

*Neither he nor they know the answer.* The accompanying table shows that for the negative preterite of *dare* there is a strong preference for the fully "regularised" form with the *do* auxiliary. The table also shows the wide scatter of forms obtained with the inversion question form of *Neither he nor they know the answer*. The test thus establishes both the preferences and the uncertainties of native English speakers.

The survey's main work is, as I have emphasised, descriptive. But clearly, like *oed*, it may well have prescriptive implications. For example, a teacher or a writer of a teaching-grammar might take note of the degree of uncertainty established by the survey about a particular form and on this basis give the advice that this form might, if at all possible, be better avoided altogether. To take another example, we may, Quirk says, "state the rules disallowing [the sentence *She is different than me*] by examining formal written texts and observing that *different* does not co-occur with *than* but rather with *from*, and so on. The rules that we turn round and prescribe to our students will then be in effect a statement of what acceptable usage is and a recommendation that those in doubt should adopt it." Prescription is thus not, as it has usually been in the past, aprioristic, that is to say on the basis of an abstract rule, but rather social-linguistic.

Initial financial support for the Survey of English Usage came from Longman's, the university presses of Oxford and Cambridge, the Naturmetodens Sproginstitut of Copenhagen and DSUR, but it has now been taken over by the government through the Department of Education and Science which provides £5,000 a year. Similar projects, based on the Survey of English Usage, have already been started in Germany, Finland and Sweden. Professor Quirk's survey is doing invaluable work, both as a description comparable and complementary to *oed*, and also as a basis for prescription far more enlightened than anything we have had in the past.

|                               | simply selected | selected hesitantly | selected then deleted |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| negative                      |                 |                     |                       |
| 44                            | 4               |                     | 1                     |
| 11                            | 2               |                     | 4                     |
| 5                             |                 |                     | 1                     |
| 1                             |                 |                     | 1                     |
| Operation: inversion question |                 |                     |                       |
| 15                            | 8               |                     | 1                     |
| 21                            | 5               |                     | 1                     |
| 1                             | 1               |                     | 2                     |
|                               | 1               |                     |                       |
| 1                             | 1               |                     |                       |
| 2                             | 1               |                     |                       |
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| 4                             | 1               |                     | 1                     |
| 3                             |                 |                     | 1                     |
| 1                             | 1               |                     | 1                     |
| 1                             |                 |                     | 2                     |

k and J. Svartvik (The Hague 1966)

# THE COLOURED MAN'S VIEW OF THE BRITISH

Race prejudice and conflict is a compound of conflicting impressions. Do coloured immigrants here see the white man clearer than he sees them?

The view popularly held by the white man about the coloured man in Britain is all too familiar. The latest agitation by Enoch Powell and Duncan Sandys about immigration reveals it all too well. But what do the coloured people think about the whites? Too little is known about it in Britain generally, and yet this is at least as important in any attempt to bridge the gap between the communities.

This article attempts to chart a profile of the coloured man's view. To piece it together I talked to 30 coloured people in and around London. I must emphasise that it reveals how the white man *seems* to the coloured man: it is a survey of attitudes, not of events.

I carried out my interviewing with a set questionnaire to hand, though I always made the tone of the interview conversational. The questionnaire gave a selection of adjectives—for example, *polite*, *impolite* or "normal" (ie, neither one nor the other)—for the whole range of activities that make up the white man's social and family life, as seen by the coloured observer. It also covered such public institutions as school and church.

For interviewing I used the phone wherever possible. (This is much less class-biased than among the English. Even working class immigrants like to be able to keep in touch with one another.)

I approached prospective interviewees with a reference from someone he/she knew, so I quickly established an informal relationship. With Asians I used the appropriate Indian language—Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati (for Bengali I had a helper). I saw quite a few of my respondents personally—particularly the Asian housewives.

I chose my interviewees to match approximately the composition of the coloured population in Britain (above the age of 15) according to occupation, age and national origin as given in the 1961/66 censuses.

They comprise: one college lecturer, one priest, one teacher, one stallholder, two nurses, one clerk, two bus drivers, one maintenance mechanic, one bus conductor, one progress chaser, one waiter, one hospital attendant, three labourers, three full-time housewives, three housewives/part-time workers, two housewives/full-time workers, one student/part-time worker, two apprentices, one unemployed school-leaver and one secondary-school student.

