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ABSTRACT

The working party was first set up in December 1965. In the spring term of 1966 some 22 primary schools with large numbers of immigrants were visited and long discussions held with head teachers and staff. It was then decided to collect written information from all the Authority's schools containing juniors and with more than one third of their total roll, immigrants. The 52 schools surveyed included 21 junior mixed schools, 30 junior mixed and infants' schools and one junior girls and infants' school. The sample had a higher proportion of West Indian pupils than the Authority's primary schools in general. Indians, Pakistanis, and Cypriots were represented in fairly typical proportions, but the "other" immigrants were under-represented. About a third of these latter groups in the sample schools were Europeans, one-third Africans, one-fifth Guyanese and the rest from various countries. Data was obtained on year of entry to education in the United Kingdom for all immigrant pupils in the sample who were due to transfer to secondary schools in 1966. An attempt was made to see whether the data on year of entry for individual pupils show any relationship with other information about them in the "leavers schedule," and especially with attainment and verbal reasoning groups in the secondary transfer profile. (Author/JM)

ILEA 959

INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY

THE EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Report of a working party of members of the inspectorate and school psychological service

A. Introduction

1. During the last few years there has been a substantial increase in the number of immigrant pupils in primary schools, as the following table shows:

Primary (including nursery)	January 1964	September 1965	September 1966
No. of pupils on roll	233,575	232,780	236,968
No. of immigrant pupils	25,244	34,431	35,035
Percentage of immigrant pupils	10·8	14·8	14·8

Owing to changes in the definition of 'immigrant', the increase between January 1964 and September 1966 may have been slightly larger than appears; and although the percentage figures for September 1965 and September 1966 are identical, there may in fact have been a slight increase. The figures for January 1967 show a further increase to 15·8 per cent. of the primary roll.

The following table shows the increase between January 1964 and September 1965 in terms of countries of origin (data for later years are not strictly comparable in this respect):

Origin	No. of immigrant pupils in school aged under 5 to 10+				Total
	W. Indies	Cyprus	India or Pakistan	Other	
January 1964	10,871	5,646	2,393	6,334	25,244
September 1965	16,640	6,416	2,963	8,330	34,349
Percentage increase	53	13·6	24	31	36·1

The actual numbers in primary schools may be very slightly in excess of these owing to the retention of a few pupils of 11+. It will be seen that the largest percentage increase over that period was in pupils whose families came from the West Indies.

Immigrants are distributed very unevenly over the Authority's primary schools. About half the schools have fewer than 10 per cent. The rest have varying percentages up to about 68 per cent. The number of primary schools with different proportions of immigrant children in September 1966 was:

Under 10 per cent.	437	schools
10–19 per cent.	194	,,
20–29 per cent.	110	,,
30–39 per cent.	70	,,
40 per cent. and over	70	,,
	881	,,

2. There is a temptation in considering figures such as these to speak of the immigrant 'problem'. It is very natural that many teachers and social workers should see it as such, but the excessive use of this word in this context conceals the qualifications to which it must always be subject. For example, it is now becoming clear that in some under-privileged areas many immigrant children are providing a reservoir of ability which is very welcome in the secondary schools. In many primary schools, also, children of immigrant families, especially if they have had a full primary education in this country, are contributing both to the intellectual and the social quality of the school. Moreover, a multi-racial school community has educational advantages; it can be in itself an education to all its pupils, in racial toleration and in the diversity of human cultures.

It would be foolish, however, if the warm sympathy felt for the newcomers in our midst led to a denial that many of them have problems and, for this reason are problems to the schools that often welcome them so generously in their growing numbers. At best they may be 'culturally disadvantaged' in the sense that they must make some kind of adjustment between the culture of their forebears and the different culture of school and society in England. At worst, they will be 'culturally deprived', just as

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many indigenous children are also, but with the added difficulty of some degree—often very great—of linguistic handicap. To this may be added, in those not brought up here, the bewilderment of a strange country and climate, a strange school and possibly even a largely strange family.

3. The main purposes of the present inquiry can now be stated:

(*a*) An attempt is made to assess the needs and contributions of immigrant pupils in a sample of London primary schools, to ascertain the range of attainment they achieve and to relate this to their length of English schooling, to describe the steps taken by schools to assist their education and integration, and to suggest further ways in which the Authority could help the schools in this work.

(*b*) An attempt is also made to assess the attainment of non-immigrant pupils in the schools surveyed.

B. Methods of Inquiry

4. The working party, first set up in December 1965, had many meetings during the following 15 months. In the spring term 1966 some 22 primary schools (including some infants' schools) with large numbers of immigrants were visited and long discussions held with head teachers and staff and impressions gained of the standards reached by immigrant and non-immigrant pupils. As a result of these discussions and visits it was decided to collect written information from all the Authority's schools containing juniors and with more than 33⅓ per cent. of immigrant pupils on their total roll. This limitation of the survey to schools with a high percentage of immigrants calls for some caution in interpreting the results, for there can be no certainty that the immigrant population in schools and areas of high concentration is completely typical of the immigrant population of London as a whole.

The 52 schools surveyed included 21 junior mixed schools, 30 junior mixed and infants' schools and one junior girls and infants' school. The median roll was 293, with a range from 124 to 618 in January 1966. Sixteen voluntary schools were included. The sample had a rather higher proportion of West Indian pupils than the Authority's primary schools in general, Indians, Pakistanis and Cypriots were represented in fairly typical proportions, but the 'other' immigrants were rather under-represented. About a third of the 'other' immigrant group in the sample schools were Europeans, one-third Africans, one-fifth Guyanese and the rest from various countries.

5. The official Department of Education and Science definition of 'immigrant' as used in the survey and in this report includes:

(*a*) Children born outside the British Isles who have come to this country with or to join parents, other relatives or guardians whose country of origin was also abroad;

(*b*) Children born in the United Kingdom to parents whose country of origin was abroad and whose parents, to the best of the head teacher's knowledge, have not been in this country more than about ten years.

Children from Northern Ireland or Eire are excluded. Where the term 'non-immigrant' (or sometimes 'indigenous') is used in this report it is intended to cover all children in the schools surveyed who are not 'immigrants' in the terms of the above definition.

6. The survey took the form of:

(*a*) A questionnaire to be completed by head teachers;

(*b*) A 'leavers schedule' in which to tabulate information concerning every immigrant pupil due for transfer to secondary education from these schools in September 1966. The data sought included country of origin, language handicaps, year of entry to education in the United Kingdom, length of time on school register, and group in English, mathematics and verbal reasoning in the primary school profile.

7. The questionnaire and schedules were sent out on 14 June 1966 and all were returned by the end of that term. It is gratifying to record the obvious care given by head teachers and their staffs to completing the forms and the keen interest expressed by a number of them in the investigation. The main analysis of data was done by Research and Statistics Group, who tested a great number of possible relationships as well as those reported on here. The working party wishes to record its deep appreciation of the contribution made by Research and Statistics Group to the whole investigation, not only in planning, analysis and computation, but in interest and insight.

C. Age of Entry to Education in the United Kingdom

8. Some children of immigrant parents are born here, some arrive before reaching school age, but many come when already of school age and at once—sometimes within 24 hours—are placed in school. In the latter category are children entering English education at every age between rising-five and 14+,

or even later. This much is known; yet little is known of the actual pattern of entry, still less of any relationship it might show to attainment later. One of the main purposes of the survey, as it developed, was to throw light on this matter.

From discussion with head teachers it soon seemed likely that age of entry to this country was often of crucial importance. In the first place, it seemed probable that the child who is born here, or who at least has some months to settle down before entering school, has an advantage, other things being equal, over the child who arrives in this country and, within a day or two, is placed in school. For many children in this latter category this sudden transition, in itself, could be a traumatic experience. Secondly, it might be expected that those who arrive young enough to enter the infants' school would have an advantage compared with those who enter the junior or even the secondary school. It seems obvious that the later the start, the greater the educational handicap, especially if education in the country of origin has been deficient or if a new language has to be learnt. Moreover, one might expect that the longer the habituation to the country of origin, the less easy it would be to adjust to a new country and also that where there has been separation from the family, the longer this has been, the greater will be the danger of a traumatic effect on entry to this country.

9. In the light of these considerations, conjectural though they are, it was decided:

(*a*) To obtain data on year of entry to education in the United Kingdom for all immigrant pupils in the sample who were due to transfer to secondary schools in 1966. This information was included in the ' leavers schedule ' (see paragraph 6) and was, in fact, recorded for 1,038 of the 1,068 pupils due for transfer. The results are tabulated and discussed in paragraph 10.

(*b*) To see whether the data on year of entry for individual pupils show any relationship with other information about them in the leavers schedule and especially with attainment and verbal reasoning groups in the secondary transfer profile. Such relationships as were found are examined in Section L.

10. The table which follows shows for each nationality in the transfer group the percentage entering English education in each of the years shown. The table also gives an indication of the relationship between year of entry and length of primary education in the United Kingdom and age of entry to this. It will be appreciated that, although age of entry to this country and age of entry to English education will coincide at statutory school age and over, they will not necessarily do so below this age. Thus, the few children in the ' 1959 or earlier ' cohort does not mean that a good many children do not enter this country at 4+ or earlier, or that many are not born here; it merely means that at such earlier ages they did not, of course, enter school. Indeed, it is fairly certain that most of the ' 1959 or earlier ' cohort and many of the 1960 cohort will have been in this country before reaching school age. Finally, it must be remembered that data of this kind give a composite picture of the age-pattern of immigration over a number of years; they do not necessarily reflect precisely the proportions in which immigrant children are entering English education at various ages in 1967.

