THE SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF COLONIAL STUDENTS
IN LONDON
THE SOCIAL ADAPTATION OF
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with special reference to West Africans
and West Indians

A.T. Carey

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A.T.C.
Chapter I

PURPOSE AND POLICY
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1. The General Aims of the Survey

The chief purpose of the following pages is to indicate how Colonial students, and particularly those from West Africa and the West Indies, adapt to the social conditions of London life.

The number of Colonial students in this country has greatly increased in recent years. Educational facilities in the Colonies, especially as regards technical training, are still very limited, and if the peoples of the "backward" countries are to be given the opportunities for political and economic advancement which they now demand, their young men and women will have to rely upon outside aid for some time to come.

British official policy recognises the importance of training Colonials in the professional and technical fields; and it is also hoped that education in this country may have merits of its own: in particular, that the experiences of Colonial
students in Britain will help to improve relations between the peoples of the Commonwealth. At the same time, there has been widespread anxiety that in some cases, this process may do more harm than good. Do Colonial students, in fact, attain the objects for which they have come? Is their stay of value, not only from a purely personal point of view, but in creating a greater measure of sympathy between Britain and the Colonies? Or do the students acquire attitudes of distrust and suspicion as the result of their stay?

The first broad aim of this survey is to give at least a tentative answer to questions of this kind.

But the following is intended as a sociological study, and not as a purely descriptive account. For this reason, we shall have to concern ourselves with questions of a more theoretical kind. Analysis of the experiences of Colonial students in London is not possible without some reference to the problem of colour prejudice. At a later stage, we shall try to use our findings in a discussion of current sociological theory in this field.

This survey uses the methods of social anthropology in the study of a problem of urban
society. Anthropological methods were developed primarily in the analysis of small-scale, so-called primitive societies, and at present there is much discussion as to whether they may equally be applied to our own. It is hoped that the following will by implication at least, help to contribute to the current debate.

2. Some Preliminary Considerations

This last point immediately raises difficulties. For it may be objected that the methods of study developed in the analysis of rural communities are too specialised to be of use in dealing with the problems of more advanced societies, and that in attempting to use them for this purpose, we are going outside their legitimate scope. Social anthropology, indeed, is most frequently defined by reference to its subject matter: the study of primitive society.

Hence the present survey is, in a certain sense, based upon an article of faith. Our contention here is that the scope of a science cannot usefully be defined by its subject-matter, but only by its particular method of analysis: by the special way in which the practitioner of that particular
discipline has learned to look upon the empirical world. If it were otherwise, we should need, not only a different sociology for each separate culture, but a different system of economics, psychology, and of every other social science as well. We should then have to give up all hope of ever discovering anything in the nature of a universally valid hypothesis. Social science, in the sense of generalising about human behaviour, would not exist; instead, we should only have historical descriptions of unique and individual facts. But the aim of science, on the contrary, has always been to discover and formulate universal laws, and to use these in the explanation of particular events.

The anthropologist, accustomed to discuss and compare differences between societies and cultures, is naturally impressed by the divergence of human behaviour. He is consequently apt to forget that in the explanation of social behaviour, as opposed to its description, he must always assume certain basic similarities of behaviour between all men. In particular he must assume that human beings, although their ends are varied, will generally try to pursue them in a more or less consistent manner, with the least cost to themselves. It is this basic
consistency of social action which makes comparison possible, and which allows us to talk about human behaviour in a generalised way.

These considerations may be obvious and even trivial: they are certainly almost constantly being taken for granted. But they allow us to believe at least in the possibility of using a system of thought such as social anthropology in the analysis of every human society. In recent years, this view has become more widely accepted and many social anthropologists in this country at least, agree that there is no fundamental methodological difference between sociology and social anthropology. S.F. Nadel, for example, says that "in social anthropology, as it is commonly understood, we attempt to extend our knowledge of man and society to 'primitive' communities, 'simpler' peoples, or 'preliterate societies';"¹ but he later explains that "the conventional limitation of social anthropology to the study of 'primitive peoples' is no longer strictly true."² E.E. Evans-Pritchard is more explicit on this point:

"I must emphasise that, theoretically at any rate, social anthropology is the study of all

²Ibid, p.3.
human societies, even if in practice, and for convenience, at the present time its attention is mostly given to the institutions of the simpler peoples, for it is evident that there can be no separate discipline which restricts itself entirely to these societies."

On the other hand, it is still customary to define social anthropology by reference to its subject matter and to stress the fact that the study of "primitive" society calls for a distinctive technique. The reason usually given is that Western society shows a much greater degree of differentiation than do rural communities, and consequently the study of the more complex society involves special difficulties. This is true, but it is easy to exaggerate this point. For even the most "primitive" communities show patterns of behaviour and social customs of a variety and complexity that makes it impossible for an analyst to record every detail of the culture with which he is concerned.

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3 E.E. Evans-Pritchard: "Social Anthropology", London, 1951, p.10. Cf. also Talcott-Parrons, "Essays in Sociological Theory", Illinois, 1949, p. 40: "insofar... as its theoretical concern is with the study of social systems as such, there seems to be no reason to regard social anthropology as a distinctive theoretical discipline."

Nor is it particularly desirable that he should do so. The anthropologist attempts rather, to build in his own mind structures of a greatly simplified type, based upon the more important norms of behaviour current in the society under examination, and then shows these to form part of a logically consistent system of value and thought. These structures have a similar relation to empirical "reality" as maps have to a particular countryside. They show the most important — important, that is, from the point of view of a particular set of interests — features of the country and they enable us to "find our way about". They do not pretend to give a complete photographic picture of a stretch of country and by selection, may even in a sense be said to distort reality. In a similar way, the anthropologist's structures do not, and in the nature of things cannot, give us a complete picture of social reality "with nothing left out": only those features are mentioned which are of interest in the context of a particular investigation; and if the anthropologist's "map" is a good one, it should thereby help us to find our way about.

Once this is realized it will be seen that the use of anthropological method in the study of Western society, although it has its special prob-
lems, does not present any fundamental methodological difficulty. The feeling that anthropology is in some way suitable only for the analysis of "primitive" society arises, I would suggest, from the mistaken belief that in the case of primitive societies it is possible to give a complete and exhaustive account of social life — that the anthropologist, that is to say, provides us with a photograph rather than a map; whereas, of course, the analysis of even the most primitive societies constantly involves selection, abstraction and generalisation. Hence the methodology of the present survey does not differ from anthropological studies of a more orthodox kind as much as might appear to be the case at first. We, too, are concerned with the analysis of groups, and with the study of their behaviour. In our case, these groups consist not of primitive peoples, but of educated men in an urban environment. And we, too, must make use of abstraction, and talk about people in their aspect of being members of a group rather than about individual human beings.

In other words, we talk about "social persons". The concept of a social person does not refer, in this context, to some statistical average impossible to obtain in practice and of little use
in the explanation of social behaviour. By "social person" I mean that aspect of human beings which arises from the fact that they are members of a group. More than that, for the purpose of analysis I would suggest that it is necessary to assume that they are members of a group and nothing else -- since we are interested in social behaviour, with individual eccentricities and idiosyncracies left out. Ordinary experience tells us that this is not the case in reality. But the usefulness of the concept of social person (in our sense), and therefore its justification, lies in the fact that while it does not describe a concrete situation in all its detail -- and no generalised statement could do that -- it yet contains sufficient truth to make prediction of actual behaviour possible. The relation of this concept to empirical reality consists of the fact that the actions of a social person may be regarded as a limiting case of individual behaviour in any concrete situation, with the accidents and eccentricities left out. Since this limiting case is by definition the one which is socially approved, individuals will, other things being equal, tend to conform to it. When, in the following, we say that "West Indian students tend to do this", or
that "West African students generally do that", these statements should, unless otherwise stated, be understood to refer to the behaviour of social persons in the sense here defined.

3. The Concept of Social Adaptation

The theoretical focus of this study lies in the concept of social adaptation. This has been defined as "the processes whereby a living organism is fitted to its physical and organic environment."\(^5\) For our purpose, this definition is too general, and we must attempt to narrow it down. As a preliminary, we may define social adaptation as the change in the norms and behaviour patterns of a group of persons that follows a change in their social environment. A change of this kind may be expected to affect social life in two major ways: first, it may alter the internal structural arrangements of the group -- its system of leadership and social stratification, the positions of its members in relation to each other and to outsiders etc; and secondly it

may change the arrangement of the group's activities and the specific goals and values of its members. If this is accepted, we may define social adaptation as the way in which a group fits itself to a new environment by appropriate changes of its structure and organisation. 6

Social adaptation, in this sense, is a more inclusive category than social accommodation; the latter is usually so defined as to refer to structural changes only. At first sight, social accommodation would appear to be the more appropriate type of concept for our purpose, since it may be argued that Colonial students come here for only a limited time, and for a specific purpose. But at an early stage of this enquiry it became apparent that most students, particularly in the groups that primarily concern us here, expect a good deal more

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6 These definitions follow A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, op. cit., p. 11. "Social structure is an arrangement of persons in institutionally controlled or defined activities..." whereas organisation is used as "referring to an arrangement of activities." The two concepts are closely related but "when we are dealing with a structural system we are concerned with a system of social positions, while in an organisation we deal with a system of roles." Talcott Parsons, op. cit., p. 22, seems to use the term "function" in a sense closely resembling Radcliffe-Brown's concept of "organisation", so that alternatively social adaptation might be defined in terms of structural-functional change.
from their stay in London than a mere acquisition of technical skill. To some extent, at least, most of these students hope to learn something of the way of life of the people of this country, and to adopt such features of British life as may be of use to them in dealing with the problems of their own countries. This attitude implies a readiness to change certain values and goals, whether this is clearly realised or not. Hence it seems best to describe this extreme form of accommodation as a temporary adaptation to London life.

It has already been explained, in the previous section, that we shall primarily concern ourselves with the actions of social persons, with people examined in the aspect of their membership in a particular group. Social adaptation, a term describing the structural and functional change of groups, seems the appropriate concept for this purpose. To avoid confusion, we shall use the term "adjustment" to describe individual change: for this concept seems to imply a personal balance and a specific situation.

No inherent virtue is claimed for these definitions; others, consistently used, would serve equally well. But it may be useful to elaborate the meaning of our central concept, that of social
adaptation, and to show how it has affected the presentation of our material.

We have defined social adaptation as the way in which a group changes structure and organisation in response to a change of environment. It seems reasonable to assume that a settlement of several years' duration in an alien environment necessitates some degree of adaptation on the part of the group concerned. To study this process, we must hence construct a number of preliminary hypotheses regarding the nature of the factors upon which social adaptation is likely to depend.

Before we do this, however, it seems useful to deal, at this point, with a fundamental methodological objection. It may be claimed that a study of social adaptation is unlikely to yield fruitful results because adaptation is not a social concept at all, but depends primarily upon the experiences of individuals, particularly those incurred during early childhood. In order to study social change, in other words, we must concern ourselves with individual adjustment and not with social adaptation. The great importance of childhood experiences can hardly be questioned, and there is little doubt that they account for much of the variation between the
behaviour patterns of different members of the same group. On the other hand, it is important to realise that even psycho-analysis, in order to generalise, is constrained to make use of such abstractions as "the neurotic character structure", "compulsion neurosis", and the like. Some measure of abstraction, with a consequent neglect of concrete detail, is logically inherent in all forms of scientific activity.

Moreover, the theoretical focus of this study is to be sociological, and we are hence primarily interested in the behaviour of people acting as members of a particular group. It seems reasonable to hope that this approach will not be wholly unfruitful because people with similar backgrounds, who have shared similar experiences, may also be expected to show some similarity of reaction in dealing with situations of a novel kind. In other words, we may assume that the reactions of Colonial students to London life will be affected by their previous conceptions of this country, by the things that they have been taught at school, by the relationships between Europeans and Coloureds in their own countries, and by other factors of a similar kind. These may all be grouped under the general
heading of the social situation — that sector of the total social structure likely to be of relevance in this context — which confronts the students before their arrival in Britain.

Against these variables, we must then set those which confront Colonial students in this country: the structure of the social situation as it appears to students in London. Important variables here consist of such factors as the students' residential distribution, their college life, leisure activities, and in particular the attitudes of Londoners towards them. Since we are primarily concerned with the experiences of students in London, rather than with their life at home, analysis of these factors will comprise the major part of this work.

Finally, we shall have to consider the nature of the interaction between these two sets of factors, since the reactions of students to the London situation, for example, will in their turn affect the attitudes of Londoners. The two categories of variables here postulated, that is to say, cannot be regarded as mutually exclusive; they represent rather, a convenient classification of forces which continually react upon each other.

The presentation of our material follows
from this argument. The introductory chapters describe the general aims of the survey, its methods of research, and summarize some of the general characteristics of the student population. The chapters which follow deal with the system of expectations among Colonial students before their arrival, and describe various aspects of the social situation that confronts them here. At a later stage, we try to analyse the nature of the forces upon which social adaptation seems to depend, and to use our findings in a criticism of contemporary theories of prejudice.

4. The Problem of "Objectivity"

One further point needs to be raised before we go on to discuss the group to be studied: the problem of scientific "objectivity". It is a common practice, in studies of race relations, to claim that the social scientist is interested only in the description of fact, and that he does not concern himself with questions of value: for this reason, he cannot be said to be either "for" or "against" prejudice. Although this argument is advanced in good faith, it remains unconvincing. The truth is that a study
of prejudice could scarcely be carried out, if only for practical reasons, by anyone not sympathetically inclined towards coloured people. In the absence of real sympathy intimate contact could not be established, and much vital information would be missed.

How does this consideration affect the scientific status of the kind of study that concerns us here? Scientific enquiry does not rely upon the personal "objectivity" of individual scientists. The objectivity of a science arises, not from the personal attitudes of its practitioners, but from the fact that scientific theories are by common consent required to take such a form that anyone willing and able to take the necessary steps can convince himself of their validity. In other words, although scientific generalisations may have their origin in some form of personal intuition, they must yet not be based upon intuition alone. Anyone can, and usually does, criticise a new theory to the best of his ability, as soon as this is put forward. It

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in this practice which gives science its impersonal and objective character and which, by the elimination of some theories and the conditional acceptance of others, allows it to progress. The scientific attitude lies in a tolerance, and indeed an encouragement of criticism, rather than in the maintenance of some fictitious ideal of impartiality. The ethically neutral scientist, envisaged as a kind of bucket into which a muddy stream of new "fact" is continually poured, is a popular stereotype: but happily he is rarely encountered outside the pages of fiction.

In the field of race relations, the social anthropologist tries to study prejudice as a social phenomenon, and to describe its relation to the social structure of which it forms a part. He may also be required to comment upon the social consequences of prejudice, both as these affect the prejudiced and the group against whom hostility is shown, and to advise upon the possibility of remedy. As to the question of whether we should fight against prejudice, his opinion upon this point has neither more nor less value than that of any other citizen: for this question cannot be answered by scientific means alone.
5. The Group under Study

Londoners without first-hand knowledge of Colonial students tend to look upon them in much the same way as they regard other Coloureds; they seem to have difficulty in distinguishing between the different social and ethnic groups that make up the coloured community in this country. This affects their attitudes towards Colonial students; and in order to understand this it seems desirable to refer briefly to the position of students within the coloured community as a whole.

There are, at the present time, at least 50,000 coloured people in this country. This figure is probably an under-estimate. Accurate statistics are not available, as no separate records of Negroes and other Coloureds are kept by the authorities. Estimates vary considerably, and as high a figure as 75,000 has been quoted. But on the whole it seems unlikely that the size of the coloured population exceeds 60,000 or is less than 50,000 persons.

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8 Coloured Peoples in Britain, Bow Group Pamphlet, July 1952.
Despite a wide-spread impression to the contrary, coloured people in Britain do not represent a homogeneous community. From the point of view of cultural background and ethnic affiliation, they show a much greater range of variation than the British. They come from countries as far apart as Pakistan and the West Indies, West Africa and Ceylon. In addition to ethnic and cultural differences, there is much variation of social class and economic and professional status among them.

From the point of view of class structure, the coloured people of this country fall into three fairly well-defined categories. By far the largest consists of coloured workers and seamen; and this probably accounts for about 40,000 people. This category also shows considerable variation, comprising on the one extreme seamen temporarily resident in various ports of the kingdom, and on the other old-established and permanently-settled skilled workers who have adjusted themselves to British life to a much higher degree. These people are mainly Negroids, the majority from West Africa, Somaliland and the West Indies. They are almost exclusively
found in the urban areas of Britain, and until recently they were largely concentrated in four of its main ports. There they tended to form small communities of their own.

At the other extreme of the social scale, we find a small category of coloured professionals and entertainers. Numerically, these form only a small percentage of the coloured population, probably less than one-half per cent; but their function as a social elite gives them a greater importance than their numbers would suggest.

Half-way between these extremes, there is a category that may be regarded as the "middle-class" of the coloured community: the coloured students temporarily resident in Britain. There are probably about 11,000 of these in this country at the present time, and this is a conservative and ever-rising figure. Of these 11,000 nearly 3,000 come from countries outside the British Commonwealth, another 3,000 are from India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and about 5,000 come from the British Colonies. West Africa alone supplies a contingent of over 2,000 students, and the West Indies come next with over 1,000.

This category is numerically smaller than that of the workers, and it is not as much in the
public eye as the coloured social elite; yet it is probably the most important of the three. Students normally come here during their most formative years, and their experiences in Britain are likely to be of lasting significance; while politically they are probably the most self-conscious of the three categories. This term is here used in its widest sense: not all of the students are greatly interested in party politics, but most are acutely aware of the changing position of their countries in the modern world, and particularly of the status of the Colonies in relation to the Mother-country. This tends to make them particularly sensitive about their experiences in London. Many of the coloured workers, again, have long been settled in Britain, and have married British wives; to a greater or lesser extent, they have tended to identify themselves with the British community. In a similar sense, many of the coloured social elite may be regarded as expatriates. It is different with the students: most do not intend to stay here once their courses are finished. Hence they regard themselves as representatives of the Colonial countries, rather than as residents of this; and they look upon the
way in which they are treated here as an expression of the relations between Britain and the Colonies. Moreover, if the experience of countries such as India may be taken as a guide, they must probably be regarded as the category from which the future leaders and intellectuals of the Colonies will be recruited. Only the future can show whether this assumption is justified. If it is, future relations between the Commonwealth countries will to a large extent depend upon their opinions and experiences.

Of the 5,000 Colonial students in this country, over half are living in London. But London is important as a centre of Colonial student life, not only because of the great number of students who live there, but because it contains the most important of the students' unions and other organisations that have an important influence upon the climate of student opinion. In London also are the largest hostels catering for Colonials, enabling easy contacts to be maintained between them; and hardly any of the Colonial students in this country will omit to come to London at least once during their stay. London is hence of considerable importance as a centre of student life; and it supplies the
natural setting for a study of social relationships between Colonial students and the people of this country — relationships that may well have an important bearing upon the future of the Commonwealth.
Chapter II

FIELD WORK PROCEDURE
FIELD WORK PROCEDURE

Among the more deplorable features of recent sociological writing is a habit of engaging, at times at ludicrous length, upon discussion of the various techniques and procedures that social research may employ. Debates on this subject usually deal with questions such as whether informants should be interviewed once, or upon repeated occasions; whether "participant observation" is to be preferred to a more formal interview, and other problems of a similar kind. These discussions are generally put forward under the heading of "methodology", although in truth they have little to do with any of the fundamental logical problems of the science; for the most part they raise questions that might well be settled by a moment's thought and a modicum of common sense. Their incredible tedium apart, these debates are to be regretted for another reason: they deflect attention from the many real and important problems of sociological method that badly stand in need of argument; and they give a spuriously "scientific" air to proceedings which in consequence raise expectations among inexperienced
readers that are unlikely to be fulfilled. More often than not, an impressive theoretical elephant will be found to have given birth to a mouse.

If, in the following, we make reluctant concession to the current fashion it is because, where problems of race relations are concerned, there is some justification for this course. In a field of study likely to arouse emotion, there is something to be said for letting the reader know, as briefly as is possible, by what means the generalizations advanced have originally been obtained. This is the purpose of the following account.

1. Contacts with Informants

On beginning this survey, my first step was to read the material published in this and related fields. This yielded valuable background information; but studies of race relations in this country are comparatively rare, and it soon became clear that they could only offer guidance of the most general kind.

For this reason it seemed important to make personal contact with Colonial students at an early date, and to become friendly with as many of them as was possible. This proved more difficult than might
be expected. With one exception, the writer had no friends among Colonials, and this meant that entirely new relationships had to be created. The general aim was to make friends in a normal way, by talking to people, discovering common interests and so on. But the role of an investigator, in a situation of this kind, is of necessity different from that of a personal friend. In the usual way, friends are made by a casual process of trial and error that contains a large element of chance; and this is a very gradual procedure. In sociological research, there is not time for all this, and the student must use such short cuts as are available.

To this difficulty must be added the bitterness and suspicion of many Colonial students in matters where race relations are concerned. It was early decided, for reasons of expediency no less than of ethics, to be quite frank about the aims of this survey, and to avoid giving the impression that contacts were made for reasons of personal friendship alone. It is important to realise that many Colonials have little contact with any but their own countrymen. When an outsider shows a real interest in their affairs, they are agreeably surprised; but if later this turns out to be merely a matter of professional concern, resentment is likely to follow.
Colonial students, moreover, are at times very ready to suspect prejudice where it does not exist, and the newcomer may unwittingly cause offence. On one occasion, for example, the writer happened to refer to "primitive" art in the course of general conversation, only to find resentment at this term. Admittedly this is not a typical example, but it illustrates the need for tact. Another time, he was in the company of a West African student when two American soldiers accidentally jostled them in the street. They apologised, and it was plain that no offence had been intended. Yet the student in question became very angry, threatened violence, and luck only prevented an unpleasant scene. It seemed an ominous portent; but happily the incident was not repeated.

On both occasions, as it later turned out, I had been dealing with quite atypical informants. These had been contacted at a social club patronized by the more embittered and socially isolated kind of student. Later on, this proved to be an advantage, for it allowed me to contact a type of student not usually found at British Council dances and similar affairs — social occasions that represent the easiest means of meeting Colonials.

All these difficulties were greatly eased
after I had taken part in a vacation course organised by the British Council. Nearly all the participants were Colonial students and, living with them at close quarters, it was easy to make friends. Some of these contacts survived the end of the holidays, and the people concerned later helped to introduce others. In this way a circle of acquaintances was gradually built up, with whom it was possible to converse freely on most subjects. But the number of people whom one can reach in this way is clearly limited, since it depends on personal and often accidental factors.

My general intention, at this stage, was to take part in the students' activities without asking too many direct questions. This helped to increase the number of informants, and much useful incidental information was obtained in this way. But the method had grave defects. It was liable to rouse suspicions: many students are fully convinced that Colonial Office "spies" regularly report on their activities; and on some occasions, the presence of a European in places mostly frequented by Coloureds was enough to cause surprise. Another disadvantage was the considerable waste of time that this procedure involved. Even Colonial students do not spend all their time talking about race relations; and much of
their conversations covered topics of secondary interest to this enquiry.

My next step, accordingly, was to approach informants individually, and to engage them in conversations of greater relevance. Informal interviews were an improvement upon "participant observation", as the procedure already reported is sometimes described. At this stage, no attempt was made to keep the conversation along strictly relevant lines, and the writer would often find, on later reflection, that he had omitted to ask the most pertinent questions. All these informal methods have the merit of allowing one to deal with a large number of people in a brief space of time, and they have the further advantage of spontaneity. The danger is one of collecting great masses of rather superficial information from an ever-growing number of people -- a procedure that soon loses its point. A second disadvantage is that much of the information obtained in this way tends to be unorganised, and cannot easily be used for purposes of comparison. It soon became clear that a more formal type of interview was needed to supplement the methods already described.
2. The Guided Interview.

On the other hand, it was obvious, by this time, that a completely formal interview would not serve my purpose. Such an interview is unlikely to elicit spontaneous replies, and much valuable information is thereby lost. Moreover, technical reasons precluded the use of such a technique. About one-quarter of the informants were interviewed in conditions of strict privacy; but this necessitated much preliminary arrangement, and consumed too much time to be adopted as a general practice. The majority of informants were interviewed in Colonial students' hostels, in restaurants, and at social functions of various kinds. In these circumstances, it would have been extremely difficult to use a very formal approach. This must probably be regarded as a shortcoming of this study; for there can be little doubt that the best results can only be obtained under conditions of privacy. Where others are present, Colonial students seem less eager to speak their own minds; but clearly no definite rule can be made in a matter depending upon the personal feelings of the observer no less than upon those of the observed.

The method finally adopted essentially consisted of the following. The writer approached
prospective informants and engaged them in general conversation. Once confidence had been established, he would inform them of the aim of this survey, and ask whether they would be willing to answer a few questions. Once their initial suspicions had been allayed, the great majority of students seemed anxious to co-operate. The conversation was then directed along the lines indicated in the questionnaire. Experience showed that it was not desirable to make notes during the interview; this made informants unduly self-conscious, and lent an air of excessive gravity to the proceedings. Instead, brief notes were made at the end of the interview, and these were greatly expanded at the earliest possible time.

Our questionnaire, then, was primarily designed as a general guide; it proved very helpful in keeping the conversation upon relevant lines, and ensured that none of the more important questions were missed. For this reason, the questions were framed in as brief and general a way as was possible, even where this involved some sacrifice of precision. In practice, any doubtful matters could easily be cleared up in the course of conversation, and students almost always volunteered additional information of

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1 A more formal use was made of this questionnaire in respect of students who were interviewed privately, i.e. about one-quarter of the total.
their own.

The questionnaire shown at the end of this chapter will be seen to fall into six sections. The purpose of most of the questions is plain and requires no further comment, but a few stand in need of elaboration. At the head of the questionnaire appears a general statement of the aims of this survey. This was not read out to informants as it stands, but a similar explanation, in greater detail, was given in the course of preliminary conversation. Section I contains a number of general questions designed for comparative use at a later stage. Only one of these needs further comment, that dealing with the "status" of students: this refers to the position of an informant as a sponsored, unsponsored or private student. The meaning of these terms is elsewhere explained.\(^2\)

The first three questions of section II must be treated with reserve. The aim of the first, as it was originally intended, was to examine the relation between degrees of social adaptation and various childhood experiences likely to inhibit emotional stability. But experience showed what should have been apparent on reflection: that this type of

\(^2\)Cf. below, Ch. III.
approach, although doubtless of value in a homogeneous environment, could hardly be of much use in a study of the present kind. One need only think of the differences between the social and cultural conditions obtaining in a Nigerian town, a Malayan village, and an East African hamlet, to see the nature of the difficulty. The death of a parent, for example, clearly has quite different implications in an urban society, as compared to one with a close web of social and kinship ties. Hence no use was made of these questions for comparative purposes, although they were retained as a check upon obvious cases of instability. Similar remarks apply to the second and to the third questions in this section, dealing with size of family and position therein.

Question four, dealing with the nationality composition of schools, elicited some interesting replies. It refers primarily to societies such as Cyprus or the West Indies rather than to the ethnically more homogeneous cultures of West Africa. Question seven was intended to establish the degree of difficulty that an informant had in making friends in his own country; it is supplemented by question six of the following section. These questions represent an attempt, necessarily crude and imperfect, to separate the more personal factors from the
general effect of experiences in London. The questions were framed quantitatively, to allow a rough comparison to be made; but it is important to realise that replies were likely to be affected by the meaning that informants put on such terms as "friend". To some, all who have not openly declared their enmity are friends; others have such exalted views of friendship that none can live up to their ideal. Replies to questions such as these must hence be treated with considerable caution; but they were in all cases supplemented by much additional inquiry, and may thus retain some value.

Question nine, referring to religious matters, was framed in a rather indeterminate way in order to avoid cross-cultural difficulties that would otherwise have arisen. Question ten helped to elicit useful information about the informants' early notions of life in England. In the case of this, as well as several of the other questions, it would have been idle to expect any simple reply. The questions were meant to serve as guides only, helping to give the interview a definite shape.

Section III deals with the informants' arrival in London, and does not need any further comment. In the case of students who had only recently arrived in this country, this part of the
questionnaire was modified. The following section deals with some of the more important features of the students' experiences in London. The questions here make no attempt to cover all the ground, but are intended to encourage informants to go into any particular aspect of their experiences in detail where this is required.

Section V deals with social relationships in this country, and is particularly concerned with matters relating to prejudice. Questions of this kind were left at this stage of the questionnaire, to allow first a measure of confidence to be established. Question six is designedly vague; it deals with relationships between the sexes, a field that calls for reticence. This question was asked of male students only. Question nine is of a hypothetical character; it was designed to elicit the informant's general attitude towards matters of race. This also applies to question twelve. The question following asks advice for those about to come to this country. This brought varied replies, ranging from detailed suggestions on matters such as housing and information to the simple injunction: "Don't!" At the close of the interview, informants were asked to raise any further points they thought necessary. In most cases the ground had already been adequately
covered, but occasionally useful additional information was obtained in this way.

The method of the guided interview proved to be the best way of securing information. It involved a considerable expenditure of time, and consequently a loss of numbers; but in a survey of this kind, Stakhanovite tactics seemed out of place. In all, a total of 100 persons were interviewed in this way. One-third of these case-studies, suitably arranged and shortened, appear in an appendix to this report. In addition, another 150 students were interviewed in a more superficial manner, by means of casual conversation, informal interviews, and the like. This gave some useful incidental information, and helped to check the data obtained by the guided interview. Finally, some fifty British people were interviewed in the course of this survey, consisting mainly of landladies, students and persons in various official capacities. The study may hence be said to have involved a total of some three hundred persons. The majority were only interviewed once, but in a considerable number of cases repeated interviews were necessary. With some students, contact was maintained over long periods of time.

Those interviewed cannot be regarded as a statistically representative sample of the student
population. The only material from which such a sample could have been selected consists of lists kept by the Colonial Office. But these are incomplete, since many students prefer not to make their presence known to the authorities, and the information they provide is often out of date. An attempt to use a statistically satisfactory sample would have required a much greater expenditure of time and money than was available; and probably this would not have been justified by the results. On the level of the present analysis, significant similarities of experience occur even among a comparatively small number of informants. This is amply demonstrated by the material of our case-studies. In sociological analysis, the comparative logic of social situations is of greater importance than some mythical average that, in any case, has little explanatory power.

From the point of view of this study it might indeed have been better to focus attention on an even smaller number of persons than has actually been the case. In practice, every effort was made to select as varied a sample as possible, by contacting students at different colleges, meetings of every political party, and so on. Attention was paid to the ordinary run of students rather than to their
leaders; but for reasons to be discussed later, it was not possible to reach as many women students in the course of this survey as would have been desirable.

3. Other Sources of Information

The greater part of our material is based on direct contacts with students; other sources of information were of secondary importance. They proved useful, however, in suggesting new lines of inquiry, and occasionally enabled us to test the accuracy of the students' accounts.

Secondary sources were mainly of two kinds. The first consisted of documents and reports published by organisations like the British Council. These were used primarily for statistical illustration. This material had originally been collected for other purposes, but at times it was possible to adapt it. Examples of this are shown in Chapter V, dealing with accommodation problems of Colonial students in London. Secondary sources of another kind consisted of various journals published by the Colonial students' unions and similar organisations. These are primarily intended for student consumption, but sometimes helped to suggest new lines of inquiry. Similar
remarks apply to articles on Colonial students' affairs published in the British press, broadcasts and other material of this kind. There is no need to refer to these in any detail, since appropriate acknowledgment is made in the body of the text.

4. Related Studies

Interest in the effects of student residence in foreign countries is of comparatively recent date, and in the past such studies as have appeared have in the main been prompted by purely practical considerations. The following attempts to comment upon the most important of these publications; important, that is, from the point of view of the present study. It is not intended to give a complete account of all the work done in this field.

Most of the studies that concern us here have been published in the United States. One of the earliest of these, under the title of "The Foreign Student in America", was prepared for the Friendly Relations Committee of the Y.M.C.A. in 1929. This was chiefly an account of the influence of Christians and of Christianity on foreign students, but included

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some chapters of more general interest; these dealt with the cultural background of students, their response to American life and education, and their fate upon return home. The authors suggested that only when a country is at an "underdeveloped" stage, is there any real advantage, at the undergraduate level, in study abroad; once these countries have established training centres of their own, the advantage shifts to study at the post-graduate level.

Of more interest, in this connection, is a recent survey of the changes in attitudes, opinions, and ability to speak English, of sixty-two Latin American trainees who came to the United States for a year's study in agriculture. The authors found that the preconceived views of the students were reinforced by residence in their host country rather than changed by their experiences.

Equally interesting is a study of the attitudes of Indian and Pakistani students in the United States. The author found that attitudes towards the "American Way of Life" were more unfavourable at the close of the students' stay than at the beginning. He concludes that exchange programmes, designed to

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strengthen good will, do not always have this result.

Of particular relevance to this enquiry is a study of African students in the United States.\(^6\) This was primarily a fact-finding survey of Africans from north of the Union of South Africa, and south of the Sahara. The authors found signs of African students concentrating in certain universities, and this resulted in "their associating primarily with Africans and isolating themselves from the American environment." The questionnaire used included several interesting questions dealing with the effects of the American environment. A substantial minority of students complained of embarrassment because of discrimination or segregation; none recommended schools in the American South.

A recent analysis, from the point of view of a cultural anthropologist, was prepared for UNESCO in 1950.\(^7\) The author discusses some five defined aims of exchange of persons programmes, and six hypotheses concerning their cultural effects. He also stresses the importance of long-range cultural studies of change, and the importance of the comparative method for long-term prediction.

Mention should also be made of a pamphlet on

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\(^6\) New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, October 1949.

the history of "cross-cultural education" published for the Social Science Research Council in 1952. This is a historical summary of student exchanges, with particular reference to those involving the United States. The author goes into the history of student travel in some detail, starting with the observation that "Folk tales from Europe often use the motive of travel as a means of acquiring knowledge and experience, which suggests how deeply ingrained this tradition is". 8

Perhaps the most interesting of all these projects is a study of foreign students in the United States carried out by the American Social Science Research Council. For comparative purposes, students from four different social and cultural backgrounds were selected, and these included Indians, Japanese, Mexicans and students from the Scandinavian countries. "The choice of national groups was guided by a desire to obtain a range of cultural, racial, political, and historical contrasts as well as by such practical considerations as the availability of both subjects and competent and

interested investigators." The programme of research is scheduled to cover a period of three years and will include an examination of returned graduates as well as an investigation of foreign students in the United States. The general emphasis of the preliminary report issued by the Council is to stress the importance of the foreign students' socio-cultural background as a determinant of their experiences in the United States. The report also makes the important point that "the attitude toward his experience with which a student leaves this country may have little to do with the stand he finds himself taking once his feet are firmly planted on home ground. For example, what seemed to him to be a rather frustrating and not wholly satisfactory training experience while he was in the United States may be transformed in his eyes and words upon return, as he realises that the social capital of his American visit is enhanced if he treats it as a thing of great positive value."  

In Britain, members of the staffs of

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10Ibid., p.31.
Edinburgh and Liverpool Universities have been engaged in studies of the sociological factors assisting or impeding the assimilation of Colonials into British society. At the present time, these surveys have not been completed, and no comment upon their findings can be made. One of them at least, an investigation of Colonial students in Oxford, may be expected to yield interesting material for comparison.

The organisation known as "Political and Economic Planning" is at present conducting a survey of Colonial students in Britain. The exact nature of this investigation is not yet apparent; but it seems to differ from the present study in having a purely practical, rather than a sociological focus of interest, and it is less concerned with the analysis of social relationships than with the detailed description of organisations and institutions involving Colonial students in this country. A similar study, but concerned only with London students, was prepared for the University of Edinburgh by Mr. P. Garigue shortly before the present survey was commissioned. Both studies are relevant to our enquiry. They have been treated as published material, and information derived from these sources has been acknowledged in the appropriate places of the text.
Appendix: Specimen of Questionnaire.

LIFE HISTORY OF COLONIAL STUDENTS IN LONDON

EXPLANATION:— The Social Anthropology Department of the University of Edinburgh is making a study of Colonial students in London. They wish to find out how students are getting on, and what sort of problems they have to deal with. This sort of study is desirable not only from a theoretical point of view, but because it may be of help in dealing with some of the difficulties that Colonial students have to face. Your help in answering the following questions will hence be greatly appreciated. All information will be regarded as confidential, and the identities of informants will not be disclosed.

I. GENERAL

(1) (a) Country of origin   (b) Sex
    (c) Profession of father
    (d) Place and date of birth
    (e) Date of arrival in U.K.

(2) (a) (London) college
    (b) Type and duration of course
    (c) Status as student
II. EARLIER LIFE

(1) Please state if any of the following statements apply to yourself

"Before I reached my **fifth** birthday,
(a) one of my parents died,
(b) I was brought up by **one** parent only,
(c) I was brought up by a relative other than one of my parents, foster parent, guardian, etc."

(2) Size of family

(3) Position in family

(4) (a) Type of school (b) Qualifications obtained
(c) Did your school have pupils of a nationality other than your own?

(5) Please state your principal reasons for:
(a) Selecting your particular field of study,
(b) Coming to England for this purpose,
(c) Your choice of London as a place of study

(6) What sort of career do you hope to follow after you have finished your studies?

(7) The following questions apply to the period before you came to this country
(a) How many friends, of both sexes, did you have?
(b) Did these include persons of a nationality other than your own?
(c) How many intimate friends, of both sexes, did you have? (e.g. people with whom you would freely discuss personal, sexual or financial problems and difficulties?
(d) Did these include persons of a nationality other than your own?
(e) On the whole, did you find it easy or difficult to make friends?
(8) How did you generally spend your leisure time?
(9) (a) Religion
   (b) Did you take an active part in religious practices?
(10) What were your general ideas and notions about life in England before you came here?

III. ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND
(1) Please describe your first impressions of this country in general terms. (e.g. what sort of things did you find particularly interesting, difficult to understand etc.)
(2) Did you have any special problems or difficulties during your first few weeks in London?
(3) Did any persons or organisations assist you during your first few days in this country?

IV. LIFE IN LONDON
(1) Have you found it easy or difficult to secure accommodation?
(2) What progress have you made in your studies?
(3) In what sort of non-academic activities, in your college, did you take part? (e.g. drama, political societies, etc.)

(4) Please describe briefly how you spend your leisure time.

(5) What sort of clubs, societies, etc., outside your college, have you joined? Do you take an active part in any of these?

(6) (a) How many friends and acquaintances, of both sexes, do you now have?
   
   (b) Do these include persons of a nationality other than your own?

(7) During your stay in this country, have you generally found it easy or difficult to make friends?

(8) In what way have your general notions and ideas about this country been affected by your experiences in London?

V. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

(1) Please state briefly your own views about race relations and similar topics in your own country.

(2) Please describe your own views, on this subject, on the situation in England. How do your experiences in London compare with your previous
expectations in this field?

(3) Have you encountered any instances of prejudice or discrimination during your stay here?

(4) Do you think that other students of your own nationality have had greater or lesser difficulties, in this matter, than you had yourself?

(5) Would you say that students from Colonial territories other than your own usually have greater or lesser difficulties than your fellow-countrymen?

(6) Some people think that it is undesirable or difficult for young people to abstain from having close friendships with members of the opposite sex for long periods of time. What, in your view, is the best way of dealing with this problem while in England?

(7) Are you married or engaged?

(8) Did you become married or engaged during your stay in this country?

(9) Would you object to marrying a person of a nationality other than your own?

(10) On the whole, have your experiences in this country made you more favourably or less favourably disposed towards British people?

(11) If your attitudes towards this country have changed during your stay here, to what
circumstances do you attribute this change?

(12) What, in your own view, are the main reasons for racial prejudice and discrimination? What do you consider the best ways of dealing with prejudice?

(13) Suppose that a friend of yours was about to leave for study in England. What sort of general advice would you give him?

VI. OTHER VIEWS AND COMMENTS
Chapter III

SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE STUDENT POPULATION
SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE STUDENT POPULATION

This chapter describes the size and distribution of the Colonial student population in London, and refers to some of its general characteristics. We shall also comment briefly upon the development of Colonial student residence in this country. There is evidence to show that this goes back to an earlier date than is generally supposed.

1. Early Beginnings

The earliest record of the arrival of Colonial students in Britain dates from the beginning of the 18th Century. Robert Davis, a person of mixed blood, came to this country for education in 1710, and in return promised to serve as interpreter with the African Company for five years.\(^1\) In the years to follow, students almost wholly consisted of the sons of African chiefs and other notables in the neighbourhood of British mercantile settlements on

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\(^1\)In this section we mainly rely on the account given in Dr. K. Little's "Negroes in Britain", London 1947, pp. 186-9, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.
the African coast. Some arrived here as the result of missionary intervention, but most were sent by traders of the African Company, or came as proteges of commanders of ships. This trend was greatly encouraged by merchants who hoped to secure hostages, or to extend friendly relations with their African clients. By 1788, it is said, there were over fifty mulatto and other Negro children in London and the surrounding country. Their education chiefly consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic, and it appears to have been regarded as of only secondary importance. The main purpose of their stay, as envisaged by their patrons, was to develop friendly relations and to create business opportunities. Hence the students were often treated with a deference that might be the envy of those of today; and no expense was spared to make their stay here happy and successful.

Students continued to arrive, but by the end of the century their patrons' activities had become philanthropic rather than commercial. In later years, the industrialisation of the Western world sharpened the impact of Europe on the peoples of Africa and the East. In India, the native population gradually began to imitate and even to compete
with Europeans, and this supplied a powerful new incentive for study abroad. By this time the imperial order has been consolidated; at no future date was it to appear more permanent or secure: association with the ruling caste was consequently a sure way of gaining social prestige. Moreover, until quite recently even outstanding nationalists, in the earlier part of their careers, generally considered European ways and customs worthy of imitation. This is shown by the accounts of persons, educated in this country, who were later to achieve world eminence as nationalist leaders.  

In the years before the Second World War, India supplied by far the largest contingent of coloured students. The West Indies came next, and West Africa third. Table I shows that by present-day standards, the number of West African students was surprisingly small; in some years, it was only twice the size of the Mauritian contingent, despite the enormous differences in size and population of the countries concerned.

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2See, for example, M.K.Ghandi's "History of My Experiments with Truth", or Jawarhlal Nehru's "Autobiography".
### Table I

| Universities, 1930 to 1940 \( ^3 \) |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|                   | 1930          | 1931          | 1932          | 1933          | 1934          | 1935          | 1936          | 1937          | 1938          | 1939          | 1940          |
| India             | 1696          | 1737          | 1518          | 1250          | 1150          | 1075          | --            | 1313          | 1408          | 1350          | 729           |
| Malaya            | 49            | 32            | 35            | --            | --            | 30            | 33            | 31            | 41            | 55            | 38            |
| Mauritius         | 17            | 20            | 19            | 19            | 23            | 22            | 25            | 23            | 30            | 29            | 25            |
| East Africa       | --            | --            | --            | --            | --            | --            | --            | --            | 23            | 12            |
| West Africa       | 50            | 60            | 59            | 59            | 49            | 47            | 52            | 49            | 73            | 72            | 69            |
| West Indies       | 128           | 176           | 141           | 154           | 166           | 161           | 154           | 157           | 160           | 166           | 112           |

Relatively little is known of the experiences of the ordinary run of Indian students in this country; the general impression is that in the years before the war they were more troubled by prejudice than is the case now.\(^4\) But this may result from the increased self-confidence gained by independence as much as from changes in the attitudes of British people.

\(^3\)Compiled from figures appearing in the Yearbooks of the Association of Universities of the British Empire. It should be noted that the figures do not include law students, or those in technical schools. Gaps indicate that no returns were made in the years concerned.

\(^4\)For a contemporary account, see D.F.Karaka, "The Pulse of Oxford", 1933.
2. Later Developments

Recent years have seen important changes in the extent and character of student residence. The number of Colonials who annually come here has greatly increased, while the distribution of the students by countries of origin has altered. Table II illustrates the first of these changes, and Table III the second. It will be seen that whereas in 1939 West African students still accounted for only a comparatively small percentage of the total, by 1950 they formed nearly one-half of the Colonial student population. The proportion of East Africans at British universities has also increased, but to a lesser degree; by comparison, the proportion of West Indians has decreased, although their total number has greatly risen. The increase in numbers affects students of all categories, although to a varying extent.

The size and distribution of the Colonial student population in London itself is shown in Table IV. It will be seen that about one-half of all Colonials study in London, and that their distribution by country of origin reflects that of Colonial students in this country as a whole. The
Table II

Colonial Students at British Universities, 1945 to 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scholars</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>1390</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td>1449</td>
<td>1313</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private Students</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>1365</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2103</td>
<td>2496</td>
<td>3285</td>
<td>3841</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table III

Colonial Students: Distribution by Countries of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per cent of Total</td>
<td>Per cent of Total</td>
<td>Per cent of Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East and Central Africa</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Territories</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Colonial Office. This material has been arranged by Mr. R. Izard, of P.E.P., to whom grateful acknowledgment is hereby made.
### Table IV

**Colonial Students in London**

**Academic Year 1951-1952**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>West Indies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Areas</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West Africa</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>East and Central Africa</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aden</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somaliland Protectorate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Rhodesia</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyasaland</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zanzibar</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Far East</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarawak</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Borneo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mediterranean</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibraltar</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Helena</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>2551</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Compiled from lists supplied by the Colonial Office.*
figures given in this table cannot be regarded as wholly accurate; they were compiled from lists kept by the Colonial Office, and these are incomplete and not always up-to-date. But it is probably safe to say that there are about 3000 Colonial students at present living in London.

The reasons for these changes are complex and not always easy to assess. To some extent, they represent the effect of wartime conditions. The war interrupted travel between Britain and the Colonies, while Malaya and other Asian territories were under enemy occupation. The end of hostilities allowed large numbers of students to go abroad for higher education.

But this accounts for only a part of the change. A more important reason probably lies in the new conception, by the British government and people, of the future role and status of the Colonies; a change that may be summed up by saying that the idea of "Empire" gave way to that of a "Commonwealth". This did not amount to a complete change of policy, for the idea of eventual self-government, in theory at least, had long been accepted. But after the recent war, this was for the first time regarded as a matter of some urgency,
as a course of action to be put into practice within the foreseeable future. The electoral success of a party long suspicious of the traditional concept of Empire may have accelerated this trend, although the extent to which this is true may well be questioned.

The emergence of the Asian Dominions increased the demands for all kinds of experts, especially in the technical field; at the same time, it affected the motives of students who came here. Residence abroad no longer brought the prestige formerly gained through association with Europeans; while opportunities for service, and economic incentives, now seemed more promising than ever before.

In the Colonies, social and political advance was particularly marked in West Africa, where difficulties such as the presence of European settlers did not arise, and where the people, by comparison with other African countries, were politically advanced. In other Colonies change was less spectacular, but everywhere the end of war saw an increased demand for education.

It is important not to underestimate the genuinely altruistic considerations behind the change of emphasis in British Colonial policy. An important
aim of the Second World War had been to stop alien political domination by force, and to fight racial intolerance; and large numbers of people saw little reason to restrict the validity of these principles to Europe. The end of hostilities, moreover, altered the balance of power in favour of two countries which, for reasons of their own, declined to support the traditional forms of "imperialism"; the new colonialism, to be based upon economic and ideological domination, had not as yet become apparent.

But it would be quite erroneous to suppose that all these changes were, so to speak, imposed from above. Government policy has aided, and in some respect controlled, the influx of students: it has not caused it. The root cause of this influx undoubtedly lies in the increased political consciousness of the Colonial peoples themselves. This does not mean that all students who come here are necessarily inspired by ideals of patriotism and service; but nationalism has increased the potential value of higher education, and has thus stimulated the young men and women of the Colonies to acquire some form of academic qualification. This is shown by the great number of private students who come here, often at considerable
sacrifice to their parents or to themselves.

Since the end of the war, official British policy has been to further the political, social and economic development of the Colonies with, as an ultimate goal, the evolution of self-governing states within the Commonwealth. To this end, the Colonial Office recognised that it was essential that the peoples of these territories should be given the opportunity to train for posts in the professional and technical fields. The first requirement for this was to develop educational facilities within the Colonies themselves, and the post-war years saw much expansion in this field. In June 1945, a Report of the Committee on Higher Education in the Colonies recommended that several new University Institutions should be created, and put forward principles by which these were to be governed; it further established a Council through which universities in Britain were enabled to aid those in the Colonies.

Since then, two existing Universities, those

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7 House of Commons, 12th July 1950, Statement by Secretary of State.

8 (Asquith Report), Cmd.6647.
of Malta\(^9\) and Hong-Kong, have been strengthened, and a new University of Malaya has been founded. In addition, new University Colleges were created in the West Indies, the Gold Coast and in Nigeria; while Makerere College, founded in 1922, was raised to the status of the new University College of East Africa. These developments are reflected by the number of students who attend university institutions in the Colonies; in 1948 there were 552 of these; by 1949 their number had risen to 2779, while by 1950 it had increased to 2876.\(^{10}\)

There are many advantages in training Colonials in their own countries. For educational reasons, some forms of training are best developed against the background of local conditions; and this, moreover, saves time and expense. Hence official policy is to ask Colonial governments not to send students on scholarships to this country unless they are satisfied that equivalent training cannot be obtained locally.

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\(^9\)Some of these institutions are of considerable antiquity. Malta University was founded in 1769, Codrington College, Barbados in 1710, and Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, in 1827.

\(^{10}\)Source: "Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies."
At the same time, it is realised that only a proportion of those wanting to receive further education will be able to obtain this at home, and that certain kinds of training, particularly in the scientific and technical fields, will for a considerable time to come have to be provided in the more developed countries. And to prevent students from coming here would create a sense of grievance and frustration contrary to the general objects of present-day Colonial policy.

3. Sponsored and Un-sponsored Students

The distinction between officially recognised students and others is important, both from a practical point of view, and because we shall have to refer to it again in later discussion. "Sponsored" students consist in the first place of those who hold scholarships, bursaries, or some other form of award; and in the second of private students who have been recommended by the appropriate official bodies in the Colonies. All other students are "un-sponsored" and, as such, are not entitled to the various benefits available to officially recognised students.
This distinction may also serve to illustrate the procedure generally followed in granting scholarships and similar awards. The long term policy of Colonial governments in this matter has already been referred to. In general terms, this consists of sending a student abroad only where it can be shown that equivalent training cannot be obtained locally, and where the student has carried his education as far as is possible in schools and colleges at home.

Scholars are selected by official committees in the Colonies. These have the Colonial Secretary as Chairman, and include various officials, particularly those concerned with education; they normally also have one or two prominent unofficial members.

Table V shows the numbers of scholars and private students in London in 1951. It will be seen that there were about four private students to every scholar; the proportion of scholars is lower in London than among Colonial students in the country as a whole, where there are only three private students to every scholarship holder.
Table V

Scholars and Private Students in London

Academic Year 1951 - 1952

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scholars</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic Institutions</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including Medical Schools)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inns of Court</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Colleges, etc.</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Nurses</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>513</td>
<td>2038</td>
<td>2551</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The many types of scholarships open to Colonials may roughly be grouped into two categories. The first consists of the various awards made by Colonial governments. Some of these are open to all, while others are restricted to persons in the government service. The latter include Courses of Instruction or Study Leave intended for Civil Servants. Another important type of award is made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme. This was established in 1946 to allow Colonials to obtain the qualifications necessary for appointment or promotion to the higher grades of the Public Service and the teaching profession. The second group of scholarships include non-governmental awards such as British Council and Nuffield Foundation scholar-

\[ {11} \text{Compiled from lists supplied by the Colonial Office.} \]
ships; but many of these are not restricted to Colonial students.

Sponsored private students are recommended by Directors of Education, or by Student Advisory Committees in the Colonies. The latter consist of private persons, and particularly of Colonials who have recently studied abroad, and who are hence familiar with conditions in Britain; they also include some official members, to give guidance and support, and these provide a link with the Colonial Office. The purpose of the committees is to advise parents and students on the choice of a career, to ensure that students have the correct academic qualifications, and to advise the Director of Education on the priority to be given to each student for admission to the universities. From the student's point of view, this last function gives the committees a special importance; for while the shortage of places at universities continues, it is evident that the committees' advice may greatly affect his future career.