Out of 16 "Afro-Caribbeans," 15 are Caribbeans of African origin, one is West African. There are 14 Asians, including one from East Africa and another born in Singapore. Their average stay in Britain is about nine years. As more than half of them do not want to be named, I use pseudonyms throughout.

Let me make one point to begin with. The attitudes expressed by these coloured people are not simply those of *immigrants* (who happen to be coloured) viewing *natives* of Britain (who happen to be white).

For historical reasons the peoples of the Caribbean and of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent think in terms of colour, with respect to Europeans, before they even arrive here. The political control of the Caribbean islands changed hands so often among the European nations that for the African there, colour was the only distinction: the rulers were white and the ruled black. People from the British part of Caribbeans use the words British (or English) and whites synonymously.

India and Pakistan have also seen a succession of European nations. The words to describe them were *goras*—white men—and *farangis*—white Christians.

(Later the derivative word *Angrez*—from "English"—gained some currency in North India, but not much.) This differentiation continues in Britain today where the North Indians use *gore log* (white people) for the British and *kale log* (black people) for themselves. The Bengalis often use *shadha chamra* (white-skinned) and *kala chamra* (black-skinned). Hence the words "English," "British" and "white" are interchangeable among almost all coloured speakers in Britain.

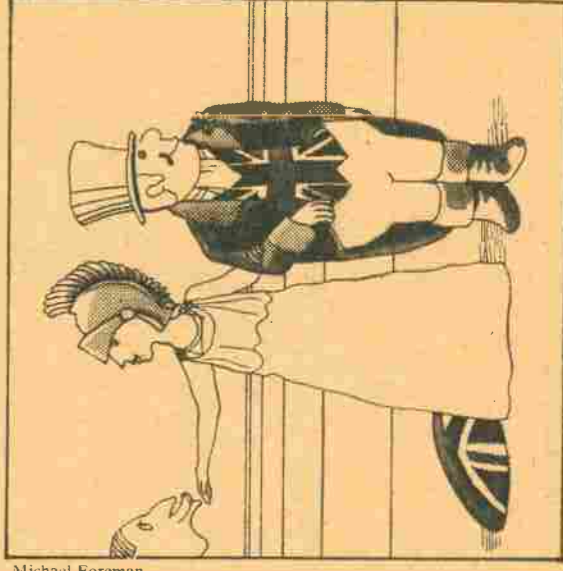
Only about one eighth of my interviewees make any distinction among the whites by ethnic origin (Jewish, Irish or whatever).

First, then, white family life. Four fifths feel that British marriages are unstable; the rest term them "normal." The Asian and Afro-Caribbean responses differ sharply. All Asians think British marriages are unstable but only just over half of the Afro-Caribbeans think the same.

"Every time you pick up a paper you see divorce cases," says Dilawar Singh Nijjar, an 18 year old engineering apprentice. "Economic independence of white women is the cause," says Rose Lipton, a married nurse of 32 from Trinidad. "If she can manage on her own, why should she adjust herself to a man?" And Gurdev Kaur Gabbi, aged 21, a Sikh housewife, says, "White women go for money. They leave one man and pick up another." "They marry too early," explains Abdul Kazi, an East Pakistani teacher. "They want to get most out of life—soon." And Hameed Baksh, a West Pakistani bus driver, says: "They take marriage so lightly: just a few pounds for a ring. That's all. For us marriage is a major event."

All but one Asian think that British marriages are adulterous whereas two thirds of the Afro-Caribbeans think they are "normal."