Country of Origin	Percentage of 1966 transfer group who entered education in U.K. in:								Total number for whom information received
	1959 or earlier	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966 (to July)	
West Indies	3	14	11	13	10	18	21	10	590
India or Pakistan	5	9	13	15	12	7	24	15	75
Cyprus	9	23	10	17	9	17	13	2	299
Other	7	15	11	17	8	17	16	9	144
Total number for whom information received	52	167	112	151	102	175	193	86	1,038
Length of primary education in U.K.	6¾ to 7 years	5¾ to 6¾ years	4¾ to 5¾ years	3¾ to 4¾ years	2¾ to 3¾ years	1¾ to 2¾ years	¾ to 1¾ years	up to ¾ year	
Year-group of majority on entry	4+	5+	6+	7+	8+	9+	10+	11+	

The table is of interest, firstly in showing the wide diversity of ages at which immigrant children may enter the primary school and, more precisely, their varying lengths of primary schooling in the United Kingdom, and secondly, the way in which this scatter varies as between different nationalities. Thus,

nearly half (49 per cent.) of the West Indian children entered English education in 1964 or later, whereas fewer than a third (32 per cent.) of the Cypriot children came in as late as this. Indians and Pakistanis scatter widely, but 39 per cent. entered as late as 1965 or 1966.

D. Degree of Mobility of Immigrant Pupils

11. It has been seen that immigrant children enter English education at various ages and that this could be a handicap to those who arrive late. It seemed useful to try to discover whether many suffer the additional handicap of frequent change of school. It was found that 38 per cent. of the transfer group were already on the same school's register in 1962 and so had a continuous four years of junior schooling in the same school. Of those who entered English education in 1962 or earlier, the number changing schools between 1962 and 1966 was of the order of 10 per cent.

Other data, however, show that the *overall* mobility of immigrants in the sample schools, *which includes that of more recent arrivals*, is very much higher. Thus, for the spring term 1966, if the number entering plus the number leaving is expressed as a percentage of the total roll, the amount of transfer in that one term is 15 per cent. This disparity can be accounted for by a very much higher rate of mobility in the more recent cohorts and presumably means that many children are very mobile indeed soon after arrival in this country. Thus the high overall rate of turnover is, as it were, a froth on the surface of the immigrant school population, which appears to be fairly stable once the parents have settled down in English life. To say this is not to lose sight of the fact that some schools suffer the difficulties of a particularly high rate of mobility and that frequent changes of school soon after their arrival must be an added handicap to many children. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that ' moving house ' is a common theme of domestic play among immigrants of infants' age.

E. Placement of New Immigrants within School

12. It may be assumed that new immigrants of infants' age are placed in a normal class but may also receive some help in small groups, either of a general remedial nature or on language. Where immigrants enter at junior age the usual practice in the sample schools is to place them initially as follows:

Usual practice	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	
	Practice with regard to	
	Non-English speaking	English-speaking
In normal age class	9	20
In normal age class with withdrawal to remedial group	19	23
In normal age class with withdrawal to language group	15	6
In normal age class with periods of individual help	2	1
In year below normal and with special group help	0	1
No information given	7	1
	52	52

It has often been argued that for immigrant children to rub shoulders from the start with non-immigrant children in a normal class is itself a help towards integration and language development and this appears to be the practice in all the sample schools for which information was obtained, though the majority also arrange for small group help. In many schools this will be in an ordinary remedial group intended also for indigenous children needing special help. In others, a special language withdrawal group is provided, sometimes under a teacher who has attended a special course; in a few schools immigrant children who are rated as English-speaking are also allowed to benefit from this help.

In some schools under some other authorities it is not unusual for junior immigrants, newly arrived in this country and with serious language difficulties, to begin school, whatever their age, in a special small admission class where they receive intensive skilled help in language and orientation. When they are ready they are then placed in their normal age class within the same school where, it would be claimed, the intensive help they have received enables them to profit early from the work of the class. A general answer on the desirability of such *reception classes* may not be possible but, perhaps, an experiment on these lines might be tried, in a school recruiting large numbers of immigrants with language difficulties, if a specially suitable teacher were available.

13. Even if such an experiment were successful and extended to a number of schools, it could still only touch the fringe of the problem. Many heads are deeply concerned at the bewilderment and shock which must be experienced by very many immigrant children on arrival, especially the West Indians who have often been separated from their families. Thus the child may come from a rural neighbourhood, travel in the care of an adult hardly known to him, arrive in this country when our weather is at its worst, suffer the harassment of the streets of a great city and the bewilderment of a language understood barely or not at all, be received into the crowded family quarters of a house full of strange gadgets and strange people, by a family barely remembered and now, perhaps, extended, and the next day be abandoned (as it seems to him) in a school like none he has seen before, with some hundreds of noisy children, many or most of whom he cannot understand. The imagination boggles in the attempt to understand what this can mean to a child of six or seven; yet there are few things more important in the education of young immigrants than that teachers should drive their imaginations to comprehend it.

Such considerations, among others, have led to the suggestion by the National Union of Teachers* for the provision of *reception centres* for immigrant children arriving direct from overseas, so as to provide them with a short period of initiation before they enter the normal school. It is suggested that this would give opportunity for assessment of present and potential capabilities, for medical examination and, in some cases, for some initial language help. It might well be also that for some children even a brief period in a small homely community, working in small classes with teachers specially qualified for this work, might smooth the transition to normal school and shorten the period of shock and bewilderment. Although such a centre might, as the National Union of Teachers suggests, be in or attached to a normal school building, it would need to feed a fair number of schools if it was to make any real impact; this might be possible if it was found that many children were ready for normal school after a very brief assessment and settling-down period, even though some needed to stay much longer.

There were differing views among the working party on the educational merits of the National Union of Teachers' suggestion. If, on further consideration, it is felt either to be educationally undesirable or impracticable in London, then thought needs to be given to what other arrangements could be made to smooth, for those who need it, this sudden transition from overseas to normal school. The plain fact is that children are arriving in this country, say, on a Monday night, and starting school on a Wednesday morning, and it is nobody's business (except that of head teachers) to *ensure* that this is made a little easier for these bewildered children and their, perhaps, bewildered parents. Arrangements might well be devised in consultation with divisional officers, the care committee organization, the school medical authorities and the borough councils which would permit of some educational and medical assessment and, perhaps more important, would ensure that the child entered school with less hurry and apprehension.†

14. Finally, it is worth considering whether the play centre could make a more specific contribution to the education and integration of immigrants than has yet been attempted. Where children are already in school this contribution might best be made in the summer holidays, especially in the case of non-English-speaking children who are liable to slip back in language skill over this considerable period. If time could be found to give them a short period of practice in a small group on each occasion of their attendance, this might be of great benefit. Secondly, the play centre might help the adjustment to our ways of children arriving from overseas at holiday time, if the supervisor were informed about these children in advance. They could be helped quickly to feel at home and prepared in various ways for starting school when the holidays were over.

F. The Language Problem

15. The majority of immigrant children, or at least of recent arrivals, will have when they enter school some degree of handicap in the use and understanding of English. There will, however, be great variations, ranging from the Cypriots, Italians and some others who will normally have no English at all, and the Indians and Pakistanis who may or may not have a little, to the West Indians whose first language is normally a form of English, though differing in various degrees from that spoken in this country.

* N.U.T.: *The N.U.T. View on the Education of Immigrants*, January 1967.

† Mention should perhaps be made of the excellent work of the Sussex Road remedial centre, opened in the Brixton area in September 1966, to help children of junior age, already in school, who are culturally, socially and linguistically handicapped, and who have been selected as likely to benefit from the homely and stimulating atmosphere created by two gifted teachers. The children attend the centre four sessions a week while continuing at their normal schools, the main purpose of the work being to enrich their experience and therefore their linguistic powers. Although more than half the children attending the centre are immigrants, the length of stay found necessary for these specially selected children means that only a small proportion of the overseas children in the area can have this help; on the other hand, not many overseas children need help of this special and extended kind. The centre is therefore meeting a need which is rather different from that considered in para. 13, which is to smooth the transition to English schooling of much larger numbers of immigrant children when they have just arrived from overseas.

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The nature of the handicap may also vary, but will generally consist mainly in some combination of the following deficiencies:

(*a*) Limited vocabulary or, in West Indians, different words for the same meaning or different meanings for the same word.

(*b*) Imperfect knowledge of standard English structures.

(*c*) Non-standard speech rhythms and intonation.

In many children, of course, all three deficiencies will be total.

16. To ask *why* such deficiencies constitute a handicap may seem gratuitous, but the question needs to be asked for the answer is not simple.

The obvious answer is that in order to 'get by' in ordinary day-to-day contacts, the child must quickly learn to make himself understood in, and himself understand, everyday English. The importance of this for his social relationships and self-confidence, as well as for his effective participation in the activities of school and class, can almost be taken for granted.

It is fairly obvious, too, that if the child is to learn at all effectively side by side with English classmates, he must soon acquire a command of vocabulary and structures which goes far beyond the essentials for 'getting by'. He must come to understand what the teacher means, not merely when this is expressed in the bare bones of plain exposition but when it is enlivened by allusion or figure of speech or humour. And, in turn, the child must begin to express himself in forms which go beyond the bare necessities of communication. Beyond this again comes the deeper and richer understanding of English as the embodiment of our culture.

