

*Ahaduzzaman M. Ali*

## **POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF YOUNG BANGLADESHIS IN BRITAIN**

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The present paper sheds light on the political orientations of British Bangladeshi adolescents which were investigated through a questionnaire survey in Britain's West Yorkshire. The survey was conducted immediately after the 1987 election among Bangladeshi senior school students. In order to make the study broad-based and comparative White and Pakistani adolescents were also included in the sample. The total sample therefore consisted of 133 Bangladeshis, 131 Whites and 126 Pakistanis. They were 13-15 years old, with a predominantly working class background. The paper would focus mainly on the levels of political socialization of Bangladeshi adolescents and their White and Pakistani counterparts. The areas of political socialization in this study included interest in politics, political knowledge, partisanship (in the sense of party identification), trust in government, politically relevant media use and interpersonal political communication. The questionnaire is presented at the end of the paper. Multi-dimensional scaling has been used to make the study more objective. Such scaling has been followed in a number of studies.<sup>1</sup> The composition of some variables is explained in the questionnaire.

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1. J.G. Blumler and M. Gurevitch, *Television in Politics: Its Uses and Influence*, Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1969.

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The development of political orientations is part of the process of political socialization which occurs as individuals come in contact with one another, respond to the symbols and institutions of society and have social experiences with political moorings. In the processes individuals are both socialized and socialize themselves. In some instances, such as, in early childhood political socialization is more passive than active. Children may acquire values about political institutions and authority without active interest.

The social and psychological experiences contributing to political socialization are numerous. Political values may be acquired as a result of lessons having explicit political content. They may be acquired by picking up general predispositions which are later directed towards politics. A child picking up his party identification through overhearing his parents discussing politics and a person deciding to vote as he has heard men at work talking about candidates are examples of less direct socialization.

Developments in political orientations take place through individual experiences as well as common societal experiences. Individuals are socialized into the roles and norms of their political community. Though many individuals undergo similar processes, these are basically individual experiences.

Political socialization continues throughout the life span. Certain political orientations are susceptible to change even through adulthood and old age. However in early childhood the child acquires basic identifications and emotional ties with political symbols. In later childhood his basic orientations may find greater dimensions. With the taking of various roles in the political world throughout his later life the individual acquires stronger political attitudes.

The field of political socialization has been anticipated in the political theory of every era. Plato focussed on education and childhood experiences as the means of instilling proper citizenship values. Aristotle laid emphasis on political education by throwing light on the relationship between character types and constitutional structures. Bodin commented on family experiences as the precursor of political relationships.

Hobbes and Locke referred to the significance of authority structure within families for politics. Tocqueville emphasised political manners in his analysis of persisting democratic institutions in early nineteenth century America. Confucius and other Eastern scholars considered political socialization of great importance for ensuring the stability of regimes.

The current resurgence of interest in political socialization dates mainly from the studies of civic education in the USA in the 1920s and 1930s. It was noted a little in the 1954 summary of the voting literature in the *Handbook of Social Psychology*<sup>2</sup>. Research in this field grew rapidly in the 1950s and the 1960s. Since the publication of Hyman's 'Political Socialization' in 1959 there have been innumerable investigations into the acquisition of political information by young people, development of attachment to the political system and partisan attitudes.

The study on the development of political orientations of Bangladeshi adolescents in Britain poses a series of complex issues in view of their community and family relationships within British society. Coming from a completely different cultural background the first-generation Bangladeshis settled in a society whose mainstream cultural and societal values were significantly different from theirs. They experienced an attitude of non-acceptance from the host community. However they were not as much disillusioned as West Indians who regarded Britain as their mother-country. This kind of experience was not entirely new for them, as India, of which Bangladesh was a part before 1947, had been under British rule for nearly two hundred years. The divergence between Whites and Indians and the treatment of the Indians by the British has been well recorded in history<sup>3</sup>.

The recognition of reality might have some damaging effect on the mental equilibrium of the Bangladeshis. Many of them sought consolation from thinking that this isolation would at least ensure the retention of their

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2. S.M.Lipset, P.F. Lazarsfeld, A.H.Barton J.Linz, 'The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behaviour', in G.Linzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 2, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1954.

3. V.G.Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind*, (London, Widenfeld and Nicolson, 1969).

cultural distinctions. They did not intend to merge themselves with the mainstream culture. Most of them went there with the object of making money and ultimately returning home rich. With the passage of time, however, there was a change in their original design. The impact of long residence in Britain, upbringing of their progeny there and the growing economic decline and political instability in Bangladesh combined to erode the myth of return. They stayed on, although often still in a state of isolation.

### **Interest in Politics**

This ethnic isolation may have some adverse effect on the general socialization of children. There has been no such study on the Bangladeshis, but it may be assumed that greater mingling of the communities could perhaps help Bangladeshis integrate with the British society with greater ease. Notwithstanding the disadvantages resulting from such isolation, it was assumed that the isolation may not necessarily stand in the way of over-all politicization of young Bangladeshis, since the socio-economic problems faced by the community have political implications and may leave some impact on the youngsters. That Bangladeshis take an interest in politics is evident from the record of their political activity in Bradford. When Bangladesh was part of Pakistan, some of the Bangladeshis in Bradford were playing a role in British politics. Mr. M.M.Hussain, a Bangladeshi from Bradford, was the first Asian Alderman in Britain. He was also a Councillor. According to local leaders Bangladeshi participation in voting is quite high. A study carried out in Bradford found that the Asian turn-out in local and national elections was higher than non-Asian turn-out<sup>4</sup>. The part played by Bangladeshi leaders in Bradford in British politics was evidenced in a number of studies<sup>5</sup>. The second generation members are

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4. M.J. Le Lohe, 'Participation in Elections by Asians in Bradford', in I.Crewe (ed.), *British Political Sociology Year Book, 41, The Politics of Race* (London, London Crown Helm).

