THE EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND INTEGRATION OF INDIAN AND PAKISTANI YOUTHS IN NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE. AN EMPIRICAL STUDY.

Volume 2.

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RELIGION

19. PRELIMINARIES

In the final part of this study I examine the acculturation and integration of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle. That is to say, I seek to discover how far the young men were being pulled away from the traditional norms and values of their parents by the very different expectations of English society, and in particular of their English contemporaries. From this perspective I consider in turn the questions of religion, friendship, and marriage. It is seen to what extent there was inter-generational conflict on these issues. I discuss how the young men saw themselves in relation to English society and how they viewed their future. I conclude with an attempt to define how far, and in what respects, the young men were becoming integrated into English society.

First, then, I look at religion. Before doing so, however, I need to elaborate a number of important but miscellaneous preliminary matters. To begin with, one ought to remind oneself of the climate of race relations in the period in which I conducted my main interviews.

The Race Relations Climate

Most of my interviews were completed in the first quarter of 1968, and the rest were obtained in the months which followed.

The atmosphere of the time was of mounting racial crisis, with ever more poisonous controversy and ever more portents of conflict. The crisis may be said to have reached a peak with Powell's Birmingham speech - or rather, a new plateau, for though the crisis did not abate, it no longer felt to be escalating to the point of catastrophe.

Let us recall the events of the period. In the summer of 1967 a trail of racial disturbances tore through dozens of cities in the United States, ending in July with major riots in Detroit (43 dead) and Newark, New Jersey (26 dead).

In July in Britain there were widely reported speeches by Michael X, the British Black Muslim ("Whites ... are vicious and nasty people ... Fear of the white monkeys is nothing ... We can deal with them") and Duncan Sandys MP ("The breeding of millions of half-caste children would merely produce a generation of misfits and create increased tensions"). [1]

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[1] Quoted in the Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, June/July 1967, p. 246.

Michael X was charged under the Race Relations Act with uttering insulting words likely to stir up race hatred and later jailed for twelve months.

In the autumn there was another speech by Duncan Sandys (September 20) and two by Enoch Powell (in Gloucester on October 7 and in Deal on October 18). In Gloucester Powell said: "We have got to establish an outgoing for those not fitting in or fitting in less well ... They must return to the country where they belong." [1]

In October four Black Power advocates from the Universal Coloured People's Association were charged with using abusive and insulting words which were likely to cause race hatred. They were subsequently convicted and fined.

In November came the again much publicised Black Power takeover of the Campaign against Racial Discrimination at its national conference by an alliance of the Universal Coloured People's Association, the minuscule maoist "London Workers' Committee" and a dissident Indian faction from Southall.

Powell made further anti-immigrant speeches on November 19

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[1] Paul Foot, The Rise of Enoch Powell (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 104.

(Bournemouth), December 9 (Wolverhampton) and February 9, 1968 (Walsall). With this last speech he intensified the panic campaign, started by him in Deal, to deny right of admission to Kenyan Asians who had chosen United Kingdom citizenship after independence in 1963.

"Two hundred thousand Indians in Kenya alone", he warned, "have an absolute right of entry to this country." [1] There was vociferous support from the anti-immigration lobby. [2] Sir Cyril Osborne MP, for instance, said Britain was committing race suicide: "If we go on like this, there will be more blacks than whites here in seventy years' time." [3] There was strong editorial backing from the Sunday Express and Daily Sketch and big photographic coverage of the "Kenyan exodus".

At the end of February 1968 the government capitulated to this pressure, and an emergency bill was introduced to

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1 Ibid., p. 110. In fact the Kenya Statistical Digest, June 1967, estimated the Asian population as 192,000, of whom between 50,000 and 70,000, according to the Assistant Minister for Home Affairs, had Kenya citizenship. Quoted in the Institute of Race Relations Newsletter, February 1968, p. 47.

2 Including the same Duncan Sandys, who as Commonwealth Secretary at independence, gave British citizens in Kenya the right to hold on to their citizenship if they wished.

3 News of the World, February 11, 1968.

restrict the entry of British citizens who had no substantial connection with the United Kingdom wither by birth or through their grandparents. This in effect racial measure became the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968.

On April 4 Martin Luther King was assassinated at Memphis, Tennessee. Racial disorders followed in 110 cities in the United States in which 39 people were killed and more than 2,500 injured.

On April 8 the Race Relations Bill was published, which sought to forbid discrimination in housing, employment, insurance and credit. Duncan Sandys demanded the complete suspension of immigration into Britain for several years.

Then, on April 20, came Powell's Birmingham speech, with its "intemperate, calculating tone", its "doom-laden, negative, purple-patch oratory", and its inclusion of personalised anti-immigrant anecdotes. [1]

"An evil speech", denounced The Times (April 22). Edward Heath dismissed Powell from the Shadow Cabinet.

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[1] Institute of Race Relations Bulletin, April/May 1968, pp. 155-6. It became known as the "river of blood" speech (to distinguish it from the many others) because it included the sibylline warning: "Like the Roman, I seem to 'see the River Tiber foaming with much blood'". Ibid., p. 155.

But there was a massive outburst of public support for him. Sack-loads of acclamatory mail arrived. Meat porters from Smithfield, led by a supporter of Sir Oswald Mosley, marched to Parliament. So did dockers from Tilbury.

There were strikes up and down the country in protest against the Conservative Party's dismissal of Powell. [1] One of these was among workers at the Dunlop factory on the Team Valley trading estate, near Gateshead. [2] The "Letters to the Editor" columns lauded his courage.

This was the background against which my interviews took place. The racist agitation had continued unabated to the time of writing, its path blazed out in further speeches by Powell in the direction of "assisted repatriation and resettlement". [3] The latest legislative milestone is the infamous 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act.

Though the cause of the racists continued to advance, one nevertheless no longer had the same feeling of accelerating crisis, perhaps because the panic-mongering

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1 Ibid., p. 157.

2 Evening Chronicle (Newcastle), April 25, 1968.

3 Speech at the 1968 Conservative Party Conference at Blackpool. The Times, October 11, 1968.

has come to be familiar and normal. This sense of accelerating crisis was (to me) at its most intense during the scare about the Kenya Asians and after Powell's Birmingham speech, that is, during most of my interviews.

The Asian Communities in Newcastle

I need, secondly in this chapter, to give a somewhat fuller account of the Indian and Pakistani communities in Newcastle. The most notable thing about them perhaps was the lack of formal organisations. There were, to be sure, a Pakistani Association, a Pakistani League and an Indian Association, but these were almost completely inactive and seemed to represent nobody but their officials. There was no Indian Workers' Association such as most other Sikh settlements had.

The only live organisations were those concerned with the running of the different places of worship. The Hindus had their temple at the corner of Malvern Street and Sceptre Street.[1] The gurdwara (Sikh temple) consisted of three houses knocked into one, with a flagpole in front, in

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[1] Desai, strangely, says there are no Hindu temples in Britain because "the elaborate rituals which are required in a temple are forbidden by custom on foreign soil". Op. cit., p. 93.

11. (Above) Inside the new mosque in Malvern Street.

12. Inside the Hindu Temple. The children have books of Vedic prayers, in Englis

13. The Sikh Gurdwara in Crown Street.

14. Inside the gurdwara. On the dais, right, sits the granthi, or prayer-leader. In the background two young men sing and accompany themselves on tabla and harmonium.

Crown Street. The Pakistanis had their mosque in a house on Westmorland Road. A very large wooden notice outside proclaimed, possibly to the annoyance of the Gospel Mission two doors away, "Only God is worthy of worship and Muhammed is God's messenger". This was in Arabic, Arabic transliterated, Urdu and English. The Pakistani Association had a house in East Parade. This served as a mosque when the Westmorland Road premises were demolished. When this house in turn was slum-cleared, the Pakistanis bought the Methodist church on the corner of Elswick Road and Malvern Street.

Attendance was poor at temple, gurdwara and mosque. I both saw and was told that at each a normal weekly service attracted only about 15-25 worshippers. The Pakistanis, admittedly, had the excuse that the Muslim day of worship is a Friday and that the service was held in the morning, which made it out of the question for most workers.

It might be said that this lack of regular involvement by most Indians and Pakistanis made the temple and mosque committees weak organisations. Certainly they did little or nothing except run their particular establishment, stage religious festivals and put on Independence Day celebrations. They never tried to activate and mobilise their co-religionists on public issues. [1] However when, occasionally

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[1] Except at general elections when they conferred and urged their congregations to vote Labour.

they spoke out, they did, I think, speak for them.

The only other, not organisations, but community institutions were the Asian film shows on Sunday. There were two when I did my interviews. One was at the Gem, near the junction of Elswick Road and Westgate Road, and one at the Tyneside Film Theatre in the city centre. (The Gem, owned by a Sikh, was a Bingo Hall the rest of the week.)

It was noticeable that attendance was not divided along religious lines. Relations between Indians and Pakistanis, while not close, were good, unlike in other areas where the Indo-Pakistan war caused considerable emnity.

The Indians and Pakistanis were likewise not involved in multi-racial or anti-discrimination activities. The annual People to People Week was a polite formality, with such regular events as English visitors being shown round the Hindu temple or Sikh gurdwara, and selected immigrants (often from the university) taking tea with the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress.

The short-lived Tyneside branch of the Campaign against Racial Discrimination had some success in getting subscriptions out of Indians and Pakistanis when it carried out a survey of immigrants in Elswick in 1967. But none

took any active part - leaving that to a small number of whites - and few even attended the monthly meetings. [1]

The Indians and Pakistanis were in fact deliberately unassertive and preferred not to publicly proclaim their rights. This is shown in the following account of their reaction to Enoch Powell's "river of blood" speech of April 1968.

Tyneside CARD announced they would stage an "anti-Powell" march from Elswick Road to the Town Moor. The Indians and Pakistanis were privately very alarmed by the speech. Nevertheless spokesmen for each of the three groups said their community would not support the demonstration. They were, it is true, probably swayed in this by the rumour, put about by the chairman and organising secretary of the Commonwealth Immigrants Working Group (the race relations sub-committee of the City Council) that Black Power organisers were planning to come up from Leeds to take part.[2]

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[1] When, later, the Newcastle Community Relations Council was formed, immigrant "representatives" took part in its deliberations but the great majority of Indians and Pakistanis were, in my experience, completely unaware it existed. This, admittedly, also reflected the fact that the Council was exceedingly ineffectual.

[2] Evening Chronicle (Newcastle) May 7, 8, 1968.

The press reported the spokesmen as follows.

> The Sikh representative, Dr. Naru, said that his community did not support the march, for many of them felt it would cause prejudice among members of the white community. Similar sentiments were expressed by Mrs. Saeeda Ahmad on behalf of the Pakistani community. [1]
>
> Mr. O.P. Bindra, general secretary of Newcastle's Hindu temple, said: "We are just not interested in this protest. We are quite happy with living in this region and we always get on well with the people. We don't want to be the cause of violence or hard feelings." [2]

Even the CARD committee was split on whether to cancel the march. It went ahead, and the Black Power rumour proved to be as baseless as the organisers had predicted. However the only Asians to take part in the demonstration (about 200 strong) were two of my young respondents.

It is interesting to note how sharply this lack of public communal assertiveness contrasts with the Indians' and Pakistanis' individual enterprise, which was seen to be so

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[1] The Journal (Newcastle) May 7, 1968.

[2] Ibid., May 8, 1968. Neither Dr. Naru (a dentist) nor Mrs. Ahmad (a welfare officer employed by the City Council) were ordinary immigrants, though here they represented the general sentiment. The fact that they were co-opted on to the Immigrants Working Group as spokesmen is an indication of the lack of formal organisation and leadership. Mr. Bindra, much more typically, was a bus driver who later opened a shop.

successful. I suggest that the one was the cause of the other. The Indians and Pakistanis felt they were "making it" on a personal level and had established themselves very comfortably with houses, shops or businesses. They did not need organisations or marches to shout for their rights. They were in fact aware that in Newcastle a good part of their unpopularity stemmed from their very success, particularly their success in becoming landlords. They did not want to exacerbate this "jealousy", as they saw it, by making a public protest. They wanted to quietly continue enjoying their prosperity.

Literacy in Mother-Tongue

Thirdly, in this introductory chapter, I note to what extent the young Indians and Pakistanis were literate in the language they were brought up to speak as children. The overwhelming majority said they both understood this language easily and spoke it fluently. [1] In a study of acculturation it is perhaps more important to know how well they could read and write the language. Tables 86 and 87 show the replies the young men gave when questioned.

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TABLE 86

Self-assessed ability in mother-tongue: "How well can you read it?" By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
Fluently	17	10	5	32
A bit/haltingly	3	7	1	11
Not at all	6	8	9	23
No response	-	1	-	1
Total	26	26	15	67

TABLE 87

Self-assessed ability in mother-tongue: "How well can you write it?" By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
Fluently	17	9	5	31
A bit/haltingly	1	2	1	4
Not at all	8	14	9	31
No response	-	1	-	1
Total	26	26	15	67

It can be seen that altogether only a little under half the young men said they could read or write their mother-tongue fluently. Against this, 34 per cent said they could not read the language at all, and 46 per cent said they could not write it at all.

At the same time there were notable differences between the three religious groups. Seventeen of the 26 young Muslims said they could read the language fluently, compared with only ten of the 26 Sikhs and five of the fifteen Hindus. Very similar differences are apparent in the proportions who said they could write the language fluently, and in the proportions who said they could not write the language at all. Only eight of the Muslims gave the latter reply, compared with fourteen of the Sikhs and nine of the Hindus. There will be many more instances of this pattern in which the Muslim youths show themselves more orthodox and culture-bound than either the Sikhs or the Hindus.

Religious Orthodoxy in the Punjab

Before I examine the religious attitudes and religious practice of the young Asians in Newcastle, I want finally to emphasise that one should beware of naively assuming deviation from perfection. By this I mean that if the young men are found to diverge in some respect from the Hindu, Sikh or Muslim ideal, one should not take it for granted that this falling-short is necessarily the result of growing up in an alien culture. The ideal may not in fact be practised by the parents in England either, which means that the deviation, if caused by English cultural influence, affects both generations alike. On the other hand, the ideal may

not even be practised by the people back in India and Pakistan.

Certainly one can cite reports from the Punjab of heterodoxy and backsliding. I have already touched on the fact that Hinduism in the province has always been, as Chaudhuri says, "very rudimentary and Laodician". [1] Brahmanism has always been weaker in the Punjab than perhaps in any other part of India. [2] The caste system operates much less rigidly, [3] and untouchability is much less rigorously enforced. [4] Before partition this state of affairs applied particularly to Hindus in the more Muslim Western Punjab. [5] It is generally accepted to be due to the cultural impact of successive invasions and colonisations. [6]

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[1] Nirad C. Chaudhuri, The Continent of Circe (London, Chatto and Windus, 1967), p. 153.

[2] H.A. Rose, op. cit., Vol. I (Lahore, Superintendent of Government Printing, 1919), p. 3.

[3] L.S.S. O'Malley, Indian Caste Customs (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 23-4.

[4] Ibid., pp. 144-5.

[5] Oscar Lewis, Village Life in Northern India (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1958), p. 3.

[6] See, for example, Satya M. Rai, Partition of the Punjab (London, Asia Publishing House, 1965), p. 25.

The existence in many communities of families of three religions seems to have led to a further weakening of Hindu orthodoxy. Before partition, Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus commonly visited one another's shrines. [1] Many Muslim holy men had Hindu followers. [2] I discuss the character of Hinduism in the Punjab more fully in chapter 22.

There is no doubt that similarly many Sikhs in the Punjab ignore basic religious injunctions. For example, when Gobind Singh founded the martial Khalsa, or brotherhood of the pure, to resist the Moguls, he laid down that initiates should wear their hair and beard unshorn. [3] Yet Aurora states that most Sikhs get their hair cut before they start their travels. [4] Rose confirms that at least most young Sikhs over here had already discarded their turbans back home. [5]

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[1] Indera P. Singh, op. cit., p. 282-3.

[2] Darling, Rusticus, op. cit., p. 246.

[3] This was one of the "Five Ks". Members of the Khalsa swore not only to keep long hair and beard (kesh), but also to wear a comb in the hair (kungha), to wear a pair of shorts (kuchha), to wear a steel bangle on the right wrist (kara) and to carry a sword (kirpan). Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 84.

[4] Aurora, op. cit., p. 94.

[5] Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 455.

In addition to the Five Ks Gobind Singh prescribed four rules of conduct for converts. One of these forbad them to smoke, chew tobacco or to consume alcoholic drinks. [1] Yet Aurora recounts that many Sikh peasants, generally less strict than the city dwellers, both smoke and drink in the Punjab. [2] Darling, between the wars, noted the popularity of snuff-taking among Sikhs and found they were also beginning to cultivate the tobacco plant. [3]

I could find, by contrast, little evidence of Muslim laxity, though Darling does report that, despite Mohammed's ban on usury, wealthier Muslims in the Punjab were beginning to accept interest. [4] Muslims also, as noted, worshipped at Hindu and Sikh shrines. Nevertheless Darling repeatedly remarks on the lack of religious teaching in the villages and on the religious ignorance of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims alike.

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[1] Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 84. The others were: not to cut any hair on any part of their body; only to eat jhatka meat where the animal had been killed with one blow of the sword and not bled to death like Muslim halal meat; not to molest Muslim women.

[2] Aurora, op. cit., pp. 67, 70, 94. It is generally agreed that the ban on alcohol is flouted much more than the interdiction on tobacco. Darling calls drink "the besetting weakness of the Sikh". Wisdom and Waste, op. cit., p. 113. Rose says: "In practice, though most Sikhs refuse tobacco, only the most pious will refuse alcohol". Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 55.

[3] Darling, Rusticus, op. cit., pp. 56, 185.

[4] Ibid., pp. 185-7.

> "They take the name of God in order that they may fill their bellies with bread", said a landowner of the mullahs. "They tinkle the bell and blow the conch", said a peasant of the priests. The mullah learns to repeat the Koran in the Arabic but rarely to understand what he reads, and this fruitless learning is all he imparts to the boys of the village. The priest is well versed in temple rites and in the elaborate ceremonial of a Hindu's life; and if a prohit or family priest, he can cast a horoscope and distinguish between auspicious and inauspicious occasions. But though he can read, this is of little value to his flock, for the Hindu scriptures are written in Sanskrit, which he cannot usually interpret. The Sikh fares a little better, since the Granth Sahib is written in Punjabi; but even so, much of it is as difficult for the peasant to follow as Chaucer would be for an English rustic. [1]

Thus if one finds young men among our respondents who are ignorant about the teaching or mythology or ceremonies of their parents' religion, it might be wrong to assume that they would have been better informed had they stayed in the Punjab.

Equally, where there is orthodoxy in the Punjab, we should not take it that parents continue to be orthodox here. I have said that they try to recreate their old community around them in England, but this cannot be a perfect replica.

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[1] Ibid., p. 338.

Thomas and Znaniecki observed that the society which Polish immigrants rebuilt in the United States was in fact a new and different Polish-American hybrid. It was, they said,

> A society which in structure and prevalent attitudes is neither Polish nor American but constitutes a specific new product whose raw materials have been partly drawn from Polish traditions, partly from the new conditions in which the immigrants live and from American social values as the immigrant sees and interprets them.[1]

Similarly Asian parents, however orthodox and even if they are much less open to English values than the Poles were to American ones, have of necessity built something different from back home, because at the very least they are (mostly) villagers who have moved to a city and have to get a livelihood from it.

In practice there was religious laxity among parents. A number of my respondents remarked on it. Allah, a Muslim, said, for instance:

> There are too many people now who are forgetting the religion. I mean they don't pray five times a day, they don't read the Koran, they don't go to the mosque or something. I mean, they just work and go to sleep or go to their friends, something like that. They've been here in England and they see how the other people are, what they're like. You know, they try to be like them.

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[1] Thomas and Znaniecki, op. cit., pp. 1468-70.

Hardly any of the older Sikhs wore turbans. The Hindu temple committee was worried by poor attendance at the Sunday service. There were plenty of older Pakistanis to be found drinking Exhibition Ale or Newcastle Brown in the pubs of the area, particularly the Bay Horse, on Westgate Hill, and the High Elswick Tavern (known to Asians as the "small publi") tucked away between Gloucester Road and Cromwell Street. In the Tavern dominoes were the attraction. In the Bay Horse they monopolised the dart-board.

On the other hand, the Asian parents may in some respects have been more strict here than in the Punjab. Certainly I recall only one or two older Sikhs smoking.

I do not have systematic information on the parents' attitudes and behaviour. Therefore I have no exact measure of the difference, in these various respects, between them and their sons. This does not mean that the young men are seen in vacuo. Far from it. In the following chapters I present the young men's own account of their feelings and behaviour. This tells one much about their relationship with their parents, even though it is, of course, a one-sided representation.

In general however the young men's accounts were frank, articulate, subtle and full of insight. I encouraged them

to speak at length. Their explanations give us a vivid, though not quantifiable, picture of what parents do. More important, they show where the conflicts arise. The father may lapse from strict orthodoxy, but it is not enough to know this. One must also know in what situations he tells the son in effect: "Don't do what I do. Do what I say." I have, I believe, an admittedly partial but at the same time rich and rounded picture of the young Indians' and Pakistanis' feelings, behaviour, relationships and expectations.

Summary

In this introductory chapter I first gave an account of the atmosphere of race relations crisis in which I conducted my interviews with the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle. I then described the Indian and Pakistani communities in Newcastle, emphasising in particular their lack of formal organisations and the absence of communal assertiveness. I contrasted this latter characteristic with the individual enterprise of the older generation of Asians.

I then examined how far the young men were literate in their mother-tongue. It was noted that a higher proportion of Muslims than of the other religious groups

said they could read or write the language. Finally I warned against assuming that the religious ideal is practised in the Punjab. I showed that Hinduism in the province has always been more flexible than in most other parts of India. I showed that Sikhs in the Punjab were similarly lax in certain important respects, and that widespread religious ignorance existed among Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims alike.

20. RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

It was seen in chapter 1 that of the parents of our Indian and Pakistani youths two-fifth were Muslims, two-fifth were Sikhs, and one-fifth were Hindus. The young men, as will be seen, were themselves not necessarily brought up very firmly in their parents' religion - but for convenience I refer to them nevertheless as Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus.

On the question of religion I sought, firstly, to establish what the young men's attitudes were towards their parents' faith. I tried, secondly, to discover how closely they observed its practices and prohibitions. My findings and the questions arising from them form the subject of this and the following three chapters.

Degrees of Religious Allegiance

To get at religious attitudes I asked: "How important is the ... religion to you now?" Table 88 shows the replies the young men gave.

TABLE 88

"How important is the ... religion to you now?"
By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
Very important	22	8	2	32
Fairly important	2	8	6	16
Fairly unimportant	-	3	4	7
Completely unimportant	1	6	2	9
No response	1	1	1	3
Total	26	26	15	67

It can be seen that overall the young Indians and Pakistanis declared strong allegiance to the religion of their parents. Forty-eight per cent said the religion was very important to them, and a further 24 per cent said it was fairly important. Twenty-four per cent said it was unimportant to them.

At the same time there are notable differences between the three religious groups. The young Muslims expressed much the strongest degree of allegiance to their parents' faith. Ninety-two per cent said it was important to them, and eighty-five per cent said it was very important. On the other hand, only 61 per cent of the young Sikhs and 53 per cent of the young Hindus claimed their religions were important to them. Only 31 and ten per cent respectively said they were very important.

The Reasons They Gave

I try to account for these and similar differences in due course. For the moment I want to examine the reasons the young men gave for their replies. Table 89 divides the kinds of reason into positive (the first six) and negative (the last five). It also separates the young men according to whether they felt the religion was important or unimportant to themselves. By presenting the data in this way, instead of lumping the respondents together, one can see not only all the considerations they took into account when they weighed up their attachment to the religion, but also which of these were dominant and which were not.

TABLE 89

Reasons for importance/unimportance of religion. By religion.

	IMPORTANT			UNIMPORTANT		
	Muslims	Sikhs	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs	Hindus
It's the true religion/ I'm a good ...	15	3	-	-	-	-
Brought up as .../ parents ...	5	5	3	-	1	1
It tells you how to behave	4	-	2	-	-	-
It's our way of life in India	1	1	3	-	-	-
Because of the history of the religion	-	3	-	-	-	-
Believe in God/Must have some religion	1	4	3	-	1	-
Don't know much about it	-	-	5	-	3	2
Don't believe/ Disagree	-	-	2	1	1	3
Influenced towards Christianity	1	-	-	-	2	1
Confused by different religions	-	-	-	-	3	-
Fallen from tradition	-	1	-	-	-	1
Other	1	2	-	-	1	-
N =	24	16	8	1	9	6

The Muslims

The immediately noticeable thing about the Muslims is the number (15) who replied not with an argued reason, but with an assertion of orthodox belief. Examples were:

Yakub:
It's in our Bible, you know. You can read that. It tell you everything.

Bashir:
It's our religion, isn't it? I just believe in it.

Muzaffer:
It's the true religion.

Gulam:
There's a whole book written about it, and it said in that book, the Koran, that you should pray five times a day. Namaz, it's called.

Khan:
It is my religion. So I mean like a Christian he would stick to his own religion no matter where he went. Well people go all over the world to teach Christianity. Well I mean it's my religion and I stick to it.

Early arrivals, it should be remarked, answered as readily as latecomers with this kind of profession of faith.

Bashir and Gulam, for instance, quoted above, both came to England at the age of two.

All but three of the fifteen Muslims who replied in this sort of way gave no other reason, which is perhaps understandable, for with faith no reason is necessary. The other reasons mentioned were that respondents were

brought up in the religion or that it taught them how to behave. Table 89 shows that more Muslims than others gave this latter reason. These are some examples.

> Hussain:
> In our religion are many good things which we know. We believe God, and our religion says we don't have to lie. When Day of Judgement come, then the God ask us every person what he do in his life, good things and bad things.
>
> Yusuf:
> The book, the Koran, our Bible, teaches me follow the Bible, follow God, not do bad things, evil or murder, things like this, stealing. Therefore I believe in it. I believe in the Prophet like you believe in Jesus. He was the founder of Islam, the Muslim religion.
>
> Nazir:
> Muslim people stick together, and these people they look for their families and their father and mother. We look after our mother and father. Your people, once they're over 21, they don't care about your father and mother. They just go out popping, drinking, smoking, women - God knows what. But we don't do that. We respect our mother and father.

The characteristic of the Muslim answers, then, was a straightforward statement of orthodoxy, which was justified, if at all, in simple terms of upbringing and ethical teaching. The replies were not complicated with a lot of reasons. In fact only five of the 24 Muslims who answered gave more than one reason.

The Hindus

The Hindus by contrast gave much more elaborate replies. Seven of the 14 who answered gave more than one reason. Altogether the 14 gave 27 reasons, only two less than the 24 Muslims. (In proportion of single-reason replies the Sikhs came between the two.)

Again in strong contrast with the Muslims not one of the Hindus replied with a plain profession of faith. Rather they produced as reasons the fact that their parents were Hindus or that the religion was part of their way of life in India. Table 89 shows that more Hindus than others gave this last sort of answer.

> Inder:
> If I do decide to go back to India, most people are Hindus out there.
>
> Sudesh:
> It's the society I'm going to live in. I don't think I can live in English society, so if I live in an Indian society I've got to do what they do. And I have to, well, undertake the type of life they're living and the restrictions that are in Hinduism.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature was the number of Hindus (half of all who replied if we include those who said the religion was unimportant) [1] who admitted that

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[1] See Table 89.

though their parents were Hindus, they themselves had not been brought up in the faith or did not know much about it. These are some of the replies.

> Ram:
> Well I suppose it's fairly important to- as far as my mother and father think of it, and I suppose they want me to think of it as important as well. But not knowing very much about it, I can't really sort of say that it's important to us - you know what I mean?
> (Did your mother use to tell you stories about the religion?) Yes, used to read a lot of stories like that.
> (What sort of stories?) Well, about kings and queens and sort of how they lived - just things like that.
> (Did you get any other teaching from your parents about the religion?)
> Well, just as I say like, the customs. Like they have the guy, you know, Guy Fawkes night.
> (Diwali?) Yes Diwali. Well it's practically the same as yours, but I don't really know the theme behind it.[1] And other things like that. You know, our Christmas.[2] It's just after Diwali, I think.
> (What happens then?) Well we just sort of have fruit and stuff like that, and just celebrate.
> (So your parents didn't tell you what the religious importance of it was?) Well I feel they would have told us if I'd asked, but I don't really think I bothered asking.

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[1] Diwali, the festival of lights, falls in October or November and marks the Hindu New Year. It is supposed to commemorate the return of Rama to the throne of Bharata after fourteen years' exile. The people of his capital welcomed him and his wife Sita, whom he rescued from the demon king of Ceylon, by lighting earthenware lamps. The story, though not this detail about the lamps, is contained in the Ramayana.

[2] I am uncertain which Hindu festival is meant here. But where there are children Christian Christmas was certainly celebrated with a Christmas tree and presents.