A student who is unable to gain official recommendation may still, of course, decide to come to this country. The exact number of unsponsored students in Britain is not known, but various
estimates have been made. The Colonial Office say that unsponsored students form about one-tenth of the total. But the British Council state that of all students met on arrival during the year 1950, more than one-third were unsponsored. Most universities and other training institutions refer applications for admission from Colonial students already in this country to the Colonial Office; and for this reason many students who come here unsponsored later seek to gain official recognition. A few receive this, but the number of those who are refused is not known. Other unsponsored students have no wish to attract the attention of the authorities but prefer to stay on, hoping to find employment, and to try to study part-time. Understandably enough, it is often students of this type who have the most difficulty in adjusting to life in this country.
Chapter IV

EXPECTATIONS AND ARRIVAL
EXPECTATIONS AND ARRIVAL

1. The System of Expectations

Colonial students do not arrive here with a blank mind: they have a number of notions and ideas, however vague and ill-conceived, that amount to a set of expectations about their future experiences in London. From our point of view, this system of expectations is important; for it seems reasonable to assume that it will to a greater or lesser extent affect the students' interpretation of their subsequent experiences. This is particularly so because many are of a comparatively mature age; and in view of the growth of facilities for higher education in the Colonies, this trend is likely to continue.¹

When one talks to these students, it is easy to sense their system of expectations; but it is more difficult to put it into words. The reasons for this are several. First, the "system" consists of a number of vague and often mistaken

¹In a preliminary report on "Gold Coast Students in London", K.B. Asante states that "from the composition of students we should expect a high average age, and the average age is certainly high. It is at present in the neighbourhood of 28, but the ages are not evenly distributed about 28. Only a handful are below 21 and some are over 40. A substantial number of ages lies between 24 and 26". 
impressions, rather than of a sequence of clear-cut ideas: the students' notions about life in this country are often as vague as those of most British people about life in the Colonies. Secondly, the system of expectations varies not only between different Colonies, but even among students from a more or less homogeneous environment. Thirdly, there is a serious lack of those detailed sociological studies which alone would enable one to form a clear idea of the students' earlier background and experiences. For example, it is very difficult to know what life is really like among urbanized West Africans of today. Anthropological studies of the conventional kind are of little help, since they deal with quite different conditions. For this reason, we have mainly had to rely upon the students' own accounts, and these are necessarily sketchy and incomplete.

Enormous differences exist in the social and cultural background of these students, but there is one factor that they all have in common: their status as Colonials.² Awareness of this frequently gives rise to feelings of inferiority, although the form in which this is expressed will vary according to personal circumstances, and with the general

²The following account primarily deals with African and West Indian students, since it is they who mainly interest us here.
historical and social conditions of each Colony. In one case, for example, nationalist sentiment may be widely shared and socially approved; in another it may still be looked upon as the badge of a rebel. Despite such differences, it is probably safe to say that awareness of Colonial status is a source of potential hostility that largely explains the ambivalent character of the students' feelings towards this country. But there is another side to all this: if consciousness of Colonial status gives rise to hostility, it also confers enormous prestige upon the Mother Country. Hence Britain is seen as the source of success, the home of the people who have all the mysteries of Western science at their disposal and who, in consequence, are able to rule millions of others against their own will. The lessons behind this success story are driven home every year in thousands of African homes, schools and villages. If the mystique of Western success is accepted at face value, the paternal element in the relationship between Britain and the Colonies assumes the greatest importance: students who take this view see in education a means of sharing the rulers' prestige. But even where the hostile component in the students' attitude is paramount, this will not affect their
desire to come here: for only by learning from the foreigner can they hope to defeat him in the end. Both attitudes, paradoxically enough, give rise to a demand to share in the life of this country; and both assume the existence of a close and special link between the Colonies and the Mother Country.

On arrival, Colonial students usually find that British people do not share their own view of this link; and they often express their surprise at the wide-spread lack of interest in Colonial affairs. "Most Londoners", as one student said, "know next to nothing about the Colonies, and find it hard to tell the difference between a Dominion and a Colony." Ironically, it is those students who have most fully accepted the official British view of the Colonial relationship who are the most likely to be disappointed.

Before we go on to describe systems of expectations in greater detail, it may be useful to give a few illustrations of the kind of thing that Colonial students constantly say. A West Indian arts student, for example, who has been in London for nearly two years, makes the following comment:

"On the whole, I don't think that I have been terribly mistaken about life in England. But I expected a more positive welcome from the
people here, and I was surprised by the ignorance of even well-educated persons about conditions in the West Indies. Like most of my countrymen, I was taught to regard this country as my own, and I thought of 'going up' to England in an entirely different way from travel to a 'foreign' country. I knew one or two people who had been here on short visits, and now I can see that they tended to 'glamorize' the place. Certainly, they played down all talk of prejudice, and so I used to think that incidents of this kind were probably the coloured man's own fault. But the following happened after I had been here for only one week: I asked a woman in the street to change sixpence for me, as I wanted to make a phone-call. She looked at me and burst out: 'Get away from me, for God's sake, only get away from me.' I didn't know what had happened. Had I frightened her? Perhaps I had behaved in an uncivilized way? It was only later that it struck me: the woman, and not I, had been uncivilized."

The earlier attitudes of this student towards Britain seem widely held among his countrymen. His unfortunate experience during the first week of his stay is not typical, but neither is it highly exceptional. Others have told of similar incidents. But most students first encounter prejudice during their search for accommodation. A Nigerian student of engineering, who has been here for eighteen months, has this to say:

"During my first year in London I was conscious mainly of a great feeling of disappointment. This did not immediately become apparent. The British Council met me on arrival, and arranged for me to stay at one of their hostels for a short while. There I mostly met other Colonials and had next to no contact with English people. My difficulties started when I had to find accommodation of my own, and then came up against the Londoner's prejudice. I was particularly angry because even quite uneducated
people seemed to look down upon me. In my own country education is highly valued; this does not seem to be so in yours.

Apart from these personal matters, I had expected London to be a much more beautiful city than it had turned out to be. I suppose most of my ideas about this came from the cinema, and the sort of things we were told at school. I was surprised to see dirty-looking streets, full of advertisements and confusion. The people too were not as well dressed as I had expected. My lodgings were none too clean, and all this did not fit in with my previous hopes. Another disappointment was about religion. I was educated at a missionary school, and the people there had given me the idea that England was a Christian country. But apart from the Student Christian Movement, nobody that I met seemed at all interested. It seems that Christianity is an article for export only, to keep us quiet."

Disappointments about religion are very common among Colonials, and are not confined to West African students. They will be referred to in some detail at a later stage.

The significance of the relation between the students' socio-cultural background and their immediate reactions to the London situation is brought out by the following account by an East Indian medical student who has lived in London for over two years:

"I see now that many of my earlier notions were mistaken. My ideas about the behaviour of English people were based upon my experiences with Europeans in my own country, and also in South Africa, where I spent several years. Although I had heard that English people are friendlier here than in the Colonies, I had not really believed this. So I was pleasantly
surprised. I was almost 'shocked' on seeing Whites in menial capacities, hearing them address me as 'sir' and so on. On the other hand, I had always been under the impression that the superior airs of European settlers in Africa, although unpleasant, were to some extent justified: after all, they were much better educated than we were. But in London, even people who are practically illiterate think themselves superior to Africans. Also, the Whites in my own country somehow give you the feeling that all Europeans live like gentlemen; this is certainly not true. In one way, the experience of equality has made me more bitter about life at home. The Whites are not so different after all: why should they lord it over us?"

Asian students, as we shall see, generally have less difficulty in adapting to London life than others. The following comment of a Malay law student, who has been in this country for just over one year, is of some interest in this respect:

"I had few contacts with Europeans in Malaya, and I never thought that there was anything in the nature of a colour bar. I was conscious of the fact that Europeans sometimes look down upon us, but I think this is mostly because they have been better educated. In any case, the Japanese invasion destroyed any feelings of inferiority that I might have had. I came here primarily for education, and otherwise did not expect too much. I had little difficulty in settling down. But this may be because I was exceptionally lucky in my lodgings, and have stayed at the same place since my arrival."

The position of Liberian students as Africans from an independent country is sociologically of considerable interest. The following remarks of a Liberian student of banking and accountancy,
who has lived here for over three years, point to the importance of consciousness of Colonial status for the students' interpretations of their London experiences:

"My notions about England were vague and limited. This is because when Liberians look abroad, they do so primarily in terms of the United States. I got my ideas about London mainly from the movies, and for this reason was a little disappointed. England did not turn out to be as modern and beautiful as I had thought. As regards prejudice, I had heard that there was less here than in the United States, and I don't think that I was mistaken. Colonial students often complain about this, and sometimes they see prejudice where it does not exist. But I am luckier than they are, for I know that I shall soon go back to an independent country of my own."

These examples are not enough to serve as a basis for generalisation. But they show the extent to which the students' earlier notions and ideas about life in this country affect the interpretation of their later experiences. Thus the Malay student, strongly conscious of the worth of his own culture, and unaccustomed to regard this country as his own, had little sense of disappointment; while the Liberian student seems to have gained a measure of confidence by his awareness of the independent status of his country.

The material of our case-studies, a number of which are shown in an appendix to this report,
makes it possible to describe the systems of expectations of Colonial students in a more general way. We first turn to the two major groups that interest us here, that of the West Africans and the West Indians; these are numerically the most important.

Unlike African students, West Indians have been accustomed to mix with Europeans from an early age. Many have been to school with Whites, and although few claim that parents of different races were on intimate terms with each other, the children themselves, especially in the younger age-groups, do not seem to have been very conscious of racial differences. West Indians of Negro descent are not particularly interested in their African origin, although many English people seem to think that they are. They regard themselves first as members of a distinct cultural group of their own, and secondly as citizens of a community historically and politically linked with the British people. The growth of West Indian nationalism has not prevented a very thorough adoption of European cultural norms, and students from that Colony quite genuinely look upon Britain as their ultimate home.\footnote{Among Jamaicans this is particularly true of the lighter-coloured, wealthier students accustomed to a relatively high social status.} They are particularly disappointed and surprised when English people treat them as foreigners, or when no distinction is made between
The attitude of West Africans towards this country is more ambivalent. On the one hand, these students have been greatly affected by the growth of nationalism, and strongly insist upon their own worth: in some respects, they have tended to assume a leading role among African students generally. On the other hand, they have also been influenced by the official British view of the Colonial relationship, and they are much impressed by Western technological success. The paternal element in colonialism is strongly resented by many students who, at the same time, constantly use it to justify their demand for participation in British life.

In the terminology of our introductory chapter, we may say that West Indians wish to adapt to the life of this country chiefly because they regard it as their own; while West Africans, on the other hand, want to accommodate to British ways insofar as this serves their desire for independence, or because they see in social participation a test of their own worth. In both cases, the systems of expectations which these views imply have little counterpart in the attitudes of British people, who regard these students as Coloureds and as foreigners,
rather than as the representatives of any particular country. Thus both groups are likely to be disappointed.

The systems of expectations of other groups approximate to either of these two patterns. East Africans, for example, differ from many West African students in that most have grown up in wholly rural surroundings. Many of them, moreover, have been conditioned by their earlier experiences to regard some measure of racial segregation as part of the natural order of things. Their demands for participation in British life are accordingly more limited. Another difference is that East Africans tend to interpret their experiences in Britain from a more exclusively racial as opposed to a nationalist point of view. Although most of them are fully conscious of the worth of their own culture, this awareness exists on a local and even tribal, rather than on a national, level. But recent events in Kenya, and tensions in East and Central Africa generally, seem to have promoted the growth of identifications on a wider scale. More so than other groups, East Africans express their surprise at seeing Europeans do manual work; and while the experience of equality is greatly welcomed, it makes them more conscious
than before of inequalities existing in their own countries.

The group of Mauritian students is sociologically of great interest, since it consists of members of several distinctive racial groups who yet share many significant similarities of experience. Unfortunately, relatively little is known of the general background of these students. Mauritians of Indian origin, who now make up the majority of the population, tend to regard that country as their cultural home. The rest of the population have strong linguistic and cultural ties with France and look to that country in preference to any other. The students' experiences in Britain, if anything, seem to promote this tendency.

The special position of Liberians as African students from an independent country has already been referred to. Compared with Africans and West Indians, Malayan and other Asian students tend to be more genuinely aware of the worth of their own culture, and less inclined to think of themselves as standing in a special relationship to the people of this country. Their desire for social participation accordingly tends to be of a more limited kind.
2. Arrangements on Arrival

An account of the students' systems of expectations, and of their first experiences in this country would be incomplete without reference to the official arrangements made for their arrival. The British authorities recognize the fact that Colonial students have special difficulties in adjusting to life in this country, and therefore provide a certain amount of help. The British Council acts as an agent of the Colonial Office in all matters affecting the welfare of Colonial students, and is officially responsible for helping them on arrival.

The British Council feel it desirable to acquaint students, as far as this is possible, with conditions in this country before they have actually left their own. In 1951, they accordingly issued a number of leaflets to all Colonial territories for distribution to students about to leave for Britain. The first of these contained advice about money and luggage, and described the procedure on disembarkation; the second outlined the arrangements for housing students in Britain, and advised what steps should be taken before leaving home; while the third and fourth of the leaflets dealt with
clothes for men and women in this country. The British Council also publish a booklet under the title "How to live in Britain", and this contains much useful and practical information.

In 1951, the British Council made a rather interesting experiment in Nairobi, in co-operation with the Kenya Education Department. This was a three-day residential introduction course attended by 17 Kenya students. Among other subjects of lecture and discussion were money, clothing, living standards, and the cost of living in Britain. During the following year, similar courses were arranged in Uganda, Nigeria, Singapore, Jamaica and Mauritius. In Aden an introduction course of weekly meetings extending over a period of six months was provided, and in a number of other Colonies steps were taken to give information and advice to individual students. But so far only a small minority of students has been affected by arrangements of this kind.

The British Council try to meet as many Colonial students as possible on their arrival. The following figures show the extent to which this policy has succeeded:
Number of Students met on arrival: 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1952</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Scholarship holders</td>
<td>713</td>
<td>995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Non-scholarship holders recommended by the Colonial Office</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Others</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>2214</td>
<td>2730</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The purpose of meeting students is to give them practical advice about such matters as time of trains, changing money and so on. In addition, the British Council help students who have not made alternative arrangements by offering them temporary accommodation. Large numbers of students arrive here in August and September, and special arrangements are made to deal with this influx. In 1952, a hostel in Sloane Gardens, London, was taken as a reception centre, and during the six weeks in which it was in use, it provided 550 students with temporary lodging. At the present time, arrangements are being made for the acquisition of another hostel in the Lancaster Gate area of London, and it is expected that this will provide 100 beds in case of emergency.

The British Council also organize Introduction Courses for new arrivals. Their aim has officially been described as follows:  

4 Source: British Council.
"The purpose of an Introduction Course is to help the newly arrived student to adjust himself to a new environment. It has been found that students, particularly those whose background is most dissimilar from our own, have experienced difficulty in adjusting themselves to our mode of life. The impact of arrival upon a student in this category is to produce an unhappy condition of mind. He is overawed by what he sees, cannot relate it to what he knows, feels isolated and is quite sure that he is the only one who has suffered this way.

Before any instruction can usefully be given, this condition of mind must be broken down and confidence restored. For this reason we have found that the resident course, where students have the factor of newness in common, provides the best means of overcoming their diffidence."^5

The extent to which these courses fulfil their purpose may be judged by the number of students who take part, as well as by their scope and content. The British Council say that in 1952 six resident Introduction Courses were held in London during August and September. These lasted one week, and were attended by 142 students. Another 42 students attended courses without going into residence. In view of the large numbers of Colonial students who annually arrive here, these figures are perhaps not impressive; but information obtained in these courses is doubtless passed on to others, so that a greater number of students are affected than actually take part.

^5British Council, Notes on Introduction Courses, 17181a.
The courses chiefly consist of lectures and discussions on topics such as the London transport system (tickets, queueing, times of last buses and trains etc.), accommodation, (laundry, use of gasmeters, bathrooms etc.), where to eat and drink, libraries, sports and entertainments and so on. Some students complain that lecturers make no attempt to deal with such questions as the colour bar, relations between men and women in this country, and other problems of equal weight; and it is probably true that many of the students' subsequent difficulties could be avoided by frank and realistic advice at an early stage. In this connection, it may be worth pointing out that new arrivals tend to be worried not so much by the existence of prejudice as such, but by practical questions such as whether there are many landladies who object to Coloureds, whether Colonials are likely to be refused hotel accommodation, and so on. In other words, the students want to know in what kinds of situation they must expect to find prejudice, and how to deal with it.

But it is only fair to say that the British Council face considerable difficulties in a matter of this kind. The rather formal atmosphere of an
Introduction Course precluded intimate discussion of controversial topics. The British Council, moreover, are an official body, and anything they say bears the stamp of authority. Hence it is probably the students' own organisations, their unions, which could most usefully give new arrivals this sort of advice. The Gold Coast Students' Union intends to publish a pamphlet dealing with problems facing their members in Britain; judging from their preliminary report, this should make a useful start in providing arrivals with frank and realistic information.

3. The Impact of London

London is tolerant to strangers: but it is a tolerance born of indifference. The heart of the Commonwealth, a main centre of commerce, London is at the cross-roads of the world; yet it remains strangely insular. The size of the city, and the considerable distances for travel that this involves, effectively prevent the growth of a sense of community. London, in fact, is a series of scattered townships, rather than a single whole. In the central districts, large areas are inhabited by people living in bed-sittingrooms, who have only
the most fleeting contact with their neighbours. A large proportion of Colonial students inevitably drift into this waste-land of loneliness. The truth is that the whole structure of London life caters for the needs of families, rather than for those of single people. Colonial students often find it difficult to understand this; many come from rural backgrounds, and all find themselves in a city much greater than any of their own. Their sense of disappointment is expressed in vague complaints about the appearance of London streets and similar items; but these complaints are only significant as symptoms of a deeper discontent.

London is not an easy place in which to make friends. English people whose homes are elsewhere do not find it so, nor do foreign Europeans, and coloured people find it doubly difficult. In the course of this survey, several students with experience of both provincial life and of London were interviewed; and most said that they found life much easier in the smaller towns. Those who only know London do not always realise this, and are hence inclined to blame prejudice for difficulties that exist for Europeans as well.

London is not a university town in the
Continental sense. Its inhabitants make little distinction between university students and those who attend trade and technical colleges. Oxford and Cambridge are still widely regarded as the sole centres of academic learning and prestige, and many Londoners are not even aware of the existence of a university in their midst. The university itself offers little in the way of a corporate student life; where this exists, it is based upon individual colleges rather than on the university as a whole. From time to time, attempts are made to encourage the growth of a genuine university life along traditional lines; praiseworthy as these are, they find little support, and sadly seem to lack in spontaneity. The colleges themselves are scattered throughout the length and breadth of London; even Senate House, the centre of the university, is rarely visited by the 75,000 odd students who daily travel between their colleges and their homes. The premises of the University of London Students' Union are only large enough for a few dozen people; even so, they are rarely crowded. There is no students'
quarter such as it exists in Paris and in other Continental towns; but students are widely dispersed over the various districts of London and do not always find it easy to maintain contact. The colleges specialize in particular subjects, and most are non-residential; it is difficult to be sentimental over them, and some students plainly regard them as mere degree-factories. In these circumstances, many Colonials turn to official organisations, such as the British Council, or to their own students' unions for the social life that the university cannot give them; in the first case their contacts with Londoners are likely to be of a rather superficial kind; while in the second, they tend to rely upon the company of their own countrymen.

Colonial students come to this country with a number of notions and ideas about what they are likely to find. Very often these are excessively optimistic, particularly since among Colonials study in England brings social prestige. In general, these students have a real wish to participate in the life of the community; either because they regard this country as their own, or because they see in social participation a means of furthering their desire for independence, and a way of proving their own worth.
On their arrival many of these students are too excited by the change of environment to be aware of any great sense of disappointment; but later on, this becomes more apparent. Various reasons, sometimes of a rather trivial kind, are put forward in explanation, but in the main disillusionment seems to arise from the unduly optimistic nature of the ideas that students have about life in Britain, and from their lack of social participation in the new environment. Students complain first, that they do not sufficiently share in the life of this country and secondly, that even when they are able to do so, this participation is not of the required kind: it is too formal and superficial to satisfy their needs.

These two complaints are closely related, and they are not confined to Colonial students. Both are the outcome of processes frequently described in current sociological literature. 7 But Colonial

7 A recent authority comments upon modern urban conditions in the following terms: "Not only have the available opportunities for participation dwindled, but the current media of contact, conventionalised and intellectualised words and concepts, routinised roles of social behaviour, impersonal taboo-ridden topics of conversation and so on, are singularly impoverished and unsatisfying. Man's thirst for comradeship is left largely unquenched because there are few cultural-social media through which an
students are inclined to blame colour prejudice for most of their troubles in this respect. This reaction is understandable: for prejudice certainly aggravates any difficulties that may exist for Europeans and Coloureds alike, and in addition creates new difficulties of its own. Colonials are also inclined to think in terms of prejudice because most, soon after their arrival, will have to look for accommodation of their own — and it is then that they are particularly likely to encounter hostility. Accommodation difficulties thus have an important effect upon the students' attitudes to this country; they are described in some detail in the following chapter.

experience of sharing can be made tangible, unreserved and refreshing." (Paul Halmos, "Solitude and Privacy", London, 1952, p. 18). Cf. also the following:

F. Alexander, Psychoanalysis and Social Disorganisation, American Journal of Sociology, May 1937,
H. Blumer, Social Disorganisation and Individual Disorganisation, American Journal of Sociology, May 1937,
Erich Fromm, "The Fear of Freedom", London, 1942,
Karen Horney, "The Neurotic Personality of Our Time", London, 1947,
Stuart Queen, Social Participation in Relation to Social Disorganisation, American Sociological Review, April, 1949,
Chapter V

THE PROBLEM OF ACCOMMODATION
1. Looking for a Room

More than one-half of all Colonial students in Britain live in London. Some four hundred are student nurses, for whom the problem of accommodation does not arise. Most of the remainder, some 2000 in all, have to look for rooms at one time or other during their stay. This figure, based upon Colonial Office returns, is probably an under-estimate. It does not include such part-time students as do not choose to make their presence known, and who maintain themselves by means of temporary jobs. This group is said to include from three to five hundred students in London alone. In addition to these, a fluctuating number of students from the provinces come to London during their vacations, or for some short course of study. In all, there are hence at least 2500 Colonial students living in London at any one time.¹

¹In the following we only deal with Colonial students; but it should be remembered throughout this account that these form only part of the total coloured student population. Cf. below, Ch. I, section 5.
Because of the housing shortage, only a fraction of these can be accommodated in hostels; and for the same reason, hostels usually impose a time limit upon their residents' length of stay. Those who cannot find suitable hostels must look for private accommodation, either with the help of various official organisations, or through their own efforts. In this way, large numbers of Colonials annually come into contact with Londoners during their search for a room.

The importance of satisfactory lodgings is not always appreciated by the outsider. But students trying to manage on a small budget often find that an extra few shillings a week either way can make all the difference between a tolerable standard of comfort and irksome poverty. Most of the students who come here, moreover, are away from their homes for the first time. They naturally feel strange and bewildered at first, and in London it is easy to be lonely. These students find that decent lodgings are of the greatest importance to the success of their stay. Again, university students normally do much of their work during the evenings, and a measure of quiet and comfort is essential for this. The problem of accommodation thus acquires a greater
importance for Colonial students than is usually the case with the average, unmarried Englishman.

In these circumstances, it is particularly unfortunate that so many difficulties are encountered in the search for a room: difficulties that doubtless account for much of the bitterness found among Colonial students in London. With the exception of a small minority who live in hostels for the whole of their stay, most students feel that accommodation problems are among the most unpleasant features of their stay. In view of the housing shortage, this is not surprising. It is hard enough for a European to find decent rooms, and for a coloured person it is doubly difficult. But Colonial students often say that they had not anticipated difficulties of this extent, and most of them feel that antipathy towards Coloureds is at the root of their troubles.

Finding rooms is not made easier by the insistence by many Colonial students, on living in the more accessible parts of London. Some students go to great lengths to achieve this, sometimes rejecting much better accommodation elsewhere. The reasons are not difficult to see. Those born and brought up in London take the necessity for lengthy
daily journeys to and from work for granted; but most Colonials come from much smaller towns, and to them such journeys seem insufferably dull and tedious.

In Central London, moreover, the presence of coloured people is nowadays taken for granted; in the suburbs the Colonial student may still find himself an object of curiosity. Most important of all — and this is a point often stressed by Colonials — is the fact that living in the suburbs involves some risk. It is true that if a student manages to get on well with his landlady, there are many advantages to be had from living there — but it is a big "if". The whole pattern of suburban life is such as to satisfy the needs of the family, and not those of single people. With few exceptions, landladies in these areas have little or no experience of "paying guests". Some expect students to live as part of the family, while others do not; and at times it is difficult to arrive at a degree of intimacy satisfactory to both sides.

For all of these reasons, a great many students sooner or later decide to find rooms in Central London, near their colleges and close to the other main centres of university life. Not all
are entitled to official help, and those who are often complain that the officials concerned try to persuade them to accept rooms in the more remote parts of London. In view of the housing shortage this is quite understandable, but many students nevertheless prefer to try their own luck. They read advertisements in local papers, look at notice boards displayed by small stationers' shops, or just tramp the streets in a house-to-house search. At this point, many of them encounter colour prejudice for the first time. Their accounts of this are very similar. A West African law student, for example, reports:—

"My difficulties started when I tried to find a room. I was not officially sponsored, so I did not think I had much chance of getting into a hostel. I had little money, so I tried to get a furnished room with cooking facilities. At first it did not occur to me to state my nationality when phoning up, and this led to much waste of time. On several occasions, I would travel half-way across London, only to find that the landlady in question would make some excuse about the room 'just having been let.' After a while, I became suspicious, and finally got a friend to ring up: sure enough, the room was still vacant! Other landladies did not even trouble to make this excuse, but just slammed the door in my face."

Experiences of this sort are extremely common, and some students complain of open hostility. A Liberian student of accountancy has this to say:—
"The first time I was out looking for a room, I went to the house of a landlady that I had just 'phoned up, and knocked on her door. She opened it, took one look at me, gasped with horror, and slammed the door in my face. I did not immediately connect her behaviour with prejudice. Perhaps she had suddenly remembered that she had something 'on the boil'? I waited for about ten minutes on her doorstep. Then a neighbour came up and said: 'Never mind, that room isn't worth having, anyway.'"

A young West Indian medical student recalls similar experiences and adds:-

"Some landladies were quite decent and polite about their refusals. They were obviously embarrassed and explained that they 'personally' had no objections to taking coloured lodgers. But they were afraid of what their neighbours might say.... Others reacted to my presence as if, merely by asking for a room, I had in some way offended them."

These difficulties are felt particularly by those with experience of university life elsewhere. A West Indian who spent the first year of his stay at a provincial university has this to say:-

"I had no idea of what moving to London would mean. Looking for rooms is a very dismal business. You waste your time and money, and swallow insults as well."

An East African law student supports this and adds:-

"I wasted from four to six weeks looking for a room. There can be no doubt that coloured people find this much harder than others. Looking for accommodation means, not only a waste of time, but to invite constant humiliation."
But there is little point in multiplying these examples. Accommodation difficulties are a recurrent theme in the conversation of Colonial students, and their accounts of this are so similar as to become monotonous. They are particularly common among African and other Negro students; Asians seem to have an easier time. But even "white" foreigners complain of prejudice. A Cypriot-Greek for example recalls how the landladies' faces would "harden" in hearing his accent, and how they would then make some excuse about already having let their room.

The fact that some landladies are prejudiced is probably too well known to cause surprise. But it may be more difficult to believe that some of these women behave with open hostility, and visibly enjoy their display of bad manners. Yet the stories told about this are too consistent to be easily dismissed; and anyone who will take the trouble to accompany a coloured person on his dismal round, will soon see that they are based upon fact. Some landladies doubtless feel that the very idea of an African asking for accommodation is in some way offensive. Their reactions, as one student aptly described it, "are much the same as if an
improper suggestion had been made."

Some observers feel that Colonial students tend to exaggerate the extent of prejudice among landladies in London. A recent report on coloured peoples in Britain, for example, while admitting that "a certain number of landladies suffer from colour prejudice", goes on to say that "on the other hand, the existence of such prejudice is considerably exaggerated. The majority of coloured students come to this country expecting to meet prejudice -- they come with 'chips on their shoulders'. And in that spirit they find prejudice where it is not intended and not there." There is probably some truth in this. But the material already presented seems to suggest that there is a prima facie case for examining this problem in greater detail, and for trying to establish a more objective index of prejudice than is provided by the students' accounts. This is attempted in the following.

2. The Landladies' Attitudes

Light is thrown upon the landladies' attitudes by the records of a well-known organisation finding rooms for university students in

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2 "Coloured Peoples in Britain" (Bow Group Pamphlet), p.9.
London. Before they are put into contact with students, landladies are required to register, and must then answer a questionnaire. This deals with such matters as the type and standard of the accommodation offered, the price charged, whether it is intended to supply meals, and so on. Other questions allow one to form an estimate of the national origin, occupational background, religious beliefs, and social position of the landladies concerned. The organisation concerned has no special mandate to accommodate Colonials, or to find landladies willing to accept them. But to avoid constant disappointment, the following questions, dealing with the landladies' nationality preferences, have been included:

"Are you prepared, in addition to students from the British Isles, to accept students from:

(a) the U.S.A. and Dominions (ex India)
(b) Europe,
(c) Middle East,
(d) China, Malaya,
(e) India and Pakistan,
(f) British West Indies,
(g) West Africa and the Sudan."
In view of the fact that these questions are designed to elicit nationality preferences, their wording seems open to criticism. The first question, for example, is clearly intended to refer to the "white" Dominions only; but while it exempts India from the list, it makes no mention of the other Asian Dominions. The last question refers jointly to West Africa and the Sudan, but in view of the very different backgrounds of students from these countries, it is difficult to see the reason for such a combination. The questions, moreover, do not cover all the contingencies that are likely to arise; no mention is made of East Africans, for example.

A more important criticism concerns the order in which the questions are put, descending, as it were, from what are likely to be the most popular, to the least acceptable of these groups. The questionnaire in this way almost seems to condone prejudice, although this is far from intended. Of more relevance, in the present context, is the fact that these questions seem likely to elicit a "structured" response, and thus to give an unduly clear-cut picture of attitudes towards different nationalities. In practice, this difficulty is
not as serious as it would appear since few land-
ladies answer the questions exactly as intended:
most content themselves with some simpler observa-
tion, such as "No Coloureds."

We first examined the nationality
preferences of 225 prospective landladies. This
covered all who had applied for registration between
December 1952 and January 1953. There seems no
reason to expect any significant variations, and
this may be regarded as a representative sample of
landladies who register throughout the year. The
landladies' replies to the nationality questions
were examined, together with their covering letters
and other correspondence, and this information is
summarised in Table I. It will be seen that of the
225 landladies who applied for registration, twenty-
three, or 11 per cent, said they were willing to
accept British students only. Another thirteen per
cent were willing to take continental Europeans as
well. Most of these did not state any preferences
in respect of different European nationalities, but
some were only willing to accept Western and North-
ern Europeans. The proportion of negative replies
rises sharply in the case of lightly-coloured non-
Europeans, i.e. Asians and certain other "pale"
Coloureds: only seventy-three landladies, or thirty-two per cent of the total, were willing to accept these. Objections were most frequent in respect of Africans and other Negroes, and only thirty-nine landladies, or seventeen per cent of the total, declared themselves willing to accept students in this category.

To clarify the position further, we then examined the nationality preferences of every tenth landlady on the register, comprising a total of 300 persons. The results are summarized in Table II.

It will be seen that the percentages of those willing to accept Coloureds are even lower than is the case of the previous figures. This difference probably results from the geographical distribution of addresses. For reasons to be noted later, Central London landladies are even less inclined to accept Coloureds than those in more distant areas; and there is a relatively high concentration of Central London addresses among registered landladies, as compared to recent applicants. If this is taken into account, the two sets of figures derive mutual support. The general position may be summarized by saying that, of every hundred landladies, about fifteen will not accept any but British students;
TABLE I

Nationality Preferences of 225 Prospective Landladies

(Figures denote number of replies in each case)

Students from British Isles only ..................................... 23
"White" Dominions, United States only ................................ 31
Scandinavians and Western Europeans only ............................ 8

Whites preferred, but might take well-mannered Hindu .......... 1
Coloureds if very nice .................................................. 2
Might take coloured if two of same race come together .......... 1
Might take coloured in view of housing shortage ................. 1
Might take coloured "if no fancy foods are required" .......... 1
Coloured if not too dark ............................................. 4
No coloured ** ....................................................... 90

All except West Africans ................................................ 6
All bar Negro types .................................................... 1
All except Negroes ..................................................... 21
All except blacks ....................................................... 1

No Germans or Arabs .................................................. 1
No Jews ..................................................................... 1
All, if Catholics .......................................................... 1
Middle-aged students only ............................................. 1
All bar musicians ........................................................ 1

All nationalities and religions accepted .............................. 29

* This and subsequent entries refer to national groups accepted in addition to British students.

** This category also covers replies such as "White only", "Europeans only", "Please not coloured", "All but coloured", "Onley white" (sic), etc. etc. etc.
### TABLE II

**Nationality Preferences of Registered Landladies**

*(General sample of 300 persons)*

Landladies willing to accept the following: *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of affirmative replies</th>
<th>As percentage of sample</th>
<th>Number of negative replies</th>
<th>As percentage of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) &quot;White&quot; Dominions and U.S.A. students</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Continental Europeans</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Lightly-coloured non-Europeans</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Negroes</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*i.e. in addition to students from the British Isles.*
more than one-quarter will not take continental Europeans; nearly three-quarters will not accept coloured students of any kind; while only about fifteen will accept African and other Negro students.

The data summarized in Table II do not cover all the replies actually made. Twenty-six landladies, or some nine per cent of the total, said they were unwilling to accept Jewish students. Since this point was not raised in the questionnaire, this figure is probably an under-estimate. On the other hand, eight of these also said that they were not prepared to accept Roman Catholics; so that at least some of these objections were made on religious grounds alone. Three landladies declared their unwillingness to accept Welsh students. A few specifically objected to medical students, while several others said they were unwilling to take students from the London School of Economics.

3. The Question of Prejudice

So far, we have dealt with the nationality preferences of landladies without reference to possible reasons for their attitudes. While it
seems reasonable to assume, in view of the nature of the figures quoted, that these are closely connected with colour prejudice, the questionnaire itself does not elicit any precise information on this point. It hence became necessary to establish personal contact with a number of landladies willing to discuss their views and experiences in this respect.

While it would have been desirable to interview a representative sample of London landladies, practical considerations showed this to be impossible. The lists kept by various organisations finding accommodation for university students could not be used for this purpose, since the information they contain is given on the understanding that it will be treated as confidential. The lists, moreover, are not complete, since many landladies prefer to contact students by other means. Local authorities have lists of hostels, and of certain kinds of unfurnished accommodation, but do not keep any records of landladies in their areas: the letting of furnished rooms is essentially a private and informal business.

In these circumstances, the only means of contacting landladies were those used by the
students themselves: advertisements in local papers, notice-boards, house-to-house enquiries, and so on. In order to avoid purely local bias at least, three widely differing parts of London were chosen. The first consisted of a district in Central London, with a high proportion of boarding-houses and "professional" landladies, the second of a middle-class residential district in North London, and the third of a working-class area in South London.

(1) Central London

Owing to its proximity to the colleges, the district is very popular among students. From the point of view of class structure, the area is extremely varied, including professional men, working-class people and small tradesmen, as well as large numbers of students and other transients. The district contains a high proportion of boarding-houses, and it proved easy to find addresses by means of local notice-boards.

Fifteen addresses were obtained in this way, and contact was later made with most of the landladies concerned. The procedure followed, in all cases, was to explain that information was required in connection with a study of housing conditions among London students. At a later stage, the
conversation was switched to the landladies' experiences with different types of students, their views and preferences about nationality, and so on. Experience proved this preferable, as a means of establishing contact, to any more direct reference to matters of race.

Of the fifteen landladies concerned, four refused to give information. No reasons were given for this, but at least one of the landladies involved seemed to think this enquiry in some way connected with the collection of income-tax. In two other cases, it was not possible to contact the landladies concerned, despite repeated calls. Three of the remainder said they had never accepted students, and did not propose to do so in future. One said she only catered for "respectable" working-class people, the second thought her flat too luxurious for the students' limited means, while the third would not deal with students because she thought them unreliable. This left a total of six landladies, whose accounts may be summarised as follows:

I. The landlord, an elderly Italian, has a poor command of English. He has run a boarding-house for the last three years. He complains of heavy initial expenditure, and says that students do not appreciate his costs. For this reason, he must charge high prices, and consequently has a high turnover of lodgers. He has accepted coloured students, though not
Africans, from the start: "Otherwise I wouldn't have been able to charge prices high enough to cover my costs. Coloured people pay more, they give more trouble. A few weeks back, I had an Abyssinian here. He gave me two pounds in advance, and asked me for it back the same day. It was only fair, he said, he was a friend, our two countries had a lot of history in common .... What could I do? A week later, he made a scene when the cleaner opened his door. He pushed her out and shouted: 'Don't you know that I am a rich man, and can do what I like? In my country, I would have you flogged for this!' The woman was upset. What could I do?"

But his experiences with Indians were happier: "They are good people, give little trouble, except the house smells of curry. I like them better than Continentals, who are always wanting to have things done. Especially Italians. They think they are part of the family, so they don't pay." He has never had African or other Negro students. "Personally I don't mind Negroes. Can they help it if they are black? But I have to think of the other lodgers, even the Indians would object. And the house would get a bad name .... Everybody is against them, so they are lonely, they stick together. Take one, before you know where you are, the house is full of blacks. And what about women? they are hot-blooded, it's the sun .... They sometimes come and ask for a room. I say the house is full. I don't want to hurt their feelings. I am really sorry for them, I understand what they feel, but what can I do?"

II. A professional landlady, an elderly widow with pretensions to gentility, who regards her present way of life as a "come-down". The house is badly furnished, not too clean, but comparatively cheap. She does not accept Coloureds because the other tenants might complain: "The woman on the first floor has lived in India, and she says she would move out if I accepted Coloureds. But I had an Indian girl here once, for a short time, and it was all right, she was very nice. But men are different, I suppose. I take foreigners, all except Poles. I had one during the war, and he had a woman stay with him all night. Never
again, thank you very much."

One of her lodgers tried to get her to take a West African friend: "But I told him, no thank you, this is a respectable house." You see, we have young girls staying here, and the doors aren't locked. Besides, taking Negroes is a certain sign that the house is going down. Look at the place next door. Milk bottles left outside, the sheets never changed: a dirty house, no wonder they take blacks."

III. An elderly spinster, Welsh, strongly religious. The house is pleasantly furnished and clean. She does not accept coloured students, and is horrified at the idea of taking Negroes: "And I all alone in the house, how could I get help if anything happened? I keep a respectable house, no women visitors, and men to be out by ten. So I don't take foreigners, only Germans maybe or Dutch; once a Frenchman came for a room: but no, I says to myself, not with your goings-on!"

IV. An old lady in a Council flat, who lets two rooms to students. She has taken one or two coloured students in the past, but not Negroes: "But I like English people best, you know where you are with them. One of my Indian students was all right, but the other expected all sorts of extras, and he was a lot of trouble. My students share the living-room, they are part of the family. The Indians didn't really fit in. But I am not prejudiced. Only Jews, I don't take them, always so afraid they aren't getting their proper money's worth. And blacks, of course, I don't take blacks; I am sorry for the darkies, that I am, but I know what the neighbours would say: 'Look at Mrs. X., she really has come down in the world.'"

V. A landlady, about thirty, who had apparently just got out of bed, although it was well past noon. She had some coloured students staying with her at the time, but seemed defensive about this: "And what business is it of anyone else's what I do? I keep out of their way, and as long as they pay the rent, they are welcome." She denied taking Negro students, but later retracted, and said that two West Africans were staying with her at the time: "It's easy for
the neighbours to talk, but not so easy to find lodgers when you haven't got the money for repairs. Nowadays we all have to do things we might not have done before. And my students are all right, they never make trouble. I am a respectable married woman, my husband can testify to that."

VI. A middle-aged barber, Jewish, who lets a furnished room above his shop. He has extreme Left-wing views, and says that he is strongly opposed to all forms of prejudice. Nevertheless, he recalls the following: "When the room became vacant, I asked one of my clients, a student from University College, whether he would help me to find a lodger. He said all right, and next day he sent a West Indian chap. I was very embarrassed, and said the room had gone. It wasn't fair of the man to send him along without warning, but when I complained, he only said: 'Nice sort of Commie you are, won't even take a coloured comrade.' That's all right, but the darky would have been alone in the house all night. What if he gave boozing-parties, and dragged the girls off the streets all night? I'm not saying it's their fault, but under the present system, etc. etc. etc."

(2) North London

This district is more homogeneous, inhabited mainly by people of "middle-class" standing. It is a residential area, with unending rows of semi-detached villas, usually with a front lawn, and often a garden at the back. The houses frequently have names with lyrical or imperial associations. It was difficult to contact landladies, because the stationers' shops in this district rarely display advertisements of furnished rooms. This meant a house-to-house enquiry, and it soon became apparent that
people were inclined to be defensive about letting rooms. But many knew of neighbours with rooms to let: "Yes, Mrs. X takes in lodgers, but I don't know that she likes it to be talked about. You had better see her, but don't say we sent you." Several of those who confessed to letting rooms said they had only just started this, or that they were doing it for various altruistic reasons.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that more than one-half of the persons approached declined to give much information. Of the eight landladies who remained, two, whose addresses had been obtained from neighbours, could not be contacted, and another said that she had never accepted students. This left us with the following five cases:-

I. A middle-aged woman, whose husband is a bank clerk. "I only let the room because we haven't any children, and it seems a pity to see it go to waste. We have had two students so far, both Scandinavians. I like taking foreigners because it's nice to hear about their countries. I have nothing against coloured people, but don't take them because they wouldn't fit in. I like my guests to live as part of the family, and their ways are too different. I like plain English fare, and so wouldn't be much good at cooking fancy foods."

II. An elderly widow, living on a pension, whose husband was an insurance agent. "I have only one room to let. I like company, and besides, it makes a bit of difference to the income. I had three students so far, an Irishman, an American, and now a young Indian girl. She is the best of the lot, and gives no trouble at all. The American was a nuisance, because he stayed out half the night. I go to
bed about ten, and I don't like people coming into the house after that. And then I like my lodgers to take the dog for a walk. I am too old to do it in bad weather. I think I'll only take Indians in future. Women, mind you, men are different."

III. A young woman, married, with two children. "I have two students at present, friends, both from West India. I didn't like the idea at first, but the lodgings people said they couldn't guarantee Whites. This place is too far out for students, more than an hour from the University. I thought the neighbours might talk, but we haven't been here very long, most of my friends are elsewhere, so it doesn't really matter. Anyway, I am glad we took them. They are both very nice, much more like English people than I had expected."

IV. An elderly married couple, with one room to let. "We had an Indian here once, he was all right, only difficult to get up in the morning. Then the Lodgings people sent us an African, though really they shouldn't have done. My husband was against it, but I was sorry for him. We got on well together for about two months, but then he took an English girl in one evening, so of course I had to put my foot down. I don't really blame him, mind, it's the girl's fault as much as the man's, and she should have known better. I told him he was allowed visitors, but of course, I didn't know he meant white girls."

V. A middle-aged woman with a fifteen-year-old daughter. "I had only had English people here before, but now I have an Egyptian. He was recommended to me, and I always say we should give Colonials a chance to learn our ways. Of course, I couldn't take Negroes. I am sorry for them, but I have my daughter to consider."

(3) South London

This is a working-class district of a fairly prosperous type, with pleasant houses, and decent
standards of accommodation. Because of its distance from the University, the area is not popular among students: but there are one or two technical schools in the neighbourhood, and most of the Colonials who live there do so on this account. There are few "professional" landladies, and rooms are privately let to supplement income. There seemed no reluctance to admit this, and only two of the eleven landladies approached refused to give information. Of the rest, two said that they liked their lodgers to stay with them for long periods, and would not take students because of this; three others could not be contacted despite repeated calls. This left us with the following four cases:

I. A young married woman with two children, whose husband works for a firm of engineers. She has two rooms to let, and has taken students of all nationalities from the start. "We prefer foreigners really, it makes you feel you are getting to know about other parts of the world. My husband and I have always been Labour, so of course we don't hold with insularity. What chance is there for the world if even ordinary people can't get on with each other? One of the students I liked best came from West Africa, and he was as well educated as anyone I know. He was very good with the children, and looked after the house when we went on holiday. He has gone back now, but still writes to us sometimes."

II. An elderly spinster who lets rooms with breakfast: "I only take English people usually, although I had a Swiss. I keep a respectable house, and visitors have to be out by ten. I wouldn't mind taking darkies, but with the present lot of young girls you never know. I see them parading in the High Street, (i.e. in the company of Africans), proud as you
please. I don't know what things are coming to."

III. A middle-aged woman with two rooms. "We take all nationalities now. At first I didn't like the idea of Africans coming to live here, and my mother said: 'You do what you like, but mark my words, before you are finished, you'll have us all murdered in our beds.' But I told her not to be silly, after all they are students, and learned our ways. Anyway, we needed the money, and we never had any trouble with them."

IV. A married couple with several rooms to let. "We've always had Indians, but at first I didn't hold with the idea of taking darkies. But now we have two Africans, and they are all right. They are better than the Indians really, because they don't give so much trouble. Only, I wouldn't have them come in with girls, of course. So I told them 'No Visitors', right from the start. I don't mind what they do outside, but it's different in your own home, when you have the neighbours to consider."

4. Sociological Implications

These enquiries are not detailed enough to be of immediate use in an explanation of landladies' attitudes. But they will help us to construct a few simple hypotheses, whose validity may be tested by appeal to other evidence.

The first derives from the more obviously irrational aspects of the landladies' beliefs. The remarks quoted in the last section include several expressing concern at the possible behaviour of Colonials, and particularly of Africans, in
matters of sex. Typical in this connection is the following:— "Of course, we can't take Negroes: we have young girls staying here, and the doors aren't locked." Statements of this kind follow from the well-known stereotype of the Negro as a sexual animal with uncontrolled and insatiable appetites. Similar fears are occasionally expressed about Asians and foreign Europeans, but they are primarily associated with African and other Negro students: they fit the popular view of the African as an "uncivilized" and peculiarly "primitive" type of man.

Thus it seems reasonable to assume that at least part of the reluctance of landladies to accept Coloureds is explicable in terms of irrational fears and fancies of a sexual kind. Since in matters of sexual behaviour initiative lies largely in the hands of men, it follows if our assumption is correct, that we may expect objections to coloured women to be less frequent than to coloured men. Table III, derived from the same source as the previous statistics, seems to support this view.
TABLE III

Nationality Preferences in respect of Men and Women Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of cases considered</th>
<th>Those willing to accept Africans</th>
<th>As percentage of sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landladies willing to accept students of both sexes</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landladies willing to accept female students only</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that the proportion of landladies willing to accept Africans is much higher among those prepared to accept only female students, than it is among the rest. Some of the latter, moreover, said that while they were only willing to take "white" men, they would accept women students of all nationalities; but unfortunately no figures are available on this point.

Fears concerning sexual behaviour affect the landladies' attitudes not only directly, but in a more indirect way as well. Landladies who think Africans sexually promiscuous are also likely to believe that other landladies, and their neighbours generally, hold the same view. Hence even those who recognise the irrationality of their own fears, may hesitate to associate with people whose behaviour is
not generally regarded as "respectable".

This last point brings us to our second hypothesis, concerning the sociological implications of statements such as: "Mrs. X has really come down in the world, she even has to accept Negroes." The significance of remarks of this kind, lies in the fact that association with coloured people seems to imply a loss of social prestige.\(^3\) Here the fact that landladies think their fears shared by many others is again of the greatest importance. For the landladies' attitudes towards Coloureds often seem to depend less upon their own feelings in this matter, than on the attitudes they ascribe to others, and to public opinion in general.

If fears about loss of social prestige explain much of the reluctance to accept Coloureds, it would seem reasonable to expect landladies of a higher social class to show more concern on this point than others. Clearly a great many qualifications have to be made in regard to an assumption of this kind, but it may serve us as a useful starting point. The statistical evidence for this is summarized in Table IV.

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\(^3\)Cf. K.L. Little: "Negroes in Britain", pp. 275 ff. for a detailed discussion of this point.
**TABLE IV**

**Nationality Preferences of an "Upper-Class" Sample**

Landladies willing to accept the following: *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Upper-Class&quot; sample</td>
<td>General sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Total: 140)</td>
<td>(Total: 300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of affirmative replies</td>
<td>Number of affirmative replies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As percentage of sample</td>
<td>As percentage of sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>&quot;White&quot; Dominions and U.S.A. students</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Continental Europeans</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Lightly-coloured non-Europeans</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*i.e. in addition to students from the British Isles. The term "upper-class", as used in that table, requires some explanation. It refers, in the first place, not to the actual social position of the persons concerned, but to the fact that they enjoy a higher social and economic standing than landladies of the general sample. Our "upper-class" sample consists of persons living in various parts of Surrey, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Kent, Owing to their distance from the University,
these areas are unpopular among Colonial students. For this reason, the organisation concerned uses a different criterion of selection, as regards the registration of addresses, than is elsewhere employed. That is to say, only landladies able to offer an exceptionally high standard of accommodation are accepted for registration. In consequence registered landladies in these districts may be expected to include persons of a substantially higher social and economic standing than is generally the case; and this assumption is supported by evidence concerning their occupational background, and other information of this kind.

Table IV shows the "acceptance" figures among the "upper-class" sample to be consistently lower than among landladies generally; and this is particularly evident in relation to continental Europeans. These differences are more remarkable when it is remembered that landladies in the "upper-class" sample, owing to their geographical location, have particular difficulty in attracting students: one would thus expect them to be more willing to accept Coloureds than landladies elsewhere.

The hypotheses so far put forward have
been of a very general kind, and must be considerably modified to allow for local circumstances. In Central London, for example, there is a much higher proportion of "professional" landladies than elsewhere; and the reason they most frequently give for not accepting Coloureds is that of economic self-interest: while "personally" they would not mind taking Colonial students, other lodgers might object. It would be unwise to dismiss these statements as "mere rationalisation". On general grounds, there is no reason why professional landladies should be either more or less prejudiced than others of their own sex and class. But unless they have strong views to the contrary, they will, as business women, take account of the possibility of financial loss. For this reason, the "acceptance" figures for Central London may be expected to be lower than elsewhere; and this assumption is supported by the evidence of Table V.

It will be seen that the "acceptance" figures for Bloomsbury are lower than those in other areas. The estimated proportion of "professionals" among landladies is in this district sixty-six per cent; the corresponding figures are twenty-five per cent in Hampstead, and only ten per cent in each of the other districts.
TABLE V

Nationality Preferences by Local Distribution

(Figures show affirmative replies as percentage of total number of addresses in each case)

Landladies willing to accept the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bloomsbury</td>
<td>Hampstead</td>
<td>North London</td>
<td>South-East London</td>
<td>All Four areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) &quot;White&quot; Dominions and U.S.A. students</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Continental Europeans</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Lightly-coloured non-Europeans</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Negroes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of registered addresses in each area: 111 139 150 120 520

i.e. in addition to British students

**This refers to the following districts: Muswell Hill, North and East Finchley.

***This refers to the following districts: Blackheath, Plumstead, Camberwell and Peckham.
Other local circumstances are also reflected in this table. Hampstead, for example, shows a particularly high "acceptance" figure in respect of continental Europeans; it is not surprising in an area where their presence has come to be taken for granted. South-East London, on the other hand, has well-known Polytechnics and technical colleges in the districts mentioned. People there are not only used to seeing Coloureds, but know them to be students. Local circumstances apart, the table shows consistent trends throughout all districts: everywhere, for example, Negroes appear to be less acceptable than other Colonials.