"White men and women go off with one another even when married," says Amrit Kaur Sondhi, aged 38, a Sikh housewife who works in a canteen kitchen. "Indian men are starting to do the same. But the Indian women are true (to their men)." Avtar Singh Ojagger, a 47 year old Punjabi (resident of Britain for 16 years), says: "Even if the white man knows that the girl he's marrying is unchaste, he does not mind. I know of a rich white friend whose wife is unfaithful to him. I asked him once how he put up with such a situation. He replied, 'That's her business. If I beat her I'll go to jail and she'd have an even better time than before.' If I knew my wife had been unfaithful to me, I'd give her a hiding. I wouldn't be able to



Michael Foreman

Dilip Hiro



per cent of the arranged marriages white intermarriage, Asians and show wide divergence: ten of the st it but only four of the Afro- of the Asians and ten of the Afro- at this kind of decision is up to the

ibbeans who are against such mar- y on the subject. "We don't want with them through blood," says a 34 year old college lecturer— sed. But see where it has led us: to s Martin Perkins, a 32 year old orker. "No: we must keep up the e." Trinidad-born Barry Andrews, nterested in them white girls."— s against inter-racial marriage but cept it for my sons. They're grow- ountry." Watkins, 34, is a father of

primarily concerned with the cul- i Bhandhani, aged 37, an Indian 'A white girl will find it difficult to of life . . . How sad it will be for to talk to my own daughter-in-law rns Punjabi or Hindi. Will she?" ssender, Abdul Kazi, says: "Inter- ill dispel fear and ignorance of on't know us at all. Through inter- l. I'll create better understanding

feel that there is less family loyalty han among themselves (30: 0); that e disrespectful to their parents parents are permissive to their lders (24: 0).

0 year old Guyanese widow, says: ; you hear SOS messages: "Will so- in touch with such-and-such hos- ther or mother is dangerously ill. rent and child have been out of This will never happen with us." gles out "mothers and daughters" who "have any worthwhile rela- born Ranjit Kapur, aged 28, de- at "in this country you can't beat a." Gurdev Kaur Gabbi is alone white parents are strict with their ve fixed times for play and sleep. not so strict."

le seen as "physically superior/the inferior"? Are they seen as an healthy"? The white man is 0; normal, 9) and physically "the r, 4).

aged 18, says: "We're no different hool the white boys pick on you And one day you get vicious, real them. So they think the coloured t than them. We are not." Hameed whites are healthy because "the care of them. We have to look [financially]. And our family starts and ends with grandchildren."

observer, the white male is "aver- 4; good-looking, 5) and "badly -dressed, 11). The white female is s (15; good-looking, 12) but well- l, 7).

ho has been in Britain since 1962, en are like hours!" (But he went to get married.) Kamala Shah, a lian housewife from East Africa, ur standards of beauty, they have r Indian housewife, Gurdev Kaur py of *Filmfare* (an Indian film hite neighbour "to show her how t stars are." Abdul Kazi thinks ear good-looking because "they ke-up."

: "Even factory girls wear good

dresses: they like to look good even when they're not educated," says Kamala Shah. "White men don't care about dress," says Avtar Singh. "Women do. I wish I had women's wear here instead of men's," he remarked with a sweeping gesture towards his market stall.

Eight out of the 14 Asians think the whites "physically dirty" whereas 13 out of the 16 Afro-Caribbeans consider them "clean" or "normal."

The whites are quiet (18; normal, 9), relaxed (18; normal, 9), formal (17; normal, 10), patient (18; normal, 8), individualistic (19; normal, 7) and clever (18; normal, 11).

Kamala Shah has a few white friends. She says: "With whites you make an appointment before you see them. With us you just walk in." The Englishman's quiet nature is disputed by Haider Saleem, a 27 year old East Pakistan waiter: "You should see them coming out of the pub—across the street from our restaurant. They make so much noise." Dharam Singh Kimboj, aged 17, agrees: "We shout and make noise because we're enjoying ourselves, having a party or something; but the whites shout and swear in the streets for no reason at all."