Raj:
Most of the religious stories got lots of morals to them and that.
(Give me an example?) It's hard to say like. There's a lot of superstition as well. Well, I haven't heard very many, y'knaa. They're basically the same really. You know like there was the Moses one? There's one in our Bible.[1] And this one here [points to a picture on the wall], they say that he's the son of God.[2]
(Is that Krishna?) Yes.
(Who's this one with the elephant's face?)[3]
Don't know. He [Krishna] used to eat a lot of cream and that.[4] (Laughs) That's the most I picked up there, you know.
(What did he do when he grew up?) I don't know.
(So you weren't brought up very strongly in the Hindu religion?) Well if I had stayed in India, I would have read books and things like that, which I didn't have.
(Did your mother tell you stories from the scriptures?) Yes, and my sister also used to tell us stories.
(Would you say you knew much about it?)
Not too much.

Kamlesh:
I don't go to the functions that they have, you know, various times of the year, because I don't just understand them. Now if I understood them, I might appreciate them. I don't understand the ceremony, I don't see the point of burning wood or something

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[1] Not identified.

[2] Not the son of God, but like Rama an incarnation of Vishnu the Preserver.

[3] Ganesh, god of wordly wisdom, who bestows prosperity in trade.

[4] Krishna was brought up by cowherds after he had been smuggled from the palace when his aunt tried to kill him. Story in the Mahabharata.

like that, and throwing things on it. It must symbolise something, of course, but - you know, my parents understand it, they can fully appreciate it-
(Do they understand it?) Yes, they understand it.
(Did you ask them why they did these things?) Yes, I've asked them several times. They just say that it's a sort of offering, the burning of all good things, and suchlike. But I've never really fully understood these different times of the year. "Yes, we do this ceremony this time, and do that this time" - it just confuses me.

Yash:
We were only talking about this last night, and my father actually said, he said to me well it's actually his own fault that he never told us about these things. It's quite true my father doesn't go to the temple, or anything like that, probably because he doesn't have the time. But again, he's never told us anything about it. He's never bothered, he's never bothered to teach us anything about it at all. Consequently I just don't know a thing about it. My mother's the same. She's never told us about it.

Altogether, that is, not just in this context but at some stage in the interview five Hindus said they had not been brought up in the religion, and another four said that they did not know much about it or did not understand it. Only one, Kewal, showed that he was familiar with the mythology. He told in great detail how Rama came to be exiled. He knew that Rama and Krishna were really Vishnu "in different shapes". He recounted how the demon king Ravana had twelve heads, and how Rama and his ally Hanuman, king of the monkeys, built a causeway across the sea from India to Ceylon. Kewal also retold incidents from the life

of Guru Nanak, explaining, "That doesn't make any difference. It's Hindu or Sikh. These are like from the same plant."

The Sikhs

Among the Sikhs who gave positive replies some produced the sort of orthodoxies already quoted. "Our God was a Sikh. We just believe our God." However two sorts of reason were more in evidence than in the answers of the other two groups. The first was a kind of universalist theism, which occurred also in some of the Hindu replies.

Bhagwant:
I think everybody should have a religion. Because my father's a Sikh I tend to think that's my religion. But I would change if I could find a one better. All religions seem to express the same idea - that you should believe in God.

Isher:
I'm not really bothered with religion. To me everything is the same. There's no difference. If you say this God believes in this or that and another God believes in something else, it comes to the same thing. You can tell the difference between religions, eating this and that. But when it comes to it, everything that God says is the same.

Manjit:
I do believe in God, but I don't believe in religion. I believe there is a God, but I don't see why you have to have a religion to necessarily believe in him. I think if everybody just believed in God and didn't have any bother about religion as such, you know, calling it names like Catholics and Christians and things like that, Sikhs even - you know, I think it's a complete waste of time. It leads to much conflict as well.

On the other hand a number of Sikhs explained their specific allegiance by reference to the history of the religion, the persecution of the Sikhs and their resistance to the Mogul emperors. "No Sikh", says Stephens,

> can forget the death after torture at Lahore in 1606 of the fifth guru, Arjun Dev, a helpless prisoner of the Moghul Emperor Jehangir; or the decapitation of the ninth, Tegh Bahadur, at Delhi early in Aurangzeb's reign; or the fearful harassments from the same monarch suffered by the tenth and last, Gobind Singh, and the burial alive of his two boy-sons at Sirhind; or the almost inconceivable barbarities undergone by Sikhs in the reign of Ferrukh-Siyar ... when Gobind's disciple Bairagi was "torn to pieces by red-hot pincers after having been compelled to take the life of his own son" and when "a hundred Sikhs were put to death daily, contending among themselves for priority to martyrdom." [1]

Thus Shiv said:

> When I read the history I can feel that through me heart, and that so many have been sacrificed for that religion. It's no point throwing it away just like that.

Lachman said:

> I was brought up as a Sikh and was taught the history of the Sikhs - which wasn't long ago - what the Sikhs stood for and how they defended the country in this matter against Muslims and all that - and the English. (Laughs) Your religion, with Jesus etc. happened two thousand years ago. I mean people could add bits to it really without anybody knowing. I mean ours, which was only

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[1] Stephens, op. cit., p. 162.

three hundred years ago, nobody could actually add any words to it. My grandfather, great-great-grandfather - that's about all there were, going back. The Gods that we believe in actually wrote books, the Bibles that we have. I mean Jesus happened two thousand years ago, and you couldn't say, "Oh, that's a fact. He was there." I mean, there might be a man called Jesus, looked like Jesus that you believe in, but you couldn't actually prove it that he was there. Whereas we can.

The Muslims were disliking what the Sikhs stood for. They stood for writing etc. and the Muslims sort of didn't want, sort of wanted to take over the part they were living in, because they saw the minerals amongst their land and the rich resources that we have now. So they wanted to take over. But the Sikhs rallied round, and didn't fought, at first, that is. And as one of the Gods appeared - well, you know, as Jesus was born from Mary and Joseph, they were just born like that. But he led the people -
(Nanak?) Nanak, yes. He didn't teach them violence. That is, he sent them to pray and he showed a miracle as well, from God like, and the people just believed him. Then later on he said, "Now's the time to fight". He didn't say, "Don't fight", he didn't say, "That's wrong". He said, "To know when to fight is better, instead of fighting at the wrong time".

The Negative Reasons

On the negative side I have already discussed one of the reasons why some young men said their parents' religion was unimportant to them, which was that they did not know much about it. Most of these, one noted, were Hindus. None were Muslims, but there were some Sikhs, such as Paramjit,

who said the faith was completely unimportant to him

> Because me father never taught me nowt about religion like. I was brought up here with English children and must follow them.

What were the other negative reasons? After ignorance of the religion, the most important was disbelief and/or disagreement with some part of the teaching. It is seen from Table 89 that there again Hindus figured more prominently than the others. Surinder and Kamlesh could not accept the mythology.

> Surinder:
> Some of the things I've heard about the religion, they're ridiculous. Like Gods with elephant's heads, and some of these Gods flying to the moon,[1] and things like that - ridiculous really. And just things - you know, rats and lions and things like this.[2]

> Kamlesh:
> It was something about this thing that happened in the Bible or something. I said, "I don't believe it. I think that most of it's a load of rubbish." Maybe I shouldn't have said it in those words, but [my mother] got pretty angry, saying, "Now you shouldn't say that. You haven't read anything about it. You don't know, you don't know the things about it."
> Then I went into the point, well how could it be true, you know, all these fantastic stories? Well, there's a man going into the jungle for 14 years without food or anything, coming back as young as

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[1] Not identified.

[2] Perhaps he is thinking of the army of monkeys and bears with which Prince Rama went to defeat the demon Ravana.

> he was when he went, and suchlike.[1]
> And people having blue skins.[2]
> And I just said, "I don't believe it. It's pretty hard to believe." And she went into all the pros, and I went into all the cons, and so we had a pretty lengthy argument over that.

Other Hindus rejected part of the doctrine - in each case cow-worship and the ban on eating beef. Hindus revere the cow as a symbol of motherhood, gau-mata, "succouring, gentle and the antithesis of violence".[3] According to a verse in the Mahabharata, anyone who eats, kills, or permits the slaughter of a cow will rot in hell for as many years as there are hairs on her body.[4] Yet even Kusam, who said Hinduism was very important to him, disagreed with the prohibition of cow slaughter:

> When I was at school, I was never taught Hinduism in the house, through books or anything like that. But me family knew what Hinduism was, and I always thought I was Hindu. I took religious knowledge at schools. Now that it's gone, I've started going to church, Indian church, learning about it even more.

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[1] Rama certainly ate, and I cannot find any reference to say that he did not age during his exile.

[2] This is Rama again. He was dark blue like a lotus.

[3] G. Morris Carstairs, The Twice Born (London, Hogarth Press, 1961), p. 65.

[4] L.S.S. O'Malley, Popular Hinduism (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 16.

There's certain things which I think I should believe in and there are certain things I don't believe in. I mean, this is the same in all religions. (Which do you think you should believe in?) Well, I think Christ is. I know there was a person who came from God. We call him Krishn.[1] I believe in him. Whereas back home they believe in sacred cow, all this. I don't believe in this.

I mean, even Christ or our God, Hindu, in Hinduism, Krishn, if they saw people dying of hunger and they saw cows just walking around doing nothing, I mean just eating waste, I mean the grass and all that, they're wasting the land a lot[2] - I mean, even he would kill them to feed the people. This is what the God is there for, to look after the people. Therefore if they are trying to protect these cows, it shouldn't be in the religion. I don't think so myself, put it that way.

Lal, brought up a complete vegetarian, [3] and Subah, a Sikh, [4] said their religions were (fairly) unimportant to them for this same reason, though they added others.

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[1] Krishna.

[2] Kingsley Davis dramatically quantifies the problem of overgrazing by noting that pre-partition India had more than one-quarter of the world's bovine population but only one-thirtieth of the world's land surface. Op. cit., p. 208.

[3] Vegetarianism generally denotes membership of one of the higher castes, though its adoption is one of the ways by which, in India, a caste "tries to prove it is equal to a 'superior' class or superior to its 'equals'".
M.N. Srinivas, "Varna and Caste", Caste in Modern India and Other Essays (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1962), p. 66. Lal was in fact a Khatri.

[4] Khushwant Singh says that veneration of the cow was no part of the teaching of the Sikh gurus and, apart from a passing reference in the writings of Gobind Singh (cont.)

Lal:
I don't believe some of the things that they teach, their, say, their doctrine. Some of the things they say is - just like, oh for example, they say, "You shouldn't eat meat". Well, why shouldn't you eat it? It's something there to eat. I mean, they say you should rather die of hunger than eat meat. And the other thing - the religion, Hindu religion is divided into different segments, and the one we follow (just because we follow it, I suppose it's because of that), but I think it's the best one.[1] Because in the other religion they worship idols, and I hate worshipping idols. That's why I think as a whole Hindu religion is really unimportant to me. And it's old. It's an old religion. I think if it was changed, it would have a bit of bearing, but not as it is.

Subah:
I don't like the way the Bible goes on about not eating the meat, and all that.[2] I think it's daft that. If they eat the flesh off one animal, they should eat it off another. I don't see why they should keep one animal sacred, while they kill the others. Just the same thing, cruelty to animals. That's what they don't believe in, cruelty to the cow. It's a cruelty to the chickens and anything else they eat, i'n' it? Another thing is: I don't understand it. When they're reading the Bible, I don't understand what they're reading about.

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4 (contd) regretting the existence of cow slaughter, has no scriptural backing. "Nevertheless the Sikhs became more zealous protectors of the cow than even the Hindus and during Sikh rule cow slaughter was rigorously suppressed." This was part of the Sikhs' reversion to Hindu practices. The Sikhs, op. cit., p. 46.

1 This is the Arya Samaj, described on pp. 257-8.

2 See, however, p. 479 (n).

> It's old-fashioned, written with long words. There might be an odd word in it when it comes I understand, but not all of it. For all I care they could be speaking double-dutch or something.[1]

Altogether five Hindus and three Sikhs said at some stage in the interview that they disagreed with the ban on cow slaughter. Like the comment from Kusam quoted above ("This is what the God is there for , to look after the people") some of the views showed a very un-Hindu utilitarianism. Surinder, for example, said:

> There's millions dying every day in India. They just treat these cows as sacred and - well while those could save some at least.

Bhagwant, a Sikh, said:

> A cow has more rights than anybody else over there. They roam around the streets, in the market places you'll find them just roaming around the stalls. And nobody'll wallop them or kick them out of the way, they'll just leave them. Really it all stems from when the cow did all the work, and pulled the plough, and give the milk for the children. It's not exactly holy. Everybody says it's the holy cow, but it isn't. I mean it's written nowhere in the Indian religion or any religion in fact that the cow is considered to be holy or sacred. This is only through the olden time when there was no transport, no sort of cars or trucks to pull the things. Well I reckon they want to give that up. I mean they're starving out there.

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[1] This supports what Darling says (p. 459). Two other young Sikhs who mentioned the Granth Sahib however said they found no difficulty in understanding the language.

Another negative reason given by three young men (all Sikhs) was that they were so confused by the different religions that they did not believe any. Hardev, for instance, said:

> Reading the Christian Bible puts you in two minds. Then a lot of my friends are Muslims, so that makes three. So I just leave them all out. I would put myself down as more or less an atheist. The only time I would think of God was when I was coming off my bike. Say I come off my motorbike and just about smash a couple of legs or something, I'll say, "Oh Christ'" You know, it's a word that comes to me mouth, the first thing. But really it's not religious. It's just a saying when you're in pain.[1]

Finally, a few young men said explicitly that their parents' religion was unimportant to them because they had been influenced towards Christianity. Robindar, who, it was seen, found some of the Hindu religious stories ridiculous, went on:

> I'm more sympathetic towards Christ, because it seems more human, you know, the things that are told about him, and they just seem more real than some of the things I'm taught about in my own religion.

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[1] Lal, on the other hand, had a Hindu prayer he recited in times of crisis. "If I'm just sitting down and I'm having some horrible thoughts in my mind and I can't get rid of them, like killing someone or something like that, I just say those words so I can clear my mind." But he did not know what the words meant.

> (More human?) Jesus Christ, he seems to be a person. Well, Krishn, that's the holy God, he just seems to be alike a - you could say, just like a wooden carved-out symbol, everybody praising towards it.

Rasul, the one free-thinking Muslim (though even he still rated the religion as fairly important to him), experienced this Christian influence strongly as a child:

> You come home, you're taught one religion, and you go to school and you're taught the other one. Now the other one is brighter than the one at home. It's got more fairy-tales in it and it's got - yes, well, fairy-tales in a way. It's brighter, you know what I mean? It's brighter-looking and so you tend to look at it in a nicer way. This has great effect on a child. I remember myself going to a library and getting a book on - you know, when I was little like - a book on Christ, and taking it to the teacher and reading it. And I was very happy to read it and I felt, you know, that he's a good man - well he was a good man, I accept this. But you could say I was a converted Christian then. I was a Christian then. I looked at everything from a Christian's point of view. It was not till older until I started differentiating these things.

Finally, two young Sikhs actually practised Christianity. Iqbal, who was born in England, went to a Roman Catholic secondary modern school and before that to Catholic infant and junior schools, because, he said, he could not get a place anywhere else.

> They used to teach us about God and they used to take us into church next door, learn us to pray to God. They used to tell us stories about it. I was brought up in a Catholic way.

(So you began to forget about your own religion?) Well, I didn't know much of my own religion then, you see. I was only a little boy.
(Your father didn't mind?) I don't think he did, seeing as he sent us there in the first place.
(Did you find it confusing?) It's not all that confusing. In the same religions you believe in God. It's not all that confusing. And most of the stories told about God are similar.
(Such as?) Christmas. The story about Christmas. It's similar.
(So how important is the Sikh religion to you?) It's important in a way, seeing it's me father's religion, and in a way I don't know much about it.
(Have you been taught more about it as you got older?) Well me father probably knows much about it and sometimes he tells something about it, but it doesn't mean all that much.
(How often do you go to the gurdwara?) Well we used to go and then we stopped because he never used to take we. We go to the Roman Catholic church on the bottom there.
(Do you go regularly?) Not regularly, not now. When I was at school I used to go nearly every Sunday and then on leaving school I went a few times, but then I stopped.

Niranjan came to England when he was eight and became a Methodist at the age of eleven. He said he went to church every week.

The rest of the family are Sikhs. Well I never really bothered about going to the church. Sikh religion I never really bothered about when I was young. Well some of me English friends, they just sort of persuaded us to go one week, and I just sort of liked the people there and the atmosphere. Everybody was talking to me and that. I just started going regularly. I told the family about it. They didn't have much to say about it.

(What was their first reaction?) They thought it was a bit of a giggle at first like, but they didn't say much afterwards, after I told them I was going every week. They didn't say much after that. They probably thought I wouldn't, you know, I wouldn't bother with any religion at all, I would just fade out. But I've just been going.
(Why?) I just want to learn more about the Bible. It's quite interesting. Me father says it was up to me if I wanted to change or not, and he just sort of left it up to me.

Sikhs Also Ill-Informed

These last two quotations lead the discussion from religious attitudes to actual practice, which is the subject of the next chapter. Before I turn to this, however, two further points need to be made. The first point relates to the young Indians' and Pakistanis' knowledge of their respective religions. Clearly it is significant that in Table 89 half the Hindus who replied should mention their religious ignorance and their lack of a religious upbringing, compared with only one in eight of the Sikhs and not a single one of the Muslims. One should not however conclude that these other groups were necessarily well-versed in their particular faith.

This was certainly not true of many of the young Sikhs. To begin with, five stated explicitly that they had not been brought up religiously. Others showed themselves

ill-informed on the basics of the Sikh faith. Lachman, for example, quoted above, referred to Nanak and his successors as "our Gods", even though monotheism was one of the features by which Sikhism distinguished itself from Hinduism and the gurus emphatically disclaimed any divinity for themselves. [1]

Several other young Sikhs, including the very devout Gurmakh, retained the idea of monotheism but insisted that Nanak was their God. Gurdial was another. When I asked him about the picture of this saintly white-bearded man on the wall, he said, "That is our God". But he could not name him and had to ask his father. Yet he said the religion was very important to him. Manjit said Nanak was God's son: "Sikhs believe God's son came down as well".

Lachman, as was seen, prided himself on the Sikh tradition, on what the Sikhs stood for and "how they defended the country against the Muslims". His account of all this was something of a travesty however. The Muslims did not dislike the Sikhs because they stood for writing. Nor did they wish to take over the Sikhs' minerals and rich resources.

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[1] "The guru, insisted Nanak, was to be regarded as a guide and not a god. He was to be consulted but not worshipped." Gobind said: "Whosoever regards me as Lord shall be damned and destroyed". Khushwant Singh, A History, Vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 41, 87.

Lachman, while talking about gods in the plural, coalesces ten gurus into the person of Nanak. It is a fact that Nanak preached against violence. But it was later gurus, Hargobind, the sixth, and Gobind Singh, the tenth, who eventually took up arms to resist Mogul persecution, thus making the Sikh cause temporal as well as spiritual. When Lachman says that Nanak said, "To know when to fight is better", he is probably thinking of Gobind's letter to the Emperor Aurangzeb in which he said: "When all other means have failed it is permissible to draw the sword". [1]

The notion of God as a liberator and <u>national</u> saviour emerges strongly from this statement by Subah:

> English people could believe in Churchill just the same. He saved them, didn't he, from Germany. Well they could believe in him as a God, couldn't they? Because really if Germany had taken over, what would have happened? You would have been in ruins, wouldn't you? Well they could believe in him as a God.
>
> What I know of God is: God brought you to freedom from the Israelites and all them, right? Well Churchill brought yous to freedom from Germany. It's balanced out to the same thing. That's why people believe in God, because Jesus brought them to safety. Our God's brought them to safety, and it's just the same thing. They could believe in the great leaders they had that defended them and everything.

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 77-8.

One should not perhaps be too glib in picking out errors of religious belief. The rather confused ideas of these young Sikhs cannot, I suggest, be explained in terms of language difficulties, for most of the young men spoke good English. It is however possible that they found it hard to put across their values to someone outside their culture. As Hugh Tinker points out, there is moreover a sense in which "human leaders who inspire peoples have god-like qualities". [1] The deification of human beings is also a common feature of popular Hinduism. [2]

The fact remains however that this is contrary to Sikh doctrine. In general the young Indians and Pakistanis did not show any difficulty or inhibition in communicating their cultural values. (See, for example, the comments on marriage in chapter 25.) And in contrast to the other two groups the young Muslims were definitely more accurately informed about their religion.

Not one of the young Muslims, for example, said they had not been brought up and instructed in the faith.

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[1] Personal communication.

[2] O'Malley, Popular Hinduism, op. cit., p. 170. O'Malley gives an intriguing account of some modern deifications. These have included a number of Europeans. Ibid., pp. 170-86.

None of them claimed Mohammed was God, though Gulam, presumably confusing him with Christ, said, "They say our prophet, he died for us". (In fact he died a natural death.)

Some of the Muslims said that Id-ul-Fitr, the festival which ends the fast of Ramadan, was "our Christmas". Yet only two youths made mistakes about what Islam taught. One was Yusuf, who claimed that Muslims did not have to pray five times a day: "You're not made to. If you have time you have to." The other was Zamir, who included smoking among the things forbidden by Islam. I objected that tobacco was not discovered in Mohammed's time. Zamir consulted his father in Urdu, and the father said, "It was told by God". The son explained:

> It came down, you see. It was prophesised and- you know, the prophets they told that this was going to happen.
> (That tobacco was going to be discovered?)
> Yeh. They said- it just came down just like the Bible came down, the Koran came down.

In general, then, the young Muslims were much better instructed in their religion than the young Sikhs and Hindus were in theirs. The failure in the case of the two latter would seem to have been primarily the responsibility of the mother. Segal says of her, "Above all, she believes - as she is taught - that she is the transmitter of tradition, the instrument by which Hindu culture is preserved". [1]

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[1] Segal, op. cit., p. 140.

One imagines the same is true among the Sikhs.

Muslims Stress Differences

The final point to note is a difference in attitude towards Christianity which was apparent between the Muslims, on the one hand, and the Sikhs and Hindus on the other. The young Muslims with whom I discussed the matter were very clear about the differences between Islam and Christianity. The first was, according to Gulam, "They say Jesus is the son of God, which we don't believe. In our religion we say that he was just a messenger." The second difference mentioned was that Islam, unlike Christianity, had never been changed. The third was, in Rasul's words,

> The fact that the Muslim religion is very strict and the Christian religion is very weak in many ways. It doesn't control the person- tend to control the person. Whereas the Muslim religion tells you, "This is what you've got to do". It's not what you can do, it's what you've got to do. You've got to say your prayers five times a day, and this sort of thing.

The Hindus and Sikhs, on the other hand, when asked to compare their religions with Christianity, tended much more to emphasise the similarities. Pratap, a Hindu, said, for example:

It's just the same as every other religion, I think. They all tell you to honour your mother and father, and all this. All religions do that really, don't they? They tell you to- not to touch thy neighbour's wife, and all this. All religions do that, you know. It's- well that's just really common sense.[1]

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that while in general the young Indians and Pakistanis claimed a strong allegiance to their respective faiths, the Muslims declared a much stronger attachment than either Sikhs or Hindus.

There were also interesting religious differences in the kinds of reason the young men gave for their replies. Over half the Muslims answered with an uncomplicated profession of faith: "It's our religion, isn't it?" A much less frequent reason, but one still given relatively more by the Muslims, was that the religion told them how to behave.

Relatively more of the Hindus and Sikhs, particularly the latter, gave theistic answers: "All religions seem

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[1] See also the quotes on p. 474.

to express the same idea". A few of the Sikhs - but none of the others - gave the history of their religion as an answer. The Sikhs alone included young men who said that, since they were confused by the different religions, they wrote them all off. They alone included a couple of youths who were influenced by Christianity to the extent of practising it.

The young Hindus gave the most elaborate answers. Relatively more Hindus replied in terms of the Indo-Pakistani way of life: "Most people are Hindus out there". Relatively more said they disbelieved in or disagreed with some part of the religion. Many more said they were not brought up in the faith or did not know much about it.

It was shown that not only the Hindus but also the Sikhs were often ill-informed about their religion. Both groups contrasted sharply with the young Muslims in this respect. It was noted that the young Muslims tended to stress the differences between their religion and Christianity, whereas the Sikhs and Hindus tended to emphasise the similarities.

21. RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

There are obviously different kinds and levels of religious practice. It seemed to me to have three aspects, and accordingly I tried to obtain for the young Indians and Pakistanis measures on regular worship, measures on adherence to everyday rules of conduct, and finally measures on the observance of special religious occasions. In this chapter I consider each of these aspects in turn.

Regular Worship

To find out about regular worship I asked the young men: "How many times have you been to the temple/ mosque in the past month?" Table 90 gives their answers, which were coded to exclude attendance at festivals.

It can be seen that just as the young Hindus expressed the least strong allegiance to their faith, so they were the most lax in regular religious attendance. "A nice whole number - 0" was Surinder's reply to the question.

TABLE 90

"How many times have you been to the temple/mosque in the past month?" By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS
More than 4 times	6	-	-
4 times	1	5	2
2-3 times	3	3	1
Once	3	4	-
Not at all	13	13	12
No response	-	1	-
Total	26	26	15

Four-fifth of the Hindus were like him and had not been to the Malvern Street temple even once. Four - Tarlok, Inder, Yash and Pratap - volunteered the information that they had never been. The first two nevertheless both said that the religion was fairly important to them.

The only two who had attended the temple each week of the preceding month were Mohan and Kusam. Mohan did not go wholly voluntarily:

> My father tells me to go every Sunday. If I don't, every time he asks me, "Why didn't you go?" and so-and-so. But he doesn't go himself.

Kusam alone went along enthusiastically. He was not taught Hinduism at home, as was seen, [1] but just as he had

[1] pp. 478-9.

assumed responsibility for making the family's name, [1] so now, at 20, he consciously took on the obligation of instructing himself in the religion.

> I go to church every Sunday now from quarter past 11 to half past 12. After that there are books there which have Hinduism, everything, which I bring home to read, through which I am hoping to learn religion and to discuss this on Sundays at the church.
> (<u>You've only started recently. Why</u>?)
> Well, parents had a lot to do with it, my mother, my brothers. You see, it's like a gathering and all at the same time. You get to know each other. It's not just for religion. I mean the same as a church. When you go there you get to know all your friends and that.
> Before I was only just a lad. I could do what I liked. Now that I think myself that I'm becoming a man, well I think of myself, I am a man. I've got to start acting like it, take the responsibilities and all this and do all this. I must learn quite a little bit about other men themselves, and this is one way of it. I mean, at the same time see, if I get married couple of years' time, my child gets up and says, "What is Hinduism?" And if I don't know, how can I make him believe it and how can I tell him to go to church? To do all these things I've got to do it myself.

Table 90 shows the Sikhs to be the group which, in terms of attendance at weekly services, fell least short of what they professed. Sixty-one per cent rated the religion as very important or fairly important to them; 46 per cent

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[1] pp. 234-5.

had been to the gurdwara in Crown Street at least once. Even so, less than a fifth had been every Sunday.

Hardev, expectedly, had not been once: "I only go once a year for the feast. [1] Or when someone's getting married." Had he ever gone regularly?

> No. My father tried to send us[2] a few times. We barely got there. We used to be in through the front and out the back and away!
> (And he's never tried to make you?)
> No, he's not very religious. Oh, I mean he keeps certain parts of his religion - all the ceremonial doda, like the first of the month and all this. You're supposed to attend church, like. At one time he did, he used to attend church every Sunday, because he was on the church committee. He chucked it though, because he reckons you're getting a lot of corruption in the church now.

Other Sikhs, purportedly more devout, had an attendance record which was not much better. Gurmakh was very orthodox but he was also very studious - and swotting took precedence over the gurdwara. He had been only once in the month: "I generally go every Sunday, but I was very busy with the exams coming".

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[1] In fact there are ten feastdays, one for each of the gurus. Hardev probably meant the feastday of Nanak, the most important.

[2] Him and his brother.

Nihal had also been only once, because he said he generally went to the TA on Tuesdays and Sundays:

> I have to get sixteen days before the camp to get my bounty, see. That's why I have to try and have a weekend on Sunday, you see. If I don't go on Sunday in TA, I'll miss a lot of my training which I should know. I might not know what they'll be doing, you see.

Shiv, who felt so keenly the history of the Sikhs, said:

> I hardly go there like, I hardly go there. I just don't bother because I do me own prayers like. I've got this book. It says it's all the same whether you go or not like, as long as you just remember.

Dalip, again, had only been once. He did not claim to be very devout, nevertheless his father was chairman of the gurdwara. He said he did not think his father minded his not going more often.

Kirpal, on the other hand, attended the gurdwara every week. He had come straight from it when I interviewed him, though with his suit and white shirt, dark narrow tie, polished shoes and oiled hair, he looked like a burly young worker dressed for a Saturday night out. He not only went to the gurdwara: "I read the Bible every day. I read the Bible in the morning and at night times."

The Muslims alone included a few young men who had been to the place of worship more often than once a week. Riaz had been to the mosque in Westmorland Road five times

in the previous month, Yakub had been six times, Latif had been seven or eight times, Hussain had been 15 times. Rashid went sever -eight times a week. Muzaffer said he prayed an hour and a half at the mosque every day when he came home from school.