5. S. Bentley, 'Intergroup Relations in Local Politics: Pakistanis and Bangladeshis', *New Community*, Vol.1, 1973, pp. 44-48.

obviously exposed to all these influences because of the close-knit community and family relationships. Moreover they receive a variety of stimuli at school and through the media, which may excite their interest in national affairs. It is likely that many of the Bangladeshi children who have come from remote rural areas in Bangladesh have undergone a process of psychic mobility as a result of the geographical mobility, which may lead to an increased level of awareness. However the relatively disadvantaged position of the Bangladeshis in the British society may somewhat affect the Bangladeshi children's socialisation to mainstream politics. It may be assumed that in general they will be less socialised than the Whites and also the Pakistanis who are a more established community than the Bangladeshis and have achieved more in education, employment and so on.

Findings in the study indicate that Bangladeshis were no less interested in the election than Whites, but they were less interested than Pakistanis. Table 1 shows that Bangladeshis, Whites and Pakistanis had 2.21, 2.26 and 2.50 mean scores respectively on a four-point scale measuring adolescents' interest in the election. Mere mean differences are not necessarily indicative of any significant difference. Standard deviations are taken into consideration along with means. The observed level of significance shows that there was a significant difference between the groups. The multiple range test locates that difference as between Bangladeshis and Pakistanis.

This interest in politics was affective in nature and was assessed by asking a question on the respondents' interest in the election campaign. The almost same level of interest of the Whites and the Bangladeshis throws some light on the fact that many Bangladeshi children who arrived late in Britain might be interested, like other children who had been living there for a long time, in the colourful media like television on which the election campaign is a source of entertainment. As a matter of fact in Britain the election campaign is mainly TV campaign. Pakistanis could take greater interest in the election campaign because of their relatively stable position in the society.

The level of parental interest in the election, as reported by respondents, was probed alongside the adolescents' interest. Table 2 shows that the mean of parental interest for Bangladeshis on a 1-10 point scale measuring parental interest in the election was 4.72. Whites and Pakistanis had 5.39 and 5.83 means respectively. The observed level of significance shows that there was no significant difference between Bangladeshi and White parents or between Pakistani and White parents. Pakistanis were again found to be more interested than Bangladeshis.

The means of all groups (Table 1) indicated that they were in general moderately interested. In view of the working class background of the adolescents in the study the level of interest seemed to be normal. In Britain adolescent political interest appears to be strongly related with type of schooling and occupational status<sup>6</sup>. Students in higher-status schools show greater political interest than those in lower-status schools and children of white-collar parents show greater interest than the children of manual parents. Findings (Table 2) indicated that parents' interest in the election, as reported by the adolescents, also seemed to be moderate.

Pakistanis seemed to be somewhat more interested than Bangladeshis either on the respondents' side or the parents'. This relatively high level may be due to the generally more established position of the community, which may in its turn influence their exposure to various social stimuli including the media.

### Political knowledge

The socio-economic status and background may affect the cognitive level of the children. Most of the Bangladeshi children do not receive much incentive for education at home, as the first generation members of the working class have minimal or no schooling<sup>7</sup>. It may be assumed that they

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6. D. McQuail, L. O'Sullivan and W.G., Quine, 'Elite Education and Political Values', *Political Studies*, 16, 1968, pp. 257-66; R.E. Dowse and J.A. Hughes, "Girls, Boys and Politics", *British Journal of Sociology*, 22, 1971, pp. 53-67.

7. E.J.B. Rose and Associates, *Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations*, (London, Oxford University Press, Ltd, 1975), pp. 84-122.

are less exposed to the flow of information at home and school. This scarcity of general information may adversely affect their acquisition of political information as well.

Bangladeshis were found to be significantly less informed than Whites and Pakistanis (Table 3). The means of Bangladeshis, Whites and Pakistanis on a 0-15-point scale measuring the acquisition of information were 3.45, 5.59 and 4.55 respectively. Pakistanis were also significantly less informed than Whites.

Reviewing the responses to some questions on politicians may shed more light on the respondents' awareness of politicians' names. The adolescents demonstrated relatively high awareness of the Conservative and Labour leaders (Table 4). Sixty-two per cent of Bangladeshis, 89% of Whites and 71% of Pakistanis were found to be aware of the Conservative leader. Sixty-three per cent of Bangladeshis, 84% of Whites and 77% of Pakistanis gave correct responses to the question on Labour leader.

The respondents were much less aware of other leading politicians. Only 7% of Bangladeshis, 14% of Pakistanis, 24% of Whites knew the SDP leader. The Liberal leader seemed to be relatively known. Seventeen per cent of Bangladeshis, 25% of Pakistanis and 42% of Whites gave correct responses to the enquiry about the Liberal leader. But when asked about any other leading Liberal politician the respondents seemed to be much less informed. Only four per cent of Whites and none of the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis gave correct responses.

It may be noted that the adolescents' familiarity with the MPs in their respective areas was much lower than their familiarity with the leaders of major parties. Only 16% of Bangladeshis, 22% of Whites and 21% of Pakistanis could identify their MPs by name. That prominence is more effective than proximity was evidenced by the response pattern.