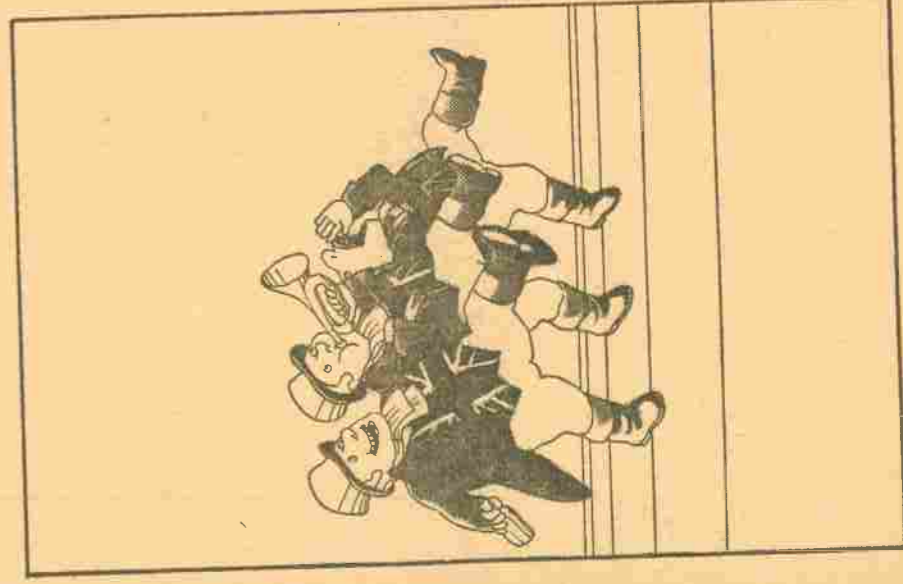
Ten out of 13 Asians think whites "polite"; ten out of 15 Afro-Caribbeans think of them as "normal"—ie, somewhere in between polite and impolite.

Lionel Reeds, a 17 year old unemployed school leaver, says: "So many of them look into space when you approach them in the street. They think we're from Mars."—"They're impolite people, and not only to us," says Martin Perkins. "Some of the English papers are already wishing President de Gaulle dead."

Gurdev Kaur Gabbi introduces a complication: "If you ask directions from a white man he'll tell you, or if he doesn't know he'll say so. With an Indian he'll tell you even if he does not know. That's worse than not telling."

However polite the white man may seem, out of the 30 say he is hypocritical. Whites are thought to be fairly inconsiderate (13; normal, 10) and very inhospitable (22; normal, 6).

"If you ask for help, they'll help: they'll be all for you. Because—I think—that makes them feel superior: helping us," Violet Spear, a 33 year old Jamaican nurse says: "But if you don't want help, they



## The coloured man's view of the British

don't want to know." Gurdev Kaur Gabbi says: "They don't ever open doors for Indians." On the other hand, Elsie Turner, who knows some white people, says of herself: "I'm particular which white people I invite home. We have to have common interests."

Half think that whites are untrustworthy (normal, 9), and almost as many that they are unfaithful (12; normal, 7) and corrupt (11; normal, 8).

"I trust the whites 45 per cent," says Rose Lipton. "The only white man I trust is the dead one," says Elsie Turner. Hameed Baksh says: "If a white man borrows money from you—a pound or ten bob—he'll never return it. If you remind him he'll say 'Haven't got it.'"

On corruption, Warren Watkins says: "Normally people don't think of buying themselves out of a bind here." But Hameed Baksh disagrees: "Corruption exists here. In the police. I've seen an Indian restaurateur pass whisky bottles to them. In the income-tax department. In the driving-tests. Also in getting mortgages." Avtar Singh Ojagger, who is 47, makes a distinction: "The whites are incorruptible to themselves, but corrupt to us."

When asked to compare British businessmen and shopkeepers with those in their home countries, half of my respondents call them "equally honest," and a third, "more honest." But those who call them "less honest" illustrate their answers: Gurdev Kaur Gabbi describes how she has often been overcharged because the white shopkeeper, looking at her Indian dress, thinks her an illiterate Indian woman, whereas she was at school in England.

Only about a third of interviewees think that whites, in general, are actually "dishonest." Abdul Kazi says: "My [teacher] colleagues are always advising me how to dodge income tax." Hameed Baksh says: "The whites at factories pilfer goods. Those at Gillette steal blades. Those at Ronson steal shavers. They sell them to coloured people . . . because they know that the coloured won't report to the police."

When asked to compare coloured people with whites intellectually, the Afro-Caribbeans and Asians reply somewhat differently: one Afro-Caribbean thinks whites "superior"; 14 think they are "the same"; ten Asians consider whites "the same" and three as "inferior." "If there were no language barrier for us, we'd be ahead of the whites in matters of intellect," claims Nazir Khan.