5. Students and the "Colour Tax"

The link between reluctance to accept Coloureds and fear of loss of social prestige, is one of great interest: it is closely connected with the complaint, often heard among Colonial students, that they are required to pay "colour tax". A West Indian student of engineering, for example, reports the following:

"Even where landladies are willing to take Coloureds they will often require them to pay for this in terms of higher rent, or in some other way. On one occasion, I phoned a landlady who said that her room, without board, was thirty-seven shillings a week. But when she
saw me, this suddenly jumped up to forty-five shillings. When I asked her about this, she said that she had made a 'mistake'. But she only had one room to let, so there was no question of her confusing the rooms, or anything like that."

An East African student became so concerned about this point that he decided to make the following experiment:—

"I put two advertisements in (a local paper). The wording was the same in both cases, but in one of them I didn't state my nationality; in the other I did. The first advert brought many more replies than the second. I also had two answers offering the same room; but in the case of the second advertisement, the price charged was ten shillings more!"

Another African student has this to say:—

"I don't think myself that colour tax is as frequent as some students say. But it is true that coloured people are often required to pay in terms of 'extra' good behaviour, or in some similar way. Some landladies see him as a target for conversion to their own religious or political views, while others expect him to comply with all sorts of conditions that they would never ask of British students."

What grounds are there for these and other allegations? An official with considerable experience of finding accommodation for Coloureds makes this comment:—

"A certain number of landladies undoubtedly quote higher prices for Colonial students, as compared to British. Some give no reason for this, others say that they expect Coloureds to give them more trouble, and so it is only fair that they should pay more."
There is little reason to question the sincerity of this; some landladies doubtless fear they will have to provide extra services, such as "fancy foods", if they accept coloured students. But as a general explanation this is not very convincing: for colour tax is most frequently asked of African and other Negro students; whereas most landladies with experience of Colonial students agree that it is Asians who sometimes, largely for religious reasons, demand particular foods and other special services. The fact that colour tax is primarily associated with Negroes suggests that the real explanation lies elsewhere, and that it represents compensation for certain risks that association with Coloureds is thought to involve, i.e. possible loss of social prestige.

But there is no reason to suppose that colour tax is deliberately imposed by more than a small number of landladies: far more frequently, it operates as an indirect process of the following kind. A particular landlady applies for registration, offers a room at a rental of, say, two pounds and specifies that she will only take Europeans. The lodgings officers inspect the room and decide that, in view of its location, or for other
reasons, it is unlikely to attract students at this price. They inform the landlady of this, but add that it may be possible for her to find lodgers if she will accept Coloureds. It is hardly necessary to say that these officers have no wish to condone prejudice, but merely wish to find more accommodation for Coloureds. In its effects, however, this process amounts to the imposition of a tax: for Colonials have to accept the room at a price not acceptable to British students.

A similar process operates in the case of "professional" landladies who, by force of circumstances, are gradually forced to take Coloureds. The officer previously referred to reports the following:

"A great many landladies start by accepting Europeans only, but as their fortunes decline, they change their minds. I particularly remember a young couple who ran a boarding-house. They had a clean and cheerful place, but, owing to heavy initial expenses, their prices were high. At first they would only take English students; but they had difficulty in finding lodgers, and soon wrote to say that they would accept Continentals as well. Matters did not improve, and later they said they would also accept Indians. In the meantime, their standards had gradually declined, and their place became dingy. But their financial troubles continued, and in the end they wrote to say they would take students of all nationalities, including Negroes."

Clearly this process amounts to indirect
taxation, although this has not been intended. As a sociological mechanism, colour tax is not confined to accommodation, although here it is not possible to describe its operation in other fields. Mention can only be made of a similar mechanism in respect of vacation work, and in regard to personal relationships between the sexes.

From the point of view of the Colonial student, colour tax is a process by which he gets second-rate accommodation, second-rate jobs, and second-rate girl-friends — "second-rate" in the sense that they are of a standard not normally acceptable to British students, although appropriate to the status of a coloured person in this country. From the view-point of the landlady, colour tax represents compensation for possible loss of social prestige; from that of an observer, it is an undesigned and unintended consequence of a social structure whose system of values includes the premise that association with Coloureds is synonymous with "low-class" and generally disreputable behaviour.

Colour tax is symptomatic of the half-way house in which coloured people find themselves here; a situation that is neither full acceptance, nor outright rejection, but limited social participation; acceptance at a price. One of the more
unfortunate consequences of this is the difficulty of discovering the exact nature of this price -- especially when it has to be paid in non-monetary terms. The result is suspicion, resentment and doubt.

Colonial students are well aware of all this. As one student said:-

"Coloured people in this country never know just when they are going to be treated as equals, and when they must expect to be regarded as second-class citizens. In places like South Africa, at least they know exactly where they stand."

As considered argument, this comparison need not be taken too seriously. But it is an understandable reaction to a situation of conditional and precarious social acceptance; a state of affairs, to paraphrase Orwell, where all men are equal: but some more equal than others.

6. Help from Official Sources

So far, we have not mentioned the work of various official and voluntary organisations which provide hostels and introduce students to land-ladies. To find lodgings, Colonial students can turn to the accommodation department of the British Council, the lodgings services provided by the
University of London and the Inns of Court, and to voluntary organisations such as the Victoria League and the East and West Friendship Council. The first of these is by far the most important: in London the British Council find more accommodation for Colonials than all other institutions combined.

On January 1st, 1950, the Colonial Office designated the British Council as its agent for the provision of certain welfare services for Colonial students; and these include the provision of temporary and permanent accommodation. As regards the latter, the Council's practice is to place a sponsored student at a recommended address, while unsponsored students are given advice on how to find accommodation on their own.

The British Council do not keep detailed statistical records of the nationality preferences of landladies on their register, nor of their distribution over various districts of London. But a general idea of the over-all position may be obtained from the data summarized in Table VI.
TABLE VI

Nationality Preferences of Registered Landladies,
December 1952

(Gases considered: 2969)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landladies willing to accept the following:</th>
<th>No. of affirmative replies</th>
<th>As percentage of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Europeans only</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Lightly-coloured non-Europeans</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Negroes</td>
<td>1172</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures cannot immediately be compared with the statistics previously given, as the British Council register does not include any landladies willing to accept British or "white" Dominion students only. Tables I to V must hence be altered to allow for this, before any comparison can be made. Table II, for example, illustrating the nationality preferences of a sample of 300 landladies, shows the proportion of landladies willing to accept lightly-coloured non-European and Negro students to be twenty-six per cent in the first case and ten per cent in the second. But if the number of landladies unwilling to accept foreign Europeans is first subtracted, these figures rise to thirty-seven per cent and to fourteen per cent.

Source: British Council.
respectively. In other words, the fact that the British Council register does not include landladies willing to accept only British students, means that the proportion of those willing to accept Coloureds appears larger, by comparison, than is really the case.

But even when allowance has been made for this, it remains true that the proportion of "tolerant" landladies appears to be much higher than it was in the case of the previous organisation. There are several reasons for this. Landladies who approach the British Council realise that they must expect to deal with foreign students. This means that the more thorough-going type of xenophobe is not attracted. More important reasons for the comparatively high acceptance figures consist of the local distribution of addresses, and in the way these are selected. Mr. Philip Garigue inspected the accommodation register of the British Council in February 1952, and found that of 2712 landladies, 1102 were willing to accept Colonial students. The local distribution of "suitable" addresses was then as follows:

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6 *i.e.* addresses of landladies willing to accept Colonials.
To understand the significance of these figures, we must compare them with the local distribution of all addresses, regardless of whether these are suitable for Colonials or not. No precise figures are available for this, but Table VII gives a rough idea of the general position. The figures in column I are estimates.

### TABLE VII

**Geographical Distribution of Registered Addresses**

(Figures show numbers of addresses as percentages of totals)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ALL addresses</th>
<th>Those willing to accept Colonials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Within 7 miles from Westminster</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) 4 - 7 miles from Westminster</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Over 7 miles from Westminster</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that there is a high concentration of Outer London addresses among landladies willing to accept Coloureds. These

---

7Source: British Council.
areas are unpopular among students, and the organisation described previously only registers exceptionally desirable lodgings in these districts. The British Council apparently follow a different policy in this respect, and they accept a relatively high proportion of Outer London addresses. Since few students are in fact willing to live there, the figures quoted by the British Council tend to give an unduly favourable impression of the real position.

The second main reason for the high acceptance figures quoted by the British Council lies in the method by which addresses are selected. The British Council say that they already have "more than enough" addresses suitable for Europeans. For this reason, they frequently tell prospective landladies that they have little chance of finding lodgers, unless they are prepared to accept Coloureds. Unfortunately no record is kept of the number of landladies who decide not to register on this account, so that little is known about the effects of this practice. On paper, it will doubtless increase the proportion of "suitable" addresses; but whether this reflects a genuine improvement of the situation will primarily depend upon the local
distribution of the addresses concerned.

More important, from our immediate point of view, is the point that the exclusion of "unsuitable" addresses in the manner described means that the British Council figures are not really comparable with our previous statistics; and for the same reason, they cannot be regarded as a measure of nationality preferences among landladies in general. If all landladies, regardless of nationality preferences, were accepted for registration, the proportion of addresses suitable for Colonials would undoubtedly fall.

Similar reasons probably account for the large increase in the number of "suitable" addresses claimed by the British Council in recent years. In 1950, only one-sixth of all registered landladies declared themselves willing to accept Coloureds. In 1951, this increased to one-third, while by December 1952, it accounted for as much as two-thirds of the total! The British Council attribute this improvement to the "snowball" effect of good student-landlady relationships, and to the work of the Council generally. There is doubtless much truth in this, but it is hard to believe that this argument can alone account for an increase of this size. The change is probably connected with
various circumstances already described. In constructing a register of addresses, it would seem natural to cover the more popular, Central London, areas first; as new addresses are later added, lying in more distant parts, these will automatically increase the proportion of "suitable" addresses, since landladies there find it difficult to attract students. Moreover, we have seen that the British Council already have sufficient addresses suitable for Europeans, and that they are consequently reluctant to register landladies unwilling to accept Coloureds; hence the greater number of newly registered addresses are bound to be of the "suitable" kind.

The question is whether this constitutes largely a "paper" increase, or whether it reflects a genuine improvement of the situation. In 1951, the British Council register included over 1,000 landladies willing to accept Colonials. The Council estimate that this represented potential accommodation for about four thousand students, since most of the landladies were able to accommodate several students. Not all of these rooms, of course, were vacant at one and the same time; but if we assume the average university course to
last three years, the figures just quoted imply an annual average of some 1,300 vacancies. But only 382 Colonials were actually placed during 1951, the year to which these figures refer. In view of the difficulties that Coloureds have in finding rooms, this seems a surprisingly low figure. The explanation probably lies in the high concentration of "suitable" addresses in the unpopular areas of Outer London.

In the absence of more detailed statistics, this argument should be regarded as tentative. The records kept by the British Council contain much potentially valuable material, particularly as regards matters such as changes in the willingness to accept Coloureds over time, variations in the "acceptance" figures between different areas, and so on. But the figures so far available must be regarded as inadequate from a sociological point of view. In the meantime it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that although official help doubtless ameliorates the accommodation difficulties of Colonial students, the scope of this aid is not as considerable as might be supposed. In view of the wide-spread desire of Colonial students to live in the more accessible areas of London, it is not
surprising that a great many of them prefer to rely upon their own efforts in finding rooms.

7. Accommodation in Hostels

Official and voluntary organisations also help Colonial students by providing them with hostel accommodation. The largest and most important of these hostels is the British Council residence in Hans Crescent, which provides accommodation for over 200 Colonials. A small number of places are reserved for British students from London University, and a corresponding number of Colonials are accepted at University hostels in return. The British Council also have a smaller hostel for Colonial women at Collingham Gardens, and this accommodates some thirty students.

Two hostels, one in Chelsea, and one in Camden Square, are owned and administered by the West African Students' Union, and together offer accommodation to some forty students. The International Language Club at Croydon, a privately-owned concern, has over fifty Coloureds among its residents. In addition, there are smaller hostels owned by religious and other voluntary organisations; these do not specially cater for Colonials but
accept them as residents. The numbers of Colonial students housed in this way has been variously estimated as including from one to two hundred persons; while another sixty or so are accommodated in London University halls of residence. The total number of Colonial students living in hostels may hence be said to include from 500 to 600 persons, or about one-fifth to one-quarter of the total Colonial student population.

The British Council residence at Hans Crescent is not only the largest of these hostels, but it provides Colonial students with a social and cultural centre of their own. Although the activities held there are primarily designed for residents, large numbers of other Colonial students and English people go there as guests. Two of the principal Colonial students' unions, the West Indian Students' Union and the Nigerian Union make Hans Crescent their headquarters, while the centre is constantly used for meetings and similar purposes by the many other unions and societies catering for Colonial students. Film shows and dances are held, and lectures on a wide variety of subjects are provided. Hans Crescent thus provides a general meeting-place for Colonial students in London, and
helps to maintain contacts between the various groups.

Most students appear to be satisfied with the arrangements at Hans Crescent, and appreciate its facilities. The main disadvantage of this type of hostel, from the viewpoint of Colonial students, is that it tends to decrease their opportunities for sharing in the life of British people. But this complaint is usually voiced by students without experience of private accommodation. Among the smaller hostels, standards of accommodation, food and service vary so greatly that it is difficult to generalize. One student, for example, was found to live in a small hostel primarily catering for British students; here the food was excellent, prices reasonable, restrictions confined to a minimum, and the general atmosphere was happy and cheerful. At the other end of the scale was a hostel for young women, not primarily of the student class, whose regime in some ways resembled that of a prison. Here the inmates had to be "home" by ten; visitors were entertained in a stuffy drawingroom, each piece of furniture forever covered by a shroud, while a female turn-key disapproved in the background.
But generally speaking, there is little doubt that living in hostels has many advantages over private accommodation. A hostel is not only cheaper but gives security, relief from loneliness, and, above all, it eliminates that spectre of Colonial student life, the intolerant or grasping landlady. Hence it is not surprising that Colonial students, in letters to the Press, in their own magazines and papers, and in resolutions at union meetings, have continually pressed for more hostel accommodation. At the present time, hostels can only solve the accommodation problems of a fortunate minority; and their importance lies rather in their position as centres that foster and maintain social solidarity among Colonial students.

8. Summary and Conclusions

It may be useful to summarize our argument so far, before going on to discuss possibilities of remedy. There are at least 2,500 Colonial students in London for whom accommodation must be

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8 The "stay-in" strike at Hans Crescent during the summer of 1951 which was supported by the Colonial students' unions, was essentially a demonstration in support of increased hostel accommodation.
found. About one-fifth to one-quarter of these live in hostels owned or administered by various official and voluntary organisations, which usually impose a limit upon their residents' length of stay. The remainder have to find private lodging, and are able to call upon official aid for this purpose. But since most students wish to live in the more easily accessible parts of London, a great many sooner or later decide to rely upon their own efforts.

When this happens, Colonial students frequently experience colour prejudice for the first time. Most are convinced that antipathy towards Coloureds is at the root of their accommodation difficulties. Their complaints are broadly speaking of two kinds. First, Colonial students say that British landladies almost invariably prefer European lodgers, so that looking for a room means much waste of time and money. Analysis of the register of a well-known organisation finding rooms for University students, confirmed the justice of this complaint. It was found that nearly three-quarters of the landladies concerned refused to accept Coloureds of any kind; while only about fifteen in every hundred would accept African and
other Negro students.

The second complaint refers to the existence of "colour tax". Students say that even where landladies are willing to accept them, they are often required to pay more, for equivalent accommodation, than British students. Our enquiries show that while a certain number of landladies doubtless ask higher prices of Coloureds, this does not seem to be a general practice. Of greater importance, in this connection, is colour tax arising as an unintended consequence of the view that association with Coloureds involves loss of social prestige.

Possibilities of remedy directly follow from this account. Action of this kind may be designed, first, to increase the number of landladies willing to accept Coloureds; secondly, to compensate students for the payment of "colour tax", and thirdly, to provide other accommodation instead.

As regards the first point, a suggestion frequently made is that official organisations should refuse to register landladies unwilling to accept Coloureds. The possibility of economic loss, it is argued, would soon convince these landladies of the wisdom of tolerance.
In view of the fact that "professional" landladies often explain their reluctance to accept Coloureds by reference to possible financial loss, there is a certain justice in this proposal: the "economic whip", so to speak, is to be used to a new and better purpose. But the suggestion is unpopular with the authorities concerned: they claim, and not without reason, that it would be difficult to enforce such a rule; and that landladies could easily evade it by making some sort of excuse whenever a coloured person actually turned up. There is a danger, moreover, that some landladies, rather than agree to this rule, might prefer to cease dealing with students altogether. The only result would be to decrease the amount of accommodation available for Europeans, without helping Coloureds in any way.

In all probability, however, the policy suggested would not have the drastic consequences anticipated by either side. The chances are that the "non-discrimination" rule would only work in regard to landladies in the less accessible areas of London; and these are already to some extent compelled to accept Coloureds for lack of an alternative. The success of such a rule is much more
doubtful where Central London landladies are concerned; since these have only, while the housing shortage continues, to put a notice in a shop window to attract clients. As most students prefer to live in Central London, the adoption of this rule would have little practical effect.

But there are more powerful arguments in support of this policy. Landladies often seem much concerned with their neighbours' views, and with public opinion generally. Hence it may be useful to demonstrate that the authorities, the invisible but powerful "they" wish them to accept Coloureds; the implication being that this is a perfectly normal and natural thing to do. As matters stand, the questionnaire sent to landladies may easily convey the impression that prejudice is officially condoned; on this point, at any rate, there is clearly room for improvement. A final point in favour of the "non-discrimination" rule is purely moral: it may be argued that prejudice should be universally and openly condemned, even at the risk of temporary inconvenience.

Alternatively, remedial action might take the form of compensating Colonials for the payment of colour tax. But there are several objections
to this course. Scholarship funds are limited, and in the present stage of Colonial development, they should be used to give the greatest number of people an opportunity for higher education. An increase of scholarship payments, moreover, would not help those private students who, often at great personal sacrifice, arrange for their education in this country. Finally, if the proposal were to serve its purpose, and the increase passed on to landladies, this would in effect amount to putting a premium on prejudice: a procedure that can hardly be anything but distasteful to the students concerned.

The third type of remedy lies in the provision of alternative accommodation. The usual objection is that living in hostels, students have little opportunity for making friends with ordinary English people, and that consequently they fail to make the best of their stay. The assumption behind this argument is that where students are accepted into British homes, the relationships that result will be satisfactory to both sides; a further assumption being that a large proportion of landladies let rooms for motives other than financial gain.
But are these assumptions really justified? In regard to the first, the evidence is contradictory. The British Council say that relationships between students and landladies are "on the whole good". Others take a more pessimistic view. The lodgings officer already quoted says that "large numbers" of landladies, who have previously accepted Colonials, annually write to say that they will do so no longer. Various reasons are given for this, mostly connected with "what the neighbours will say"; but there is a lack of real evidence.

There is even less evidence to support the second assumption, i.e. that non-professional landladies chiefly let rooms for other than commercial reasons. It is true that many are disinclined to stress their economic concern, since, in some circles, the letting of rooms is not held to be quite "respectable". But these protestations cannot always be taken at their face value; and the evidence quoted in connection with "colour tax", at any rate, hardly supports this assumption.

This does not mean that good relationships

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10 The estimate given, "about three hundred a year", seems rather excessive.
between students and landladies do not exist; on the contrary, lasting and worthwhile friendships are sometimes made in this way. It would clearly be undesirable to prevent this, or to segregate Colonial students in hostels. But it is important to realise that good relationships do not result merely from putting a coloured student in a British home.

Colonial students have a real desire to get to know British people, and to share in their life. But it is well to remember that their chief purpose in coming here is for education. They are university students, and it is with other students that their most useful and most fruitful contacts are likely to be made. Nor are accommodation difficulties the monopoly of coloured students: Europeans also have troubles on this score. Hence remedial action should not primarily be concerned with any questions of colour or of prejudice: to be of real value, it must try to provide more and better hostel accommodation for all students, regardless of colour or race. Admittance to hostels should be based upon the needs of individual students, without reference to nationality. Fairly small hostels, based upon individual
colleges, and with a minimum of restrictions, would seem to offer an ideal solution. Hostels of this kind alone can provide that opportunity for intellectual and social contact without which university education cannot bring the fullest benefit.

In present circumstances, it is clear that this solution would call for considerable sacrifice; but in view of all that has been said, it is perhaps worth making. If any single course of action is likely to contribute most to better understanding between Colonial students and the people of this country, it is the creation of a true centre of university life in London.
Chapter VI

THE COLONIAL STUDENTS' UNIONS
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1. Introductory

The last chapter described some of the main difficulties facing Colonial students in London. The students react in different ways, depending partly upon individual circumstances, and partly upon differences in their social and cultural background. In an anthropological study of the conventional type, group reactions may be studied with comparative ease through an analysis of social structure; but in the present survey this is more difficult. Colonial students remain in Britain for only a brief period of time, and they are thrown together more or less by accident; the number of lasting and well-defined ties between them is therefore limited. In these circumstances, we must largely rely upon the students' own accounts of their experiences in order to understand the process of adaptation. A description of the students' unions is however in some degree relevant in this context, since the unions represent one of the
few major ways in which the students' reactions to London life have become institutionalized. At the same time, their objects and functions also reflect social and political conditions in the students' countries of origin, so that an account of the unions may help to throw light upon the reasons for differences in the students' interpretations of their experiences in London.

Before we go on to describe the unions in detail, it may be useful to say a few words about their status and significance in student life generally. British officials who deal with these bodies are sharply divided. Some say that the unions have little real importance, and that they are primarily debating clubs; in this view, they only represent the opinions of a small minority. The rest are inclined to see in them the authoritative voice of student opinion, and to underestimate both the degree of dissidence and of apathy among Colonial students.

The truth lies between these extremes. On the one hand, only a relatively small proportion of Colonials are members of a union; and the number of active members, and particularly of those who can
directly affect policy, is naturally even smaller. There are doubtless a great many students who take little interest in their union, some because they are opposed to its policy, and many more because they lack interest in problems of this kind. On the other hand, the unions have a greater influence than their membership would lead one to expect. In the absence of effective opposition they are, in their dealings with outside bodies, able to claim to speak for Colonial students as a whole; and for purposes of practical policy, this claim will usually be accepted. Since students are at liberty either to join the existing unions, or to form new organisations of their own, the unions probably do, in fact, represent the views and opinions of a large number of those for whom they claim to speak. This is certainly true of their policy of opposition to the colour bar, and of similar issues on which student opinion is undivided.

As is the case with students' organisations the world over, the Colonial students' unions vary considerably in efficiency and durability. Some have only a brief span of life: a few students get together and decide to form a new organisation, but they soon lose interest, or the leading members return home, and their project is forgotten. This
is particularly apt to occur among East African unions, partly because their membership is small but chiefly because of differences in the racial origin of these students. Whites from East Africa normally join British unions, Indians primarily associate with other Asians, and the small number of African students that remain tend to think on a local, rather than on a national, level. In the following, we shall only deal with the more important of the Colonial students' unions — important because they have a relatively large membership, or because they are well organised and likely to be of lasting significance.¹

In order to distinguish between the effects of colour consciousness on the one hand, and awareness of Colonial status on the other, we shall throughout this survey make use of two "control groups". The first consists of Liberians, representing coloured students from an independent country;

¹Among societies not included in this account are the following:-
Hong-Kong Students' Association.
Sierra Leone Students' Union.
S.E. and Central African Students' Union.
Nigerian Union.
Gold Coast Union.
(The last two are not students' unions but have a large student membership).
the second of Cypriots, Colonial students of
"European" race. Liberians have so far failed to
establish any unions of their own; they are a small
and tightly-knit group who maintain close contact
by means of the Liberian official representatives
in Britain; the Cypriot organisations are described
below. In the concluding section of this chapter
we attempt to compare the nature and functions of
the various unions, and to discuss their character
as forms of adaptation to British life.

2. West African and West Indian Unions

The West African Students' Union

The West African Students' Union (W.A.S.U.)
is one of the oldest of the Colonial students'
societies in London; and it probably is also the
best-known and the politically most influential of
them all. This account is largely based upon two articles by
Mr. Philip Garigue, to whom grateful acknowledgment
is made: "The West African Students' Union", Africa,
Vol.XXIII, No.1, January, 1953, and (unpublished)
Report on Colonial Students, pp.39-41. We are also
indebted to Mr. Garigue for part of the material
dealing with the West Indian Students' Union. The
other organisations have been described on the basis
of documentary and other material supplied by their
presidents and other officials, to whom grateful
acknowledgment is hereby made.
at a time when there were relatively few West African students in London.

In those days, West African students still came from a land of the trader's frontier, administered under different systems of indirect rule: and all were the products of missionary schools. These students looked upon Britain as a land where missionaries came from, a religious country, where all the Christian virtues were practised. The political ideas they brought with them were largely the result of years of Colonial rule, although the proclamation of war aims during the First World War had been a stirring influence.

Among those who arrived in this country in 1922 was a Nigerian student by the name of Ladigo Solanke. He had come to study law, and was called to the Bar in 1926. Solanke reacted strongly to the kind of race relations that existed in Britain at that time, and felt personally touched by every form of discrimination. Perhaps as a result of this strong identification, he claimed to have had a dream in which God showed him that only through unity, self-help and co-operation could Africans hope to defeat the colour bar.

Solanke decided to devote his life to this
task, and as a first step, to promote co-operation among students in this country. Three organisations already existed, at that time, for African students in Britain: the African Progress Union, the Gold Coast Students' Union, and the Association of Students of African Descent. Solanke was able to create a fourth, the Nigerian Progress Union, founded in 1924. But he was not satisfied with this; Solanke wanted an organisation which would represent all the peoples of West Africa, so that one day they would all be united.

To start with, his efforts met with little success, but in 1925 Solanke called a meeting to which representatives of all four West African Colonies were invited. About a dozen students took part, all of whom have since become prominent in West Africa as judges, magistrates, barristers and politicians. This meeting founded the West African Students' Union, outlined its Constitution, and put forward a programme for the revendication of African political rights. The students' criticisms of British Colonial rule, and of the discrimination that they had experienced in this country, were both founded upon a legal and constitutional point of view, perhaps because all who took
part were students of law.

In the early days of the Union, members often met in Solanke's room to discuss the problem of achieving some sort of national development in West Africa. Their debates covered topics such as the relation between Native rulers and intellectuals, how reforms could best be introduced, and so on. All these discussions assumed that Colonial governments would freely co-operate in turning the Native rulers into efficient administrators of the modern kind. The goodwill of the British was taken for granted, and it was thought that nothing ought to be done without their help. The ultimate political aim of the students was that Native rulers should regain sovereignty by lawful and constitutional means.

But this aim could only be achieved if a new national consciousness was brought about among West Africans. Co-operation was the key-word, and this could only be attained by uniting all the progressive elements of the four Colonies, i.e. the intellectuals of West Africa. Only they, having acquired Western knowledge, could speak to the white man upon equal terms. Hence the importance that these students attributed to their union: it was to be a training-ground for the future leaders of
West Africa.

In the meantime, the Union had moved from Solanke's rooms to a house that had been given them by Dr. Marcus Garvey; and when its lease had expired, they decided to send Solanke to West Africa to raise money. He was away for three years, and returned with £1,500; but the most important effect of his tour, perhaps, was the creation of a number of W.A.S.U. branches and societies in the West African Colonies. This meant that students who had returned were able to keep in touch with each other, and to communicate to others the ideas that they had brought with them. When later the various political parties began to develop in West Africa, it was frequently former members of the Union who took the most prominent part in their leadership, either because they were the only people with political experience, or because their education gave them, in the eyes of other Africans, the right to become leaders.

A few months after Solanke's return, the Union was able to secure a house as a centre and hostel. But the funds he had been able to raise were insufficient to cover expenses for more than a few months. In 1933, the Union asked the Colonial
Office for financial help, but felt unable to accept their conditions. At this time, relations between the two bodies were far from good, mainly because the Colonial Office had proposed to open their own hostel for Colonials. The Union was opposed to this, fearing that it might bring students under official control. Stresses within the Union itself came to a head when all the Gold Coast students decided to support the official scheme. But in the long run, this crisis proved to be of value, since it forced the Union to order their financial affairs, and to decide upon a new policy. This was to make contact with everyone who could possibly help, to stress the importance of the Union, and particularly to emphasise the contribution that it could make to improve relations between Britain and West Africa.

By October 1934, the society found it possible to hold a Union Day celebration in London, to which representatives of the Colonial Office were also invited. Towards the end of the following year, it made contact with the Committee for the Welfare of Africans in Europe; a public appeal was started, and this finally resulted in the purchase of a house in Camden Square. In the meantime,
the Union's relations with the Colonial Office had also improved; they began to receive funds from them, and later from the various Colonial governments as well. For the first time in its history, the Union became financially solvent; and in recent years it was able, with the help of the Dean of Westminster's Fund Appeal, to purchase an attractive hostel on Chelsea Embankment.

In the meantime, the political outlook of the Union had also changed; in particular, it had become more interested in current political events, even where these did not directly affect West Africa. When Italy attacked Ethiopia, for example, the Union formed a Committee of Defence; and the slogan of the "United Front" brought members into close contact with various Left-wing movements in this country. But although the Union thus took a wide interest in political affairs, these were always interpreted from the particular viewpoint of African nationalism.

The Union's attitude to Colonial affairs had similarly changed. In the late 'thirties, the system of indirect rule came under much criticism, and it was pointed out that under modern conditions, the interests of the Native rulers tended more and more to coincide with those of the Colonial power.
The Union also made close contact with the British Labour Party, and the link between them has long been maintained.

But the greatest of its political changes came to the Union with the outbreak of war. During this period, West Africa experienced a political transformation of a radical kind. West African soldiers saw service abroad, while the civilians were subjected to propaganda designed to show the right of all democratic countries to independence and freedom. In 1941, and again in 1943, the Union held conferences at which political, economic and educational problems were discussed with prominent British personalities: these were fully reported in the West African press, and greatly helped to increase the Union's standing in the Colonies. The Union also formed a Parliamentary Committee, through which a group of Labour Members of Parliament were kept informed of political changes in West Africa. Within the Union itself, various study groups were formed, the most popular of them dealing with the political and economic problems of the Colonies. Developments in the Soviet Union came in for a good deal of attention, and were frequently made the subject of comparison.
The students who came to Britain after the war were not slow to acquaint themselves with the political arguments then taking place. During this period, also, the Union's membership showed a considerable increase: a greater number of West Africans then reached this country than ever before. From the bare dozen who had first gathered in Solanke's room, membership had risen to three hundred, with another 1,000 associate members as well.

Although the Union had warmly welcomed the advent of the post-war Labour government, a great many members soon professed their disappointment. In particular, they had reached the conclusion that the policies of the Fabian Colonial Bureau were insufficient and fundamentally unrealistic because they did not recognise the ability of Africans at once to take charge of their own affairs. "Self-government now" became the slogan of the day. Many of these students discovered in Marxist-Leninist theory a new way of criticising Colonial rule, while others saw in the developing conflict between East and West a chance to press their own claims. The formation of the International Union of Students enabled them to take part in world politics; and soon the Union began to send delegates to the various I.U.S. Congresses in Prague, Budapest, Berlin.
and Peking.

In the eyes of many, the Union had by now become a mere training-ground for agitators; these critics could point out, and rightly, that nearly every leading member had become a politician upon his return. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to regard it primarily as a political organisation. Throughout its history, opposition to Colonialism and to all forms of racial discrimination have been the leading values of the Union, although the form in which this was expressed has naturally varied with the changing conditions of world affairs.

The West Indian Students' Union

This is a comparatively young organisation. It was founded in 1945, when the arrival of large numbers of West Indians, together with their increased political awareness, made it possible to unite the various already existing small groups of students. The political outlook of the Union is one of opposition to "Imperialism" and to Colonial rule, but those who deal with Colonial students' societies claim that they find this union easier to deal with than W.A.S.U.; in their view, it is less extreme, less nationalistic and more given to compromise than the African organisation.
The main purpose of the Union is to represent West Indian students in their dealings with the various official bodies in this country. It takes their problems to the Colonial Office, and tries to see that they are satisfactorily solved. The Union also send a representative to the Advisory Committee to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Although it has not been officially recognised by any of the West Indian governments, informal contacts are maintained. Official circles in the Colonies are aware of the potential importance of the Union, and sometimes go out of their way to satisfy their requests.

The Union has half-yearly general conferences where a new Executive Committee is elected. Its membership in London includes from 200 to 250 students, but an affiliated membership with West Indian clubs in provincial universities brings this number up to nearly 1,000. The Union derives its funds from the subscription of members and from the receipts of dances and "Socials"; it also organises theatre shows and similar entertainments. Financially it is solvent, but has only a small reserve. It is now trying to raise funds from Colonial governments in the West Indies and from the Colonial Office, mainly in order to open a permanent centre.
on the lines of the West African students' hostels.

The Union's leadership includes some of the most politically active students in London, and these, together with the W.A.S.U. officials, represent the most dynamic part of the Colonial student population. All West Indian territories are represented, but none dominates the Union itself.

On the other hand, there is a distinct division between a Communist and a larger and more liberal group. The pro-Communist group is numerically small and has developed only recently. Its growth seems to be the result of the influence of a few strong personalities who have joined the Communist Party, rather than a reflection of political developments in the West Indies.

The Union maintains contact with the allegedly Communist-dominated International Union of Students, and has sent delegates to their Congresses in Berlin and Prague. It appears to be divided, however, about the nature of this relationship. During one debate, a speaker remarked that association with the I.U.S. would "present a challenge to the Western world to keep its own house in order and try to win us to them. By withdrawing from the I.U.S. we lost a bargaining point."^3 The

Society's President, however, said on the same occasion that the I.U.S. was in his belief partisan, and most unlikely to be influenced by any decisions that W.I.S.U. might make.

3. Asian and Other Unions

The Malay Society of Great Britain

This Society is one of the oldest of the Colonial students' unions in Britain. It was founded in 1927, by a small group of students whose purpose it was to "increase understanding and unity among Malays". From the beginning, membership of the society has been confined to Malays, as opposed to other Malayan nationals; that is, Chinese or Indian residents of Malaya are excluded. The union was formerly known as the "Malay Students' Society of Great Britain", but in 1945, its title was changed to the present form. During the war years a number of Malays had graduated from British universities and later found war-time employment in London, so that the society now included many who could no longer be described as students.

The location of the Society's headquarters has always depended upon the geographical distribution of Malay students in this country. London
and Cambridge are the two main centres of learning to which Malays have traditionally been attracted, and the headquarters of the organisation have consequently tended to fluctuate between these two universities. From 1934 until the early years of the second world war, the Society's main centre of activity was at Cambridge. At that time, Cambridge had Malay students reading law, economics, engineering, agriculture and medicine. Union members met once a week, and papers dealing with various aspects of Malay life were read and discussed. Talks on Malay customs, agriculture, and economic and political problems were also prepared for discussion on Sunday evenings. In addition, books and papers dealing with subjects of interest to Malays were collected and a small library was gradually built up in this way. Some members also started to compile a bibliography of Malay literature, but this work was interrupted by the war.

During the war years, the headquarters of the Society were moved to London. At this time, the union showed considerable interest in the political problems of Malaya. Towards the end of 1943, the Colonial Office invited the Society to submit a memorandum on the future constitution of
Malaya, and representatives of the union later discussed this with British officials. The Society strongly opposed the proposals for Malayan Union put forward by the British Government in 1945, and kept in close touch with Malayan political organisations for this purpose. It gradually became the focus of opposition to Malayan Union in this country; members gave public lectures, interviewed Members of Parliament, sent cables to Malay national organisations, and generally attempted to put their point of view before the British public.

In recent years, however, the political outlook of the Society has greatly changed. In 1950, a general meeting of union members decided to take an even more active part in politics than they had done previously, and to co-operate with other Malayan organisations in this country. This primarily meant the Malayan Students' Union, whose membership includes a large proportion of Chinese. This decision reflected a growing determination to work with other Malayan communities in a common effort for independence. The change was partly connected with political developments in Malaya, but primarily it resulted from the personal influence of a small number of students who first
became interested in politics during their stay in London. This group had pronounced Labour sympathies. Their thesis, essentially, was that independence could only be gained by the common effort of all Malayan citizens, and that the main obstacle to collaboration was the capitalistic and imperialist character of the Malayan political and economic structure. At the same time, the Society continued to oppose the Communist view of the Malayan situation, and has been careful to avoid any charges of Communist infiltration.

A number of former members of the Malay Society, and particularly those who have taken a more active part in student politics, have since achieved positions of considerable influence in their own country. Hence the dramatic change in the political outlook of the Union may have important consequences. But it remains to be seen whether the new concepts and ideas acquired by Malay students here will prove strong enough to survive the strains and stresses of the present-day political situation in Malaya.
The Malayan Students' Union

Membership of this Union is open to all Malayan communities, but in fact it mainly consists of Chinese. It was founded in 1946, with the general object of "serving the interest of Malayan students in Britain, and to promote various social and cultural activities". The Union's draft constitution prescribed all forms of political activity, but this clause has since been rescinded. However, Union members appear to take comparatively little interest in politics, possibly in consequence of present-day conditions in Malaya. The Union issues a bulletin, which is cyclostyled once during every academic term. It also assists new arrivals, and promotes social and cultural activities of various kinds. Members meet at Malaya Hall, and an annual dinner and dance is held. There have been several attempts to merge the two organisations just described, but so far without success.

The Malayan Forum

The Malayan Forum serves as a link between the above two organisations. Membership is open to all Malayans, irrespective of race. Members attend debates and discussions dealing with various
problems of Malayan life, and outside lecturers are invited.

The Malayan Forum primarily came into being because a number of students felt anxious about what they regarded as the political apathy of their countrymen. Its general objects were stated in the following terms:--

"We have to start right at the beginning for the simple reason that in the past, the relative prosperity of the country has bred an atmosphere of incredible complacency and smugness. Not only had Malaya achieved nothing by way of political advancement but the people of Malaya were actually proud of their political ineptitude..... It is our duty to educate ourselves now so that we shall be equipped to handle the future with the necessary intelligence and resolution".

The general political outlook of the society was further described as follows:--

"We must realise that it is we, the people of Malaya, and nobody else, who have to shape the ultimate destiny of our country. The fact that our country is at present under British rule has served to obscure our responsibilities; the colonial form of government under which we live has inculcated in us a habit of leaving the management of our national affairs to the ruling bureaucracy. But British rule can only be a passing phase in Malaya, and the British are not, and have never claimed to be, the final arbiters of our fate. The sooner we wake up to this elementary fact, the more quickly will we realise how great our responsibilities are." 4

The Forum publishes a quarterly, the "Voice

of Freedom", (Suara Merdeka), and this is well produced and contains articles of varied interest. Judging by the material published in Suara Merdeka, it would appear that members of the Malay Society of Great Britain play a prominent part in forming its policy; and three members of the Society sat on the Malayan Forum Council in 1951.

Members of all of these organisations generally meet at Malaya Hall. This is a general social and cultural centre for Malayan students in Britain. It was founded in 1949, and is financed by the governments of Malaya and Singapore. It serves as a transit hostel for Malayan students, but one-third of the residents are permitted to stay for longer periods. All of the organisations so far described use Malaya Hall as their headquarters, but they have no official voice in its regime. A number of students expressed dissatisfaction on this account.

The Democratic Malayan Students' Organisation

The head of this union is also editor of "Malayan Monitor", a publication supporting the Communist opposition in Malaya. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain any detailed information regarding the character and size of
membership of this society. Its membership does not seem to be large, and is said to consist mainly of a small core of convinced Communist supporters permanently living in this country. Malayan students are usually careful to stress their lack of knowledge of this organisation, and it is plain, in view of political conditions in Malaya today, that it cannot find it easy to make new recruits. The union claims to represent the views of the student section of the Malayan Peoples' Liberation League, an organisation long illegal in Malaya. Its general political outlook may be illustrated by the following extract from a message sent to the second World Student Congress in Prague, which includes this pledge:

"The frequent brutal attacks of the British imperialists and their strict blockade cannot separate us from you: our hearts are with you in the Congress. We assure you that we will rally round you for the common fight against warmongers and in defence of world peace. We will accept your correct leadership and guidance: we swear that we will support the resolutions of the Congress and play our part in the struggle against the imperialist aggressive block." 5

5 Malayan Monitor, August 1950, p.12.
The Central Union of Chinese Students

This organisation is mentioned here because it takes an interest in certain types of Colonials, and particularly in Chinese from overseas. The Union is affiliated to the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, and supports the policies of the Chinese Peoples' Government. It issues a circular, mainly dealing with topics of interest to Chinese students, and concern with overseas Chinese is shown by several of the articles. Thus an editorial of June 1950 has this to say:

"The overseas Chinese are the sons and daughters of our big family, but only temporarily living abroad. They have the equal share of right to enjoy the prestige which our nation is building among the family of nations. And undoubtedly they have an equal share of duty to contribute their efforts towards our common task."

Members of the Central Union of Chinese Students meet at the China Institute in London, and Colonials are frequently invited. As far as may be judged, the Union seems to have had little success in gaining the support of all but a small minority of Colonial students.
The Mauritius Students' Union

Although the Mauritius Students' Union might on other grounds be considered together with African unions, its functions are such that it has more in common with the Asian organisations. In particular, members show comparatively little interest in problems such as the colour bar and discrimination.

The Union was founded in April 1952. Before the war, the number of Mauritian students in this country had not been large enough for effective organisation, but the influx of students in recent years has made this possible. The Union was formed as the result of the initiative of a small number of students who had already known each other at home. This group sent an introductory letter to other Mauritian students, and a draft constitution was prepared. This defines the general aims of the Union in the following words:

1. To promote fellowship and co-operation among Mauritian students in this country,
2. To look after the general welfare of students from that colony, and to grant assistance to any persons who may be in need,
3. To stimulate interest in Mauritius among
the British public, and thus to further the political and cultural aspirations of the colony,

4. To establish and maintain contact with other student organisations, such as the N.U.S. and the I.U.S., in order to co-operate on matters of common concern.

The present membership of the Union is about sixty-five, and it includes representatives of all the major ethnic groups of the Island. The executive meets at Mauritius House, the general social and cultural centre for Mauritians in Britain. The Union takes an active interest in politics, and most of its members support the Labour Party.

In view of the varied ethnical composition of the Mauritian population, the establishment of a single union speaking for all students from that Colony represents an interesting development. Partly, at least, this is the result of that greater feeling of unity which Mauritians claim to have acquired as a result of their stay in this country. But it is too early to say to what extent the policies of the Union are representative of Mauritian students as a whole, or whether co-operation is
likely to survive their further experiences in their own country.

The Cypriot Turkish Association

With one exception, Cypriot students in Britain have not formed any special organisations of their own. But large numbers of their countrymen have permanently settled here, particularly in London, and these have evolved their own societies along national lines. Since students form a considerable part of their membership, however, and sometimes play a leading role in formulating policy, they must be considered in this account.

Perhaps the most interesting of these societies is the Cypriot Turkish Association, founded in February, 1952. This is a cultural and social organisation, and mainly serves Cypriots of Turkish origin long settled in this country. At present it has a membership of about 340, some forty of whom are students. The students play a very active part in running the society, however, and have a greater influence than their numbers suggest. Members of the society meet at frequent intervals, and their activities include socials, lectures, dances, and debates and discussions. The
students naturally have special interests of their own, and may shortly form their own organisation within the framework of the larger society.

Another Cypriot organisation, the Cyprus Christian Brotherhood, is a Greek-Orthodox religious society, but has social and cultural functions as well. It has its own premises in Soho, and these serve as a general social centre for Greek Cypriots in London. Membership includes a considerable number of students, but these seem to play a less active part than is the case with the Turkish organisation.

Mention should also be made of the Democratic Union of Cypriot Students, a small organisation of Cypriot students of extreme Left-wing views. The political demands of this body include union with Greece, while, at the same time, it supports the general political line of the Cominform. Membership varies between thirty and forty, but most are said to be mainland Greeks. Little is known of this Union among Cypriot students generally, and possibly it is by now defunct.
4. Discussion

The Colonial students' unions share certain features. They all try to promote the interests of their members, particularly in their dealings with college authorities and other outside organisations, and they provide social and cultural activities of various kinds. They differ from British unions in that membership is defined by national origin.

But the societies also show considerable differences among themselves. In particular, a general distinction must be drawn between unions of students of Negro descent on the one side, and those of Asians and Europeans on the other. In the case of the first, we find a very active concern with such questions as the colour bar, discrimination, and the status of coloured peoples in this country; in that of the second, this interest is much less pronounced, and is sometimes absent. Although the Asian unions generally follow the lead of the African societies in matters of this kind, they rarely act upon their own initiative; and as far as they are concerned, the problem of race relations is clearly less urgent.
In order to illustrate this point we may compare the functions of W.A.S.U. with the Malayan organisations, particularly since this comparison will also show the importance of socio-cultural background in shaping the essential character of a union. As we have seen, W.A.S.U. is the largest and politically the most important of the Colonial students' societies in this country; this reflects, of course, the numerical importance of the West African contingent in relation to the total student body. The way in which W.A.S.U. was formed and the purpose to which it was dedicated reflect political and social conditions in West Africa as well as the students' experiences of British life. Solanke, the Union's founder, claimed that he had a dream in which God showed him that "only through unity and co-operation could Africans hope to defeat the colour bar." Although one should not, perhaps, attach too much importance to this point, it is nevertheless interesting to see that the Union's raison d'être was thus justified by an appeal to divine authority; and this is not surprising if we remember that West African students at that time had all passed through missionary schools and that they often regarded British "success" as a direct consequence of Christianity.
Equally significant is the point that Solanke's declared objective was "to defeat the colour bar." From the first, W.A.S.U. as a body has been highly conscious of the difficulties of African students in this country and, rightly or wrongly, it has always attributed them to colour prejudice and discrimination. For this reason Solanke aimed at a union whose concern would not be confined to a particular Colony, but whose membership and interest embraced West Africa as a whole. Despite many differences of social and cultural background, these early members of W.A.S.U. clearly felt themselves united — and united mainly by reason of the attitude of British people towards them all. The Union's solidarity, in other words, was based less upon nationality or cultural similarities than upon a common relationship to the British environment.

The Union's acute interest in the problem of the colour and in race relations generally, meant that from the start it felt itself to be a political -- though not a party-political -- body. It shared with other unions the usual concern with student welfare and it claimed, in relation to outside bodies, to represent West African students as a whole; yet
W.A.S.U. felt that it had a higher and a more important task. And so we find that from the point of its inception to the present day, W.A.S.U. has not only taken an "academic" interest in political affairs, especially insofar as these have affected the West African Colonies, but that it has at certain stages of its career effectively intervened in public affairs. During the second World War, for example, the Union formed a Parliamentary Committee by which a group of Labour Members of Parliament were kept informed of political changes in West Africa; while in 1941, and again in 1943, the Union held conferences at which West African political and economic problems were discussed. These debates were fully reported in the West African press, and W.A.S.U. members thus had reason to feel that they could really help to form public opinion in their own countries.

But W.A.S.U. did not merely want to help in the achievement of political independence in an auxiliary role — on the contrary, its thesis was that only the intellectuals of the West African Colonies, having acquired Western techniques and ways of living, could speak to the Whites on equal terms. This belief not only expresses the social justification,
perhaps the rationalization, of the desire of individual West Africans for learning; it also implies the view, widely held among these students, that it is necessary to adopt Western patterns of culture if independence and racial equality are to be achieved. Since, in the view of Union members, it was the colour bar that was the main obstacle to this process, the fight against prejudice thus acquired a national as well as a purely human significance.

The forms in which the basic policy of W.A.S.U. was expressed have varied, as we have seen, with the changing political conditions of our time. In the beginning, policy was expressed in legalistic and almost "conservative" terms; later it emerged as opposition to Indirect Rule and involved a close alignment with the Labour Movement in Britain; and finally it became a criticism of Colonial rule from the view-point of dialectical materialism. Yet the basic core of W.A.S.U. policy has remained unchanged. Throughout its history, this has been to promote African nationalist aspirations on the one hand, and to oppose racial discrimination on the other; and always, W.A.S.U. has been an "umbrella-type" of union; presenting a united front against outsiders, we find within its ranks social and cultural differences as well as varying shades of political opinion.
By comparison with W.A.S.U., the Malayan organisations seem less ambitious as well as less influential. It is not merely that they are numerically less important and less well organised, but that until quite recently, the Malayan unions did not take as serious a view of their task as does W.A.S.U. The most important of them, the Malay Society of Great Britain, has long remained a union with primarily welfare functions. Its interests, that is to say, were cultural and social rather than political, and it is only in recent years, and largely as the result of the influence of a relatively small number of politically conscious students, that its activities have acquired a decidedly political slant. Moreover, in sharp contrast to W.A.S.U., we find among Malayan organisations a striking lack of interest in the colour bar and in the position of coloured peoples in this country. This is not surprising; as the previous chapter has shown, Asians usually have less difficulty on this score than Africans. Malayan students, furthermore, are strongly conscious of the worth of their own culture and in the terminology of our introductory chapter, they may be said to aim at accommodation rather than at adaptation, so that they are able to view unfavourable experiences in this country with
comparative detachment.

As in the case of W.A.S.U., the Malayan organisations show the importance of socio-cultural background in forming the essential character of a union. Sectional splits in the Malayan social structure find their faithful reflection in the students' organisations — despite many attempts, it has not been possible to found a union which genuinely represents all nationalities within Malaya.

The comparative lack of interest in politics is shown even more clearly in the case of the Malayan Students' Union, whose membership is predominantly Chinese. The draft constitution of this union, indeed, went as far as to prescribe all forms of political activity. But this may of course merely reflect the troubled political scene in Malaya, and the special difficulties of the Chinese element.

To sum up, we may say that W.A.S.U. is an umbrella-type organisation with active political interests, whose solidarity is largely based upon the fact that all its members, to a greater or lesser degree, are likely to encounter colour prejudice during their stay in this country; while the Malayan organisations are decidedly less interested in politics, tend to concentrate on welfare and social activities, are seldom concerned with problems of
race, and express their members' desire to accommodate rather than to adapt. In the long run, these differences have a practical importance, for there is a two-way relationship between the unions and the groups they claim to represent. On the one hand, the students' unions express and institutionalize the individual adjustments of their members, while on the other hand they in turn create the values upon which these adjustments are at least partly based. We have seen, in a previous chapter, that the students' reactions to London life depend less upon their actual experiences than upon their interpretations of these; and their interpretations are to an important extent based upon the way their friends and comrades, in this case other union members, have learnt to interpret their own experiences in the past. If a newly-arrived student learns from his comrades that all his difficulties are due to colour prejudice, he is on the whole likely to accept this explanation and to value his future experiences accordingly.

The other students' unions, described in the previous section, approximate to a lesser or greater degree to either of these two examples. In the case of the West Indian Students' Union, for instance, opposition to colonialism and the colour bar have had an important influence upon policy,
although perhaps to a lesser extent than in the case of W.A.S.U. At any rate the "protest" character of this organisation seems to be less pronounced. This probably results from the fact that West Indians have less difficulty in adjusting to social conditions in this country, and that more of them tend to identify their interests with those of British people; while nationalism is not as strong and unifying a force among them as in the case of West Africans. Officials and others who have to deal with the Colonial students' unions often say that they find it easier to work with W.I.S.U. officials who, in their view, are less suspicious and "radical" than their West African colleagues, and less inclined to interpret the world from an exclusively racial and nationalist angle. In this respect, W.I.S.U. might be said to stand half-way between the West African and the Asian organisations.