The same trend of low acquisition was evident in relation to their knowledge about party policies during the election campaign (Table 5). Among the five questions on party policies the respondents were most aware of the Labour's policy of removing nuclear arms. Thirty-five per cent

of Bangladeshis, 69% of Whites and 51% of Pakistanis gave correct responses to this question. About the Conservative's policy of privatisation Bangladeshis seemed to be much less aware than other groups. Seven per cent of Bangladeshis, 33% of Whites and 22% of Pakistanis gave correct responses to the relevant question. The respondents' awareness of the other policies was found to be relatively low. Sixteen per cent of Bangladeshis, 28% of Whites and 16% of Pakistanis were aware of the Alliance's policy of coalition government. Ten per cent of Bangladeshis, 18% of Whites and 9% of Pakistanis were aware of the Labour's policy of working with trade unions over economic matters. Nineteen per cent of Bangladeshis, 28% of Whites and 19% of Pakistanis were aware of the Conservative's policy of tax-cuts.

The level of political knowledge seems to be low among all groups. Belonging to the lowest stratum of the working-class in this country may be considered one of the chief reasons for the low level of political knowledge among Bangladeshi children. With this may be combined other factors that hinder the growth of their cognitive development. These factors apply to some extent to White and Pakistani children who are also mostly from the working class. These children may be subject to certain limitations like retardation of development in perceptual ability<sup>8</sup>.

### Partisanship

It is rather difficult to have a correct idea of the extent of adolescent party allegiance in view of the available data. Some studies in Britain reported very high partisanship among school boys<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand a study on non-selective school pupils found relatively less party identification<sup>10</sup>. The results of this study were explained by the weakening

8. J.S. Coleman, *The Adolescent Society*, (New York, The Free Press, 1961).

9. P.R. Abramson, "The Differential Political Socialization of English Secondary School Students", *Sociology of Education*, 40, 1967, pp. 246-69; T.J. Nossiter, *Communism in Kerala*, (London, C. Hurst and Company, 1982); E.T. Zureikh, "Party Images and Partisanship among Young Englishmen", *British Journal of Sociology*, 25, 1974, pp.179-200.

10. E.R. Tapper and R.A. Butler, 'Continuity and Change in Adolescent Political Party Preference', *Political Studies*, 18, 1970, pp. 390-94.



of family political loyalty. In view of the family relationships in the Bangladeshi community it seems that Bangladeshi adolescents may have family political loyalty to a considerable extent. In an ethnographic study of the Bangladeshis I found that they were highly partisan and were mostly supporters of the Labour. This high level of adult partisanship may be transmitted to the offspring.

In the survey 83% of Bangladeshis, 68% of Whites and 88% of Pakistanis were found to be partisan (Table 6). White adolescents were significantly less partisan than their Bangladeshi counterparts (Chi-Square 6.97991 D.F 1 Significance 0.0082). There was no significant difference between Bangladeshis and Pakistanis. Whites were significantly less partisan than Pakistanis as well (Chi-Square 13.97266 D.F 1 Significance 0.0002).

Bangladeshi and Pakistani adolescents mostly identified the Labour, while Whites' party identification was relatively diverse (Table 6A). Seventy-seven per cent of Bangladeshis, 84% of Pakistanis and 38% of Whites identified the Labour. Eighteen per cent of Whites compared to 3% of Bangladeshis and 2% of Pakistanis identified Conservative. Six per cent of Whites compared to 2% of Bangladeshis and 2% of Pakistanis identified the Liberal. Three per cent of Whites compared to none of the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis identified the SDP. One per cent of Whites compared to none of the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis identified the National Front and Alliance. 'None' and 'Don't know' responses were high among Whites compared to Bangladeshis and Pakistanis.

Bangladeshi and Pakistani fathers, as reported by the respondents, were mostly supporters of the Labour, while White fathers' party affiliation seemed to be comparatively diverse (Table 6B). Sixty-eight per cent of Bangladeshis, 72% of Pakistanis and 25% of Whites identified the Labour. Twenty-four per cent of Whites, 4% of Bangladeshis and 2% of Pakistanis identified the Conservative. Six per cent of Whites, none of Bangladeshis and 1% of Pakistanis identified the Liberal. Two per cent of Whites, 1% of Bangladeshis and 1% of Pakistanis identified the SDP. One per cent of

Whites and none of Bangladeshis and Pakistanis identified the Alliance. There seemed to no difference in 'Don't know' responses between Whites and Bangladeshis. Pakistanis gave fewer such responses than Whites and Bangladeshis.

Bangladeshi adolescents' high partisanship reminds one of the ample evidence of highly partisan socialization of Black children in the USA in the late 1960s. Black children were found to favour their political allies more than White children<sup>11</sup>. They were highly knowledgeable about racial issues and high in Black consciousness<sup>12</sup>. Bangladeshi adolescents in the present study were found to be highly supportive of the Labour which stands for the ethnic minorities' rights. Their identification was considerably in conformity with their fathers' affiliation. Pakistani children were also closer to Bangladeshis in this respect.

### **Trust in Government**

Economic and social disadvantages faced by Bangladeshis were well-documented in the Home Affairs Committee Report<sup>13</sup>. Unemployment is the highest among them. Combined with this are problems like housing, education, health and so on. The situation deteriorated under the Conservative government, which had not been popular with Bangladeshis. All this may have some negative effect on the adolescent outlook, encouraging cynicism at this stage of growth. It may be assumed that Bangladeshi adolescents would have a low trust in government.