In the ways just mentioned we are conscious of language as a means of communication at all levels from straightforward exposition to poetic imagery. But language is also an ordering of experience; where it is lacking, concepts cannot so readily be labelled or manipulated or, perhaps, formed at all with any precision and facility. For this reason, the child with language difficulties may suffer a handicap which is not obvious at all because it concerns the very structure of thought. It may well be that some part of the 'culture shock' from which many young immigrants are said to suffer may derive from this kind of interference with the steady development of concept formation.

A further point linking language deficiency with the development of thought processes is worth making. Much importance has lately been attached* to the work of Bernstein on the differing 'language codes' of children of differing social backgrounds. There has been widespread acceptance of his view that the restricted code of many culturally-deprived children can be a handicap in the development of some kinds of thinking. This work may be very relevant to the development of thinking in the non-English-speaking immigrant child. English children who are culturally deprived suffer the limitations of a restricted code in one language—their own; immigrant children may suffer this also but with the complication of attempting to learn a second language. Even more important: the compensatory education provided for English children by the more elaborated code of language of the the school will be ineffective for those immigrant children who understand that language little or not at all.

Finally, the bewilderment of a bilingual situation in early childhood could combine with all the other bewildering features of the situation to lead to emotional as well as intellectual insecurity. As the Plowden Report points out (paragraph 55), 'the psychological trauma of placing a child without adequate powers of communication in a new social situation can be serious'. This could be especially so of the immigrant child, who is under pressure to achieve integration with others at a time when he may face, within himself, disintegration. His need for understanding and encouragement at such a time is great.

This kind of thinking about the language problem of immigrants seems important for two reasons:

(*a*) It suggests that the effective teaching of English is an urgent necessity, not just as a vehicle for day-to-day communication, or for classroom learning, or indeed as the embodiment of the English cultural tradition, but so as to resolve as quickly as possible a situation which could hinder the development of thought processes.

(*b*) If the latter assumption is true, it must be given full weight in assessing the standards of achievement eventually reached by many immigrant children. They will have reached these standards despite an initial deficiency, not merely in language as a means of communication but as a tool for the ordering of experience and thought.

17. It follows from all this that carefully planned and well-informed *teaching* is necessary to enable immigrant children with little or no English to achieve proficiency in the language as quickly as possible. It is not sufficient to rely on their 'picking it up' from English children or from casual conversation with teachers or helpers. Not many schools can have a teacher who has had an extended training in

* For example, see Plowden Report, para. 302.

teaching English to immigrants and only in some schools will the number of non-English-speaking immigrants justify a separate withdrawal group just for the teaching of language. But it should be possible for every remedial teacher, and for many class teachers too, in schools with many immigrants to acquire some knowledge of methods from occasional lectures or from reading. The emphasis, especially in the early stages, should be on oral work related to concrete situations, real or contrived, with a good deal of use of actions, games, objects, models, etc. Children need to have made considerable progress in the oral understanding and use of the language before any attempt is made to introduce them to reading and writing. Some excellent work on these general lines was seen in several of the schools visited.

18. To urge the need for a planned programme of instruction in English is not to say that ' picking it up ' should not also be fostered by every possible means. The informed teacher will be able, in conversation with immigrant children, to choose her words and structures to take some account of the stage they have reached. Conversation with the ancillary helper can also be valuable, especially if she has been given a little guidance. English children will talk with immigrant children in their own natural way, without any tempering of the wind at all, but because both are children, the immigrants will have a strong motive to communicate with them and this child-to-child exchange can be of the greatest value. For this reason among others it is important that teachers should give thought to the many small ways in which the mingling and co-operation of children of different races can be fostered.

It is so important for immigrant children to have ample opportunities to talk—and to be listened to—that schools should welcome voluntary help which will, from time to time, increase the ratio of adults to children. This kind of informal help given by voluntary workers at Vauxhall infants' school has already received widespread attention. It may well foreshadow a type of voluntary service which could be of great benefit in schools with large numbers of immigrants.

19. The above discussion of the language problem has made particular reference to the difficulties of children whose mother-tongue is not English. In the case of West Indian children the native language is a form of English, ranging from almost standard English in some cases (apart from some differences in accent) to Caribbean dialects which may differ considerably in vocabulary and structures from standard English. For this reason the language handicap of some West Indian children must not be underestimated. It is true that the fact that they speak a form of English gives them at least a start in communication when they begin school in England and this must be a great initial advantage. But, just because they can ' get by ' reasonably well in day-to-day situations, they may have less inducement than the non-English-speaking children to develop standard English structures, to enlarge their vocabulary and to acquire the elaborated and evocative language essential to the full use of English as an educational medium. There is the further difficulty that, whereas the Cypriot child, for example, may hear standard English at school and none at home, the West Indian child may be subjected to the competition of a non-standard dialect spoken at home with the standard English he learns at school. Furthermore, he may at school encounter Caribbean dialects other than his own and pick up some of their divergencies from standard English to add to those of his mother tongue. It follows from all this that teachers whose main concern is with West Indian immigrants can gain something from some study of the problems of teaching English as a second language.

20. It remains to record certain data on the way in which the language problem is being handled in the sample schools. It has been seen (paragraph 12) that 15 schools are able to provide language withdrawal groups for non-English-speaking children on entry at junior age and there is evidence that a much larger number make some language provision, often no doubt in ordinary remedial groups, which include indigenous children. The number of children said to be receiving special English teaching is as follows:

	Number of children receiving special English teaching							
	0	1–10	11–20	21–30	31–40	41–50	51–60	61–70
No. of schools	29	8	3	5	1	3	2	1

Few schools had teachers who had attended substantial full-time courses in the teaching of English to immigrants or generally in the education of immigrant children. Five schools had two such teachers and five had one. On the other hand at least six other schools had teachers (sometimes several) who had attended short courses or conferences or individual lectures bearing on these problems and this number will certainly have been increased considerably since the survey was made.

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Finally, it must be recorded that, despite the efforts of the teachers, the percentage rated as ' English speaking ' among those due to transfer to the secondary school in September 1966 was not altogether encouraging. The following table gives the percentage of each nationality falling into each of the three categories of knowledge of English as assessed by teachers:

Nationality	No. of pupils	Knowledge of English (percentage)		
		English speaking	English speaking but need further intensive language teaching	Little or no English
West Indian	600	81	18	1
Indian and Pakistani ..	75	59	27	15
Cypriot	240	52	37	12
Other	153	71	22	7
All	1,068	71	23	5

It will be realized that many of these children who leave the primary school with poor or little English will have entered English education very late in the junior stage. In fact 72 per cent. of them started in 1965 or 1966. The teachers will have done their best, but the time in which to do this was all too short.

G. Teaching Staff

21. In answer to a question on the kinds of help the Authority could provide, nearly all schools put more teachers, or better teachers, or more specially qualified teachers either in first or second place in their order of priority. There are, of course, other reasons why a school may need a specially favourable pupil-teacher ratio which have nothing to do with the proportion of immigrants. Even so, one would expect a high immigrant percentage to be one important factor taken into account, together with other difficulties, by district inspectors in authorizing and allocating staff. The effect should be that schools with high immigrant percentages would tend to have *on the average* a more favourable staffing ratio than the rest. To a limited extent this appears to be the case. Thus in January 1966, the average pupil-teacher ratio (including head teachers) of the sample schools was 26·7 as compared with 27·7 for all London schools containing juniors.

22. A favourable pupil-teacher ratio can be achieved in two ways. If more class teachers, usually full-time, can be provided there can be a reduction in class rolls. Alternatively, it may be possible to increase the provision of supernumerary teachers, usually part-time. Such teachers can give remedial or language help to small groups extracted from normal classes, can work with the class teacher in the classroom, can enable half classes to be formed for some purposes, and can facilitate flexibility generally, including provision for school visits.

In the sample schools the slightly more advantageous pupil-teacher ratio appears to be due mainly or perhaps entirely to slightly smaller class rolls, rather than to any more generous provision of supernumerary or part-time teachers. This is perhaps to be expected since in some of the areas with many immigrants part-time teachers are hard to come by and it may often be the case that although generous part-time help has been authorized it has not materialized. In the sample schools the average class roll of the median school in January 1966 was 33 as compared with an overall average for primary (including infants') schools of 35·2. This advantage on the part of the sample schools is not negligible but one could wish it were greater. A study of accommodation was therefore undertaken to see how far it would be possible to reduce average class rolls still further if additional class teachers were available. It was found that if all rooms of classroom size (except the library), which were not now used as classrooms, were so used, the average class roll in the median school could be reduced to 30. In many cases, however, this would entail the use for class purposes either of sizeable rooms now used (for want of others) for small groups, or else the sacrifice of specialist rooms, e.g. an art room. If these two categories of rooms were reserved for their present uses, it was found that only in 11 schools would some reduction in class size be possible, through the use of other rooms now spare. In the median school of these 11, the reduction would be from 32 pupils per class to 26. To sum up: if staff could be provided, the accommodation in many schools would allow of some considerable reduction in class rolls, but usually at the cost of some loss in other valuable uses of the space. It must also be remembered that there are some schools in Brixton, Hackney and elsewhere in which not only are class rolls high, but pressure of numbers and

limitations of accommodation are such that no reduction at all is possible without additional building or the provision of temporary or caravan classrooms.