On the other hand, the Muslims did not live up to their declarations. Eighty-five per cent said Islam was very important to them, but only 50 per cent had been to the mosque at all in the preceding month. One reason for this was that the Muslim weekly service was held on a Friday, during the day, which made attendance impossible for those who were working and inconvenient for those at school. Even the devout Mahmoud, son of the vice-president of the mosque, only went to the mosque during the school holidays. He said he could go if he asked permission, but then he would miss some of his studies. This was another case of schoolwork taking priority over worship.

Several young men justified themselves by rightly claiming, like Sharif: "Our religion doesn't say we must go to the mosque. Our religion says if you have any intentions of praying, you could pray at home, you could pray in the street." However, none of those who gave information on the subject succeeded in praying five times a day, as the Koran said they should.

Sharif said: "I usually pray at home. Not every day - when I have the time, twice a week, in the mornings".

Gulam said:

> It's not like praying in English. It takes longer. You've got to wash yourself and everything, get cleaned and then set the things out. It takes quite a bit of time in that respect, which I don't get time to do, with travelling to school, and nor does anybody else in this house, except for me mother.

Allah said:

> I read the Koran in the morning and I used to pray about three or four times, or twice. Sometimes during the fasting month, well I used to pray five times a day then.
> (And twice a day the rest of the time?)
> Well, I used to pray twice a day. I don't now.
> (How many times do you pray now?)
> Not at all. (Laughs)
> (Why?) Well I don't know. I gotsee I do a lot of work, schoolwork, and at night I go up that late and in the mornings I get up just about to get ready, you know, and have me breakfast. But I do read the Koran.
> (Every day?) Yes.

Khan prayed once a day at the most. He said:

> If you change country, I mean you've got to change the fashion a bit. Well in our country you've got to go five times a day. Well I mean in England you're working all day and you come home tired, so it's not very often you get there [to the mosque]. Because I mean to say during the day you're stuck at work and by the time you get home and get your bait and that, it's nearly time for bed. So you can't really follow it in this country, no matter was anybody says.
> (Does this worry you?) Yes it does of course. Well everybody believes in the Day of Judgement and that - well some people do anyway. I do. And I think that it's a pity

> we can't continue praying and that in this country. Because we all have to go up there one day.

Rules of Conduct

For Muslims two very important prohibitions were those on alcohol and pork. How faithfully were these observed? Table 91 shows that only fifteen per cent of the young Muslims disregarded the ban on alcohol, though admittedly the question was only asked about drinking in bars. [1]

TABLE 91

"Do you go to the pub? I mean, to drink alcohol?" Muslims only.

Yes	4
No	21
No response	1
Total	26

Nazir and Khan explained:

> Why this drink is against our religion, case we do come out with something that we shouldn't come out with where our

[1] A purely legal consideration, of course, is that eighteen of the 26 were below drinking age. However this is unlikely to have stopped them if they had wanted to go into pubs.

fathers and mothers are, or anything like that. That's why it's bad with us.

This drinking business, I mean to say the way I think of it is- why it was prohibited is that you can get drunk, you go home and you can start swearing at your mother or your sister or, you know, do something rude. That's classed in my religion as very very bad.

Bashir, one of the drinkers, said that although he thought it was a serious religious offence - "I don't really go get drunk, nothing like that, and I think that's what, that's what really they made the rule for". Bashir went drinking at weekends with English friends, mainly out of town at places like Blaydon and Seaton Delaval. He said he did not really enjoy drinking, so presumably he went for the company. Another drinker was Ahmed, who said:

> I sometimes go out for a drink. I'm not supposed to, but I do. I went out with the driver and had a few drinks after work at the weekend.

Table 92 shows that the young Muslims were even stricter in refraining from pork. None ate it at home, and only two ate it at all.

TABLE 92

"Do you eat pork?" Muslims only.

At home	-
Out	2
Never	24
Total	26

For Hindus and Sikhs the forbidden meat was beef.[1] This prohibition, by contrast, was much less rigorously observed, as Table 93 shows.

TABLE 93

"Do you eat beef?" Sikhs and Hindus.

	SIKHS	HINDUS
At home	2	2
Out	8	8
Never	15	5
No response	1	-
Total	26	15

It is seen that while 92 per cent of the Muslims avoided pork, only 58 per cent of the Sikhs and a mere 33 per cent of the Hindus abstained from beef.

Among the Hindus Surinder said:

> I didn't use to eat it at school until this term - but I nearly starved. It's nearly always beef, and there's not much left when you take that away.

He did not think he was committing a serious offence, and went on to justify himself with the remark, quoted above,[2]

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[1] For the Sikh position on this question, see p. 479(n).

[2] p. 481.

that the cow could save some of India's starving millions.

Others were more self-deceiving. Kusam, though a regular worshipper at the temple, was, as was seen, hostile to the ban on cow-slaughter in India. He said:

> As long as I'm not told it's beef, I'll eat anything, even if I know it's beef. (Laughs) (Why?) See, I don't know, I cannot explain but as long as nobody says to me, "Hey, this is beef you're eating", I'll eat it. I don't know, it's just reason inside. I don't know, I couldn't explain. (Do you eat it at home?) No, never comes in the house.

Pratap said the same about his father:

> He even eats beef hiself sometimes. He doesn't admit it. If he knows it's beef, he'll not eat it, but he would eat it if he didn't know. If he knew really, but you didn't tell him, he would eat it like.

Lal, brought up a vegetarian, but now beef-eating and largely indifferent to Hinduism, produced an ingenious quibble on the subject. I asked him whether he thought it was a sin to eat beef. He said:

> As long as it's English beef. If you eat Indian beef, I suppose it would be.

Among the Sikhs Dayal said:

> I eat beef, and my parents know about it. They don't really mind. They don't encourage us to sort of eat, but they won't- they're not very firm about it. But now I dropped a hint to me grandmother, who's just come from India, that I ate beef, and she was really depressed about it. (What did she say?) "You're not a Sikh.

You're not an Indian. You're a stupid idiot. You're this and you're that." You know, she was really serious about it.
(Was she upset or angry?) She was upset, really. She was angry first at hearing it, then when she sort of realised what it meant, she was upset. Thank goodness that it was only a hint that I dropped, I was able to take it back. But she was really upset and she was practically in tears.
(What did your parents say?) Oh, they just says, "Ah, he's just having you on". Well, she believed it like, because, you know, she just didn't believe it at first. It's impossible, her grandson eating beef! Well for the whole of her life she's never touched the thing and she's never known anybody that's eaten it. Whereas in India of course nobody does. But me grandmother's starting eating meat now, though. So if she lives for another 50 years, she might even start eating beef! (Laughs)

What of the other practical rules of the Sikh religion? Only four of the 26 young men I interviewed wore turbans. It was noted before that most of the adults had discarded them as well.

Nihal even acted as a hairdresser's model and went with his coiffeur to hair-styling competitions. Dalip, son of the gurdwara chairman, was also one of those who had had their hair cut. He said his father had suggested he give up his turban when he came over "because long hair was just a nuisance". He thought his father meant just while he was at school, but he had never said anything since he left. Dalip also ate beef, but not at home.

Four young Sikhs volunteered the information that they had their hair cut in India. Lachman said:

> I was too lazy to wash and used to be playing around and wrestling around at night time. And when you done the farm job after school, go out cut some wheat and all that, you get really hot from the sun. And if you have your hair long it just feels all sticky and scratchy, so once a year roughly we got a haircut.

Gurmakh, one of the few who kept their turban, was very critical of the rest:

> There's no difficulty in keeping hair, beard or turban, but they just want to show off. They are attracted by girls and well, they sort of want to show off. If you've got a turban on, you're teased more. Everywhere you go, you're looked at, you're stared at. Every time you enter a shop or a cafe, anything like that, you're stared at. But without a turban you're not very much noticed.

He himself was mocked as "Dick Turban" by the kids at school, but was adamant about not giving it up: "I would say it's terrible doing that".

Others who had abandoned their turbans were nevertheless uneasy. Shiv, for example, said:

> I think I done bad like, but I cannot keep my hair in this trade like, in the garage trade. You know what happens when all the grease and all this comes.

Lachman was torn strongly in opposing directions and he contradicted himself several times. On the one hand

he said:

> It doesn't matter what you are. I mean, it doesn't matter the way you look. I mean, you can get a shave, and it doesn't matter. But what you have inside, it's still there. And if you wear a turban, it's still there.

But on the other hand he said it was important to keep the turban because

> It proves that you believe in something, that you're capable of holding something that you believe in. I mean, if God said, "Don't do this", you don't attempt to do that. If God kept a beard and had a turban on and he said you must, so you must. That is, if you really believe in him.

Other young Sikhs without turbans didn't think it mattered. Sharm commented:

> Here there was a case in Bradford that a lad went to get married. He had a handkerchief over his head. He still covered his head though during the marriage ceremony. Well the head priest he asked him to leave. He said the marriage couldn't take place. What I heard afterwards was that the lad took the girl to the Registry Office and they got married there.
>
> So they still got married. I mean, it didn't stop this marriage, even though they were humiliated, well they were thrown out of the sort of Sikh temple. They were told to leave. Well, that's a sort of insult. But they went and they still got married.
>
> I mean, even the head priest I mean he can't be a perfect man. Nobody is. And he still objected. Because that lad could have been a better man. His principles could have been better.

While few of the young Sikhs wore hair and beard unshorn, as enjoined by Gobind Singh, most did abide by the Guru's

interdiction of tobacco. Only four of the 26 said they smoked. There is some doubt, however, whether this was a purely religious observance, since few of the non-Sikhs smoked either, as Table 94 shows.

TABLE 94

"Do you smoke?"

	SIKHS	MUSLIMS	HINDUS
Yes	4	4	3
No	21	21	12
No response	1	1	-
Total	26	26	15

There seems to have been strong parental discouragement of smoking, even when not forbidden by religion. During our interview Prem so placed his cigarettes on the coffee-table that they would look like mine if his father came in the room. Zamir, as was seen, claimed smoking was prohibited by Islam.

On the question of alcohol, it was noted above that, despite the Sikh religion's ban, "the [Sikh] peasant is well known in the Punjab for his capacity to drink". [1]

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[1] Aurora, op. cit., p. 70.

Table 95 shows that the younger generation had not - or not yet - developed a similar capacity. A modest 38 per cent said they went to the pub, barely more than the proportion of Hindus. [1]

TABLE 95

"Do you go to the pub?"

	SIKHS	HINDUS	MUSLIMS
Yes	10	5	4
No	15	10	21
No response	1	-	1
Total	26	15	26

Special Religious Occasions

To find out how far special religious occasions were observed, I asked the young Muslims whether they had kept the previous Ramadan. This is the month during which Muslims are supposed to fast, letting neither food nor drink pass their lips between sunrise and sunset. [2]

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[1] It should be noted here also that twelve of the 26 Sikhs and eight of the fifteen Hindus were below drinking age.

[2] Sexual intercourse and smoking are also forbidden.

Table 96 shows that 88 per cent of the Muslims made some attempt to observe the fast, and that 69 per cent maintained it for the whole month. [1]

TABLE 96

Muslims: "Did you fast during the last month of Ramadan?"	
The whole month	18
Part only	5
Not at all	3
Total	26

Among the young men who did not complete the fast, Zamir kept it up for ten days. His brother Jawid stuck it for about half the month. Yusuf said he fasted only about fourteen days: Saturday and Sunday when he was off college and one day a week. He said, "It's cold outside when you go out, that's why". Khan also blamed the cold - with more reason probably, as he was a motor mechanic.

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[1] Of the three young Muslims who made no attempt, Nazir desisted only on his doctor's advice: "Doctor says I was too skinny, see, when I went in the hospital". He had kept the full fast the year before.

> Well I mean it's virtually impossible with the cold of this country. Well when I was working at the shipyard I was mainly in the offices and I kept the full month, fasting, you know. And last year I tried and I kept about fifteen [days], but this year virtually hardly any, because I was ower cold. I tried a couple of days, but in the end I wasn't feeling well at all. I mean unless you drink about twice or three times a day - tea or something warm - I mean you cannot really carry on working.
> (Do you think this too is a serious failure?) Yes it is, yes. See I firmly believe in my religion, and all it says, all I should do and that. And it's a pity I can't do it. I try but - you know.

A couple of young men said, on the other hand, that fasting was in fact easier in Britain than in Pakistan:

> This country is cooler. You don't feel thirsty, you see. In Pakistan you feel thirsty. Sun's getting at you. You dying for drink and everything.

Rasul was the only young Muslim who stood out against fasting as a result of a consciously formulated intellectual decision. He had evolved a very untypical individualistic view of God [1] and said;

> They try to get me to fast and I don't believe any reason for starving. I can see the reason why Mohammed said you should fast. This was to give people self-control. It gives you good self-

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[1] "To me worshipping God is my personal business. I can worship God in my own mind, within myself."

control in fact. It's very good. I've done it on me own basis for meself, because I was just experimenting with meself. I did it and I found it very enlightening. But I'm not prepared to do it day in and day out for religion's sake. I'm prepared to do it for God, but God doesn't ask me to starve. Why does he grow food and this sort of thing?

To measure the participation of the other two groups in special religious occasions, I asked the young Sikhs whether they had been to the gurdwara on the last Guru's feastday. I asked the young Hindus whether they had been to the temple for the festival of Diwali. Tables 97 and 98 give their replies.

TABLE 97

Sikhs: "Did you go to the gurdwara on the last Guru's feastday?"

Yes	15
No	10
No response	1
Total	26

TABLE 98

Hindus: "Did you go to the temple for the festval of Diwali?"

Yes	6
No	8
No response	1
Total	15

It can be seen that while 69 per cent of the Muslims fasted for the whole month of Ramadan (and 88 per cent at least made an attempt), a lower proportion (58 per cent) of the Sikhs attended their feast and only 40 per cent of the Hindus went to the Diwali celebrations.

It may be objected that these festivals are not strictly comparable with Ramadan in that they are as much social as religious occasions. This is true. Dayal, who said he only went to the gurdwara on feastdays, described the scene thus:

> Well, either you go, or if you stay home you starve, because the rest of the family's there. Unless you can cook for yourself, which I can't, you starve. So you have no choice, you just go. Not only that, we have good fun too. (Laughs) Catchee-kissee or something. No we don't play that. We used to when we were little. But now we just play chasies and that, outside. Well it's better than just sitting inside there listening to the Bible - more fun.
> (What happens on these occasions?)
> They have three days running- you have a bloke reading the Bible for two hours, then another one takes over, and you get this until the whole Bible's read. And it's day and night non-stop. And you're supposed to sit up there and listen, I suppose as long as you can.
> (And the feasting?) At dinner time, teatime, supper - why, not breakfast because there's hardly anybody there - you just nosh away at that downstairs. The Bible place is upstairs. We've got this transmitter downstairs, and you can listen while you're eating away. Not that you want to like, but you have no choice.
> (What's the atmosphere like?) Just a social get-together. Everybody has a

> good natter, even the women. And they're usually strict about it. You can't natter away upstairs though. You've got to keep dead silent.

Such religious festivals are indeed social occasions for the community and they are of course far less demanding than having to fast every day for a month. This makes the relatively low level of attendance by young Sikhs and Hindus the more noteworthy.

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that all three religious groups had a rather poor record of regular worship. The young Hindus were the worst attenders: four-fifths had not been to the temple once in the previous month. It was noted that the young Muslims observed the prohibitions on alcohol and pork much more strictly than the young Sikhs and Hindus abstained from beef. Only a handful of the Sikhs had retained the turban, but most abided by the ban on tobacco. On the question of special religious observances, it was seen that the great majority of the young Muslims at least attempted to keep Ramadan. Over two-thirds succeeded in fasting the whole month. Among the young Sikhs and Hindus, on the other hand, there was a rather low level of attendance at the religious festvals about which they were questioned.

22. RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES EXPLAINED

A Consistent Pattern

In the last two chapters one has observed a regular pattern in the relative orthodoxy of the three religious groups. Both in what they said and in what they did - or said they did - the young Muslims emerged consistently as the most and the young Hindus as the least devout, with the Sikhs occupying a position between the two. How is one to account for these differences?

The Muslims adhered to the religion so overwhelmingly on every count except Friday worship and daily prayer that external differences between the three groups cannot explain the variation. For instance, a smaller proportion of Muslims than of either Sikhs or Hindus were early arrivals. That is, only 38 per cent of Muslims were born in England or came under the age of eleven, compared with 50 per cent of the Sikhs and 67 per cent of the Hindus.

One might suspect that late arrivals would be stricter and more devout. For Sikhs and Hindus there is indeed a relationship between orthodoxy and age of arrival. But

for Muslims the association does not hold. Early arrivals were just as solidly orthodox as late.

Again, it was noted that in India and Pakistan the Hindu parents were very much town-dwellers, mostly entrepreneurs or professional and white-collar workers. Many of the Muslim parents, on the other hand, came from the country, and over half were farmers. [1] However this variable is of no relevance either. There was no difference, in religious profession and practice, between the sons of Muslim townsmen and the sons of Muslim villagers, or between the sons of farmers, shopkeepers and manual workers. Likewise there was no relationship between religious orthodoxy and any of the other variables so far considered in this study.

One possible explanation - to be discussed fully later - does suggest itself however. This is that the young Pakistanis might be more turned in upon their community and more isolated from English contemporaries than the others. Although Islam is the international religion, Aurora and Rose say that the Muslim Pakistanis in Britain are certainly more culturally exclusive than the Sikhs. [2]

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[1] See chapter 1.

[2] Aurora, op. cit., p. 107. Rose and Associates, op. cit., pp. 448, 466.

The answer does not in fact lie here. A higher proportion of Muslims than of Sikhs named English youths among the friends they saw most of in their spare time. [1] So again there is no association with the young men's adherence to religion.

If there are no independent variables which adequately account for the differences in the professed attachment and observance of the three religious groups, perhaps the explanation lies in the very character of the religions themselves. This is the answer that I advance. I first examine the two extremes, Hinduism and Islam.

Hinduism

"It is difficult to define Hinduism with any precision", warns Khushwant Singh laconically and to this effect quotes S. Radhakrishnan, who said:

> To many, Hinduism seems to be a name without any content. Is it a museum of beliefs, a medley of rites, or a mere map, a geographical expression? Its content, if it has any, has altered from age to age, from community to community. It meant one thing in the Vedic period, another in the Brahmanical, and a third in the Buddhist. It seems one thing to the Saivite, another to the Vaishnavite, a third to the Sakta. [2]

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[1] See chapter 24.

[2] Khushwant Singh, A History, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 17.

Srinivas makes the same point:

> It is impossible to define Hinduism because there are no beliefs or institutions which are common to all Hindus, and which mark them off from others. While the institution of caste is in a sense fundamental to Hinduism, it is not confined to Hindus, as Indian Muslims, Christians and Sikhs are all divided into castes ... Every belief considered as basic to Hindus has been rejected by one group or another. [1]

Chaudhuri claims that modern European Orientalists coined the word "Hinduism" to describe the complex of religious beliefs and practices for which the Indians themselves had no name except the phrase Sanatana Dharma, or the Eternal Way.

> Actually, we Hindus are not Hindus because we have a religion called or understood as Hinduism; our religion has been given the very imprecise label of "Hinduism" because it is the jumble of the creeds and rituals of a people known as Hindus after their country. On this analogy, the Greek religion might be called Hellenism, or even Graecism. [2]

An earlier writer stated the matter bluntly if clumsily when he averred that Hinduism was "what the Hindus, or a major portion of them, in a Hindu community do. [3]

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[1] M.N. Srinivas, "Hinduism", Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, op. cit., pp. 149-50.

[2] Chaudhuri, op. cit., p. 35.

[3] Babu Guru Prasad Sen, Introduction to the Study of Hinduism (1893), p. 9. Quoted in Herbert Risley, The People of India (London, W. Thacker, 1915), p. 232.

It is clear that, to be accurate, one should refer to Hindu religions, in the plural. If then, despite the formidable difficulties of generalisation, one tries to isolate their most widely shared components, what does one find? Khushwant Singh says there are three aspects to Hinduism: "its pantheon of gods and goddesses with the legends that are attached to them; the social order of the caste system; the poetry and philosophy of its Sanskrit classics". [1]

This will suffice as a working description of the Hindu religions. Little needs to be said about the caste system. Its order of hierarchy, its rules of endogamy, of inter-dining, of ritual pollution and untouchability are in principle well understood. [2] However, the other two elements mentioned by Khushwant Singh deserve elaboration.

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[1] Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 18.

[2] Perhaps the best recent introduction is contained in chapters VII and VIII of Philip Masons's Patterns of Dominance (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1970), pp. 137-90. Also recommended are: O'Malley, Indian Caste Customs, op. cit., and Srinivas, Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, op. cit. For a fuller account, see E.A.H. Blunt, The Caste System of Northern India (London, Oxford University Press, 1931).

Carstairs has succinctly summarised Hindu philosophy. He says the religious life

> Was directed to the goal of liberation from _karma_, from the need to be reborn in successive incarnations. Liberation, or _moksh_, came when a man had succeeded in purging his nature of all that was terrestial and carnal, so that the god-element in him increased until finally he was all god and then his expanded _atma_ (spirit) took leave of his body to become one with _parmatma_, the spirit of the universe. This apotheosis could be reached only as a result of prolonged effort, the culmination of many former incarnations; and the essential preliminary to advance towards this goal was to submit oneself to the discipline of _dharma_, the Brahmanical version of the good life. [1]

One might add two other quotations. The first is on _dharma_ (duty):

> And do thy duty, even if it be humble, rather than another's, even if it be great. To die in one's duty is life; to live in another's is death. [2]

One's duty was of course determined by one's position in the caste structure. Set against this prison of _dharma_ the vision of _moksh_, or liberation, contained in the second quotation:

> As the flowing rivers disappear in the sea, losing their name and form, so a wise man, freed from name and form, goes to the divine person who is beyond all. [3]

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[1] Carstairs, _op. cit._, p. 95.

[2] The _Bhagavadgita_, quoted in V.S. Naipaul, _An Area of Darkness_ (London, Andre Deutsch, 1964), p. 51.

[3] The _Upanishads_, quoted in K.M. Kapadia, _Marriage and Family in India_ (Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 9.

The third constituent of Hinduism cited by Khushwant Singh comprises the gods and the mythology. These deities are of two kinds. On the one hand are the classical gods of the so-called Great Tradition. These are well known, particularly through the two great epic poems of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, which Aileen Ross says have been

> Passed down by word of mouth by story-tellers and village dramas from generation to generation for thousands of years. They are still repeated almost word-perfect by Indians in the north, south east and west, no matter what their language or caste. [1]

There are, on the other hand, the gramadevata or local godlings of the Little Tradition. They, says Segal,

> Might never in village estimation approach equality with the great gods of the Hindu pantheon, but the great gods, after all, were likely to have their heads full of great concerns, and the gramadevata presented more immediate menaces as well as offering a readier help in distress. [2]

In his study of Deoli, in Rajasthan, for example, Carstairs reports that his high-caste villagers conceived of the

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[1] Aileen D. Ross, The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting (Toronto, Toronto University Press, 1961), p. 7. Karve notes in passing that in India the term "welfare state" in translated by the expression "Rama-rajya" (the kingdom of Rama). Karve, op. cit., p. 21.

[2] Segal, op. cit., p. 66.

supernatural on three different levels. First, they attributed magical powers to certain individuals and had an unquestioned belief in malevolent witchcraft. Next they believed in minor local gods. On the third level they both understood and believed formal Hindu religious teachings about karma.[1]

This last passage gives one a clue to the crucial fact that Hinduism is locally determined. This is explicit in Sen's definition, quoted above: Hinduism is what the majority of Hindus in a Hindu community do. Blunt criticises this on the grounds that it "cannot be regarded as defining a religion at all". For the word "do" he wants to substitute "believe" or "worship" or better still both.[2]

"Do", however, is precisely the point. It is often stressed that Hinduism, a collection of non-ethical religions, places much more importance on practice than on belief. P.N. Basu, for instance, says:

> Hinduism includes all shades of faiths - monotheism, pantheism, agnosticism, atheism, polytheism, and fetishism. So long as a Hindu conforms to the customs

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[1] Carstairs, op. cit., pp. 104-5, 145.

[2] Blunt, op. cit., p. 273 (n).

> and practices of his society, he may believe what he likes. [1]

O'Malley writes that "The unwritten law of custom takes the place of ethical principles" and quotes from the Laws of Manu:

> Immemorial custom is transcendent law, approved in the sacred scriptures and in the codes of divine legislators; every man of the twice-born classes, who has due reverence for the supreme spirit which dwells in him, should diligently and constantly observe immemorial customs. [2]

Blunt himself writes:

> Every Hindu is a slave to custom. From the cradle to the grave custom regulates his every action, almost his every movement. It governs his relations alike to God and man and gives shape to his environment, whether social or religious. [3]

Finally, one notes the same concern with local custom in Srinivas' description of the ordinary man's religiosity, which he says finds expression

> in the punctilious observance of the rules of pollution and purity, in praying as required by family and caste tradition, in the performance of elaborate rites of passage, in the celebration of calendrical festivals, in undertaking fasts and religious austerities, in the elaborate propitiation of dead ancestors and local deities, in listening to public reading of

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[1] P.N. Basu, Hindu Civilization under British Rule (1894), Vol. 1, p. 87. Quoted in O'Malley, Popular Hinduism, op. cit., p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 76. The Laws of Manu are a treatise on Hindu sacred law, written about 200 B.C.

[3] Blunt, op. cit., p. 253.

> religious stories.. and in going on pilgrimages to sacred rivers and to the shrines of reputed deities. [1]

It may be objected that caste is an all-India phenomenon. This is true, but it is also localised in its operation. Only certain castes are nationwide, a great many castes are only locally represented. Castes vary in rank from place to place, and practices within the same caste also differ according to locality. [2] Thus when Carstairs writes that in the caste system "the individual achieves integration and stability in his life habits by adhering to the pattern of his enveloping society", [3] he is here referring not to a national but to a much more circumscribed pattern.

Since, therefore, Hinduism is fashioned by local custom, one needs to know its particular configuration in the Punjab, which is where most of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle came from. Considering again the three common denominators of Hinduism suggested by Khushwant Singh, one has already seen that Brahmanism, caste and untouchability [4] do

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[1] Srinivas, "Hinduism", op. cit., p. 159.

[2] Max Weber, op. cit., p. 46. O'Malley, Indian Caste Customs, op. cit., p. 20.

[3] Carstairs, op. cit., p. 146.

[4] Both Muslims and Sikhs were successful in converting untouchables and low-caste Hindus in the province. Kingsley Davis, op. cit., pp. 174, 183. Tandon, op. cit., p. 78.

not hold this "frontier no-man's-land" in the same iron discipline as most of the rest of India. As Tandon puts it: "There had never been much formal religion in our homes and villages anyway; invasions and the bigotry of the invader had erased much of it from the surface". [1]

Before partition, as was also noted, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims frequently visited each others' shrines. A vertical unity then existed in the villages between different castes and different religions. Marian Smith describes how they would combine, for example, to produce a woollen jacket. A high-caste Sikh woman would buy the wool. A Sikh untouchable cleansed it. Muslim dyers dyed it, and finally Hindu tailors made up the finished garment. [2] Darling found between the World Wars that Muslims and Hindus often maintained very friendly relations, even though communalism, at least in the towns, was gradually driving them asunder, bidding Muslims to take neither food nor drink from Hindus and Hindus to have nothing to do with Muslims.

> All agreed that the change was due to the influence and example of "the educated", and when I asked what was done in this part of the world, [3] one replied, "The ignorant (jahil log) drink." [4]

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[1] Ibid., p. 32.

[2] Marian W. Smith, op. cit., p. 152.

[3] Muzaffargarh, in the extreme south-west of the province.

[4] Darling, Rusticus, op. cit., p. 284.

On the very edge of independence, only months before the terrible communal massacre Darling so feared, he noted of the tract between the Beas and Sutlej:

> In this area, even where Hindu and Muslim belong to different clans, they still exchange civilities at marriage, inviting mullah or Brahmin, as the case may be, to share in the feasting.[1]

On the question of the second element of Hinduism - the gods and the mythology - H.A. Rose wrote that in the Punjab

> the worship of godlings unknown to the Hindu pantheon, the social customs which still survive in full force among the majority of the nominal adherent of either [the Hindu or Muslim] religion, and the peculiar cults of the inferior and outcast races, offer for investigation an almost virgin field full of the richest promise.[2]

In view of what was said earlier it is clear that the Punjab is hardly unusual in containing peculiar cults and local godlings.

The classic Hindu mythology seems in general to have been vividly alive in the Punjab. Tandon describes the festival of Ram Leela at Gujrat in his boyhood, when every night for a month the local dramatic talent acted the whole story of the Ramayana in the market square.[3] Gujrat was in the more

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[1] Darling, At Freedom's Door, op. cit., p. 109.

[2] H.A. Rose, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 3.

[3] Tandon, op. cit., pp. 98-100.

Muslim west of the province. In his study of a community in the solidly Hindu south-east, Lewis reports, on the other hand:

> We had the impression that the great Hindu deities were not well known to the villagers of Rampur. The stories of the Ramayana and Mahabharata, for example, did not seem to be very familiar to the peasants. [1]

This area, now in the new state of Haryana, was not one from which any of my respondents had migrated, whereas Gujrat was. One may therefore take Tandon's background as much more typical of theirs.