Twenty five out of the 30 think whites are racially intolerant. But outside the racial context, whites are tolerant (12; normal, 12), democratic (15; normal, 10) and law-abiding (14; normal, 10).

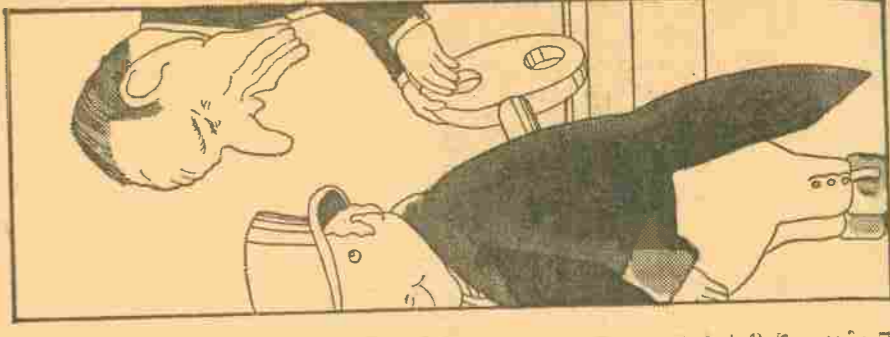
Peter Mayhew, aged 41, a priest, says: "History has proved that the English are tolerant people."—"With us the rich hate the poor; the whites have little of this," remarks Gurdev Kaur Gabbi. But Barry Andrews says simply: "How can they be democratic? All the whites are controlled by one man: Johnson." "They are not more or less law-abiding than us," says Jacob Williamson. "They have somewhat more efficient law-enforcement machinery. And a longer history of it."

When asked for an opinion of British justice, more than half replied: "Don't know." Of the rest, a third thinks it to be "better"; the remainder, "the same" or "worse."

The whites are judged to be punctual (26 thought this), orderly (22), businesslike (18), efficient (14), and technically advanced (18). But the whites are not thought to be good at hard physical work. There are stories of slacking in factories.

But what about school? Two thirds think that school discipline is "worse" than back home; and about two fifths feel that the teachers' qualifications and attitudes toward teaching, too, are "worse." (Remember that these are opinions. But they illustrate what the coloured man who comes to Britain expects of a school.)

Flora Meads, who had her education here, says: "The teachers' attitude here is 'Take it or leave it.' They don't force you to learn. Back home, if you



## The coloured man's view of the British

did not know something, the teacher made you repeat it or write it 20 times or recite it. Here they just don't care." The main flaw, according to Dharam Singh, is that "there's no pass or fail system here, as in India. If you fail at the annual exam in India, you're not promoted to the higher form. So, the teachers there take a lot of interest to see that all their pupils pass their exam. And pupils respect teachers." Hameed Baksh says: "In Pakistan, teaching is considered an honourable profession; here they have teacher shortage." Ralph Nickle, aged 35 and a clerk, says he has left his two children in Barbados for "real education."

