distance scales of the matched guise experiment are also hostile on the stereotype and social distance questionnaire about Asians. The factor therefore represents hostility towards the outgroup.

<u>Factor four</u> is weighted heavily on Fam Hap (negative), and Index 4 and Index 5. A respondent who is unhappy in his family is likely to be hostile towards the Indian English male and the English female speaker and vice versa for the majority of respondents who are happy with their family life. Very tentatively we might guess that this factor is a measure of alienation from the social group to which the respondent would normally belong.

The Asian Respondents

All the indexes on the general attitude questionnaire and the Mother tongue use and attitude questionnaire were factor analysed together. Seven major factors were extracted and from these we can build some sort of picture of the Asian respondent's attitude structure.

Factor one is weighted heavily on indexes. Relatt, Britatt (negative), ModMt, Enga tt and Genuse. If a respondent is negative to religion there is a high probability he will be negative to British people and the Mother tongue, but positive to English and yet use the Mother tongue a lot. There are obviously a number of contradictions in this factor which relate back to the problems noted about the differences between the sexes on these indexes.

The following tentative explanation is an attempt to resolve these contradictions. The Asian boy is expected by his family to think in terms of education and career more than his sister would. He is also allowed more freedom to associate with the host culture and therefore absorb its values. Thus he tends to develop a scientific scepticism about traditional religious belief and a matter-of-fact utilitarian approach to learning English, and an acceptance of the limited value of the Mother tongue in the present day and age. At the same time, he more than his sister is exposed to the racial hostility of his English peers and reacts to this by returned hostility and a certain withdrawal into his own race peer group, where increased use of the Mother tongue is a marker of group solidarity. The girl, on the other hand, may tend to cling to traditional views of religion and cultural/language loyalty. Because she experiences less overtly racial hostility she may make more friendships with her English peers. But this may well influence her in the direction of the modern "liberated" young woman, make her think her family is old-fashioned and lead to direct conflict over the crucial issue of marriage. Once again the tentative nature of these conclusions must be emphasised considering the lack of solid evidence and the overwhelming feeling expressed on these questionnaires that young Asians are very positive about their traditional way of life.

Factor two is weighted heavily on Pakatt, Loyalty, Cultatt, ModMT (negative), Culchange (negative), and FamResp. It seems clear that this factor is a measure of racial group loyalty. A respondent who is favourable to Asians on Pakatt is also likely to like his M.T., to react favourably to his Own Asian culture, to be against too much change in the Asian way of life or extinction of the Mother tongue, and to have the traditional respect for authority in the family.

Factor three is heavily weighted on FamOf, Culchange and Goraatt. A respondent who thinks his family is old-fashioned is also likely to acknowledge the need for change in the Asian way of life and also be negative towards English people. This seems to be another contradiction like those on Factor One (above.)

<u>Factor 4</u> is not obviously identifiable.

<u>Factor 5</u> is heavily weighted on Educatt, GenUse and Cultatt. Those who are
favourable to education are likely to be favourable to Asian
culture and use the Mother tongue a lot (Does this mean that those
who become most integrated into English life will lose their desire
for education?).

<u>Factor 6</u> Weights heavily on FamHap, Fam Resp and Relcom.   Those who express
their happiness with their family are likely to respect traditional
authority and be religiously committed.

<u>Factor 7</u> is weighted heavily on Famtalk and Genuse. The use of Mother tongue
within the family, and personal Mother tongue use, are clearly
positively correlated.

FUTURE PLANS

During the next three or so years it is anticipated that a large amount
of follow-up and new work will be undertaken. Obviously there are a large number
of loose ends and pieces of evidence requiring confirmation at the present stage
of the work. Most of the future development of the work will be in the elabor-
ation, and wider application of the matched guise technique through the indexes
created on the other two questionnaires will be reworked into a shorter question-
naire to be completed by any future respondents to matched guise experiments as
a way of comparing and controlling different groups for basic attitude patterns.