What, finally, is the understanding of Hindu philosophy in the Punjab? In a striking passage Darling talks of the philosophy's "transcendental heights", then states:

> In dealing with the peasant we are entirely upon the plain and rarely, if ever, do we catch even a glimpse of the hills. Indeed, we should hardly know that they existed but for the sight of three mighty rivers which have their source in the distant heights and profoundly influence conditions on the plain. The first is the river of Karma, the second Ahimsa, [2] and the third Pantheism. Some would call the last polytheism, since it is split into innumerable channels each dedicated to a different god. [3]

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[1] Lewis, op. cit., p. 236.

[2] The doctrine which forbids taking the life of any creature.

[3] Darling, Rusticus, op. cit., pp. 369-70.

Lewis reports that in Rampur only fourteen of 25 villagers interviewed expressed belief in the doctrine of reincarnation. Jats tended to reject, while Brahmins and lower-caste subjects tended to accept it. Several Jats placed the emphasis upon life on earth, claiming that Heaven and Hell are to be found here. The operation of karma was similarly conceived to take place only within this life, not necessarily through a chain of lives. One Jat, for example, said:

> I think that when an old man has children and grandchildren to serve him, and when he has every type of comfort, he is in Heaven. But when the sons and grandsons do not serve him, the worms begin their work on his body; then he becomes blind and diseased and dies in great pain. That is Hell.[1]

Again not what Lewis, but what Darling says should be regarded as typical for the background of the Hindus in Newcastle.

I have already noted, with Darling, the lack of Hindu (and other) religious instruction in the villages of the Punjab. Darling unfortunately provides very little information about actual religious observance, though in one village near Hoshiarpur he was told that no more than half the Hindu inhabitants went to the temple regularly,

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[1] Lewis, op. cit., pp. 253-4.

and most of them only when there was not much to be done in the fields. [1]

It was seen in chapter 1, however, that most of the parents of my Hindu respondents came not from the country but from the town. Most of them were Khatris by caste.

I conclude this account of Hinduism in the Punjab with Tandon's description of religion in his educated Khatri home. He recalls:

> We feared God and invoked His name, but there was no daily worship or ritual, or much visible influence of religion on our daily life. We were only conscious of/our religion at festivals and fasts, weddings, namings or death; and then only in a mechanical sort of way. [2]

Ved Mehta, another Punjabi Hindu and Khatri, writes similarly: "At my home no discussion had centred around religion, I only knew I was a Hindu, and no more". [3] One notes the close resemblance to the replies given by young Hindus in Newcastle when I enquired about their caste. [4]

To summarise: the day-to-day manifestations of the collection of diffuse, labyrinthine and contradictory

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[1] Darling, Rusticus, op. cit., p. 45. He found Muslims and Sikhs also very neglectful of their religious duties. Ibid., pp. 34, 211.

[2] Tandon, op. cit., p. 32

[3] Ved Mehta, Face to Face: an Autobiography (London, Collins, 1958), p. 34.

[4] p. 36.

religions known as Hinduism are shaped and moulded by local social custom. This means that if a Hindu migrates, his religion loses this tight matrix of community, conformity and immemorial tradition. Belief and practice are likely to fall away, particularly if, as seems to have been the case among Hindu Khatris in the Punjab, the visible influence of the religion had already been erased from daily life.

The parents in England may continue to believe it in a nostalgic way, but it is difficult to practise, and very difficult indeed to pass on to their children. This was the experience of the Hindu youths in Newcastle. They said their parents believed, but were unable to explain. "I've asked them several times", said Kamlesh. "They just say that it's a sort of offering, the burning of all good things, and suchlike." [1]

The parents cannot explain, and Kusam, [2] for instance, was never taught, because the parents themselves were never taught, but as Carstairs says, picked the religion up piecemeal along with other social habits as they grew up in the community. [3]

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[1] p. 473.

[2] p. 478.

[3] Carstairs, op. cit., pp. 144-5.

Removed from the context of social custom, the religion had no meaning, for its only meaning was social. "I don't really know the theme behind it", said Ram about Diwali. [1] Inder could relate the religion only to India: "Most people are Hindus out there". [2] No-one appeared to know that the cow was holy because it was the cow-mother. Even if they had, it would still have been meaningless, because the cow has been extinct in Elswick for over a century. Other young Hindus could only explain their religion in inappropriate English terms, with reference to Moses, [3] Guy Fawkes, "our Christmas". [4]

The young men, as was seen in chapter 1, had no knowledge of caste, the religion's most practical aspect. They showed no awareness of reincarnation or other aspects of Hindu philosophy. They could not understand the festivals or the ceremonial. All that remained with them were half-remembered

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[1] p. 471.

[2] p. 470.

[3] p. 472.

[4] p. 471. One might argue that it was purely for my benefit that the young men expressed Hindu ideas in this English way. I would however not accept this. Ram, who compared Diwali to Guy Fawkes, was explicit that he did not know the meaning of the former. A similar ignorance is admitted in the comments by Raj and Kamlesh (pp. 472-4). It would appear that they understood the English analogy better than the thing they were trying to explain.

stories from the mythology. These were seen as a mixture of fairy-tale ("Kings and queens and how they lived") [1] and science-fiction comic: "Fantastic stories", "Gods flying to the moon". [2]

A final illustration of the social nature of Hinduism comes from Kamlesh. He said:

> At Diwali again, afterwards they have a small service when they offer food, say, next door. Well if we give it to next door, they'd probably think we're bloody mad or something. But there was this old colonel that lived up the road, and we used to give it to him. (Laughs) He had been to India and he used to know all about it, so he used to accept that. We used to give him fruit and we used to invite him for dinner sometimes, stuff like that.

Islam

Islam, by contrast, is a vastly different religion. It is idol-hating, monotheistic and uncomplicated by elaborate theology. "Its basic precepts are extremely simple and as clear-cut as the outlines of the Arabian desert which gave them birth. The good Muslim must believe that God is

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[1] p. 471.

[2] p. 477.

one and that Muhammad is his prophet; he must pray five times a day, fast in Ramzan, pay the zakat, [1] and if he can afford it, go on a pilgrimage to Mecca." [2] The five main tenets are known as the five pillars (fard al-ayn) of Islam.

Islam is generally regarded as an ethical code. It is true that the fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) has reduced both ethical principles and the believer's relationship with God to a series of practical regulations intended to ensure that Muslims shall be in no doubt about the Law. "But", says Levy, "it is to be understood that though the fulfilment of the rules as they stand may content some Muslims, others with higher ideals of piety have regard to the spirit of the hadith [reports of the Prophet's doings and sayings] and are aware that 'intent' counts for more than outward performance."[3]

The most widely followed orthodox teaching in Islam, that of Abu 'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari, declared that faith means "justification in the heart", that is, the recognition and acknowledgement by the mind of the truth of the doctrine that "there is no God but Allah and Mohammad is his apostle".

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[1] The poor-rate.

[2] Darling, Rusticus, op. cit., p. 366.

[3] Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 202.

Verbal utterance of the creed and the fulfilment of the statutary duties are secondary "branches" i.e. offshoots of the belief in the heart. "A man does not cease to be a true believer if he refrains from carrying out the 'branch' duties but only if he denies the 'oneness' of Allah and the truth of the message of the prophets." [1]

The religion, nevertheless, does class all actions into five categories. These are: essential duties, duties which are recommended but not essential, actions which are lawfully indifferent, actions which are disapproved but not forbidden, and finally, actions forbidden and punishable. In the first category come the duties of worship, alms-giving, fasting and pilgrimage prescribed by the Koran. The ranking of other actions, says Levy, has been variously estimated by different schools of Muslim opinion, though there is a measure of agreement about certain deeds classed as forbidden.

In orthodox Sunni opinion the greatest of all sins is kufr (disbelief). Levy says this "stands alone for heinousness". Then come the major offences of (among many others) drinking wine and using intoxicants, disobeying one's parents, anticipating or delaying the time of worship without proper excuse, eating the flesh of swine or animals "that

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[1] Ibid., pp. 192-3.

have died of themselves", breaking the fast of Ramadan, taking interest. [1]

Now the fact that the religion has been codified into practical rules which in major outline are substantially the same for Muslims from Malaya to Morocco means that its practice is <u>not</u> dependent on the local context - though of course, a Muslim community will exert pressure to conform. If a Muslim migrates, he may miss the social encouragement of having only true believers around him, but nevertheless the straightforward rules of the religion remain the same and they still apply. Islam is just as meaningful in Elswick as it is in Montgomery and is neither more nor less difficult to practise.

Islam has been reduced to a series of practical regulations which do not require the home context in Pakistan in order to be significant, understood and carried out. This, I suggest, is why my young Muslim respondents expressed such strong devotion to the religion and why they observed its practices and prohibitions to such a high degree.

It was seen in chapter 20 that more Muslims than others justified their religion because it taught them how to behave:

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 202-3.

"Our Bible teaches me follow the Bible, follow God, not do bad things, evil or murder, things like this, stealing". [1]

Many more Muslims, one noted, replied with a simple, emphatic orthodoxy: "It's in our Bible". "It's the true religion." [2]

This, I suppose, is the expression of al-Ash'ari's "justification in the heart".

This, then, is how I explain the marked difference between the young Hindus and the young Muslims in their adherence to their respective religions. There are however two serious objections which must now be considered. The first is the argument that because of the well-known assimilative qualities of Hinduism, Islam in India has in fact lost much of the unequivocal, clear-cut simplicity of its Arabian origins. At the end of A Passage to India one reads, for example:

> "There is no God but God"; that symmetrical injunction melts in the mild airs of Mau; it belongs to pilgrimages and universities, not to feudalism and agriculture. When Aziz arrived, and found that even Islam was idolotrous, he grew scornful and longed to purify the place, like

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[1] p. 469

[2] p. 468.

> Alamgir. But soon he didn't mind,
> like Akbar. [1]

Kapadia goes so far as to say, "The greater part of Muslims in India have affinity more with the Hindus than with their Islamic brethren in Arabia or other parts of the world". [2] He is, however, flatly contradicted by Farrukh Hashmi who says, "The attitudes of a Moslem family living in Pakistan will resemble much more closely another Moslem family living in Nigeria, than the Hindu family living in the same town". [3]

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[1] E.M. Forster, A Passage to India (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1961), p. 292. Akbar (1542-1605) was a Mogul emperor who respected the Hindu religion. He abolished the jizya or poll-tax on non-Muslims. He rescinded the taxes previously levied on Hindu pilgrims. He discouraged cow-slaughter and took part in Hindu festivals. He married several Hindu Rajput princesses and founded a new religion compounded of Sufism and Zaroastrianism with himself as spiritual leader.
Alamgir is another name for the later emperor Aurangzeb (1618-1707), the persecutor of the Sikhs. A militant orthodox Sunni Muslim, his treatment of Hindus was severe. He prohibited their fairs and restricted their religious festivals. Their idols, temples and shrines were often destroyed. Alamgir discouraged the employment of Hindus in the administration and reimposed the poll-tax.

[2] Kapadia, op. cit., p. 47.

[3] Farrukh Hashmi, The Pakistani Family in Britain (London, National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1967), p. 4.

Kapadia, it should be remarked, is a Hindu, while Hashmi is a Muslim. Since the birth of the independence movement the whole issue has been a crucial political question. The position of Indian Muslims even before this period is difficult to characterise because there was in the community, as Percival Spear notes, "an element of separateness or uniqueness, the Islamic heritage; there was also an element of identity, of oneness with the country". [1] Qureshi, a Muslim, assesses as follows the relative strength of these two kinds of consciousness:

> The Turks have called themselves Turks, the Arabs have laid emphasis on their being Arabs, the Iranians have sought glory in their pre-Islamic history, but the Muslims of the subcontinent had only one name for their community prior to the establishment of Pakistan and that was "Muslims". In their own language when they had to talk of themselves as distinct from the Muslims of other lands, they seldom used the appelation "Indian Muslims" (Hindustani Musalman); the expression "Muslims of India" (Musalmanan-i-Hind) was more common. [2]

Spear suggests that the Muslim feeling of identity with India perhaps reached its peak at the time of Akbar and in

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[1] Percival Spear, "The Position of Muslims, Before and After Partition", India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity, ed. Philip Mason (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1967), p. 35.

[2] Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (The Hague, Mouton and Co., 1962), p. 86.

the early seventeenth century.[1] "Synthesis of a kind", says Mason, "was everywhere taking place, not of the two groups, which remained defined and separate, but of their institutions."

> Urdu, which became the general language in Northern India, was a mosaic in which Persian and Arabic words and phrases were inserted into a syntax of simple Hindi ... Each religion borrowed from the other; if the Muslims took caste, the Hindus took purdah A mixed culture grew up, to which both contributed, in dress, in cookery, in clothes ...
>
> In the villages, men of two faiths lived side by side for long periods, tolerating if not understanding each other; the peace - it was more than a truce - lasted so long as there was some illusion of permanence, or at least no prospect of violent change.[2]

Yet, as this passage indicates, the Indian Muslims were not assimilated by the Hindus. I quote two other Anglo-Saxon writers:

> The simile of oil and water applies. For long spells of time, Islam and Hinduism could lie tolerantly or at least unexplosively side by side, or one above the other; but they would not mix, their disposition was always separate.[3]

> Granted the well known absorptive power of Hinduism, it is not surprising that many of the nominal converts retained much of their former religion, and that indeed

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[1] Spear, "The Position of Muslims", op. cit., pp. 35-6.

[2] Mason, Patterns of Dominance, op. cit., p. 164.

[3] Stephens, op. cit., p. 24.

> Islam underwent considerable Hinduization in India ... Yet ... because Hinduism and Islam were extreme opposites, fusion of the two never occurred. A certain amount of overlapping did develop, but the two groups settled down in an uneasy mutual accommodation with the seeds of potential conflict always present. [1]

Not only were the Indian Muslims not absorbed. Their political collapse, which culminated in the 1857 Mutiny for which they were made scapegoats, led, says Spear, to a "new emphasis on the 'separateness' concept of Indian Islam". [2] Reform movements sprang up and preached that the religion must be purged of all Hindu accretions. They were divisive and intolerant - "but they provided the Muslim masses with a reason for their existence, with a solace for their privations, and with a new sense of self-respect". [3]

In 1885 the Indian National Congress was founded. But this was a nationalism which grew out of, and animated, a Hindu revival. [4] In 1909 the British instituted the system of separate communal electorates. This, as Davis noted, freed political leaders from any necessity of compromising,

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[1] Davis, op. cit., p. 192.

[2] Spear, "The Position of Muslims", op. cit., pp. 36-8.

[3] Ibid., p. 39.

[4] Naipaul, op. cit., p. 86.

for their constituents were all of the same religious persuasion. [1]

The religious conflict intensified as India moved towards independence.

> Each side jockeyed for position as the time drew near. The Muslims feared oppression by the Hindu majority once independence was obtained. The Hindus feared that the Muslims would somehow block independence. Between 1930 and 1937 the idea of a separate Muslim state was born and took hold of the imagination of the Muslims. [2]

The reality was given birth with the bloodshed referred to in chapter 1.

Chaudhuri angrily uses this carnage as the final argument against fellow Hindus like Kapadia, quoted above:

> All my life I have been scandalized by the discrepancy between the actual state of Hindu-Muslim relations, and their presentation in words. I have seen and read about murder, arson, loot, and rape on a colossal scale arising out of Hindu-Muslim clashes, and I have read simultaneously that there was no reason whatever for these because the Hindus and the Muslims were ethnically /and culturally one. [3]

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[1] Davis, op. cit., p. 195.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Chaudhuri, op. cit., p. 39.

One sympathises with Chaudhuri here, yet it is apparent from this very brief historical account that there exist different kinds and levels of assimilation. [1] Even if, in other words, the Hindus and Muslims were indeed ethnically and culturally one, this would not necessarily prevent the Muslims being unassimilated in other respects, e.g. in terms of intermarriage or of the subjective identity on which I quoted Qureshi previously. One must distinguish and separate these different assimilation variables. I am here concerned solely with one aspect of cultural assimilation. That is, I want to establish to what extent, if any, the Muslim religion in India has been Hinduised.

Davis, it was seen above, says this happened to a considerable degree. It is true that the religion has adopted caste in a modified form. It is true that the Sufis, the ascetic proselytising mystics who followed the Muslim invaders, borrowed from the principles and practices of both Hinduism and Buddhism. Among these Lammens remarks on fana - presumably the same as Buddhist nirvana - "the annihilation of the self, the passing away of human personality ending in baqa, continuance or abiding in

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[1] Chapter 29 discusses this theoretical question much more fully in relation to the assimilation of my Newcastle respondents into English society.

Allah". [1] The Sufis took something from the Hindu movement which emphasised bhakti, or the spiritual unity of all creation. [2] They allowed converts to continue to visit shrines and to worship Sufi saints and their tombs. [3]

These deformations apart, it would seem that the strictly religious beliefs and practices of the Muslims in India differed little from those of co-religionists elsewhere. This is apparent from Eglar's account of the calendar of religion in the village of Mohla. All the celebrations she mentions are conventional orthodox Muslim festivals - Id Milad, Id-ul-Bakr, Muharram, and so on. [4] Rose, to be sure, talks about the distinctive Punjabi social customs still followed in his day by the majority of Muslims. [5] One might quote as an example the Muslim Rajput of the central Punjab who was asked by Darling whether he ever had his horoscope cast, in Hindu-fashion. "'Yes,' he replied, and added, 'All Bhatti Rajputs have this done by the family

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[1] H. Lammens, Islam: Beliefs and Institutions (London, Methuen, 1929), p. 122. Emphasis in original. Lammens gives a good account of this eclectic school, which was also influenced by Christian monasticism and Greek philosophy, pp. 114-23.

[2] Mason, op. cit., p. 164.

[3] Khushwant Singh, The Sikhs, op. cit., pp. 19-21. Stephens, op. cit., p. 24.

[4] Eglar, op. cit., pp. 66-73.

[5] H.A. Rose, Vol. 1, op. cit., p. 3.

Brahmin.'" [1] Whatever the religious significance of astrology for Hindus, I would argue that for Muslims horoscope casting was a social custom and not an instance of their religious beliefs being corrupted by Hinduism.

One should properly qualify the conclusion expressed at the beginning of the last paragraph, in that the situation undoubtedly differs from one part of the subcontinent to another. Mau, in the quotation for A Passage to India given earlier, is clearly very different and much less orthodoxly Muslim than Chandrapore, where most of the action takes place. Aziz feels this when he arrives. The Punjab, it should be stressed, was after Sind and Kabul one of the parts of India earliest conquered by the Muslims. The Punjab was annexed about 1020 A.D. by Sultan Mahmoud of Ghazni. Systematic Muslim conquest of the country did not begin until the end of the 12th century. [2] In the undivided Punjab the Muslims were the biggest single religious group, representing 42.4 per cent of the total population. [3] The western half of the Punjab was even then one of the most solidly Muslim parts of India. [4] I suggest

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[1] Darling, At Freedom's Door, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

[2] Vincent A. Smith, The Oxford History of India (London, Oxford University Press, 3rd ed. edited Percival Spear 1958), p. 39.

[3] Tinker, op. cit., p. 119.

[4] Davis, op. cit., map on p. 197.

that in such an area Islam was much less susceptible to Hindu contamination than in provinces where it was numerically weak.

That, I believe, answers the objection that Indian Muslims had become strongly Hinduised. The second possible criticism of my argument is that Hindu migrants to other parts of the world, for example, South Africa, Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji, have been able to transplant their religion. In the last three countries they have recreated the caste system, though with great modifications. [1] They achieved this even though they came from widely scattered parts of India.

I suggest that the main reason why these other Hindus succeeded in reconstituting their religion was that they had the advantage of much greater numbers than the Hindus in Newcastle, who were the smallest of the city's Asian communities. Thus the Hindus in Trinidad and these other places could maintain a Hindu cultural environment which was entirely lacking in Newcastle. I believe my argument about

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[1] Hilda Kuper, Indian People in Natal (Pietermaritzburg, Natal University Press, 1960).
Morton Klass, East Indians in Trinidad: A Study in Cultural Persistence (New York, Columbia University Press, 1961).
Burton Benedict, Indians in a Plural Society: A Report on Mauritius (London, HMSO, 1961).
Adrian C. Mayer, Peasants in the Pacific: A Study of Fiji Indian Rural Society (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).

the nature of Hinduism still holds good however. For the Pakistani Muslim community in Newcastle was also small, but in its case this did not impair the transmission of the faith to the younger generation.

Sikhism

The Sikh religion I have in large part already described. [1] It was an attempt to provide a reconciliation and synthesis between Hinduism and Islam. "Its main message is that Truth is timeless, and that a truly religious man should be judged by his beliefs and actions, rather than by the forms of his rites." [2] Sikhism sprang from ground already prepared by the bhakti movement, of which the main representatives in northern India were Ramananda and Kabir. [3] Just as Kabir called himself "the child of Rama and Allah", [4] so Guru Nanak (1469-1539) tirelessly preached the word, "There is no Hindu, there is no Mussulman".

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[1] pp. 254-5.

[2] Adrian C. Mayer, A Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver (Working Paper, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of British Columbia, 1959), pp. 5-6.

[3] For a full account, see Tara Chand, The Influence of Islam on Indian Culture (Allahabad, The Indian Press, 1954), pp. 143-65.

[4] Ibid., p. 150.

The religion established by Nanak was monotheistic and iconclastic. It sought to break the chains of caste by establishing free community kitchens at which all followers ate together regardless of caste. It made an institution of the guru, or spiritual mentor. It sought of its adherents not ascetic isolation or mortification of the flesh, but that they should cultivate the detachment of the yogi while living amongst their fellow beings. It taught the path of devotion, with emphasis on the worship of the name of God. [1]

Of significance in this present discussion is the fact that, though powerfully influenced by Islam, Sikhism lacks that religion's code of hard and fast practical regulations. This is admitted by its apologists.

> The teachings of the Sikh Gurus do not dogmatise, nor do they specify any permanently demarcated moral injunctions, such as "Thou shalt not kill" or "Thou shalt not steal". Instead, the ethical code which is indicated throughout the scriptures naturally arises out of a few simple fundamental ideas which are common to all human society. That main idea is to love God's Name, and above all things, to desire a union with Him. As He is the Creator of all, this ideology naturally leads to service of mankind. [2]

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[1] Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 39-48.

[2] P.M. Wylam, An Introduction to Sikh Belief (London, Sikh Cultural Society of Great Britain, 1965), p. 10.

Gobind Singh, the tenth guru, did admittedly lay down the Five Ks and the four rules of conduct. [1] These however were less practical rules or moral injunctions than a set of ordinances designed to maintain the distinctive physical appearance of the Sikhs. Depite its radical principles the Sikh religion, unlike Islam, has in practice tended to revert to the Hindu fold, as was seen on the question of cow-worship.

> By the time of Ranjit Singh, [2] Hinduism had practically come into its own. Spartan Sikh traditions had given way to tawdry Brahmanical ritual. Distinctions of caste were observed. Idols were worshipped alongside the Sikh scripture. Widows were incarcerated if not burnt with their dead husbands. When Ranjit Singh died several of his wives were cremated with him as was customary amongst aristocratic Hindu families - but expressly forbidden by the Sikh Gurus. Sikhs had simply become Hindus who grew their hair long and did not cut their beards. [3]

Despite periodic reform movements, this tendency towards a merger is still present. [4]

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[1] See pp. 457-8.

[2] King of the Punjab, who lived 1780-1839.

[3] Khushwant Singh, The Sikhs, op. cit., p. 88.

[4] Ibid., p. 179. Tandon says that most Hindus in the Punjab had Sikh relations. Intermarriage was common, and many Hindus, particularly women worshipped at Sikh gurdwaras. Tandon, op. cit., pp. 10-11. I was told that the Hindus in Newcastle used the gurdwara before they acquired their own temple.

The reason for the rapprochement was the hostility to Sikhism of the ruling Moguls, who of course were also enemies of the Hindus. According to tradition at least, Nanak with his two companions, one a Muslim and one a Hindu, pilgrimed far afield, discoursing with saints and visiting all the holy places and towns of importance in India, Ceylon, Persia and Arabia. [1] The fact that Sikhism was preached by Punjabis in Punjabi prevented it spreading, but "within the Punjab its appeal was irresistible. It had all the elements of a national faith." [2] This was why Sikhism attracted official Muslim repression, and why it was driven back towards Hinduism, even though it was closer to Islam. Gobind Singh's was the first serious attempt to overthrow the Mogul Empire in the north. [3] Gobind Singh failed, but a Sikh kingdom was eventually established. The national character of Sikhism was further strengthened when the Sikhs led successful resistance to (Muslim) Persian and Afghan invaders later in the 18th century. [4]

It is largely as a national faith, then, that Sikhism holds its allegiance, though it remained a minority religion

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[1] Tara Chand, op. cit., pp. 166-7.

[2] Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 98. My emphasis.

[3] Khushwant Singh, The Sikhs, op. cit., p. 32.

[4] Khushwant Singh, A History, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 183.

in pre-partition Punjab. By becoming a nationalist anti-Muslim force, however, it blurred its doctrinal distinctiveness. The outer appearance remained, but the original teaching which inspired Sikhs to fight and die for these external symbols became confused. This happened the more easily since the teaching lacked expression in a practical code of conduct. Under the influence of Hinduism Sikhism became less ideological and more social. Aurora indicates this when he says that the Sikh peasants' readiness to shave shows not only their pragmatism but also that their attachment to traditional mores is largely due to their function of cementing social bonds. [1]

The older Sikhs in Newcastle retained their emotional allegiance to the religion and continued to attend the gurdwara, at least on feastdays. Their problem, like that of the Hindus, was to transmit the faith, which had become more a "social get-together", [2] to a younger generation in another country.

The Sikhs succeeded better than the Hindus, probably because of the religion's nationalist character: "Our God's brought them to safety"; [3] "When I read the history I can

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[1] Aurora, op. cit., p. 94.

[2] p. 512.

[3] p. 487.

feel that through me heart". [1] They succeeded less well than the Muslims because Sikhism's doctrine had become confused and because it lacked a practical ethical code. It was seen, for example, that many young men made the gurus - or at least Guru Nanak - divine. However the theistic emphasis in the answers of a number of young Sikhs - "All religions seem to express the same idea" [2] - would seem to reflect Nanak's gospel that different faiths have a central unity.

Summary

In this chapter I sought to account for the differences in the relative religious orthodoxy of the three religious groups. There were no independent variables which adequately explained why the young Muslims consistently adhered to their religion much more strongly than either the young Sikhs or, in particular, the young Hindus. Instead I sought the answer in the character of the religions themselves.

It was argued that Hinduism was particularly difficult to transplant to another country and to pass on to the

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[1] p. 475.

[2] p. 474.

younger generation because its everyday manifestations are moulded by local social custom. This matrix is broken once a Hindu migrates, belief and practice crumble away. It was noted also that among Hindu Khatris in the Punjab formal religion had already been erased from the surface of life.

Islam, on the other hand, is simple and unequivocal. It is not dependent on the local context. It demands only an emphatic profession of faith and the observance of certain very practical rules of conduct. It is just as meaningful in Britain as in Pakistan and neither more nor less difficult to practise. This, I argued, was why the young Muslims expressed such devotion to the religion and why they observed its practices and prohibitions so closely.

Finally, it was noted that Sikhism, with its emphasis on the path of devotion, lacked Islam's hard and fast code of practical behaviour. It tended to revert to Hindu practices and thus lost its original doctrinal distinctiveness. This, I argued, was why Sikh parents succeeded less well than Muslims in transmitting the faith. It was suggested that they succeeded better than the Hindus because of Sikhism's character as a national religion.

23. DISSENTERS AND THEIR PARENTS

I sought in the last chapter to account for the differences in the relative orthodoxy of the three religious groups. In this chapter I examine the relationship between the religious dissenters and their parents.

Scepticism Concealed

It was seen that some of the young men were more or less open about their disbelief and nonconformity. Niranjan told his family about his interest in Methodism. Dayal's parents knew he ate beef. When I asked Subah whether his parents knew he was not very religious, he said: "I tell me Mam. If me Mam asks, I tell her."

Again, it was seen that Kamlesh had an argument with his mother about the truth of some of the Hindu mythology. Because this one outburst of criticism upset her, however, he took pains to hide the real extent of his scepticism.

> To myself, deep inside, without showing my feelings to anyone, I don't think [Hinduism's] really had much impression

on me - very much impression. But there is the obligation I've got to my parents. So if I suddenly said to my parents like, "I don't believe in it, I'm going to change my religion", or something like that, they'd probably say, "No, you can't do that". They'd be very hurt if I did say that. So it puts you in a dodgy position. It is hard.

I used to attend these sort of services that they used to have, but I've gone off them. Mam doesn't mind me- doesn't mind that much me not attending them. But if I actually went up to her and said, "Right, nonsense!" she'd probably say, "What's the meaning of this?" or something. And so I wouldn't really say to them, "I don't believe it". I'd probably hide my feelings.