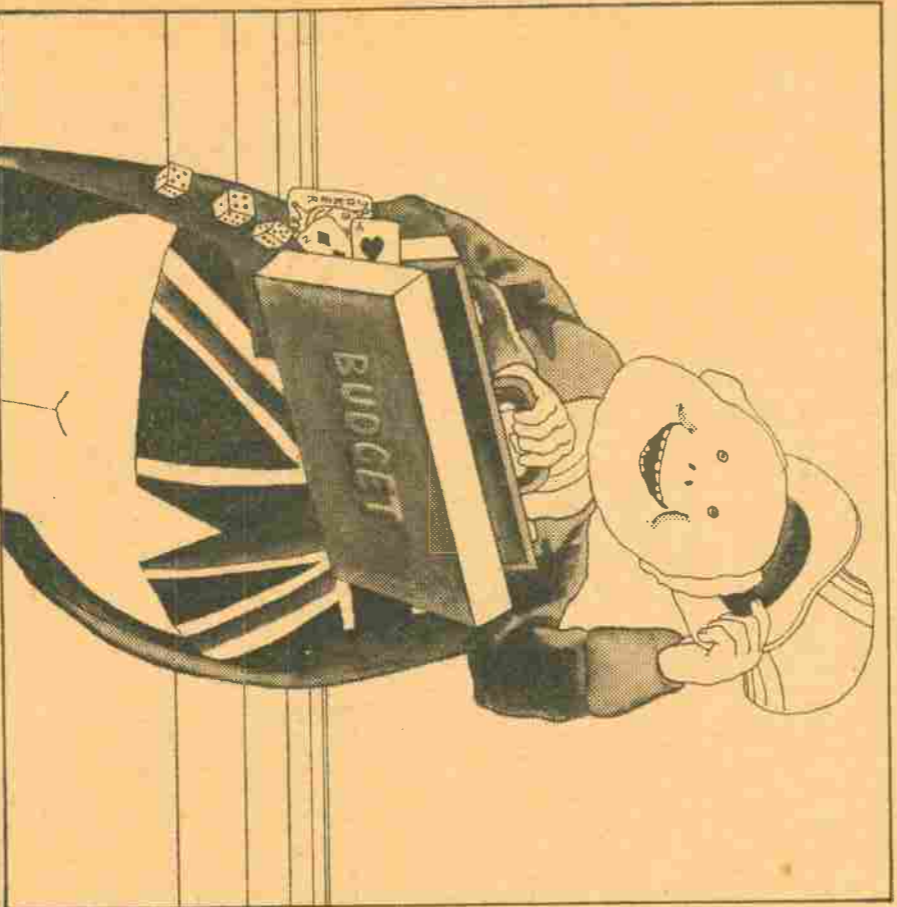
However, 70 per cent think that there are better educational opportunities than in their home countries. Dharam Singh Kamboj, himself a student, explains: "In India too you can go as high as you can go, but you have to pay the fees. If you're bright, you get scholarships. But in this country *anybody* can get a grant if he wants to go to a college." But Hameed Baksh, a West Pakistani bus driver, says this about his son: "He is at the top of his class, even in English. I told the headmaster that I wanted him to be a doctor. The headmaster began telling me how difficult it was: he'd have to do eleven subjects for GCE A-level; even then it was doubtful, and all that. I'm thinking of sending my son to Pakistan to do Maths there. It'll cost me £5 a month to maintain him there."

Only a quarter think that the education is "better" than at home. More than half think it "the same" or "worse."

"Their education turns out factory workers," says Ajit Singh Randhwa. But Warren Watkins sees the other side: "The education system is more practical here and more academic in our countries."

Seventy per cent think that the British do not value education as highly as they do. "They take it for granted: it's all laid out for them," says Violet Spear, in Britain since 1954.

On religious instruction in schools there is an equal split among "approve," "disapprove" and "neutral." But very few of the Asians approve, compared with more than half of the Afro-Caribbeans. With one exception (a "humanist"), the Afro-Caribbeans are Christian. The Asians are divided among Islam (5), Sikhism (5) and Hinduism (3), with again one "humanist for all practical purposes."



The Asian parents are obviously disturbed about Christian practices at schools. Nazir Khan, a Muslim, has instructed his children not to fold hands in the school assembly since it contravenes Islamic teachings. Ahmad Moosa, another Muslim, finds himself with more severe problems: "My two daughters in junior school would come home and say Jesus this, Jesus that; and I'd try to put them right. They think either I'm telling lies or their teacher is . . . So many of their story books are based on Christian history and teachings. They're trying to destroy our culture, our language. Each evening I spend an hour or so trying to wash [my children's] brains."

But does religious instruction in school make British children religious? Three quarters think not. And asked if the Christian "concept of God" is the same as theirs, less than a third of the Asians say yes. More than half of the Afro-Caribbeans think that the corresponding English churches are "worse" (in a general sense) than those back home.

"The RC church and other churches here have no warmth in them. They aren't lively," says Valerie Salkie. Rose Lipton says: "It's surprising to see how the *same* doctrine has one meaning for some people and another meaning for others . . . As a Roman Catholic I don't feel any nearer to white Roman Catholics, nor they to me. You're white or black first, and a Roman Catholic afterwards." But Barry Andrews says: "I'm a Seventh Day Adventist. An Adventist can go to another Adventist, black or white, for help and get it. This is the only church where black and white are equal."