This raises an important point. What types of leaders may be expected to emerge from the various students' organisations? Those with personal experience of dealing with the students' unions claim that in the case of such organisations as W.A.S.U. the qualities most in demand are those of the "protest" leader, while in the case of the Asian organisations social ease and a flair for compromise
are probably more useful talents for any potential leader. My own observations tend to confirm this, but unfortunately it is not possible to present detailed evidence on this point. A union's leadership changes at least once a year, sometimes more frequently, and those who have guided its policy then return home; while some of the unions, particularly those formed by East Africans, usually have a very brief span of life. In these circumstances, there is no adequate material for comparison and we are only able to comment upon the problem of leadership in general terms.

The unions affect the structure of leadership among Colonial students in two major ways: certain unions are able to extend their influence over others beside their own members, and secondly, the unions serve as a training-ground for the political leaders of the future. The West African and West Indian Unions are both the largest and the politically most active of all these bodies, and hence are often able to determine the climate of Colonial student opinion as a whole. There is a good deal of co-operation between all these societies, usually brought about in an informal way. It is largely the result of friendships between politically active students who, in the course of their
activities, continually come across each other in centres such as Hans Crescent. In this way, the Colonial students' unions not only co-operate with each other, but with other "coloured" unions as well, and particularly with the Indian and Pakistani organisations in Britain.

The unions are generally dominated by the politically most active of their members, who form a small but powerful nucleus. This is shown by the case of the West African Students' Union. Of their present membership of 300, about one-tenth permanently live at the Chelsea Hostel, and another dozen or so in Camden Square. The general pattern of union activities is thus restricted to some thirty or forty residents, who use these hostels as social clubs; a small proportion of these are politically active the whole time. The net result is the production of a small inner clique, who are generally able to determine the day-to-day policy of the union as a whole.

The opportunities for social advancement open to professional politicians have not been lost upon Colonial students, who often consider the experience they here receive as a training for practical politics on their return. These students
see their union, without in any way compromising its objectives, as a useful means of obtaining political importance for themselves. With the development of political parties, and the advance towards self-government in West Africa, their hopes have not been disappointed. Dr. Nkrumah, for example, was once a Vice-President of W.A.S.U., Dr. Danquah one of its original Presidents, while the present Nigerian Minister for local affairs was President until one year before he obtained his ministerial post.

From this point of view, the students' societies may be regarded as instruments enabling Colonial students to become political leaders and to rise in the social scale; and particularly in the case of West African students, the unions thus offer opportunities usually denied by social conditions in this country.
Chapter VII

COLLEGE LIFE
COLLEGE LIFE

1. Colleges and Polytechnics

The great variety of subjects studied makes generalisation about the college life of Colonial students very difficult. Table I shows the distribution of these students to their courses during the academic year 1951-52. It will be seen that courses range from accountancy to veterinary science, all claiming a varying proportion of students. As a result, Colonial students in London are dispersed over thirty-five colleges and institutes of the University, and these differ in size as well as in historical background and tradition. The number of Colonials at each varied, in 1951-52, from 110 students registered at the Institute of Education to the two women students attending courses at Bedford College. During the same year, more than 800 Colonials were reading law, and most of these were registered at one of the four Inns of Court.

In addition to the University colleges
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<th>Far East</th>
<th>Mediterr' n</th>
<th>West Indies</th>
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1 Compiled from lists supplied by the Colonial Office.
and the Inns of Court there are, in London, over sixty Polytechnics and other training institutes, mostly specializing in courses of a technical kind. The number of Colonials at each varied in 1951-52, from sixty-one students registered at the North-Western Polytechnic to a single student attending the National Training College of Domestic Subjects. A considerable number of Colonials also take specialized training courses provided by Government departments, private firms, and institutions like the British Railways. Students of this category are found all over London in small groups, rarely exceeding half-a-dozen or so, and often comprising only one or two people. Finally, mention must be made of Colonial student nurses, well over 400 in all, who are dispersed over some fifty London hospitals, usually in small groups of four or five.

These differences, and in particular the greatly varying proportions of Colonials in the different colleges, almost prevent generalization about their experiences. Clearly, the initial situation facing a large group of Colonial students who attend the same college offers them different opportunities and incentives for mixing with British students than is the case among one or two
isolated Colonials attending a technical college in the suburbs of London. In the case of the former, Colonials will be tempted, if they experience any difficulties in their relations with British students at all, to rely upon contacts with their own countrymen; while, at the same time, British students may be less inclined to admit Colonials to their own social groups when they form a large proportion of the total student body.

These considerations lead one to suppose that small groups of Colonials have a better chance of adapting to the social life of a college than is the case where they form a large proportion of the total student population; and some students claim that it is easier to form contacts in the smaller colleges. A West Indian student of engineering, for example, who has been in this country for over eighteen months, makes this comment:

"The college I wanted to go to did not accept me, and so I decided to put in a year or two at one of the smaller technical colleges in the outskirts of London. At first, I didn't like this idea very much, not only because I thought that the training would be of an inferior kind, but also because there was only one other Colonial student in the place. But I have got on quite well with the British students, and have made friends with several of them. Lately, I have become a regular visitor at one or two of their homes. I usually get on well with people, and this may account for it, but I think that Colonials at the smaller colleges in the suburbs score by the fact that many of the British students there have their homes in the neighbourhood; naturally, they are better able
to give you hospitality than students who live in furnished rooms”.

This student thinks that more Colonials should attend the smaller colleges because "otherwise they never get to know anybody except their own countrymen, and so they might as well have stayed at home". But a West African medical student who has been in London for two years says that this is sometimes rather difficult and quotes from his own experiences as follows:

"I was one of the first Africans to attend this college. When I first got here, I had the feeling that some of the British students resented my presence. But I was determined to show that I could do as well as they could, and I think that I have succeeded. In the beginning, I had been rather anxious about my studies, as I expected them to be very difficult. But although I found that I had to work very hard to keep up to the mark, so far, I have been able to do so.

The initial 'resentment' of the British students showed itself in a certain aloofness. At dances and socials I would usually find myself standing about on my own, and nobody would bother to talk to me .... But I have never encountered rudeness or any other form of open prejudice. Since then, I have become acquainted with several of the British students, though on a rather superficial level. As yet, I have not been out with any of them, and I have never been invited to their homes."

A similar point is made by a West African student of economics who has experienced both life at a Polytechnic and at one of the largest colleges of the University of London:

"I studied at one of the Polytechnics at first, but was later able to transfer to the London School of Economics. I liked this much better, and have really felt at home there. Although I never had any real trouble at my
previous college, it was clear, for example, that many students did not like the idea of my making dates with British girls. At L.S.E., nobody seems to care about things like that, and here I have really had the feeling of being treated as an equal. I have also found it easier to meet people, because I am interested in politics and have joined the Labour and the Socialist societies. I have several times spoken at Union meetings, especially on Colonial affairs."

These examples show the difficulties of generalization in this field; for much depends on local circumstances, and on the particular traditions of the colleges concerned. The student body of the London School of Economics, for example, has always included a large percentage of foreign and other overseas students. The School, moreover, has a reputation for "Left-wing" egalitarianism, and while this has been much exaggerated, it remains true that any overt expressions of prejudice would not be in keeping with the general climate of opinion. A great many of the students at L.S.E. also take psychology, and while, on purely logical grounds, there is no reason why they should be less prejudiced than the rest, in practice it is difficult, psychologically speaking, to defend attitudes that one has just, in the course of some lecture, heard described as "neurotic".

At the Institute of Education, again, most Colonials seem to have little difficulty in their relations with British students. These tend to be
more mature than is generally the case, and many
have already had experience of the outside world
before commencing their studies.

Some students complained about colour
prejudice on the part of British students, more
particularly where relationships with women were
involved. A West Indian student of science, for
example, related the following:

"On the whole, I have got on fairly well
at my college, although I have made no intimate
friends. But on one occasion, I took a girl
out to a dance, and a few days later, I again
asked her to go out with me. Although she
seemed to have enjoyed herself the first time,
she would not make another date. I asked her
about this, and finally she gave me to under¬
stand that some of the men had 'kidded' her
about it, and had made her feel that they thought
less of her for going out with a coloured man".

On the question of colour prejudice,
however, it should be noted that the great majority
of the Colonial students interviewed expressed the
opinion that there was less prejudice among British
students than among the population in general. The
reasons for this are not difficult to see. Students
know that the coloured people they meet have a
similar background to their own, and do not mistake
them for unskilled workers or seamen. It is prob¬
ably also fair to say that university students
normally have at least a modicum of good manners,
and are hence readier to disguise any prejudices
they may have than are persons of a less educated
kind; and finally, there is evidence that among the population generally younger people are less prejudiced than their elders.  

It is significant that where students alleged colour prejudice on the part of teaching authorities, these referred almost exclusively to the minor technical colleges, and not to the University itself. A typical story, in this connection, concerns the experiences of an African student at a commercial college, who passed a note to a young English girl, asking her to ring him up. This girl complained to the Principal, who promptly called all foreign and Colonial students together and warned them that, at the risk of grave financial loss, he would have them expelled should a similar incident recur. He also threatened to write to the Colonial Office to "have the culprit deported", while regretting that "it was not in his power to chastise him personally". It is difficult to imagine the occurrence of this incident at any

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2 Cf. the (unpublished) report on "Colonial Affairs and the Public", by B.M. Osborne, The Social Survey, June 1951, p. 29. "Generally speaking, the older the person, the more antipathetic to coloured people was he likely to be. Older people, and people over 65 in particular, were less ready to favour the idea of mixing with coloured people than other age-groups .... the average antipathy score rises from 5.7 for people under 30 to 7.9 for those over 60 and 8.2 for those over 65 and over."
institution of real academic standing.  

Most of the students interviewed seemed to be fairly satisfied with their experiences of college life. There were, however, some complaints about teaching methods, particularly among law students, and about the lack of knowledge of tutors in respect of the special conditions of the Colonies. A more general complaint concerned the absence of a genuine community life at the University of London; this results from the fact that colleges are not residential, so that students tend to spend much of their leisure elsewhere; but complaints of this kind are not, of course, confined to Colonials.

It is difficult to judge the extent to which Colonial students participate in the social life of the colleges. Like other students, they are free to join the various societies -- arts, political, social etc. -- around which social activities revolve. These societies do not keep account

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3It is only fair to add that the African concerned in this incident was 24 years old, while the girl was only seventeen. It was related to me by three different informants, who were all unknown to each other. While stories of this kind have a notorious tendency of being exaggerated and distorted, it is perhaps significant that none of the students interviewed at the college concerned questioned the truth of this account.
of the national origins of their members, so that it is impossible to say precisely to what extent Colonials are represented. One's general impression is that where Colonials participate at all, they do so in large numbers; that is, any given society will either have a large number of Colonials among its membership or none at all. It is rare to see just one or two Colonial students sharing in the activities of a society that otherwise includes only British.

The experiences of Colonials in university colleges and other training establishments depend to some extent upon their numbers in relation to the total student body, and partly upon the individual circumstances and traditions of each college. Since colleges vary considerably in this respect, the social adaptation of Colonial students is probably better studied in terms of their socio-cultural backgrounds, with particular reference to their initial expectations about life in this country. As far as any generalization can be made, it is this: where Colonials form a large proportion of the total student population, they will have relatively little incentive to mix with British students; while, on the other hand, the presence of large
numbers of their countrymen doubtless tends to increase confidence, and thus to facilitate adaptation.

In colleges where only one or two Colonials work among a large majority of British students, their need to approach these is correspondingly greater; and the British, on their part, will be more likely to accept them. But if, for any reason, such an adjustment fails to occur, Colonials in this situation have no alternative means of social participation and are in an exceedingly difficult position. A situation of this kind gives rise to extremes, and it is not surprising that it is in colleges where a handful of Colonials face large numbers of British that some of the most isolated, as well as some of the best-adjusted students are to be found.

2. The Inns of Court

More than one-quarter of all Colonial students in London read law. The great majority of these are registered at one of the four Inns of Court, and in many respects their experiences differ from those of Colonials in other training
institutions: law students tend to have less contact with British students than do others, and among them complaints about the absence of a community life are particularly frequent. The reasons lie at least partly in the entrance regulations and the general educational arrangements of the Inns of Court.

Most historical accounts of the Inns deal with an earlier period, before a large proportion of the students came from overseas. There is little reference in these accounts to the changing composition of membership, or to any of the problems that might have arisen as a result. In recent years, the number of Colonials at the Inns has considerably increased. Since 1926, the trend has been as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Colonies</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures were collected by Mr. R. Izard of P.E.P., to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.
The Consolidated Regulations for the four Inns specify the minimum entrance qualifications, but in practice these vary somewhat between the Inns, and in each case are slightly above the minimum. The Inner Temple is by ancient custom the Oxford and Cambridge man's Inn, and compared with the rest, it has a small number of Colonial students. One reason for this lies in the insistence, by this Inn, on a high standard of Latin; this policy also means that among new arrivals, relatively few have connections with the Inn through relatives or friends. The distribution of the 750 Colonials registered at the Inns of Court in 1951 was as follows: Lincoln's Inn — 39%, Middle Temple — 30%, Gray's Inn — 24%, and Inner Temple — 7%.

The qualifications for entry are such that it is easier to get admitted by the Inns of Court than by most universities or colleges. The Inns do not limit the number of their members, and all who are qualified and who can pay the necessary fees are admitted. The choice of an Inn is mostly influenced by such considerations as the experiences of a student's friends or relatives.

The Inns are not responsible for the
education of their student members. About 17 per cent of all those registered as members of the Inns in 1951 were also studying at the universities. The remainder looked to one or more of the following methods of instruction: the Council of Legal Education; correspondance courses; law tutors and other methods.

The Council of Legal Education has a panel of teachers who lecture during the terms. A great many Colonials say that these lectures are not sufficient. Some take correspondance courses, others study in small groups; some employ a tutor, others again get a graduate or a senoir student to help them. There are several firms of law tutors, some working on a large scale. A typical prospectus offers three courses per year, one for each examination. A course lasts nine weeks and consists of ten hours coaching a week. The cost is 25 guineas per course.

Many students cannot afford fees of this size, and these read for the Bar examinations alone, supplementing their reading with sporadic attendance at the Council of Legal Education's lectures; a great many students appear to be very critical of these.

The Colonial students at the Inns of Court
seem to have only the smallest feelings of belonging to any kind of community, let alone one of an educational kind, and complaints about the absence of a genuine university life are frequent. The social life of the Inns is expressed mainly in terms of the law societies, some of which are rather esoteric, and whose members share a social life that was begun at school or at a university.

Law is favoured by many Colonials because it gives access to a career which is admired and that, at the same time, is independent of government. Law is also considered a good subject for those interested in a political career, and it is easier to study than most without formal instruction. A great many students say that they looked to the Inns to provide them with a general cultural education, but that they were disappointed in this respect. It is easier to get admitted to the Inns of Court than to a university, and one result of this is that the calibre of the students varies greatly. Many appear to be work-aided, but no statistics are available on this point. One is left with the impression that the Inns, although well adapted to British needs, are less capable of satisfying the special requirements of overseas students.
3. Student Nurses

The number of Colonial women who annually come to Britain for professional training has greatly risen in recent years. In the academic year 1951-52, there were over 700 of them in London alone. Table II shows their distribution to the main forms of training. It will be seen that by far the largest proportion of these women students are nurses, and that most come from West Africa and the West Indies.

**TABLE II**

Colonial Women Students in London, 1951-52

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distribution to Courses</th>
<th>Nurses</th>
<th>Academic</th>
<th>Technical</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East &amp; Central Africa</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far East</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediterranean</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|               | 433 | 195 | 85 | 713 |

In most British Colonies, the education of women is of comparatively recent date, and even

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5 Compiled from lists received from the Colonial Office.
even today, parents with limited means are readier, because of the prevailing social conditions, to finance the education of their sons than that of their daughters. This is particularly true of the African Colonies, where the percentage of educated women is still very low. On the other hand, African graduates, on their return, tend to prefer wives with a similar educational background to their own; and the young women of today, like their brothers, have been much affected by Western ideas, so that many are just as eager as their men-folk to widen their experience of life by study abroad.

Nursing as a career offers these women a convenient means of going abroad, as well as a good opportunity for professional training. In recent years, there has been an acute shortage of nurses in British hospitals, and Colonial students have accordingly been particularly welcomed. Student nurses in this country are not required to pay for their training but, on the contrary, receive free board and lodging in addition to a modest salary. Hence fares are the only large item of expenditure that their parents must provide.

Colonial student nurses in London are
distributed over more than fifty hospitals, usually in small groups of four or five, and this makes it difficult to generalize about their experiences. Perhaps the most important single difference between them and other students is that the nurses all live in hostels, and thus do not encounter many difficulties that other Coloureds have to face. The daily routine of the hospital, moreover, and the sharing of duties during months of day or night duty, brings them into intimate contact with British and other European girls of their own ages and interests. As a result, these nurses sometimes develop close friendships with European women, and spend much time in their company. A Sierra Leone nurse, for example, who has been in this country for over two years, relates the following:

"During my first year at the hospital I didn't get to know any of the English girls. I thought them cold and unfriendly, and felt that they didn't want to have too much to do with me. But I may have been wrong in this, as I was myself very shy, never having been away from home before. Later, when I was doing night duty I got to know a girl from Yorkshire very well and we have become good friends. Recently I spent a holiday at this girl's home, and her parents went out of their way to make me feel at home".
Another West African nurse, twenty-four years of age, comments as follows:

"I became a nurse because I wanted to follow my brother's example and study medicine. My parents couldn't afford this, but then I heard that in England you don't have to pay to be trained as a nurse, so I thought I would do this and perhaps study medicine later. I found the English girls polite and helpful, but rather reserved. But I have become very friendly with a Swiss girl, and Continental people seem to me warmer and less prejudiced than the English. If I had not met this girl, I might have been very homesick and lonely, because there are only one or two other African girls at my hospital, and I don't often come across them".

Many of the Colonial nurses interviewed said that they found it easier to make friends with Continental rather than with British women, and a few appeared to be very lonely. Perhaps this is not surprising; for if, for any reason, these women find it difficult to make friends with European nurses, they have little alternative means of social participation.

A great many of the nurses interviewed seemed shy about meeting European males, and did not talk as readily about their experiences as did the men. Generally speaking, they were less inclined to complain about life in this country. There are several reasons for this. Colonial nurses have no accommodation problems, and indeed
they have relatively few contacts with Londoners. Most of the contacts they do have result directly from their duties, and the Londoners concerned are fully aware of their professional status. Colonial women students are also less demanding, as regards social participation, than the men; few of them, for example, would even think of attending a public dance on their own, and African women, in particular, seem not at all anxious to meet British males. In view of their more limited demands, these women are less liable to find themselves in situations where prejudice may be expected. Perhaps it is also relevant to add that they seem less affected by the growth of nationalism in the Colonies than the men, and less concerned with their own. Londoners, on their part, are often more inclined to accept women students socially than coloured men; and in a previous chapter we have seen that many more landladies are willing to take coloured women as lodgers than are willing to take coloured men.
4. Finance and Welfare

Most of the complaints that Colonial students have about life in Britain refer to such problems as accommodation and colour prejudice, rather than to the more academic side of their experiences. But there are a number of special problems that should be mentioned at this point.

The first concerns fees and finance. Some tutors at the University of London relate instances of private students having difficulties with their fees because their allowances did not arrive in time. Their parents apparently did not realise the anxiety that this can cause, for when the situation is explained to them, allowances immediately start to come through. Instances are on record of students having to withdraw because their allowances had ceased. Colonial governments, in cases of this kind, are in an obvious dilemma: they may be anxious to help, but are naturally reluctant to encourage others to come here without adequate means.

A considerable number of the students interviewed, especially among West Africans and West Indians, complained of financial troubles
resulting from the rising cost of living. This applies to scholarship holders no less than to private students. The value of scholarships varies from about £285 to £375 per year. These figures are adequate where a careful financial regime is followed, but they allow little margin for emergency. Colonial students say that their expenses tend to be higher than those of British students, particularly during the earlier part of their stay. Clothes and other necessities must then be bought from scratch, money may be wasted on fruitless journeys in search of a room, while inexpensive restaurants and lodgings have to be discovered by trial and error. British students often supplement their grants by vacation earnings, but this course, because of colour prejudice, is not always open to Colonials.

It is only scholarship holders who are really sure of a constant income. It is true that officially-recognised private students are required to give proof of adequate means, but in view of the strong desire of students to come here, this system of control is not always effective. In addition, there are those private students who are not officially recognised, and over whose
financial circumstances there is no control. A considerable number of these find their way to London, where possibilities of part-time employment are thought to be better than elsewhere.

These students are in a particularly difficult position. Some come to this country with the promise of financial help from parents or other relatives but, owing to some domestic crisis, this fails to materialize. Others again arrive here intending to "work their way through college", but find this more difficult than they had expected. Most of these men eventually find employment of an unskilled kind, and hover uneasily about the fringes of the student population. Almost all of them come from West Africa and the West Indies. A few case-studies of such students are given in an appendix to this report, but there is no way of estimating their number. As long as they are British subjects, they are entitled to land, and no special record of their arrival is kept.

A second difficulty concerns students, such as accountants and engineers, who are required to obtain practical experience as part of their professional training. Some have difficulty in
finding firms willing to accept them, and most blame colour prejudice for their troubles on this score. This is partly true, but firms naturally tend to prefer men likely to stay with them when their training is finished; and firms who wish to sell their goods in the Colonies show a much more favourable response.

Another problem is that of language. This mostly concerns Asian students, a number of whom said that they found it difficult to follow their courses, because their knowledge of the English language was inadequate. But complaints of this kind are rarely heard among Africans and do not, of course, arise among West Indians. Most Colonials have a good speaking knowledge of English, but some appear to have difficulty in expressing themselves in writing at the speed required in examinations.
Chapter VIII

STUDENTS AND LONDONERS
STUDENTS AND LONDONERS

It has been said, in our introductory chapter, that Colonial students do not come here merely for professional training. They also wish to obtain education of a less formal kind; and this involves some measure of social participation in the life of British people. In the following, we try to determine the extent to which the students' wants, in this respect, have been satisfied. For our purpose, it will be convenient to distinguish between "formal relationships" between students and Londoners on the one side, and "informal contacts" between them on the other. These terms refer less to the character of the relationships themselves as to the ways in which they have been established. The distinction is useful because, as we shall see, a great many of these contacts have been formed as the result of intervention by official organisations in this country.
1. Formal Relationships

By far the most important of the various organisations that help to put students in touch with Londoners is the British Council. Because of its experience with overseas students, and its possession of a considerable regional organisation, the British Council was chosen, in 1950, to act as the Colonial Office's agent for the reception, accommodation, and general welfare of Colonial students in Britain. Some of the functions which this body performs have already been noted in previous chapters. Here we are only concerned with the Council's task of putting students in touch with Londoners, and in helping them to share in the life of this country.

The British Council recognise the importance of providing congenial occupations for the students' leisure time. In addition to facilities offered in such centres as Hans Crescent, the Council provide week-end vacation courses of various kinds. These are intended to enable Colonial students to learn something of British ways of life, and to help them to meet the people of this country. Some of the courses are specifi-
ically arranged for Colonials, while others are intended for overseas students in general; Colonials, however, form a considerable proportion of those taking part in all types of courses. Some of the courses are arranged for the study of a particular subject, others are of a more general kind. Vacation courses, in particular, are designed to enable Colonials to spend a short time in a part of the country other than their place of study, and to give them an opportunity of appreciating the variety of the British scene and people. The British Council claim that "the Colonial students who attend these courses mix freely and confidently with students from other overseas countries and with ordinary British folk from university professors to domestic staff, whose co-operation is essential to make the courses a success."¹

Vacation courses seem genuinely popular among Colonials, and many of those who have taken part return for a second time. The courses offer good value for money, and since they are subsidised by the Colonial Office, they are within the means of many who could not otherwise afford them. A

typical vacation course was held in the West of England in the summer of 1952. This lasted two weeks, and included more than thirty students; the majority of them were Colonials, but there were Indians and a few foreign Europeans as well. The students got on well with each other, and most were very satisfied with the general arrangements of the course. It seems a pity, however, that British students are not able to take part in these courses; if even a small number were included, this would give Colonials a good opportunity of getting to know them. As matters stand, the only British people these students meet are officials of the British Council, and contacts with them are necessarily of a rather formal kind. It is true that they have also the opportunity of meeting British people at functions such as civic receptions etc., but here again, the contacts which ensue are likely to be of a superficial nature.

The British Council also arrange "surveys" and study visits of various kinds. Study visits are intended to enable Colonials to see something of British schools, factories and other institutions. Surveys are a little more elaborate. They are meant to provide a means of studying, in greater detail, some of the subjects also dealt with in
study visits. Surveys last from one to three weeks and, in addition to visits, consist of lectures and discussions on the theme being surveyed. The surveys are mainly of two kinds. The first is designed to provide background material for those who study a special subject; law students, for example, may attend a survey on criminal justice: they see various kinds of criminal courts in session, and discuss with public officers the practice of the courts. The other type of survey deals with subjects of a more general interest, such as local government, British electoral procedure, life in an English village, and so on.

In addition to visits and courses of this type, the British Council arrange to put Colonials in touch with other students, and with British people in general. The Council recognise that this aim is not easily achieved:

"It is obviously of great importance that the student should meet the people he wants to meet, and that those with whom he is put in touch should help him. It is not sufficient to compile on the one hand a list of students, and on the other a list of 'hosts and hostesses', to send one to the other without adequate introduction and to expect the result will be a good one. A Colonial student is naturally reluctant to accept invitations to tea with people, however benevolently disposed, who do not know the difference between Tanganyika and
Trinidad, and whose conversation consists of questions revealing their ignorance."\(^2\)

The British Council say that Colonials often seem reluctant to accept offers of hospitality, and one area officer complains that on one occasion "at least twenty offers of hospitality were received, including invitations to spend several days in private homes. In spite of considerable publicity and personal canvassing among our men, we only received one request for such hospitality, and when that had been arranged, the person invited wrote to cancel it".\(^3\)

Because of these difficulties, the British Council now make every effort to ensure that prospective hosts and guests should meet as naturally as possible before invitations are extended, and they say that "the need for a meeting place in which such introductions can be arranged is one of the justifications for the maintenance of Council centres". Even so, the work of the Council is less successful in this respect than in most others, and in view of the constant complaints among Colonial students about the lack of social participation,

this seems rather strange. The fundamental difficulty seems to be that an official organisation such as the British Council cannot, in the nature of things, easily create contacts which for their success largely depend upon factors of a personal and informal kind.

This is the substance of the students' complaints, and the reason why many make little use of the facilities that the British Council and similar organisations can provide. For example, less than one-third of the offers of hospitality made in 1951, mainly by Rotary clubs and church organisations, were actually taken up. A few of the students interviewed in the course of this enquiry said that they would have no truck with the British Council "because it was an agent of imperialist propaganda"; but many more claimed that they had been to a few of the Council's social functions, but had stopped going because the type of social contact which this involved was not of the desired kind. Their complaint was that they met few "ordinary" British people on such occasions, that they had little chance of getting to know them, and that they did not feel they were genuinely sharing in British life.
It should be noted, in connection with this point, that most students find the contacts engendered by the British Council unsatisfactory not so much because of the lack of knowledge about the Colonies on the part of British people they meet in this way, but because they feel that many of their contacts do not really regard them as persons in their own right, but as possible converts to some cause, religious or political. A West Indian student of economics makes the following comment:—

"The British Council socials and dances are all right, because they are cheap and because you might find a girl friend in this way. But I think the British Council is useless when it comes to introducing you to ordinary British people. I was myself introduced to three different sets of people, but as far as I am concerned, none of these introductions were any good. The first time I was introduced to an elderly couple with no children. These people were O.K., but soon I noticed that the man was always trying to switch the conversation round to religion, and after a while he asked me to come along with him to church on Sunday. I told him, as politely as I could, that I wasn't religious, but when I had finally convinced him that I just wasn't interested, he seemed to lose interest in me and I wasn't invited again.

My second introduction was again to an elderly and childless couple. The husband had been in the Indian Civil Service and I think he liked to meet Colonial students because it gave him the feeling that somehow this was connected with his old job. At any rate, he spent most of his time telling me how much the Indians had worshipped him, that by now they must realise that they can't get along without British guidance and so on. I didn't make a very good impression because politically his views were very different from mine, and he seemed quite shocked about this. I didn't really mind about his opinions, of course, but I felt that we
really had nothing in common and soon I became very bored.

My third introduction was more successful at first because the people concerned were more sympathetic to me. They were 'Left-wing', and took a great interest in Colonial affairs. I went to see them and we became quite friendly. But they had a nineteen-year-old daughter and I asked her to come to a dance at my college. To my surprise, the whole family became very embarrassed, and it was clear that they didn't like the idea at all. Although I did not repeat my invitation, their feelings towards me seemed to cool off, and in any case I could not regard them in the same light as before. The knowledge that their tolerance only extended up to a certain point created a barrier between us, and gradually I stopped going to see them”.

A similar point is made by a young West African law student who has been in this country for over a year:—

"In my view, the introduction service of the British Council is largely a waste of time. My first introduction was to an elderly professional man. He had never been abroad but told me he wished to help to improve relations between the peoples of the Empire. He and his wife were quite kind and nice to me, but he constantly embarrassed me by his remarks about how Africans ought to be grateful to the British for bringing them 'the Word of God', how he had heard that we all adored the Queen, and how only a few Communists really wanted independence. He was so set in his opinions, and so convinced that I agreed with them, that I did not try to argue.

My second introduction was to an elderly widow who in her opinions was the complete opposite of this man. This lady was not really interested in politics, but she said she was very 'radical' and 'progressive' and above all, that she was an artist. She spent a lot of her time disparaging the British and told me that Africans have much more feeling and intuition, that we should 'keep our ancient tribal ways' and so on. I quite liked her but felt that we had little in common. It seems to me that many of the people who go to the British Council to meet Colonial students are cranks, although well-intentioned."
Similar complaints are made about other organisations that in one way or another try to introduce Colonials to the people of this country. The number of these organisations is large; a few are specifically concerned with Colonial students, but for most, this kind of work is only part of their activities for the community as a whole. Among the better known of these organisations are the following:— The Friends' International Centre, the Methodist Missionary Society, Students' Movement House, Toc H, East and West Friendship Council, World University Service, the Victoria League, etc. etc. etc. Colonial students avail themselves of the facilities that these societies provide to a varying extent; but while their work is generally appreciated, most students say that they cannot give them the kind of social participation that they desire. The kind of relationships that these societies can help to establish are usually too formal and conventionalised to satisfy the students' requirements, and a great many sooner or later decide to look elsewhere for the kind of social contact that they want.
2. Informal Contacts

London is not an easy place in which to make friends, and many of the Colonials who decide to rely upon their own efforts in this matter are soon disappointed. In their leisure time, the same kinds of amusements are open to them as are available to Londoners generally: dancing, cinema shows, theatres, the ballet, and so on. By far the most popular of these are dancing and the cinema. Colonial students are accustomed to manage on a small budget, and some do not seem to be aware of such popular institutions as the theatre gallery; hence they believe that theatre shows are beyond their limited means. Theatres, moreover, are few and far between in the Colonies, so that most students are not acquainted with this and similar types of entertainment. Dances and "socials" are also popular because they enable Colonial students to meet English girls.

Relationships between Colonial students and British women are extremely difficult to describe. In this field, colour prejudice is particularly apparent, and for the most part, it has only been possible to collect information of a
rather superficial kind. A small number of students make little or no effort to meet English girls during their stay. Some say there is little point in becoming friendly with a woman of another culture and background, while others claim that they are only interested in their studies, and have no wish to form relationships that might interfere with their work. Nor is prejudice, in this respect, entirely confined to Europeans. A Nigerian law student makes the following comment:

"I've been out with a few girls during my stay here, mostly foreigners, but these friendships never came to anything. English people resent them and I would myself object to my sister going out with a White. The reason is that friendships of this sort are only based upon sex, and nothing else. Real affection between the two races is impossible."

But this is uncommon. The majority of students seem anxious to find girl friends and complain about the great difficulties that this involves. The trouble, according to them, is not so much that they cannot find girls willing to go out with them, but that for the most part the women who do so are of a markedly lower social standing than their own. A West African law student, for example, has this to say:

"During my first year in London I got to know several European women, mostly from the Continent, but one or two English girls as well. I like dancing, and this helped me
to make their acquaintance. But nowadays I never bother to make a date. The reason is that all of these friendships never lasted for more than two or three weeks. Most of the girls I met in this way were quite uneducated and I soon found that we had nothing in common. The only exception was a young English girl, also a student, with whom I became quite friendly. But I gave her up when I found that she wouldn't introduce me to any of her friends and wouldn't let me take her to places where she was likely to run into them.

A remark often heard in this connection is that "only low-class women will go out with Coloured, or else women who are too old or too plain to find themselves an Englishman".

Like all such remarks, this is only partly true. Several of the students interviewed had very pleasant friendships with English girls, and were later introduced by them to parents and friends. A young West Indian arts student, for example, reports the following:

"When I first came to London I was very lonely. But then I did some vacation work and got to know an English girl, also a student. Her home was in London and after I had known her for some time, she introduced me to her parents. They all treated me very well and there was never any suspicion of prejudice on their part. We have become very fond of each other, and her friendship has made all the difference to my stay."

But such cases are comparatively rare, and it cannot be denied that the majority of Colonials find it difficult to meet English girls,
particularly of a similar background to their own. This point is well illustrated by the experiences of a small social club in the West End of London. This club was founded several years ago, and caters for young people of the student type. Its object is to "promote international friendship and understanding" and, on a more mundane plane, to provide an informal social centre for foreign students in London. At the time of its foundation the club, apart from a few Indians, had only European members. The men were mostly Continentals, the women chiefly English. The club held meetings and discussions, but its main attractions were dances and socials.

Some two years later, the club ran into financial difficulties, and had to remove its premises to a less popular site. After that time, there was a gradual change in the composition of its membership: a few Colonials found their way there, and later their numbers steadily increased. At the present time, the male membership of the club includes few Asians and only one or two Europeans; all the rest are Colonials of Negro descent. The female element among the membership has also changed: very few Englishwomen attend the club at
the present time, and most of the girls who go there are domestic workers from the Continent. The general standards of comfort and entertainment have greatly declined, and many of the students who go there say they only do so for lack of an alternative. Several of the former members of the club, all of them Europeans, were interviewed, and these said that they had stopped going there, not because they objected to the presence of Africans, but because the influx of Colonial students had "driven the better-type girls out of the club".

A great many Colonials seem to share this view. A West Indian arts student, for example, makes this comment:

"I come to this club mainly because I wanted to find a girl friend. At college this isn't easy, because there are only a few women and naturally there is much competition for them. Nowadays I come here very rarely and when I have absolutely nothing better to do. The reason is that I hate the whole atmosphere of this club. The women are mostly shop-girls who know nothing about my background or the things I am interested in, and who expect to be given a good time. The Continental girls here are nicer, but they only come here because they can't find an Englishman. Even so, they act as if they were doing you a great favour by letting you take them out. The funny thing is that if you offer to see one of these girls home, she will tell you to meet her round the corner. The reason is that although there are practically
no Whites here, she doesn't like to have her girl friends know that she is going out with a coloured man".

The students' accounts seem to suggest that a similar type of mechanism governs their relationships with women as has been described in connection with "colour tax". Because of their colour, these students are usually able to contact only women of a social standing and of an educational background below that acceptable to British students.

The existence of colour prejudice among Londoners in general creates special difficulties for relationships of this kind. It means, in particular, that there are considerable obstacles in the way of marriage, and the awareness of this tends to distort even relationships where this question is not directly involved. Another difficulty lies in the great differences between the social and cultural backgrounds of the parties concerned, a divergence that at times may cause a good deal of misunderstanding. Both parties,

^See below, Ch. V.
moreover, tend to see each other in terms of a stereotype, rather than as individuals in their own right. Some West Indians, for example, attach a certain prestige value to friendships with European women, while West Africans sometimes see in them primarily a test of their own social equality and acceptance. Despite all these difficulties, worthwhile friendships are sometimes made, and may even lead to a successful marriage. In the last analysis, the success or failure of such a relationship will depend upon the quality of the individuals concerned, and, in human terms, must remain only their concern.

3. Religion and Politics

Political and religious organisations offer another means by which Colonials can share in the life of this country. Although their influence over these students has been much exaggerated, they deserve separate consideration on this account.

The great majority of the students with whom we are primarily concerned -- those from West
Africa and the West Indies -- are Christians. Their religious affiliations range from strict Protestant sects to the Roman Catholic Church. About one-third of the women students who were interviewed, most of them nurses, said that they were regular church-goers, both in this country and in their own. Among male students, this proportion is much lower. A great many said that although they regularly went to church at home, they had dropped this practice soon after their arrival in London. Various reasons were given for this, ranging from the absence of parental control to disappointments about race relations in Britain. The majority of Christian students expressed their disappointment about British religious life, and some appeared to feel very strongly on this point. This is particularly true of Africans, who say that at home missionaries gave them the impression that England was a truly Christian country, and that this explained her comparative prosperity and standing in the world. Some of the students also said that
they went to church when they first came here, but found that the services were ill-attended, and that congregations included few people in their own age-groups. But the reasons most frequently given for the changes in the students' attitudes towards religion is their experiences of race relations in this country. They are apt to point to a certain divergence of Christian principle and practice in this respect, and the conclusion that some draw is that "Christianity is nowadays an article for export -- it is for consumption in the Colonies, where it is used to keep people ignorant and contented".

But many Colonials who profess disappointment with Christianity nevertheless use the services of religious societies which interest themselves in their welfare. Some of these students have retained elements of their earlier religious interests, while others do so primarily for social reasons. Important among these societies is the East and West Fellowship Council; although not primarily a religious organisation, the Council has formed a nucleus of Colonial students who are Christians, and who are interested in Christian Fellowship. The headquarters of the society are in Student Movement
House, so that students who take part in the activities organised by the Fellowship Council become members of this centre as well. The Methodist International House is another focus of Christian endeavour, and its hostel in Bayswater houses seventy students, mainly from West Africa. Among other churches and missionary societies which interest themselves in Colonial students are the following: the British Council of Churches, the Church Missionary Society, the Friends' International Centre, the Roman Catholic Church, Toc H, the Y.M.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A.

Colonial students have a reputation for being politically minded, and it is certainly true that political parties in this country go out of their way to contact and to convert them. On the other hand, only a handful of the students interviewed said that they were members of a party. Their political interests must be interpreted in the widest sense of the term, and are primarily associated with a demand for the political independence of the Colonies. Many students have no very clear ideas about the ideologies of British parties, except insofar as these affect their own nationalist aspirations. Hence the students'
views about the attitudes of British political parties towards Colonial problems govern, to a large extent, the type of politics that each student will support.

The majority of Colonial students feel that the Conservative Party is the one least likely to satisfy their demands. For this reason, even those who might otherwise be inclined to accept Conservative ideas in the domestic field, declare themselves opposed to the Conservative programme as a whole. Very few Colonials ever come into contact with the Liberal Party, and in general, they are inclined to identify Liberal policy with that of the Conservatives.

The Labour Party is comparatively popular among Colonials. Many have attended lectures and discussions by well-known Labour speakers, and some go out of their way to hear them. But a number of students profess disappointment at the Labour Party's policy when it was in power, particularly in matters such as the Seretse Khama affair, the British official attitude towards South Africa, and so on. Nevertheless, the Labour Party, and particularly its "Left" or "Bevanite" wing, has retained much of its hold on the imagination of Colonial
students, many of whom assess political events, especially when they do not directly affect the Colonies, from a Labour point of view.

The Communist Party attracts the more disillusioned elements among Colonial students, who feel that it is only the Communists who are genuinely ready to grant them equality and independence. But few Colonials attend Communist Party meetings, and fewer still are Party members. It is difficult to say to what extent this reflects a lack of sympathy, since there is a widespread belief, among Colonial students, that association with Communists is dangerous. Many are convinced that the Colonial Office keep an eye on students with extreme Left-wing views, possibly with harmful effects to their careers. On the British side, it is widely believed that the Communist Party contacts "all" Colonial students on their arrival, but no evidence for this has been put forward, and in view of the Party's limited resources, this seems unlikely. None of the students interviewed have ever been approached in this way.

While the Communist Party has little direct influence on Colonial students, Communism as a political doctrine, because of its unequivocal
stand for racial equality and Colonial independence, can still command a good deal of sympathy. Many students who are far from being Communists are also intensely interested in social and economic developments in Eastern Europe and China, and feel that the experience of these countries may be of help in speeding the economic progress of the Colonies.

4. The Extent of Social Participation

It may be useful to end this chapter with a few generalisations about the nature and the extent of the Colonial students' participation in British life. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of this participation is its limited extent; and this refers less to the quantity of social contacts that Colonial students are able to establish than to their quality. Potentially, at any rate, there is a good deal of participation; but it is not participation of the desired kind.

To a large extent, Colonial students in London find that their contacts with British people are restricted to relationships of a "formal" kind. The men and women whom they meet usually act in some official or semi-official capacity; they are
Civil Servants, British Council officials, university teachers, officers of voluntary societies, wardens of hostels, landladies, and so on. Relationships with them, in the nature of things, must largely remain on an impersonal level, and thus cannot satisfy the desire of students for social participation of a more intimate kind. This does not mean that normal friendships with British people are not made, but they are not easily engendered. Organisations such as the British Council do their best to bring students and Londoners together, but this also is not easily achieved. Those who offer hospitality to Colonial students are often badly informed about life in the Colonies, and some students say that their hosts are apt to regard them from a superior or "paternalistic" angle. Others are willing to treat their guests on more equal terms, but usually, the students say, this is only true "up to a certain point". Students resent this greatly, while the Londoners concerned do not always realise their guests' unwillingness to form relationships on terms other than complete equality. But the main difficulty about these contacts is that students and Londoners, in the rather formal context of official introductions, tend to
regard each other as stereotypes, as representatives of the Colonies on the one side, and as those of the Mother-country on the other. In these circumstances, the relationships that ensue are generally of a highly formal and conventionalised kind, and not at all what the students desire.

The peculiar character of the students' social participation may help to throw light on their position within the British social structure as a whole. The students complain that their social relationships are unsatisfactory either because they are too "formal" or because they involve people of a social standing and educational background different from, and generally lower than their own. If they rely upon official introductions, these students are likely to meet people who, with the best of intentions, often have an "axe to grind" and who themselves frequently give the impression of being outside the main stream of British life. If they decide to rely upon their own efforts, particularly in the matter of girl friends, they are faced with the fact that the people they are able to meet are generally of a lower social class and educational background than their own — and this, in addition to the already
existing ethnic and cultural differences, makes prolonged friendships difficult.

British students, although today they are drawn from a wider section of the population than in the past, are still mainly recruited from among the upper and middle classes. The people they meet outside the university, and the girls they go out with, are broadly speaking drawn from a similar circle to their own.

This is not true of Colonial students, however, since British people do not usually think of them as belonging to the same social class as British students. British people often fail to distinguish between them and other groups of Coloureds, and put them into the same category as coloured workers and seamen. Moreover, the existence of colour prejudice, based on the premise that Coloureds are inferior to Whites, clearly works against the ascription of the social status enjoyed by university students in this country to Colonials, and prevents their integration into British society in the normal way; while this is reinforced by the absence among many Colonial students of various distinguishing features generally associated with upper class and upper-middle class status: certain habits of dress
and speech, the "right" schooling, and so on. These considerations seem to show why Colonial students so often complain that they are unable to meet "ordinary" British people — i.e. those of a similar social and educational standing to their own: the peculiar character of the social situation in this country prevents this, and ensures that the majority of the students' social relationships are either with groups which themselves fit but uneasily into the British social structure (e.g. extremist political movements, "cranky" religious organisations etc.) or which, on the other hand, comprise persons of a lower social status than that usually ascribed to British students.

From this point of view, Colonial students are seen to be in much the same position as a working man who suddenly finds himself dealing with a primarily middle class environment and who has difficulties of social acceptance on this score. The students' occupational status make for "upward" social mobility, while their position as Coloureds and as Colonials works in a "downward" direction. The result is a compromise: as a group, Colonial students may be said to fit into the British social structure at about the level of the working class, or the "lower" fringes of the middle class; and
for this reason, they find it difficult to establish social relationships of the type normally associated with university students in this country.
Chapter IX

TYPES OF SOCIAL ADAPTATION
1. Cultural Background and Social Adaptation

It was stated, in our introductory chapter, that a major theoretical focus of this study lay in the concept of social adaptation; and this was defined as the change in the norm and behaviour patterns of a group of persons that follows a change in their social environment. The study of a group of immigrants, however, raises difficulties of a special kind; for here we are concerned not merely with one group, but with several, and our analysis must take account of the fact that the behaviour patterns of each are likely to affect those of all others. In our own case, we find that the students' original expectations and objectives change and become modified over time, particularly in response to the attitudes of British people, and that new goals and patterns of behaviour arise among them as a result. For this reason, the emphasis throughout this account has been on the social situation that confronts
Colonial students in London, rather than on their earlier environment. This meant that we had to treat these students as a more or less homogeneous group, and talk about them either in terms of their status as Colonials, or that of coloured people in this country. In the following, we try to complement this analysis by looking at the students chiefly in terms of their status as representatives of a particular socio-cultural environment. This is particularly important since, as we have already seen,¹ Colonial students arrive here with a system of expectations which, to a considerable extent, conditions their interpretation of their later experiences; and it should be stressed that it is the students' interpretation of the experiences, rather than these experiences themselves, that is of primary importance to their social adaptation.

British people usually make a broad distinction between students of Negro descent and other Colonials; and since this not only affects their behaviour, but also corresponds to some

¹Cf. below, Chapter IV.
extent, with different types of adaptation, it will be useful to maintain this delineation in the following account.

2. African and West Indian Students

Attempts to correlate the students' experiences in London with their social and cultural background must, at the present time, remain highly tentative. For there exist few studies which would allow one to form even a rough estimate of the students' home life and of their earlier experiences. In the past, social anthropology has almost exclusively dealt with so-called "primitive" cultures, while sociology, on the other hand, has mainly concerned itself with Western society; but the type of study needed for our purpose is one describing modern social conditions in the urban areas of Africa and elsewhere. For this reason, we have mainly had to rely upon the students' own descriptions, and allowance should be made for this when

assessing the accuracy and detail of this account.

The following is chiefly an attempt to order the material of our case-studies, and to use it as the basis for generalisation about social adaptation. Despite the comparatively large number of case-studies, it was decided not to use them for quantitative analysis. The reasons for this were as follows. Although every attempt was made to choose informants on the widest possible basis, the use of a statistically satisfactory sample would have been possible only with the expenditure of a much greater amount of time and money than was available; and to make precise quantitative comparisons without this would merely have been misleading. Moreover, although the total number of students about whom detailed information was obtained was fairly large, their number in each cultural group was too small to permit a statistically satisfactory comparison. A further reason for not using a more quantitative approach was the difficulty of framing questions in a way that would allow statistical interpretation. The problems involved in this are difficult enough even where

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3 See below, Chapter II.
informants of a homogeneous culture are concerned, but in our case they seemed to preclude an analysis of this kind. In view of the enormous social and cultural differences between the various groups of students, a statement such as that "x per cent of West Africans find it difficult to do this, while only y per cent of Malayans find it difficult to do that", would have been meaningless, if not actually misleading. A final argument against a more quantitative analysis was the consideration that we are here primarily interested in interpretation and not in description; and what matters, from this point of view, is not the exact number of people in each category who say one thing or another, but rather the discovery of those factors which are likely to be of greatest significance to an explanation of social adaptation. For all of these reasons, the following should be read in conjunction with the case-studies shown in an appendix to this report.

It will be convenient first to consider the social adaptation of West Indian students. Unlike Africans, most West Indians have been in close contact with Europeans from an early age, and many have gone to school with Whites. As one
"I think the fact that many of us have had European friends at school, or at least have come into close contact with them, makes us more confident in dealing with English people. Most of my own friends were coloured, but I got to know one English boy pretty well, and used to go to his house. But grown-ups (of different races) generally had much less to do with each other than children".

Concerning this last point, most of the students interviewed said that although race prejudice undoubtedly exists in the West Indies, it is intimately bound up with distinctions of a social and economic kind. Nevertheless, since historically Europeans have formed the colony's social elite, it remains true that even now prestige is closely associated with the possession of a light skin colour. This creates a preoccupation with different shades of colour not found among African students. A West Indian nurse comments as follows:

"Although some don't like to admit it, I think it's true that most West Indians are greatly concerned with questions of colour. I'm the eldest of three sisters, and the most European-looking of them all. I remember that my parents were disappointed because the youngest, especially, was very dark. They thought that she would have less chance of finding a husband, since the lighter-coloured girls are always in greater demand. I have always got on well with my family, but sometimes I've had the feeling that my sisters resented my more 'European' looks".
It will be seen that even today a certain amount of prestige is to be gained by marrying "light" -- a fact of some importance to the social adaptation of West Indians in this country.

As a group, West Indians have accepted European values and patterns of living in a very thorough-going manner, and although their culture has many distinctive features, it has a decidedly British slant. The extent of this is seldom realised by British people, who are sometimes surprised on hearing West Indians speak English. In general, it may be said that West Indians regard themselves first as belonging to a special cultural group of their own, and secondly, as British citizens, as people who enjoy a special link with this country; and for this reason they expect, when they come here, to share in British life to the fullest extent. The growth of nationalism in the West Indies does not seem to have altered this feeling; moreover, since economic opportunities in the Islands are limited, some of the students hope to settle in England permanently. Many later change their minds, but even so, about ten per cent of those interviewed said that given the opportunity, they would like to stay in this country. Among
West African students, only one had this intention, and he was more or less committed to stay here by the nature of his work.

In view of these expectations, it is not surprising if many West Indians are disappointed by their experiences in London: for usually they find that British people regard them not as fellow-citizens, but as foreigners and as Coloureds. Londoners also do not often think of their city as a university town, and sometimes believe all the coloured people they meet to be seamen. Moreover, the fine distinctions between shades of skin-colour made in the West Indies are unknown here, and these students frequently find that British people take them for Africans. It needs to be stressed, therefore, that West Indians do not in any sense regard themselves as African, and they are surprised when Londoners expect them to take a special interest in African affairs. It is true that many have friends among African students, and the West African and West Indian Students' Unions often co-operate in matters of common concern; but these ties develop because both groups have common interests in relation to the authorities in this country, and not because West Indians are particularly concerned with
the problems of Africa. As one student put it:—

"I went to several West African socials and dances, and I enjoyed them, but I found that I was just as much a stranger among Africans as I would have been among (foreign) Europeans. These students had a different background to my own, and their own problems and interests. But I do think that all colour-ed people should get to know each other better, and that they should work together, since this is their only chance of fighting the colour [bar]."

Because of their concern with colour, West Indians are particularly apt to blame colour prejudice for their difficulties, and sometimes see prejudice where it does not exist. They often fail to realise, for example, that in a city of the size of London, it is less easy to make friends than elsewhere; and it is significant that those who have had experience of both provincial universities and of London all say that they found life much easier in the smaller towns.

So far, we have mainly discussed the special difficulties that West Indians have to face. But once their origin is realised by British people, these students generally fare better than the Africans. This is especially true of those who are lightly coloured, and whose features approximate to the European norm; West Indian students also have no language difficulties, and many British people
feel that they have more in common with them than with Africans. Moreover, the widespread stereotype of the West Indies as islands of song and romance, although both unrealistic and naive, is yet one that may be accepted by West Indians without loss of self-esteem: and a number of well-known West Indian professional entertainers do their best to support the popular view. While "favourable" stereotypes exist also in relation to Africans -- one thinks of the contented, loyal "darky", or the "noble savage" -- these are more openly patronising and for this reason unacceptable to African students.