Kamlesh concealed his disbelief out of respect and affection for his parents. This rather than open avowal, let alone rebellion, was the attitude of most dissenters who spoke about their relationship with their parents. Surinder, who found the Hindu mythology ridiculous and felt more sympathetic to Christ than to Krishna, said nevertheless:

I don't think it would be right if I was really cut off from the religion. I don't think my mother and father would- I don't know how they would react to it if I said I was completely- you know, I thought it was really rubbish.
(<u>How do you think they would react</u>?)
I don't know. Because- well there's a Hindu temple down here. Well they want me to go as many times as I want. But inside I don't want to go. Because if I said, "I don't really believe in it" and things like that- you know, I have to go, just to satisfy them. Because I think it would hurt them a bit really, if they thought they weren't spreading the word of the Lord, as you would say.

Rasul stuck more resolutely to his personal religious position. After his earlier attraction to Christianity he had studied both Christianity and Islam and concluded that "none of these religions were meant for the worship of God. I decided they had been wholly seduced for the human purpose." Rasul did not conform, but he avoided open conflict by refusing to argue with his parents.

> I never discuss it with them, but it's been a source of tension in a way. They've been trying to get me to say my- you know, do the usual things that Muslims do. And I react very strongly against this, because to me worshipping God is my personal business. I can worship God in my own mind, within myself. I don't have to show other people that I'm worshipping God, because I'm not doingit to show other people. (Your parents would like you to do these things?) Oh yes. It would make them very happy.
> (But since you don't?) Oh, they just accept it. Except me mother now and again she gets these passions, you know, and she says, "You should go to the mosque" and this sort of thing. And I just go out and come back when she's cooled down a bit.

The most vivid example of this concealment was Manjit. He, it was seen, took a view similar to Rasul's. "I believe in God, but I don't believe in religion." He said Sikhism was completely unimportant to him. Yet not only had he never told his father of his radical views, but he was one of the very few young Sikhs who still wore a turban. I asked him why.

> Out of respect for me mother and father.
> (What would they do if you cut your hair?)
> Well, I mean, they would just be upset
> inside. I mean they wouldn't, probably
> wouldn't say anything to us in the end.
> They would be hurt inside. But they
> wouldn't actually sort of like kick me
> out of the house, or something like that.

This answer makes it clear that Manjit was motivated less by fear of his parents' anger than by sensitivity to their feelings.

The Power of Respect

Such consideration is an expression of the traditional attitude of obedience towards parents which continues strongly in other matters too, as will be seen. On the Muslim side the Koran eloquently enjoins responsibility for one's parents:

> Do good to your parents, whether one of
> them or both of them attain old age, and
> do not show the least disgust with them,
> and reproach them not, but speak kindly
> to them and act permissively and humbly
> towards them out of tender affection, and
> say, Oh Lord, have mercy on them both,
> as they nursed me when I was a child. [1]

It was noted in the previous chapter that orthodox Muslim opinion classes disobedience to parents among the major sins.

In the Hindu, and hence Sikh, tradition it is laid down

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[1] Quoted in Hashmi, op. cit., p. 6.

that "the father, the mother and the guru - these three are always to be obeyed". [1] There exists moreover in Indian families a particularly close relationship between mother and son. The emotional strength of this bond is shown by the following passage from the Mahabharata.

> If one has a mother, one is sheltered, but unsheltered if one has her not. He does not grieve, age does not weigh on him, even though fortune betray him, who comes back to his house and can say "Mother!"... He is old, he is unhappy, the world is an empty desert for him, if he is parted from his mother. There is no shadow like the mother, there is no refuge like the mother, there is no shelter like the mother, there is no beloved like the mother. [2]

This mother-son relationship is in fact the closest in the Indian family. [3] When one of Darling's party asked a group of Hindu Jats which they loved most, their mothers or their wives, feelings were just as passionately expressed as in the foregoing quotation.

> "Our mothers, our mothers", they all exclaimed. "And how could it be otherwise", said our host, "our mothers from whose bellies we come, upon whose laps we make water, whose milk we have drunk, and in whose arms we have grown." [4]

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[1] Pandhari-Nath Prabhu, Hindu Social Organisation (Bombay, Popular Book Depot, new revised edition 1954), p. 256.

[2] Quoted in Johann Jakob Meyer, Sexual Life in Ancient India (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953), p. 204.

[3] The next closest is that between brother and sister. Bell, op. cit., p. 58. The main attitude of son to father, on the other hand, is said to be "respect, awe and fear, rather than love". Ross, op. cit., p. 144. This difference is apparent in the replies of only a couple of my respondents.

[4] Darling, At Freedom's Door, op. cit., p. 153.

The word by which my respondents most commonly described their attitude towards their parents was "respect". I would like to compare two accounts of very similar situations, one in India and one in England, which show this respect in operation. The first is taken from one of Mulk Raj Anand's novels. Lalu, a Sikh adolescent, has been to a fair and had his hair cut. When he returns to his village, his father attacks and beats him.

> Lalu was taken aback by the onslaught even though he had expected it. One part of him longed to struggle. But the feeling of docility and respect that had been inculcated in him since birth made him dumb and unresisting, though he smouldered with rage and self-pity.[1]

Some of the villagers now seize Lalu, blacken his face with soot and disgrace him publicly by leading him through the village on a donkey.

> In spite of the desperate waves of anger that rose to his forehead, he found himself submitting to the crowd. For a while the innate respect not only for his elders but for the people he had flouted held him in a prison of shame and disgust.[2]

Compare this with the following comment by Kusam.

> Our religion has everything to do with family. I mean religion says that we should live together. We should respect our elders. This is one of the biggest

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[1] Mulk Raj Anand, The Village (London, Cape, 1939), p. 130.

[2] Ibid., p. 136.

things, respect your elders. I've been brought up to this. My brothers they can come in the house, say something - I've got to do it, whether I like it or not. Say for example I refused him once, which I did. This was when I was working at the market, and he just turned round and slapped us in the face. I was nineteen then. See if I had been an English lad myself, I know this, he would have turned round and hit him one. But not me. I just turned, started working. To my point of view this is respect. See I respected him in front of all those people. But I know I went down. I was ashamed for meself. But I mean he realised it afterwards, what he had done wrong.

The biggest thing about the new generation is that they don't respect anybody. I mean I've been brought up and I respect everybody, even when I go out, even to work or anywhere, older than me, anybody, even English people or- This is it, I mean I respect them. When they say something I do it. But another lad, who's the same age as me, he won't. If he likes it he'll do it, but if doesn't he won't. I mean that's why- my personal view is that's why this country is going down. I mean everybody is getting out of it- their own responsibilities, what they should be, into lazyism.
(<u>But why do you respect older people</u>?)
Why? Because I've been brought up to it, since I was little, put it that way.
(<u>But why</u>?) Because they're older than you. This is it. I mean anybody older than you, no matter who he is, I am supposed to respect.

The similarity between the feelings of Lalu and Kusam gives an indication of how firmly the value of respect is still held by young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle.

There was another side to this avoidance of conflict. Just as most of the sons chose not to assert but to conceal unorthodox views and behaviour, so many of the parents turned

a blind eye to their nonconformity, provided it was not too blatant.

Inder, for instance, said his father did not mind him eating beef as long as he did not bring it into the house. Lal said he supposed his uncle knew he ate beef. "But it hasn't come about that he asks me." I asked Rasul, a Muslim, if his parents knew he went drinking.

> Well, quite frankly they didn't at one time, but I believe they do now. But they won't say it to me face, you see. They won't say, "You shouldn't go down to the Rock", but they say, "You shouldn't go to these places, you know, where you go to like".
> They won't say it to your face, because it would be admitting that - you know, they know that I've got to have some sort of freedom, they can't really control us all that much, so they're prepared to turn a blind eye to it like.
> (<u>But do you think it secretly worries them</u>?)
> Oh yes, it does. I've been told about it often enough. But I can't see any harm in it meself. The thing that I do it for is because I want to. But the thing is I don't want to hurt me parents either and I don't want to come out point-blank with it. So I feel I might as well suppress me desires for a while, because they are me parents and I owe something to them.

I conclude discussion of religion at this point, though of course religion was extended by custom to play a strong social role in the parents' efforts to control all their sons' activities, especially their sexual relationships. When I asked Hussain, for instance, whether he listened to pop music or smoked or went dancing or had a girl-friend, he replied, "In our religion they don't give us permission

to do these things". I discuss these in the following chapters.

No Inter-Generational Conflict

It has been seen that there was, at least among young Sikhs and Hindus, a good deal of religious scepticism and nonconformity. This chapter showed however that the dissenters, out of respect for their parents, carefully concealed such attitudes and behaviour. There was thus little inter-generational conflict in the matter of religion.

It is to be noted that these strong sentiments of respect were expressed at precisely the age in life when English children are supposed to be most likely to rebel against their parents. The submissiveness of the young Indians and Pakistanis contrasts also with the way in which other younger-generation immigrant groups often vehemently reject their parents' values. A good example in England are the young Italians in Bedford. John Brown writes:

> A key problem area is that of the crisis within the Italian family. While the immigrants cling fast to southern Italy, most of their children want only to break the bonds of traditional culture and merge into "Englishness". The violence of reaction against the parents is already causing profound unhappiness and divisions of consciousness, and could well go on to create a formidable record of suffering

and even of delinquency. [1]

In the next section I look at friendship and marriage among the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle. It will be seen whether there was conflict between the generations in this connection.

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[1] John Brown, The Un-Melting Pot (London, Macmillan, 1970), p. 225.

FRIENDSHIP AND MARRIAGE

24. FRIENDS

"Friend" is an imprecise word. It covers a range of relationships which vary not only in degree of closeness, but also in kind and frequency of association. One may use it, for example, of a person one holds dear, but sees only occasionally. One the other hand, one may use it of a regular companion of one's spare time. Or again, one may be tempted to apply the word friend to people with whom one is on constant amiable terms at work or at school, but whom one never meets outside this involuntary context. More generally, it is noticeable that the popular "stars" of sociometric studies always receive more friendship than they reciprocate.

To try and avoid such ambiguities I carefully construed the word in advance by asking the young Indians and Pakistanis which of their various friends they saw most of in their free time. In other words, I sought to restrict the term to the second usage cited above, that of persons the young men regularly and voluntarily chose to spend their leisure time with. I call "best friends" the individuals my respondents named. Table 97 shows

their ethnic distribution. [1]

TABLE 97

Best friends: those the young Asians saw most of in their free time. By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
Asian only	15	16	4	35
Asian plus English[1]	6	3	8	17
Non-Asian only[2]	4	5	3	12
No friends/ No response	1	2	-	3
Total with English friends (lines 2+3)	10	8	11	29
Total	26	26	15	67

[1] Includes one respondent whose sole non-English friends was of mixed Indian and English parentage.

[2] The friends here of course were almost all English. Two respondents however also had one West Indian friend each.

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[1] Other studies of friendship patterns between coloured and English children are:
Kawwa, op. cit;
T. Kawwa, "A study of interaction between native and immigrant children in English schools with special reference to ethnic preference", (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1965);
J. Rushton, "A sociometric study of some immigrant children in Manchester schools", Durham Research Journal, no. 5 (1967), p. 189;
M.O.A. Durojaiye, "Race relations among junior school children", Educational Research, Vol. 11, no. 3 (June 1969), pp. 226-8;
Bhatnagar, op. cit., pp. 108-9.

It should be said first that the best friends quoted by all but one of the young men were male. (Girl friends are the subject of the next chapter.) One sees from Table 97 that although only eighteen per cent of the young men had exclusively non-Asian best friends, 43 per cent mentioned at least one English name.

The young Hindus included the highest proportion with English best friends (73 per cent), while the group which had the smallest proportion was not the Muslims (38 per cent) but the Sikhs (31 per cent). This was somewhat surprising because, as mentioned in chapter 22, the Pakistanis are said to be the most ethnocentric of the three communities, and in particular more culturally exclusive than the relatively westernised Sikhs.

Rose, for instance, says:

> Pakistanis in Britain regard themselves as a people apart. They classify themselves as Kale (black or coloured), and Europeans as Gore lok (literally "white people"). Negroes are referred to as Sidis, irrespective of their origin, and are not part of the Kale category. The distinction between Kale and Gore, the insiders and the rest, is primarily a social distinction based on culture and religion, and the connotation of colour is often forgotten. The worlds of Gore and Sidis cannot be reconciled with Kale, whose legacy is regarded as a sacred trust from God ... Although the term Kala can also be applied to Indian complexions and, broadly, to people of Indo-Pakistani origin, and although West Pakistanis, being Punjabis, share many cultural traits with Sikhs, for example language, folk music and some of

> their diet, they maintain a distance from them and avoid personal relationships. They also stereotype the Sikhs, who are said to practise fraternal polyandry in this country and to eat tinned cat food and bully beef.[1]

Muslim exclusiveness was however apparent in other ways. Table 98 shows that exactly half of them had neither English nor other Asian, but only Muslim best friends. One unfortunately cannot make a precise comparison with the young Sikhs and Hindus on this point, because there were in each of these latter groups a couple of respondents whose answers were ambiguous in that it is unclear whether Indian friends they mentioned were all of the same religion or not.

However if, for the sake of argument, it is assumed these friends <u>were</u> all of the same religion, this would still leave relatively more Muslims (50 per cent) with best friends exclusively of the same religion than either Sikhs (40 per cent) or Hindus (27 per cent). Continuing the same assumption, one finds that only twelve per cent of Muslims had other Asian best friends, compared with 23 per cent of Sikhs and 20 per cent of Hindus.

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[1] Rose and Associates, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 448. See also <u>Ibid</u>., p. 466 and Aurora, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 107.

TABLE 98

Best friends: same religion only, other Asian and English. By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
Same religion only	13	9	2	24
Other Asian	3	6	3	12
Ambiguous	-	2	2	4
English	10	8	11	29
Total	26	26	15	67

There are differences of exclusiveness in the friendship patterns of the three groups, but the figures in Table 98 suggest that Aurora and Rose have exaggerated the distinctiveness of the Pakistanis, at least as concerns the younger generation. The young Muslims are separatist, but not appreciably more so than the young Sikhs. The Hindus, on the other hand, do emerge by my figures as apparently less inward-looking.

Most notable, however, is how few youths at all had best friends from other religious groups. Indeed even if, for a change, one assumes the ambiguous friends did not belong to the same religion as the respondents and that they should in fact be added to line 2 in Table 98, there would still be many more young men with English than with other Asian best friends: 29 (43 per cent) as against 16 (24 per cent).

Overall, it was mostly early arrivals - those who came under the age of eleven or were born here - who said they had English best friends, as Table 99 shows.

TABLE 99

Asians with and without English best friends.
By age of arrival.

	English best friends	No English best friends	All
Arrived early	21	12	33
Arrived late	8	25	33
No response	-	-	1
Total	29	37	67

The young Sikhs, however, did not conform to this general pattern. Table 100 shows that over two-thirds of the Sikh early arrivals had no English best friends.

TABLE 100

Asians with and without English best friends.
By religion and age of arrival.

	SIKHS*		MUSLIMS		HINDUS	
	Friends	None	Friends	None	Friends	None
Early	4	9	9	1	8	2
Late	4	8	1	15	3	2
Total	8	17	10	16	11	4

* There was one Sikh No response.

Since the Sikhs are seen to have had the advantage of a higher proportion of early arrivals, Table 100 reduces still further the slender support that Table 98 gives to the assertion that Muslims are more ethnocentric than Sikhs. Table 100 also explains away the apparent difference between the Hindus and the rest. Thus the evidence in the end suggests that Rose's and Aurora's thesis did not apply to the young Pakistanis in Newcastle. From my general knowledge and observation I would argue that they also overstate the exclusiveness of the older generation in the city.

I am unable to give any reason why the Sikhs differed from the rest in the manner shown in Table 100. I can only say, tautologically, that there were among them a number of early arrivals who were not culturally conservative, who in fact had more or less strongly absorbed English attitudes, but who nevertheless said they did not have any English best friends.

Next Best Friends

They were not all entirely cut off from English friendship, however, because some had spent <u>some</u> of their free time with English friends in the previous fortnight. I questioned in these terms all respondents without English best friends, in order to uncover any less important English friendships. Table 101 shows the numbers with these what I call "next best"

English friends, who, it should be noted, were still spare-time associates. Table 101 shows also, for comparison, the numbers with English best friends and the numbers with neither.

TABLE 101

Asians with best and next best English friends. By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
English best friends	10	8	11	29
Eng. next best friends	4	6	2	12
Neither	12	11	2	25
No response	-	1	-	1
Total	26	26	15	67

We see from Table 101 that where the young Indians and Pakistanis had English friends by these two definitions, over 70 per cent counted them among their best, rather than as only next best friends. Table 101 shows also that more of the young men had English best friends than had no English friends in either category.

Friendship with Elswick Whites

Perhaps the most significant fact was that relatively few of the Indians and Pakistanis had English friends from the

twilight Elswick district. [1] Table 102 shows that of the 29 youths with English best friends (less two who no longer lived in Newcastle), 15 (56 per cent) drew them exclusively from outside this area.

TABLE 102

Asians with English best friends: Where they drew them from.

Exclusively from within twilight Elswick	7
Exclusively from outside	15
From both inside and outside	5
Total	27

A few, of course, of these English friends came from just outside the district, from other parts of Elswick, for example, or from just the other side of Westgate Road. But the great majority lived in other parts of the city altogether and indeed were scattered widely between Fawdon, Gosforth and Jesmond in the north, Lemington and Throckley in the west, Byker and Heaton in the east.

While I do not have precise addresses, all these areas were superior to twilight Elswick in housing, environment and

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[1] Defined on p. 43.

stability of community. A few, such as Fawdon, Kenton, Montagu, were predominantly Council estates. Others, like Fenham, Jesmond and Gosforth, ranked higher than the rest in class composition. In general, however, these English best friends lived in districts which were solid working/lower middle class. A few best friends came from right outside Newcastle: Gateshead, Whitley Bay, even Middlesbrough.

It is true that some of the Indians and Pakistanis themselves did not live in twilight Elswick. The fact remains that all but a very few had lived there, as it was the area of original settlement. And a majority of those who now lived outside had retained Asian best friends within this part of Elswick.

How therefore did the Indians and Pakistanis get to know their English best friends? Table 103 shows the replies the 27 respondents gave. The total adds up to more than 27 because some of them gave more than one answer.

TABLE 103

How the Asians got to know English best friends.

From work	3
From school	15
From college	4
From neighbourhood	6
From father's shop	4
Friend of a friend	4
Other	2

It is seen that school was far and away the biggest source. Fifteen of the young men drew English friends from school, while only six made their acquaintance via the locality, though two who mentioned their father's shop should probably be added here, where this was in the same neighbourhood as they themselves lived.

"Neighbourhood" for one of the six Asians who gave this reply in Table 103 meant in fact outside Elswick. Thus we see that even though only twelve out of 27 (44 per cent) had any English best friends from within the district (Table 102), at most five of these, or seven ("father's shop") had made their acquaintance <u>because</u> they lived in the area. The rest they got to know in other contexts.

It is true that few of the young Indians and Pakistanis made English best friends through the locality wherever they lived. The fact remains that of the 60 Asians still in Newcastle at the time of interview, only 20 lived outside twilight Elswick.

The reason for this lack of friendships with local English lads from twilight Elswick was that the Indians and Pakistanis generally felt they behaved badly and set an example they did not wish to follow. The stereotype contained a strong element of truth. These are some of the Asian comments.

Bishan:
They hang around the streets. Most Indians do that, but they try to act big and disturb the peace.
(What sort of things do they do?) Well, smashing bottles, drinking, smashing bottles and smashing windows. Or ring the bell and run away and hide. Or if they see somebody lives in a house by themselves, they bother them, ringing the bells.
(Anything else?) Swearing. They don't finish a sentence without putting a swearword in, and I think most Indians don't do that. They may once or twice, but not as much as the English.

Dayal:
Especially following this pop thing. That's stupid. It's a waste of money, and most people around here just can't afford to waste that much money. They sort of pick up the habits from these pop stars about drugs and smoking, the whole lot, and they can't just afford it really. And when they start it, their sort of condition gets worse, because they spend that much money on smoking and drinking and keeping long hair and buying new kinds of clothes every week. Couple of years ago it was really bad. Ah man, you had these teenagers drunk up to about two o'clock, making a noise, busting windows, and all sorts.

Sharm:
I would like to go out with the lads, just go out anywhere like, even though it's just walking round anywhere, but it's when they dare each other "Do this" and "Do that". Sometimes they say, "Smash that window". Just to be sort of-, just to show off they would do it. Or I've seen it when I was at school, and we used to go out at night or in the morning, you know, when we were going. And they used to pinch or steal the milkbottles from doorsteps, just because another had betted them sixpence or something like that, dared them sort of. It's only a milkbottle, say worth about 10d. But when he grows up, it'll not be only a milkbottle, it'll be bigger things. So it just leads to bad life.

Nazir was among those who did have English best friends from twilight Elswick. He said: "I used to have some kids who I used to knock aroond with".

> (Do you still see them?) Well some of them, Henry, Billy, Davy and all them. I still go and see them some time. We used to go on our bikes, go to the coast and all this kind of things when we were little.
> (Do you still go out with them?) No, I never bother go out with them. I just go and see them in their houses when they're in like, and just watch the television and talk a bit. But all my friends are nearly all pigeon-keepers, mind you.
> (Are they mostly old men?) Yes. Saturdays and Sundays I always go to them from morning and I come back about five o'clock at night, see. Just watch the pigeons come back from the races. That's what I like to spend most of my time doing.[1]

Another young man with English friends from twilight Elswick was Hardev. I put to him the point made above, that most young Indians and Pakistanis considered themselves superior to the English in the area, and that if they had English friends, these were from posher parts of town. Hardev said:

> Oh I mean, I've got a few posh friends, but point is, I mean, we don't socially mix. I mean I might see them in a bar or a club. Let's say if we ever gan to a dance we might see them. But that's what me dad expects me

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[1] Nazir kept pigeons of his own, not in a cree like the men he is talking about here, but in the backyard.

> to be, sort of collar and tie and suit. I don't like the idea of wearing suits. I mean I've always worn jeans and tight trousers, and that's it.
>
> So I mean, with the lads, they might look scruffy, but that doesn't change their personality. I mean, say what Albert knows about bikes, a lad with a suit might know it, but he'll hesitate to do anything. I mean to say, if I'm out on a motorbike, the two of us, mine breaks down, he's going to get off and give us a hand. You know, he'll get hiself all scruffy the same way as I would for him. And you go out with a suit and collar and tie and his suit on, he'll be frightened to touch the job in case he gets a bit oil on his suit.

A few young men, though critical, were also envious of the local English lads. Bishan said he liked "the way they enjoy themselves, go out every night". Mohan said: "I think the youngsters, the girls and boys, I think they can enjoy their lives like that". A few others refused to be drawn into making a condemnation. Asked whether English teenagers in twilight Elswick on the whole set a good or a bad example, Kesar, for example, said: "I cannot say. I'm just like them."

Hostility to Contemporary Youth Culture

The bulk of comment, however, was critical. It linked up with the general criticism of whites in the area already noted in chapter 4. Several young men who had moved away from Elswick distinguished their new English contemporaries from those they had left behind. Arjan, now living in a modern

semi in Gosforth, said:

> In Warrington Road they all calling me names, doing no good and stealing, swearing, break window. Here all speak nice, never call nothing.

Though this distinction was made, some of the Indians and Pakistanis, as was seen, connected the bad behaviour of the youth of Elswick with the countrywide teenage "flower power" fashion and went on to condemn the latter in its extremer manifestations of beatniks, drug-taking and psychedelic clothes. I never saw much connection myself. Apart from a certain amount of long hair and the odd cell of pot-smokers, the local lads seemed to me to be mostly old-style short-haired proletarians. They preferred Brown Ale to marijuana and went in for hardly any sartorial excess. [1] Nevertheless Lal, for instance, made the association and said:

> I think you are a disgrace to society when you don't work or anything. Well, that's flower power. The teenagers that follow flower power, they don't want to earn their living the way the rest of the society does. They try to be completely different to the rest of the people by saying, "Aw, we don't want to work for a living. We just live on what we get." And trying to change society. I think society is fairly good as it is at the moment, so why change it? Or why try to

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[1] The more recent skinhead fashion did however catch on fairly strongly. The Indian and Pakistani youths dressed very conventionally for going out, almost all wearing a suit and white shirt with a tie. In the house they mostly just wore a pullover or knitted cardigan over their shirt. Just one respondent, and he only once, was wearing a dhoti when I called.

> change it? And their clothes, the way they dress and practically everything about them is a disgrace, I think.

The same sentiments became apparent in discussions about pop music. English pop was widely appreciated. Fifty-six of the Indians and Pakistanis (84 per cent) said they liked it. [1] But when I asked about performers, I found no appreciation of the frenetic or avant-garde groups. The Beatles were generally accepted, so was Elvis Presley. But otherwise the preference of the young men was strongly for clean-cut conventional performers, like Cliff Richard, Tom Jones and Englebert Humperdinck. They reserved particular obloquy for the Rolling Stones. Bishan, for example, said:

> I used to like pop music before the Beatles and all them came in.
> (Who did you like?) Cliff Richard - I still do like - and the Shadows and the Dave Clark Five and one or two others. You hardly ever see them now. They've been sort of taken over by these latest ones.
> (What don't you like about them?) Well the way they sing and the noise they make. You know, when they sing the way they dance, and all the way their hairs are. I don't know, just looking at them makes me sick.
> (Who do you dislike the most?) The Rolling Stones.
> (What don't you like about them?) Well the way Mick Jagger dances - you know, he waves his head like that, sideways - and the way he moves his body. I actually saw a pop group. He was painted all over his face like a Red Indian, and all the lighting and background was all sickening.

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[1] Sixteen (24 per cent) said they had been to a pop concert.

This strong dislike of the insolent uncontrolled long-haired youth style is significant and marks the young Indians and Pakistanis off from at least a large section of their English contemporaries, who are attracted to it precisely because it is defiant and self-indulgent. It illustrates again the Asians' non-rebelliousness, already observed in matters in religion.

No Delinquency

The way in which most of the Indians and Pakistanis dissociated themselves from the white adolescents of Elswick reflects another notable fact about them, which is the almost complete lack of the teenage delinquency found among many immigrant groups, for instance in the United States. The Probation Service informed me that only one Asian youth had been placed under the supervision of any of their officers currently working in Newcastle. [1]

This corresponds closely to John Lambert's findings in Birmingham. Lambert shows that there too only a very small number of coloured children were on probation. [2] Very few

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[1] Letter of August 2, 1971, from Mr. J.A. Bray, Assistant Principal Probation Officer of the Newcastle and Northumberland Probation and After Care Service.

[2] John R. Lambert, Crime, Police and Race Relations (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1970), p. 221.

had been sent to approved school. [1] Though compared with English youngsters both Asian and West Indian children were under-represented in terms of approved school referrals, the young Asians were the least delinquent of the three groups. [2] This was despite the fact, noted by Lambert, that immigrant areas in Birmingham were also high-crime areas. [3]

Though the overall situation in Newcastle was as I have described, it should be said that two brothers who were among my most helpful respondents were involved in a recent murder case. Armed with iron bars they and a number of English youths attached a 36-year old Sikh as he came out of the Asian pictures in the city centre. As the man lay in the road, my respondents' father drove over him in his van. [4] Originally both young Indians (and others) were charged with murder, but this charge was dropped against all except the father. The father was convicted of murder and the sons were jailed for ten years and / Borstal training for lesser offences.

It should be noted that this was not second-generation

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[1] Ibid., pp. 218-9.

[2] Ibid., p. 220.

[3] Ibid., p. 284.

[4] Evening Chronicle (Newcastle), June 21, 1971.

delinquency arising from culture-conflict. The assault and murder developed out of an old feud between the dead man and my respondents' father which dated back to the time when they had run a cinema together. The prosecution referred to a statement made to the police by the oldest son which was reported in part as follows:

> [The defendant] had allegedly told police there had been trouble between his family and [the dead man's] and that [the dead man] had caused a fight with his father about six years ago.
>
> After he had found out that [the dead man] had threatened his father with a knife a week before the attack by the gang he had decided to get [him].
>
> He had told his brother ... that he ... was going to get [the dead man] for what he had done to his father and he had gone to a bowling alley in Westgate Road where he saw four friends ...
>
> [The defendant] had also told the police: "To some extent I'm sorry for this, but I did it for my father". [1]

It is very doubtful whether the son really initiated the attack on his own. It is evident however that he was strongly motivated by loyalty to his father. It was this same traditional loyalty and obedience which in most cases operated to keep the young Indians and Pakistanis firmly within the law.

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[1] Ibid.

No Asian Best Friends

I want now to consider two groups of young men who have been squeezed out of the narrative. The first are the dozen youths who had exclusively non-Asian best friends. As might be expected, all but one came to England early. Five lived in areas of Newcastle with few Indians and Pakistanis and attended schools with even fewer. When I asked why he had no close Indian friends, one of these, Inder, replied:

> I suppose this is partly due to school. But the time's taken up such that in the evenings I have worked and everything, and well most of the social activities I find are from school. And during the week I'm usually at home working, something like that. So that the case is such that I only find out about what my friends, what my English friends are doing. And my Indian friends well I see when they come over or I go over there.