Bearing in mind, however, the difficulty of recruiting part-time staff to serve in some areas, it is probable that the most hopeful way of improving the staffing ratio in many high immigrant schools is to allocate or persuade more full-time teachers to serve in these areas and so reduce class rolls. For this reason, the addition to the London quota negotiated with the Department of Education and Science in respect of non-English-speaking children has been very welcome. For 1965–6, 201 extra teachers were allowed, for 1966–7, 305 extra teachers, and for 1967–8, 325 extra teachers. These numbers relate to teachers in primary and secondary schools taken together. These additional authorizations are allocated to divisions according to the number of immigrant children but with special regard to the number who are non-English-speaking. They are then deployed among the schools on the advice of district inspectors according to their assessment of special need. It is to be noted, however, that this addition to the London quota is made in respect of non-English-speaking children only. West Indians, who form nearly half the total number of immigrants in primary schools, do not at present rate any addition to the quota, unless they are seriously deficient in English.

23. It has already been mentioned that head teachers have stressed the need not only for more teachers but for teachers who are better informed about the problems of immigrants. Much is being done to meet this need through in-service training. Extended courses, lasting for one term or one year, have been provided by the University of London Institute of Education and these particularly meet the need in some schools for teachers who can specialize in the teaching of English as a second language. The Authority has also provided a variety of courses ranging in length from a week-end to a term, some of them with special reference to the teaching of English to immigrants, others dealing more generally with the education of immigrants and their background. The centre established in Islington for teaching English to immigrants mainly of secondary school age is also serving as a focus for the in-service training of teachers in the education of immigrants. South of the river, the Sussex Road remedial centre in Brixton is beginning also to serve a similar purpose. As general-purpose teachers' centres grow up in other parts of London, the need in some areas to include provision for the study of immigrant problems will need to be borne in mind. A one-day conference or a series of evening lectures can be of great value to class teachers who cannot attend a longer course.

24. In the past two years the Authority has provided an eight-day residential course at the end of the summer term for teachers joining the London service from college the following September. This course should supplement the attention now being given by some colleges of education (though by no means by all) to the needs of immigrant children. More still needs to be done by the colleges to make this work effective and it may well be that selected students should be encouraged to make a special study of the needs of immigrant children during school practice. Indeed, there is much to be said for channelling the idealism of young teachers towards work, not merely in immigrant neighbourhoods, but in the less easy areas in general, and for giving them during their training the technique to make their idealism effective. It should be added that the general impression of the working party is that the attitudes of young teachers to the immigrants in their classes is usually excellent; what they sometimes lack is the practical technique to cope effectively.

25. In conclusion, it may be suggested that sympathetic consideration should be given to the allowance structure in primary schools in which a high percentage of immigrants presents special problems. This can only be done within the limits of Burnham but these allow the Authority some discretion, which needs to be used to the full in suitable cases.

H. Ancillary Staff

26. The head teachers of the sample schools are very conscious of the contribution which ancillary staff of various kinds can make in a school with large numbers of immigrants. Several point out the value of generous secretarial help. Some immigrant parents are time-consuming, particularly if there is a language barrier; yet it is important that the help and guidance they need, often on matters which have little connexion with their children's schooling, should be generously given so that the confidence of parents can be gained. A good secretary can undertake some of this work or relieve the head to do it.

Forty head teachers make special mention of the contribution of the junior and infants' welfare helpers in the integration of immigrant pupils. The meals helpers are also mentioned occasionally as making a contribution which goes beyond supervision and guidance at meal times. In both cases, perhaps, the most important general contribution is that the helper is yet another friendly adult in the school community who is ready to talk to and listen to children. They should be encouraged, as some heads have done, to give time to this, busy as they are, as a duty that matters.

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In view of these indications of the value of the various kinds of ancillary help in schools with high immigrant numbers, it is gratifying to think that the Authority has arranged for some increase in welfare and secretarial hours (March 1965) and that further increases in the hours of welfare helpers were authorized in November 1965 and November 1966. Although the latter increase especially was intended to help schools in socially-disadvantaged areas of all kinds, there is no doubt that schools with high immigrant numbers would usually be among those to benefit.

I. Immigrants in the School Community

27. Some of the questions in the survey were designed to gather information and impressions from head teachers on immigrants as members of the school community. Their answers were of great interest, reflecting the careful thought they had given to these questions.

It will be realized, however, that on this kind of matter generalization is dangerous. Truer statements can be made about ' some ' immigrants or even ' many ' immigrants than about immigrants in general and the same is so of statements made about the various racial groups. Like English children, immigrant pupils of a given race differ more among themselves than they do as a group from those of other races.

A further consideration is that the role of the school is not for all immigrants a simple one of enabling them to become as English as possible. For some, especially West Indians, this may be what they themselves desire—though even for them it might be considered a sad thing if their own heritage were entirely *merged* in ours; it should be possible, one would hope, to keep alive and distinct some of their roots in a Caribbean past, while fostering the growth of new strong roots in an English present.

For some other groups of immigrants, and especially the Cypriots, Indians and Pakistanis, the matter is rather different. The parents are usually anxious that their children should master the language, make their way in English education, hold their own later in an English job and gain a working familiarity with our way of life. But they are also very concerned that their children's roots in their original culture should not wither and that, as they grow up, they will continue to form part of a close-knit ethnic community.

Such wishes, in their various degrees, must be sincerely respected by the school. They are similar, after all, to the wishes which English parents would have for their children if they migrated to a country differing in language, customs and, perhaps, religion. The very distinctness of the culture which it is sought to preserve could bring an enrichment to the school community. And, at a later stage, one might hope that some of these young people, with full access to and enjoyment of English culture and a pride and interest in their own, would become very valuable links in a multi-racial and multi-cultural society.

Unhappily, it can also happen that suspicion of our culture on the part of the parents can hold a child back from adequate progress in language and in understanding of our ways. Then, especially if there are limitations in the home background, the child may find himself in a cultural no-man's-land, rootless and, perhaps later, anti-social. This is a danger of which the school must be aware, since it emphasizes the need for the school to foster a mutual respect of cultures and also to do all in its power to gain the confidence of parents.

28. A number of heads stress the need for the immigrant child to be helped to feel at home in the school community during the first few days, especially if he is suffering the bewilderment of transition from overseas.. Thought needs to be given to ensuring friendly individual care at this time, often best given by another child, if carefully chosen and instructed. There will be much for the immigrant to learn about school routine. Patience will often be needed and a great willingness to overlook mistakes. Here again, another child, if helped to understand the situation imaginatively, may be the best mentor.

29. It is often said that West Indian children especially are often used to over-strict (or uneven) discipline at home—understandable perhaps in a crowded house where near neighbours may be critical—and also that they find it difficult to adjust to the more permissive atmosphere of an English school. Since, by contrast, their previous schools were more formal, they think, it is said, that an English school is just a place to play, and so get out of hand. In other cases their schooling overseas may have been intermittent; they have been allowed to ' run wild ' and now find it difficult to settle to work. Bearing in mind also the traumatic sequence of experiences some immigrant children have been through just before entering school, it is perhaps surprising that more are not seriously maladjusted, and certainly quite to be expected that some will be very difficult for a time. The fact remains that the behaviour of some immigrant children can be a source of great strain and anxiety to a teacher, especially at first.

Nevertheless there are indications that some of the difficulties often mentioned two or three years ago are now less common, perhaps because of the growing skill of teachers in making immigrants quickly feel at home and learn the ropes. Thus, urinating or defecating in corridors or cloakrooms, once said to be fairly common, now appears to be unknown or very rare in most of the sample schools. Physically aggressive behaviour, at one time said to be widely prevalent among West Indian children, is only mentioned by four schools in the sample—though a direct question on this specific point was not asked. Emotional

excitability among West Indians seems to be not uncommon and this may be expressed in ' boisterousness ', ' noisiness ' and ' rushing about ' as well as in laughter and tears. These forms of behaviour may be serious sources of disturbance in some classes, particularly of inexperienced teachers. Because of this excitability, the odd aggressive child may ' blow up ' occasionally in physical aggression, unless vigilance is exercised to avoid situations in which tempers may rise. To have to exercise such vigilance in respect of certain children is a source of strain to the teacher. On the other hand, some teachers also welcome the effervescent temperament of some West Indians as a source of stimulus to the rest of the class.

30. Schools were asked whether there were aspects of the curriculum to which immigrants of various races made a contribution of more than average quality. Thirty-four schools mentioned the contribution of West Indians to games and gymnastics, 23 to music, movement and mime, and 13 to art. Fewer schools listed aspects for the other nationalities, perhaps because they often felt that they had too few pupils of a particular nationality from whom to generalize. Of the 11 schools listing aspects of the curriculum in which Indians and Pakistanis often excelled, 8 mentioned art and craft and 3 formal class work. Subjects were listed by 23 schools for the Cypriots. Their contribution to art and particularly to craft work and needlework was mentioned by 16 schools, and 12 schools also mentioned their work in music, movement and drama, while two referred to their general class work.

31. It is good to note that a fair number of schools have sought ways in which immigrants can make a special contribution related to their own cultural heritage. Many examples could be given. In particular, immigrants can often make a useful contribution to geography by giving first-hand information about their home countries. In some schools West Indian songs have been taught to all children. Immigrant children have been encouraged to tell the rest about their own religions and customs and to seek the help of their parents in so doing. In such ways as these the different cultural and geographical experiences of a multi-racial community are seen as adding to the rich variety of life for all, and the immigrant children themselves are able to take pride in the fact that in the exchange of cultures the traffic is by no means one-way. As one school puts it: ' they must be made to feel part of a large family of nations within the school, not to feel different from the rest, but at the same time to feel proud of their heritage.' To achieve this right balance calls for sensitivity and judgment.