The findings in the study indicate that the mean for Bangladeshis was 4.29 on a 1-10 point scale measuring trust (Table 7). Bangladeshis were found to be less trustful of government than Whites. The means for Whites

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11. R.S. Sigel, "An Exploration into some Aspects of Political Socialization: School Children's Reactions to the Death of a President", in M. Wolfenstein and G. Kliman (eds.), *Children and the Death of a President*, (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1965).

12. A.M. Orum and R.S. Cohen, "The Development of Political Orientations among Black and White Children", *American Sociological Review*, 38, 1973, pp. 62-74.

13. HMSO, *Bangladeshis in Britain: A Report of the Home Affairs Committee, vol. 1*, (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1985).

and Pakistanis were 5.10 and 4.57 respectively. Low trust among Bangladeshi adolescents is in conformity with research findings concerning distrust, disaffection, cynicism among Blacks<sup>14</sup>.

Abramson mentioned no radical difference in the general area of trust and cynicism before 1967, but since then he said Black children had been less trusting<sup>15</sup>. In historical perspective adult Blacks were as supportive of the political system as Whites. The growth of political distrust among them is relatively a recent phenomenon. There may be several factors for this, one of which is that Black children's early socialization in Northern urban ghettos, as contrasted with the old rural South, may have influenced their political disaffection. Adolescents and young people have been much influenced by civil rights protests and riots in their turning to cynical and militant views.

It may not be entirely appropriate to draw inferences about Bangladeshis from Black studies done in the U.S.A and U.K. But the pattern of findings stated above seems to fit into the Bangladeshi context. Bangladeshis have a rural background. The early Bangladeshi settlers had more positive views<sup>16</sup>. The situation began to worsen in the 1960s when they were growing in number. Bangladeshis had developed urban concentrations and their children were perhaps being socialized into a different pattern. In the 1970s and 1980s race relations deteriorated. All this might have an adverse effect on the children's general trust.

Though Bangladeshis were found to be significantly less trustful than Whites, the latter also had a low level of trust. This decline in trust may be due to the effect of the period of adolescence when children tend to be more cynical and distrustful. There may be other factors, such as, changes in the socio-political scene, which may affect the adolescent mind. Children are not insulated from historical changes. Their view of politics as well may be

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14. D.Jaros and K.L.Kolson, "The Multifarious Leader: Political Socialization of Amish, 'Yanks'", in R.G.Niemi (ed.), *The Politics of Future Citizens*, (San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1974).

15. P.R.Abramson, "Political Efficacy and Political Trust Among Black School Children: Two Explorations", *Journal of Politics*, 34, 1972, pp. 1243-69.

16. C.Adams (ed.), *Across the Seven Seas and Thirteen Rivers*, (London, Tap Books, 1987).

affected by political events. Young people's confidence in officials and their policies seems to depend on the quality of government's performance. In different studies respect for governmental performance decline from an early high to more negative evaluations.

White children in the U.K. also must have some awareness of social, economic and political problems through the media and interpersonal communication with family members and friends. The dissatisfaction of White adults with the politico-economic situation might leave some negative effect on their children as well. Pakistanis also seemed to have a low trust.

### **Interpersonal**

#### **Political Communication**

In the overall socialization process interpersonal communication plays a significant part. It may also be viewed as a socialization outcome. Bangladeshi people spend much time in interpersonal communication with family members and friends. Politically relevant content, particularly elections, may come up in their conversations. Such communication in the Bangladeshi community may not contain as much cognitive content as it may in the White community. But the Bangladeshi children may have considerable participation in such communication owing to the nature of relationships in the community and the family.

In the study no two groups were found to be significantly different in their participation in family talk about the election and talking to friends about the election, which was referred to as political communication with friends (Tables 8 and 9). The means for Bangladeshis, Whites and Pakistanis in respect of their participation in family talk were 1.60, 1.66 and 1.65 respectively. The means of political communication with friends for Bangladeshis, Whites and Pakistanis were 2.29, 2.10 and 2.19 respectively. Adolescents of all groups seemed to be moderately participant in family talk and political communication with friends. In view of their age the adolescents do not seem to be below the expected level. The absence of significant difference between groups indicates the basic need of interpersonal relationships, which cuts across cultural differences.

### **Media Use for Political Information**

Children's interest in elections, parental interest in elections, participation in interpersonal communication may induce their exposure to the political content in the media. Bangladeshi children, in the ethnographic study mentioned earlier, were found to be well exposed to television. Their exposure to the press was relatively low. But there did not seem to be much difference between television and the press in relation to exposure to political content. However their attention to specific political content in the media may be lower than Whites on various grounds like length of residence, linguistic ability, parental interest in the political content in the media. Findings of the study, however, indicate that there was no significant difference between Bangladeshis and Whites. Pakistanis were significantly more exposed than Bangladeshis (Table 10).

The means for Bangladeshis, Whites and Pakistanis on a 1-10 point scale measuring attention to the election campaign in the media (television and the press) were 4.97, 5.36 and 5.95 respectively. Bangladeshis and Whites seemed to be moderate while Pakistanis seemed to be slightly higher in attention to the election campaign in the media.

### **Politicization of the Established Category of Bangladeshis**

In the present sample 38% of the Bangladeshis belonged to the established category, i.e., those who had been living in Britain for nine years or more. The other categories were the intermediate, i.e., those who had been living here for 5 to 8 years and the recent, i.e., those who had been living for 1 to 4 years. It might be revealing to look at the means of various political socialization measures of the established category, since they had a probability of approximating the White pattern due to their relatively long residence in Britain (Table 11).