Another was Prem, the pop musician, who was a neat but untypically modish follower of fashion. When I first met him he was wearing an orange kipper tie with an open-necked white shirt and a dark blue wide-striped suit.

Prem said he had no contact whatsoever with other Indian boys apart from his brother. He did not know any. He did not know their names, he did not even look at them if he passed any in the street. He said he had had English company all his life. "I told you I was an extraordinary case", but

added rather wistfully that he had once encountered one Indian boy with the same interests as himself.

> I did meet one, but I don't know him no more. I was working at a part-time job on a Saturday, and he was exactly like me, strange to say. I'd like to meet him again. He was exactly the same as me.

The seven remaining young men all lived in twilight Elswick. Only four had English best friends inside the area. There seems to be no generalisation which will encompass them all. They were "extraordinary cases". There was, for instance Niranjan, the Methodist, who said he had no close Indian friends not because of religion, but because

> There's hardly any of them come out at night time. And I got sick of just seeing them during the day, and nobody to go out with during the night. Well I just met up with some English friends and started going out with them.
> (Why wouldn't their parents let the Indian lads out?) I don't know. I suppose they're pretty strict about it. Probably something to do with going out with girls and that, something to do with that. They must have got different minds on it.
> (How well do you know other Indian lads?) Well I know them to talk to, but I don't know hardly any of their names. Well there's people that know me, Indian people who know me, but I don't know them. (Laughs)

Then there was Hardev, a rocker in style who like Prem was the only one of his kind. His hair was quite long, but greased back. Hardev was for ever letting his beard

grow for about a month, then shaving for a while, then starting again. He had an engaging sardonic manner.

He said:

> I don't get on with half the Indians.
> They don't like my style, I suppose,
> the way I dress and things I do.
> (What sort of things?) Well most
> Indian blokes'll not approve of chasing
> women. And the rest of them don't
> approve of motorbikes. So that deals
> you out. Nobody approves of long hair.
> I mean I don't mind them. I've just
> had mine cut and everything but - you
> know, I wear a medallion, and this sort
> of thing. They're all curious, "Why do
> you wear this?" I mean you wear a
> medallion because you want to. There
> has to be no specific reason for it.
> All this sort of thing. I don't think
> most of them don't understand me, that's
> all. So I don't get on too well with them.
> (They think you've gone to the bad?)
> Yeh. I'm supposed to be one of the bad
> lads. [1]

English Friends at Work

The second group who should be given a mention are the youths who, while they did not spend their free time with English friends, nevertheless said they had good English friends at school or at work. I did not ask systematically about this, as it were, third level of friendship, as I

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[1] Yet I was with him one evening while the older men quite happily played dominoes with him in the back room of the Elswick Tavern.

thought it too ill-defined and liable to shade off to include people who were merely friendly in manner rather than friendly by association. However a handful did volunteer this information.

The most interesting was Sharm, quoted above, who though he failed to make friends with local Elswick youths, had established a close relationship with two much older men in the factory where he worked.

> Well one of them he's a machinist. The other one's a labourer. And labourer, everywhere we go in work we just go together. And this other English friend, well he taught me everything. He was a machinist. When I came there I learned everything off him, he taught me everything. And well, we're good friends. But it's the sort of friends. The things that they talk about - well I think in the factories you find most people are beer-drinkers and them, who just get their pay-packet, and that's it, they spend it. But these people they've got something to stand for. They know things about life instead of just beer and pubs and things like that. They know other things about life.

Sharif was adopted in a similar way by the winderman and the electrical engineer at the colliery where he worked. He shared very strongly the general bitterness of the miners about pit closures. This was apparent when I asked whether his mates ever told him about the union battles in the old days.

> When Churchill came into power? And the Welsh miners went to strike? Oh yes. Ah, but things were hard then. They shouldn't

be in nowadays. If the miners were important then, they should be important today. If the Labour government thinks they could treat them like dogs now, then I don't think they will get the backing of the mineworkers in the future elections. I mean to say, most of the miners at our place they say, "Talk about communism is bad, whey Labour government is just as bad as communist government". Some of the miners say that we would be better if the communists was in power.

Sharif had several times visited the homes of his friends, and the winderman had called to see him. Sharm, on the other hand, never saw his friends outside work. Nor did Khan, even though he was on good terms with his workmates. [1] He explained:

> I mean I have different habits. I have different customs, everything. Everything's different. They go for a pint or a drink or go out to a dance or something, but I'm not allowed to go out, you see. I mean when you come over here or even if you're over there, you're supposed to, you know, stay all right. Well I mean you're not allowed to go out and that, knock about. In our country we don't have this kind of thing, you know, girls and boys mixing, and you're supposed to carry on in this country.

One notes the delicate language. This rigorous attitude was unusual, however, at least among Indians and Pakistanis well-established, confident and with good enough English to make English friends. They might be embarrassed to

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[1] See p. 237.

invite them home, but most felt no moral qualms about meeting English friends outside, if not in a pub then, say, in sporting activities.

Admittedly for a young worker like Khan to keep up with workmates without going to pub or club was much more difficult than for an Asian still studying to develop a friendship with a fellow scholar. In any case Khan does not seem to have had any particular English friends. As for Sharm, it is clearly more difficult to continue outside work the same free and easy relationship with a much older family man that can exist inside a factory.

Forbidden Activities

It would be tedious to elaborate here the different ways in which the young Indians and Pakistanis spent their free time. It is of interest, however, to examine the attitudes of the young men towards the sort of activities which were forbidden by religion or quasi-religious custom. I specifically asked respondents whether they went in for these. It was shown earlier that 28 per cent of the youths went to the pub [1] and that sixteen per cent smoked. [2]

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[1] p. 508.

[2] p. 507.

In the next chapter it is seen that 39 per cent of them went out with girls and/or went dancing. It is noteworthy, however, that there were apparently very few young men wanting to do such things who were inhibited from doing them either by their parents or by religious scruples.

Having run through the questions on these reprehensible activities, I asked: "Are there any of these things you don't do, but would like to do?" Only fifteen (22 per cent) said yes. Forty-nine said no, and there were three no responses. Seven of the fifteen said they would like to go dancing, five said they would like to go out with a girl. Two mentioned smoking and two drinking. Two just said they would like to have "more of a social life".

However, asked <u>why</u> they didn't do these things, three said they had too much homework to do. Others explained they were too shy, too young, too tired, couldn't dance, couldn't speak English well enough or had no money. Only four said their parents would not approve or would be upset. Two of these, moreover, complained not that they could not do these things, but that they could not do them as often as they liked.

The 49 who said no included those who said they already did such things as they wanted. The bulk of those who did not drink (or whatever) said they did not want to. Even

most of the few who did not want to did not claim to be prevented by parents or religion.

In other words, the young men had either, it seems, completely internalised the orthodox norms. Gurmakh, for example, said, "Anything your elders advise you not to do is for your own benefit, and you don't question it". Or, on the other hand, they did what they had a mind to, whatever their declared allegience to religion or obedience to parents. [1]

There were, of course, sometimes rows with parents. Iqbal, for example, said:

> It's like sort of being in a prison in a way like. I object to it in a way. You're not free to go anywhere you like. Well I am in a way so long as I don't do anything bad or daft, so long as I don't run away with a girl. I rebel against them sometimes. When they say, "You can't go out", I say I want to go out because I haven't been out for ages. It just goes on like that. In the end they normally say, "Allright, go out, but come back at a certain time".

In general, however, the young Indians and Pakistanis went about their transgressions discreetly, without open defiance, so that either way there was a minimum of conflict

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[1] Among the professedly devout see, for example, Bashir's drinking (p. 501) and Kusam's going out with girls, detailed in the next chapter.

with parents. The discretion was the same as that with which they concealed religious disbelief from their parents, and it sprang from the same motives of respect and of not wanting to hurt, though there was in the matter of girl friends perhaps a stronger element of fear. The latter required the greatest prudence of all, and to them I now turn. [1]

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that 43 per cent of the Indian and Pakistani youths had at least one English best friend. Best friends I defined as the friends respondents saw most of in their free time. Substantially fewer young men had Asian best friends from other religious groups than their own. The young Muslims proved not to be any more ethnocentric than the Sikhs and Hindus.

Relatively few of the Indians and Pakistanis had English best friends from twilight Elswick, and still fewer had got to know them actually through the locality.

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[1] It may be, of course, that respondents like Gurmakh were hiding what they really felt. If so, their diffidence contrasts sharply with the frank manner in which others confided their scepticisms and trespasses. I therefore suggest one may take at face value their declared lack of interest in prohibited activities.

They generally condemned the English lads from twilight Elswick as rough and delinquent. They were also hostile to contemporary youth culture in its more frenetic aspects. The majority of respondents with English best friends drew them from more respectable parts of the city. There was little delinquency among the Asians.

When I questioned the young men about religiously forbidden activities, they appeared either to have completely internalised the orthodox norms - or they discreetly did what they wanted and were not inhibited either by parents or by religious scruples. Because of their discretion there was again little conflict with parents.

25. GIRL FRIENDS

Muslims Again Stricter

Twenty of the young Indians and Pakistanis said they went out with girls. Twenty, in reply to another question, said they went dancing. The 30 per cent in each case were mostly the same young men, 26 individuals (39 per cent) in all. As one has come to expect, almost two-thirds (17) of these 26 were early arrivals.

Fifteen of the 26 youths were Sikhs, eight were Hindus, but only three were Muslims. This means that 58 per cent of the Sikhs and 53 per cent of the Hindus took girls out or went to dances, compared with a mere eleven per cent of the young Muslims. One sees again how much stricter was the behaviour of the Muslims.

The girl friends were predominantly English, and most of the relationships seemed to be fairly low-key. Several of the young men emphasised, like Kamlesh:

> I wouldn't say I had one real girl friend. I know quite a few girls, put it like that. I used to knock around with them, so to speak, and go to the pictures. Maybe I did have one special one. But now I don't have time. I maybe see her once every two weeks.

Only four or five youths had developed a strong, fairly long-standing attachment to one particular girl.

The Indians and Pakistanis could not bring their girl friends home. Since they in turn were often not popular with the girls' parents, the couples usually met in town.

> I just take them out for a drink or something, go to a dance or something with them.
>
> We used to go to a pub, dancing, night clubs or beat clubs.
>
> Pictures, clubs, go for a drink, spin round the Moor and - er (laughs). Er Jesmond Dene's quite good for that. You want to try it.

<u>The Danger of Being Spotted</u>

The young men generally took great pains to conceal this sort of association from their parents, but because it meant going out together in public, it was much more difficult to keep secret than were private religious doubts. Dayal said:

> They get to know. All Indians have got big mouths. You can't really walk around the town without an Indian seeing you, someone that knows you. Me brother he had an English lass at the Town Moor once, right? And this Indian bloke saw him. He come dashing home, told me dad, and me dad went dashing up. But fortunately for Hardev, he had just dumped her at the bus-stop two minutes ago - fortunately. Me dad would have thumped him right there and

then. Me dad sort of dropped it, seeing that he didn't see her. But it was a real good job he did take her to the bus-stop a couple of minutes before me dad got there. And the bloke could have waited till next day, couldn't he? He didn't, he come straight home. (Wasn't he even a member of the family?) Well no, just a customer really he was. Just an ordinary customer who knew that Hardev was Mr. -'s son. Eh, it's stupid that, isn't it?

Dayal told of another close shave:

> We were in the front bus, and there was a bus behind, and there was a couple of canny Indian lasses in the other bus. There's us waving away like mad. Suddenly we looked at the conductor - the driver rather - and he was an Indian. You should have seen the dirty looks we got off him. We thought he'd go down to the parents. But he must have been one of those canny fellows. He didn't.

Kusam illustrates very well what I argued at the end of the last chapter: that parents and religion did not prevent the young men, whatever their professed obedience and devotion, from doing illicit things which they wanted to do. Kusam, it was seen, declared strong allegiance to Hinduism. He set about educating himself in the faith. [1] He stressed his respect for his mother and elder brother. [2]

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[1] p. 495.

[2] pp. 557-8.

Yet in the next breath he admitted he had an English girl friend. He conceded this was in contradiction to what he had said about respect.

> It is. Well the thing is, you see, as long as they don't find out, to me I think it's all right. Just the same as beef.[1] As long as they don't find out, I'm happy. But when they find out and they say no, that's it, I'm finished, you see. And the girl knows it. I mean I've told her if anybody ever sees us walking, I'm just going to walk away from her. She knows it, and she's going to walk the opposite way to me. This is it. I mean I've got to tell her. Otherwise I'll never go out. I mean I've been out with many girls. She's not the only one. But the thing is, everyone I've been out with, I've told them, "Me parents don't like this going on. If they ever see us, I'm going to walk away. I'm sorry, but this is it." I went to the Town Moor with me girl friend. Every single time I saw anybody I knew I just separated. It was quite a game. I mean this: to keep my name clean, to keep my family's name clean and to keep respect in Newcastle. You can interview anyone you like. Nobody knows if I go out with anybody.

Niranjan told his parents about his interest in Methodism. But he made no such confession about his girl-friends. When, like Hardev, he was spotted, he sought to bluff his way out.

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[1] "As long as I'm not told it's beef, I'll eat anything, even if I know it's beef." See p. 503.

My older brother seen us. He told the family, and when I went home, he started to talk about the subject, and I says, "Me? I wasn't in the town at the time." I just denied it. They couldn't say anything. I just said it wasn't me. (Did your brother say anything to you at the time?) He didn't get the chance. I just seen him on the bus. He was at work at the time, you see. He was in the bus, and I was outside. I was just with a girl and I just happened to look round and I saw him. I just walked away. (Laughs)

Dalip too resorted to lies when things leaked out, rather than confront his father with open defiance. He said:

> Well naturally I've got to deny everything. (Laughs) In fact it's not worth it for me to say, "Oh, I've been knocking about, and what are you going to do about it?" because I don't like arguing with me father.
> (Why not?) Well it just means breaking up your relationship with him and that. It just means - it doesn't look, well, y'know, like a good boy and that like, just: "Oh, he's a bit of a cracker." (Laughs) You know, he doesn't much care for you. I like keeping on good books on my father's side.
> (So what happens?) He generally asks us like, and I say no (laughs), just tell a white lie or something.
> (So you don't go out with girls any more?) Well, I do like, but I don't tell anybody.

A Blind Eye

The other side to this avoidance of conflict, as we noted before, was a certain tendency for parents to turn a blind eye. Bashir, for example, went out with girls,

but said of his father:

> He doesn't know. (Laughs) Well, I think he does know, you know. He probably knows. But as long as he thinks I'm scared to tell him, well, he's all right. [1]

Similarly with Pratap's parents.

> They don't know like, but they suspect like. As long as I don't get in any trouble and that, as long as I don't have to pay the consequences like, that's all right, you know, as long as I don't get involved. But they know like. They must do. They must guess like. They just put two and two together.

This sort of sly parental tolerance of girl friends was rare, however. Most parents reacted very differently. Dayal said of his:

> They're not that strict. They don't mind us talking to girls and getting on with them. But when it comes to a hint of love, they're away down. They'll be on you like a ton of bricks. They think if you fall in love, you'll object to getting married to a girl you've never seen. It follows, doesn't it?

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[1] Bashir, one of the few young Muslims to take girls out, was, as already noted, one of the devout sinners. He rated Islam as very important and knew it forbade him to go out with girls:

(Do you think you're breaking a serious rule?)
Yeh, I think so.
(But it doesn't stop you?)
No. (Laughs)

Altogether seven of the 26 Asian youths who went out with girls said their religion was very important to them, and six said it was fairly important. Thus exactly half said their religion was of substantial importance.

Capitulation or Greater Stealth

Discovered, most of the young men either knuckled under to parental wrath or, if they continued courting, made sure they went about it more secretly than before. Few sustained open rebellion. One who did was Lal, who had become firmly attached to one particular English girl.

> I told my auntie, but my uncle just found out about it.
> (What did he say?) He just wanted me to- he says, "I don't want you to go out with girls, with her or with anyone". And I asked him the reason. He told me not to argue with him, and we had a straight argument, it just developed. Then he said, "Well, I hope you won't go out with her". And I said, "Oh, we'll see about it". And that's about it.
> (Was he put out when you didn't stop?)
> No, 'cos he learned to expect things like that off me now.

Prem also had a fairly long-standing English girl friend. The pair of them succeeded in challenging both his parents and hers. They did so with the help of their headmistress, who summoned all four parents to a conference at the school.

> Finally when they came out of the little room the headmistress told us that they had decided we could see each other two nights a week.
> (How do you feel about that?) It's rotten. It's very unreasonable. But what my parents say about that is the most absurd thing I've heard yet: that a boy should not be allowed to go out with any girls or mix with them until he's of the age of 25. (Laughs) Well after 21 they can't stop you anyway like.
> (Were your parents angry?) Oh yeh, angry. My father he resented us having to agree to two nights a week.
> (He would rather there was a complete ban?)

Oh yeh. Both our parents wanted it, but the headmistress persuaded them that our work was being affected, because we weren't allowed to see each other, which it was.
(Have your parents calmed down now?
Actually they've got worse after the agreement. They wished they hadn't agreed to it at all. Actually a few days ago my father threatened to send me back to India if I didn't do as he said.
(Would you obey?) No I wouldn't.
I mean that would put the block on all my life.

Rehabilitation

Being packed off to India was the ultimate sanction. Mockingly but perceptively, Hardev termed this "rehabilitation". He said:

I think actually me dad's thinking of sending us two back for rehabilitation really. (Laughs) You know, you share their hardships and learn to respect people, and this and that. (Laughs) I don't think it'll help really. I suppose I'll be just as cheeky as ever, it makes no difference.

This was the fate that Kusam feared if he was ever spotted with a girl.

If they ever did find out, I'd be home by the next plane, whether I'm right or not. You know, I'll be forced home. Because they'll think that I'm getting out of hand.

To try and ensure there would be no relapse into venery,

parents often combined the rehabilitatory visit home with marriage. This is what happened to Nazir, who unlike Prem did not refuse to return. He said he was sent for a holiday in Pakistan because he had been rather foolish.

> Well, young lasses, you know, going out with young lasses and getting in trouble like, and all this. So me brother - fights and all this - and me brother says, "Go back home", you see for a holiday. So I was there for four-and-a-half months. I went back home, and my father was waiting for me Rawalpindi, you see. When I went from here, as soon as the plane landed my father was waiting for me, from there he took me home. Then about a month later, you see, my father decided me to get married. That's how I got engaged and got married.

Asian Girl Friends

Marriage is the subject of the following chapter. Before I turn to that, had any of the young men been out on the quiet with Asian girls? Only two said they had. One was Chanan.

> I only took one Indian lass out, I used to take masses of English lasses out. I mean, it's too dangerous to take an Indian lass out, too risky. If they find out, if their mother and father find out you're going with their lass, you'll get killed. (Laughs)

The other was Hardev. He said he had been out with Indian girls occasionally and made it sound doubly dangerous

because of the wildfire gossip he said it caused.

> It's more scandal than anything else. It's more fun like. You take an Indian lass out, and everyone in town knows about it just about. Because she tells her friend, and her friend's got a couple of friends, you see, and she'll say, "Did you know she went out with Hardev the other night?" And it gets on, and before you know it, somebody comes up to you and says, "Eeh, er I hear you were out with her the other night".

Hardev mentioned one particular Indian girl who he said was always ringing him up. They used to lie to their parents to get out to see each other. He used to claim appointments with the dentist three times a week. She used to make her escape allegedly to go to the Girl Guides.

Eventually her brother found out, not that she had been going out with Hardev, but that she had been going out with someone. She was dispatched to her uncle in London for rehabilitation. He, said Hardev, drove her to school in the car each morning and picked her up each afternoon, even though it was a girls' school. I said there could not be many Indian girls prepared to go out with a young man in that way. He said, "There's quite a few. You've just got to have the right tactics."

Co-educational schooling gave Asian boys an unequalled opportunity to "tap up" Asian girls, as Dayal put it. He said the girls had complained to the deputy head that the

Indian and Pakistani boys were pestering them.

> What they said was they'd get wrong[1] from their parents. It would be sort of something of shame, so it's sort of wrong. But really they didn't feel it was wrong. You could sort of tell. They weren't saying it from theirselves. They were just saying it because they knew they'd get wrong.

Dayal said that, verbally at least, the girls were very spirited and rebellious. Subah said the same.

> You should see one of them. The way she goes on about the Indian parents. She says they should be locked up. They should be told, they shouldn't do that, they shouldn't do that. It's not that they don't like them in person, it's just what they stand for.

But, said Dayal,

> It doesn't matter how rebellious you are, especially for a girl, you can't do nothing.

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that 39 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis said they took girls out and/or went dancing. The great majority of these were Sikhs or Hindus. Very few were Muslims. The young men tried to keep this kind of association very secret indeed,

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[1] Get into trouble.

although it was difficult to avoid being seen in public. If the youths were found out they either desisted or continued more stealthily still. As on other matters, few of them openly defied their parents. The final sanction available to parents was to send unruly children back to India or Pakistan and get them married. Two young men, finally, said they had been out with Asian girls.

26. MARRIAGE

Two Notions of Marriage

"They think if you fall in love", said Dayal, "you'll object to getting married to a girl you've never seen." Or of course the young Asian may object simply because he has grown up in this country. The conflict is between two notions of marriage.

On the one hand stands the modern western idea of marriage as individual self-realisation, a union based on love and mutual choice. On the other hand, in the Indian tradition

> Marriage was a social duty towards the family and the community, and there was little idea of individual interest. The social background provided by the authoritarian joint-family, and caste with its dominion in all spheres of life, afforded no scope for the recognition of any personal factor, individual interests and aspirations, in the relations between husband and wife.[1]
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> Love was not necessary as a basis for marriage selection, nor was courtship a

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[1] Kapadia, op.cit., p. 161.

> necessary prelude for testing the relationship. The Hindu ideal had no regard for individual taste, and in fact, rather feared it, as it might upset the adjustment of the bride to her new household ... Love between husband and wife was the result of marriage in the Hindu view, not the prelude to it.[1]

It was not only a social duty. Even today Hindus look on marriage as a sacrament, which no normal man or woman should die without receiving. "For this reason", says Ross, "Hindu parents have always considered the marriage of their children one of their most sacred duties."[2]

The Hindu influence on Sikhism is such that the above holds true for Sikh families also. In Islam marriage is only a civil contract, but here again tradition leaves very little room for individual choice. Levy writes that in general it is still the rule for a young man to inform his mother or other close female relative when he wishes to marry.

> Accompanied by friends and relations she calls on the mother of a girl she thinks suitable and begs her to speak of the proposed match to her husband. If the girl's mother has any reason for not wishing the match she gives an evasive

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[1] Ross, op.cit., p. 251.

[2] Ibid., p. 235. My emphasis.

> reply which conveys what she means, otherwise she consents to do what she is asked. If all then goes well, she communicates with the mother of the young man and tells her that the formalities of the betrothal can be carried through.[1]

In this chapter I examine how Asian marriages were effected and projected in Newcastle. It will be seen whether the young Indians and Pakistanis were caught in a conflict between the two notions of marriage, and if so, how this conflict was resolved.

The Married or Engaged

Six of my respondents were already married, and another seven were engaged. How had their marriages been transacted? The parents of seven had arranged the match without consulting them at all in the matter. Several of these youths were plighted while still very young. Ahmed said he was engaged when he was a kid. Mumtaz was actually married at the age of ten. Hardev was betrothed when he was eight.[2] His brother said:

> He didn't even know he was getting engaged. They give him a couple of sweets, told him

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[1] Levy, op.cit., p. 108.

[2] All three child marriages or engagements took place in India or Pakistan.

> to sit down, and that was it. (Laughs) That's a fact. They gave him a couple of Indian sweets, y'kna, these little white things you have, and telled him to sit down. Whey, he's enjoying himself stuffing himself. He didn't know he's getting engaged.

In the other six matches the parents again took all the initiative, but allowed their sons some say by giving them the right of refusal. Three were permitted to see their future brides. Nazir, sent back to Pakistan for rehabilitation, said: "If I said 'No, I don't want to marry her', it was all up to me".

Bhagwant did not talk to his bride until after the wedding, but he saw her twice. His parents, instead of astraditionally inspecting the girl alone, took him along with them. The girl likewise accompanied her parents when they came to visit. Dalip said:

> Actually they found a girl for us like, had a talk with her parents and that like, I'd seen the girl before, before we'd agreed to get engaged. I told my uncle and that, and I said she was a canny lass like.

<u>The Others</u>

What were the attitudes towards marriage of the unbetrothed, unmarried majority? What degree of freedom of choice did they want? To find out I asked, "How big a say will you

let your parents have in the choice of a wife?" I then went through the options: "Will you let them decide without consulting you? Will you let them select a possible bride, but have the final word yourself? Or will you select a possible bride and let them have the final word? Or will you marry the girl of your choice even though they disapprove?" Table 104 gives the answers.

TABLE 104

"How big a say will you let your parents have in the choice of a wife?"

Let them decide	5
Have final word myself	24
Let them have final word	6
Marry even though they disapprove	7
Don't intend to marry	4
Don't know	3
No response	5
Total	54+

+ Total excludes 13 respondents engaged or married.

It is seen that only 24 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis (lines three and four) were prepared to inaugurate a possible match themselves. I call these the individualists. Only thirteen per cent were ready to marry in the teeth of their parents' disapproval.

By contrast, 54 per cent of the young men (lines one and two) were traditionalists who were content to let their parents initiate the marriage. Only nine per cent however were prepared to leave their marriage entirely in the hands of their parents. Forty-four per cent were happy to let their parents sound out the possibilities and open negotiations, while reserving for themselves the safeguard of a final veto. Generally this last group of modern traditionalists expected to meet the girl or at least to see a photograph.

The "free choice" system among Indians in Trinidad works in much the same way. Klass says: "Both boy and girl are introduced to each other before the marriage and each has the right to veto the proposed match". It is however also permissible for the boy to mention a particular girl to his father, who then investigates her and her family. [1]

These modern traditionalists were more or less evenly divided (fourteen to ten) between early arrivals and late-comers. Three of the five strict traditionalists came late. Eight of the thirteen individualists came early. There are certain religious differences. Three of the five

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[1] Klass, op.cit., p. 111. Ross found that the practice of "seeing the girl" was accepted by a few westernised Hindu families in India. Ross, op.cit., pp. 251-2.

strict traditionalists were Muslims, while none were Hindus. A higher proportion of Hindus (one-third) than of either Muslims or Sikhs took an individualistic stand. These differences are not explained by age of arrival.

The Traditionalists

Here are some of the young men's comments. First, the modern traditionalists.

> Tarlok:
> I would like my parents to do what they did for my brother. They took him to India with them, showed him around some of the parents with daughters, and he picked the one that he preferred. That's the way I would probably like it.

> Iqbal:
> My parents say they're going to choose a wife for me, and I say I want to be there at the time when they choose the girl and I want to have my say in it. Me mother says, "You're going to marry this girl", and I'll have a good look at her, and if there's something I don't like about her, I'll probably say I don't want to marry her. I wouldn't go around meself. It's me parents that are going to do the choosing.
> (But you want the final word? I want the final word.

> Nihal:
> My mother tried to fix my marriage. But I didn't like it, so I told her I don't want to get married. I'd rather stay single, you see. She's a couple of years older. She was a teacher actually, teaching the children, but I didn't want to marry at this age.

Dayal:
I don't object because, y'kna, this is life. I don't object, because me mum and dad, they're good people really. I'd hate to upset them, because it really would upset them. I definitely couldn't get married in front of them with an English girl, or even with an Indian girl that they didn't want me to get married with and live in the same house with them.[1] It would be impossible.

Respect for one's parents, reluctance to rebel and hurt them, these are considerations with which the reader is familiar. They partly explain why such a high proportion of the young Indians and Pakistanis (54 per cent) were resigned to having their marriages arranged in a more or less traditional way. They help explain why those engaged without their consent were not prepared to repudiate the commitment.

There was also however the fear that to rebel in the matter of marriage would provoke a major, perhaps final rupture with the parents. Ajit, one of the betrothed, said:

> I can't really say no. If I said no, I would have to leave my mother and father like.

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[1] This refers to the tradition, relic of the joint family, that after marriage the son, with his bride, should continue to live with his parents. It was seen (p. 73) that five of the six already married respondents did live in this way. It seems to have been expected by most parents and accepted by many of the young men themselves.

It was of course not only a question of inflicting a personal hurt on one's parents. To refuse would also mean social disgrace, for them, for their families both here and in India, for the fiancee and the fiancee's family, since, as Lewis notes, sagai, or engagement, "marks a commitment which is seldom repudiated". [1] The young men were well aware of this. Subah, also betrothed, said:

> We respect our parents a hell of a lot really. I'm the oldest, right, in my family? If I left my mother and father to live by myself, they'd be really annoyed. It would be disgraceful for them, because there'd be talk on their son's that bad, they didn't bring him up good. So I have to stick to them. They brought me up, so I might as well. (And the girl?) She would have a lot of difficulty getting married to the next bloke, whoever it might be. Why ruin her life? It wasn't her fault.