Loose Ends on the Match Guise Experiment

The biggest difficulty discovered in the course of the matched guise
experiment has been the problem of identification of a voice as representative
of a particular sociolinguistic group. Closely related to this is the question
of whether a listener identifies with the speaker as "like me" or "different
from me". It may be that the linguistic stimulus (merely counting numbers) was
insufficient for closer identification of sociolinguistic origin. And as at a
future stage we anticipate undertaking matched guise experiments involving free
speech with variation in content, it might be very useful at the next immediate
stage to design a matched guise experiment using connected speech of neutral
content. The questionnaire design would be slightly modified to include extra
questions and eliminate unproductive ones. The same range of "voices" should be
tested again to see if stereotyping patterns are basically stable. Identification

of origin of speaker could perhaps best be tested by multiple choice visual stimuli (say slides of a number of people appropriately coloured and dressed where the listeners had to guess which one was the speaker). This experiment might also be a chance to test out some of the directly matched "voices" which have not yet been compared directly, e.g. Cockney/RP. Presuming this experiment gave us consistent results, we could then go on to investigate the interaction of Speaker and Message (probably in two parallel lines for Asians and English listeners respectively).

SPEAKER AND MESSAGE. SOME POSSIBLE LINES OF APPROACH

Assuming the transitional experiment provides clear confirmation of a stable stereotyping pattern for the key types of speaker and listener in our Newham situation, it will then be possible to go forward and investigate how different "voices" have different effects when it comes to communicating value loaded messages. In the context of my own work as an Urban Missionary/Christian Community worker in Newham, I shall be particularly interested in how different types of "voice" interact with different types of religious message. It has been assumed, for instance, that some of the Church's failure to communicate the gospel effectively to working-class Cockneys has been attributable to the wide social divisions between church leaders/members and their potential flock. As soon as the average vicar opens his mouth he identifies himself as an outsider from the local community and gets the "it's O.K. for you mate, but this religion thing ain't for the likes of us" reaction. Mutatis mutandis this becomes the classic missionary problem of the European missionary trying to communicate with the Sikh or Hindu in India or indeed Newham.

Some work has already been done adapting the matched guise technique to studies of persuasive speech. (See Giles and Powesland, "Speech Style and Social evaluation", Chapter 6). Working along these lines it should be possible to set up a series of experiments to investigate which kind of speech is the most persuasive to each social group when carrying a religious or other value loaded message.

It would seem simplest to set up two parallel series of experiments one aimed at Asian listeners one at Cockney listeners. In table form we might need to deal with all the following variables:-

1) Listener variables.

    1) RACE   English   Asians

    2) Sex   Boy/girl   Boy/girl

    3) Class   Working/Middle
                   (control group
                     out of Newham)   -

    4) Language/Religious group   Muslim/Urdu,Punjabi/Sikh,Gujerati/Hindu.

2) Speaker variables.

    a) SEX   male/female   Male/female. (This variable either
                                 to be ignored or to call for repeat
                                 series of experiments).

    b) Language   English   English/Hindustani.

    c) Dialect/accent   Cockney/Rp   RP/Cockney/Indian//Punjabi/Urdu/
                                           Gujerati.

    d) Style/code/formality   ??   ??

    e) Correct Identification   trust this can be sorted out.
        of speaker's origin

3) Message variables.

    a) Content   pro or anti religion   pro/anti Christian

    b) Compatability   Cockney compatible   Hindustani incompatible
        with speech   with anti religion etc.   with Christianity

    c) Style of presentation   personal testimony/
                                     didactic.

(At least one more type of message content would be needed for comparison. Educational attitudes might be a good area to investigate as there are clearly defined views on the subject which correlate well with relivious views).

Questionnaire design would need to be considerably modified from the present sementic differential scales and pre/post listening attitude scales would be needed to measure any success in persuasion. Obviously a fully factorial experimental design accounting for all the variables named above

would be impossible, but there is every reason to believe some of the variables can be ignored or conflated so as to produce more realistic experimental design.

This paper is only intended to give a general outline of preliminary results and to suggest some further areas for investigation. It is being circulated at the present moment, mainly in the hope of stimulating discussion on the issues raised, and I will be glad to receive any comments, queries or suggestions relating to this research. I wish to thank the London Borough of Newham Education Department, and particularly the staff and pupils of Lister and Plashet Schools, for excellent co-operation during the field-work so far completed.

No bibliography is given but the reader is referred to Giles & Powesland's book "Speech Style and Social Evaluation" which is a comprehensive survey of the field and contains and exhaustive bibliography.

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