Some of the Asians make perceptive remarks about white religiousness. Hameed Baksh says: "Among the whites only the Roman Catholics are religious." And again: "Only the soft-heads among the whites go to church," according to Ajit Singh Randhwa; "but the whites are always trying to spread their religion—particularly to us."

When asked to choose between "pleasure-loving/normal/puritanical" as a characteristic of white people, 60 per cent choose "pleasure-loving" and the rest "normal." There is a glaring difference between the responses of the Asians and Afro-Caribbeans. Only a third of the Afro-Caribbeans think whites "pleasure-loving" but four fifths of the Asians. "They live for today. Make money and spend it all," says Ranjit Kapur. Ahmad Moosa says: "They are so fond of night-clubs and things, that they don't like having children. Because children are a hindrance to their enjoyment of life."

Specifically, more than half the respondents feel that the whites drink too much; four fifths think they smoke too much; and three quarters feel they gamble too much.

"When the whites have time on hand, they rush to a pub. When we have time on hand, we spend it on cooking well," says Hameed Baksh. Elsie Turner feels that "Their economy is built on gambling." But Simon Ford acknowledges that "we'd gamble if we had the money." Kamala Shah does make a distinction: "All that gambling and drinking is done by the Irish, not the English."

I think it is probably safe to say that all these opinions, on a wide range of things, derive basically from direct observation and experience. Two thirds watch tv "daily" and the rest "sometimes," but none of them made reference to it while selecting British characteristics. All but one (an Indian housewife) have contact with whites at work or in school/college. Only 5 (out of 30) had social contact—in pubs, clubs, homes, dances—with whites outside of work. Half of the Asians knew the English language well; two, not at all; the remainder had some (understanding/speaking/reading/writing) knowledge of it.

It is clear that, in some things, the Afro-Caribbeans and the Asians occupy rather different "worlds"—coming from different social and cultural backgrounds, they have slightly different angles of vision towards the white man. But it does seem that the whites themselves make no distinction, in their dealings, between coloured Asians and coloured Afro-Caribbeans.

## THE HEAD

After the "age of Chadwick" came the role of government increased

When John Simon replaced Chadwick in his public health administration, much involved than a change of style or mood. a doctor, who quite deliberately retained ship in pathology at St Thomas's Hospital became an administrator: throughout his in close touch with the leading figures throughout the world. He was as committed to change in medical education as he was to the cause of international comparative observation and his encouragement of laboratory experiment contrasted sharply with the reliance on sanitary "commonsense" of eye and nose—and the ruthlessness of the human will in the interest of the good."

Simon gathered round him a team of "high qualifications and experience" in effect a new medical department of state with the investigation of general and special problems, with the acquisition of delegated powers in such matters as venereal history, going back before Simon to act in 1840 and 1841—with the regulation of pharmaceutical and medical professions, effective and extended local sanitary provision. Despite the mid-Victorian distaste for executive government, acts were passed, "the age of Simon" to regulate the addition of vaccination and professional organizations were many examples, indeed, of what has "severe regimentation in an age of individualism."

More important, however, than legislation included one major act of parliament: the cumulative momentum of administration for example, a small subdepartment of Office, the Local Government Act Office, 1858, influencing the pace of local sanitation. Simon himself approached central-local with sensitive shrewdness. He also realized as Chadwick that it was necessary to put problems both among experts and laymen. From 1858 onwards he produced *Annual Reports* on the nation's health, a series of annual classics of their kind as Chadwick's *Condition of the Labouring Population*. and wrote won the consistent support of and of most, though not all, of the former—Florence Nightingale and Charles the most notable exceptions—who worked such bodies as the research-orientated Sanitation Association, founded in 1857, a very different of pressure group from the Health of Town of the 1840s. The language Simon designed to appeal to the mid-Victorian ties. "In the great objects which sanitary poses to itself," he exclaimed, "in amelioration which it proffers to the physical and indirectly to the moral condition immense majority of our fellow-creatures the importance of all the other in its beneficent operation seems most in body the spirit and to fulfil the intention of Christianity."

Just as it is now possible to see "the Chadwick" in clearer perspective, so it is possible for the first time to appreciate the chance of "the age of Simon" in the history of health. There are five factors which must be taken into account, some limiting, others pushing what was still thought of as "the sanitary