The general sequence of West Indian adaptation 4 may be summed up as follows. The students come here with high and usually unrealistic expectations; their immediate impression is often favourable, but later they are disappointed. Their reaction to this takes one of two forms. In the majority of cases, disappointment leads to at least partial withdrawal: students who react in this way look for their more intimate social contacts to

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4 We use this form, throughout this chapter, in reference to "adjustment" since we are here concerned with groups rather than with individual students. Cf. the discussion of terminology in Chapter I.
their own countrymen, or to other Colonials. But in a smaller number of cases, perhaps one-fifth of the total, the opposite occurs: students in this category become increasingly reluctant to associate with other Coloureds, particularly Africans; they accept British values to a greater extent than ever before, try to marry Englishwomen and hope to settle in this country. Among Africans, this second type of reaction is extremely rare. The difference arises from the fact that West Indians are in general more committed to European ways, while economic pressure forces some to settle in Britain; nationalism, at the same time, is less of an active force among them, and they have a better chance of being accepted. Which of these two main reactions will occur in any particular case it is difficult to say, since this is primarily a matter of personal circumstances and of accident: a student may happen to meet a girl he is fond of, decide to marry and so on.

Turning now to West African students, we find that their system of expectations is more complicated. A few say that, like West Indians, they have been used to look upon this country as their ultimate home, and that this accounts for their later disappointment. But in view of their
general background, this contention is difficult to believe, and it does not fit in with their other expectations: hence it must probably be regarded as a rationalisation for a vague sense of disillusionment that many West Africans have about life in London. The general attitude of these students towards Britain is peculiarly ambivalent. On the one hand, they have been greatly affected by the growth of nationalism in West Africa; while on the other, they have also been influenced by the British view of the Colonial relationship, as expounded in African missions and schools. A Nigerian law student, for example, has this to say:

"I was educated at an elementary school run by the Church Missionary Society, and afterwards went to a secondary school. During my last years there, I became interested in politics, and, like most of my friends, was very sympathetic towards nationalism. But I was also very keen to come here, because we were told a lot of things about this country at school, and seeing films about Western countries made me think that they must be very beautiful. I met very few Europeans before coming here -- the pupils at both of my schools were all Africans -- but those that I had come across all stressed the high standard of living that British people enjoy, and their technical skill. So I thought it would be a good thing for as many Nigerians as possible to come here, to learn things to raise their standard of living, and help them stand on their own feet."

It would be a mistake to believe that the growth of nationalism has merely resulted in making
West Africans hostile towards this country: paradoxically enough, one of its effects has been to make young people more eager to come here than ever before. For nationalism has made them think more deeply about the nature of the relationship between this country and their own, and this has increased their awareness, in terms of power politics, of the success of Western science and technique. At the same time, the hope of early independence has made them feel that new opportunities exist for those with the right qualifications. While these students greatly resent the paternalistic element in the present relationship, they use it to justify their demands for participation. West Indians expect to participate in British life as a matter of course, because they have been brought up to regard this country as their ultimate home; West Africans, on the other hand, wish to do so primarily in order to acquire informal training of a kind that will help them to gain independence; and they also look upon social participation as a test of their own worth. At the risk of over-simplification, the general position might be summed up by saying that West Africans regard the British way of life as a means to an end, while West Indians look upon it as
an end in itself. Another difference between the two groups is seen in the way in which they interpret their difficulties in this country; while both groups mention colour prejudice and Colonial status as being responsible, West Indians primarily look to colour prejudice for an explanation; whereas West Africans, less used to thinking in terms of colour, but more aware of their political disabilities, usually favour an explanation in terms of Colonial status.

Compared to West Indians, students from West Africa find it harder to adjust to British life. They are darker, and have more markedly negroid features; some have language difficulties, and most are less used to European ways in such matters as dress: these factors, while they are unimportant in themselves, prejudice their chances of acceptance. Finding that they are unable to share in British life to the extent they desire, these students tend to withdraw, and to rely upon their own countrymen for their more intimate contacts. The alternative reaction found among West Indians -- an even more determined acceptance of British ways -- is here

5 i.e. West African and West Indian expectations broadly follow the delineation made in Dr. K.L.Little's "Negroes in Britain", p.248 ff.
extremely rare. This perhaps is one reason why the West African students' unions are at once the most efficient and the most politically conscious of all such organisations; they not only offer an alternative means of social participation, but perpetuate and institutionalize the withdrawals from British life by their constant emphasis on the claims of nationalism, and by the social approval they give to anti-imperialist attitudes. Despite exceptions, there is little doubt that West Africans generally return to their own countries with less patience with the British link than before, and with an increased determination to stand on their own feet.

There are, however, certain differences between the three main West African Colonies in this respect. The cultural backgrounds of Creole students from Sierra Leone, for example, resembles in more respects that of West Indians; and there is some evidence that students from the Gold Coast Colony, especially those from Achimota College, find it easier to adapt to the social conditions of London life than do Nigerians. One reason is that a greater proportion of Nigerians are

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6 i.e. as distinct from Ashanti and the Northern Territories.
private students, some of whom have to rely on part-time work for financial support; another is that according to a recent account, "until fairly recently, practically all the (Gold Coast) secondary schools of any importance were situated at Cape Coast, the old capital, or Accra, the present capital, -- hence most of these students are well acquainted with town life and largely Westernised." 7

The extent to which awareness of Colonial status affects the West Africans' interpretation of their London experiences can hardly be exaggerated; and this is strikingly illustrated by the example of a group of African students who come from a politically independent country. In sharp contrast to British West Africans, Liberian students have a strong tendency to minimise any difficulties they might have in adapting to British life. This is partly because their expectations are more realistic: Liberians know that British people will regard them as foreigners, and do not expect to be treated in any other way; while in their dealings with the West, Liberians traditionally look to the United States rather than to Britain. But the

7 "Gold Coast Students in London", by K.B. Asante. This is a brief, unpublished paper written for the Gold Coast Students' Union.
main reason for the difference is the Liberians' awareness of belonging to an independent state. The argument at the back of this feeling runs something like this: "We are free, hence we are equal, hence Europeans must treat us as equal". Although this belief cannot easily be defended on logical grounds, it affects their behaviour towards British people, as well as their outlook in general; and it doubtless means that Liberians are less aware of any prejudice they might encounter than students from British West Africa. Their attitude towards Britain is generally more favourable, and some go so far as to say the Colonial students exaggerate the amount of prejudice actually found. As one Liberian student said:

"People respect us because we come from an independent country, and they know it. Some students from British West Africa see prejudice in everything they experience. I myself think that if you behave well, and don't expect any special favours, people will treat you O.K."

For the same reason, Liberians tend to minimise any signs of progress in their own country, and to play down the disadvantages of life in Liberia. They are suspicious of outside criticism, and particularly resentful if Colonial students say that their independence is merely of a nominal and "comic opera" kind. Their desire to participate in Brit-
ish life is limited, and they look upon their stay here primarily as a chance to obtain technical training. Among Liberians, moreover, there is an absence of "marginal" students and of those with extremist political views. As a group, these students take little interest in politics -- a state of affairs which perhaps reflects conditions in Liberia -- and compared to Colonials, they place a much greater emphasis on economic progress and success. There are only a handful of them in London, nearly all financed by Liberian Government scholarships; they keep in close touch with each other and with the Liberian Consulate, but have not evolved any special organisations of their own.

An interesting contrast with the groups so far described is provided by East African students in London. Unlike the students already discussed, the great majority of them come from a wholly rural background. These students are fully conscious of the worth of their own culture, but so far there is little evidence that this awareness has gone beyond a purely local and even tribal level. By comparison with other Colonials, their demand for social participation is limited. Those among them who come from countries with European settlers
usually say that they are pleasantly surprised by their experiences in London. A Kenya medical student, for example, comments as follows:-

"My ideas about English people were chiefly based on my encounters with Europeans in Kenya and in South Africa, where I spent some years at a university. So I expected more in the way of prejudice and discrimination than proved to be the case. The only thing is that the Whites in Kenya made me feel that their attitude of superiority towards Africans was based upon their higher education and economic position — but here even quite uneducated people sometimes show that they think themselves superior to all Africans".

The number of East African students in Britain is comparatively small, and there is a lack of organised opinion among them. Where this is possible, they tend to keep to each other, but their organisations are short-lived, and have never approached either in influence or in efficiency those of West African and West Indian students.

3. Asians and Others

The groups we are about to consider differ from West Africans and West Indians in that they have less difficulty in adapting to the social conditions of London life. This partly results from the fact that British people are more willing to accept them and partly it is a consequence of
differences in their systems of expectation, which generally involve a more limited demand for social participation in British life.

An important difference between the two main groups already discussed and Malayan students is that the latter have not been educated by missionaries, but at Chinese, Malay or Indian vernacular schools of their own. This does not mean that these students have not come under the influence of schools, Government and missionary, which purvey British notions. Secondary education, which must precede university work, is usually of the English type. Nevertheless, during their earliest and perhaps most impressionable years of schooling, the emphasis of the teaching Malayan students have received has not been British but Chinese, Malay or Indian. As a result, these students are more clearly aware of the worth of their own culture; they do not look upon themselves as British, nor are they particularly conscious of the relationship of this country with their own. Malayan students wish to adopt certain limited aspects of Western culture, particularly those which make for social and economic progress, but their acceptance of Western ways is clearly more restricted than is the case
among West Indians or among West Africans. Those of Chinese origin generally regard that country as their cultural home; those of Indian descent look to India in a similar way; while the Malays themselves are markedly reluctant to change their own ways of living, particularly when this would seem to endanger the traditional values of Islam. Until recently, Malay students have not, as a group, been very interested in politics, and even now their demand for independence is tempered, to some extent, by apprehension of the Chinese community among them. Another significant difference is that the majority of Malayan students are not Christians, but follow religions that closely affect every aspect of their culture; and Islam, for example, seems more effective in consolidating group solidarity than the many different Christian sects found in places like West Africa. This is another reason why these students are less inclined to accept Western ways than others, and this again limits their demands for social participation. One aspect of this is seen in the attitude of Malayan students towards British women;

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8 This term has a linguistic and ethnic connotation. It should be distinguished from "Malayan", a term applied to all residents of that country, irrespective of race.
while many are eager to make friends with English girls, none of those interviewed said that they would like to marry Europeans. A Malay law student, for example, comments as follows:

"I have been friendly with a London girl, for over two years, and I like her very much. But I would not marry her. This would involve too many difficulties, not so much as far as Europeans in Malaya are concerned, but with my own people. My parents would strongly object, as they would not like me to marry anybody who was not a Muslim".

About his other experiences, the same student has this to say:

"I had very few contacts with Europeans before coming here, and did not know any of them intimately. I did not experience anything like a colour bar in Malaya. It is true that some Europeans look down upon the 'Natives', but I think that this is because of social and economic distinctions, not because of race. Traditionally, relations between Malays and British have been very good, perhaps because my countrymen have until now shown little interest in political affairs. My expectations about London have been fairly correct. I did not expect a colour bar, and have not been disappointed. I have some African friends, and they have complained about prejudice, but I have not experienced this myself. I think that more of my countrymen should come here, but they should not stay too long; their duty is to lead their people, and not to become Englishmen".

Another important difference between Malays and our two main groups is that the former have no "marginal" students among them, trying to "work

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9 It is, however, a fact that a small number of Chinese students have married English girls and have taken them home to Malaya.
their way through college"; on the contrary, many are prosperous even by European standards, and this enables them to maintain a way of living which less frequently brings them into situations where prejudice may be expected: they are able to afford good lodgings, for example, and have no need to rely upon vacation work. Since they look upon such friendships as purely temporary affairs, they are also less inclined to complain that only "low-class" girls will go out with them. In general, Malayan students explain any difficulties they might have by reference to cultural differences, or in terms of their Colonial status: only rarely do they connect them with racial prejudice. One consequence of this is that these students' unions are primarily social clubs, although lately they have taken an interest in Malayan political problems -- they are not protest movements in the sense of the West African and West Indian organisations. Moreover, while the Malayan students' demands for social participation are by comparison with other groups limited, British people are, at the same time, more willing to grant them. Many feel that they have more in common with these students than with West Indians or West Africans; although, in terms of cultural background and education, the opposite is probably nearer the truth.
Geographically it would be more logical to discuss the experiences of Mauritian students with those of Africans; but their social adaptation resembles that of the Asians. Moreover, the majority of Mauritian students in this country are of Indian origin, and often regard that country as their cultural home. The rest are of mixed European and African descent; but many are light enough to pass as Southern Europeans, and all are strongly conscious of their historical links with France: they regard France, and not England, as their ultimate home. As one student put it:

"Personally, I think that more of us should go to France, instead of England. Mauritians have a better knowledge of French, they get on well with French people, and in France they feel more at home. I have been there several times, and have enjoyed these visits. The people are friendlier, and Paris more of a university town than London".

Compared to West African and West Indian students, the Mauritians' demand for social participation is very limited. They do not regard themselves as British, nor do they feel aware of any special relationship with British people; they come here primarily to obtain professional or academic qualifications. There are no "marginal" students among them, and little political extremism. Any difficulties they might have are explained in terms
of cultural differences, and not by reference to
colour prejudice.

The experiences of Cypriot students in London interest us mainly because they are "Europeans" who yet have Colonial status. Most of the Cypriot Turks who come here are orthodox Muslims, highly conscious of their own culture; and they have little desire to adopt British ways of living in any thorough-going way. The demand of Cypriot Greeks for social participation is also very limited; these students regard Greece as their ultimate home, and their political demands begin and end with Union with Greece. Both groups make the impression of being more concerned with economic success than with questions of politics, however. A large number of Cypriots are permanently settled in London, and close ties exist between them and the students. Similar groups of immigrants exist also in relation to West Indian and West African students, but in their case social and economic differences are too great to permit close association.

Compared with coloured students, Cypriots have few difficulties, but several complained about prejudice. A Cypriot Turk relates the following:-

"I had a lot of trouble finding a room, and I'm sure this was because Londoners dislike all foreigners. They said the room had already been let when they heard my foreign accent. Also, because we are Cypriots, they treat us as Colonials and think we are the same as Negroes".
These remarks are instructive mainly because they show the extent to which awareness of Colonial status affects the students' interpretations. However, for comparative purposes we also interviewed a small group of Portuguese, representing European students from an independent country. As might be expected, their difficulties were very much less than those of other groups; but they, too, complained of anti-foreign prejudice, and it would clearly be idle to attempt to draw sharp distinctions between colour prejudice, awareness of Colonial status and consciousness of being foreign in analysing the students' interpretation of their London experiences.

4. Some British Reactions

So far, we have mainly dealt with the attitudes and expectations of Colonial students, and it may be useful to conclude this chapter with a brief reference to those of Londoners. Clearly, one cannot hope to be very precise on this point, and the following remarks are based upon informal observation as much as on interviews with officials, landladies, and other persons who, for one reason
or another, have come into contact with Colonials.

A point not always realised by Colonial students is that Londoners generally make no very clear distinction between them. They are all regarded as foreigners, and treated as such. Moreover, British people often know very little about the Colonies, and many are hard put to distinguish between a colony and a dominion. For example, some West Indians say that people they met thought their country to be a part of India, i.e. West India, and were surprised that they could not speak any Indian languages. West Africa, on the other hand, is still widely regarded as the "White Man's Grave", and students from that part of the world complained that casual acquaintances expect them to be knowledgeable about witchcraft, magic and tribal dancing. Even among the better-educated classes there is a lack of knowledge about the Colonies, and little interest is shown in them. This means that the expectations of those students who either think of themselves as British, or as standing in a special relationship to the people of this country are disappointed -- a fact that

10 An unpublished report on "Colonial Affairs and the Public", (The Social Survey, June 1951), states that of a general sample of 1800 adults only 20 per cent. were able to distinguish between a dominion and a colony.
accounts for much of the vague disillusionment complained of by Colonial students in London.

Londoners think of Colonial students primarily as foreigners and as Coloureds. The fact of their colour merely makes their being foreign more obvious and thus reduces the likelihood of their being accepted. Many Londoners make a broad distinction, however, between Negroes on the one side, and Asians and other lightly-coloured non-Europeans on the other. This distinction, while it is directly based upon physical appearance, is frequently rationalised in terms of education or of social and cultural background. A remark often heard in this connection is that "Indians are much like us, only darker, and everyone knows they are civilized but it's different with Negroes: they don't think the same way".

Both favourable and unfavourable stereotypes exist in relation to Asians and Africans: thus Asians are "highly civilized", "very brainy", philosophers who often perform truly astounding feats of memory; but they are also "treacherous", cunning and cruel: "you can't trust any of them"; Africans, on the other hand, are either "savage" and "primitive", with enormous sexual powers, or alterna-
atively kind, loyal darkies, child-like and grateful for any kindness bestowed on them. But it is significant that of the stereotypes about Asians, some at least are unqualifiedly favourable; while those about Africans are favourable only in a highly patronising way, and hence unacceptable to African students. There is little doubt that this is at least partly connected with political status: some Asian countries have an unbroken tradition of independence, while most Londoners have by now at least some idea of post-war political developments in that part of the world. Africans, however, are closely associated in the public mind with the idea of dependent, Colonial status, and it is only very recently that people have become aware of their political progress. Asia, moreover, is linked with vague notions about strange but elaborate religions and philosophies; while to many British people Africa before the coming of Europeans still is a place of primeval chaos and unrelieved night.

From the viewpoint of this study, two important consequences follow: it is those groups who are most eager to share in British life — Africans and West Indians — who are the least likely to be accepted; while the fact that Londoners
make few distinctions between Colonials leads one to suppose that variants of social adaptation are to be explained in terms of differences of social and cultural background rather than by direct reference to the situation in London.
Chapter X

THE INTERPRETATION OF COLOUR PREJUDICE
THE INTERPRETATION OF COLOUR PREJUDICE

The last chapter tried to generalise about the Colonial students' experiences in London, and to relate them to the general social and cultural background of the students. In the main, that chapter was a summary of our previous argument, and an attempt to order the data we had collected. In what follows, we try to put the same material to a different use, and to discuss some of the more purely theoretical implications to which it gives rise. In particular, we attempt to use it in a criticism of some current theories of colour prejudice; and this will be followed by a discussion of the relationship between psychological and sociological interpretations of racial hostility; while finally, we shall try to comment on the particular character of the situation in this country by reference to the evidence of this survey.
1. The Sources of Hostility

A great many different interpretations of prejudice exist at the present time, and it is clearly not possible to discuss these in any detail in a study of this kind; but most of these theories have important elements in common, so that a criticism of only one or two of them may help to throw light on the others.

It is common knowledge that the mere presence of aliens within a particular culture does not always and inevitably lead to conflict; the problem is thus to find out under what conditions conflict does arise, and to discover the sources of potential hostility. This question is frequently approached from a psychological point of view. Thus McCrone, writing about conditions in South Africa, uses a psychological theory to account for prejudice; since many other psychological interpretations, such as the social-psychological works of Dollard have essentially a similar content, it may be useful to discuss this in some detail.

McCrone starts by asking the age-old (and

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1D. MacCrone: "Race Attitudes in South Africa". (Historical, experimental and psychological studies), London, 1937.
Perhaps rather futile) question whether man is by nature a social being or whether, on the contrary, he is originally non-social or even anti-social; and he rightly asserts that "the postulation of an ad hoc social or gregarious instinct to account for the fact that everywhere man is found living as a member of a group is a simple and tempting way of disposing of the problem, but it suffers from the fatal defect of most forms of instinct psychology in that it converts a description into an explanation".² In other words, to assume some kind of gregarious instinct is to avoid the problem of man's relation to society, and not to explain it; for this reason it is methodologically more fruitful to postulate the opposite: but in this case, the question immediately arises as to how man's original predispositions are later changed. McCrone answers this mainly in terms of Freudian theory, and later uses this also to explain the origin of prejudice. "It is within the family circle that the conditions are found which are essential for social development, and it is the vicissitudes of the individual's original impulses

as controlled by these conditions that enable him to participate as a social being in the wider social life of his group.\(^3\)

The way in which this is brought about may be briefly summarised as follows. The newly-born child is not aware of any distinction between himself and his environment; this is only formed later, as the result of frustration; for this reason, his imagination is at this stage omnipotent and brings its own gratification: any genuine mental conflict is out of the question, and the "pleasure principle"\(^4\) remains unchecked.

The child's first pleasurable sensations are experienced in connection with feeding; the pleasure so gained may be called "sexual", if this term is used in its widest sense. At first, the child regards his mother's breasts as parts of his own body; but gradually he becomes aware that his desire for food at times remains unsatisfied: and in this way he begins to realise the distinction between himself and the outer world. The child's frustration at this stage has two consequences:

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\(^3\)Ibid, p. 237.

\(^4\)This is usually defined as the need for immediate (emotional) discharge or gratification; cf. S. Freud: "Formulations Regarding the Two Principles in Mental Functioning", Collected Papers, IV, London, 1924.
it develops his awareness of himself as a separate being (i.e. his "ego") while, at the same time, it gives rise to impulses of a hostile and aggressive character: the child's behaviour at this period is not merely not social, but definitely anti-social.5 Later again, the child begins to direct his pleasure-seeking impulses more clearly outwards, towards objects of his environment, but primarily towards his mother; and this gives rise to his first genuine mental conflict, with its attendant emotional state of anxiety. For the child, increasingly aware of the frustration of his pleasure-seeking impulses towards the mother, now begins to look upon his father as a hated rival; and this situation is ended only by the child's misinterpretation of the physical differences between the sexes. (According to Freud, the child fails to distinguish properly between the sexes: everybody is thought to belong to the same sex, but some people have sexual organs, while others have not; the child interprets this as castration, and fears the same fate at the hands of his hated rival, i.e. his father). The mental conflict at this stage arises from the fact that the child "loves" his mother and "hates" his

5 McCrone, op. cit. p. 238.
father (Oedipus complex) while, at the same time, he fears castration at the hands of the father (castration complex). In the end, this conflict is resolved by a process of "identification": the child identifies himself emotionally with his father and accepts his parental authority while, at the same time, he substitutes tender feelings towards his mother for his earlier and more primitive pleasure-seeking impulses.

The exact mechanism of this process, and the detailed stages of mental development that precede it, are irrelevant to our argument and their truth or falsity need not concern us. The important point, for our purpose, is that according to psychoanalytic theory the child, at an early stage of his mental development, finds himself the victim of a mental conflict with highly unpleasant and painful concomitants; and this conflict cannot be avoided, since it arises directly from the fact that every child is born in a family. It forms an inevitable stage in the psychic development of every

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individual, and can only be resolved by a process of identification. The individual's socialisation, although both inevitable and ultimately desirable, nevertheless causes him a great many frustrations of all kinds; these arouse his hostility: but the process of identification ensures that the individual directs his hostile and aggressive impulses not against members of his own group but against outsiders. In this way his hostile impulses not only escape condemnation but may even be socially approved. Here, then, is the psychological source of the individual's hostility against outsiders, and particularly against those who by reason of their physical appearance may easily be distinguished from members of his own group. McCrone comments on this as follows:—

"The internal conflict which is inseparable from the life of the individual as a member of a group becomes externalized as a conflict between groups and so is made tolerable. The psychological distinction, therefore, between in- and out-groups corresponds to a real division within the individual itself. As a form of insurance, the existence of the out-group covers the in-group against the risks of internal conflict and aggressiveness. If we could imagine a state of affairs in which such a group did not exist, it would become necessary to invent one, if only to enable members of the in-group to deal with conflicts, internal and external, without wrecking their own group".7

7 McCrone, op. cit. p. 252.
The psychoanalytic interpretation of prejudice is doubtless open to criticism, particularly on the ground that much of it is expressed in a way that, to say the least, cannot readily be tested; but it has the merit of offering at least a tentative explanation for two hypotheses that have often been advanced about group relations, and whose empirical content is beyond question.

The first of these refers to the formation of in-groups, and to the relation of these groups to outsiders. There appears to be a universal tendency for individuals to congregate in well-defined groups, to the exclusion of others who are regarded as members of other and rival groups. This tendency has been described as the "we = they" dichotomy or the "in-group = out-group" delineation.\(^8\) Now it is clear that such a division can only occur where the members of different groups may easily be distinguished from each other by means of commonly accepted characteristics of some kind; and it seems reasonable to assume that characteristics that cannot be altered at all, will be of particular importance in maintaining such a division. This assumption is amply supported by the material of this survey:

we have seen, for example, that students of Negro
descent have far more difficulty in finding accommo-
dation than Asians and foreign Europeans, and this
primarily by reason of their personal appearance.
Factors such as skin colour and hair form and tex-
ture are not only very persistent, but easily
perceived; and the high "visibility" of these
traits is an important factor in maintaining the
distinction between in-group and out-group. It is
ture. It is
true that British people often rationalise their
attitudes towards different groups of Colonial stud-
ents by statements such as "Asians have more in
common with us than Negroes"; but in fact the
social and cultural background of West Indians, for
example, has much more in common with British condi-
tions than that of, say, students from Cyprus or from
Malaya -- yet these find it much easier to gain social
acceptance than do West Indians. In general, there
can be little doubt that opportunities for social
participation among Colonial students in London are
directly correlated with the extent to which their
physical appearance approximates to, or deviates
from the British norm.

Our second hypothesis concerns the format-
ion of rigid concepts governing the thought and
behaviour of people towards others. We have seen
that, in the psychoanalytic view, the psychological distinction between in- and out-groups corresponds to a fundamental division within the individual itself. If this is accepted, it follows that the individual's ideas about the out-group, since they are based on unconscious factors rather than on objective and empirical considerations, are likely to be rigid and extremely difficult to change; and they will always include considerable elements of hostility. Our discussion of landladies' attitudes towards Colonial students has shown that to a large extent these are based upon the sentiments (towards Coloureds) that these women ascribe to their neighbours, and to British people generally; and this seems to support the view that the sentiments of the individual towards a particular group are determined less by his knowledge of that group than by his interpretation of the sentiments prevalent in the social atmosphere that surrounds him. This is a second reason for the characteristic rigidity of stereotypes: not only are they based upon factors that are largely unconscious; but the hostility they express is socially approved, since

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9 Cf. below, Ch.v, section 4.
it is shared by other members of the individual's own group.10

To sum up, we may say that the psychoanalytic explanation of prejudice gives rise to at least two hypotheses of empirical content, both of which are supported by the evidence of this study. But it should not be inferred from this that psychoanalysis offers an exhaustive interpretation of prejudice -- a view that will be criticised in the following section.

2. Prejudice and the Social Structure

Psychological and particularly psychoanalytic interpretations of prejudice are often thought to imply that sociological explanations are inadequate, if not misleading, and that for example economic competition is not an explanation but a rationalisation of racial hostility.11 But there seems little

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11 A clear and detailed criticism of this view will be found in M. Freedman: "Race Relations in South-East Asia, with special reference to British Malaya". (Unpublished M.A. thesis), London, 1948.
justification, on grounds of logic, for this belief: from a sociological point of view, it does not really matter in what particular way aggressive and hostile impulses are created — and this for the simple reason that hostility may be expressed in more than one way. The real problem is thus to find out why particular societies choose one way rather than another. In other words, although psychology may be able to tell us how an unspecified amount of hostility is created within the individual, we must look to sociology for an explanation of the specific forms that this potential fund of hostility will take. Psychology is primarily concerned with the motivations of individuals, while sociological theory tries to explain why particular social structures entail certain characteristic objective consequences. The sociologist thus operates on a different level of analysis: he is mainly concerned with interpretations in terms of situational logic, and with the unintended consequences of social action. 12

That psychological explanations of prejudice are by themselves inadequate is easily seen by

12 Cf. below, Section 3.
the experiences of different societies in this field. According to the view already described, racial hostility arises from a mental conflict that cannot be avoided "since it arises directly from the fact that every child is born in a family". If this is accepted as sufficient explanation, we should expect little or no variation between the amount of racial hostility in different societies: but in fact, there is a great deal of variation, ranging from the situation found in South Africa, for example, to that in Hawaii or Brazil. The example of Brazil, indeed, is very instructive in this respect: for there, in sharp contrast to countries like South Africa, we find some unqualifiedly favourable stereotypes of Negroes and other Coloureds, and a generally favourable attitude towards inter-racial marriage. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Brazilian situation is that diacritical features that elsewhere have

\[13\] McCrone, op.cit., p. 237.

\[14\] Cf. Donald Pierson: "Negroes in Brazil", Chicago, 1942. "It is commonly thought that those of mixed blood are superior in vitality to both ancestral stocks" (pp.125 ff.) and a "brown skin colour is part of the commonly accepted ideal type of feminine beauty". (p.125).

\[15\] i.e. characteristics such as language or skin colour, tending to promote social distance between different groups.
a high degree of permanence are here socially interpreted in such a way that they become subject to change: the possession of academic qualifications or professional status, for example, is said to "whiten" Coloureds, in the sense that they become socially the equal of Whites. These and similar factors arise directly from particular features of Brazilian history, and from certain characteristics of the present socio-cultural structure of that country.\textsuperscript{16}

The view that psychology provides a sufficient and adequate explanation of racial prejudice is also subject to criticism on methodological grounds.\textsuperscript{17} It is part of a wider doctrine that claims that the regularities of social life are all reducible to the laws of psychology. According to this thesis it is necessary, in constructing a system of social theory, to begin by postulating laws governing the operations of the individual psyche: only when these are known is it possible

\textsuperscript{16}Pierson, op.cit. Part III, (Historical summary).

\textsuperscript{17}A detailed criticism of this view, which he terms "Psychologism", will be found in K. Popper: "The Poverty of Historicism", Economica, May and August 1944 and May 1945. This paragraph closely follows Popper's line of argument.
to formulate theories about social or group activity. For example, statements like "German culture has a militaristic bias" must be reduced to the desire of individual Germans for military prestige — and to explain this, we must resort to psychology, more particularly in order to study the childhood situations of the individuals concerned. Hence, it is argued, psychology precedes and is fundamental to all social science.

But this is to miss the point that we cannot analyse the individual's childhood situation without reference to his social environment; so that we are immediately faced with a typical "hen or egg" problem: which comes first, childhood situation or social environment? And this is a patently fruitless question, leading merely to a sterile hunt for origins.

It is important, consequently, to distinguish clearly between the psychological and sociological aspects of prejudice. Like any other social phenomenon, prejudice is capable of being analysed in a number of different ways: and the particular method chosen depends upon the theoretical interests of the analyst. Psychology attempts to explain how the emotional attitudes behind prejudice are generated, usually by relating them to early
experiences in the life of the individual. But the forms that prejudice and other hostile attitudes actually take vary between different societies; and the specific task of sociology is to relate particular types of prejudice to relevant features of the socio-cultural structure in which they occur. Psychological and sociological interpretations of prejudice should hence not be regarded as competitive, but as complementary to each other.

3. The Significance of "Colour-Tax"

The argument of the last section may be summarized by saying that psychology attempts to explain the actions of individuals, more particularly by tracing them to their unconscious sources; while the theoretical sciences, such as sociology, regard these actions as their data, and have as their specific task the analysis of the social consequences to which these actions give rise. Analysis of this type is necessary and important because individual actions often have consequences, at times beneficial and at other times harmful,

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18 A detailed discussion of this point of view will be found in A.F. Hayek's "The Counter-Revolution of Science", London, 1953, on which the argument of this paragraph is based.
that are not designed or intended by any particular person. Psychoanalysis, for example, offers various theories intended to explain the human propensity to save, more particularly by tracing this to certain vicissitudes in the development of the psyche; the economist, on the other hand, treats this propensity merely as a datum -- yet few would deny the value or interest of the Keynesian insight that the decision of many individuals to save part of their incomes may, under certain conditions, have the opposite effect to that intended, so that, in the long run, all may find themselves poorer than before. The theoretical social sciences abound with insights of this kind although, needless to say, few are of equal importance.

We have already used this type of analysis in our discussion of the "colour tax", to which reference must again be made at this point. It will be remembered that Colonials often complain that they are required to pay more for equivalent accommodation than British students; and our enquiries showed that while in a few instances an extra payment is deliberately imposed, this operates more frequently as an unintended and undesigned consequence of the general prevalence of colour prejudice in this country. The
fact that colour tax is more likely to be asked of Africans than of Asians or foreign Europeans is of particular significance in this connection, since it reflects varying degrees of prejudice against these groups. Mention has also been made of a similar kind of mechanism in relation to personal relationships between coloured men and British women and elsewhere. Indeed, colour tax seems to be a fairly widespread social mechanism, arising from the logic of a situation of competition between two groups, one of which from the point of view of a third group, is less valued than the other.

In the present context, however, the significance of colour tax is the light it helps to throw on the position of Colonial students within the community as a whole. For it is clear that a social mechanism of this kind could not arise either in a situation of complete equality or in one where racial separation was generally accepted and institutionalised. In the first case, any particular landlady, for example, would not find it possible to ask higher prices of Coloureds since these could obtain cheaper accommodation, on equal terms with Europeans, elsewhere; while in the second, it would not be possible for her to let rooms to them at all, either because the force of public opinion would be
strong enough to prevent this or because, as in South Africa, it would actually be prohibited by law. Colour tax can thus arise only where the social situation is such that it combines a fairly widespread prejudice with little or no formalised discrimination. This means that individuals can, at an appropriate price, decide to ignore what they hold to be their neighbours' opinions; and by so doing, they help to uphold the status quo: for on the one hand, colour tax clearly works against any tendencies towards a more formalized or rigid separation while, on the other, its very existence implicitly affirms the current attitudes towards Coloureds. The result of uncertainty, colour tax also helps to promote uncertainty; and thus reflects the conflicting nature of the forces that help to mould the British attitude. Colour tax is symptomatic of the half-way house in which Coloureds find themselves in this country; and its close association with considerations of social status and prestige points to an interpretation of prejudice along these lines.
4. A Sociological Interpretation

The argument so far seems to suggest that any sociological interpretation of prejudice must begin by asking why the potential fund of hostility existing in all societies is so often directed against those of another race, rather than against members of other out-groups. We have already referred to certain psychological aspects of this problem; but part of the answer lies also in the peculiar nature of social differentiation based upon differences of physical appearance. All human societies, by their very nature, make use of many different methods of social differentiation: thus one sort of behaviour is expected from parents, another from children; women usually do one sort of work and men another; while distinctive roles are allocated to members of different social and economic classes.

Differentiation of this kind involves the creation of social distance between individuals and groups; but normally this is counterbalanced by other factors, tending to decrease it. Consider, for example, the position of a docker in relation to a professional man, say, a physician. Differences
of education, economic position and social status all serve to promote social distance between the two; but this is checked and counterbalanced by factors such as a common language and culture, similar physical appearance, and possibly shared religious views or political opinions. In the case of social differentiation based upon physical appearance, however, diacritical factors tend to be less widely dispersed between individuals and are primarily associated with one or more particular groups.

To make this clearer, we must refer to the methodological distinction between the "individual" and the "social person" in sociological theory. S.F. Nadel describes this as follows:

"Action patterns are realised by individuals; groupings and relationships exist through individuals. Yet if the action pattern is conceived of as standardized, regular and recurrent, it is also independent of the concrete living individual. Clearly, institutionalised action patterns exist in a relatively timeless and ubiquitous sense, being available for all or for numerous individuals in the society and recurring irrespective of the life span of concrete individuals. Similarly the set of action patterns which makes up any social relationship or grouping exists for numerous varying individuals and successive generations. The relationships between fellow citizens, mother and child, chief and subject, and the rest, are

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19In this country, however, differences of speech are an important means of maintaining social distance between different classes.
repetitive throughout the group, and groups exist and persist while their human material changes with age and death and is renewed with every birth. At every step of our enquiry, then, we observe individuals; yet step by step our analysis also leads us away from the individual to something else.

We need a word for this 'something else', that is, for the human being who is the pivot of all things social, yet is not a concrete, uniquely existing human being. More precisely, we need a type concept which we must superimpose upon the changing, fluid reality before we can attempt its analysis". 20

This concept, as Radcliffe-Brown has shown, is given in the English language in the word "person", defined as a "human being with recognized rights and duties". 21 Sociologically speaking, any human being has a number of sets of rights and duties that are effective in different contexts, so that we may speak of different aspects of a person, or of different "roles" assumed by it. "Understood in this sense, the person is more than the individual; it is the individual with certain recognised, or institutionalised, tasks and relationships, and is all the individuals who act in this way". 22

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22 Nadel, op.cit. p. 93.
But from our point of view, the consideration that the person is also less than the individual is of even greater importance. Nadel explains this in the following way:—

"... an individual may be several persons, and out of his physical and mental qualities only some will enter into the ways of acting which define the person. The 'chief', or 'priest' or 'soldier', or 'father', or 'brother', are persons, who at any given moment are represented in numerous individuals; yet the same man may be chief, soldier, father and brother, all at once and with different parts of his being, acting as one or the other in different contexts and in respect of different other individuals...." 23

The sociological distinction between "individual" and "person" has been elaborated in some detail because it has important consequences for our analysis. It enables us to view social life as a web of relationships between social persons, each with a number of "typical", that is generally accepted and institutionalised sets of rights and duties. If this is accepted, the relationship between any two individuals is seen to be sociologically determined by the fact that each consists of several social persons, some of whom will tend to promote social distance between individuals, while others will tend to reduce it. Thus, in our previous example, the economic position and profess—

23 Idem.
ional status of two individuals labelled "docker" and "physician" tended to increase social distance between them, while factors associated with nationality and religion were seen to reduce it. The important point here is that diacritical factors normally tend to be widely dispersed between individuals; and this not only reduces social distance, but prevents, to some extent, the creation of stereotypes. But this is not possible where differences of physical appearance are used for social differentiation, since by definition all of the same skin colour, for example, are put into one category -- diacritical factors of this type cannot, in the nature of things, be ascribed to individuals, but only to groups. Differences of physical appearance, moreover, are both highly "visible" and extremely persistent, so that, once they are established, they tend to be used to the exclusion of diacritical factors of other kinds. We have seen, for example, that British people tend to look upon Colonial students primarily as Coloureds, and that diacritical factors such as nationality, social status, religious beliefs and so on, are here only of secondary importance. This means the creation

24 The argument of this paragraph follows the analysis given in M. Freedman, op. cit. Ch.I.
of social distance between students and Londoners; while stereotypes are easily established, and the likelihood of directing hostility towards the out-group is correspondingly increased.

Social distance alone does not give rise to hostility; but it does mean that once unfavourable stereotypes have been set up, they are unlikely to be altered: and the out-group, by its very definition and by reason of the "different" values ascribed to it, is likely to be regarded as a competitor of the in-group and as a threat, implicit or otherwise, to its system of values. In the present context, this threat is most frequently construed as a possible loss of social prestige:

"Some English persons believe that they will jeopardize, if not lose, their social status in the eyes of their friends and acquaintances by association with a coloured person. Their reaction might be likened to the hesitation shown by a fashionable or highly class-conscious person at being seen talking in public with someone who is shabbily dressed or who speaks with a socially unacceptable accent. It may aptly be described as colour-class-consciousness". 25

This point is strongly supported by the evidence of this report. We have seen, in connection with our discussion of accommodation problems, 26 that landladies often object to taking coloured

26 Cf. below, Ch. V, section 4.
students because they see in this a confession of "having come down in the world". Even those who are themselves favourably disposed towards Coloureds sometimes hesitate to accept them as lodgers "because of what the neighbours would say"; and it may be of significance, in this connection, that the proportion of those willing to take Coloureds is considerably higher among working class people than among those of a higher social and economic class. 27

Persons of a skin colour darker than that of the average Britisher carry the badge of the stranger. They are defined as belonging to an out-group, and regarded with suspicion or hostility: notions of inferiority also enter the picture, particularly where Negroes are concerned. The reasons are partly historical -- the association of Negroes with slavery, the employment of Africans in unskilled work, the feeling that Negroes have failed to produce any great civilizations, and so on. Moreover, "though it would be difficult to say to what extent attitudes involving the social inferiority of the coloured man in this country derive from

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27 This point is contestable however, because it implies that working class people are at the bottom of the social ladder whereas some doubtless regard Coloureds as "beneath" them. Cf. Little, op. cit., p. 232 ff.
the political status of the Colonials themselves, the implications can be seen in various other and cultural forms. There is a prolific use in official and other announcements of such expressions as 'trusteeship', 'backward peoples' etc. 28

This is one reason why landladies, as we have seen, are usually more reluctant to accept Negroes than Asians or foreign Europeans. But of equal significance is the stereotype, already referred to, of the Negro as a sexually uninhibited and highly potent being. Indeed, in view of the highly emotional character of certain reactions towards Negroes, e.g. slamming front doors at the mere sight of an African, or statements like "we can't take Negroes because there are young girls in the house" -- in view of this, an interpretation of prejudice solely in terms of fears about loss of social prestige seems incomplete. Reactions of this type speak of deeper, unconscious fears and envies that must be traced to their psychological origin. What concerns us here, is the peculiar character of the connection between uninhibited behaviour and "low class" social status on the one hand, and the ascription of similar behaviour to

28 Ibid. p. 232, footnote.
the Negro on the other. In the context of the social situation in this country, this association suggests a link between the psychological origins of hostility and their social consequences, and seems to explain, moreover, the particular persistence of this type of colour-class prejudice. The out-group, by reason of the behaviour ascribed to its members, is thought to threaten certain values whose acceptance must often be felt as irksome and even painful. This refers particularly to conventional middle-class standards of conduct in matters of sex; and it is perhaps significant in this connection, that the popular view of the Negro as a sexually highly potent and at the same time uninhibited being seems to include elements of envy as well as of hostility and fear. This particular stereotype has the advantage of allowing one to ascribe to others a kind of conduct that is at once desired and socially disapproved. This not only affords relief from feelings of guilt but permits a socially acceptable expression of hostile impulses arising from this and other sources of frustration; while the supposedly "immoral" behaviour of the out-group by comparison with the supposedly more

virtuous conduct of the in-group implicitly affirms the latter's somewhat painfully accepted system of values.

These fears and frustrations, however, are largely unconscious and must hence be expressed in another way. In this country uninhibited behaviour, particularly in matters of sex, is often regarded as evidence of "low class" status: this is shown by the characterization of such behaviour as "low", "cheap", "slummy" and so on. Our suggestion here is that the link between uninhibited behaviour and "low class" social status on the one hand, and the popular view of the Negro on the other, makes it understandable why association with Colour-ed is widely construed as involving a threat to social prestige.

If this is accepted, it follows that colour prejudice, in the present context, may be defined as a function of three main variables: (1) the existence within the community of groups easily distinguished by a characteristic such as skin colour, which is highly visible; (2) the use of such characteristics for social differentiation, producing structured diacritical formations that increase the possibility of conflict; and (3) the existence of feelings of insecurity and frustration within the
in-group which, because of the link between uninhibited behaviour and "low class" social status gives rise to the fear that association with Coloureds entails a loss of social prestige.
Chapter XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
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1. General Summary

In this chapter we try to summarize the argument so far, and to point to lines of action that might facilitate the social adaptation of Colonial students in London. At the beginning of this survey it was stated that its chief purpose was to indicate how Colonial students, and particularly those from West Africa and the West Indies, adapt to the social conditions of London life. This involved the construction of a number of hypotheses about the nature of the factors on which this was likely to depend. These fell into two main categories: the first consisted of variables arising from the social situation in London; while the second included variables connected with the social and cultural background of these students.

The presentation of our material directly followed from this argument. The introductory chapters of the survey described its aims and methods of research, and included a brief description of
the general characteristics of the student population. This was followed by a discussion of the students' system of expectations, particularly insofar as this concerned their status as Colonials. The argument at this point seemed to show that awareness of Colonial status, while on the one side it gives rise to feelings of inferiority and of hostility towards imperial rule, is on the other symptomatic of the enormous prestige enjoyed by the Mother country, and by Western civilization in general. In consequence, the Colonial students' expectations about life in this country tend to be excessively optimistic, while many feel that they stand in a special relationship to the people of this country. On both counts, their expectations are likely to be disappointed; and this probably explains the vague sense of disillusionment about which Colonial students so often complain.

In most cases, Colonial students are first made aware of the realities of life in this country on looking for accommodation. This is perhaps the most serious difficulty of the London situation, and it affects the students' reactions to British life to a very great extent. There is little doubt that many of the students' complaints are
fully justified. Analysis of the records of a well-known organisation finding rooms for university students in London shows that of a general sample of 300 landladies, 82 per cent are willing to accept students from the United States and the "white" Dominions; 70 per cent are prepared to take continental Europeans, and 26 per cent will also take lightly-coloured non-Europeans; but only 10 per cent are prepared to accept African and other Negro students. A more detailed examination of three London areas enabled us to put forward certain hypotheses about colour prejudice, and these were later used in a discussion of sociological theories in this field.

This discussion was followed by an attempt to examine some of the major reactions to which these difficulties give rise. Of particular significance in this connection is the distinction between different types of Colonial students' unions: those involving students of Negro descent on the one hand, and those comprising Asian and foreign European students on the other. Among the former, we find a very active concern with such problems as the colour bar, discrimination and the status of Coloureds in Britain generally; among the latter, this
interest is much less pronounced and is sometimes wholly absent. To some extent, this doubtless reflects the greater degree of prejudice encountered by African and other Negro students.

We next tried to generalize about the college life of Colonial students, but found that differences in the character and traditions of each institution made this difficult. Broadly speaking, it seems that the Colonial students' participation in college life depends on their relative numbers; where Colonials form a large proportion of the total student population there is little incentive for them to mix with British students; on the other hand, the presence of large numbers of their countrymen doubtless tends to increase confidence, and thus to facilitate adaptation. In colleges where only one or two Colonials work among large numbers of British students, their need to approach these is correspondingly greater. This situation gives rise to extremes, and it is in colleges of this type where some of the most isolated as well as some of the best-adjusted among Colonial students are to be found.

The next step was to examine relations between students and Londoners in greater detail,
and particularly the efforts of official and voluntary organisations in this respect. This led to the conclusion that perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of the Colonial students' participation in British life was its limited extent -- limited less by the number of social contacts available than by their character. To a great extent, Colonial students in London find that their contacts with British people are restricted to relationships of a "formal" kind. Various organisations try to introduce them to Londoners, but with relatively little success. In the formal context of official introductions both groups tend to regard each other as stereotypes, and the relationships that ensue are generally not what the students desire.

So far, our discussion had mainly dealt with variables arising directly from the London situation; but at this point we tried to complement this analysis by a more detailed account of the students' home situations, their varying systems of expectations and the differences of social adjustment to which these give rise. This led to the general conclusion that it is those groups which are most eager to share in British life -- West
Africans and West Indians -- which are the least likely to be accepted; while the fact that Londoners make only the roughest of distinctions between the various groups of Colonials leads one to suppose that variants of social adaptation are to be explained in terms of differences of social and cultural background rather than by direct reference to the London situation.

In conclusion, we tried to use our material in a critical discussion of some current theories of prejudice. In particular, we tried to show that the relationship between psychological and sociological theories in this field should be regarded as complementary rather than as competitive; and that in the context of the social situation in this country a link between the two kinds of interpretation is suggested by the tendency of British people to ascribe to Negroes uninhibited behaviour, particularly in matters of sex, which at the same time is also regarded as evidence of "low" status socially. This juxtaposition, it was suggested, may account for the peculiar character of colour-class-prejudice in this country and would seem to explain why association with Coloureds so often gives rise to fears about loss of social prestige.
2. Types of Remedy

It may be tempting to conclude from this that conflict might best be avoided by reducing the students' level of expectations: by persuading them, in other words, to look upon their stay in this country merely in terms of an opportunity to obtain technical training, and to rely for social participation solely upon their own countrymen. Here everything depends on the individual's political outlook; the following is based on the assumption that despite great imperfections of practice, the idea of a multi-racial Commonwealth is fundamentally desirable. From this point of view, any solution that merely aims at limiting contact between students and Londoners must clearly be rejected. On the contrary, remedial action must aim at allowing the widest contact between them, while minimizing the possibility of conflict. It would be idle to hope for speedy or complete success in a matter of this kind; but some progress could be made towards improvement by changing certain features of the London situation, and by making the systems of expectations of Colonial students more conformant with reality.
About the situation in London, it has already been said that compared to Colonial students elsewhere, those in London suffer from two main difficulties: inadequate accommodation and lack of a genuine university life. Suggestions to improve this state of affairs have also been made.¹ These include increased hostel accommodation for Colonials, the exclusion of landladies objecting to Coloureds from registers kept by official organisations, and as a long-term policy, the provision of small hostels based upon individual colleges and open to all students regardless of colour or race.

Some of the difficulties that Colonial students have in adjusting to life in this country arise from their financial position. There are two problems connected with this; the first relates to scholars, the second to private students. In general, scholarship payments seem adequate; but they allow little margin for emergency, and are based on the assumption that Colonials have the same expenses as British students. But when they first come here, Colonial students often waste much time and money in looking for rooms; they

¹See below, Ch.V. Cf. also the author's article on "London Landladies and Coloured Students", The Fortnightly, October, 1953.
have to buy clothes and similar items, while inexpensive restaurants have to be discovered by trial and error. This initial process of adjustment could be much facilitated by increasing scholarship payments during the student's first year in London, or by the grant of a small sum of money on arrival. A more difficult problem concerns private students who come here without adequate means, or whose financial support ceases during their stay. Among West Africans and West Indians, particularly, there are students who come here intending to "work their way through college", but who find this more difficult than they had expected. The problem of these "marginal" students has caused concern among the authorities both in this country and in the Colonies, and in 1952 a prominent Nigerian politician, a former president of the West African Students' Union, issued the following warning:--

"Many Nigerians are making their way to Britain with the vague intention of finding work and studying for a degree in their spare time. These people travel overseas knowing that they have only enough money to last them for a very short time: it is not unusual to hear of Nigerians landing in Britain with only a few shillings in their pockets trusting to providence to find a well paid job. What they do not know is that they generally lack the academic qualifications to gain entrance to any training institution: moreover, good jobs for men possessing no qualifications are not easy to find. Even if the intending student does get a job and is accepted into a college, only
a man of exceptional ability and energy is capable of doing a hard day's work and gaining any benefit from his studies. Under such adverse circumstances few Nigerians have made the grade and many have given up all pretence of study and are drifting aimlessly. Such people are doing no good to themselves; they harm the reputation of Nigeria and are an embarrassment to the genuine students. They would be well advised to return to Nigeria. I mention these students not through any desire to cramp the spirit of enterprise -- quite the contrary -- but to offer a word of advice to any of you who may be contemplating studying overseas without adequate resources. My advice is stay at home. If you possess the ability and qualifications to get into a university or technical college in Britain you can get just as good a training at Ibadan or other institutions in this country. And at less cost and hardship to yourselves."

The authorities are naturally reluctant to encourage students with insufficient means; but the existence of a small reserve fund for emergencies would enable Liaison Officers at the Colonial Office to help genuinely deserving cases; a fund of this kind already exists for West African students in the United States.

Official attempts to bring students into contact with Londoners have been discussed in a previous chapter, and little more need be said on this subject here. The students' complaints about lack of social participation relate less to the

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2 Mr. O.A. Arikpo in a broadcast from Lagos, November 1952.
number of contacts they are offered than to their kind. It is difficult to avoid the impression that little can be done about this without a thorough reorientation of the British attitude towards Coloureds. This is obviously a long-term project, and would involve, in particular, a reform of the sort of things children are taught at British schools. The older geography textbooks, for example, still generalize about coloured peoples in terms of such stereotypes as "lazy Negroes" and "impassive Redskins", while anthropology as a subject does not exist in the ordinary school syllabus; in these circumstances the average Englishman's conception of the Colonies is extremely hazy.  

While this remains true, the coloured man, and particularly the Negro, will continue to be regarded as "primitive" or "savage"; and this, together with the dependant status of the Colonies, makes it difficult for British people to accept him as an equal. But there is evidence that young people are less prejudiced than their elders, and reason for hope that this trend will continue.  

Some progress can be made towards improv-

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4 Cf. below, Ch. IX, section 4.
ing racial relations by adult education and by propaganda in favour of tolerance. A number of voluntary societies already exist for this purpose. These deserve every support; but inevitably they tend to preach to the converted, and only a small section of the population is reached in this way. Mention should also be made in this context of recent attempts to introduce legislation prohibiting discrimination on racial grounds. Some three years ago, a group of Labour M.P.s presented what they called "The Colour Bar Bill", and this was to have had its second reading in April, 1951. This made it a summary offence for the owner, manager or employee of a hotel, restaurant, cinema, dance hall etc., to exercise or cause to be exercised racial discrimination. For the purpose of the Bill, a person was said to exercise racial discrimination where "he refuses, withholds or denies to any other person accommodation, advantages, facilities or privileges on account of the race or colour of the other person."