The established category of Bangladeshis was marginally more interested than Whites. The means of interest for them and Whites were 2.42 and 2.26 respectively.

In respect of knowledge the established category seemed closer to Whites. The means of knowledge for them and Whites were 4.61 and 5.59 respectively.

There was no difference in the level of trust between the established category and Whites. The mean of trust was 5 for the former and 5.10 for the latter.

There was no difference between the established category and Whites in respect of interpersonal political communication. The mean of participation in family talk for the former was 1.62 and for the latter 1.66. The mean of political communication with friends for the former was 2.18 and for the latter 2.10.

The established category seemed to be slightly less exposed than Whites to the election campaign in the media. The means of attention to the election campaign in the media for the established category and Whites were 5.14 and 5.36 respectively.

The established category of Bangladeshis was more partisan than Whites. Eighty per cent of them were partisan (Table 12), while 68% of Whites were so.

The means of political socialization measures suggest that while as a group Bangladeshis were less knowledgeable and less trustful than Whites, the established category was closer to Whites in knowledge and there was no difference in trust. The trend may suggest greater integration of the established category of Bangladeshis with British society.

### **Influences of Family Disciplinary Pattern, Sex Role Orientation, Religious Affiliation**

Certain aspects of Bangladeshi community life, such as, family disciplinary pattern, sex role orientation and religious affiliation, may have some indirect influence on the development of political orientations.

Bangladeshi families usually lay emphasis on strictness in discipline. Whether this pattern of discipline has any association with politicization may be examined.

The variable of family disciplinary pattern had a range of 1-3, suggesting growing strictness. One-way analysis of variance shows that Bangladeshis and Pakistanis were both significantly more under strict discipline than Whites. There was no difference between Bangladeshis and Pakistanis (Table 13).

Bivariate correlations were computed between measures of family disciplinary pattern and politicization. Bangladeshi adolescents did not seem to be much influenced by the disciplinary pattern. The relations between family disciplinary pattern and most of the measures of politicization were slightly positive (Table 14). For Whites almost all the relationships were negative (Table 14). For Pakistanis as well almost all the relations were negative. There was a slight relation with partisanship (Table 14).

The relatively high positive relationships for Bangladeshis may suggest that second generation members are being somewhat influenced by the disciplinary pattern. The Pakistani pattern is perhaps indicative of the widening generation gap.

Bangladeshi families, particularly among the working class, do not permit the free intermingling of sexes. The traditional outlook towards separation of the sexes may have undergone some change among the second generation owing to the influences they are exposed to mainly in the school. As free intermixture of sexes is an established norm in British society, it may have a positive influence on socialization. Bangladeshi children who are influenced by such norms may develop a pattern of attitudes which conforms positively to their politicization.

A binary variable on education in separate schools was constructed to measure this attitude. Those who were in favour of education in separate schools were coded as 1 and those who were against were coded as 2. Whites were significantly different from Bangladeshis in that they were much less in favour of separate schooling (Chi-Square 48.76 D.F 1 Significance 0.00).

They were also different from Pakistanis in the same way (Chi-Square 58.56 D.F 1 significance 0.00). There was no significant difference between Bangladeshis and Pakistanis. Ninety-three per cent of Whites, 54% of Bangladeshis, 50% of Pakistanis were against education in separate schools.

Bivariate correlations showed that among Bangladeshis those who were against separate schooling, were slightly more informed, more interested in the election, more exposed to the media and mildly more trustful. They showed a positive relationship in respect of participation in interpersonal communication, but the relationship was not worthy of consideration. They were, however, less partisan (Table 14). Whites showed the same pattern in a slightly stronger way. Those who were against separate schooling were moderately more informed and mildly more interested (Table 14). Among Pakistanis those who were against separate schooling were moderately more informed, mildly more trustful, more exposed to the media and more participant in political communication with friends. They were, however, less interested and less participant in family talk. They seemed to be more partisan, but the relationships between measures of sex role orientation and partisanship was not at all worthy of consideration (Table 14). It is probable that both Bangladeshis and Pakistanis would display stronger relationships in this respect in the course of time with the acquisition of more liberal attitudes.

In the Bangladeshi community religion plays an important part in day-to-day life. Regular or frequent attendance at prayers in the mosque, reading the holy book and abiding by religious injunctions are emphasized. The impact of British society may have affected the life style of the second generation to some extent, but parental influence is still effective. As the life circumstances of the young Bangladeshis are not very different from their parents, there is no great impetus towards rejection of values to which the older generation socializes them. It may be assumed that there would be much difference between Bangladeshis and Whites and also between Pakistanis and Whites. Oneway analysis of variance shows that both Bangladeshis and Pakistanis had a stronger religious affiliation than Whites (Table 15).



Though Bangladeshis and Pakistanis had a strong religious affiliation, they did not show any strong relationship between measures of religious affiliation and politicization in general (Table 14). This is quite an interesting pattern and suggests that the Asian children who are particular about attending the place of worship than Whites, are in fact not much influenced by such affiliation in their politicization. It seems that the young people of Asian communities demonstrated a somewhat different pattern of orientation from that of the adults.

### Conclusion

A short review of the results may be useful in assessing how much the ethnic groups vary or converge. The overall group differences between Bangladeshis and Whites are greater than the differences between Pakistanis and Whites. Whites and Bangladeshis are different in political knowledge, partisanship and trust, while the differences between Whites and Pakistanis are in political knowledge and partisanship. The pattern of differences gives an inkling of subtle changes, taking place in the process of socialization.