32. Finally, a number of schools have emphasized age of entry to English education as an important factor in integration. As one school puts it: ' Children who came into the infants' as early as 1959 become so much a part of the school community as to be indistinguishable save in appearance. In ability and activity and interests they fit very closely into the pattern of school life.' It will appear later that this judgment accords closely with the findings of this survey.

J. Relations with Parents

33. The great importance of the school forming an easy and friendly relationship with immigrant parents is widely recognized and the majority of schools claim to have had reasonable success in this in most cases. It is generally accepted that parents must understand that the head is available for consultation or discussion, but some go far beyond this in their efforts to establish a close and continuous interchange of friendliness. The parents of non-English-speaking children present a special problem, often involving the use of interpreters—in many cases children of the same nationality in the school. A few schools have provided leaflets for parents in the appropriate language, and two schools have ' Welcome ' notices in such languages displayed about the school.

Parental interest in their children's education appears to vary as widely among immigrant as among native parents, though with immigrant parents shyness may sometimes make them appear indifferent when, with a little more encouragement, they would take an interest.

34. It is possible that the Authority might be able to help the schools in a number of ways in fostering the all-important links with parents. Booklets of guidance in various languages* have already been mentioned. Such booklets might be helpful to parents, not only in their understanding of our schools, but might also include advice on other social agencies. Such provision might lighten the load of head teachers who give time to helping parents over many matters which have little to do with school; though it is to be hoped that it would not do away altogether with opportunities for this kind of help which must do much to gain parents' confidence. There have already been some discussions of the possibility of providing orientation courses for immigrant parents in connexion with the work of welfare centres. An alternative in some neighbourhoods might be to provide such courses for mothers when they come to collect their children from infants' school, the children being catered for meanwhile in the play-centre. Such courses might include language help in some cases. Finally, one school has suggested that the appointment of a school inquiry officer of one of the immigrant nationalities might be helpful in some areas in sorting out parents' problems and fostering a happy adjustment between home and school.

* Leaflets on secondary transfer are already provided in Greek and Turkish.

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K. Immigrants in Infants' Schools

35. Although the main survey included 31 junior-and-infants' schools, the emphasis of the questionnaire was rather on the junior stage and it was felt useful to supplement it by an informal questionnaire which was issued to 29 selected infants' schools in the autumn of 1966. The percentage of immigrants ranged from 22 per cent. to 68 per cent., with a median of 47 per cent.

The answers contain a great many interesting and perceptive observations. Here only a number of salient points can be mentioned.

In these schools many of the children had been born in this country, the range in the 22 schools able to answer this question being from 2 per cent. to 95 per cent. with a median of 63 per cent. It was thought that those born here or who had had at least some time to settle down before entering school tended to be more integrated and with less language handicap. Those arriving direct from overseas are often restless and difficult, anxious or withdrawn. Most of the schools mention behaviour difficulties of various kinds, most commonly aggressive or excitable behaviour. Not many schools, however, appear to have had problems in hygiene or cleanliness in excess of those normally found in infants' schools.

In more than half the schools additional help in language is given in small withdrawal groups taken usually by a part-time teacher. Two schools have a small full-time class for new entrants with language difficulties. In one of these the two nursery classes have been of great assistance in language, the children passing through them not needing this special help when they reach the infants' classes. In this school (with 52 Cypriots) a Greek nursery assistant has been of great value.

Active methods, in which there is plenty for children to talk about, to each other and to the teacher, are of particular value both in language and in fostering integration. Even so, the need is stressed to make special efforts to encourage conversation, as well as the need to have patience in listening to children's halting efforts at communication. As June Derrick* has pointed out, there is for the non-English-speaking child a ' pre-speaking stage ' ' in which the pupil is gradually sorting out sounds that mean something from the vast babble of sounds that as yet mean nothing '. Teachers need great patience and skill in fostering this gradual process of comprehension of a limited number of phrases which must largely precede any attempt by these pupils to use language themselves.

Thirteen schools wanted smaller classes, as one head put it, ' not because these children are difficult to teach but because it is so essential that they should be known intimately to the teacher ' and their security and development sustained by leisurely affection. More space was also mentioned as very desirable, especially so that the child who is upset can be dealt with ' away from the classroom busy-ness ' and quite quickly return happily to the large group. There is little mention of extra ancillary help, perhaps because a number of schools are already generously treated in this respect. The working party considered, however, that a ratio of one full-time helper to every two infants' classes would be of great value in infants' schools with many immigrants—or other socially-disadvantaged children—especially if some helpers had some form of training.

Nineteen schools thought that standards had fallen in various degrees since the immigrant percentage became considerable, though some attributed this partly to a fall in the quality of the non-immigrant intake or to staff changes. Eight schools could detect no fall in standards and two of these thought, indeed, that the school was a livelier place. A strong impression gained during the school visits is to some extent confirmed by the answers to this question. It is that schools which find no great fall in standards tend to be those which have been for many years coping successfully with culturally-deprived native children. In several of these schools the reading standard was remarkably high for the area and would have been creditable in a much ' better ' neighbourhood. The hopeful conclusion which these findings suggest is that a school's long experience of culturally-deprived children counts for a very great deal, whether they are immigrant or native, and can go far to offset their deprivation, but that it takes time to build up.

All but one of the schools said that most immigrant parents are co-operative or try to be, though they are time-consuming, especially where there are language barriers.

Finally, the heads report on the general reaction of their staff to the presence of large numbers of immigrants. Twenty-one schools report a staff reaction which is entirely or almost entirely favourable in the sense that a challenge has been accepted cheerfully and with interest. Twelve schools, including some of these, mention, however, that the work is more tiring. It would be quite wrong to assume that, because so many of these schools take their problems cheerfully in their stride, they do not need help with them. The greatest need appears to be generous staffing and in some cases the space to use it, but there is evidence also of the value of generous ancillary help.

L. Performance of the Immigrant Transfer Group

36. It will be remembered that all pupils due for transfer to secondary education are placed in one of seven ' profile groups ' (from 1 down to 7) for English, mathematics and verbal reasoning. A pupil's

* ' Teaching English to Immigrants ' (Longman's, 1966).

groups for English and mathematics are based on the school's assessment of his attainment from its whole knowledge of his work in these fields. The head teacher may adjust the number placed in the various groups in the light of information about the school's distribution of attainment obtained from county comparability tests but these tests do not directly determine the groupings of individual pupils since the tests are taken anonymously. The group for verbal reasoning is also based on the school's cumulative knowledge of the child, but in this case the school may also take into account the results of verbal reasoning tests taken by each pupil. One of these, taken during a specified period in January, is a closed test devised each year for London schools.

37. Except, presumably, for some very late arrivals, not yet assessed when the questionnaire was returned, profile groups were given in the leavers schedules for nearly all the 1,068 immigrant pupils leaving the sample schools for secondary education in September 1966. In Appendix III*, Table A shows the percentage of all immigrant pupils falling into each of the seven groups in the three ' subjects ' (if, for the sake of brevity, this word can be applied to verbal reasoning as well as to English and mathematics). The comparable percentage distributions for all Authority pupils are also shown. It will be seen that the immigrants tend to fall into the lower groups; in fact, in each descending group more immigrant pupils are found. Only 2 per cent. of the immigrant pupils were placed in Group 1 for any of the three ' subjects ' and about a third in each subject fell in Group 7. About four-fifths of the immigrants were rated as below the median of the normal Authority range of performance (79 per cent. in English, 82 per cent. in verbal reasoning, and 79 per cent. in mathematics).

38. Table B shows the percentage distribution of profile groups in the three ' subjects ' for each nationality separately. There are significant differences, notably the lower ratings for West Indians, especially in mathematics. In this subject, 85 per cent of West Indians are rated as below the median of the normal Authority range, compared with 68 per cent. of Indians and Pakistanis, 75 per cent. of Cypriots, and 65 per cent. of ' Others '.

39. Not surprisingly, knowledge of English appears to be an important factor in all three ' subjects ', as Table C shows. In each ' subject ', whereas only about a quarter of the English-speaking pupils fell into Group 7, about half of those needing further intensive help in language were placed in this group, and from 64 per cent to 92 per cent. of the non-English-speaking. Even the English-speaking pupils did not achieve a distribution comparable with that of all Authority pupils. For English, only 8 per cent. were in the top two groups and the median pupil fell in the lowest quarter of Group 5. However, a further analysis by nationalities of the English-speaking pupils suggests that much of the difference from the general Authority distribution was due to the relatively poor showing of the West Indians (Table D). This seems to be especially so in mathematics, in which the English-speaking immigrants, other than the West Indians, are distributed over the seven groups in a way which does not differ significantly from the distribution for Authority pupils as a whole.

40. With these minor qualifications, the over-all picture of the performance of immigrants at the end of their primary schooling is not very encouraging, and one can understand the concern of many head teachers over this fact. However, at this point it is necessary to remember that more than half the immigrant leavers in the sample entered English education in 1963 or later, and that about half the West Indians started their English schooling in 1964 or later (paragraph 10). How far will this account for the poor over-all figures and especially for the poor showing of the West Indians? What will be found if the data are broken down in a different way, related to year of entry to English education, and therefore to length of English primary schooling?

41. The results of such an analysis are shown in Table E. The table shows that as the length of English education increases, so performance tends to improve. There is a definite, though moderate relationship between the two. Another interesting point (found from further analysis by nationality) is that any difference between West Indians and other nationalities tends to diminish with increasing length of English education. For pupils entering in 1962 or earlier it has virtually disappeared and is no longer statistically significant.