In practice, it would be difficult to enforce legislation of this kind since it would have

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5 On the appointed day, the time allocated did not permit the Bill being reached, and, in fact, it received no Second Reading.
to be proved, for example, that a hotel manager's reason for refusing accommodation to a coloured man was his colour. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to assume that a great many people who now discriminate against Coloureds chiefly because they fear economic loss would hesitate to do so if this might involve them in costly court proceedings and unwelcome publicity. Opponents of the bill also claim that it is objectionable from the point of view of the coloured man, since it would "pick him out as somebody different and in need of special protection"; and they say that it would "create bitterness against those whom it aims to protect". But on similar grounds one might argue against the punishment of rape, for example, as likely to cause resentment against women; whereas the more usual reaction is a greater abhorrence of this crime. Indeed, perhaps the most powerful argument in favour of legislation against discrimination is the very publicity that this would throw on practices of this kind; the proof it would give to the hesitant that a powerful section of public opinion favoured equality; and the sense of security it


7 Idem.
would afford to coloured people in this country.

So far, we have mainly dealt with remedies designed to improve the social situation of Colonial students in this country; but since the students' interpretation of their experiences primarily depends on their earlier expectations, it is equally necessary to bring these into closer conformity with reality. In particular, steps should be taken to ensure a more realistic appreciation of British conditions among those about to come here. Students' Advisory Committees already exist in several of the Colonies; they include Colonials who have recently studied abroad, as well as government officials. Their task is to advise students and parents on the choice of a career, and to see that students have the correct academic qualifications for the courses they intend to take. But some students complain that the committees are slow and dilatory; while others fear they might try to thwart their ambitions. Whatever substance there may be in these complaints, the high proportion of unrecommended students who annually come here offers evidence that the committees are not taken too seriously. Clearly there is room here for improvement; but the basic difficulty is that the
committees, as well as Introductory Courses and similar schemes, generally find themselves in an ambiguous position. If they are to do any good, they must try to deflate Utopian ideas about Britain and offer realistic advice on such subjects as sexual behaviour in this country; while their official connection makes it difficult for them to speak freely and ensures, in the eyes of the students at least, that they stand for the existing order. In these circumstances, the amount of good that officially sponsored organisations can do is limited, and it would seem desirable to complement their work by self-help among students: the more powerful among the students' unions, particularly those which have their own organisations in the Colonies, could do much to relieve difficulties of this kind.

At the same time, it would clearly be unwise to rely wholly upon this line of action. The students' misconceptions about life in this country are deeply rooted in their social and cultural environment; they originate in the dependant status of the Colonies, and follow from the sort of things they have been taught at school. The following extract, dealing with conditions in Sierra
Leone, may help to illustrate this point:-

"In the circumstances, it is not surprising that 'England'........ should be conceived in popular imagination as an El Dorado and 'land of opportunity'. 14 out of 34 older secondary school boys voluntarily indicated their strong desire, and even intention, of continuing their studies 'overseas', that is, in the U.K. One of them wrote: 'I have already given it as a solemn oath that in due course I shall visit the shores of England for the safety and upkeep of our country'. Ambitions of this type, indeed, are typical of the general attitude of these members of the younger generation, including the women, whom literacy has placed on the initial rungs of the social ladder. There is evidently a wide conviction that almost any kind of educational qualification obtained in England is a certain guarantee of subsequent success, particularly in government service. It is almost as if the mere touch of English soil wrought a subtle alchemy in the individual's personality and future prospects. It is hardly necessary to add that many of the notions which are popularly held regarding social life and conditions in England are, at the least, as inaccurate as those held by the majority of English people regarding conditions in West Africa. Perhaps the most common assumptions are that in England, education is available to everyone, almost without exception to a university level; that the government controls everything; it finds you a good job and helps to maintain you and that nearly everyone in England has a 'white collar' job, or has something to do with machines."8

Here again, a thorough reorientation of school curricula would seem to offer the only hope of satisfactory solution in the long run. But this is obviously closely bound up with the whole

question of the traditional relationship between the Colonies and the Mother-country, a problem well outside the scope of a survey of this kind. Indeed, our discussion of differences in the social adaptation of Colonial students has already illustrated the extent to which these are affected by awareness of Colonial status; and this leads to the conclusion that the scope of all direct remedy is limited, while the improvement of racial relations in this country will largely depend upon political developments in the Colonies and elsewhere.

3. The Need for further Research

There are three main lines of enquiry along which further research among Colonial students might profitably be carried out. The first would aim at filling certain gaps in our information about Colonial students in London; the second would try to compare the problem of these students, together with their modes of social adaptation, with those of Colonial students in other parts of Britain and elsewhere; and the third would attempt to study the students' earlier background and experiences in greater detail than has been done so far.
About the first of these tasks, it must be said that the present survey has left two major gaps of information, mainly for reasons of a technical kind. Most of the problems that interested us here directly concerned social relationships between students and Londoners: and problems of this kind do not readily lend themselves to statistical analysis. But there are certain aspects of life among Colonial students that can only be examined quantitatively: we need to know, for example, how academic performances among Colonials compare with those of British students. The Colonial Office have some information about the academic background of scholars and of sponsored students; but examination results and other details of the students' careers are not kept, and data of this type would have to be obtained separately from the various colleges and training institutions that students attend. Similarly, there exists relatively little information about the financial position of Colonial students in London; and it would clearly be desirable to collect a number of representative budgets for comparative purposes. Other statistics that might usefully be gathered include the number and composition of students at secondary
schools in the Colonies, the number of those passing the School Certificate or equivalent examinations, and the number of students who annually apply for scholarships or for sponsorship by the Colonial Office. In practice, the collection of information of this kind requires a good deal of time and money and it cannot very well be undertaken by a single observer. At the present time, the organisation known as "Political and Economic Planning" is making a study of these and similar problems; the results of their enquiries have not yet been published, but it is probable that they will furnish answers to several of these points.

Another, and perhaps an even more interesting line of enquiry concerns the psychological welfare and problems of Colonial students in London. It has been claimed that their experiences here lead to mental instability among a number of students, and psychological examination of a representative sample should throw much light on questions of this kind. This could only be undertaken by a prolonged and expert enquiry, and considering the differences between the social and cultural background of these students, it is clear that a great many problems would first have to be solved. A study of this
kind, however, would be important not only from a practical point of view but would have the greatest theoretical interest. In this connection, mention should also be made of problems involving sexual behaviour. The present survey was mainly concerned with the students' social organisation, and for this reason it was only possible to refer to this question in a highly superficial way. The problem is one that can only be studied by lengthy and specialized enquiry; but in view of its obvious importance for the improvement of racial relations there is much to be said for this line of research.

Another gap of information has already been noted: this concerns Colonial women students, mostly nurses, who are scattered over more than fifty London hospitals. This makes contact with these women difficult, and in any case they are generally reluctant to converse freely with a male observer. Further information also needs to be collected about students on the two extremes of the social scale, i.e. "marginal" students and those who have established themselves as part of the coloured social elite. In the first case, this touches upon the study of coloured workers and seamen, while in the second it involves a study of the coloured profess-
ional classes in this country. Members of the staff of Edinburgh University have been engaged on surveys of both these groups, and the results of their work should offer useful comparative material.

A survey is being made, at the present time, of Colonial students in Oxford, and it should be interesting to compare their social adaptation with that of London students. Of students with experience of both London and other British universities, the majority say that adaptation to the social conditions of London is more difficult: one would hence expect a more favourable type of adaptation among Oxford students. Surveys already exist of coloured students in the United States and in France; but differences of purpose and of theoretical interest makes comparison extremely difficult. Moreover, cultural differences between these countries are such that the variables which mainly affect the students' experiences cannot easily be isolated. From a methodological point of view, a more useful comparison might be made with Colonial students in the Irish Republic, and particularly in Dublin, where the different religious background, and particularly the attitude of Irish people to colonialism may be expected to give rise to interesting forms of adaptation.
Relatively little is known at the present time about the Colonial students' experiences upon their return. It is claimed that in some cases conditions are such that graduates are unable to use their knowledge to the fullest extent. This refers more particularly to students from Colonies whose populations include large numbers of European settlers or which for other reasons are politically undeveloped. An East African graduate, writing about returned students, indicates one kind of difficulty to which this gives rise:–

"Between the two (i.e. the Europeans and the mass of the Africans) are the so-called educated people. Because of their education they are expected to understand what the government is doing and to interpret it to the people. And because they are Africans, their fellow Africans expect them to know what their demands are and to present them to the government.

Because the government has educated them she would like them to be grateful to her. And the people being their brothers look to them for support.

These graduates are being employed by the government, therefore they must not oppose her policy openly, with the result that they keep quiet. When the African public see this they blame them that they are not sympathetic with their cause."10

These and similar problems need much further

9 Cf. E.M.K. Mulira, "Graduates in Uganda", Civilisation, Sept. 1952. Mr. Mulira has studied at Makerere, Achimota College and in Britain.

10 A returned graduate writing in Matalisi, a vernacular newspaper, quoted by Mulira.
research. But here reference must again be made to the lack of detailed sociological surveys of urban conditions in Africa and elsewhere. The poverty of the material in this field makes it impossible to answer such questions as how Colonial students fare upon their return, how the newly educated social elite fits into the traditional system of authority and leadership, and to what extent graduates are able to disseminate knowledge and to affect the intellectual climate of the Colonies. Until these surveys become available, it would seem idle to expect much further progress from studies of Colonial students in this country; and if only for this reason, surveys of urban conditions in the Colonies should probably be given priority over other types of research.

4. A Note on Inequality

As this chapter has mainly been concerned with possibilities of remedy, it seems appropriate to end it with a brief reference to a fundamental assumption on which policy, it is sometimes claimed, ought to be based. In the course of this survey, Londoners of many different classes and backgrounds
were interviewed, and their attitudes towards Colonials ranged from a determined stand against the colour bar to unqualified acceptance of discrimination. In the majority of cases, both favourable and unfavourable attitudes were defended and rationalized by linking them with the problem of equality. Those who supported the fight against the colour bar frequently claimed that modern science has "proved" the equality of races; while those who defended it usually did so by remarks such as: "it's no use pretending that Negroes are the same as us; they have little initiative, are less intelligent and have to be led."

Colonial students are aware of these arguments and some feel called upon to prove that they can work as well as British students, that they are able to "stand upon their own feet" and so on; others react by strongly protesting the value of their own culture, ignoring its defects and blaming all shortcomings upon foreign rule.

This study has no light to throw upon such problems as whether coloured students are as intelligent as white, or whether there are other qualitative differences of mental make-up between them; an attempt to answer this question would have called
for different methods and techniques. The writer can only state, as his personal opinion, that after close association with Colonial students he finds it even more difficult than before to believe in the existence of such differences; and this seems to be true of many who have been intimately connected with Colonials.

But the purpose of this discussion is not to ask whether differences of mental make-up exist between Coloureds and Whites but rather to stress their irrelevance for determining policy; and more particularly, to show that the link between prejudice and discrimination on the one side and equality on the other is unwarranted and to be deplored.

Social scientists, although not by intention, are not without guilt in this respect. The emphasis of modern social anthropology, for example, has been to stress the need for analysing each culture in terms of its own values: and this has often been taken to mean that one culture cannot legitimately be preferred to any other. But here a methodological requirement has been used to sanction ethical relativism. An argument of this kind suffers from an obvious fallacy: it assumes
that statements about value can be deduced from statements about fact. There is no logical ground for this assumption.\textsuperscript{11}

In the light of what has already been said, it will be seen that this point has more than academic interest. Social scientists have often attacked racial prejudice on the ground that no important differences exist between "racial" groups. Very probably this is true: but as an argument against discrimination the statement is irrelevant, if not immoral. It should not be used to justify the concept of equality as an ethical and political demand. For even if it were possible to "prove" the equality of races, this need hardly affect the views of the prejudiced: it is always possible to refuse to listen to reason or to deny its validity as a guide to action -- and it is notorious that anti-rationalist views have a prominent place in racialist philosophy. Conversely, were it possible to "prove" racial inequality, it is to be hoped that many of us would still go on demanding equality of treatment for all men.

Rousseau, in his "Origin of Inequality",

\textsuperscript{11}Cf. the author's Note on "Race": \textit{Man}, 180, July, 1951.
has said that there are two kinds of inequalities: a natural one, arising from the different endowments of individuals, and a conventional one, reflecting the sentiments and prejudices of men. To discuss whether there is any essential connection between the two is, in effect, to ask whether those who command are necessarily better than those who obey. "A question fit, perhaps, to be discussed by slaves in the hearing of their masters, but highly unbecoming to reasonable and free men in search of the truth."
Appendix

SELECTED CASE-STUDIES
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The following case-studies are designed to illustrate certain features of Colonial student life in London. They are not meant to be fully representative of the students' attitudes and opinions, nor are the experiences which they relate necessarily shared by all, or even by a great majority of students. Our aim, rather, has been to isolate those aspects of student life that may be expected to be of particular significance to the interpretation of variants in the social adaptation of different groups of Colonial students. Every effort was made to give as varied an account of the students' experiences as possible. If repetition has not been avoided, this is because even a small group of people, if they have long shared a common social and cultural environment, are likely to exhibit many similarities of attitudes and of patterns of behaviour. But it is precisely similarities of this kind that are of primary interest from the point of view of sociological analysis.
The geographical distribution of the case-studies is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberia (Control Group)</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Africa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
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<td>Malaya</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Cyprus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portugal (Control Group)</td>
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It will be seen that the case-studies involve students from eight different geographical areas. Although the main concern of this survey has been with students from British Colonies in Africa and the West Indies, an interpretation of their experiences is best attempted by comparative analysis. Hence case-studies of Asian, as well as of certain other non-African students have been included, and for similar reasons a number of case-studies relating to students from two independent countries are also shown. The following table gives a more detailed account of the national origin of the students.
I. Jamaica ("coloured") XVI. Liberia (Kru)
II. Bermuda " XVII. Kenya (Kikuyu)
III. Barbados " XVIII. "
IV. Leeward Islands " XIX. " (Arab, Mombasa)
V. Trinidad XX. Tanganyika
VI. British Guiana " XXI. Mauritian (Hindu)
VII. " XXII. " (Creole)
VIII. Nigeria (Yoruba) XXIII. Malayan (Malay)
IX. " (Ibo) XXIV. " (Tamil)
X. " (Lagos) XXV. " (Chinese)
XI. " (Hausa) XXVI. "
XII. Gold Coast (Fanti) XXVII. Cypriot (Turkish)
XIII. Sierra Leone XXVIII. "
XIV. Liberia ("American- XXIX. " (Greek)
XV. " Liberian") XXX. Portuguese.

The case-studies relate to about a third of the total number of students from whom detailed information was obtained. They were selected from among the rest either because they appeared to have a greater intrinsic interest, or because they seemed to illustrate wider differences in the experiences of individual students.

The method by which informants were approached, and the kind of questions they were asked, have already been described. Only a very few students refused to give information; but some tried to confine the conversation to topics of a more superficial kind. For this reason, the following case-studies are probably biased in favour of the friendlier, more approachable type of student.

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1Cf. above, Chapter II.
But it will be seen that hostile attitudes are not uncommon even among the students included in this account.

The case-studies vary in length from about one thousand to about four thousand words. These differences reflect an effort to avoid repetition rather than variants in the amount of available information.

Most of the case-studies are based on at least two interviews, while some are the result of lengthy and repeated contacts over an extended period of time.

No attempt has been made to offer a psychological interpretation of the students' experiences, since this would have required a far greater amount of knowledge of the informants' character structures than could be obtained in a sociological investigation of this kind. The comments made about some of the case-studies should be regarded merely as an attempt to give the reader some insight into the process by which we arrived at certain generalisations put forward in the text of this study. It is hoped that the case-studies will afford a substitute, although necessarily of a limited kind, for personal contact with Colonial students in London.
I. WEST INDIES

Case Study 1

A West Indian (Jamaica) student of medicine, twenty-seven years of age, the son of a Civil Servant. He has two brothers and a sister, and both his parents are still alive. He is coloured, but there is also some Indian and European blood in his ancestry. He has always wanted to study medicine, but when he first came to London was not immediately able to secure admission to any of the medical schools. He therefore spent the first year of his stay in reading for an Arts degree at a provincial university. He was then accepted by a hospital, and came to London for training.

He was educated at a secondary school in Jamaica, and obtained exemption from the London Matriculation examination. At this school, there was a considerable number of European and Indian students in addition to the coloured pupils. As far as he remembers, they all seemed to get on with each other very well. He was particularly friendly with
one of the European boys, and frequently visited his home. But he rarely attained the same degree of intimacy with European and Indian boys, as was the case with coloured students. Nevertheless, he thinks it fair to say that friendships between the children depended upon personal factors rather than upon any alignments of colour or race.

He had a fairly realistic picture of life in England, before coming here, particularly as regards race relations. He had always been interested in these matters, and had read some of the literature concerned with this subject. He also remembers reading about coloured people being refused service in British hotels, and says that he did not "expect too much from English people". But he feels that he was not at all typical in this attitude. Most of his friends were much more optimistic regarding conditions in England, and often compared this country favourably with the United States. He does not think that the increased national consciousness of West Indians today has made any appreciable difference in this respect. People are still conditioned, in various ways, to look upon England as on their "Mother Country".

Despite his "realistic" outlook on life in
England, he was not prepared for several of the features of the situation in London. He had expected a certain amount of prejudice, but had not thought that British people would put him into the same category as, say, West Africans, and that they would not make any allowance for variations in shades of colour, or for differences in economic and social position. In the West Indies, distinctions of this kind are still very important. Colour prejudice there is intimately bound up with distinctions of class: money, or a high social position, will go far in compensating for a dark skin colour. But in England, Negroes all tend to be lumped into one group, and all are considered as in some way inferior. He resented being mistaken for an African when he first came here, but he now thinks that his attitude was foolish, and that he had unwittingly acquired some of the prejudices more usually held by Whites.

His first year in England was spent at a provincial university. On the whole, he regards this as a very satisfactory period of his life. He stayed at a hostel which included a great many foreign and Colonial students among its residents, and he was on friendly terms with most. Some of
the local people appeared to take a genuine interest in students from overseas, and he became very friendly with one of the families of the town. His friends often invited him to stay at their home, and he became so used to calling on them that, if he missed seeing them for a day or two in succession, they would ring him up, and ask whether he had fallen ill. During this period, he also became very friendly with one of the girl students at his college, and he was engaged to be married to her for over six months. But this friendship gradually broke up after he had moved to London, since frequent visits were very difficult.

His mode of life changed very considerably after he came to London. He says that he "made more friends in two weeks at (the provincial university) than in two years in London". He had not been prepared for such a change, and during the first months of his stay in London he was often very lonely and depressed. At first he believed that for some reason Londoners were more prejudiced than people in the country, but he now thinks that even English students sometimes find it difficult to make friends in town. At his medical school, there are only a few overseas students. Although there is no hostility between them and the British
students, the latter tend to keep apart, and he has not made any close friends among them.

Because of his loneliness, he started to go to dances and various other activities organised by the British Council. He thinks that contacts made in this way are "better than nothing", but that they are too formal and institutionalised. He has not made any worth-while friends in this way, but he thinks that this may be his own fault, since he did not believe this to be possible in the first place. "Friendship depends upon mutual attraction between individuals, and cannot be made to order".

He adjusted to the London situation mainly by increased contact with other West Indians, and by a new concern in the affairs of his own country. He paid frequent visits to Hans Crescent, and became an active member of the West Indian Students' Union. He believes that Colonial students' organisations are absolutely essential in view of the London situation, and that they do much in the way of helping students to deal with their difficulties. Membership of a union also encourages Colonial students to take more interest in their own countries, and it promotes fellow-feeling between them along national lines. Moreover, centres like Hans
Crescent make it possible for students from different Colonies to get to know each other socially, and to become aware of their community of interest. On the other hand, the unions tend to lessen the desire of Colonial students to get to know English people, and this he thinks a great pity. "London is all right if you come here just to get a degree -- but Colonial students want to learn something of the way of life of this country, and to get to know English people really well."

Some of his friends have told him that they are not interested in English girls, and that their sole concern is with their studies. He thinks that this attitude is at least partly one of "sour grapes", and that "when you get to know them better, you find that they are just as interested in women as anyone else". He believes that it is difficult for young men to do without women for any considerable length of time. This is not merely a matter of sex. A young man, especially when he is away from his home, and inclined to be lonely, has an emotional need for the companionship of women. During his earlier stay in England he had little difficulty in this respect. He was very fond of the girl to whom he had been engaged, and
had a tolerant and broad-minded attitude towards matters of sex. Although their friendship broke up after his move to London there was no bitterness or recrimination on either side. In London, he has found it more difficult to meet suitable girls. He has met a number of Continental women at British Council dances, but they have usually been rather uneducated, and he has not found it possible to establish a satisfactory friendship with any of them. Nevertheless, he has been on intimate terms with one or two of these girls, and says that the British Council fulfils a useful function in this way.

Since coming to London he has met a number of West African students, and has got on with them "pretty well". But he tends to be bored by West African dances and similar social occasions. Fundamentally, he thinks the reason is that he has really very little in common with the Africans apart from the accident of a dark skin colour. Moreover, he says that the Africans "are always talking about race relations, prejudice, and similar grievances", and although he regards such matters as very important he feels that "there are other things in life as well".
He does not think that his attitude towards this country has altered very greatly as the result of his stay. The only really important respect in which his feelings have changed, is that he now thinks it rather "stupid and unrealistic" of West Indians to think of England as their Mother Country: the English, clearly, do not regard the position in this way. A stay in this country is very useful in that it makes Colonial students "stand upon their own feet". But he thinks it would be very desirable if more of the students went to provincial universities. For people used to having a large and varied circle of friends, "London is pretty hard to get used to: it is a very lonely place".

Comments:- This case-study points to some of the differences in the social situations of Colonial students in the provinces as compared with those of London. The contention that life for the Colonial student is usually appreciably easier in the provincial universities, is supported by a great deal of evidence from other sources.

It is interesting to see that this student does not appear to have taken much interest in Colonial student affairs during the earlier part of his stay in this country. It is only after he
came to London that these matters became important to him. There can be little doubt that the various students' organisations have been of real help in facilitating his adjustment to the London situation.

Case Study 2

A West Indian (Bermuda) student of psychology, twenty-six years of age. He is coloured, but there is clearly an East Indian strain in his ancestry, and he is often taken for an Indian by people in this country. His father is a prosperous business man who has been able to assist him financially during the period of his education. His parents settled in this country during his childhood, and he was educated at English elementary and public schools. His family are now settled in a small town in the neighbourhood of London, and he lives at home, travelling to London for his lectures. His father has returned to the West Indies, but pays annual visits to this country.

He has two brothers and three sisters. His younger brother is still at school; he does not appear to have met with any difficulties on account
of his colour, and has a great many friends. All of his sisters have married Europeans; one of them has settled in Canada, while the other two are living in this country. They all seem to lead reasonably happy lives. The whole family appear to have adapted themselves to life in this country to a very considerable degree; and all of them participate actively in the life of the small community in which they are now living. His mother takes a lively interest in Church affairs and sings in the local choir, his brothers and sisters are all active members of various social and sports clubs, and they all frequently visit in the homes of English people. All of them appear to have been largely "accepted" by the local population, to some of whom, indeed, they are related by ties of marriage.

During the war, this student served in the British Army and attained the rank of sergeant. He does not appear to have had any difficulties because of his colour, although as an N.C.O. he was in command of British soldiers of lower rank. His war service took him to the Middle East, and later on to Palestine, and it is clear that he identified himself mainly with his fellow soldiers rather than
with the local population. However, during the troubles in Palestine, he differed from most of his Army friends in sympathising with the cause of the Jews, rather than with that of the Arabs.

After his release from the Army he was able to secure a Further Education and Training Grant, and is now studying Psychology and other social sciences at the University of London. Most of those who know him well regard him as a man of outstanding ability and intelligence, and he is expected to do well in his Finals examinations. The only doubts on this score arise from his markedly independent turn of mind, and from a certain eccentricity: he is inclined to work on topics which appear to him as of special interest and importance, rather than to follow a rigid syllabus of study. This, together with his highly developed critical faculty, makes prediction in respect of his academic future particularly difficult.

He is fully aware of the presence of colour prejudice in this country, but does not think it very important as far as his own person is concerned. He says, for example, that it would be practically impossible for him to find employment in certain types of jobs, such as Insurance, banking,
and the Civil Service. But as he regards these occupations as "dull beyond endurance", he is not worried on this account. He thinks that English people tend to be prejudiced towards foreigners in general, and that colour prejudice is only one aspect of their xenophobia. Nevertheless, he is in sympathy with many aspects of British culture, and regards the way of life of the people of this country as much to be preferred to that, say, of the Americans or the Russians. He has never been a member of any political party, although he takes a good deal of interest in political affairs. His own opinions in these matters are highly individualistic, and he does not feel that they are adequately catered for by any of the major parties. He describes himself as a Left-Wing Liberal, with Socialist sympathies, and says that he has never been attracted towards political extremism of any kind.

He gives the impression of a very self-sufficient person, and seems to be interested in ideas rather than in people. He is an excellent athlete, and this has given him a wide circle of acquaintances. He has few close friends, and these are all English or other Europeans. He knows
few West Indian students. He has come across several West Africans, but has found that their interests differ from his own. He does not regard himself as a particularly sociable person. He is genuinely interested in his work, and obviously obtains much satisfaction from his studies.

He is not religious, and largely agrees with the Freudian view of this matter. He is hostile to all forms of mysticism and dogma, and regards doctrines of this type as "symptoms of a mass neurosis". He is very interested in philosophical and methodological problems, and is sympathetic to certain modern trends in British philosophy.

He has been friendly with several girls, all of whom have been English. He is not usually attracted to West Indian or other coloured women, and says that many of them appear to be rather "shy and backward". He does not think it desirable for young people to abstain from sexual relations for long periods of time, and is decidedly critical of the conventional code of sexual morals. Most of the girls he has been friendly with were fellow students. He believes that his colour would be of disadvantage, for example, if he should wish to marry a girl of the more conventional, upper-middle
class type, but so far this problem has not been of immediate concern. In general, he is happy and satisfied with his life as a student, and has come to regard this country as his real home. He has no wish to return to the West Indies, and thinks that life there might be too dull and parochial for his taste.

Comments:— This man appears to have adapted himself to life in this country to a remarkable extent, and indeed seems better off in this respect, than most of the other students who have been interviewed. This is hardly surprising. He has lived in this country since his youth, and has come to accept the way of life of its people as his own. It is evident that he tends to identify himself with English people to a considerable degree. He has had the benefit of a secure family background, and, living with his relations, he has not had to deal with problems such as ill-informed and uncongenial landladies, lack of opportunity to make friends, and similar difficulties. His training in the social sciences, and particularly his keen interest in psychoanalysis, have enabled him to take a more philosophical view of prejudice than would otherwise have been the case. His intellectual qualities,
together with his athletic appearance, make it difficult for people to feel themselves to be his superiors: it is too manifest that they are not. One may add that he does not suffer from a lack of appreciation of his own qualities, and would no doubt deal with any slights or insults in an effective and healthily aggressive manner.

Case Study 3

A West Indian school teacher, coloured, thirty-three years of age. He was born and educated in Barbados, but has spent the greater part of his life in Jamaica. His father is a school teacher, and he has always wanted to follow the same profession. He is married and has two children. At the time of his interview, he had been in this country for just over three months. He was educated at primary and secondary schools in Barbados, and later in Jamaica, and in both cases his circle of friends included children of races other than his own. He does not remember ever having been invited to the homes of European children in Barbados, and thinks that this may be
due to the fact that his friendship with them did not attain the required degree of intimacy. But he has the impression that race relations in Jamaica are much more easy-going than is the case in Barbados, and he prefers living in Jamaica for this reason. He has never encountered any instances of open discrimination against coloured people in Jamaica, but thinks that colour prejudice in the West Indies generally is intimately bound up with distinctions of economic and social position.

After working as a school teacher for a number of years, he was able to obtain a scholarship in education at the University of London. There are a considerable number of other West Indian students at his college, and he has made friends with many of these. He has been able to find accommodation at Hans Crescent, and is very pleased about this, since he never lacks for company.

He has become acquainted with a number of English students at his college, but has never been out with any of them. He spends most of his leisure in the company of other West Indians. He is pleased with his courses, and has found his teachers very helpful. He is married, and frequently writes
to his wife. He is not interested in finding a girl friend, and has not taken any women out during his stay.

During the first month of his stay in this country he has encountered two instances of obvious prejudice. On one occasion, a woman in a bus had changed her seat very pointedly when he sat down beside her; on another, some idlers outside a public-house had loudly disparaged his dress and appearance. He says that he has not taken much notice of these incidents, because "you will find low and ignorant people all over the world". Apart from these two occasions, he has not had any trouble on account of his colour. Some of his friends are rather bitter about race relations in this country, but he feels that he has not been here long enough to form an opinion on this point.

His general impressions of life in England have not been unfavourable so far. He thinks that the teaching methods, and the general organisation of his college are excellent, and that West Indians have much to learn from this country in this respect. On the whole, his earlier notions about English life have proved to be fairly correct. But he had expected people here to take more interest
in the affairs of the Colonies, and to extend a more positive welcome to Colonial students. He feels that his present mode of life does not allow him much opportunity of getting to know English people, and he thinks it would be a great pity for him to return to Jamaica without doing so.

Comments:— This case study illustrates a feature which appears to be shared by many other Colonial students: their first impressions of this country, even where incidents of obvious hostility are encountered, seem to be favourable. It is only after an interval of some time has elapsed that markedly unfavourable reactions are reported. In the case of this particular student, the secondary reaction may not be very pronounced. As he has said himself, his way of life tends to minimize the chances of encountering prejudice or discrimination.

Case Study 4

A West Indian (Leeward Islands) nurse, twenty-six years old, of lower middle-class parentage. She is lightly coloured, and could easily be
taken for a Spaniard or an Italian. She was educated at a primary school for girls, and, after her parents had moved to Jamaica, transferred to a secondary school in that island. This school catered for pupils of all nationalities, and the various ethnic groups mixed without any difficulties. She sometimes visited the homes of European girls, and these visited her in return. Some of the parents of her school friends were on friendly terms with her own, but, on the whole, adults tended to keep to their own groups to a greater extent than the children. As far back as she can remember, colour prejudice and similar matters have always been of the greatest interest to her. This interest was not theoretical, but a matter of personal concern. She is the eldest of three sisters, and the most lightly-coloured of them all. She thinks that her parents were rather disappointed by the physical appearance of her sisters, since they thought it would be difficult for them to marry anyone of a good social position; girls approaching European standards of beauty were usually in greater demand. However, both of her sisters are now married, while she has remained single herself.

Personal relations within her family are
good, and she has always been fond of her sisters. But she feels that they have sometimes envied her more "European" appearance, and that they have resented her on this account. On one occasion, a young man, who was friendly with her younger sister, paid her some compliments, and this resulted in a jealous scene. Her sister accused her of being conceited because of her light skin-colour. She now thinks that there may have been an element of truth in this, although she vehemently denied it at the time.

She first attempted to register at one of the better-known London hospitals, but was told that no vacancy was available. She thinks that this may have been true, but has also heard it said that the best-known hospitals are reluctant to accept girls from the Colonies, or even from foreign European countries. Nurses in these hospitals appear to be of a higher social class than is usually the case in their profession.

She was finally accepted as a student nurse at a large hospital in the neighbourhood of London. Living conditions in this hospital were good, and the general atmosphere of the place was rather pleasant. Her main complaint, at this time,
was that it took her nearly two hours to reach Central London, and this made visits to the West End very difficult. Thus her social life was almost entirely based upon the hospital.

Her first impression of her fellow nurses was quite favourable. There were only two other girls from the West Indies, and since they were employed in another part of the hospital, she did not see them very often. There were also a number of West African girls, but, on the whole, she did not greatly care for them. Many struck her as rather "stupid", since "they had no idea of how to dress, and made you feel a fool if you walked out with them". African girls also impressed her as "very shy and backward", and did not seem to be interested in dances, the cinema, boy-friends, and similar matters. She also did not want to be confused with the African girls by the European nurses of her acquaintance. She is aware that her attitude might be described as one of prejudice, but says that she did not realise this at the time. Basically, she thinks that her feelings in this matter were due to cultural differences between the Africans and herself, and that they "had nothing to do with colour as such".
She has always felt that most of the English nurses were rather aloof in their behaviour towards coloured girls, although they were never openly hostile. The staff of this hospital included a considerable number of Irish and of Continental European girls, and these were much readier to be friendly. She made friends with two of the Irish girls, and spent most of her leisure in their company. These girls were Catholics, and she had also been brought up in that faith. She thinks that this may have given them "something in common".

She went out with these girls on a number of occasions, and sometimes went to dances in the West End. Her friends also introduced her to some young men, usually telling them that she was French or Spanish. Her friends did this without consulting her first, but she made no objection, thinking that the practice would give her a better chance of making friends. But on one occasion, a man who had previously been friendly with one of the Irish girls, began to pay her a good deal of attention. This started a quarrel during which the Irish girl called her a "dirty nigger". Although she later apologised, their friendship never resumed its former warmth. She says that this incident has
made her realise that Whites will never genuinely accept her as their equal, no matter how friendly they appear. Apart from this occasion, she cannot remember having been insulted or otherwise discriminated against on account of her colour. But she thinks that things may be more difficult for the darker, and especially for the African, girls.

She feels that the general effect of her experiences in London has been to cause her to feel a new pride in her West Indian origin, and to give her a feeling of solidarity with coloured people as a whole. She says that she would not now mislead people regarding her nationality, as she had previously been inclined to do. In this respect, she appears to be rather ashamed of her former conduct. She does not regard herself as anti-British, but in many ways her attitudes towards this country have changed as the result of her stay. She had used to look upon England as on her "Mother-Country", and had expected a warm welcome from its people. She now thinks that this attitude was "stupid: English people have their own worries, and most of them know nothing about the Colonies". Nevertheless, she believes that it is a good thing for West Indians to come here, since this makes them "grow up", and
because their experiences in this country teach them to "stand on their own feet".

Comments:— This girl's light colour has made it possible for her to "pass" as a Southern European. This fact has enabled her to be "accepted" to a greater extent than might otherwise have been the case; at the same time it seems to have increased her ambitions in respect of social participation. Her complaints of difficulties in this country refer primarily not to colour prejudice, but rather to the fact that she objects to being regarded as a "foreigner".

Nevertheless, she has tended to attribute her disappointments to her non-European origin, and she appears, in consequence, to identify herself with the cause of coloured people to a much greater extent than had previously been the case.

Case Study 5

A West Indian (Trinidad) student of economics, coloured, twenty-nine years of age, who has been in this country since the war. His father is a minor professional man, who has not been able to
assist him financially to any great extent. He is not on good terms with his father at the present time, and thinks that the latter could give him more help if he wished to do so. His mother, to whom he was greatly attached, died some six years ago. He has one sister, who has recently married.

He was educated at a primary school, and later transferred to a secondary school in Port of Spain. He thinks that at the second of these schools a certain amount of racial discrimination was practised, because European pupils appeared to "get away" with things for which coloured children were usually punished. But on the whole, relations between the various ethnic groups were not unfriendly.

His father belonged to a rather strict sect of Protestant Christians, and was very active in Church affairs. He was brought up in the same faith, and says that in his earlier youth he was extremely religious. He remembers that his father once told him that the white man would always be superior to the black, since God had created him first, "and only later bothered his head about coloured folk". He says that he used to take statements of this sort quite seriously, and is convinced that his religious training was calculated
to give him a passive and complacent outlook on matters of race. For this reason, he is now very hostile towards all forms of religion. He feels that religion has been used by the Colonial powers as a tool with which "to keep subject peoples passive and contented".

He had long wanted to go abroad, and during the war he took the opportunity to come to England to serve with the R.A.F. He does not regard his years in the R.A.F. as a very happy period of his life, and complains of a good deal of colour prejudice. As an example of open discrimination, he tells a story to the effect that British W.A.A.F. girls were officially warned by their commanding officers not to go out with coloured men; the latter, so they were told, "did not know how to behave towards English women". He is convinced of the truth of this story, and claims that he has seen documentary evidence, in the form of Air Ministry instructions. He also remembers a number of occasions when British R.A.F. men had made remarks about "niggers" and the like. At the same time, he points out that he has only served on the ground staff, and that there is reason to believe that
relations between men serving in more combatant duties were better.

On his release from the Air Force, he tried to get a grant for study at the University of London. But for some technical reason he was only able to obtain a grant covering tuition fees, and has had to provide for his own maintenance. At first he received some help from his father, but lately he has had to maintain himself by means of part-time work.

During his service in the Forces, he became very friendly with another West Indian, a man of strong Left-Wing political views. Under his influence he gradually became interested in politics, and he is now a convinced Marxist. At this time, also, he finally lost his religious faith, and he now refers to himself as "an out-and-out atheist". The change in his views is due partly to his new interest in politics, but he says it is also a result of the fact that he did not find England a Christian country, as he had been led to believe. He feels that Christianity is nowadays only "an article for export", since it is only in the Colonies that "people are still backward enough to believe
in fairy tales". He is an active member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, "the only organisation in this country with a real interest in the welfare of the Colonial peoples".

He had hoped to study economics, being under the impression that this science was essential to an understanding of social and political affairs. He tried to gain admission to the London School of Economics, but failed to do so. He says that he made no secret of his political opinions during his preliminary interview, and he thinks that this may have counted against him. He has heard that the L.S.E. is now "a completely reactionary body". However, he succeeded in enrolling himself as a student at one of the London Polytechnics, and attends lectures there in the evenings.

He has found it very difficult to find regular employment. At present he is maintaining himself by means of casual work, and with the help of the public authorities. So far, he has not made sufficient headway in his studies to attempt to sit for the Finals examinations, and he does not know when it will be possible for him to do so. During the last year or so, he seems to have neglected his studies, and spends most of his spare time in attending political meetings, going to dances, and
He has come to lose interest in his studies, not only because of his financial difficulties, but because economics has not come up to his expectations. He feels that "classical" economics has been superseded by the works of Karl Marx, and that "bourgeois economists" are concerned merely with "defending a doomed and dying society".

He has found it difficult to obtain suitable lodgings. Landladies, he says, nearly always belong to the "bourgeois and exploiting classes" and they seem to him to be more prejudiced than other people. On the other hand, he feels that the authorities make little attempt to find rooms for Colonial students; they do not wish British people to meet them on terms of intimacy, being afraid that the latter might "discover the truth about the Colonies". Thus the government prefer to keep students in hostels, where they can be easily watched; alternatively, the British Council supply them with the addresses of landladies whose fanatical loyalty to capitalism cannot be doubted.

He has had several girl friends, but has not wished to marry any of them. They were mostly girls that he has met in the course of his political
activities, and he says that "good looks and an interest in politics rarely seem to go together". He has made some other friends at a social club in the West End of London; but there, also, the women have tended to be unattractive or otherwise unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, he has had sexual relations with several of the women he has met in this way. He has found that even women who are reluctant to be seen in public in the company of a coloured man, are "glad enough to sleep with them, if this can be kept quiet".

He believes that there is a very considerable amount of race prejudice in this country. This will only be eradicated when the present order of society has been destroyed. "Prejudice is used by the ruling classes to distract the attention of the workers from their legitimate grievances. The aggressive instincts thus encouraged will eventually be used for an outright attack against the Soviet Union, the only hope of the oppressed of all countries. In the present stage of historical development the coloured workers are the most class-conscious of all in the capitalist world. They will therefore have a leading part in the construction of socialism".
He is in favour of a federated West Indies, run as an independent Socialist republic. Such a federation should keep clear of outside entanglements, but ought to invite experts from the Soviet Union, and from the "peoples' democracies", to co-operate in raising the standard of living. The West Indies would then be in a position to impose economic sanctions on this country if the British were to continue their ill-treatment of coloured peoples. Europeans long settled in the West Indies would be allowed to stay, and to take part in the construction of Communism. But if people in England continued to show themselves prejudiced, retaliatory action would be taken. He says that he "has no desire to return to the West Indies while the Union Jack is still flying".

Comments:— This is an example of what one might call a "marginal student". This man does not give one the impression of being genuinely concerned with his studies. He appears to have little hope of bringing them to a successful conclusion.

He is not an easy person to get to know. He tends to be suspicious, and to see "espionage" in the most innocent enquiries. He is only too
willing to engage in long debates, but seems unable to discuss problems upon their own merits. His attitude towards political matters -- his unquestioning obedience to the "party line", his admiration, amounting to worship, of certain well-known personalities of political life, his refusal to put theories to the test of experience -- these are not as different from his earlier attitude towards religion as he would like to believe. Life in this country appears to have altered the object of his religiosity, without changing its essential nature.

Aggressive manners, extremist views, and an air of great bitterness cannot have helped him to adjust to life in this country. But his political activities have brought him, although within narrowly circumscribed limits, a measure of gratification, as well as opportunities for social participation. He does not make the impression of a wholly unlikeable person, and is not without a certain sense of humour.
Case Study 6

A West Indian student of photography, coloured, twenty-nine years of age. His home is in British Guiana. He is the only son of a family of farmers, but his father is too poor to give him any financial help. His schooling had to be discontinued at a comparatively early age, and he has not been able to reach School Certificate standard.

He came to this country during the war to work in ammunitions. He was very glad to take this opportunity of coming to England, as he had always wanted to "see the world". On the whole, he is pleased that he has done so, because life here seems easier and less circumscribed than is the case in his own country.

His earlier notions about life in England appear to have been vague, but he says that he had great expectations regarding the technical marvels of the West. He has been rather disappointed in this respect, but believes that things generally are much more "modern" in the United States, and that the English are too "slow and backward". He very much wants to go to America, but has not had any opportunity to do so.
He was brought up as a Catholic, but has never been very religious. Since coming to this country, he has stopped going to Church. He is of the opinion that religion has been "disproved by science", and thinks that this is the reason "why it only appeals to people living in backward countries".

He has been employed as a casual labourer in the building trade since the end of the war, and quite likes this type of work. His only complaint is that it does not seem to offer much opportunity for advancement. He is studying photography in his spare time, and plans to return to Guiana after he has finished his course. He thinks that Guiana offers great opportunities in this field, and believes that a really good photographer might be able to make his fortune. He appears to be extremely concerned with matters of money, and says that he does not mind what sort of work he is given, provided that it is well-paid. He much admires what he takes to be the American attitude in this respect, and feels that in general the West Indies would be well advised to look towards the United States. "England has no political or economic future, and is bound to become a colony of the
United States".

He does not feel that colour prejudice is very important in this country, although he has himself experienced it in various ways. His feeling is that "as long as you have enough money it does not matter whether you are white, yellow, green, or black". His own recommendation for dealing with prejudice, in the absence of a large bank account, is an aggressive attitude towards offenders. He believes that people who are violently prejudiced are basically also cowards, and says that he has turned this insight to good account. On one occasion, a man had accosted him in a public house in a rather insulting manner, and he had immediately invited him to "step outside". The man in question refused to accept his challenge. On another occasion, one of the clerks at the local Labour Exchange had been less than polite, and he had "jumped over the counter, and at his throat". He claims that after this incident, he had always received courteous, and even respectful, consideration. But he admits that his attitude may be less effective in the case of Colonial students possessed of a less powerful physique than his own.

He has had a number of girl friends, all
of whom have been of working-class origin. He discontinues his interest in these women if they do not show themselves willing to go to bed with him within a reasonable period of time: "two or three weeks at the most". He has no wish to get married, as he feels that a wife would be an obstacle to his career. Apart from this, he has no objection to marriage with a European woman, and feels that this may even be of advantage; white girls, according to him, are sexually more competent than their coloured sisters. But, as he has had little experience with the latter, he feels that he might be mistaken on this point.

He thinks that the economic future of Guiana lies in a much closer association with the United States. "It is better to be a colony of the Americans, than to be a colony of a colony of the United States". He has never been attracted to Communism, feeling that the Soviet way of life does not allow enough scope for individual talent. He has had much trouble in finding accommodation, but now has a furnished room in Mornington Crescent. His present landlady at first showed herself prejudiced, but he has succeeded in seducing her, and she appears to be keeping him to the
extent that he is no longer required to pay rent.

Comments:— There is considerable doubt that this man can be regarded as a student even in the widest sense of that word. His case is interesting in that it shows that the life of the "marginal" student may not always be as unhappy as one would expect. But he differs from the more usual type of "marginal" student in that he has no pretensions of serious study; for this reason, his present way of life does not appear to him to be particularly frustrating, or as being conducive to conflict.

On the face of it, he seems to have taken little notice of what prejudice he has encountered in this country. On the other hand, he has tended to react to instances of prejudice in a more violent manner than would seem to be justified by the occasion. It is also possible that his stress on economic success, and his identification with what he regards as the American way of life, may partly be a means of escape from hostility encountered upon racial grounds. Although he has never been to the United States, he affects a strong American accent, dresses in a fashion calculated to suggest that he is an American, and is obviously pleased at
being mistaken for an American Negro. Finally, there is some doubt as regards the veracity of his description of his experiences in this country, the more colourful parts of which have been omitted from this account. Nevertheless, he makes the impression of a cheerful and not at all unlikeable person, and it is quite possible that he has had little difficulty in adapting himself to life in the West.

Case Study 7

A West Indian (British Guiana) school teacher, female, coloured, and under thirty. Her parents belong to a well-known family of merchants and government officials. But she has several brothers and sisters, and her parents have only been able to give her a limited amount of financial help.

She has trained to become a school teacher, but, during the recent war, decided to volunteer for service with the A.T.S. in England. During her war service she met several people who showed themselves prejudiced, but on the whole she got on
with the other girls well enough. Nevertheless, she was rather disappointed by life in this country, having expected a more positive welcome from English people. She now regards her expectations as "naive", but says that they were shared by many of her friends from the West Indies.

After her release from the Forces, she returned to Guiana, and found work as a teacher at an up-country school. But her life there proved to be intolerably dull, and she did not feel that her job offered any opportunity for advancement. After a few months, she decided to return to London in order to take a degree. She intended to work during the day, and to pursue her studies in the evenings. But she has found it extremely difficult to obtain suitable work, and thinks that this is largely due to colour prejudice. In general, she has found people in this country to be less helpful than they had proved to be during her service in the Forces, and she misses the easy comradeship of Army life. She feels that, during the war, people had generally been more inclined to be friendly towards strangers, welcoming them as allies in a common cause. Moreover, she had usually been stationed in the smaller provincial
towns, and she thinks it much easier to make friends there than is the case in London. She has now found clerical work in the Civil Service, and is about to start study in the evenings.

She has found a room in a privately-run hostel for young women, where she is the only colour ed girl among the residents. Although the other boarders include some white South Africans, whom she regards as particularly prone to be prejudiced, she has not had any difficulties on account of her colour. At the same time, she has not made any close friends among the other girls. At her place of work, she frequently lunches with a young man who is also from the West Indies. She prefers to go out with West Indians, and with other coloured people, to friendships with Whites. She has frequently been to Hans Crescent, and has taken part in the various social and artistic activities held there.

The only close friends she has made among English people consist of a family whom she got to know during the war. These people have got a house in the country, and have occasionally invited her to stay there as their guest. The colour bar, discrimination, and similar topics have often formed a topic for discussion during these visits. She
was surprised to discover that, in spite of their friendly attitude, these people were strongly opposed to matters such as mixed marriages. She believes this to be a common reaction among English people. Many of them declare themselves free of all prejudice, "but their tolerance only extends up to a certain point". Her own feeling is that she would prefer to marry a West Indian, since marriage with a European would create social difficulties. But she would consider a mixed marriage if she liked the man well enough. Some of her experiences in London have tended to make her rather bitter about race relations, but she has got over this feeling. She wants people to be treated on their merits, regardless of their origin or race. Equality of treatment, to be genuine, must include all aspects of human behaviour. People who condemn marriages between different racial groups, although they may think themselves well disposed towards coloured people, show that they do not really regard them as their equals.

Comments: This girl makes the impression of a very attractive and capable personality, and seems to have dealt with any difficulties in a realistic and efficient manner. She has strong intell-
ectual and artistic interests, and these have undoubtedly helped her in adjusting herself to life in this country. Her service in the A.T.S. has brought her into close contact with English people, and she says that this has been of great help during her later stay in England. It is interesting to note that, despite these advantages, almost all her friends are coloured, and that she has not made any close friends among Londoners.

II. WEST AFRICA

Case Study 8

A Nigerian (Yoruba) student of engineering, twenty-seven years of age. He was born in a small village in the Western Provinces, and has spent most of his life in a rural background. His father is a fairly prosperous farmer. He has seven brothers and sisters, and both of his parents are still alive.

He was educated at an elementary school, and later at a government secondary school, where he
obtained exemption from the London Matriculation examination. At the second of these schools, there was one European pupil, the son of the headmaster, but this boy kept very much to himself.

His contacts with Europeans were confined to government officials, school teachers, and persons in similar positions. They were therefore not of a kind calculated to make easy and intimate relations possible. His main complaint, in respect of his education, is that the focus of interest of some of his teachers appears to have been in England rather than in his own country. This applied to African, as well as to European teachers. Their attitudes, according to him, were likely to make Nigerians think themselves to be in some special way connected with the people of this country. Expectations which are based on this feeling are not confirmed by the later experiences of Nigerian students. They inevitably lead to disappointment. He does not think that the growth of African nationalism has made any appreciable difference in this respect.

He has long been interested in scientific and technical problems, and decided to study engineering. He was able to obtain a scholarship for
this purpose, and is now studying at a London technical college. He has made good progress in his studies, and is satisfied with the way his subject is taught.

There are only a few African and West Indian students at his college. There is a larger group of Indians, and of other Asian students, but the great majority of them are English. When he first started his courses, he was the only African student there, and at first he felt rather isolated. He had the impression that his English fellow-students, although they were friendly enough, did not wish to get to know him too intimately. He talked to several of the Indians, but came to the conclusion that they also did not really want to make friends with him. He thinks that the reason for this was that the Asians, who were unsure about their own position, did not want to be too closely associated with him in the minds of the Europeans. Later on, he was joined by several other Africans, and became very friendly with them. He has also found that the English students, now that they have got to know him better, are more friendly. He has made friends with a London student, in particular, and has been invited to his home. But most of his
friends are Colonial students, and Europeans from the Continent.

During his first year in London, he felt very disappointed with his life. This feeling was not immediately apparent. On his arrival, he was too excited by the change of environment to take much notice of his difficulties. At this time, he felt himself to be at the beginning of a new and very promising period of his life. He was met by British Council officials on his arrival, and spent his first three or four weeks at a private hotel. He had expected English people in this country to be much like those he had met in Nigeria, and was surprised to see them working in menial capacities, and to have them address him in terms of respect. He now thinks that his "surprise" was unreasonable, but he believes it to be common among Nigerian students.

His difficulties started when he began looking for accommodation. He found it extremely difficult to obtain lodgings, and he is certain that this was because of his colour. He relates many instances of landladies refusing him accommodation on seeing that he was an African. At this time, he was still very unsure of himself, having just arrived in this country, and incidents of this kind
affected him more than they would now. Moreover, in Nigeria, he had taken it for granted that Europeans enjoyed a high standard of education, and he had believed that it was primarily for this reason that some of them look down upon the "Natives". It came as a shock to find that people in this country, even when they were clearly his inferiors in terms of education, still affected to regard him with contempt. He thinks this an important reason for the fact that many Nigerians tend to become rather bitter about their experiences here. As for himself, he says that life in this country has taught him not to underestimate the strength of colour prejudice. At the same time, he feels that during his first months he tended to see prejudice even where it did not exist.

He was also dismayed by the physical appearance of London, and thinks that he had tended to over-estimate the advantages of technical progress. Generally speaking, English people impressed him as rather aloof and as being either unwilling or unable to make friends. He thinks that Nigerians are used to much greater warmth in their personal relationships, and that they are more eager to welcome strangers and to make them feel at home. But he is
impressed by the British tradition of freedom and
tolerance in (domestic) political affairs, and
thinks that English people have a respect for the
dignity of labour which is not always shared by his
own countrymen. He believes that Nigeria has
something to learn from this country, not only as
regards technical skill, but in respect of the basic
ideology of the "Welfare State". The difficulty,
he says, is that many of the Europeans sent out to
the Colonies are "about fifty years behind public
opinion. If Nigeria is to retain some form of
connection with the Commonwealth, there must be no
hesitation in dealing with this difficulty, even
at the cost of individual hardship".