Cultural Tradition Versus Religious Orthodoxy

It is particularly interesting that of the last three respondents quoted, all Sikhs, one rated religion as fairly unimportant, and two as completely unimportant. In other words, while discarding traditional religious belief, they were content to conform to cultural tradition in marriage. Marriage was, of course, a crucial test of the parents'

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[1] Lewis, op.cit., pp. 167-8.

success in socialising the younger generation into this cultural tradition. The test was crucial in itself because the Asian tradition, as was seen, clashed head-on with the western view that freedom in this matter was perhaps the greatest of all.

It was decisive also in that marriage, as Ross says, "is the ritual through which the continuity of the family is regulated and assured". [1] If the young men refused to acquiesce, particularly if they chose an English wife, then the parents would have no hope of establishing, in an alien society, the three-generation link "by which one generation socialises a second to want to socialise the third" in its own cultural style. [2] With an appropriate Asian wife, especially one straight from India or Pakistan, there was at least some chance of this. [3]

The young Muslims, it was seen, professed an overwhelmingly strong religious allegience. The Sikhs and Hindus, on the other hand, showed a markedly less powerful commitment to their religions. One is tempted to say that parents in the

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[1] Ross, op.cit., p. 277.

[2] William J. Goode, The Family (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 18.

[3] What this chance amounted to in practice I discuss in Chapter 28.

two latter groups set more store on the vital matter of more or less traditional marriage than they did on religious belief and observance. This was undoubtedly true of Niranjan's and Chanan's father. He and the family thought Niranjan's interest in Methodism was "a bit of a giggle" [1] but, as will be shown, he was absolutely determined his other son Chanan should marry the girl chosen for him. [2]

If one includes those already married or engaged, there were certainly fewer Sikhs or Hindus who had been to the gurdwara temple in the previous month or even to the last religious festival than there were marriage traditionalists, i.e. those who accepted parental initiative. The differences virtually disappear, however, when on compares the number of marriage traditionalists with the number who declared a strong or fairly strong adherence to their religion. Table 105 gives the picture.

TABLE 105

Sikhs and Hindus only: The marriage traditionalists and the religiously orthodox - numbers compared.

	SIKHS	HINDUS
Attended gurdwara temple in previous month	12	3
Attended last religious festival	15	6
Religion very/fairly important	16	8
Marriage traditionalists	17	8
Total in group	26	15

The data for the first three lines is derived from Tables 90, 95-6 and 88, respectively.

[1] p. 485.

[2] See below, pp. 620-2.

Thus in the end the figures suggest that, by the yardstick of marriage, the young Sikhs and Hindus were not more culturally conformist than religiously orthodox. Allegiance to a religion however, as was seen in chapter 20, can coexist with deep ignorance about it. The failure of many Sikh and Hindu parents to transmit the content of religion indicates, as I argued earlier, that they placed importance on it chiefly as a social and cultural institution.

What is verifiable is that there were a fair number of Sikhs (like Dayal, Ajit and Subah quoted above) whose religious attitudes did not correlate with their attitudes towards marriage. Of the seventeen Sikhs in Table 105 who were traditionalists in marriage seven said the religion was fairly or completely unimportant to them. Conversely, four of the five marriage individualists said their religion was important to them. By comparison there was much greater congruence among the Hindus.

Dayal, quoted above, was content to conform [1] even though in fact he adopted a western outlook and judged the traditional marriage system to be a bad one. He said:

> Really the whole of your life depends on her attitude, what she's like, and it's pretty stupid if your parents are

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[1] p. 610.

going to go up to her parents one day, have a little chat and fix it. I mean she might seem canny to them, but they just don't know what her character's like, and it's possible that your whole life could be ruined by your wife, you know, her character. And I think you should know your wife at least two years before you decide to get married, know perfectly well what she's like and what's going to happen if you get married, and all this.

Khan, engaged without being asked, was explicit about this contradiction:

> It seems silly when you've been in a country like this. Even myself, you know, I feel the same, but I don't really feel like doing anything about it. I mean I just simply accept it. I think it's a bad thing because I've been in this country and I've learned better, you see, I've learned different by going to English school, staying with English people. But the first person to break away from anything, you know, any tradition which later everybody follows, well it's a bad thing. You're really said to be bad by everybody. He's really booed at like a bad wrestler.

The Individualists

Here finally are some of the comments on marriage of the individualists.

Kamlesh:
If they had seen her and even liked her and said, "Right, marry her", I wouldn't agree, and my parents wouldn't force me. They'd let me choose for my own really, I suppose, but they would have some say. Fair enough, but not a great deal.

Lachman:
I wouldn't let them have any say at all. I don't think it's got nothing to do

with them, nothing at all. I mean, that's up to me, that is.

Lal:
I would like the complete say. I'd marry someone, I'd like to do it with their approval, 'cos I suppose marriage is useless if after marriage your relations tend to be unhappy about it. But if I was certain that I would be happy with her for the rest of my life, I would go ahead with it.

Tolerance of Mixed Marriages

Alongside this generally traditional attitude towards their own marriages the Indian and Pakistani youths showed an overwhelming tolerance of mixed marriages, at least for other people. I asked what would be their attitude if a friend - an Indian/Pakistani living in England - married an English girl. Would they disapprove strongly, disapprove somewhat or not disapprove? Table 106 gives their replies.

TABLE 106

Attitudes towards mixed marriages

Disapprove strongly	5
Disapprove somewhat	6
Not disapprove	48
Don't know	4
No response	4
Total	67

Thus 72 per cent of the young men said they would not disapprove of a mixed marriage of this kind. Among the minority who said they would be critical Muslims were not more represented than the others. So here again there is no evidence that the young Muslims were any more ethnocentric than the rest. What sort of reasons did the disapprovers give?

Inder:
I don't believe in mixed marriages.
I suppose if I sort of fell in love
with a girl, so much for me, but if you
think of our children, well in the sort
of atmosphere nowadays, it's more
difficult for children of mixed marriages
to be brought up.

Kusam:
It cuts him off from the family.
Ninety per cent live away from the family.
She will have to change a hell of a lot,
otherwise she won't fit in, she'll still
go her own way.

Nazir:
These ones get married to us, they are all
nearly rubbish. They're all rubbish,
because for a fact that they can't find a
English man. That's the truth. They
can't find one of your blokes to marry to.
All these well-educated lasses, they don't
come to us. They don't marry us. They
don't even look at us. We see on the
buses nice lass, working nice office, they
won't even spit on you, never mind anything
else. Only all the rubbish what nobody
else can have, that's what the Pakistanis
get, all the rubbish.

Admittedly a couple of the young men who expressed an open-minded view of mixed marriages were sceptical about their success. Pratap, for example, said:

Good luck to him like to try and make it work out, but it wouldn't. They don't work out, not just here, anywhere. It's two different kinds of life. We talk Indian in the house. We eat curry all the time. And our ladies don't go into bars, they don't drink,smoke, anything like that. Well, it would take a really good English girl to conform to all these. So you couldn't really do it. You couldn't really ask a girl to do that, you know, come in the house and wear saris and just stay in the house.

But the bulk of the other comments were of an apparently optimistic "good luck" variety.

Bishan:
If he wants to marry anyone, it's up to him. Who am I to interfere?

Sharif:
I wouldn't mind provided that he remains in his own religion and he practises his own religion, that's the point.

Surinder:
It's okay if they're fairly well matched. If it was one of those flashes in the pan I would disapprove. In general I think they do work out if two people are right for each other.

Such, then, were the attitudes of the young Indians and Pakistanis towards their own marriages. What is lacking in this account is any information about the criteria on which matches were arranged. This is an important omission, but one which somebody else will have to make good.[1]

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[1] There is a brief discussion of the subject in Bell, op.cit., p. 62. Mayer gives a fuller account of the factors which influenced Sikh parents in Vancouver. A Report, op.cit., pp. 15-17. For considerations in the Punjab, see Lewis, op.cit., pp. 165-6.

Even the Independent-Minded Succumb: i. Chanan

These were the attitudes. But in practice affection and respect for parents, fear of being cast from the family and awareness of the ramifications of social disrepute - all combined to exert great pressure to conform even on the independent-minded minority. I now give accounts of three individuals which illustrate in some detail how and why they succumbed.

First Chanan. He was engaged to a girl in India he had never set eyes on. The first time I met him he was very bitter against his father because his father had taken him away from an apprentice's job where he was happy and now made him serve in his shop seven days a week for just pocket-money. What rankled particularly was that this stopped him playing football with the lads at work. But, Chanan promised, on marriage he would hold out.

> That's the only thing in life, getting married. If your father and mother pick your wife for you, and you don't like her, well that's it. You cannot do nothing about it. And you cannot see her until after you've been married to her. But if you pick your own wife, it's all right like. If they say it's okay - okay, but I would rather leave the house than get married like that. I'll probably have to and all. I'll refuse them, that's it.

Five months later he was married to the girl his parents had had lined up all the time. I visited him two months

after this, and he explained.

> When they took us to the Registration Office the registration bloke says, "What's her name?" I says, "I don't know. Ask him." He says, "You're the one who's getting married, aren't you?" I says, "Ay, but he's arranging it." So when he'd filled all the papers in, he says, "Sign this". I says, "Na". Me father says, "Sign that"! (Laughs) So I says, "Oh well, that's it" - that's all there was to it. I couldn't say owt. I was going to pull out, but I says there was too many people there to pull out at the last moment. It was all right if I had pulled out about two months earlier or something. But I was getting married on Saturday. I was away for two hours early on Saturday morning, but then I came back. They were looking for us all over the place. I says, "Oh, might as well get back and get it over with". They give us about a month, I think. They telled us, "You're getting married on this date".

(Why did you decide to go through with it?)
Ah, I don't know. I just didn't want to disappoint me mother and me father. It's the way they do it. I was going to leave the house, but I says, "Oh, there's too many" when they telled me they wrote all the letters to their guests and all that. I mean I didn't want to spoil their name after they invited all the people to the wedding like. I says if they hadn't sent the letters, I could have left. Before they sent the letters would have been okay like. Nobody would have known then I was getting married.
(Did you have an argument with your father when he announced this?)
Yes. I was telling him all the time. I said, "I don't want to get married" and I says "If you want us to get married, I want to see her first". He says, "You'll see her after you're married, so it's all the same. It'll be the same lass." I was still arguing with them until the last day even. I didn't want to go through with it. I says, "You, let us have a look at her photo". I says,

"She's nee good. I can refuse to live with her." Instead of afterwards, feeling sorry afterwards. But they says, "No, you've got to go through with it."

I mean I used to like this Sikh- Indian girl in England. I telled me mother and father about her. I says, "There you are". I says, "If you want us to get married", I says, "I want to get married to her". I says I'll come back to her mother and father. They says, "No, no, you cannot do that". There had to be somebody, you know, a third bloke, who had to ask their mother and father, because he didn't want to ask hiself.[1] And I used to like the lass, the lass used to like me, and she couldn't tell her mother and father, because she would have got wrong off her mother and father. And I telled my mother and father, but ah, it's like talking to the wall. I had some complaints from there. Because I was saying I didn't like her, and all that. I was still taking the lasses out. And I went down there the other day. Her sister-in-law was saying, "Shouldn't say this and that". I says, "Ay, I'll not in the future". Because I was telling everybody I divvent like her. I still cannot, I mean it's not really love all the way. (Laughs) You cannot just fall in love with a lass you don't even know. Half of the time, when I'm speaking English, she cannot understand us. She says, "Oh? and I've got to think twice

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[1] Traditionally this role was filled by the village barber: "Welcome in all houses, since no man shaves himself or even pares his nails, he is the ideal go-between, and throughout the Punjab he still plays the part that he once played from Seville to Baghdad." Darling, Wisdom and Waste, op.cit., p. 262. See also Tandon, op.cit., pp. 124-7 for a humorous account of the barber's negotiations.

Chanan's father could have used some other intermediary, in the same way that Hardev's maternal uncle apparently arranged his betrothal. (See below, p.626) He did not do this because the son was already engaged.

what this means in India. Sometimes there's some of these words I know in English I cannot translate them into our language because I've been here that long, you know, and I've forgotten our language and I've got to think twice before I talk to her. That's the worst part about it.
(Are you settling down okay?)
Sometimes it's okay. Sometimes I get sick of it. (laughs) I mean it's not really her fault, that's why I've - well I was going to make it hard on her, but then I says it's not really her fault. And it's not my fault I'm getting married, and it's not her fault. I mean it's the same like. Her parents say, "Right, you're getting married to him". She couldn't say owt. It was the same with me, so might as well try to keep her happy, as much as I can, that's it. I take her out, once and twice a week when I have time. As long as I go out at night. I take her out during the day, you see, and let her stay in the house at night.

ii. Rasul

The second example was Rasul, easily the most individualistic of the Muslims. He developed his own personal faith, having decided the different religions had been "wholly seduced for the human purpose".[1] He was politically radical, which showed itself in his untypical sympathy with the poor whites of Elswick [2] and in his

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[1] pp. 510-11, 554.

[2] pp. 238-9.

view that foreign aid to underdeveloped countries was disguised exploitation. He took part in student sit-ins when he went to university. On marriage he said at an early interview:

> I would like [my parents] to approve it, but if they didn't, I wouldn't really think about it twice. I wouldn't feel sad or anything inside. I would just say, "Well, fair enough. They don't want to recognise it. It's their right not to recognise it. But I recognise it, and my wife recognises it. This is all that matters." I don't care what any state does, whether any state recognises it, whether my parents disagree with it - anything, provided I feel that it's right.

A year or so later Rasul told me he was under increasing pressure from his parents to agree to let them find him a wife. They did not want to marry him immediately and no doubt would select somebody reasonably educated and anglicised, but they wanted him to accept the idea in principle. He was very unhappy and came to me for advice, asking what other young Indians and Pakistanis had done in this situation.

When next I saw Rasul, several months later, he had made his choice. He now viewed with serenity the prospect of a marriage initiated by his parents, in which he would have only the final word. He explained:

> I just thought, well if it happens it happens. I can only make the best of it and I can only lead my life as I can. I mean let's face it when we actually get to

it. I mean supposing I do have to get married, I can only make the best job of it, and failing all that, I can get out. There's nothing else to be done. Like there's always crossroads. Whenever you go across one set of crossroads, you always find there's another one. (Laughs)

It's just resolving to see that life has all these different things in it, and it's all a part of it, and that ought to be enjoyed and not to be sort of put aside or to be afraid of. It was these sort of things that made me think, "Well, what the hell!" It's all a part of life anyway. I might as well enjoy whatever comes and let it go. I wasn't afraid any more.

(<u>You said before you didn't want to commit yourself and compromise in principle, as you saw it then.</u>) I suppose it is still compromising in principle, but what is the principle? I've had rethinks on what my freedom of choice anyway is, you know, what the devil it constitutes. I mean after all my life is of no consequence whatsoever without my friends, you know, the people around me, whether it's my brothers or whether it's somebody else. It's really- it's with them that I live. They are the people that are most influenced by anything that I do. They are the people who take pride in or who love me most, and they are people who I should think about whenever I do anything, well that is of consequence to them. I mean certain things aren't going to influence them, but things that are going to affect them, I should consider their feelings too.

I know for instance to start with I would be, if I chose to go against my parents, then I would be cut off straight away from my parents, and from all the friends I have on that side, all the people who have loved me up to this time. And so for what reason, except for perhaps a purely selfish reason, I would be taking such an action?

I'm not so closely bound to the family, this is true, because I don't take part in its affairs. Nevertheless being a member of the family I'm still- I'm still emotionally involved in everything that happens in the family. I mean I'm upset when somebody, one

of my family gets injured in an accident or something like this happens. Or I feel happy if something good happens to them. And I'm emotionally involved in that respect. My feelings are involved, but I'm not involved in- I have nothing to talk to them about. There's no common ground that we agree on. (Laughs) Everything we talk about we disagree on. There's none of that, but I mean all the same, you like people for everything, for themselves, not just because they say the right things to you or you say the right things to them. (But consideration for your parents was foremost in your mind?) Oh, that was fundamental yes. After all, well they're very important to me. I still have sort of an attachment to them, and my - well I have oriental attachment - me upbringing makes me very close to my parents, and I being very dependent on them, and they're getting to an age where they'll be very dependent on me. Would it be right for me to throw away all their feelings?

If I don't want to get married, I mean if I decide to marry somebody else, I will. There's not that doubt in my mind, but I mean there'll have to be enough love there. The love I'm talking about is a deep- a deeper kind. I mean we all feel love to lots of people, but there's a certain kind of love that I think I would marry for I've never yet felt for- well for any woman yet. Or if I have it's been for short periods only. (Laughs) So I can't see myself marrying on the basis of those sort of emotions. But I would, I mean, if I met somebody who I liked enough like, I'd be quite prepared to break any rules and regulations, and I expect them to accept it. If they didn't, I'd say, "Well, you know my house is always open and you're always welcome". No, it's not a complete sort of compromise that I'm saying "Absolutely okay". All I'm saying is that if it has to be, then it has to be. I don't mind.

iii. Hardev

Finally there was Hardev. He was engaged at the age of eight, but not married until he was nineteen, eight months before the interview below. Thus he could have rebelled and refused to get married, particularly as he rebelled in most other things. He had had a succession of short-lived jobs. He had fallen in with some of the local rough crowd. He took up motorbikes and ended up disqualified. He smoked, drank and fornicated. He scoffed at religion. Yet he tamely consented to marry a girl straight from India whom he had never seen.

If he had refused?
Ah, I mean disgrace to the family, kicked out and what have you, the usual lot. (Would you have been?) Yeh, me father would have anyway. (Laughs) I mean, if it hadn't been arranged for so long, I mean if he said, "Look here, you're getting engaged", I would say, "No, I'm not". But I was engaged long before I could even refuse. So I had no choice really.
(Did it ever occur to you to say no?)
Yeh, a few times. And then I thought er, I didn't have the guts really. I mean me dad's stronger. (Laughs)
(So why did you decide not to fight against this?) I think just to keep the family out of disgrace really. Well you see, if I'd refused now, well there was a lot of other people involved in this engagement lark, such as my maternal uncle, well that's an uncle on me mam- mother's side, her brother, who got us engaged really. It was his idea, and I mean if I'd chucked it now - he's back home - he'd have a lot to put up with. Y'kna, people saying, "Oh, what's he turned out like?", "Why, say he's been

engaged from eight, that many years, why couldn't he have refused beforehand?", and all this.
(And it would have been a disgrace for the fiancee?) Yeh, I mean pushing on the old age. When say a lass gets into her twenties, she's pushing on, according to the Indian way of looking at it. Because whoever say her parents were trying to get her engaged to after that would say, "Oh, well so-and-so's son just left her, you know, refused to marry her. There must be something wrong with her", and this and that.

(How did you feel when she came over?) Terrible, terrible. I mean, well we just went out and got drunk and say, "Oh well, I'm getting married in the morning". (Laughs) There was me, Albert, wor kid, Dave. There was Jim, let's see, Duggie. There was a few lads - er Peter Flynn, wasn't it, and a few other lads, you know.
So I mean we rolled in about 3 o'clock or 4 o'clock in the morning. I had to be up at six to get bathed and dressed. Well I was, I could barely sit up when I was in church. I was still, I wasn't sober. (Laughs)
(You had the full ceremony?) Yeh - oh it was dead dreary. I think it was the day before, they got some of this yellow stuff, start rubbing that on us, you see (laughs), me face and hands and that. Well it's all right. It's supposed to take the muck out of you. You're supposed to be clean, purified, sort of stuff, but it leaves a hacky[1] yellow mark all over you. And when I went down the club the same night, they says, everyone says, "What are ye yellow for? What are ye yellow for?"
Then we went through the whole ceremony. We had to sit down, legs crossed. I can't even cross me legs. I mean the wife managed quite easy, straight down, that was it, as if it was quite normal.[2] I couldn't even

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[1] Dirty (local dialect).

[2] Of course for Indians in India it is quite normal.

sit down. I had to have him [his brother] behind us to sit us up. (Laughs) I mean on me own I was falling backwards.
(Because you were drunk?) It was both. Partly because I was drunk and - otherwise I couldn't sit down. Ay, (Laughs) and I had a very tight suit on. Me dad was shouting his head off about it. And I had to wear a turban. Still got it somewhere. It's the only time I think I've worn a turban. It was about 4 o'clock before I got in the house with the wife. And the wedding ceremony was about half past nine or something, wasn't it? half past nine in the morning.

(Has your life changed much?) Oh, quite a bit. Well it's been changed for me, I mean, all against me will. I've got to do this and that, what I wasn't really bothered about. I mean staying in, more or less. I mean I used to have late nights. I got bollocked like, but I had them, and that was it. But now it seems to get worse if I come in late, a lot of explanations and what have you.
(So you don't go out much?) No. Well I mean I've cut it down from seven days to six. (Laughs)
(Where do you go?) Anywhere where there's talent. I mean in the past two weeks we've been to Leazes [Park] practically every night - you know, the hoppings[1] were on.
(Does your wife mind you going out?)
Not really. Well she does, but there's nothing she can do about it.
(She knows you go chasing girls?)
No, I don't think so. She takes it I'm going round to see me mate, more or less - well mate or mates, whatever you like, females can be mates. (Laughs)
(She must be very strange to life in this country.) Oh, not really, with me grandmother helping her. By Christ! (Laughs) They start from morning till night when they chat and chat - you know, about people

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[1] Fair (local dialect).

back home, something like stories that happened fifteen years ago we're really completely ignorant of, and they're sitting there yapping away. That's all you get. You cannot even get the television on for them.
(Are you getting on all right together?)
Yeh. I think so anyway. I mean I try to make out like, but I don't know if it will work or not, sort of thing. You've just got to put up with it if it doesn't, it's your hard lines. If it does, the best of luck to you.

Parents' Hostility to Mixed Marriages

The Indian and Pakistani parents were very hostile to mixed marriages, in contrast to their sons' generally tolerant attitude. One saw in the case of Prem how they sought to break up relationships which were getting too serious. [1]

In the case of Kirpal they succeeded in preventing a marriage, not in this instance because the son would not defy the parents, but because the English girl would not go ahead if the parents would not accept her and if it meant breaking up the family. One senses that the girl was loath to forego all the working-class marriage formalities, starting with being brought home to meet the young man's

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[1] pp. 597-8.

mother and father and ending with a family wedding and a ham-salad reception. Kirpal said:

> Me parents stopped it. They say, "You can't get married her". She's English, we're Indian, our religion, and all that. Well she wanted to come to our house like, cuppa tea, anything like that. I ask me mother, but she says no. My father says, "If aa catch ye, aa'll belt ye!" (Laughs) I told her, "You're just wasting your time. I'm nee good to you, you're wasting your time on me. If I were to marry, I could marry Indian, but I don't want to marry neebody. See, I cannot marry you, but I don't want to get married with an Indian woman." So I just about stopped it. As I told her, "You're wasting your time".
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> So she left [the place where I worked.] She started working at C&A's first. She left there, she went on the buses. She used to come to see me though and now a couple of weeks ago she never - I never seen her. I got two or three presents off her upstairs, but I never seen her since then. She's got me in a terrible state, and I cannot do nowt. (Laughs) I don't feel like deeing nothing now, see. That's why I cannot be bothered go out and do anything, see. So it's just got to stop, so I says, "Oh well, that's it".
>
> (Did you think of disobeying your parents?) Well I mean, everybody got to make their own life. But Indian people says, "No. You've got to get married the one we want." I say, "Well, I'm not getting married the one you want". See? So that's why I say I'm not going to marry neebody, stop single. (You could have told your parents: I am going to marry this girl.) I know, but she doesn't want it like that though, see. She want my parents say yes, and then she wants it, see. She says, "No good. I'm not taking you away like that." She say, "I'm getting all the blame. It's no good", she says. She was very sensible. (You think it's all finished between you?) I think it is. I've seen her on the bus once like. You know, she works on the buses as a conductor. I was standing outside the

> Magpie, waiting for my bus, and her bus comes in, she was on a different number. I watch her stand there, and she never looked it, so I says, "Oh well!" You know, she have to be like that. I mean she got to finish with it. She have to be like that.
> (<u>If she had agreed would you have gone against your parents</u>?) I would have done if she would said okay. It isna worth living with your parents if you cannot do nowt what you want, see what I mean? I mean you're working there. You're doing this and you're doing this and you're stuck in the house, and they want you to marry her, and you don't want to marry her. Well, it's no good stopping in the house. You might as well, you might find the other one, y'know, start to live on your own, I think.

In the case of Bhagwant's brother the father, having failed to prevent the marriage, was determined to indianise the English wife and the children. Or perhaps his efforts were really directed towards driving the wife away and destroying the marriage.

In fact husband and wife held together despite this cultural pressure (or hostility) and despite financial hardship. The son broke with his family rather than let the family split his wife from him. The following account shows the father's iron resolve either to keep the marriage on his terms or to disown the son completely, even against his own feelings. Bhagwant said:

> Well once he was married, he couldn't stop him then. But he got married without my father's sort of permission and knowledge because he was only - what -

nineteen then. He just got married without my father's permission or knowledge. So once they were married, and he came home and told us, well there again he tried to sort of keep them in the Indian way. Well he said, "Try and keep your wife Indian" and all that. But he wanted to live separately, because usually the son stays with the parents. Well he wouldn't, so he bought half his house of his own. But even after that my father still tried to help him by sending him to India. He's got three boys, and my father sent them all to India, hoping that they would like it there, and that if they did stay there for a couple of years, they might get to like it and even stay there. But his wife didn't like it.

(What was your father thinking of? Did he want her to adopt Indian dress and religion? Oh, she does though, she does that. No, this was just to sort of ensure that they would stay Indian. He sent my brother first to India, got him a job there and- well he worked all right, but then he said he wanted his wife there with him. Well, so my father did send his wife and the three children. But as soon as they got there, he stopped working. I don't know whether it was due to his wife or not, but when she did arrive there, she said that she was frightened in the house by herself- well she wasn't by herself, with his relations, but she being the only English. She was frightened without him, so he stopped working.[1] So then, to try

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[1] Even the Indian daughter-in-law traditionally has a very unhappy time in the joint family. "In her husband's home she finds herself at first almost an alien; her liberty restricted, even though there may be no purdah; her spirit repressed, and her whole life and being at the back and call of critical elders." Darling, Wisdom, op.cit., p. 284.
The proverbial cruelty of the mother-in-law to daughter-in-law is the obverse of the traditional close relationship between mother and son. (The mother-in-law in this case, though, was in England.)

to find him a sort of job near home. And that took time. And all that time, during that time, my father paid for his sort of keep. But then she decided to come back, and so my brother decided to come back as well. They came back here and then went to Birmingham.
(Is there any contact between you now?
None at all. None between my parents and my brother. There is between sort of us, the brothers and sisters.
(You keep in touch?) Only when he comes over here. I mean I haven't been over there.
(Why? Wouldn't your parents like it?)
No, they wouldn't. They might think that if I did come in contact with them, the same thing might happen to me.

(Was the marriage a disgrace for your father?)
At the beginning, yes it was. We were talked about a lot. It was because he wanted to sort of try and remedy this that he'd sent him to India. At that time my father used to sort of go round saying a lot that Indians should marry Indians- well he still does now in fact, and well he doesn't actually deplore mixed marriages, it's just that he says they never work out, which is true. And so- well before my brother got married, quite a few had got married, and their parents had come to my father asking him for help, and when this did happen, well it sort of, you know - right down to the bottom.
My father's still convinced that she will leave him in the end. Well he's basing this on watching all the other couples. But I can't agree with him there, because for about three years, when my father stopped helping him, he didn't have a job. He was on the dole. And I thought that if she was going to leave him at any time, it would have been then. But she didn't. I mean they didn't have enough sort of money for the children or clothes. And although they did hurt my father- I mean he used to cry every day about it, but he thought if he helped them now, well it was just- he was going against everything he's fought for in the beginning. Well he did finally send them to India, and then he came back, went to Birmingham, now he's doing very well there.

The story of Bhagwant's brother suggests that the young Indians and Pakistanis were in fact wrong to imagine that marrying against their parents' wishes would mean immediate expulsion from the family (though it is in the parents' interests to have this believed). It seems that parents first tried to keep the offender within the fold, in this case on their terms and if necessary by breaking up the marriage.

This is what Desai says, [1] and it is confirmed by the story of Kusam's brother. He married out and was disowned. Such however was the family's desire to maintain ties (and keep face socially) that it capitulated and resumed relations seemingly wholly on the brother's terms, e.g. with him continuing to live in London. Desai says that such a person would eventually be outcasted, [2] as was Bhagwant's brother, but in this instance the family's need for solidarity caused it to swallow its hostility to a mixed marriage. Kusam said:

> Me brother married a German. She came into our family. When he married her, we all disagreed.
> (<u>It caused a lot of upset in the family</u>?)
> This is it. He was thrown out of it in fact. But he's come into it again. See, we brought him in, because we knew if we

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[1] Desai, <u>op.cit</u>., p. 123.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 124.

threw him out, what will he do? He'll just go the English way. We're finished with him, you see, for the rest of our lives. We won't get to know his children. They won't get to know us. I mean then he will start up his own- set up family somewhere else. We will never get in contact with each other. So we brought her and him into our family. Now they're part of us.

You see now if anybody says to me- me mother's friends or somebody will just turn round to me and say, "Oh, you're brother's married to an English", I'll turn round, I'll say, "Look, he isnot married to an English. He is married to a European. You see what I mean? He's married to a German - say it. And if he is married, we give him the permission to get married. See, we were beside him all the time." See, this is what we say, whether we were against it or not. That's another thing in our family. I mean now he's part of us, nobody can say anything against him. So we stay together, and this is the main part.