42. It was, perhaps, to be expected that the performance of immigrants at 11 would show this kind of relationship with their length of English schooling. However, so far as is known, this relationship is for the first time clearly established by empirical study. Moreover, this is not just a matter of those who have had some years of English schooling doing better than those who have had little: the trend continues throughout and the improvement in performance is most apparent in those children who had the advantage of a complete or almost complete primary education in the United

* A fuller statistical analysis is available if required.

Kingdom. These are the children in the 1960 and '1959 or earlier' cohorts, with English primary education ranging in length from five years two terms to the maximum of seven years. These two cohorts have, therefore, been subjected to further statistical investigation.

When the two cohorts are taken together it is found that the distribution of profile groupings is decidedly better than that of the later cohorts, though it is still significantly less good than that of the Authority's pupils taken as a whole. The same is found to be true when these two cohorts combined are compared with the non-immigrant children in the sample schools (Table F): there is still a significant difference in favour of the non-immigrant pupils.

Significant differences were no longer detectable by strict statistical testing when similar comparisons were made for the '1959 or earlier' cohort taken alone. Examination of the tables suggests that this cohort may still differ in performance from all the Authority's pupils and from the non-immigrant pupils in the sample schools, but the differences are not sufficient to be shown as significant by testing at the most rigorous statistical level. Too much importance should not, however, be attached to these findings for the '1959 or earlier' cohort, which consisted of 52 children only, nearly all of them 1959 entrants. With such small numbers, differences have to be large if they are to be found significant by statistical tests. Moreover, where comparison is made with 'all the Authority's pupils' it must be remembered that the figures for these will be depressed by the inclusion of a fair number of immigrants, some of them recent arrivals. Furthermore, the 1959 entrants will most of them have been autumn-born children, with the advantage, in nearly all cases, of a maximum seven years of primary schooling and will tend to have had the further advantage of being old within their year group.

Nevertheless, the findings are encouraging. They suggest that where immigrants have had a primary education in this country which is complete or almost so, the general level of their performance at 11 may not fall far short of that of the general run of London children (including immigrants), and similarly, that the performance of these more fortunate immigrant children may approach that of the non-immigrant children in the same schools. This finding is all the more encouraging when the nature of the language handicap is considered (paragraph 16) and its probable bearing on concept formation as well as on communication.

These conclusions in no way underestimate, however, the serious problem often presented to schools by the much larger number of immigrant children who come into our schools much later in the primary stage and are retarded in consequence. But our findings do suggest that, if some way could be found for more children to come in with their families at an early age, a good many of the attainment problems later would be eased.

One further inference from the findings of this section is worth mention. The number of children of overseas origin in Britain is likely to increase still further in the next few years, partly on account of the large number born here.* The evidence here presented that such children, with a full English primary education, do reasonably well, is reassuring. It suggests that, although the number of overseas children may rise still further, the proportion who present a serious educational problem may well diminish.

M. Family Patterns of Immigration

43. In the previous section it is shown that the attainment of immigrants at the end of their primary schooling approximates more and more closely to that of all London children, the earlier their entry to English education. Less precise indications suggest that those who come early also tend to be better adjusted, partly, perhaps, because they have less often been separated from their families. It seemed likely, therefore, that the family pattern of immigration might be of great importance educationally and the principal school care officer was asked to seek information on this point.

It appears that of the West Indians few come as complete family units. Sometimes the man comes first and the wife later, with or without children. Other children may be sent for later. Sometimes a woman comes alone or with one child. She may then marry a West Indian in this country, start a family, and then send for other children left behind, either her own or her husband's. Cypriots mostly come as family units, but may be preceded by the father and then the mother and children all come at once. Sikhs and Maltese tend to come as families. With Africans the men come over chiefly alone and marry here. Finally, with Pakistanis the father usually comes first and is followed fairly quickly by the whole family as a complete unit.

Some idea of the number of years for which children may be left overseas can be gathered from an excellent small survey conducted at a boys' comprehensive school in South London where two-thirds of the immigrants are West Indians. Of the total number of immigrant pupils—294, 36 were born in the United Kingdom, 109 came over with parents, 96 joined parents after one to five years, 45 after six to ten years, and eight after 11 to 13 years. Incidentally, this survey found that pupils who were born here of immigrant parents were doing, if anything, slightly *better* than non-immigrant pupils at this school, owing, it was thought, to a greater sense of motivation and also because of parental ambition

* Plowden (para. 181) quotes an estimate that '200,000 children of Commonwealth citizens have been born in this country since immigration began on a large scale'.

and encouragement. The performance of those not born here was closely related to the length of English education they had received.

It would go beyond the terms of reference of this report to make detailed proposals about the arrangements for admitting immigrant families to this country. If, however, some means could be found, in co-operation with Commonwealth governments, by which immigrants could be assisted to come in as complete families, there can be little doubt from our findings that this would be educationally very desirable. Quite apart from the human values involved, the cost of such measures might be more than offset by the economic value of a better-educated immigrant population and a lower incidence of delinquency and maladjustment.

N. Standards of Non-Immigrant Pupils

44. In their general comments the head teachers of the sample schools frequently say, in effect, 'Standards have fallen'. It is, of course, to be expected that *overall* standards will often have fallen since the immigrant percentage became high, because the attainment of the immigrants (which includes that of recent arrivals) tends to be lower than that of non-immigrants and so will tend to reduce a school's overall attainment which includes that of both.

The more interesting question is whether the attainment of the *non-immigrant* pupils has fallen in schools with high immigrant percentages, since these became high. This could happen for a number of reasons:

(*a*) Pressure of numbers. In a few schools without spare rooms the influx of large numbers of immigrants has raised class rolls and this could have the effect of lowering the attainment reached by the non-immigrant pupils.

(*b*) Diversion of teachers' energies to meeting the needs of immigrant pupils.

(*c*) Lack of mutual stimulus to able non-immigrant pupils since there may be too few of them in a class with many immigrants.

(*d*) The ablest non-immigrant families moving out—not necessarily as a direct result of the immigrant influx into a neighbourhood but because immigrants are often forced to live in areas of poor housing from which the more enterprising English families try to move.

The last reason is different from the rest. It explains any fall in attainment of non-immigrant pupils not in terms of under-achievement but as due to an actual fall in intellectual potential in a changing school population. About 60 per cent. of the head teachers thought that such a fall in the intelligence of their non-immigrant pupils had, in fact, taken place in the last five years, through a change in the character of the neighbourhood. About half of these 60 per cent. thought, however, that there were also signs of under-achievement in their non-immigrant pupils, so that their average attainment was lowered still further for this reason. In all, about a third of the head teachers thought that their non-immigrant pupils now had lower attainment relative to their intelligence compared with five years ago.

Thus, judging from these impressions by head teachers, *if* there has in fact been a fall in the attainment of non-immigrant pupils, this is more often due to a fall in the potential of the non-immigrant school population, through changes in the neighbourhood, but there may also be in some schools some under-achievement which could be attributed to any of the reasons (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) above.

Has there in fact been a fall in attainment of non-immigrant pupils in these schools with high immigrant percentages? Only an extensive investigation of attainment over the last five years could give conclusive evidence on this. However, it has been possible from profile data to get evidence on the *present* attainment of non-immigrant pupils transferringto secondary education from the sample schools. This has been done by subtracting the number of immigrant pupils in each school who fell into each of the seven profile groups from the total numbers in each group in each school in 1966. The result is given in Table F (Appendix III). The table shows no significant difference between the attainment of non-immigrant pupils in the sample schools and that of all pupils in the Authority's schools. In considering this result it must be borne in mind that the non-immigrants in the sample schools are being compared with *all* the Authority's pupils, which will include immigrants, who will tend to depress the figures, but also pupils in more fortunate areas than those in which most of the sample schools are situated, which will tend to raise them.

If we can assume that these two factors roughly cancel out, we can say that the statistical findings do not support a conclusion that in the sample schools taken as a whole the standards of non-immigrant pupils are any lower than would be expected in schools in these areas of London. It must be clearly understood that this is a statement about *present* standards, not about trends. It may well be that in many of the schools the standards of the non-immigrants have fallen somewhat as a result of a fall in intellectual potential of a changing school population, and in a few schools there may also have been some under-achievement arising from the factors mentioned in (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) above. These two conjectures depend on the opinions of head teachers; they may be true of individual schools, but the statistical evidence is unable to confirm or deny them.

What is clearly established is that the present standards of the transfer group of non-immigrant pupils in schools with high immigrant numbers do not differ from those of all 11+ children, immigrant and non-immigrant, in all the Authority's schools. The credit for this reassuring result must lie with the teachers whose energies and skill, often at some cost in stress and strain, have been given unstintingly to immigrants and non-immigrants alike.

O. Head Teachers' Suggestions for Assistance

45. Heads were asked to suggest ways in which the Authority could best assist schools with large numbers of immigrants. As already reported, almost all schools asked for more teachers, smaller classes, better teachers or more specially-qualified teachers. In the latter connexion, some suggested the need for more local courses, short language courses, and notes on countries of origin, customs, etc.

A larger school allowance came next in frequency of mention. Some schools say that this is needed to offset the heavy use of consumables by immigrants or the wear and tear on books and apparatus; three mention the need for additional equipment, especially in audio-visual aids, for the non-English-speaking.

Extra ancillary (welfare) help is asked for by 11 schools, and four suggest the appointment of a social worker to help in liaison with parents. Four schools would like extra accommodation, especially for small-group work. Five favour the establishment of a reception centre which new arrivals from overseas could attend, full-time or part-time.