He was brought up as a Protestant, but has
never been greatly interested in religious affairs.
He has discarded all links with the Church since he
came to England, but still finds himself surprised
by the fact that "England must largely be regarded
as a secular country". He says that this is not at
all in accordance with the impression given by
missionaries in Nigeria, who find it expedient to
point to England as an example of "a Christian
success story". Although missionaries have done
much good in the field of education, he thinks that
they should as soon as possible be replaced by a secular authority.

He has frequently attended dances and similar functions at the British Council and similar bodies. He has found these useful, but objects to what he describes as the "paternalistic attitude" of some of their officials. He has obtained introductions to landladies from the British Council, but has not found them satisfactory. He is convinced that the prices charged by landladies registered at the British Council are higher than the average. These landladies, he says, are often also rather unreasonable in the demands they make upon Colonial students. On one occasion, for example, his landlady saw him come home just after eleven o'clock at night, and told him that "every self-respecting person should be in bed by this time". He had replied in fairly strong terms, telling her that "Uncle Tom was dead", and asking her to mind her own business. He does not see why landladies should presume to run the private lives of their boarders. He is now living at a hostel for Colonial students, and regards this as the best type of accommodation.

He is engaged to a Nigerian girl, and
intends to marry her on his return. He would have liked to go out with some English girls, for the sake of their company, and "just to see what they were like". He has not been able to do so, and thinks that only the "lowest types of girl" are usually willing to go out with Africans. Continental girls are more accessible, but he has not met any that he has liked.

There are comparatively few girls at his college, and there is much competition for their favours. He feels that one or two of them would have liked to go out with him, had it not been for their fear of public opinion. He would not like to marry an English girl, because of her different cultural background. Moreover, at this stage of their political development, he feels that Nigerians should rely on each other, and not be distracted from their common task. He has met a number of West African girls in London, all of whom were nurses. Some have struck him as rather conceited, and as taking undue advantage of the fact that they are outnumbered by African men. But most seemed to him to be excessively "shy and backward". He also thinks a great many of these girls physically unattractive. The reason is that the more attract-
ive girls have no difficulty in finding husbands, "and their parents accordingly do not bother about their education". He admires the greater independence and sophistication of European women.

He has recently been on a three week's holiday in Italy, and has enjoyed this very much. In contrast to his stay in England, he has not been acutely conscious of his colour during this time, and he feels that Italians are in many respects much more like Nigerians than are the English.

On the whole, he does not regret having come to this country, and he feels that many more West Africans should do so. Even if many of their experiences are not pleasant, life here will teach them greater personal independence, and will give them increased pride in their own culture.

Comments:— This case-study illustrates some features which appear to be fairly common among Nigerian students. In particular, these students very often stress their feeling of "disappointment" about life in this country. They explain this by saying that they have been "taught to look upon England as their Mother-Country", and experiences in London have not confirmed their expectations in this respect. On the other hand, Nigerian
students are not slow to stress cultural and other differences between this country and their own. In the account just presented, for example, the student concerned has said that he would not willingly marry an English girl "because the cultural differences would be too great". Many of the students have been greatly affected by nationalist sentiment, and it is difficult to believe that they have ever genuinely regarded England as their "Mother-Country". It must therefore be doubted that the strong sense of disappointment complained of can be attributed to this source. (This does not mean, of course, that Nigerians do not genuinely hope for a more positive welcome from English people than they are likely to obtain.)

Case Study 9

A Nigerian (Ibo) law student, thirty-one years of age. His father, a Civil Servant, died several years ago. His mother is still alive. He has two sisters, both of them married, and an elder brother, who has taken a degree at Oxford.

He was educated at an elementary school
run by the Church Missionary Society, and afterwards at a secondary school, where he attained School Certificate standard. After leaving school, he had a clerical post in the government service, but did not like this work because of its routine nature. During his last years at school, he became interested in politics, and was highly sympathetic towards the nationalist movement in his country. But he has never been a member of any political party, and has not taken an active part in local politics. At the same time, he makes the point that matters such as Empire Day celebrations were more important in his country than is the case here, and that during his school days, students were affected by what he regards as "Imperialist propaganda" to a greater extent than is generally realised.

This, according to him, is one of the reasons why he joined the West African Frontier Force during the recent war. He served in the Army for over three years, and part of this time was spent in Burma. During his Army service he came into contact with people of many different nationalities, and for this reason does not regret having joined up. The Frontier Force included a majority of European officers and N.C.O.s, and this brought
him into close contact with British people for the first time. He feels that relations between Africans and Europeans in the Force were, generally speaking, fairly good. This was partly a consequence of a feeling of comradeship developed by war conditions, and partly due to the fact that a measure of tolerance was essential, if the two groups were to live in close contact with each other for long periods of time. Nevertheless, there was a certain amount of friction. He remembers an occasion on which a British sergeant had refused to salute an African officer. The N.C.O. concerned was reprimanded, and his Commanding Officer pointed out that officers, irrespective of their race or colour, were equally entitled to military courtesy by virtue of their being "representatives of the King". Other incidents usually involved the more educated of the Africans, who resented the fact that Europeans appeared to be favoured in matters of pay and promotion. But the majority of Africans were uneducated, many of them illiterate, and these found it easy to be "respectful and servile" towards the Europeans. The Africans did not mix with the Burmese population to any extent, and some even tended to look down upon the "Natives". One might
have expected the Africans to make common cause with the Asians, but this did not happen in actual fact. The Europeans serving in the Frontier Force generally had a good West African background, and this probably gave them more in common with the Africans than either of them had with the Burmese.

After his release from the Army, he secured financial help for study in England. At this time, his brother was already studying at Oxford, and was able to tell him a good deal regarding life in this country. On the whole, his brother's letters gave him an inordinately favourable impression. The reason, he thinks, is that life in Oxford is much easier for the Colonial student than it is in London.

Apart from his brother's letters, his ideas about life in England were mainly based upon conversations with Europeans in his regiment. These had greatly exaggerated the standard of living, and the technical prowess of the West, and he was later disappointed on this account. He had also expected England to be a very beautiful country, and found himself depressed by what he regards as the ugly and squalid appearance of many British towns. He cannot remember having discussed matters such as
race relations with British soldiers, but the general impression that they had left him with, was that in England he would be regarded as a fellow-citizen of the Commonwealth, not only because of his allegiance to the Crown, but particularly because of his service during the war.

He was met by British Council officials on arrival. But he made no further use of their services, as his brother had already put him in touch with some West African friends, who shared a flat in central London. He has stayed with them ever since. He thinks himself lucky in this respect, as other Colonial students have told him of their difficulties.

He did not much like his courses at the Inns of Court, because they involved a great deal of memory work, and did not seem to allow much scope for independent judgment. He had also hoped that a study of law would provide him with a wide and liberal education, and that it would fit him for a career in public life. His courses have proved too narrowly technical for this purpose. But he has made good progress with his studies, and has been able to read for the Intermediate LL.B. examination while still qualifying for the Bar.
He is now reading law at the University of London. His present college provides a more active social life than did his Inns of Court, and he finds it easier to make friends as a result.

He has not encountered any instances of hostility or of obvious colour prejudice on the part of British students. On the other hand, he has not made any close friends among them. He feels that English students tend to keep themselves apart. His friends are mainly Colonials, but he has also been friendly with one or two Europeans from the Continent.

He does not think it important for Colonial students to have girl friends during their stay in this country: "their only concern should be with their studies". However, he has been friendly with some girls that he met at British Council dances. They have mostly been of Swiss or German origin, and he thinks that Continental people are less prejudiced than the English. He feels that Englishmen resent friendships between coloured men and white women, and thinks it only reasonable that they should do so. He does not believe it possible for any person, however tolerant, not to resent intimate friendships between members of his own,
and an alien race. "This is only human nature". Any European, however broadminded, would resent the thought of his sister being friendly with an African male. He would himself be angry if one of his sisters made friends with a European. The reason, he thinks, is that friendships of this type are "based only upon sex": genuine affection between the two races is not possible.

He has not been insulted, or otherwise encountered any active hostility, during his stay. Nevertheless, he says that his attitude towards Europeans has become very much more unfavourable as the result of his stay. The reason is mainly that English people have not shown themselves sufficiently willing to be friends with him. In this respect, they differ greatly from West Africans. "Even today, a European is welcomed with open arms when he comes to West Africa. People are sorry for him, because, as a stranger, he has no family and no friends. They think it essential to help him in any way that they can, and they will go to very great lengths to make him feel at home". He had expected people in this country to behave similarly. As a Colonial fellow-citizen, he felt himself especially entitled to their welcome, and he has been
greatly disappointed in this respect. He has not been able to make any friends among the English, and thinks that he will have to return to his own country without getting to know them at all well.

He feels that the main reason for the refusal of English people to be friendly is their colour prejudice. "They just do not want Africans in this country". He thinks that all classes of the population are prejudiced, but that educated people are less so. Those of a higher social standing are more tolerant towards Colonial students, because they are better able to distinguish between different groups of Coloureds. Working-class people, who seem unable to make this distinction, usually regard all Africans as "primitive and savage".

He thinks that Nigeria has much to learn from this country, as regards technical progress, but does not think it desirable for his country to retain any links with the Commonwealth. For he has become convinced that "the British are hypocritical, and will always try to use things for their own advantage". He has reached this conclusion not so much on account of his London experiences, but because of the attitude of British Governments in
matters such as the policies of South Africa.
"When their interests are really affected, as is
the case in South, and now in Eastern, Africa, the
British can be relied upon to support a policy of
tyrranny and repression, and all their talk of
partnership and equality is then seen to be so much
'hot air'."

Comments:— This case is particularly interesting,
in that the student concerned does not
appear to have encountered any open instances of
prejudice or discrimination. Nevertheless, he
feels that his stay in this country has made him
"very bitter towards the English", and that he has
been greatly disappointed. Although the "refusal
of English people to be friendly" is undoubtedly
partly connected with colour prejudice, it does not
seem unreasonable to suppose that this student
would have felt "bitterly disappointed", even if
colour prejudice did not exist.

It is instructive to note that the attit¬
ude of this man, in the matter of sexual relations
between people of different races, closely parallels
that of many Whites. Prejudice is not a European
monopoly.
Case Study 10

A Nigerian (Ibo) law student, twenty-eight years of age, who has been in this country for nearly five years. His father is a professional man who, until recently, has been able to provide his family with a fairly high standard of living. About two years ago, his father began to suffer from ill-health, and has had considerable financial difficulties as a result. He has not been able to help his son financially for the last eighteen months.

This student has two sisters, both of whom are married. His mother died when he was sixteen years old, and his father has not re-married. His parents were both devout Christians, and he was also brought up in that faith. But he has lost interest in religious matters since coming to England.

He started his education at a missionary elementary school, and later went to a government secondary school at Lagos. At the second of these schools he first came into contact with British people, and there, also, he began to take an interest in political affairs. But there was little personal contact between European members of the
staff and their African pupils. On the whole, he did not very much like his teachers, some of whom struck him as "arrogant". He shared the strongly nationalist views of many Nigerians of his generation. Many of his friends, at that time, belonged politically to the extreme Left, but he objected to their position on the ground that it was likely to impair national unity. He now believes that his hesitant attitude at that time must be regarded as a remnant of his earlier religious training.

He decided upon the study of law because he thought that it would give him the political and cultural background which would enable him to help his people in the years to come. He had also been under the impression that the courses leading to qualification at the Bar were comparatively easy, and that the study would not take as long as is the case with most other subjects. He says that he was mistaken on both these counts. Legal studies appear to him to be excessively technical, and he does not think them capable of giving him the general education that he required. He has also found his courses more difficult than he expected, and has not been able to terminate his studies within the normal period of time.
But the main reason for his academic failures lies in his financial difficulties. Even during his first years in this country, his father had only been able to supply part of the funds required for his maintenance. He had hoped to obtain the rest by means of part-time work. But he has found it extremely difficult to find suitable work, and thinks this mainly the result of the colour prejudice of British people. He has tried to find clerical work, both with solicitors and with other firms, but has found that if he stated his origin in a letter of application, the firms concerned usually would not even bother to reply. On the other hand, if he attempted to conceal his colour, a prospective employer would find an excuse for refusing him the job when he met him in person. After many trials and difficulties, he managed to obtain temporary work as a railway porter. He has got on well with the regular porters, and thinks that working-class people are usually less prejudiced than those of a higher social standing. Once a coloured person is accepted by them, workers will treat him on his individual merits. On the other hand, middle-class people, even if they are definitely sympathetic, never cease to regard a coloured
person as a "stock character", representing a particular country or Colony. Where a Colonial student is concerned, their attitude tends to be markedly paternalistic.

He has not had any financial assistance from his father for over eighteen months. His monetary troubles have become so acute that he has had to interrupt his studies, merely to keep himself alive. He has had some help from the Public Assistance Board, but was afraid to apply for aid too often, since he thinks that this might have resulted in his repatriation. He is determined to avoid this at all costs, saying that he could not face his father without having qualified for a career. His affairs have recently taken a turn for the better, as he has been able to obtain clerical work at a local government office. He plans to resume his studies in the near future, and is confident that he will eventually be able to bring them to a successful conclusion.

Before coming to London, he had only rather vague ideas about life in this country. On the whole, he feels that he has been greatly disappointed. Most of his notions about England were the result of his early contacts with missionaries. They had spoken of England as of a truly Christian
country. They had also emphasised the high standard of living, and the comparatively great prosperity enjoyed by people in this country: the results, it was implied, of a wide-spread acceptance of Christian belief. "They had never mentioned the existence of racial prejudice, but had much to say about the brotherhood of man".

It came as a real shock to find that many of his earlier notions were so inadequately grounded upon fact. He soon observed that, despite a comparatively high standard of living, there was still a good deal of real poverty among the working-classes. His experiences among British workers have led him to believe that many of them lead lives of great boredom and frustration. He now doubts that the great masses of people here are really very much happier than his fellow-countrymen.

His disillusionment was greatest in the field of personal relations. Here disappointment was more gradual. His earliest impressions, based upon casual contacts with Londoners, were not always unfavourable. People like waiters, bus-conductors, and porters had treated him courteously enough, and emotionally it came as a real surprise to find himself in a position of social superiority
to Whites. Later on, his contacts with Londoners were less happy, and he thinks that it was only the casual nature of his earlier contacts that blinded him to the reality of prejudice.

His difficulties first started on trying to find accommodation. He was not an officially sponsored student, and did not think that he had much chance of getting into a hostel. He therefore thought it best to try and obtain a furnished room with cooking facilities. He says that his attempts to find a room first made him realise the extent of prejudice in this country. At first, he had not stated his nationality, when phoning up landladies, and this resulted in a considerable waste of time. On several occasions he had travelled half-way across London to inspect a room, only to find that the landlady in question mumbled some excuse about the room "just having been let". At other times, landladies did not even bother to make this excuse, but merely slammed the door in his face. As the result of these experiences, he later made it a practice to "warn" landladies of his colour over the phone, and although he found this humiliating, the procedure avoided much waste of time.
Eventually he secured a room in the house of a Hampstead doctor of German-Jewish origin. Here he was treated as a friend of the family, rather than as a tenant, and he regards the six months he spent there as the happiest period of his stay in London. At the end of this time, the room was required for a member of the doctor's family, and after some delay he was able to find quarters elsewhere. His experiences there were less happy, and during the following months he repeatedly had to change his room. His chief complaints, in this respect, are dirt, general discomfort, and particularly the attitudes of landladies towards coloured people. He is convinced that Colonial students have to pay a "colour tax", though this need not always consist of money. Many landladies "not only want your money, but expect you to be everlastingly grateful for the privilege of letting you stay at their house".

About a year ago, he made friends with two other West African students who shared a flat in Camden Town. When one of them returned home, he was able to take his place. Living conditions in this flat are somewhat primitive, but the companionship of another student, together with the low rent, offers much in the way of compensation. Since
that time, his life in London has become much easier, and he now feels that he has a chance of completing his studies within a reasonable period of time.

His financial difficulties have left him with little time for leisure. In one way, he thinks that this has been of advantage: it has kept him from becoming too lonely and unhappy. During his earlier months, when he spent most of his time at his Inns of Court, he made a number of contacts with other students, including some English ones. These had always remained at a highly superficial level, and he does not feel that he has made any real friends among English people.

He has been out with two English girls, both of working-class origin. He got to know these when he was working as a porter. In both cases, the relationship only lasted a few weeks, because, he says, the different educational and cultural background of the girls made friendship difficult.

He feels that his general attitude towards this country has definitely become less favourable as a result of his experiences. He thinks this true of a great many Colonial students, but feels
that those who do not have to deal with financial troubles may be less bitter. One benefit of his stay in London, he says, is that it has "finally done away with all traces of his religious upbringing". This is due, not only to the instances of hostility and prejudice that he has encountered, but to the fact that English people, as a whole, appear to take so little interest in religion. "In England religion is only for cranks". He feels resentful towards missionaries in Nigeria, because they "use religion as an instrument with which to keep Colonial peoples under control".

His London experiences have greatly increased his earlier interest in politics, and he is now highly sympathetic towards the general viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Colour prejudice, according to him, can be explained only in terms of economic exploitation: prejudice is encouraged by the ruling class because it ensures the continuance of Colonial rule. Despite these views, he has not joined any political party. He has little sympathy for the Labour view, since he feels that the record of the Labour Government on Colonial affairs has not been encouraging. His sympathy for Communism is largely the result of the uncompromising stand of the extreme Left on Colonial
affairs. But he has been disappointed by the appearance, some months ago, of articles in the "Daily Worker", which he understood to claim that "the establishment of Socialism" need not mean the end of the British Commonwealth. This has made him feel that even Communists, in this country, may be "Whites first and Communists afterwards".

He does not believe in the sincerity of this, or of previous British Governments, as regards Nigerian independence. Genuine freedom can only come about as the result of the efforts of Nigerians themselves. He does not favour any form of connection with the Commonwealth, because "the British will always discover new ways of exploiting you". This exploitation, indeed, is the cause of the comparatively high standard of living enjoyed by people of the West. The achievement of Nigerian independence would see the beginning of an enormous economic development. "Nigeria is poten-
ially the richest country in the world. If the English were to leave, our standard of living would eventually exceed that of America. Nigeria would then be in a position to withhold her wealth from this country, if prejudice continued to be shown. There should be no relations of any kind between the
two countries, as long as even one Englishman holds any kind of colour prejudice".

Comments:— This case-study has been presented in some detail because it illustrates some of the difficulties which the "marginal" students — those on the fringe of the student population — have to face. Some of these difficulties — financial troubles, lack of suitable housing, and the like — are shared by a great many English people. But it seems fair to say that the existence of colour prejudice presents a further difficulty that the coloured student has to face: an additional obstacle that may make all the difference between success and failure. Difficulties such as lack of friends, inadequate means of participating in the life of the community, and so on, are also experienced by Colonial students with adequate means. But the "marginal" student has to deal with all of these difficulties simultaneously: and he often has to deal with them alone.
Case Study 11

A school teacher from Northern Nigeria, (Hausa), who has been studying educational and political institutions in this country. The course in which he took part was only of a few weeks' duration. It was organised by the British Council under the auspices of the Colonial Office, and designed for a group of school teachers and local government officials from the Northern Provinces.

This man is thirty-seven years old. He was educated at government schools in Northern Nigeria, and has been a teacher for the whole of his working life. His father was a farmer, and he has spent most of his life in small towns and villages. He has been teaching in a school at Kano for a number of years.

He is married and has four wives and seven children. He is a pious Muslim and is considered something of an authority on Q'ranic law. He is also very interested in Northern Nigerian laws and customs, and is always ready to converse on these subjects.

He had never been outside the Northern Provinces before coming to England, but he has
always wanted to travel and has enjoyed his stay in this country. He feels that it would be highly desirable if a larger number of Nigerians, especially those from the North, were given the chance to learn something of the way of life of British people.

His contacts with English people, before he came here, were mostly of a formal kind. They were connected with his position as a school teacher. He says that his relations with English people in Nigeria have always been friendly, but that he has never been on terms of informality or intimacy with them.

During his stay in this country, he has met a large number of English people, and they have all been very courteous and friendly. But he points out that the contacts he has made in this way have been of a formal and official kind, and that he has not had the chance to meet ordinary English people without official guidance. He has met a number of Nigerian students during his stay, and had also previously known some students who had returned to Nigeria after studying in this country. Some of them have told him about their experiences, and several have complained about
racial prejudice and discrimination. As for himself, he has never come across any instances of hostility, and he feels that these students may have exaggerated. On the other hand, he points out that his stay here has been of too short a duration for him to come to any definite conclusions on this point.

He is strongly in favour of sending Nigerian students to England, as he feels that his country has much to learn in the way of technical education. He thinks it a pity that the great majority of Nigerian students have so far come from the South, but hopes that the advance of education in the Northern Provinces will remedy this defect. The fact that Nigerians have been represented in this country mainly by Southerners has given the South an undue advantage in the political development of the country.

He thinks that all Nigerians should work together for national independence, but fears, if this is granted too soon, that the North may come under the cultural and political domination of the South. According to him, the great difference between these two parts of the country is that the Northerners wish to take over the technical and
scientific ways of the West, while, at the same time, adhering to their own religion and culture. Southerners, on the other hand, are inclined to accept European ways indiscriminately, and some of the students he has met have impressed him as trying to be "imitation Englishmen". He feels that the North has probably more in common with other Muslim countries than with the Nigerian South. Nigeria should maintain some links with the Commonwealth, as a counter-weight to Southern domination.

He thinks that Nigeria has much to learn from the way in which other Muslim countries have adapted Islamic culture to modern conditions. But he feels that some of these countries have gone too far in this respect. He quotes the abolition of child marriage as an example. While practices of this kind may be abhorrent to Western eyes, they have clearly been sanctioned in the Qur'an and "therefore cannot be subject to discussion". He believes that the peoples of Northern Nigeria will never agree to any interference in such matters, and that they would be willing to do without the benefits of Western science, if this would involve any compromise of their religious views. He also points out that practices such as easy divorce, which are often
condemned by Christian observers, are, in point of fact, largely controlled by the force of public opinion; the values upon which this opinion is based are not as different from those of the West as it might appear.

He believes that many of the difficulties which West African students have told him about are largely "their own fault", in the sense that students will insist on taking part in every aspect of British life, such as mixing with English girls, and the like. He strongly disapproves of marriages between Nigerian and English people, since the differences in their religious and cultural backgrounds are bound to result in disaster. He would advise students to have pride in their own culture, and to stop "trying to become Englishmen".

Comments:— As this man is not a student, his case-study does not, strictly speaking, fall within the limits of our enquiry. It has been included because it appears to have some intrinsic interest, and because it points to the great differences in cultural background and political aspirations that may be found within the confines of a single country.

Owing to the short duration of his stay in
England, little can be said regarding this man's experiences in matters of race relations. However, it would seem unlikely that he would ever have much difficulty on this score. The reason is simply that he is primarily concerned with acquiring a certain amount of technical knowledge, and has little desire to participate actively in the life of the community. His attachment to his own culture and religion prevents him from wanting to enter too deeply into an alien way of life. He is therefore not liable to find himself in situations where prejudice is likely to be encountered.

Case Study 12

A Gold Coast (Fanti) medical student, twenty-nine years of age. His father is a surveyor. He has two sisters, both of them married. His parents are still alive.

He was educated at a Methodist elementary school, and later went to Achimota College. All the staff at the elementary school were Africans, and he first came into closer contact with Europeans
at Achimota. He believes that relationships between European members of the staff, and their African students were good, but in his status as a student, he naturally had no means of getting to know the Europeans very well.

His earlier notions about life in this country were largely formed by missionaries, as well as by casual contacts with British service men. His general impression was markedly more favourable than seemed warranted by the facts. The teachers at his elementary school, who were Africans, often spoke of England as of a Christian country, and they also gave him the impression that English people were favourable disposed towards the Africans. In consequence, he expected a much warmer welcome from British people than he had been accorded.

He had come to England not only to study medicine but "to learn such things from the people of this country as would enable him to play his part in the future development of the Gold Coast". At the time of the interview, he had been in London for nearly four years.

He remembers that his first reaction towards life in England was one of surprise. Although
he had read books with an English background, and had learned something of the history of this country, he felt himself to be much more of a stranger than he had expected. He remembers being rather "shy and timid", and thinks that at that time he was much too deferential in his dealings with British people.

He was able to gain admission to a well-known teaching hospital, and was then the only African among its students. He found that his English fellow-students were courteous and polite, and they were always willing to answer any of his questions. But it seemed evident that they did not want to meet him socially, and he has never really made friends with any of them. He thinks that their attitude is partly due to colour prejudice, but says that they tend to be rather snobbish and "stand-offish", anyway, and that they do not even mix with students from the Continent. At the same time, he thinks that it is much easier for him to get on with British students, as compared to ordinary Londoners, because the latter do not realise that he is a medical student, and tend to regard all Africans as inferior.

During his first year in London, he was
often very lonely and unhappy, and he was also worried about his studies. He found his courses much more difficult than he had expected, but is now making good progress, and thinks that he is more than holding his own with English students. His main difficulties, during the earlier part of his stay, were connected with the problem of finding suitable accommodation, and he believes that he has wasted as much as five or six weeks in looking for a room. He is convinced that coloured students find it much harder to get rooms than do Whites, and that they are required to "pay for their colour", either financially or in some other way. He says that he has come to look upon the search for accommodation as by far the most unpleasant aspect of student life in this country. Not only does it waste valuable time, but it involves constant humiliation. He has found that landladies would generally say that their rooms had already been let on seeing that he was coloured; others would merely slam the door in his face. He is now sharing a flat with two other West Africans, and although it seems to be rather uncomfortable, he does not wish to court humiliation by trying to find another room.

He feels that hostel accommodation would
be the best solution for Colonial students, but hostels tend to be expensive, and frequently have irksome rules. He is a private student, and has to live on the contributions sent to him by his father. Owing to the rising cost of living, he has found this increasingly difficult.

During the earlier part of his stay, he frequently attended British Council dances, but he has found them "terribly crowded and uncomfortable", and says that the girls he has met there have not always been too pleasant. They were mostly servant girls from the Continent, who also appeared to have difficulty in making friends among English people. "If they condescend to go out with an African, they expect to be duly paid for it, in terms of compliments and entertainments". He feels that it shows a lack of national pride and of self-respect on the part of African students, that they continue to go out with these girls. As for himself, he has come to regard them as "little better than prostitutes", and has made up his mind not to make friends with European women for the rest of his stay in London. (He has apparently had some unfortunate experiences with girls he has met here, but declines to discuss
these in any detail).

He has also attended a number of dances at various London colleges. But he generally found it difficult to obtain a dancing partner, and is certain that many of the girls that he has danced with have been acutely embarrassed. He has also been to public dance-halls, but has stopped going because he found that most of the girls there would not dance with him. Very occasionally he still goes to a well-known dance hall in the West End, where it is not unusual for girls to dance with coloured men. But he does not like the atmosphere of this place.

On one occasion, he went to a dance at Hampstead Town Hall. He was in the company of another coloured student, and felt more self-confident than is usually the case, and he decided to make an "experiment", i.e. to ask all of the girls present, in turn, for a dance. Neither he nor his friend were able to find even one girl willing to dance.

He is not greatly interested in politics, but says that he has become much more "Left-wing" as the result of his stay. He is not a Communist because he thinks that "Communists are more inter-
ested in Russia than in the welfare of their own countries". But he often attends socials and dances organised by the various Eastern European "friendship societies". He says that "they are the only places where you can be sure of a welcome". He has never been approached with a view to "conversion", and does not know of any Colonial students who have. "The Communist Party have no need to try and influence students — their best agents are the landladies, government officials, and many other persons who show themselves to be prejudiced towards them".

He was brought up as a Methodist, but has not taken part in religious practices since he came to London. He feels that missionaries in West Africa have contributed their share towards the difficulties of Colonial students in this country: they have misled them as to the true state of affairs. He has also come to feel that missionaries have tended to make Africans unduly contented with their lot: "they have filled our heads with stupidity".

If he were asked to advise African students about to come here, he would tell them to concentrate on their studies, and not to attempt to
take too great a part in the lives of English people. Students who come here with the idea of learning all about the way of life of British people are bound to become bitter and disappointed. The main result of his stay in London has been to teach him that West Africans must rely on their own efforts in building a better future, and that "all talk of common citizenship in one Commonwealth is eye-wash and hypocrisy".

He does not know why English people are so prejudiced towards Africans, and is sure that Continental Europeans are more tolerant. But he feels that coloured students tend to be despised largely because of their Colonial status. It would be too optimistic to expect a radical change after the advent of West African independence. "English people make no distinction between West and East Africans -- to them we are all Negroes. Coloured people will continue to be treated with contempt until colonialism has everywhere been liquidated. It will be the duty of the future West African states to concern themselves with the fate of their brothers in other parts of the continent. We cannot remain inactive while our brothers continue as slaves".
Case Study 13

A West African nurse (Sierra Leone), who has been in this country for over two years. Her father is a minor professional man, who has been able to assist her financially only to a limited extent. Her mother died several years ago, and her father has recently re-married.

She has always wanted a career of her own, and, as she had also wanted to "see the world", she was very glad of the opportunity to come to this country for training. She was accepted by a hospital in the immediate neighbourhood of London, and has been there for the whole of her stay. During her first months in England, she was often very home-sick and unhappy, and almost decided to return. She had never been away from home before, and says that she had not quite realised what life in a foreign country would really mean.

There are a number of other West African, as well as some West Indian, girls at the hospital where she is studying, and she has made a number of friends among them. During her first year, she did not get to know any of the English or other European nurses, and thought that these did not
want to become friendly with her. But she now feels that she may have been mistaken, as she was "very shy" at the time, and did not readily take to strangers.

About a year ago she made friends with a Yorkshire girl, and now spends much of her leisure in her company. This girl has invited her home on two or three occasions, and she has recently spent a fortnight's holiday in the home of her friend. She has enjoyed this very much, as it has given her an opportunity of getting to know English people. Her friend's parents have been very kind to her, and went out of their way to make her feel at home. She says that at first she had the impression that they felt sorry for her on account of her colour, and in a way she resented this, but she feels now that she has been accepted by them as an equal.

She has not had any difficulties with her courses, but has been rather disappointed with them, because she has come to the conclusion that her career does not offer much opportunity for advancement. She had thought that prospects in nursing would be very good in West Africa, because of the shortage of medical facilities in that part of the world. But she has heard that the position in
Sierra Leone is not at all promising, and that nurses are likely to have difficulty in finding employment in the near future. She does not know the reason for this, but thinks that it may be the fault of the British colonial administration, "who have not taken sufficient interest in developing the resources of the country".

A cousin of hers, who is reading law, has taken her out on a number of occasions. He has introduced her to some West African students, but she did not feel inclined to spend too much time in their company. She says that Colonial students are too "forward" in their behaviour towards girls, and do not show them the respect they are accustomed to in their own countries.

She has been to one or two dances at London colleges, together with her Yorkshire friend. On these occasions, she has had difficulty in finding a dancing partner. She was not asked to dance by any of the European students, and she feels that even coloured men frequently prefer to dance with English girls. She does not wish to go out with European men, as she does not think that such friendships are desirable. She feels that girls should go out with men only if they genuinely like
them, and if their friendship is likely to result in marriage. As she does not think "mixed" marriages are desirable, she cannot see much point in making friends with Europeans.

She does not remember having met with any instances of hostility on account of her colour. On the contrary, she says that English people have usually been courteous and helpful, although it is true that most of them prefer to keep themselves aloof. On the whole, she feels that nurses are less liable to meet with prejudice, since they do not have to find their own accommodation; but they have often less opportunity to make friends with people from their own countries, and may become very lonely on this account.

Comments:— For various reasons, it has been much more difficult to obtain information from Colonial women students than has been the case with men. The difficulty is partly institutional, in that nurses tend to be widely dispersed over a large area of London. The nature of their duties also makes it difficult to arrange meetings at a convenient time. Women from the Colonies, moreover, and especially those from Africa, are often rather shy, and do not readily talk to strangers,
particularly when these happen to be men of a race other than their own. One's general impression is that the women tend to encounter less prejudice than the men because they do not often expose themselves to situations where prejudice is likely to be encountered. They are also less interested in political matters, and do not appear to wish to participate in the life of the community to the same extent as do male students.

III. LIBERIA

Case Study 14

A Liberian student of banking and accountancy, twenty-eight years of age, who has been in this country for over three years. He was born at a small village about thirty miles outside Monrovia. He has four brothers and two sisters, and both his parents are still alive. His father is headmaster of a Methodist primary school, and he was brought up in the same faith. He does not appear to be very religious, but attends church services on
occasion. He is of mixed "American-Liberian" and "tribal" descent, and of dark, "typically" African appearance.

His education began at a local Church school. This was really a kindergarten, run by an old woman of the Kru tribe, whose job it was to look after the children. He then went to a Methodist primary school, where both staff and students were Africans. He continued his education at a government high school, and finished at the National College of Liberia in Monrovia. He thinks that the training he received there was of a high standard, and that it compares well with similar colleges in the United States and in Europe. After finishing his education, he worked for a Monrovia bank for over two years. The staff there included two white Americans. He was on friendly terms with both. They provided, in essence, his only contact with Whites before he came to this country.

He has never had much difficulty in making friends, but thinks that the situation, in this respect, is much easier in Liberia than is the case here. The reason is that Liberian towns are comparatively small, and "everybody knows everybody else". Moreover, since there is little in the way
of amusement, people spend most of their leisure in informal visits to relations and friends. He also had a number of girl friends in Monrovia, and thinks that relations between the sexes there are "pretty easy-going". They approximate to the European pattern in this respect. In urban areas, parents have little say in the choice of marriage partners, and this depends mainly upon the personal feelings of the young people concerned. Liberians appear to be readier to make friends, and seem more "warm-hearted" than English people, but this may be due to differences of social and institutional structure, rather than to any innate differences in the national characters of the two peoples.

He describes his early notions about life in this country as "rather vague and limited". This is largely a consequence of the fact that "when Liberians think about life abroad, they think of it primarily in terms of their ideas about the United States". Most of his general impressions in respect of life in the West were obtained from American films, and in similar ways. For this reason, he was a little disappointed by his experiences in this country: he had expected life here to be more "glamorous", and more advanced technically, than had
proved to be the case. He had wished to study engineering, but the Liberian Government, perhaps because of his banking experience, offered him a scholarship in banking and accountancy instead. He was given the choice between study in the United States and in England, and he elected to come here. Traditionally, Liberian students have gone to the United States, and it is only in recent years that a small number of them have come to Europe. He thought that he would be able to make a more valuable contribution to his country's welfare by studying in England. An additional reason for his choice was the fact that he had heard a lot of talk about anti-Negro discrimination in the United States, and he thought that the position in England was better in this respect. One of his brothers is reading law at an American university, and has written to him complaining of prejudice. His brother also made the point that it seemed easier for Liberians to get on in the States than it is for American Negroes. "People respect us because we come from an independent country, where there are no Whites to treat us as their inferiors".

Although he did not expect much formal
discrimination, he anticipated a measure of colour prejudice on the part of English people, and he feels that his ideas have been fairly realistic in this respect. In general, he has enjoyed his stay in London and says that he has had little difficulty on account of his colour. He stayed at the West African Students' Union hostel in Chelsea during his first year, and found this a very interesting and fruitful experience. He was able to make friends with a large number of West Africans from the British Colonies, and to compare their experiences with his own. He got on well with most of the Colonial students, but says that in some respects their attitudes are very different from his own. He thinks that many of them tend to overemphasise the difficulties of life in this country, and that they are rather thin-skinned and suspicious. "They tend to see colour prejudice even where it does not exist". He also objects to some of their remarks about Liberia, such as that the country is "owned by the Firestone Company", and so on. He thinks that even if this were true, Africans should not make remarks of this kind. For Liberia is generally regarded as a sort of "guinea-pig", and it is "important to show that Liberians
have made a success of the only independent Negro state in Africa.

On leaving the W.A.S.U. hostel, he had to find alternative accommodation, but encountered a certain amount of difficulty at this point: he found that landladies objected to him on account of his colour, and thought this an "intolerable situation". After a couple of days or so he registered at a commercial agency, and they found rooms for him within a short time. He thinks that accommodation is perhaps the greatest single problem that coloured students have to face, and is surprised that more of them do not avail themselves of the services of a housing agent.

During his first year in London he studied at a Polytechnic. He made a number of friends there, most of them Continental and Colonial students. He found English students friendly, but inclined to be "reserved". He was later able to gain admission to one of the colleges of London University, and regards this very much as a change for the better. Apart from the higher standard of the teaching, he has found it easier to make friends.

One of his friends introduced him to a London girl, and he has spent much time in her company. This girl seemed to be very interested in
his country, and has taught him a lot about English ways and customs. She has been helpful in enabling him to find his way about London, and he feels that his adjustment to life here has been much easier as a result. After about a year, however, this friendship gradually "petered out", and he has not had any girl-friends since. The relationship terminated, he thinks, because "it had no future". He would not marry a white girl under any circumstances, mainly because he feels that such a marriage would prejudice his chances of a successful career. "Liberians have not yet forgotten the wrongs that Negroes have suffered at the hands of the Whites, and wish to keep their country a haven of refuge for the coloured people".

Apart from his difficulties in finding accommodation, he has not had much evidence of colour prejudice in this country. On one occasion, however, when he was in the company of an English girl, a young man, in front of whom he was standing in a bus queue, objected loudly to his presence, and attempted to push him away. He replied to this man's offensive remarks in kind, and told him that "he would not get away with his nonsense -- he was from a free country, and not one of his Colonial
slaves". His own recommendation for dealing with incidents of this kind is "not to look for trouble, but to deal with it sharply and strongly when it is found". But this experience was the only one of its kind, and, on the whole, he does not feel that colour prejudice is a particularly urgent or important problem as far as this country is concerned.

He is not much interested in politics, and feels that Liberians should concentrate on the economic development of their country. Comparatively little has been done in this way so far, but he thinks that the position has greatly improved in recent years. He expects the country to make good progress under the present administration. Although some of the British Colonies may be far better off economically, he "much prefers the freedom and independence enjoyed by the people of Liberia".

Comments:— This case study points to some interesting differences, as regards their interpretations of experiences in this country, between Liberians and British West Africans. Generally speaking, Liberians tend to "play down" their difficulties, particularly as regards prejudice and similar matters, while Colonial students from West Africa tend to stress these a good deal. Since
these interpretations affect the behaviour patterns of Colonial students, and ultimately the further reactions of English people towards them, this consideration is clearly of importance.

Liberian students tend to be less concerned with political affairs than Colonial Africans; a reflection, it would appear, not only of the independence, but also of the domestic political situation of their country: a situation that has given them little encouragement in this respect. More significant, perhaps, is the absence of the "anti-imperialist" fervour so prominent among West Africans. This colours not only their interpretations of experiences in London, but the special position of their country seems to induce them to "play down" any difficulties that Liberians may have to face. Liberians seem to look upon their country as an "experiment in African independence". They are concerned to give that experiment, if not the reality, at least the appearance of success.
Case Study 15

A Liberian student of radio engineering, twenty-six years of age, who has been in this country for just over a year. His father is in the employ of the Liberian Customs service. He has two sisters, one of whom is married, while the other is still at school.

He was born in a small town in Maryland County, and went to a kindergarten at Cape Palmas. He was educated at a missionary primary school, where both staff and pupils were African. Later he went to the College of West Africa, (a "High School") in Monrovia. Here some of the students were from the United States, a few of them Whites, but all seemed to get on well with each other. This school was co-educational, and he says that generally Liberian girls seem to be "very keen on education". He completed his education at the University of Liberia, where he took courses in mathematics and biology for over ten years.

He was offered a scholarship in radio engineering, and although this subject did not fit in too well with his previous training, he decided to take the opportunity to go abroad. His earlier
notions about life in England were rather vague, and he confesses himself disappointed in some respects. He was dismayed by the ugly appearance of British cities, and thinks that his anticipations were largely based on the general impression of Western progress and technical efficiency conveyed by American films. He has found it difficult to get used to English cooking, and does not like the climate very much. But these are minor matters and, on the whole, he says that he has enjoyed his stay in London.

He did not expect to find any formal discrimination against coloured people in this country, and has not been disappointed in this respect. He has found some evidence of racial prejudice, however, particularly when he was looking for accommodation. On one occasion, during the earlier period of his stay, a landlady slammed the door in his face on seeing that he was coloured. He waited for about ten minutes on her doorstep, as he could not find any explanation for her extraordinary behaviour. At the time, he did not immediately connect it with prejudice: he thought that she might have had something "on the boil". But he says that "now he knows better". Although incidents of this kind
have not failed to annoy him, he has decided not to take too much notice. "You must expect to find ignorant and stupid people all over the world". Moreover, he says that he is able to console himself with the thought that his stay in this country covers only a comparatively brief period of his life: he will not have to worry about matters such as prejudice after his return. He feels that in this respect he is very much better off than many of the Colonial students whom he has met.

He has got on well with his studies, and has found them easier than he had expected. He hopes to be able to cut down his period of study as a result. He knows most of the Liberian students in this country, and has the general impression that those who are studying in the provinces have a much easier and more enjoyable time than is the case with London students. One of his friends, in particular, who is studying at Glasgow, says that Scottish people are much friendlier, and far more interested in meeting strangers, than are people in London. But in general, he is satisfied with his stay, and feels that he has adjusted himself well to life in this country.
Case Study 16

A Liberian (Kru) nurse, twenty-four years of age, who has been in this country for over two years. Her father is an accountant, and works for the Firestone Company. Her mother is a teacher at a missionary school for young children. Her brother is studying medicine in the United States.

She was born at Monrovia, and went to a local kindergarten at the age of five. She was educated at a Methodist boarding school for girls in the country, returning to her parents during the vacations. All the girls at this school were Africans, some of them descendants of the so-called American-Liberians, others belonging to various tribal groups. No distinction was made between them in respect of their origin, and English was the only language of instruction. Later, she went to a college at Monrovia. This was co-educational, and some of the teachers were Americans.

She had wanted to follow her brother's example and study medicine, but was unable to secure the necessary financial support. So she decided to take up nursing instead, and came to England for this purpose. Several of her friends have come
here in recent years, for the costs involved are very much lower than is the case in the United States. She had little contact with Europeans before leaving her own country, and says that her notions about life in England were rather vague.

She was met on arrival by a Liberian family resident in London, and she stayed in their home for nearly three months. This was very useful, as it gave her a chance to accustom herself to the new environment. At the end of this period, a London hospital accepted her for training, and she has worked there ever since.

She has found the other nurses helpful and friendly, although at first she thought English girls rather reserved. She knows most of the Liberian students in London, and spends much of her leisure in their company. Apart from these, she has made two close friends during her stay in this country. One is a London girl, whom she has visited on a number of occasions. Her parents seem to like her, and have gone out of their way to make her feel at home. Her other friend is a German girl, with whom she has spent a holiday in Paris. This girl later invited her to Germany. As a rule, she has found people from the Continent friendlier
than the English. But during her visit to Germany, she unexpectedly found herself the object of much curiosity and attention. She stayed at a small country town, where the natives had never before seen any Africans. She did not mind answering their questions, but her friend found the position rather embarrassing, and this incident introduced a certain strain into their friendship.

Since she is living at a nurses' home, she has not had to bother about finding accommodation. She has not had any experiences that may with certainty be regarded as the result of prejudice or discrimination, and accordingly does not feel that she can say much on this point. In the streets, people sometimes stare at her rudely, but these are clearly ignorant and uneducated persons, and she "does not think it worth bothering about people of this kind".

She has met a number of West Indians and (British) West African girls during her stay. On the whole, she feels that she has more in common with the West Indians than with the Africans. The reason, she thinks, is that educated Liberians are more accustomed to Western ways than are some other Africans, and consequently they find it easier to
adjust themselves to life in this country. For example, English is the only language used in her home; although her parents speak Kru, they have never tried to teach her. "Educated Liberians wish to forget all about their tribal origins and differences, and wish to feel themselves part of a progressive and united country".

She was brought up as an Episcopalian, and has kept to her religious faith. She is shocked by the attitudes of many English girls in this matter: "They seem to have no religion at all". She has not been out with any European men, and has no wish to do so. She does not regard such friendships as desirable, and thinks that "people should stick to their own kind". She has no interest in politics, but is very proud of her country, and resentful of outside criticism. She thinks that the British have done a good deal to develop their Colonies, "although many West Africans don't seem to realise this", but she much prefers to belong to "the only free African country in the world".

Comments:— On the whole, this case-study supports the contention, previously noticed, that women seem to have less difficulty in adjusting themselves to life in this country than do the men.
A large proportion of them are nurses, for whom the problem of accommodation does not arise. Women also seem less liable to find themselves in situations of potential prejudice, and consequently are less likely to encounter hostility than are the men.

IV. EAST AFRICA

Case Study 17

A Kenya (Kikuyu) student of medicine, twenty-five years of age, who has been in this country for over two years. He was born in a small village in the neighbourhood of Nairobi, and has spent most of his life in rural surroundings. His father is a police officer, and a qualified interpreter, and has reached the highest rank in the service which it is possible for Africans to attain. He is a private student, and his father helps him financially with his studies.

His father has made great sacrifices to enable his children to receive the best possible education. One of his brothers is at present
studying medicine in the United States, while another is reading law in India. Two of his three sisters are about to come to this country for training as nurses, and the third hopes to come here to study chemistry. These studies have partly been made possible by scholarships and various grants, but his father has had to contribute the greater part of his savings.

He was educated at an elementary school near Nairobi. This school was run by missionaries, but catered for pupils of all religious denominations. The students were all Kikuyu, but there were some European teachers on the staff. He liked most of his teachers, irrespective of their nationality, and got on well with the other pupils. He later transferred to a government secondary school, where he reached School Certificate standard.

On leaving school, he continued his education at Fort Hare, the Native University College in South Africa, where he took courses in Physics, Chemistry and Biology. He found his stay there very interesting, as it enabled him to meet African students from many different parts of the continent. He found South African students generally to be more sophisticated than his own countrymen, but their
social and political difficulties were clearly even greater. He liked most of the European members of the staff. They were mainly British, but a few of them were Afrikaans. Some of the latter had strong nationalist convictions, but this did not prevent them from maintaining easy, and even friendly, relations with their African students. During his stay at Fort Hare, the Malan "apartheid" regulations were introduced. Segregation of Africans and Europeans had long been the rule in the neighbouring towns and villages, and these laws made little practical difference to his life. But he strongly resented the spirit behind them and says that he "would hate to live in South Africa".

Later he determined to study medicine, mainly because of the shortage of African physicians, and decided to come to England for this purpose.

His early notions about life in this country were rather vague and, as he now feels, in some respects misleading. His ideas about English people, in particular, were largely based upon experiences with Europeans in South Africa. He found less discrimination in this country than he had expected. Although he had been told that English people here are more tolerant towards Africans than is the case
in the Colonies, he felt pleasantly surprised on this account. On the other hand, he had always thought that the attitudes of superiority shown by Europeans in Kenya were largely the result of genuine differences in education, and in social and economic position, between the two races. His experiences in London have shown him that English people, even where they are clearly his inferiors in terms of education and of general culture, persist in their attitude of superiority towards all people of a darker skin. The absence of formal discrimination in this country has also made him realise with greater clarity than ever before that "the behaviour of the Whites in Kenya, who are in that country only as guests, is truly monstrous". This has tended to make him feel more bitter towards Europeans in general.

Many of the Whites he had known in Kenya spoke of England as of a Christian country. He now thinks that they must have been talking with their tongues in their cheeks. He has never been very religious, and thinks his London experiences have completed his disillusion on that score. Whites in Kenya also managed to convey the idea that all Europeans "live like gentlemen". It came
as a surprise to see them toiling in menial jobs, and on an obviously low standard of living.

He had not registered at any of the medical schools before coming to London, and later had much difficulty on this account. He had particularly wanted to study in London, but this proved impossible. He was eventually accepted by a Scottish university, and has been in residence there for nearly a year.

As he was unable to carry on with his studies during his first year in London, it became necessary to find work. He did not mind having to find some temporary job, but it proved much more difficult to do this than he had expected. He thinks that his difficulties were partly due to the fact that he had no special technical qualifications, but is also certain that his colour made it much harder for him to find work than would otherwise have been the case. In the end, he managed to obtain clerical work in the offices of the High Commissioner for India, who makes a point of employing a number of East African students in this way. He was quite satisfied with this work, as it was easy, and the other employees, most of them Indians, were very friendly towards him.
Apart from the problem of finding work, his main difficulty at this time consisted in the search for accommodation. On his arrival, he shared a flat with two other East Africans, but as they later returned to their own country, he had to move out. He had much trouble in finding rooms, and regards this as by far the most unpleasant aspect of life in England. On several occasions, landladies promised him a room, but made some excuse when they met him in person. After this, he made a practice of first informing them of his colour. On four separate occasions landladies just "slammed the received down" when he told them that he was an African. However, after many unsatisfactory experiments, he managed to find a room in the house of an Irishman who seemed to have no objection to his colour. This man ran a large boarding-house in the centre of London, and appears to specialize in catering for Colonial and other coloured students. In this he was not motivated by altruistic considerations alone, and his lodgers appear, in fact, to regard him as "a bit of a crook". They found, for example, that he consistently served them horse-meat, although he made use of their ration-books. But he readily admitted this when
he was challenged, and merely remarked upon the cleanly habits of the horse. The standard of comfort and cleanliness in this house also left much to be desired. Yet the general atmosphere of the place was one of friendliness and freedom. The students clearly preferred an eccentric to a fussy landlord. He stayed in this house for several months, but in the end a friend helped to find him a room in the house of an old lady, who also specialized in Colonial and foreign "paying guests". This woman treated him with exceptional kindness, and he says that he has come to look upon her "as on his mother".

He is now studying at a Scottish university, where the question of accommodation does not arise. This is perhaps a major reason why he has felt much happier there than in London, but he also thinks that Scottish people are friendlier. People in the town where he is now living realise that the coloured people they are likely to meet are university students, and they treat them accordingly.

He has not made any close friends among English people during his stay. His friends are mainly from East Africa, but he has a number of Indian and West African friends. In general, he
feels that East Africans tend to "keep to themselves" to a greater extent than other students. West Africans have impressed him as showing greater initiative, particularly in political affairs, than his own countrymen, and he looks to them for leadership. He has also found West Africans readier to resent any slights or insults against coloured people, than are students from his own country. On the whole, he thinks this a good thing, but he makes the point that West Africans sometimes see prejudice where it does not exist.

He has not joined any East African students' unions, mainly because these organisations tend to be rather nebulous and short-lived. He has not made use of the services of the British Council, or of the Colonial Office, because he feels that these bodies wish to "influence students by their propaganda". During his stay in England, he has come to take a great deal of interest in political affairs, and he attends Labour meetings and discussions. He has pronounced Labour sympathies, and believes that these are shared by the greater number of East African students. He has never met any African students of Conservative views, and doubts their existence. The Conservative Party, he says, is
too closely associated with "Imperialist" views and policies for this to be possible.

He has been "too busy" to trouble much about girl friends, but has been out with an English girl whom he met at his place of (temporary) employment. She seemed greatly interested in Colonial affairs, and he spent much time in telling her about Kenya. Their friendship appears to have been "platonic". He says that he is not physically attracted to European women, and in any case does not think that "romantic" friendships between white girls and coloured men "can have much future". He would not like to marry a European: cultural and social difficulties would be too great.

Comments:— This man makes the impression of a pleasant and capable personality. During his first year in London, he has had to contend with a number of real difficulties, and seems to have managed these in an efficient manner. His account of experiences in this country points to some interesting features, shared by other students from Kenya. These students do not seem to have expected any special welcome from English people. When they speak of "disappointment", in the field of personal relationships, they refer primarily to
the fact that Londoners tend not to distinguish between Colonial students and other coloured persons. They particularly resent being looked down upon by those whom they regard as their social inferiors. At the same time, they generally regard race relations in this country as very much better than those in their own. Kenya students seem less anxious to share in every aspect of life in this country than West Africans. Since they do not make social participation a matter of principle, the number of situations of potential prejudice that they are likely to encounter is correspondingly less. It is too early to say how the critical developments in Kenya at the present time are likely to affect the situation in this respect.