It is illuminating that the groups are converging in certain salient areas of socialization and in this respect the Pakistanis are somewhat ahead of the Bangladeshis.

The greater diminution of differences between Pakistanis and Whites seems somewhat consistent with the social context.

It may be assigned to the Pakistanis' relative achievement in different fields. It is notable that even though Whites are more knowledgeable than Pakistanis, the difference is less than the difference between Bangladeshis and Whites. Moreover Pakistanis are also significantly more knowledgeable than Bangladeshis. The only substantial area of difference between Pakistanis and Whites seems to be partisanship. The greater differences in the case of Bangladeshis may be attributed to their relatively disadvantaged position. The differences would perhaps wither away in course of time, culminating in greater integration of the Bangladeshis with the wider society. That it is going to take place is suggested by the level of knowledge, interest, trust, media attention of the established category of Bangladeshis.

**Table 1**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Interest in the Election of Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups		2	6.15	3.07	3.47	.03
Within Groups		376	332.93	.88		
Total		378	339.08			

  

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Sttl Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Conf Int for Mean
White	127	2.26	.87	.08	1-4	2.15 to 2.41
Pak	125	2.50	.99	.09	1-4	2.33 to 2.68
Bang	127	2.21	.95	.08	1-4	2.05 to 2.38
Total	379	2.32	.95	.05	1-4	2.23 to 2.42

Multiple Range test      Scheffe Procedure  
 Ranges for the 0.05 level -  
                                  3.48   3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compared with Mean(J)-Mean(i) is..  
 $0.6654 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/n(i) + 1/n(J))$

(\*) denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level

		B	W	P
		a	h	a
		n	i	k
		g	t	
Mean	Group			e
2.2126	Bang			
2.2598	White			
2.5040	Pak			

**Table 2**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Parents' Interest in the Election of Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D. F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups		2	79.74	39.87	4.74	.009
Within Groups		379	3186.18	8.41		
Total		381	3265.93			

  

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Std Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Conf Int for Mean
White	129	5.39	2.80	.25	1-10	4.91 to 5.88
Pak	125	5.83	2.99	.27	1-10	5.30 to 6.36
Bang	128	4.72	2.90	.26	1-10	4.21 to 5.23
Total	382	5.31	2.93	.15	1-10	5.02 to 5.61

Multiple Range Test      Scheffe Procedure  
 Ranges for the 0.05 level-  
                                  3.48   3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compared with Mean(J)-Mean(i) is..

$$2.0502 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/n(i) + 1/n(J))$$

(\*) denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level

b w p  
 a h a  
 n i k  
 g t  
 e

Mean	Group
4.7188	Bangs
5.3953	White
5.8320	Pak

**Table 3**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Acquisition of Political Information of Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D. F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups		2	301.46	150.73	14.06	.00
Within Groups		387	4147.78	10.72		
Total		389	4449.24			

  

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Std Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Conf Int for Mean
White	131	5.59	3.40	.30	0-15	4.99 to 6.17
Pak	126	4.55	3.33	.30	0-15	3.97 to 5.14
Bang	133	3.45	3.08	.27	0-15	2.92 to 3.98
Total	390	4.52	3.38	.17	0-15	4.17 to 4.86

Multiple Range Test      Scheffe Procedure

Ranges for the 0.05 level -

3.48 3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compare with Mean(J)-Mean(I) is..

$$2.3149 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/N(I) + 1/N(J))$$

(\*) Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level

Mean	Group	B P W
3.4511	Bang	a a h
4.5556	Pak	n k i
5.5878	White	g t
		e
		*
		**

**Table 4**  
**Awareness of Selected Politicians in**  
**Percentages: Ethnic Groups**

	Bangladeshis	Whites	Pakistanis
Conservative Leader	62%	89%	71%
Conservative Politician	10	21	21
Labour Leader	63	84	77
Labour Politician	14	17	19
Liberal Leader	17	42	25
Liberal Politician	—	4	—
SDP Leader	7	24	14
SDP Politician	3	6	8
Area MP	16	22	21
Chancellor of Exchequer	5	16	14

**Table 5**  
**Awareness of Party Policies**  
**in Percentages: Ethnic Groups**

	Bangladeshis	Whites	Pakistanis
Privatisation	7%	33%	22%
Removing Nuclear Weapons	35	69	51
Coalition Government	16	28	16
Working with Trade Unions over Economic Policies	10	18	9
Tax Cut	19	28	19

**Table 6**  
**Percentages of the Extent of Adolescents' Partisanship**

	Bangladeshis	Whites	Pakistanis
Non-Partisan	17%	32%	12%
Partisan	83	68	88

**Table 6A**  
Adolescents' Party Identification: Ethnic groups

Colptc	Whites	Bangladeshis	Pakistanis
Lab	37.7	77.3	84.0
Con	18.5	3.0	2.4
Lib	6.2	2.3	2.4
SDP	3.1	x	x
Switches	3.1	3.8	1.6
None	14.6	4.5	4.0
Dont			
Know	13.8	8.3	5.6
N. Front Alliance	1.5	x	x
	1.5	x	x
Green Party	x	0.8	x
N =	130	132	125

**Table 6B**  
Fathers' Party Preference: Ethnic Groups

Colptc	Whites	Bangladeshin	Pakistanis
Lab	25.2	66.7	72.2
Con	23.7	1.6	4.0
Lib	6.1	x	0.8
SDP	2.3	0.8	0.8
Switches	1.5	1.6	0.8
None	4.6	x	2.4
Dont			
know	26.7	24.6	16.7
Alliance No Father at home	0.8	x	x
	9.2	4.8	2.4
N =	131	126	126

## POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF YOUNG BANGLADESHIS IN BRITAIN

**Table 7**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Trust in Government of Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups		2	42.95	21.47	3.24	.04
Within Groups		370	2449.13	6.62		
Total		372	2492.08			

  

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Std Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Conf Int for Mean
White	126	5.10	2.55	.23	1-10	4.65 to 5.55
Pak	122	4.57	2.67	.24	1-10	4.09 to 5.05
Bang	125	4.29	2.49	.22	1-10	3.85 to 4.73
Total	373	4.66	2.59	.13	1-10	4.39 to 4.92

Multiple Range Test      Scheffe Procedure

Ranges for the 0.05 level.

3.48 3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compared with Mean(J)-Mean(I) is..

$1.8192 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/N(I) + 1/N(J))$

(\*) Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level

Mean	Group	B P W a a h n k i g t e
4.2880	Bang	
4.5738	Pak	
5.1032	White	

**Table 8**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Participation in Family Talk by Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups		2	.24	.12	.22	.80
Within Groups		358	196.95	.55		
Total		360	197.18			

  

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Std Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Int	Conf for Mean
White	119	1.66	.75	.07	1-3	1.52 to 1.80	
Pak	118	1.65	.77	.07	1-3	1.51 to 1.79	
Bang	124	1.60	.71	.06	1-3	1.48 to 1.73	
Total	361	1.64	.74	.04	1-3	1.56 to 1.71	

Multiple Range Test      Scheffe Procedure

Ranges for the 0.05 Level -

3.48 3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compared with Mean(J)-Mean(I) is..

$.5245 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/N(I) + 1/N(J))$

No two groups are significantly different at the 0.05 level.



**Table 9**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Political Communication with Friends of Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups		2	2.21	1.10	1.09	.33
Within Groups		377	380.77	1.01		
Total		379	382.98			

  

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Std Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Conf Int for Mean
White	128	2.10	.95	.08	1-4	1.94 to 2.27
Pak	123	2.19	1.00	.09	1-4	2.01 to 2.37
Bang	129	2.29	1.06	.09	1-4	2.10 to 2.47
Total	380	2.19	1.00	.05	1-4	2.09 to 2.29

Multiple Range Test      Scheffe Procedure

Ranges for the 0.05 Level -

3.48 3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compared with Mean(J)-Mean(I) is..

$.7106 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/N(I) + 1/N(J))$

No two groups are significantly different at the 0.05 level.

**Table 10**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Election Media Attention of Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob
Between Groups		2	61.64	30.82	4.73	.009
Within Groups		379	2469.18	6.51		
Total		381	2530.82			

  

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Std Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Int	Conf for Mean
White	129	5.36	2.35	.21	1-10	4.94 to 5.77	
Pak	123	5.95	2.61	.23	1-10	5.48 to 6.42	
Bang	130	4.97	2.68	.23	1-10	4.50 to 5.43	
Total	382	5.42	2.58	.13	1-10	5.16 to 5.67	

Multiple Range Test      Scheffe Procedure

Ranges for the 0.05 Level -  
 3.48 3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compared with Mean(J)-Mean(I) is..  
 $1.8049 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/N(I) + 1/N(J))$

(\*) Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level

B W P  
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Mean	Group
4.9692	Bang
5.3566	White
5.9512	Pak

**Table 11**  
**Means of Political Socialization Measures:**  
**Established Category of Bangladeshis**

	Mean	Ranges	Standard Deviation
Inform	4.61	0-15	3.21
Interest	2.42	1-4	0.99
Parents	5.76	1-10	2.92
Trust	5.00	1-10	2.23
Family	1.66	1-3	0.70
Friend	2.18	1-4	1.08
Media	5.14	1-10	2.45

\* Inform: Acquisition of information; Interest: Interest in the Election; Parents: Parents' Interest in the Election; Trust: Trust in Government; Family: Participation in family talk; Friend: Political communication with friends; Media: Attention to the Election Campaign in the Media.

**Table 12**  
**Percentages of the Extent of Partisanship**  
**among Adolescents :Established Group of Bangladeshis**

Non-partisan	20%
Partisan	80%

**Table 13**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Family Disciplinary Pattern of Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups		2	5.58	2.79	8.25	.0003
Within Groups		382	129.21	.34		
Total		384	134.79			

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Std Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Conf Int for Mean
White	131	1.81	.58	.05	1-3	1.71 to 1.91
Pak	125	2.06	.60	.05	1-3	1.95 to 2.16
Bang	129	2.07	.56	.05	1-3	1.97 to 2.17
Total	385	1.98	.59	.03	1-3	1.92 to 2.04

Multiple Range Test Scheffe Procedure  
 Ranges for the 0.05 Level -  
 3.48 3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compared with Mean(J)-Mean(I) is..  
 $2.3149 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/N(I) + 1/N(J))$

(\*) Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level

Mean	Group	W P B h a a i k n t g e
1.81	White	
2.06	Pak	*
2.07	Bang	*

**Table 14**  
**Correlations between**  
**Indexes: Ethnic Groups**

	Family Pattern of Discipline			Sex-role Orientation			Religious Affiliation		
	B	W	P	B	W	P	B	W	P
Int	.06	-.06	-.02	.04	.10	.16c	-.09	.02	.05
Inf	.13	-.03	-.05	.13	.27a	.32a	-.14c	-.08	-.04
Pat	-.15c	-.09	.06	-.25b	.03	.02	.12	.003	.11
Tru	.03	-.12	-.05	.17c	.08	.24b	-.02	.02	-.07
jon	.11	-.10	-.12	.03	.02	-.16c	.03	-.06	.14
Fre	.17b	.05	-.12	.01	.01	.20c	.11	.07	-.006
Med	.02	-.05	-.11	.11	.10	.19c	.03	.02	.03

\* a : significant at .001; b: significant at .01;  
 c : significant at .05.