P. Conclusion

46. This report is an attempt to give a balanced picture of the education of immigrant children in those London primary schools in which they form a third or more of the school roll. Data not hitherto available are presented on the varying duration of primary schooling enjoyed by immigrants who left these schools in 1966 and its relationship with their attainment at eleven. This entirely new information is presented in the wider context of a survey of the mobility of immigrants, the staffing and accommodation of the schools, their approach to the integration and education of immigrants, especially the language problem, and the contributions as well as the difficulties presented by the newcomers and their parents. Consideration is also given to the disturbing effect on many children of their sudden transition from overseas to a school in London.

On the whole, the results of the survey are encouraging. There are indications that teachers are gaining increasing skill in meeting the needs of immigrant pupils and that some problems once prevalent are diminishing in scale. Although the poor attainment of many recent arrivals is a continuing problem to the schools, the finding that the performance of immigrant pupils improves steadily in relation to their length of English schooling is both a testament to the efforts of their teachers and an encouragement for the future. Further, although differences can be seen between immigrants who have received all or most of their primary schooling in this country and all the Authority's pupils, these differences are smaller than many people feared. The fear also that non-immigrant pupils in schools with many immigrants would suffer in attainment is shown to have no clear statistical foundation, though there may be particular instances.

But perhaps the most encouraging feature of the whole study is the clear evidence that emerged of the thoughtful and humane approach to the whole question so generally prevalent among London head teachers and their staffs. Almost universally they have accepted a new challenge to their skill with interest and buoyancy and a great dedication to the needs of children of whatever race.

It should be said in conclusion that many questions have had to be left unanswered and that in other cases the answers given are tentative and point to the need for further systematic study. Thus, it would be valuable to extend our knowledge of the attainment of immigrants to pupils in primary schools where they form *less* than a third of the roll and also to pupils in secondary schools. The performance of immigrants whose entire primary education has been in this country merits investigation in a larger sample than was possible in the present survey. Finally, regular investigation could be made of the performance of non-immigrants in schools with high immigrant numbers. The further investigation of these questions by the Authority merits considerable priority and their importance should also be brought to the attention of the Department of Education and Science.

Recommendations

(1) The working party welcomes the principle of positive discrimination (Plowden, para. 151). In calling particular attention, in the context of this report, to the needs of many immigrant children, the working party recognizes that they form only one important category of children who are liable to be socially and culturally deprived or disadvantaged, and for whom compensatory education, supported by measures of positive discrimination, is urgently desirable. It follows that certain recommendations (2, 4, 5, 6) given below are also applicable to other categories of children not included in our terms of reference.

(2) Schools with high percentages of immigrants have a strong claim to generous provision of teaching staff. The working party welcomes the consideration now being given by the Authority to a variety of measures to attract teachers to the areas most in need, so that generous staffing authorisations may be made effective in practice (para. 22).

(3) The need for more widespread in-service training of teachers, throughout the Authority's area, in relation to the education of immigrant children, should be taken fully into account in the allocation of resources for teachers' centres (para. 23).

(4) Recent increases in provision for ancillary help are welcomed. Where infants' schools or classes contain a high proportion of immigrants it is hoped that it will eventually be possible to allow one full-time infants' helper to every two such classes (paras. 18, 35, 45).

(5) Further encouragement should be given to schools with large numbers of immigrants to seek the help of suitable voluntary workers on the lines of the Vauxhall experiment (para. 18).

(6) A high percentage of immigrants should be taken into account, with other factors, in according some schools a particularly generous school allowance (para. 45).

(7) Divisional officers should keep a short list of interpreters in various languages, who live locally and are available to schools on request by telephone, and who would be paid for this service (paras. 33, 35).

(8) The Authority should make available to the schools simple leaflets in various languages to inform parents about (*a*) various social agencies they may need to know about, (*b*) things they may need to know about the working of the English primary school system and their own rights and obligations, (*c*) transfer to secondary education (paras. 33, 34).

(9) The possibility should be explored further of paying teachers or others to provide at primary schools classes for immigrant mothers (which might sometimes include language tuition), during the half hour or so after they have come to school to collect their children. Where there is not a play centre, helper hours would need to be extended slightly so that the children could be supervised (para. 34).

(10) More consideration might be given in play centres, especially during the summer holidays, to the educational as well as the recreational needs of immigrant children, especially those who are non-English-speaking. Play centres might also be able to help children arriving from abroad during the summer holiday to adjust to some aspects of their new environment before they start school (para. 14).

(11) Further consideration should be given to easing the transition to school of children coming direct from overseas, whether by way of an experiment with reception classes or centres, or by other means (paras. 12, 13, 45).

(12) It is suggested (Appendix I) that such problems as stem from the high concentration of immigrant children in certain areas are only capable of solution in terms of housing progress and policy. It is recommended that the educational difficulties of the present situation should be the subject of consultation with the housing authorities.

(13) It is recommended that areas with a high immigrant population should be among those given high priority in any future expansion of nursery education or pre-school provision.

(14) Considerable priority should be given to further investigation of some of the questions dealt with in this Report and to some others not included in this study. (Conclusion.)

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B

APPENDIX I

The Effects of an Intake Standstill

In a report (6–12–65) the Education Officer made a tentative suggestion as to the means whereby the percentage of immigrants might be limited in some schools. ' My proposal is that, where local conditions permit (i.e., where there is no general pressure on accommodation and where suitable alternative schools are available within reasonable distance) a school where the percentage of overseas children is particularly high should be regarded, for a time, as full to immigrant and local children alike. Admissions in these circumstances should take place only at the beginning of the school year. Because of the rapid turnover of immigrant pupils this would lead, after a time, to a fall in their proportion of the school roll.' It was recognised that the relevance of the proposal ' to any particular school or group of schools could be decided only in the light of a detailed examination of local conditions '. The Education Officer went on to say: ' . . . this measure could have limited applicability only. In boroughs like Hackney and Lambeth, and in parts of Islington, there is already acute pressure on accommodation and a policy which left vacancies in schools would be indefencible and unworkable '.

The survey gave a good opportunity to test the effects of this ' intake standstill ' on the sample schools. Information was obtained on the number of pupils, immigrant and non-immigrant, entering and leaving the 52 schools in the Spring term 1966, when, apart from the admission of some infants, the only admissions would be transfers or the admission of newly arrived immigrants. The results were as follows:

Total number of pupils entering and leaving the 52 schools in the Spring term 1966

	Numbers entering	Numbers leaving	Total movement
Non-immigrant pupils	315	426	741
Immigrant pupils	537	466	1,003
Totals	852	892	1,744

It is at once apparent that, although the number of immigrants entering the schools is much larger than the number of non-immigrants entering, the numbers leaving are not so very different. In fact, these schools are mostly in areas of considerable mobility of immigrants and non-immigrants alike. However, it seemed worth while to test the effect of the proposed intake standstill in each of the 52 schools. In many of the schools the percentage of immigrants increased slightly during the Spring term, and the question to be answered was whether the standstill policy would have prevented this increase, and whether, in addition, it would have led to a decrease. More precisely, it was necessary to find the difference between:

(*a*) the immigrant percentage at the *end* of the Spring term 1966 if (as was in fact the case) no intake standstill was applied; and

(*b*) the immigrant percentage at the *end* of the Spring term 1966, *if* the proposed intake standstill had been applied throughout that term.

In the average school, the result of applying the standstill, compared with not applying it, would have been a decrease in the immigrant percentage at the end of the term by 1·15 per cent. In 20 schools, however, the effect of applying the standstill would either have been an increase in the percentage of immigrants or a decrease of less than 1 per cent., compared with what would otherwise have been the percentage by the end of the term. In only 12 schools would the effect have been to reduce the end-of-term percentage by more than 2 per cent. The greatest effect would have been a reduction by 3·2 per cent. in one school. The average fall in the *total roll* of the schools as a result of the standstill would have been 6 per cent. and in the school where the standstill would have had the greatest effect in lowering the immigrant percentage, the total roll would have fallen during the term by 16 per cent.

These reasons for doubting the widespread feasibility of the proposal are reinforced as soon as one asks a further question: what is to happen to the 852 children who, under this standstill policy, would not be admitted to these 52 schools? A full answer to this question would require a very detailed study of all 52 neighbourhoods—the neighbouring schools, their accommodation for increased rolls, their present immigrant percentages, any main-road hindrances to the movement of children, possible limitations imposed by the religious priorities of voluntary schools, and the extent to which brothers and sisters of children already in the 52 schools would have to be treated as exceptions. A first look at this question, based on some data provided by divisional officers in June 1965, is not very encouraging. A major

difficulty is that schools near to those with high immigrant percentages, usually themselves have high or fairly high immigrant percentages, and so provide no answer.

The proposed intake standstill was never advanced as likely to be of wide application, but it appears from this evidence that its feasibility is even more limited than was thought. Even so, there is a different reason for applying a standstill in suitable cases, which was also stated in the report of 6 December 1965: 'It would permit . . . the formation of small classes and give teaching staff a better opportunity of tackling the educational difficulties inherent in the situation. All children, indigenous and immigrant, would thereby have better educational opportunities'. This reason for limiting the intake into schools with high immigrant percentages still holds good, and is reinforced by what has been said in this report in favour of smaller classes and a more favourable pupil/teacher ratio. Here again, however, local pressure on accommodation and other factors will often set limits to what is possible.

No doubt the best ultimate hope for a more uniform distribution of immigrants throughout London schools lies in the re-housing of the populations of the decayed areas where so many of them live. Meanwhile it is to be hoped that all schools will think of themselves as neighbourhood schools and take their fair share of all the children, immigrant and non-immigrant, who belong to the area they serve.