Case Study 18

A Kenya (Kikuyu) student of law, twenty-three years of age, who has been in this country for about eighteen months. His father is a farmer, but has also been employed in the government service. He has two sisters. One of them is married, and the other hopes to come to England to take up
nursing. His stay here is being financed by his father, but he says that he underestimated the cost of living, and has found his allowance inadequate even for the maintenance of a very modest standard of life.

He was educated at an elementary school, and later went to a government secondary school where some of the teachers were Europeans. He got on well with the other pupils, and liked most of his teachers, irrespective of race.

On his arrival in London, he stayed at a private hotel, but found this too expensive. A friend helped him to find a furnished room. He is not satisfied with his accommodation, thinking it too expensive in relation to the poor standard of the amenities provided, but he is reluctant to move. He has been told that it is very difficult for coloured people to find rooms.

His early notions about life in England seem rather vague. He anticipated a lesser degree of racial prejudice than obtains in his own country, and says that he has not been disappointed in this respect. On the other hand, he particularly resents the fact that, in this country, even quite uneducated and "low class" people think themselves superior to those of a darker skin.
He has made a number of friends during his stay. Most of these are from Kenya, and he meets them at East Africa House, the official centre for East African students in this country. This club caters for East Africans of all races, and the majority of the members appear to be Asians and Europeans. There does not seem to be any hostility between these groups, but he has found that they tend to keep apart. He cannot remember ever having had a conversation with a European at this centre. He has visited Hans Crescent, and has some friends among the residents. Most of them are students from West Africa, and he says they have given him "a new outlook on social and political affairs". But he feels that West Africans sometimes show a lack of understanding of the particular difficulties that the peoples of Kenya have to face.

He says that his attitude towards this country has become less favourable as the result of his stay. Before he came here, he had not taken much interest in politics. He does not think that he was ever particularly anti-British, although he resented the racial discrimination practised by Europeans in Kenya. On the other hand, he never
regarded England as his "Mother Country", although he says that some of the Kenya Europeans "tried to put this idea across". He remembers that one of his teachers said to him before his departure: "I hear that you are going home soon". He replied that he was not going home, and that Kenya was his mother-country. At this time, he says, he regarded himself as "a Kikuyu first, an East African second, and British none of the time". But his stay in London has convinced him of the need for greater African unity, and he believes that people in Kenya will, in the future, "look towards West Africa for help in their struggle for freedom".

Since his arrival, he has conceived a much greater interest in politics, and has attended a number of Labour Party meetings. He makes a special point of attending when African affairs are under discussion, and has spoken about the racial and political problems of his country. He feels very bitter about recent developments in Kenya, and is particularly disgusted by the "hypocritical attitude of most of the British Press". He says that English people seem to know very little about their Colonies, "and so it is easy to mislead them in these matters". He agrees with the Labour view
on Colonial affairs, but thinks it not radical enough. He is impatient with current notions of "equal partnership" in East Africa. "It is sheer hypocrisy to talk of partnership, when you have a tiny group of Europeans ruling a large number of Africans, and practicing all sorts of discrimination; and in a country which rightly belongs to the Africans!"

He does not think that Kenya is as yet ready for independence, and would welcome the help of European administrators and advisers. But he believes that the white settlers, because of their attitude towards the Africans, have "lost their right to be citizens of the country". They should be evacuated once independence has been attained. He has heard much talk of police brutality during recent months, and is worried about the safety of his parents. He says that some Kenya students are actually afraid to go home, thinking themselves liable to arbitrary arrest. "The mere fact that an African is educated, is enough to make the authorities regard him with suspicion". He condemns the methods of Mau-Mau, but thinks that the powers of this organisation have been exaggerated. Most Kikuyu, he says, are hostile both to Mau-Mau and to
the alien rulers of their land. It is not surprising if some of them feel that "a people must use whatever means they have at hand to gain their freedom".

Comments:— Apart from its intrinsic interest, this case-study illustrates the extent to which the attitudes of Colonial students to life in England may be influenced by political developments in their own countries. Events in the Colonies not only affect the political opinions of the students, but also, to a considerable degree, their interpretations of experiences in London.

The anxiety expressed by this student appears to be shared by other Kenya Africans. But it is important to point out that the opinions just quoted are strictly his own. In accordance with his wishes, all details which might lead to this student's identification have been omitted from this account.

Case Study 19

A Kenya (Arab, Mombasa) student of languages, twenty-three years of age, who has been in
this country for over a year. His father, a prosperous merchant, died shortly before his departure. One of his uncles has undertaken to support him financially. He has a younger brother and two sisters, both of whom are married. He came to London to improve his knowledge of English, and also hopes to take various commercial subjects to qualify for a business career.

He was educated at a government school in Mombasa. This school catered mainly for Arab pupils, but had a considerable number of Muslim African students as well. The various groups mixed with each other quite freely, though contacts between their parents were less intimate. The teaching placed much emphasis upon Islamic culture, and on the teachings of the Q'ran.

He had little contact with European ways before his arrival in London, and says that he felt rather bewildered on this account. Everything seemed very strange, and it took him some time to get accustomed to the change of environment. He had expected life here to be more "glamourous" than it had turned out to be, and he was also rather shocked by the lack of interest in religious affairs, as well as by what he regards as the low standard of
sexual morality in this country. But he has become used to things of this sort, and says that he has enjoyed his life in England.

He regards himself as an Arab, but it is clear that there is a considerable strain of African blood in his ancestry. English people often take him for an African. He had much difficulty in finding accommodation, and on one occasion a landlady remarked that she was "a respectable person and would not take niggers into her house". On another occasion, a working-class girl objected to his sitting down at her table at a local cafe, and muttered something about "too many of them savages coming 'ere", or words to that effect.

Despite such incidents, he shows little interest in matters of race. Now that he has been able to find satisfactory accommodation he regards his difficulties as more or less solved. He has not made any friends among English students, but has been friendly with one or two Continental Europeans. But most of his friends are people from East Africa.

He is a frequent visitor to the Islamic cultural centre in London, and greatly enjoys this opportunity of meeting Muslims from many different parts of the world. He has been friendly with an
English woman, a convert to Islam, whom he has met at the cultural centre. She has been very useful in helping him to find his way about London. But he has been careful not to get emotionally involved. He would not marry a European woman on any account. Not only would his family object strongly, but he regards English women as "over-sexed and highly unreliable", and fears that they would scarcely make good marriage partners.

He says that race relations at Mombasa are "very good", and that such prejudice as exists is due to the influence of British officials. "Race prejudice is a European invention". He quotes the Kenya Highlands in support of this view. On the other hand, he admits that his family would be greatly disconcerted if he married an African or even an Indian woman. They would have less objection if the girl concerned were a co-religionist, but "even so, they would not like it". He has met several Kenya Africans during his stay in London, but has no close friends among them. "The differences between our cultures are too great". Yet he feels that his experiences here have made him realise the need for greater unity among non-Europeans in Kenya. "But people there still largely think
along communal lines".

He has been to several meetings and parties organised by the British Council, and has enjoyed this opportunity of meeting people from all over the world. He has never felt himself to be in any special relationship to the people of England, and believes that "insofar as Kenya Arabs look abroad, they look to the Muslim countries".

He appears to take a great deal of pride in his cultural and religious heritage, and stresses the point that "Arabs do not feel themselves inferior to anyone". In illustration of this, he quotes the case of a relative of his, who wished to marry a British merchant. His family were opposed to this match, and threatened to expel the girl from the family circle. This incident shows, he says, that the family regarded such a marriage as a "come-down". But personally he has no prejudice of any kind: "this would not be possible, since it is forbidden by our religious teaching".

Comments: This student objects to the instances of prejudice that he has met with primarily because he objects to being classed as an African. This apart, he has little interest in problems of colour, and does not regard them as important as far as he is concerned. Although he is willing to meet
English people socially, he has no desire to share in their life too deeply; and he is strongly conscious of the worth of his own religion and culture. In this respect, he shows some interesting similarities with one or two of the other case studies presented in this report.

Case Study 20

An East African (Tanganyika) school teacher, thirty-seven years of age. His father, who died several years ago, was a local government official. His mother is still alive. He has two brothers, one of them a farmer, the other employed in the government service. He is married and has two children.

He was born in a small village near the frontier of the Belgian Congo, and has spent nearly all of his life in a rural background. He was educated at a missionary school, and later at a government secondary school. He qualified as a school teacher, and has worked in this capacity for a number of years. He came to England to take courses in education, obtaining a grant for this purpose.
He says that relations between Africans and Europeans in his own country are "excellent". He has been on very friendly terms with two British people, one of them a government official, the other a school teacher. He has been invited into their homes on several occasions, and has spent a number of week-ends with them both. He thinks that Tanganyika is very lucky in having no European settlers, and compares favourably with Kenya in this respect. The peoples of Tanganyika ought to aim at a greater measure of self-government within the Commonwealth, but should realise that they will have to retain the services of British administrators and technicians for many years to come.

He has visited the Belgian Congo, where he has relatives. Economically, he thinks that the Congo compares favourably with his own country, and the Belgian authorities appear to have exploited the resources of their colony to a much greater extend. But he prefers the English attitude to their Colonies to what he regards as the "benevolent despotism" of the Belgians.

At the time of his first interview, (when the above information was obtained), he had been in this country for only ten days. He was then stay-
ing at a transit hostel of the British Council. He seemed a little bewildered by the change of environment, and spent most of his time in the company of other East African students. He had already been to Hans Crescent, and had spoken to some of the Colonial students who live there. These had complained about their difficulties in this country, but he did not anticipate any trouble himself: "British people will treat you with respect, if they see that you are well-mannered and educated".

This man was interviewed a second time when he had been in England for just over three months. On this occasion, he was on a short holiday in London. He appeared to be quite happy at the provincial university where he is staying, and said that he had made several friends. Most of these were Colonial students, and some have complained about prejudice. But in general, they appeared to get on well with the local population. He does not deny the existence of prejudice in this country, but feels that some students are "unreasonable in what they expect of British people".

He spends much of his leisure in reading, and in talking to other students. Occasionally he goes to a cinema, and he has been to one or two socials and parties organised by the British Council.
He has not been out with any English girls, and has no wish to do so. He points out that he is married, and in any case, he feels that "such friendships can only lead to trouble". So far, he has enjoyed his stay. His attitude to English people does not seem to have greatly changed. He is a little disappointed because people here seem to behave less "like gentlemen" than he had expected, and in this respect they compare unfavourably with Tanganyika Europeans. He showed concern with recent developments in Kenya, and feared that the situation there might eventually affect race relations in his own country.

Comments:— Although this case study does not really fall within the scope of this study, it has been included because of its intrinsic interest.

At the time of his first interview, this student had been in England for only a few days. His statements then show clearly how his expectations of life in England were conditioned mainly by his knowledge of Europeans in his own country. His subsequent experiences do not seem to have altered his attitudes to any considerable extent. But it should be pointed out that, as he is studying at a small provincial university, he has undoubtedly been able to avoid many of the difficulties associated with Colonial student life in London.
A Mauritius (Indo-Mauritian) student of law, twenty-six years of age, who has been in this country for over four years. He is the eldest of a family of three brothers and sisters, and both his parents are alive. His father is a businessman, who has been able to provide his family with a fairly high standard of living.

He was educated at a Church of England primary school for boys, and later went to the Royal College (secondary school) at Curepipe. His primary school included representatives of all the major ethnic groups of the island, with the exception of Europeans; the secondary school included Europeans as well. Relations between the students were friendly and easy, and there was no evidence of discrimination. His circle of friends included Creoles and Chinese, as well as Indo-Mauritians. Generally speaking, friendships were based on the personal likes and dislikes of the people concerned, rather than upon any racial alignments. Relations between adults belonging to different racial groups
were similarly friendly, but did not reach the same degree of intimacy. He does not think that this was specifically due to racial prejudice. The major ethnic groups of Mauritius differ widely from each other as regards language, religion, and cultural background, and "it is only natural for people to feel more at home in the company of those with whom they have most in common". He was brought up as a Hindu, but thinks that this fact is more important culturally than in respect of religion. The language of his home is Hindi, but he speaks good English, and has an excellent knowledge of French.

On the whole, he thinks that his notions about life in this country were fairly realistic. But he was disappointed in some respects. He had expected English people to be more friendly than they had turned out to be, and he had expected them to take more interest in their Colonies.

He did not receive any official assistance on his arrival, but did not think this necessary, since he was met by some friends. During his first months in London, he stayed at a hostel for Colonial students. He enjoyed this opportunity for meeting students from over the world. Owing to the shortage of accommodation, students at this hostel are
required to leave after a certain period of time, and
the British Council helped him to find rooms in the
home of an English family in the suburbs. The peo-
ple here treated him very well, but he disliked the
long journeys to his college. For this reason, he
later moved to a furnished room in the centre of
London, and prefers this to any other arrangement.
He thinks it desirable for Colonial students to live
with a family for part of their stay in London, as
this enables them to get to know English people.
But from the point of view of economy and conven-
ience, living in rooms is to be preferred. He does
not think that hostel accommodation is particularly
suitable for Colonial students, as it does not give
them much opportunity for meeting English people.

His courses at the Inns of Court have dis-
appointed him in several respects. He had expected
more help in the way of tuition, and says that it is
difficult to see that his courses gave him anything
that could not equally well have been obtained by
means of private study. He also does not think
that his courses have really qualified him for a
legal career in his own country, because Mauritian
law is largely based on the Code Napoleon, and
differs in many respects from English law. But he
says that he may be a little unfair in these complaints, because he has never really liked the idea of a legal career, and hopes to take up medical studies at some future date. He also admits that the Inns of Court can hardly be expected to make special provisions for Mauritian students. The best solution to this problem, he feels, is for a greater number of students to go to France, in preference to this country. This would have other advantages as well. Mauritian students usually have a better knowledge of French than of English, and "they feel more at home in France".

He has been to France on several occasions, and has enjoyed his visits very much. He feels that Mauritian students who go to France are much better off than those who come here, not only because of the reasons already mentioned, but because "Paris is much more of a genuine University centre than is London".

He has not encountered any definite instances of prejudice during his stay here, but thinks that some of his experiences, such as being refused dances, may be traced to this cause. But on the whole, he does not think that English people are particularly prejudiced, and his main complaint
concerns their "stand-offishness". He is usually taken for an Indian, and since he has found that the majority of the people he has met have never heard of Mauritius, he does not usually bother to correct this misconception.

He has been friendly with a number of European girls. He does not think it reasonable to expect Colonial students not to want to have women friends during their stay in this country. He has not experienced much difficulty in this respect, but all of his girl friends have been from the continent of Europe. He does not think that it would be easy for him to make the acquaintance of an English girl, especially if she belonged to an upper-class family.

He has never had any difficulties in making friends, either at home or in this country. Most of his friends here are Indians, or fellow-students from Mauritius. He has helped to found the Mauritian Students' Union in London, and is a very active member of that organisation. He thinks that the Union will have an important part to play, not only in making things easier for Mauritian students in England, but in creating a greater unity among the different ethnic groups of the island. He feels that Mauritian students, as a result of
their stay, become more willing to co-operate with each other on equal terms. Life abroad has shown them that, in spite of all their differences, they have a great deal in common. Many students also become interested in politics during their stay in London, and he thinks that most of them are in sympathy with the Labour point of view. The creation of an ideology capable of transcending cultural and religious barriers may be of great importance in establishing a greater measure of unity among educated people in Mauritius.

Case Study 22

A Mauritian (General Population,¹ Creole), student of law, thirty-eight years of age. His father is employed in the sugar industry of the island. He has two sisters, both of whom are married. He is of mixed European and African descent, but is very lightly coloured, and is sometimes mistaken for a Southern European.

He was educated at a Catholic elementary

¹This term is commonly used to designate the population of Mauritius other than its Indian and Chinese elements, i.e. it refers to descendants of Africans, Europeans and Malagasy.
school for boys, and later went to a private secondary school, where he obtained his School Certificate. Both of these schools included members of all the major ethnic communities of the island. He thinks that race relations in his colony are "fairly good", but says that there is comparatively little contact between the different communities. Their cultural, religious, and linguistic differences are too great. He believes that the Indian element is particularly difficult to assimilate, and that it has not shown much inclination to do so. The purely European element of the population, the descendants of French settlers, tend to despise the coloured people, as well as the Indians. But this prejudice is intimately tied up with the economic and social distinctions of the island, and cannot be regarded as specifically racial. The physical appearance of the "general population" is convincing proof that a great many inter-marriages must have occurred in the past.

He feels that his early notions about life in this country were fairly correct, but he had expected English people to be friendlier. He has spent four weeks in France during the summer vacation, and has felt much more "at home" in that country. There are several reasons for this. He is
used to a French-speaking environment, and was brought up as a Catholic. He also thinks that French people are more interested in meeting strangers than are the English, and that Mauritian students are happier in France for that reason.

He likes his courses at the Inns of Court, and has made good progress in his studies. But he is worried about the prospects of employment in Mauritius, as large numbers of students have qualified for a legal career. "There will soon be more lawyers than crooks in Mauritius". A number of his friends have emigrated to Madagascar, and to various countries in South-East Asia, and he thinks that he might have to follow their example.

He has not encountered any racial prejudice during his stay in London, but points out that this may be due to his light skin colour, which means that he is often mistaken for a Southern European. He does not know whether a darker-skinned Mauritian would have trouble in this respect, but his general impression is that Mauritians do not have much difficulty. Few are of markedly Negroid appearance, and, coming from a multi-racial environment, "they are used to getting on with people of other races".

He believes that Mauritian students should
work for a greater measure of autonomy for their country, but that it should remain within the Commonwealth. In view of the size of the colony, he does not think it possible for Mauritius to be wholly independent. Moreover, in the absence of links with a powerful state, the Indian element, which already outnumbers all other groups, might be able to put the country under their control. His main complaint, in respect of British policy, is that the Colonial Office is inclined to be arbitrary in their dealing with Mauritian students. He has also heard it said that British officials try to influence the political opinions of Colonial students, and attempt to "keep an eye" on them. He thinks this wrong, for students should be given every opportunity to hear all points of view, and should have "a chance to make up their own minds".

Comments:— On the whole, Mauritians appear to have little difficulty in accommodating themselves to life in this country. In contrast to some other groups of students, they have not learned to regard England as their "Mother Country"; and they do not seem influenced by strong nationalist sentiments. If they look abroad, it is to India or to France, rather than towards this country. In
consequence, they do not feel themselves to be "rejected" by English people, and do not complain of any great feeling of "disappointment". There is some evidence that life in England tends to promote a greater sense of national unity among them, but there is no way of telling whether this is strong enough to survive later experiences on their return.

VI. MALAYA

Case Study 23

A Malay\(^1\) student of law, twenty-five years of age, who has been in this country since 1947. His father is a Civil Servant. He comes of a prosperous family, and his father has supported him financially during the entire period of his education.

He has two sisters, both of whom are married.

\(^1\)This term is commonly used to describe persons who, by reason of their linguistic, cultural, and racial affiliations, belong to the Malay people. The term "Malayan" is a political concept, and is applied to all persons resident in Malaya; thus it includes, for example, Indian and Chinese residents of Malaya.
His parents have also adopted two children of Chinese parentage, a boy and a girl, and these have been brought up as part of the family. He has always looked upon these as "brother and sister", and has never felt them to belong to a different "race" to his own. He says that the practice of adopting Chinese children was, until recently, fairly common in his country. It was prompted, to a large extent, by religious reasons. Adopted children were brought up as Muslims, and came to regard themselves as part of the Malay people.

He was educated at a Malay vernacular school, and later attended a government secondary school where he obtained his School Certificate. The first of these schools catered exclusively for Malay pupils. Instruction was given in subjects such as Malay language and literature, and the teaching had a strong Islamic background. Pupils at his secondary school included members of all the Malayan communities, with the exception of Europeans. The students got on well with each other, and friendships often cut across linguistic and cultural barriers.

He had few contacts with Europeans before he came to England, and did not know any of them
intimately. He does not think that there is anything like a "colour bar" in Malaya. Europeans who tend to look down upon the "Natives" do so primarily for social and economic reasons. But in general, British and Malays have tended to get on well with each other. He feels that the good relationships between the two groups partly reflects a lack of interest in political affairs among the Malays.

His early notions about life in this country have been fairly realistic. At first, he was rather disappointed by the physical appearance of London, which impressed him as dirty and drab. English people struck him as cold and reserved, and they did not seem to be interested in meeting people from overseas. But he thinks that this view, in the light of further experiences, was excessively pessimistic.

He did not expect to find anything in the nature of a "colour bar" in this country, and his own experiences did not disappoint him in this respect. Many African students have complained to him about prejudice, but he has not personally been troubled on this account. Most of the Malayan students that he has met appear to have had little
difficulty in adjusting to life in this country.

He has liked his courses at the Inns of Court, and has not had any difficulties with his studies. His only complaint is that he had expected to receive more help as regards tuition. He has recently passed his Bar Finals, and will shortly return to Malaya.

During his first year in London he stayed at a Bloomsbury hotel, and found this very convenient because of its central position. But the hotel proved too expensive, and he moved to the house of an English family in the suburbs, to whom he had been recommended by a mutual friend. His new landlady was very pleasant, and he says that she has treated him "as if she were his own mother". His only complaint in respect of his accommodation refers to the long daily journeys which it has involved.

He has not taken much part in the social life of his Inns of Court. The facilities offered are very limited, anyway, and his main interests lie elsewhere. He has become very interested in political affairs during his stay, and has taken a prominent part in the activities of the Malay Society of Great Britain. The present policies of this
organisation bear the stamp of his influence. He has constantly advocated a conciliatory and tolerant attitude towards the Chinese community in Malaya, and feels that all groups must co-operate on equal terms, if independence is to be attained.

He has advocated these views in "Suara Merdeka", the periodical published by Malay Forum, and has often defended them in discussion. He has given talks and lectures on Malayan topics to various other organisations, many of them connected with the Labour Party. He says that he has been much influenced by Socialist teachings since coming to this country, and he is now a convinced supporter of the Labour view. He believes that Socialism has much to offer to the peoples of Malaya, since it might serve to bridge their cultural and economic differences. He feels that Socialist principles are not as alien to the Malay people as one might suppose at first sight, since "they are clearly reflected in the ethical teaching of Islam".

His political activities have brought him into contact with a great many British people, and most of his friends have been made in this way.

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1 An organisation of Malayans in this country.
He has spent a number of week-ends in the homes of English people, both in London and in the provinces.

He has not known many girls during his stay in this country, but he has been very friendly with an English girl for over two years. But he would not like to marry an Englishwoman, because of the social difficulties involved. His parents would also strongly object to such a union.

He feels that he has greatly benefited from his stay in this country, and that as many Malayan students as possible should come here for study. He does not think that the University of Singapore can be regarded as an adequate substitute in this respect. Academic studies should only form part of the education of Malayan students. More important, even, is the fact that life in this country teaches them to "stand on their own feet" and to "learn to think independently".

He regards himself as definitely more favourably disposed towards this country as the result of his stay. He has found English people to be much more likeable than he had expected, and thinks that they are of a better type than those who have settled in the Colonies. He feels that there are many admirable features about the British
way of life — tolerance, freedom, a respect for the individual, the idea of a "Welfare State" — which Malayans should try to introduce into their own country. The difficulty, as he sees it, is that Colonial officials tend to be out of touch with public opinion in England, and do not always fully support the policy of their own government.

He is strongly critical of colonialism and feels that Malaya should be given independence at the earliest possible time. He admits that the present emergency prevents rapid developments in this respect, and agrees that the first task must be to restore order. But he thinks that the emergency has been used as an excuse to retard political change, and that the freedom of the individual has been restricted to a much greater extent than is generally realised by people in this country. He also suspects that the authorities try to "keep an eye" on Malayan students in this country. Many of them, for example, would be reluctant to attend Communist Party meetings for fear of unpleasant consequences. Although he is personally opposed to Communism, he regards this state of affairs as deplorable. "Students should have every chance to make up their own minds". 
He thinks that differences between the Malay and Chinese communities have been exaggerated, if not encouraged, by ruling circles in England. They are used to keep Malaya in a position of servitude. Malay hostility to the Chinese is largely due to differences in the living standards of the two peoples, but even these are not as great as is generally thought. The key to unity in Malaya lies in raising the standard of living of the whole population. This will help to develop attitudes of tolerance on all sides.

He would like to see Malaya retain some links with the Commonwealth, but this will depend primarily on the future policies of this country, not only in Asia, but in other parts of the world as well. "Good intentions will remain unconvincing while the attitude of the British Government towards the Malan regime, for example, remains as it is at present. Compromise in these matters is not only immoral but, in the long run, it is likely to be inexpedient".

Comments:— This is one of the comparatively few students who are definitely more sympathetic towards this country as the result of their stay. This student seems to have had very little
difficulty in adjusting himself to life in this country. In general, it may be said that Malayan students seem to find this much easier than Africans. One of the reasons for this may lie in the fact that the gap between their expectations and their experiences of life in England tends to be less pronounced.

But the experiences of this particular student are probably exceptionally favourable. He makes the impression of a highly intelligent and very likeable person, and would have little difficulty in adjusting himself to any environment.

Case Study 24

A Malayan (Tamil) student of economics, twenty-seven years of age, who has been in this country for over four years. He is the only son of a prosperous merchant, and his father has financed his studies.

He was born in a small town in the north of Malaya, and has lived there for most of his life. He was educated at a local primary school, and later at a secondary school, where he reached School
Certificate standard. The secondary school catered for pupils of all races, but there were no Europeans among the students. He got on well with the other students well enough, but had few friends outside his own family circle. He had no contacts with Europeans before he came to England, and makes the point that his most formative years were covered by the period of the Japanese occupation.

He cannot remember exactly what sort of ideas he had about life in this country. On the whole, he does not feel disappointed in any way by his experiences, but at the beginning of his stay he felt "very lonely and lost".

On his arrival in London, he found rooms at a private hotel near Russell Square, the address of which he had obtained from another student. This hotel was not too clean. It was badly heated, and during the winter he suffered from the cold. The place was also very expensive, and after paying for food and accommodation, he had little money left for other expenses. Nevertheless, he spent several months at this hotel, and only moved after some of his suits and other belongings had been stolen. He later found a furnished room elsewhere, but this also was rather unsatisfactory. His land-
lady did not seem to be a very nice person, and on one occasion "she made a row" because he had cooked himself a dish of curry, and, as she claimed, "was stinking the whole house out".

Despite these disadvantages, he did not care for the idea of moving until he was able to obtain a place in a hostel. This hostel catered for overseas students, mainly from Canada, Australia, and the other "White" Dominions, but there were a few coloured students as well. He found this hostel very comfortable, although rather expensive by the usual hostel standards. There was only one African among the residents, and some of the other students appeared to resent him. He was sorry for this man, but thinks that he was partly to blame for his difficulties, as he was rather aggressive and always insisted on equality of treatment. Personally, he had no difficulties with the white residents, although he has not made any friends among them. He has no complaints regarding his treatment: "as long as a person does not actually hit me, he is already a God in my eyes". The only trouble he has had concerns a Pakistani student, who contrived to kick him on a certain occasion. He is convinced that this "kick" was no accident,
as the Pakistani tried to make out, but that it was prompted "by the dislike of all Hindus that this Muslim was sure to feel".

He takes no part in the social life of his college. He has found his courses so difficult that he has had to spend all his spare time in study, and only very rarely goes out in the evening. On these occasions he goes to the cinema, either by himself, or in the company of an Indian friend.

He has not been to any dances, and has not as much as spoken to an English girl. He does not mind about this, as he feels that his only purpose in coming to London was to study, and that he should not allow himself to be distracted from this purpose. He has not taken part in the various activities organised by the British Council, but has been to Malaya Hall\(^1\) on one or two occasions. He has not joined any of the Malayan students' organisations, and has little contact with other Malayan students. Many of them seem to him to be "rough and aggressive", and he thinks that they are too interested in dances and in making the acquaintance of girls. This sort of thing is to be condemned, he says, because it may lead to trouble with English people:

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\(^1\)A centre for Malayan students in London.
"Overseas students should remember that they are here only as guests." He would not marry any but a Hindu girl, because the cultural and religious differences would otherwise be too great. He has asked his parents to find him a wife, and hopes to get married on his return.

He does not feel that his attitude towards this country has altered in any important respect. During the early part of his stay, he was rather shocked by the "immoral" behaviour of English women, who impressed him as "very forward". The main difference between Malaya and England, he says, is the absence of a strong family life in this country. He was also surprised by the comparative lack of religious life. His father is a pious Hindu, and he was brought up in the same faith.

Since coming to England, he has taken a greater interest in politics, and has listened to political debates and discussions. But he stresses the need for caution in this respect: "it is very easy to make enemies". He would like to see a greater measure of autonomy for Malaya, but does not think that the future of that country is promising.

He is very interested in Indian history,
and in the Hind civilization generally, and would like to visit all the countries to which Indians have migrated. He thinks that the Indian residents in Malaya should be loyal citizens of their adopted country, but that they should try to preserve their cultural identity.

He looks forward to returning to Malaya, and wishes to finish his studies as soon as possible. Unfortunately, he has recently had a "nervous breakdown", and his doctor has advised him to take a complete rest. He is rather concerned about this, as he does not think that he will now be able to finish his studies in the time intended. Moreover, he is now greatly troubled by the cold weather, and at the time of the interview (November 1952) he was making plans for a prolonged stay in the Channel Islands. He had heard that the climate there was appreciably warmer than in London.

Comments:— This case study illustrates the many differences in the experience of individual students. In some ways, it is the complete antithesis of the previous study. This student appears to have led a very solitary life during most of his stay. He says that he has not minded about this, as he was "only interested in his work".
His account of life in London undoubtedly points to certain tendencies towards solitude and withdrawal, and this seems supported by the story of his subsequent "nervous breakdown". The available evidence does not allow one to say whether these tendencies have been greatly affected by his stay in England.

Case Study 25

A Malayan (Chinese) law student, twenty-eight years of age, who has been in this country for over two years. He has long been interested in political questions, and decided upon the study of law because he thought that it would qualify him for a career in public life. However, he feels that his courses have not been very helpful from this point of view, and he regrets not having studied political or social science instead.

His experience of life in England does not differ very much from what he had expected. On his arrival, he stayed at a hotel. Later, he obtained the address of an English family from the British Council, and found a furnished room in the suburbs. This experiment was not very successful,
as his landlady was too inclined to "run his life for him". She did not allow him to have visitors, and complained if he came in late at night. She seemed to labour under the delusion that she was doing him a great favour by letting rooms, and often claimed that she was "not making any profit out of her lodgers". In reality, her charges were higher than is usually the case. In the end, he could stand her no longer, and found a furnished room elsewhere. He is satisfied with his present accommodation.

He has many acquaintances among the students of his college. Most of his closest friends come from Malaya or from other Asian countries, and he has not made any close friends among English people. He does not think it desirable for students to abstain from sexual relations during their stay here, and feels that the comparative freedom, in this matter, is one of the attractions of life in England. He has not had any difficulty in finding girl friends, and has used the British Council for this purpose.

He spends much of his leisure in going to political meetings and discussions, particularly when these involve Malayan or other Asian affairs.
He has joined the Malayan Students' Union, but is not an active member. His opinion of that organisation is not very high, since he objects to its "mealy-mouthed attitude on Malayan affairs". He feels that a great many of the Malayan Chinese students he has met in this country do not appear to take sufficient interest in politics: "they mostly come from a bourgeois background".

He describes himself as a "Left-wing Socialist", and would like to see the establishment of an independent socialist republic in Malaya. He does not think that his country should retain any links with the Commonwealth. This is not because he is anti-British, but because Malaya should do her utmost to maintain an attitude of neutrality in the present conflict between Communism and the West. He has been to political meetings of all parties, and has been impressed by the enthusiasm of the Communists. But he objects to the dogmatic character of their teachings, and has been disturbed by the recent political trials in China.

While he does not support the Malayan insurgents, he feels that there is much justice in their cause. They were the only people to offer any real resistance to the Japanese. "Politically
conscious people did not think that the end of the war would merely bring back the old Colonial administration". He also feels that the Malayan authorities have "made the emergency an excuse for retarding political reform, and for obstructing the policies of their own government".

He is glad to have had the chance to study in England because this has given him the opportunity of listening to many different points of view. As many students as possible should be given the same chance. But he thinks it important to make sure that they are genuinely left to "make up their own minds", and that they are not subject to pressure from official sources.

He does not feel that his stay has greatly affected his attitude towards this country. He is well disposed towards English people and says that they "compare very favourably with Europeans in the East".

Comments:— This case-study is given because of its intrinsic interest and should not be regarded as in any way representative of Chinese Malayan students in general. In accordance with his wishes, all details which might lead to this student's identification have been omitted from this account.
Case Study 26

A Malayan (Chinese) student of domestic science, twenty-six years of age. Her father is a prosperous business man, who is financing her stay in this country. She has a brother, who is working in his father's firm, and a sister, who has recently married.

She was educated at a Catholic Convent school for girls. Most of her teachers were Europeans, mainly Irish nuns. The pupils included representatives of all Malayan races. She was brought up as a Catholic, and has retained her religious faith. The girls at her school got on well with each other, and she is certain that there was never anything that could be called discrimination on the part of the European staff.

With the exception of her teachers, she did not know any Europeans before coming to London. Her early notions about life here seem rather vague, but she does not feel disappointed by her experiences. During the early part of her stay, she felt "rather bewildered", but she thinks that she has now settled down well to life in this country. She has found that her knowledge of the English
language, despite her years at the convent, was much poorer than she had realised, and she had some difficulty on this account.

She spent the first few weeks of her stay at a hostel for women students. There were many Colonial students among the residents, and she made friends with several girls from Malaya, as well as from other Asian countries. At the present time, she is sharing a flat with two other Malayan Chinese girls, and she prefers this arrangement because it is cheaper, and because she did not like the food at the hostel. But she thinks it a good plan for new arrivals to stay there, because this is the best and easiest way of making friends.

She is taking courses in domestic science, but is not really very interested in this subject. She had taken it up mainly because of her lack of educational qualifications. She would like to study medicine, and is trying to persuade her father to allow her to do this.

She does not have any men friends "because there are comparatively few Malayan students in London". She would not like to go out with English-men, because "this might lead to misunderstandings". She thinks that relations between the sexes are much
easier-going here than they are in her own country, and says that she would not like to be friendly with a man of whom her parents would not approve.

She has been to dances at various London colleges, in the company of women friends, but has rarely been asked for a dance. She thinks that this may be due to race prejudice. She has an African friend, who is never asked to dance at all. On the other hand, she admits that she has never learned to dance, and this may account for her lack of popularity. She has also been on a British Council Vacation Course in the West Country, and has enjoyed this very much. The course included students from most of the Colonies, as well as one or two Europeans, and they all seemed to get on with each other very well.

Apart from her lack of popularity at dances, she has not had any experiences that might be ascribed to prejudice. She does not think that students from Malaya have much difficulty, and she thinks that they are definitely better off than Africans. "English people are more prejudiced against Africans because they are less well-mannered and less attractive physically than we are". She says that she has no prejudices herself, and she has been friendly
with one or two African girls. But African men have struck her as rather "crude and aggressive", and she cannot help feeling that they are "primitive".

She is not much interested in politics, but would like to see a greater measure of self-government for Malaya. She believes that all Malayan communities should co-operate for the good of their country. She likes the Malay people, and does not see any reason why Chinese and Malays should not live together in peace. The only trouble, according to her, is that the Malays tend to be lazy and easy-going, and this has made them envious of their more energetic Chinese neighbours. She is strongly opposed to Communism, mainly upon religious grounds, and is convinced that the Malayan insurgents have the support of only a very small fraction of the population.
VII. CYPRUS

Case Study 27

A Cypriot (Turkish) student of law, twenty-five years of age. His father is a prosperous farmer, but as the family is a large one -- he has five brothers -- his father has been able to give him only limited financial assistance. Both of his parents are still alive.

He began his education at the age of four, when he went to a primary, and then to an elementary school in Cyprus. Both of these schools only catered for (Cypriot) Turkish pupils, and the emphasis of the teaching was on Turkish language and the Islamic religion. At the age of thirteen he transferred to the English school (secondary school) at Nicosia, and subsequently obtained his School Certificate. The majority of the pupils here were Cypriot Greeks, and there were Jews and Armenians as well. He got on well with the other students, and had a large number of friends. Students belonging to different ethnic groups mixed easily with each other, and he remembers being invited to
the home of Greek friends on many occasions. In general, friendships depended on personal factors, and not on cultural and ethnic affiliations. The only exception to this consisted of the Armenians. He did not have any friends among them, and thinks that Turks and Armenians deliberately kept apart. The reason lies in the traditional enmity of the two peoples.

On the whole, he thinks that relations between the various communities of Cyprus are good, although adults belonging to different groups do not mix as readily as their children. There is little inter-ethnic marriage. He does not think that there is anything in the nature of "racial" hostility in the island. There is little difference in the physical appearance of Turks and Greeks, and differences between the two are regarded as the result of cultural and religious, and not of racial factors. If one can speak of racial prejudice at all, it lies in the behaviour of certain British officials and tourists towards the "Natives". There are not many British people in the island, however, and they tend to keep apart. Cypriots regard them as rather "cold, inhuman and reserved".

On leaving school, he obtained a job with
the British Council, and worked there for several months. He was glad of this opportunity to increase his knowledge of English, and the work was well-paid. He got to know one or two English girls at this time, but his relationship with them appears to have been "platonic". He lays great stress on the much stricter sexual morals of the island, as compared to this country, and says that it is impossible to meet girls on a casual basis. People tend to get married at a younger age than is the case here. Another sexual outlet consists of the many night clubs and brothels of the colony, many of which include European, non-Cypriot, women among their staff.

As a result of his good knowledge of the English language, he later obtained a job as an interpreter at a Western Embassy in Ankara. The work was very well paid, and he was able to save a good part of his salary. In other respects he was rather disappointed. Contrary to his expectations, he found that the Turkish population regarded him as a foreigner, and he did not have many friends among them. The job did not seem to offer much opportunity for advancement, and he decided to come to London to read for a career at the Bar.
His early notions about life in this country do not seem to have been very clear. On the whole, he feels that he has been pleasantly surprised by his experiences in London. He had thought the English to be very "cold and reserved", but has found that people here are more accessible than British residents in Cyprus. He had also heard that people in this country were practically starving -- the result, apparently, of somewhat imaginative accounts of English travellers -- and was surprised by the comparatively high standard of living enjoyed by people in England.

He was welcomed by some Cypriot friends on his arrival, and they helped him to find accommodation. During the first few weeks of his stay he lived at a small hotel, but found this too expensive. He had saved a fairly considerable sum of money during his stay in Ankara, and used this to buy a small house in Camden Town. He has sub-let a number of rooms to Cypriot and other foreign students, and in this way he not only lives rent-free, but even makes a small weekly profit. He is hoping to acquire another house in the near future.

He has made good progress in his studies, and is satisfied with his courses at the Inns of
Court. He has found English students to be courteous and helpful, but thinks that they tend to keep themselves apart. Most of his friends in London consist of his own countrymen. Not all of them are students. There is a large community of Cypriots permanently settled in this country, and he has made a number of friends and acquaintances among them. He is a very active member of the Turkish Cypriot Association in London, and is one of the leading officers of this club.

His only real contacts with Londoners appear to consist of a number of girl friends that he has made during his stay. He says that when he first came to London, he was very attracted to English women, who appear to have a certain prestige, in respect of looks and sexual accomplishment, among people from his colony. His girl-friends have all been of working-class origin. He has not minded about this, as he says that he only wanted to make friends "on a purely temporary basis".

When he had been in this country for just over a year, he wrote to his father, asking him to find him a wife. He returned to Cyprus for this purpose, and later brought his wife back to London. He had not seen his bride before their wedding, but
has found her to his liking, and the marriage seems to be happy. On the whole, he thinks that this system of marriage is preferable to the English one, since, "in marriage, suitability and background are more important than looks and sexual attraction". He would not have liked to have married any but a Cypriot Turkish girl, since cultural and religious differences would otherwise have made a happy marriage difficult. Sexually, he feels himself attracted to English women, but he thinks that they are "too free and easy" and would not make good wives. "Sex should not be the only consideration in marriage".

He has not had any particular difficulties during his stay in London, and has not met with hostility on racial grounds. He has known a number of coloured students, and thinks that these have had more difficulty in adapting themselves. On the other hand, he does not think that English people of the upper classes are willing to treat Cypriots as their equals. Most of his friends have the same impression, but he feels that Greek Cypriots are better off in this respect. "English people think that the Greeks have had an ancient civilization, but tend to regard us as barbarians". At the
same time, he thinks that it is the Greek element among Cypriot settlers in this country who sometimes fall foul of the law, and thus "give Cypriots a bad name among the English".

He does not know whether he will return to Cyprus on finishing his studies. He may decide to settle in London, as he believes that England offers greater economic opportunities. He thinks that he might be able to become the "official lawyer" of the Cypriot community in London, and this, together with his other enterprises, should enable him to save a considerable sum of money with which to settle in Cyprus on his eventual return.

He is not greatly interested in the political future of his colony. On the one hand, he tends to resent its "Colonial" status, which he thinks "more suitable for Africa"; on the other hand, he feels that there are certain economic benefits in the present position. He would strongly oppose any ideas of union with Greece. If the political status of the island is to be changed, it should go to Turkey, with a measure of autonomy for the Greek majority among its population.

Comments: This student does not appear to have had much difficulty in adjusting himself to life in this country. Part of the reason for
this probably lies in the physical appearance of Cypriot students, which approaches to the English norm more closely than is the case with coloured students. But it is also significant that the desire of Cypriot students to participate in the life of the English community appears to be more restricted than is the case with certain other students. They are less liable to disappointment on this account. The Cypriot community in London, also, is sufficiently large and varied to allow a considerably measure of social contact. Differences of social status between permanent residents and students are not nearly as great as is the case with African and West Indian students. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this student complains of a certain amount of prejudice, and does not feel himself to be accepted as an equal by people in this country.

Case Study 28

A Cypriot (Turkish) student of engineering, twenty-four years of age. He is the eldest of a family of three brothers, and both his parents are
still alive. His father is a clerk in the Civil Service, and has contributed towards the cost of his studies.

He was born in a small village in a rural district of Cyprus. This village has a population of only about nine hundred people, mostly small peasant farmers. Nearly all of them are Turkish, and most are connected by kinship ties. There is a social and cultural club, serving as a general centre for the village, and this, apart from visits to friends and neighbours, provides the main opportunity for recreation.

He was educated at a (Cypriot) Turkish elementary school, and later continued his education at the American Academy (secondary school) at Lanarka. The first of these schools catered for Turkish pupils only, and emphasis was placed on the Turkish language, as well as on the teachings of Islam. The secondary school included pupils of all the ethnic groups to be found in the island, and catered for girls as well as for boys. This school had a hostel for boys in Lanarka, and he mixed freely with members of his own community. Although the school was co-educational, the sexes tended to keep apart.
On leaving school, he obtained a job with a well-known firm of engineers. There he first came into close contact with people from this country. He liked his work, but, in view of his lack of technical qualifications, there seemed to be little opportunity for advancement. He accordingly decided to come to England to study engineering, and obtained his father's support for this plan.

On his arrival, he stayed at a hotel, for a few days, and later moved to a furnished room in Paddington. He did not stay there very long, as the place was very dirty and neglected, and he did not get on with his landlady. On one occasion, returning home late at night, he found her waiting up for him in order to give him notice to quit. She had complained about his using the bathroom too often -- she was of the opinion that "one bath a week was enough" -- and answered his objections with the argument that "only rotten, dirty foreigners need to wash all the time".

He had considerable difficulty in finding other lodgings, and is convinced that this is partly due to the anti-foreign prejudice of British people. Many of them, especially among the lower classes, tend to despise all foreigners, and espec-
ially those with a darker skin. On some occasions he had phoned up about a room, only to be told that it had "already been taken" on his arrival. On one or two occasions, landladies did not even trouble to lie, but merely made some remarks about "furriners", and slammed the door in his face. He sometimes answered them with abuse. He says that this may not be good manners, but it helped to soothe his feelings, and he does not see "why these hags should get away with their nonsense". Eventually, he appealed for help to the British Council, and found rooms in the house of an English family in the suburbs. The people there have treated him very well, and have done everything to make him feel at home. He thinks that his experiences there are largely responsible for his general attitude towards English people, which is favourable.

During his first year in London he had much difficulty in finding a girl friend, and was sometimes refused dances at public dance halls. He believes that English girls of the upper classes do not like foreigners. But he is not worried about this, as he intends to find a wife on his return to his own country.
Comments:— The experiences of this student in regard to prejudice are interesting. He is obviously "European" in appearance, although clearly not of English descent. His account of experiences in London supports the assumption that prejudice is not directed against coloured students alone.

Case Study 29

A Cypriot (Greek) student of commerce, twenty-four years of age, who has been in this country for over two years. He has two brothers, both of whom are younger than himself. His father is a small restaurant proprietor, who has been settled in London for a number of years.

He was born in a small country town, and educated at a local elementary school. This school catered only for Greek pupils, and instruction was given in the Greek language. He later transferred to a secondary school which included members of all the ethnic communities of the island. The students mixed freely with each other, and he has never experienced any difficulties in making friends. He describes relations among the various
communities of Cyprus as "very good" and thinks that any tensions between them must be attributed to political factors.

On leaving school, he obtained a series of purely temporary jobs. By this time, his parents had already moved to London, and he expected to follow them shortly. He had long been interested in psychology, and hoped to read for a degree in this subject. His father objected on the ground that it was very difficult to find employment in this line of work, and persuaded him to take up dentistry instead. At this time, his father was making a fair amount of money, and was able to support him. However, some months after his arrival, his father suddenly went bankrupt, and was no longer able to help him in his career. This meant that his studies had to be abandoned, and he is at present taking courses in short-hand and typing at a commercial college, hoping to find employment at the earliest possible time.

He has not made any friends among people in this country, and says that English students at his college clearly "look down" on foreigners. His friends are all members of the Greek and Cypriot communities in London, but he knows a number of other foreigners as well.
After he had been in this country for some months, he became friendly with a young English nurse, who appears to have fallen in love with him. After some time, this girl gave up her job, helped him to find a flat, and came to live with him. He says that he was very fond of this girl, and hoped to marry her. But her father objected to the marriage strongly, and she was not old enough to act independently. The girl later became pregnant, and has since given birth to a child. She wanted the baby to be adopted, but he objected to this, and the child is being cared for by his mother. During this period, also, he found that the girl had been unfaithful to him on several occasions, and their friendship broke up after much bitterness.

This experience has made him rather unhappy, and has tended to make him bitter about life in England generally. Although his parents are permanently settled here, he has decided to return to Cyprus. He feels that in this country he will always be treated as a foreigner and an inferior.

A recent incident at the commercial college where he is studying has confirmed him in this attitude. This college includes a majority of girls, most of them quite young, among the students.
On one occasion, a West African friend of his passed a note to one of the girls in the course of a lecture, asking her if she would meet him. The girl in question took offence, and complained to the headmaster. This man appears to have taken a rather dramatic view of the incident. He called all coloured and foreign students together, and informed them that "he would not stand for any of their tricks at his college". British students were carefully excluded from this occasion, and it was plain that the headmaster regarded all foreigners potentially troublesome. He said that he was himself "extremely tolerant" and that he had always worked for the "improvement of international relations", but he was determined to "stamp out immorality", and promised to see that the West African student concerned "would be deported from this country, and that he would never be allowed to return".

In general, this student feels that his attitude towards England has become less favourable as a result of his experiences. He is not much interested in politics, but resents the "colonial status" of Cyprus. He thinks that the country should be united with Greece, while retaining a certain measure of independence.
PORTUGAL

Case Study 30

A Portuguese student of electrical engineering, twenty-five years of age, who has been in this country for over three years. He has two brothers, one of whom is reading law at a Portuguese university, and a sister who is married. His father is a veterinary surgeon in the government service of Portuguese East Africa, and has lived in that country for many years.

He was born in a small Portuguese country town, but owing to his father's profession, the family moved to Mozambique during his early childhood. He has lived in Portuguese Africa for most of his life. He was educated at a government primary school at Laurenco Marques, and later moved to a secondary school where he remained until the age of seventeen. The first of these schools was very small, and had only one teacher. Most of the pupils were Portuguese, but there were one or two Africans, and a number of Indians as well. The racial distribution of the pupils was very similar in his secondary school, but here there were several
teachers, one of them an Indian from Goa. The students got on well with each other, and he remembers that he was particularly friendly with one of the Indians.

He thinks that racial relations in Mozambique compare very favourably with those of certain British colonies. It cannot be denied that there is a certain amount of discrimination in respect of non-Europeans, but this operates in terms of social and economic position, rather than along racial lines. A well-educated and prosperous Indian, for example, will be treated in much the same way as a European. But as Europeans, with one or two rare exceptions, are much better off economically than are the Africans, it is unusual for the two groups to meet upon equal terms.

On leaving school, his parents sent him to the Union of South Africa to improve his knowledge of English. He was impressed by the differences between race relations in the Union and those in his own country. He thinks that Portuguese Africans are much happier and contented, but admits that those in the Union are better off economically. Moreover, he now thinks that the contentment of Africans in the Portuguese colonies may partly be
due to the fact that little progress has been made in respect of their education. The political organisation of the colonies also offers little opportunity for the growth of an African nationalism. Nevertheless, he feels that the assimilationist policies of the Portuguese government are to be preferred to the colonial policies of certain other countries.

During his stay in South Africa he became friendly with a young English student who encouraged him to come to this country. There are few Portuguese students in England, and his choice of London was more or less accidental. His friend arranged for his admission to a London Polytechnic, and found him a room in the boarding-house where he was staying.

His early notions about life in this country were based mainly on chance encounters with British visitors to Mozambique, and on his experiences in South Africa. In some respects his expectations did not prove to be correct. His conceptions of English people were based on a rather idealised version of the upper-class Englishman, and he was surprised by the comparatively low standard of living of some of the people of this country. He had also expected London to be a much more
beautiful city than had actually been the case. More serious disappointments refer to the field of personal relations. He thinks that the Portuguese are much more hospitable and friendly towards strangers than English people, and for the first two years of his stay he found it extremely difficult to make friends. The young Englishman he met in South Africa had by this time completed his studies, and had returned to his North-country home. He had to find new lodgings, and it proved difficult to do so. He thinks that this is partly due to the general housing shortage, but thinks that foreigners find it more difficult to obtain accommodation than English people. Some landladies appeared to become very suspicious on hearing his foreign accent, and one or two of them have told him that they "only took Britishers".

He has made few friends among Londoners, and spends most of his leisure in the company of Portuguese and other foreign students. He has not had much trouble in finding girl friends, but most of them have been of working-class origin. However, he later made friends with a very nice Polish girl, whom he has recently married. He is rather worried about this, because his parents strongly object to
this marriage. He is very fond of his wife, and is glad that he has married; but he doubts whether he would have done so as readily, if he had studied in Paris, for example, instead of in London. For he has often been very lonely and depressed during his stay here, and this had eventually affected his work. He was regarded as a rather promising student, but later had much difficulty with his examinations. Since his marriage the position has very much improved in this respect, and he has every hope of making a success of his studies.

Comments:— This account has some intrinsic interest in that it throws a certain amount of light on various aspects of race relations in a Portuguese colony. More important, from the point of view of this study, is the consideration that this man, although he is of wholly European parentage, appears to have encountered similar difficulties, although perhaps to a lesser degree, to those of Colonial students. Colour prejudice is not easily distinguishable from anti-foreign feeling in general. The other foreign (European) students who were interviewed complain of similar difficulties, although to a varying degree. The extent of their difficulties appears to be correlated with
the degree to which their physical appearance and their knowledge of the English language approximate to standards commonly accepted as "normal" by people in this country.
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