\* Int: interest in the election; Inf: acquisition of information; Pat: partisanship; Tru: trust in government; Jon: participation in family talk; Fre: political communication with friends; Med: attention to the election campaign in the media.

\* B: Bangladeshis; W: Whites; P: Pakistanis;

**Table 15**  
**Oneway Analysis of Variance:**  
**Religious Affiliation of Ethnic Groups**

	Source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups		2	411.00	205.50	94.42	.00
Within Groups		222	483.15	2.17		
Total		224	894.16			

Group	Count	Mean	Std Dev	Std Error	Ranges	95 Ptc Int	Conf for Mean
White	73	1.53	.88	.10	1-6	1.33 to 1.74	
Pak	76	4.30	1.62	.18	1-6	3.93 to 4.67	
Bang	76	4.53	1.75	.20	1-6	4.12 to 4.93	
Total	225	3.48	1.99	.13	1-6	3.21 to 3.74	

Multiple Range Test      Scheffe Procedure  
 Ranges for the 0.05 Level -  
                                  3.48   3.48

The ranges above are table ranges.

The value actually compared with Mean(J)-Mean(I) is..

$$2.3149 * \text{Range} * \text{DSQRT}(1/N(I) + 1/N(J))$$

(\*) Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level

Mean	Group	W P B
1.53	White	h a a
4.30	Pak	i k n
4.53	Bang	t g e
		*
		*

### The Questionnaire

1. How old are you?
2. Are you a boy or a girl?  
Boy  
Girl
3. Did you take interest in the recent General Election Campaign?  
Not at all  
A little  
Fairly interested  
Very interested
4. Did you follow the campaign on television at all?  
Ignored it  
Followed it a little  
Followed it fairly closely  
Followed it very closely
5. Did you read any stories about the campaign in a news paper?  
Ignored campaign stories  
Read only the really big stories  
Read quite a few  
Read many
6. (a) \* Did people in your home ever talk about the campaign?  
No  
Rarely  
Sometimes  
Often  
(b) If so, did you ever join in?  
No  
Sometimes  
Yes, often
7. Did you ever talk about the election with your friends?  
No  
Rarely

- Sometimes  
Often
8. How interested was your father in the recent election campaign?  
Not at all  
A little  
Fairly interested  
Very interested
9. How interested was your mother in the recent election campaign?  
Not at all  
A little  
Fairly interested  
Very interested
10. Could you tell us the names of any of the following people?  
Conservative Leader  
Any leading Conservative Politician  
Labour leader  
Any other leading Labour politician  
Liberal leader  
Any other Leading Liberal Politician  
SDP Leader  
Any other leading SDP politician  
Area MP  
Chancellor of the Exchequer
11. Please tick which party stands for the following policies in the campaign:  
Liberal SDP Alliance Labour Conservative Don't Know
- Privatisation  
Remove nuclear Weapons from Britain even if Russia keeps her nuclear weapons  
Coalition government would be a good thing for the country  
Work closely with the trade unions over economic policy  
Cut taxes



**12. What British party do you like best?**

Labour

Conservative

Liberal

Social Democrat

I switch around

None

Don't know

National Front

Alliance

Green party

**13. We can trust those who run the government to do what is right.**

Never

Rarely

Some of the time

Most of the time

**14. People in government care about what people like my family think**

Never

Rarely

Some of the time

Most of the time

**15. Do you know what British political party your father likes best?**

Don't know

He does not really like any

Labour

Conservative

Liberal

Social Democrat

He switches around

No father at home

Alliance

**16. Has your father a paid job just now?**

If yes, what is his job?

If no, what was his job?

17. Do you go to church, mosque or some other place of worship?  
Never  
Once or twice a year  
About once a month  
About once a week  
Several times a week  
Nearly daily
18. If you want to go out with your friends to some place other than the school, would you say your parents are strict about it or free?  
Strict  
It depends  
Free
19. Do you think boys and girls should be taught in separate schools?  
Yes  
No  
Don't know

#### **Composition of some variables**

1. Parents' interest in the election: The variable was constructed by combining the 8th and 9th items of the questionnaire.
2. Political knowledge: The variable was constructed by adding the correct responses to the 10th and 11th items.
3. Trust in government: The variable was constructed by combining the 13th and 14th items.
4. Media use for political information: The variable was constructed by combining the 4th and 5th items.
5. Participation in family talk about politics: The variable is based on the item no. 6B.
6. Political communication with friends: The variable was based on the 7th item of the questionnaire.
7. Partisanship: A binary variable was constructed by collapsing the values of the 12th item.

3. **Trust in government:** The variable was constructed by combining the 13th and 14th items.
4. **Media use for political information:** The variable was constructed by combining the 4th and 5th items.
5. **Participation in family talk about politics:** The variable is based on the item no. 6B.
6. **Political communication with friends:** The variable was based on the 7th item of the questionnaire.
7. **Partisanship:** A binary variable was constructed by collapsing the values of the 12th item.