APPENDIX II

Immigrants in E.S.N. Schools

In September 1966, 23·5 per cent. of the pupils in day schools for educationally sub-normal children were immigrants compared with 13·2 per cent. in all the Authority's schools. The question naturally arises whether such children are properly placed in special schools in view of doubts about the validity of both verbal and non-verbal tests of intelligence when applied to children with different cultural background from the population on which the tests were standardized.

One of the Authority's school medical officers with long experience in the examination of educationally sub-normal children feels that some of the immigrant children, especially West Indians admitted to E.S.N. schools, may well have intellectual potential above the level of their assessed I.Q., their level of achievement having been depressed by inadequate or narrow previous education. Even those born in this country may have been in the care of inadequate child minders and deprived of educationally stimulating toys and social play. On the other hand, children from non-English-speaking homes have the problem of learning a second language which is a particularly serious handicap for those of limited intelligence. For some of these children, placement in a special school may be of benefit because of smaller classes and individual methods. Nevertheless, the prospect of an early return to ordinary school should always be borne in mind.

These impressions are confirmed by the report of a teacher from an ILEA special school with a 30 per cent. immigrant population who was seconded to make a six weeks study of education in Jamaica. As well as commenting on the subtle language differences which make communication difficult, she draws attention to the restricted curriculum and rigidity of discipline imposed by the physical over-crowding and understaffing of many Jamaican schools. These two factors must make it difficult for children to adjust to our schools, as well as to our more complicated city life.

It is felt that the ascertainment of immigrant pupils for special education and their length of stay in special schools are both matters which merit further inquiry. A small survey on these questions and certain other aspects of the education of immigrants in special schools has been undertaken, and it is hoped to make it the basis of a separate report.

APPENDIX III

TABLE A—PERFORMANCE OF IMMIGRANT PUPILS

Figures given are the percentages of immigrant pupils in the sample schools falling into each of the seven profile groups in the three 'subjects'. For comparison, the corresponding percentages for all the Authority's pupils are also shown.

Group in profile	English		Verbal Reasoning		Mathematics	
	Immigrants	ALL ILEA	Immigrants	ALL ILEA	Immigrants	ALL ILEA
1	2	11	2	11	2	12
2	4	15	4	14	4	15
3	7	15	7	15	8	15
4	14	19	11	17	15	18
5	16	15	15	15	16	15
6	23	15	25	15	23	15
7	33	11	36	12	32	11
No. for whom information received ..	1,051	31,723	1,038	31,706	1,051	31,722

TABLE B—PERFORMANCE OF IMMIGRANT PUPILS GROUPED BY DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES

Figures given are the percentages of each nationality, falling into each of the seven profile groups. For comparison, the corresponding percentages for all ILEA pupils are also shown.

(*a*) *English*

Nationality	No. of pupils for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
West Indian	590	1	3	6	15	14	24	37
Indian and Pakistani ..	74	3	5	14	8	15	24	31
Cypriot	237	3	3	7	12	18	23	34
Other	150	3	7	12	17	20	22	20
ALL ILEA	31,723	11	15	15	19	15	15	11

(*b*) *Verbal Reasoning*

Nationality	No. of pupils for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
West Indian	583	1	3	6	10	14	26	41
Indian and Pakistani ..	73	3	10	11	14	15	15	33
Cypriot	232	1	5	7	13	17	25	32
Other	150	5	7	9	13	15	27	24
ALL ILEA	31,706	11	14	15	17	15	15	12

(*c*) *Mathematics*

Nationality	No. of pupils for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
West Indian	590	1	3	5	12	14	25	40
Indian and Pakistani ..	74	5	7	11	19	16	11	31
Cypriot	237	3	4	8	19	17	25	23
Other	150	5	6	14	20	19	19	17
ALL ILEA	31,722	12	15	15	18	15	15	11

TABLE C—PERFORMANCE OF IMMIGRANT PUPILS RELATED TO THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH

Figures given are the percentages of each group with the same knowledge of English falling into each of the seven profile groups. For comparison, the corresponding percentages for all ILEA pupils are again shown.

(*a*) *English*

Knowledge of English	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English-speaking	752	3	5	10	18	18	24	22
English-speaking but needing further teaching ..	244	0	1	2	6	11	25	55
Little or no English ..	55	0	0	0	0	4	4	92
ALL ILEA	31,723	11	15	15	19	15	15	11

(*b*) *Verbal Reasoning*

Knowledge of English	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English-speaking	750	2	6	8	14	16	26	27
English-speaking but needing further teaching ..	238	0	0	4	7	10	26	53
Little or no English ..	50	0	0	2	0	8	6	84
ALL ILEA	31,706	11	14	15	17	15	15	12

(*c*) *Mathematics*

Knowledge of English	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English-speaking	752	3	6	9	19	16	23	25
English-speaking but needing further teaching ..	244	1	0	4	7	16	22	50
Little or no English ..	55	0	2	4	0	4	27	64
ALL ILEA	31,722	12	15	15	18	15	15	11

TABLE D—PERFORMANCE OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING IMMIGRANT PUPILS, GROUPED BY NATIONALITY

Figures given are the percentages of each nationality group with a good knowledge of English falling into each of the seven profile groups. For comparison, the corresponding percentages for all ILEA pupils are again shown.

(*a*) *English*

Nationality	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
West Indian	478	2	4	7	18	16	25	28
Indian and Pakistani ..	43	5	7	21	12	14	26	16
Cypriot	124	5	6	10	18	26	21	14
Other	107	4	8	17	19	21	24	7
ALL ILEA	31,723	11	15	15	19	15	15	11

(*b*) *Verbal Reasoning*

Nationality	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
West Indian	476	1	4	7	13	15	26	35
Indian and Pakistani ..	43	5	16	9	16	16	21	16
Cypriot	124	2	10	9	17	22	27	14
Other	107	7	9	12	16	16	25	14
ALL ILEA	31,706	11	14	15	17	15	15	12

(*c*) *Mathematics*

Nationality	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
West Indian	478	1	4	6	14	16	27	32
Indian and Pakistani ..	43	9	12	9	28	12	9	21
Cypriot	124	6	8	12	27	15	19	12
Other	107	7	7	18	22	22	15	8
ALL ILEA	31,722	12	15	15	18	15	15	11

TABLE E—PERFORMANCE OF IMMIGRANT PUPILS RELATED TO THEIR YEAR OF ENTRY TO UNITED KINGDOM EDUCATION

Figures given are the percentages of the total number of immigrant pupils entering U.K. education each year falling into each of the seven profile groups. For comparison, the corresponding percentages for all ILEA pupils are again shown.

(*a*) *English*

Year of entry to U.K. education	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1959 and 1960	219	5	8	12	17	21	25	13
1959 or earlier	52	6	15	8	15	21	21	15
1960	167	5	5	12	17	20	26	14
1961	112	2	4	10	21	14	28	21
1962	152	3	5	10	18	21	20	22
1963	102	1	4	9	14	17	26	29
1964	175	0	2	5	11	10	26	46
1965	192	1	2	3	7	10	22	56
1966	72	0	0	0	8	15	14	62
No information	29	0	10	7	24	31	14	14
ALL ILEA	31,723	11	15	15	19	15	15	11

(*b*) *Verbal Reasoning*

Year of entry to U.K. education	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1959 and 1960	218	4	8	12	15	18	26	16
1959 or earlier	52	5	11	13	17	17	22	14
1960	166	4	7	11	16	18	26	18
1961	112	1	4	9	15	15	33	22
1962	151	3	5	9	13	21	26	23
1963	101	0	5	6	15	17	19	39
1964	170	0	2	2	8	10	26	51
1965	190	1	2	4	5	9	21	58
1966	69	0	0	4	7	10	22	57
No information	29	3	10	0	21	24	24	17
ALL ILEA	31,706	11	14	15	17	15	15	12

(*c*) *Mathematics*

Year of entry to U.K. education	Number for whom information received	Group in profile						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1959 and 1960	218	6	8	8	20	19	24	16
1959 or earlier	52	7	11	7	20	19	20	15
1960	166	4	7	9	20	19	24	18
1961	112	2	4	12	22	17	19	25
1962	152	3	7	11	18	20	22	20
1963	102	2	3	9	17	19	22	29
1964	175	1	2	5	11	11	25	46
1965	192	1	2	5	8	9	26	50
1966	72	0	1	3	4	12	24	56
No information	29	3	3	10	21	34	21	7
ALL ILEA	31,722	12	15	15	18	15	15	11

TABLE F—PERFORMANCE OF THE NON-IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN THE 52 SCHOOLS IN THE SURVEY

Figures given are the percentages of the non-immigrant pupils in the 52 schools falling into each of the seven profile groups in the three 'subjects'. For comparison, the corresponding percentages for all ILEA pupils are also shown.

GROUP IN PROFILE	English		Verbal reasoning		Mathematics	
	Non-immigrants	ALL ILEA	Non-immigrants	ALL ILEA	Non-immigrants	ALL ILEA
1	9	11	10	11	10	12
2	14	15	15	14	14	15
3	17	15	16	15	15	15
4	19	19	17	17	20	18
5	16	15	15	15	15	15
6	14	15	16	15	16	15
7	10	11	11	12	11	11
No. of pupils put into a profile group ..	1,564	31,723	1,569	31,706	1,553	31,722

Note: In the tables in which the figures are expressed as percentages, the percentages have been rounded up so that in some cases they do not total exactly 100.