In this case the family relented and came to accept the accomplished fact. Some of the thirteen individualists in Table 104 strongly maintained the right to initiate their own marriage. One man secretly got engaged to the English girl he had been courting for eighteen months. They even held an engagement party (with printed invitations) in his parents' house, while keeping its true significance from them.

I suggest, however, that most of the young Asians will in the end accept a marriage set in train by their parents, and that few if any will marry English girls. The only two

youths I heard of who had done so were in fact Kusam's brother and Bhagwant's brother.

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that of the young Indians and Pakistanis who were not engaged or married only 24 per cent were prepared to initiate a possible match themselves. Fifty-four per cent preferred to let their parents take charge of the matter. Most of these, however, did reserve themselves the right of turning down likely partners selected by their parents. This acceptance or arranged marriages sprang from "respect", from the knowledge that rebellion or refusal would cause wide ripples of social disgrace and from fear of a final rupture with the family. I showed how these factors combined to cause even some of the independent-minded minority to conform.

There was among the young men very great tolerance of mixed marriages, at least as far as other people were concerned. The parents, on the other hand, were very hostile to the idea. I showed how they tried to break up relationships between their sons and English girls.

THE FUTURE

27. TO SETTLE OR RETURN?

In this and the following chapter of this final section I do two things. I examine how the young Indians and Pakistanis saw their future and that of their communities. In so doing I discuss explicitly the question lurking half-formulated in earlier chapters: that is, how the young men saw themselves.

Where They Saw Their Future

One may start with the crucial issue of where the young men saw their future. I asked them: "Do you think you will settle permanently in England?", and if they said no, "Where do you think you will settle?" Table 107 gives the replies.

TABLE 107

Where the young Asians thought they would settle.

England	21
India/Pakistan	23
Africa	2
Other	3
Don't know	18
Total	67

The question was tentatively phrased, and it must be remembered throughout this chapter that the answers express only likelihood or inclination, not certainty or definite intention. Nevertheless one is immediately struck by the rather small proportion of young men who even thought they would remain in this country. Thirty-one per cent answered to this effect, whilst 37 per cent thought they would return to India, Pakistan or Africa. The other feature of Table 107 is the high proportion of "Don't knows", who accounted for 27 per cent of the respondents.

In order to narrow this unknown area somewhat, I tried to break down this last category - without doing violence to the young men's position - by examining their answers to the immediately following question, "Why is that?" I sought to divide them into those who were more inclined to stay and those who were more inclined to return. Table 108 gives the analysis.

TABLE 108

Breakdown of "Don't knows" in previous table.

Inclined to settle in England	3
" " " " India/Pakistan	4
" " " " Africa	1
Irreducible Don't knows	10
Total	18

If one combines these answers with those in Table 107 one finds a slightly bigger gap, with 24 (36 per cent) of the young Asians in favour of settling in England and 30 (45 per cent) inclined to return to India, Pakistan or Africa. The hard core of "Don't knows" now comprise fifteen per cent.

This sub-division of the "Don't knows"is however rather arbitrary. For example, if a respondent answered to the effect that "It depends on what my parents do, but personally I would like to stay", then he is categorised as inclined to settle, even though it seems clear he would return if his parents decided to. Again, some youths were assigned according to their answers to follow-up questions, but these I did not ask in every case. In short the breakdown in Table 108 is questionable. Therefore in subsequent analysis I keep the "Don't knows" as an undifferentiated block.

I should explain parenthetically at this point the three replies classified as "Other". Yash said he had dreams of starting up his own business in South America. Kesar and Prem did not want to settle anywhere, but wanted to work in different countries of the world. Prem, the musician, said; "I don't intend to stay permanently in any one place. It's where the music goes."

Why They Thought They Would Stay

What reasons did the rest of the young men give for staying or returning? Table 109 gives the reasons of those who thought they would settle in this country.

TABLE 109

Young Asians who thought they would settle in England. Reasons given.

Better living standard, jobs, education etc.	12
Don't know any other place/This is my home	5
Like the people, the country/Prefer the weather	5
My family's over here	3
No response	1
	N=21

It is seen that easily the biggest group of reasons - some respondents of course gave more than one - concerned the superior standard of living and the better opportunities existing in England. One notes, on the other hand, that there were rather few reasons which showed an emotional attachment to England for its own sake. Such reasons were those in line 2 ("This is my home") and, less decidedly, three in line 3 which spoke of liking the people and/or the country. These are some of the replies.

> Tarlok:
> It offers more opportunities, more jobs,
> better housing conditions, better pay,
> no famine or drought.

Hussain:
My mother is here. We are happy living in here. Whole family is happy living here, and we can't get jobs like this in our country.

Pratap:
I don't know any other sort of place, do I? I don't know anything about India, seeing I was just four-and-a-half when I come, and well this is really the only place I've known.

Kamlesh:
Yeh I've thought a lot about this subject and I've come to the conclusion that I will stay in England. Well I was born here, and it's just like a homeland. I would like to visit India, but not to work or- you know. I'd like to settle down here.

Perhaps not surprisingly, none of the Asians who favoured staying in England evinced much attachment to India or Pakistan. Though I did not ask systematically, these countries had strongly unfavourable associations for a few. For example, I asked Kamlesh what kind of picture he had of India. He replied:

> It's odd. I've got a very western picture of it - you know, of the beggars and the dirt and lack of hygiene. That's a terrible picture. It's odd, you should get a picture of say some of the better parts of it, but that's what sticks in my mind.

Again, Pratap said:

I wouldn't mind going back like for a holiday, but what I heard- you know, me mates have been back, a couple, you know. They don't like it. They say it's too hot, the population's, you know, everywhere crawling. If you want to go to a hotel you've got to book ages before. Pictures you've got to book seats. If you had plenty money I suppose it might be all right.

And Manjit:

> I think people are too easily bribed in India, you know, policemen, they can be easily bribed into doing what they want them to because- well it's not their fault I mean really because they don't get enough pay. If they did get more pay they would be less susceptible to bribery, see.

Why They Thought They Would Return

I turn now to the young Indians and Pakistanis who thought they would return to these countries/or to East Africa/. Table 110 shows the reasons they gave.

TABLE 110

Young Asians who thought they would return to India, Pakistan etc. Reasons given.

It's my country	13
The country needs me/Want to help our country	8
Prefer the life/More freedom/More familiar with people	6
Relatives over there/Family going back	6
Can make more money/Start a business/Family has land	6
Don't stand out as coloured/Nobody says racial things	7
Coloured people may be told to leave	3

N=25

One notes at once that the returners showed much greater emotional attachment to India and Pakistan than the settlers exhibited towards England. Just over half the former

explained, "It's my country". The second biggest group of reasons expressed a desire to help what, whether explicit or not, was again clearly felt to be <u>their</u> country. Altogether 21 (84 per cent) of the 25 youths who thought they would return gave reasons in one of these categories or among those grouped in line 3 ("Prefer the life" etc.) which showed a similar bond of feeling towards the old country. Here are some of these replies.

<u>Zamir</u>:
I like my country and I want to be with my own people and I want to help my country because they need qualified people. It's quite a backward country at the moment.

<u>Bishan</u>:
Well India certainly needs skilled men who could put her on her feet again. And well I belong there. I feel I belong there so I should go back. (<u>What do you mean</u>?) I was born there. I don't really know why I should, but it's some sort of attraction. I feel I've got to go back.

<u>Isher</u>:
In India you have more freedom than here. When you finish work you cannot go anywhere except come home and watch TV. You cannot go anywhere. And there's not enough fresh air. Country here is not like India. Sun is there, you come from school, lying on grass eating grapes. And once you start living in a place you get to know everybody around, but here I don't even know my neighbours. And everybody used to come around if you had any problems and used to share it with you.

<u>Lachman</u>:
Why just something inside me that wants to go back. I still want to stay here, all the opportunities going round here. But it's just something inside me that's

saying, "You've got to go back". Nothing else, not because of the colour discrimination and all that I hear about, I don't mean that. But it's just something inside me saying, "I got to go, it's better for me there". I can help my country there if I want. But it's sort of experience for me. I can go back and I can help my country there.

For other respondents, however, colour was a consideration. At one extreme were a few young men who thought the racial situation might deteriorate so completely that coloured people would be expelled. On the other hand were those who felt that, without it ever coming to such a catastrophe, they would always meet hostility from whites. Altogether ten young men - 40 per cent - gave reasons of colour (lines 6 and 7 in Table 110) as to why they thought they would return. Chanan said:

> I wouldn't like to stay here all me life because it down't matter what I become up here, they'd still call us "He's coloured", and so on, and so it doesn't matter, even if I'm anything, they'd still call us that, wouldn't they?
> (<u>Even if you were very successful</u>?)
> Oh they'd still be the same. They'd still say, "He's coloured", and so on.

Here are some other comments:

<u>Sharm</u>:
Other people [in India] were the same. There was nobody to say things about you which even- being of a different colour, if say they tell a joke or anything like that and there is something that brings you a problem of colour and things like that, there then you feel, "Oh I was better off there",

and things like that. That's the only thing. There nobody could say anything to you like that.

Even if it's said for a joke, said as a joke, well it's said many times as a joke. I know it's a joke. They know it's a joke. But then you get this feeling. You start thinking, suppose it- you know, whether it was really a joke or serious.

Harbhajan:
If I did stay here I would always be guilty that my colour had always put me down and will put me down. There'll be a conscience always stopping me somewhere. I'd say that I'm coloured and- well I'll be conscious, I'll be shaky about it, not very firm of myself, confident.

Dalip:
I think it's just going to be the same as what America is - you know, colour prejudice and that like, and shortly like they'll start kicking them out, these Indian blokes, and that like. (Who will?) Britain, the government and that like.
(Why do you think that?) Well there seems to be over many, and it's got to stop somewhere. I mean if they can't put up houses for their own people and that like, they're not going to put up with these, are they?

It's just some areas. They just build up, and you get more coloured people in one area than anywhere else like. And therefore some blokes'll not stand for that.
(English blokes?) Uh huh. It's all right if you just get one or two here and one or two there like, but if it just starts building up, just riots and that start.[1]

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[1] One notes, not only the everyday English sentiments, but also the way in which Dalip disassociates himself by talking about "these Indian blokes".

The Don't Knows

What, finally, were the factors which weighed with the "Don't knows", the young Asians who were uncertain whether they would settle or return? Table 111 analyses their replies.

TABLE 111

Young Asians who did not know whether they would settle or return. Factors involved.

Depends on family	7
Depends on racial situation	5
Can't say until I compare the life	2
Depends what sort of a job I could get over there	2
No response/Can't say	4

N=18

One sees that whilst the biggest single group of respondents said that what they did would depend on what their parents decided to do, the next biggest category said the development of race relations here would determine their future. Of these five two mentioned the possibility of coloured people being thrown out. Again I quote a few replies.

> Lal:
> It depends more upon my parents, if my parents come up here.[1] Because we- I could say we're a very closely knitted

[1] His parents were in Kenya. He was living with his uncle and aunt.

family, and I want to live with my parents. So if my parents come up here, I'll be settling in this country. If they don't, I won't.

Bhagwant:
Well I'd like to go to India first and see what the conditions are like there, and if they are favourable I will stay, but if they're not, I'd like to come back again and then sort of carry on my work here.
(What do you mean by favourable?)
Well with the qualifications I get here, if I can get a good job there, I will stay.
(How strong is the attraction to go back?)
Not very much, I must admit, at the moment I mean I consider this as my home, mother country.
(Have you got strong memories of India?)
Just little bits of here and there. Not very much - well going to the gardens at night with my mother and father. I remember in the gardens there they have lights on all the time. And sleeping up on the roof in hot summers- on hot summer nights. That's about all.
(So what prompts you to go back?) Oh I hear my mother and father talking a lot about it and they want to go back. So I just want to go back and see if it is really true what they're saying.

Ahmed:
You see how things are going on in this country. It might get worse in the next ten years. You hear people say and you see it in the papers going on about difficulties in the schools with coloured children being there. It might explode. It all depends how they behave themselves when they come over here, how they get on with you people, and how you people behave themselves. This country's overcrowded, isn't it? It's if it all starts off, and we call each other names. It might get worse.

Who Favoured Return?

These are the reasons the young Indians and Pakistanis themselves gave for thinking they would settle or return or for being undecided. But which of them thought they would go and which thought they would stay? When one investigates this one comes up with some interesting and rather surprising patterns.

One might expect, to begin with, that the young men who had been in England longer and had more distant memories of the land of their birth would be more inclined to say they thought they would settle in England. But no. One finds on the contrary that more early arrivals (i.e. those who came at primary school age and younger or who were born here) thought they would return than thought they would settle. Table 112 gives the picture.

TABLE 112

Whether young Asians thought they would settle in England or return. By age of arrival.

	Arrived: EARLY	LATE	ALL
Settle	9	12	21
Return	14	11	25
Don't know	7	11	18
Other	3	-	3
Total	33	34	67

It is seen that 42 per cent of the early arrivals thought they would return, whilst only 28 per cent thought they would settle in England. To look at it another way, 42 per cent of the early arrivals favoured return, but only 32 per cent of the latecomers. Or again: 56 per cent of those favouring return were early arrivals and 44 per cent latecomers.

One finds another unanticipated association when one considers the young men's educational performance. Table 113 shows that the youths who continued full-time education beyond fifteen were more inclined to return to India etc. than those who finished at the statutory leaving age. The same pattern holds if one takes other measures of academic attainment: whether the young men continued full-time studies past sixteen or whether they had any O levels.

TABLE 113

Whether young Asians thought they would settle in England or return. By terminal education age.

	15	AFTER 15	ALL
Settle	12	9	21
Return	10	15	25
Don't know	6	12	18
Other	1	2	3
Total	29	38	67

Here one sees that while 43 per cent of the young men who pursued full-time studies past fifteen were inclined to return, only 26 per cent favoured staying in England. By contrast again, 34 per cent of those who finished at fifteen thought they would return, compared with 41 per cent who favoured settling. Of all those who thought they would return 60 per cent studied beyond fifteen. Only 40 per cent stopped at the statutary leaving age.

Many of the youths who left school at fifteen obtained apprenticeships [1] and were able thus to continue at least some sort of education by day-release. They had opportunities for securing higher qualifications, like HNC, and of course they were assured of well-paid jobs as tradesmen when they had served their time. Yet again it is precisely the young Asians who were successful in getting apprenticeships who were much more in favour of returning. Those with jobs in the "Other" category or who were unemployed were much more inclined to stay in England, as Table 114 shows.

TABLE 114

Whether young Asians thought they would settle in England or return. By occupation (economically active only).

	APPRENTICESHIPS	OTHER/UNEMPLOYED	ALL
Settle	3	13	16
Return	9	3	12
Don't know	4	7	11
Other	1	-	1
Total	17	23	40

[1] See p. 341.

It is seen that 53 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis with apprenticeships favoured a return, whilst only eighteen per cent thought they would stay in England. Conversely, only thirteen per cent of those who had less good employment or who were out of work thought they would return, compared with 57 per cent who were inclined to settle. In all 75 per cent of those who thought they would return had apprenticeships. If one takes continued education and apprenticeships together, one finds that of off 25 young Asians who favoured returning, 22 (88 per cent) either had an apprenticeship or at the time of interview were pursuing full-time studies past fifteen.

One is thus presented with a three-fold paradox. It is that those young men who had come to England young, those in work who had the better jobs and those who were more successful educationally were more in favour of <u>returning</u> than those who had not these apparent advantages for settling in England.

There is one other important relationship. This is that the sons of the more successful parents - more successful in that they were self-employed - were much more inclined to return than those whose parents were only employees. [1] (These

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[1] This association seems to account for differences between the three religious groups.

latter, one recalls, were with one exception all manual workers.) Table 115 gives the figures.

TABLE 115

Whether young Asians thought they would settle in England or return. By parents' occupational status.

	SELF-EMPLOYED	EMPLOYEES	ALL
Settle	10	11	21
Return	18	6	24+
Don't know	10	8	18
Other	-	3	3
Total	38	28	66

+ One respondent in this line could not be classified according to parental occupation.

From this table one sees that 47 per cent of what I called middle class youths thought they would return, while only 26 per cent favoured settling. On the other hand, only 21 per cent of the working class youths were in favour of returning, compared with 39 per cent who thought they would stop in England. And of all 25 respondents inclined to return, 72 per cent had self-employed parents.

Though these associations between inclination to return and cultural, educational, occupational and social advantage are unexpected, they may in different ways be convincingly accounted for. We have also however the young men's own reasons. In his study of migration from West Durham

R.C. Taylor suggests that to combine the migrants' own account of motives with a consideration of the objective structural determinants may avoid some of the problems which occur in studies based exclusively on only one of these approaches. [1] The main problems are, on the one hand, the separation of "real" and "stated" motives, and on the other, an undue emphasis on purposive-rational behaviour. [2] I too seek to combine the two sorts of explanation.

Reasons and Associations

The reasons respondents gave for favouring return may, as indicated in Table 110, be grouped into three categories. These are:

-<u>reasons of attachment to the country of origin</u>, comprising lines 1 ("It's my country"), 2 ("Country needs me") and 3 ("Prefer the life" etc.)

-<u>colour reasons</u>, comprising lines 6 ("Don't stand out as coloured") and 7 ("May be told to leave")

-<u>miscellaneous reasons</u> of family, money-making and business (lines 4 and 5).

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[1] R.C. Taylor, "Migration and Motivation: a Study of Determinants and Types", <u>Migration</u>, ed. J.A. Jackson (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 132.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 99-100.

Using these three categories one may go back to the relationships established in Tables 112-15 to see if there was any difference in the kinds of reason given by returners either side of the line. For example one may discover whether early arrivals who thought they would return gave different sorts of reasons from latecomers, and similarly with the other dichotomies.

What does one find? To take attachment reasons first, one finds that only on the measure of occupation did a higher proportion of the advantaged youths - in this case those with apprenticeships - give reasons of this nature than did those who had less advantage for settlement. On a second measure (terminal education age) the proportions were identical.

On the other two criteria - age of arrival and parent's occupational status - a higher proportion of the less advantaged gave answers in this attachment category. It is therefore difficult to argue that the advantaged young men were more inclined to return because more of them felt an emotional bond to India or Pakistan or East Africa.

If one turns now to colour reasons, one finds that on each count a higher proportion of the advantaged than of the less advantaged Asians who favoured returning gave answers in this category. The differences are small however. Thus

43 per cent of early arrivals gave colour reasons, compared with 36 per cent of latecomers; 41 per cent of those who studied past fifteen, compared with only 30 per cent of those who finished at the statutary age; 39 per cent of those with self-employed parents, compared with 33 per cent of those whose parents were employees. Among the economically active youths the same proportions of apprentices as of non-apprentices gave colour reasons for returning. Thus there is a suggestion that the advantaged Indians and Pakistanis who were inclined to return were more motivated than the others by fear of colour prejudice and colour discrimination, but the figures do not permit us to proclaim it very loudly.

Differences in the proportions of advantaged as against less advantaged Asians who gave reasons for returning in the third, miscellaneous, category were, with one exception, also small, though the advantaged had a slight edge. The same is true if one takes the family and financial groups of reasons separately.

The exception concerns the returners whose parents were self-employed. A third of these said they were inclined to return because their family was going back or to rejoin relatives left behind. None of those with employee parents gave this reason. This difference makes sense when one considers that the more successful parents - which those with businesses undoubtedly are - were more likely at least to

talk about going home than those who had not yet got the money or the prestige to consider it. Whether the former will return is another matter.

It must be admitted that the foregoing analysis offers no very confident explanation of why the advantaged were over-represented among the young Indians and Pakistanis who thought they would return.[1] There is however the difference that the advantaged were apparently somewhat more moved than the rest by fear of colour prejudice and discrimination. One might perhaps pursue this line and see whether there is any evidence that this fear, though only partly avowed, was the real motive which inclined many of them to return, despite their advantages for succeeding in England.

Colour Fear the Real Motive for Return?

Certainly the interviews were conducted in a period of

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[1] Examination of the reasons given by advantaged and less advantaged <u>settlers</u> does not provide any answer either. I divided the reasons into emtional and practical (see p. 640). On every count the advantaged showed more emotional attachment to England than the less advantaged, more of whom cited practical reasons. This last point is important, but the breakdown does not explain why a larger number of the advantaged did <u>not</u> feel this attachment to England.

anti-immigrant hate-mongering which could hardly fail to be profoundly alarming to all coloured people. First there was the campaign to keep out the Kenya Asians, then came Powell's river-of-blood speech. [1]

I questioned my respondents about discrimination in employment. One of the things that emerged was that many had a very high estimate of the proportion of jobs which were unattainable for this reason. I asked: "There is often talk about colour discrimination. I would like you to think of all the jobs you are capable of doing and then tell me what proportion you think are <u>closed</u> to you because you are Indian/Pakistani". I then read out the choices: "All, three-quarters, half, one quarter, none". Table 116 shows the young men's replies. It is in the form it is because some of their answers did not fit exactly into my pre-structured scheme.

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[1] For a fuller account, see chapter 19. To a large extent this sort of unsettling racial controversy was already a normal state of affairs. It had been bubbling up since the debates which preceded the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1961. The Kenyan campaign and Enoch Powell merely raised it to a new pitch of hysteria. It has not really abated since. Thus the months in which I did my interviewing were by no means wholly untypical of the decade, though one did have, as suggested earlier, an unprecedented sense of <u>escalating</u> crisis.

TABLE 116

Young Asians' estimates of proportion of jobs closed to them because they were Asians.

¾ or more	4
½ or more but less than ¾	20
¼ or more but less than ½	14
None/Only a few	7
Don't know	16
No response	6
Total	67

It is seen that 36 per cent of the young men put as high as one half or more the proportion of jobs they could do which were closed to them through colour discrimination. (This was before the second Race Relations Act came into force in November 1968.) A further 21 per cent judged the proportion to be between a quarter and a half. Only ten per cent said they thought no jobs, or only a few, were closed to them.

I am not concerned with the accuracy of these estimates.[1] I want merely to show that a majority of the young Indians

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[1] The PEP survey found among coloured people an "almost universal belief" in a colour bar. Seventy-one per cent of the Pakistanis interviewed and 79 per cent of the Indians thought one existed in Britain. And of course the claims of coloured people were found to understate the extent of the problem. Daniel, op.cit., pp. 33, 42, 46.

and Pakistanis felt there was a lot of discrimination which would directly affect them. One might be tempted to use this as evidence that fear of discrimination was, as suggested, a concealed motive for return. And one might plausibly link it with the PEP finding that it is people with the greatest ability who encounter most discrimination. [1]

This would however be wrong. There is absolutely no association between inclination to return and estimated amount of discrimination. For example, of the 20 young men who felt that one-half to three-quarters of the jobs were closed to them, seven thought they would return, seven thought they would stay and six did not know. Again, of the seven who believed that few or no jobs were closed to them, six were in favour of return. There was even a negative relationship between personally experienced job discrimination and inclination to return. [2]

Though this appears to eliminate fear of discrimination as a motive for the inclination to return to India or wherever, there are of course other forms of racial hostility. Some of the young men may have had experience of personal abuse and unpleasantness. I did not ask systematically about this,

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[1] Ibid., p. 81.

[2] For the economically active who said they had met discrimination in employment, see chapter 15.

but of eight who said they had encountered this kind of insult, only three thought they would return; three thought they would stay and two did not know. On the other hand, of seven who said explicitly they had not experienced this sort of thing, five were in favour of returning and only one was in favour of settling.

There was also the disturbing climate of general public hostility which was played upon by anti-immigrant propagandists. Agan I have no precise measure of the effect of this, though, as was seen, some of the young men certainly got the notion from what was happening in Kenya and from the tumultuous acclaim given to Enoch Powell that coloured people in Britain might be expelled.

In all eleven young men mentioned the possibility or probability of this ultimate expression of official anti-immigrant feeling. Yet only four of these thought they would return; two were "Don't knows", and five thought they would stay. One of these was friend Hardev. I asked him if he had any intention of going back to India for good.

> No. At least not until we get chucked out anyway. (Laughs) So- that's the latest rumour, that. All the Indians and Pakistanis, Jamaicans, Africans, all the foreigners are going to get hoyed[1] out

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[1] Thrown, chucked (local dialect).

shortly. You know it's just happened to Kenya, sort of stuff. A lot of the Indians are afraid of that at the moment. (Brother: And of Powell.) (This is what they are saying?) Uh huh, it's quite a common thing. They're all working like mad to save up money for the time- when the time comes to get hoyed out, so they'll have a good living over there.
(Do you think this will happen?)
I don't know. Possible, it could happen. But it might not.

It appears therefore that the advantaged young Asians who rather unexpectedly favoured returning were unduly influenced neither by emotional attachment to India/ Pakistan/Africa, nor by fear of discrimination, nor by their own experience of discrimination, nor by other racial unpleasantness, nor even by the possibility of being thrown out. On these last two points the statistical evidence is, admittedly, very weak. Either or both may have been important motivating factors. I believe the advantaged young men were in fact inclined to return by the general climate of hostility. I suggest however that they were moved less by fear of outright public or private victimisation than by something slightly different. It is difficult to describe, but one may call it a colour consciousness, a self-consciousness, a feeling of not belonging.

15-21. A selection of faces, which unfortunately but for obvious reasons cannot be identified by the names used in the text. Not all in fact were among my respondents.

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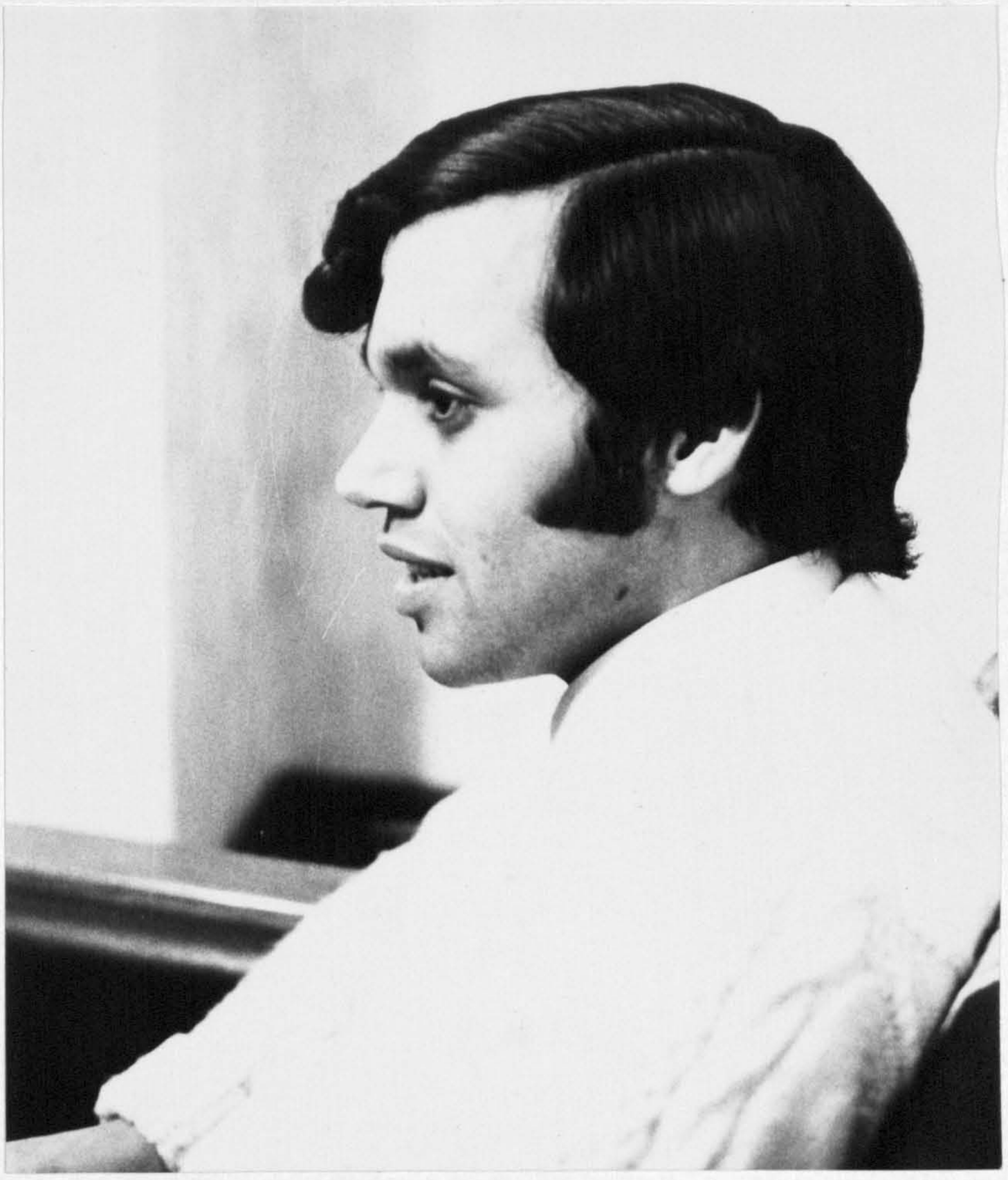

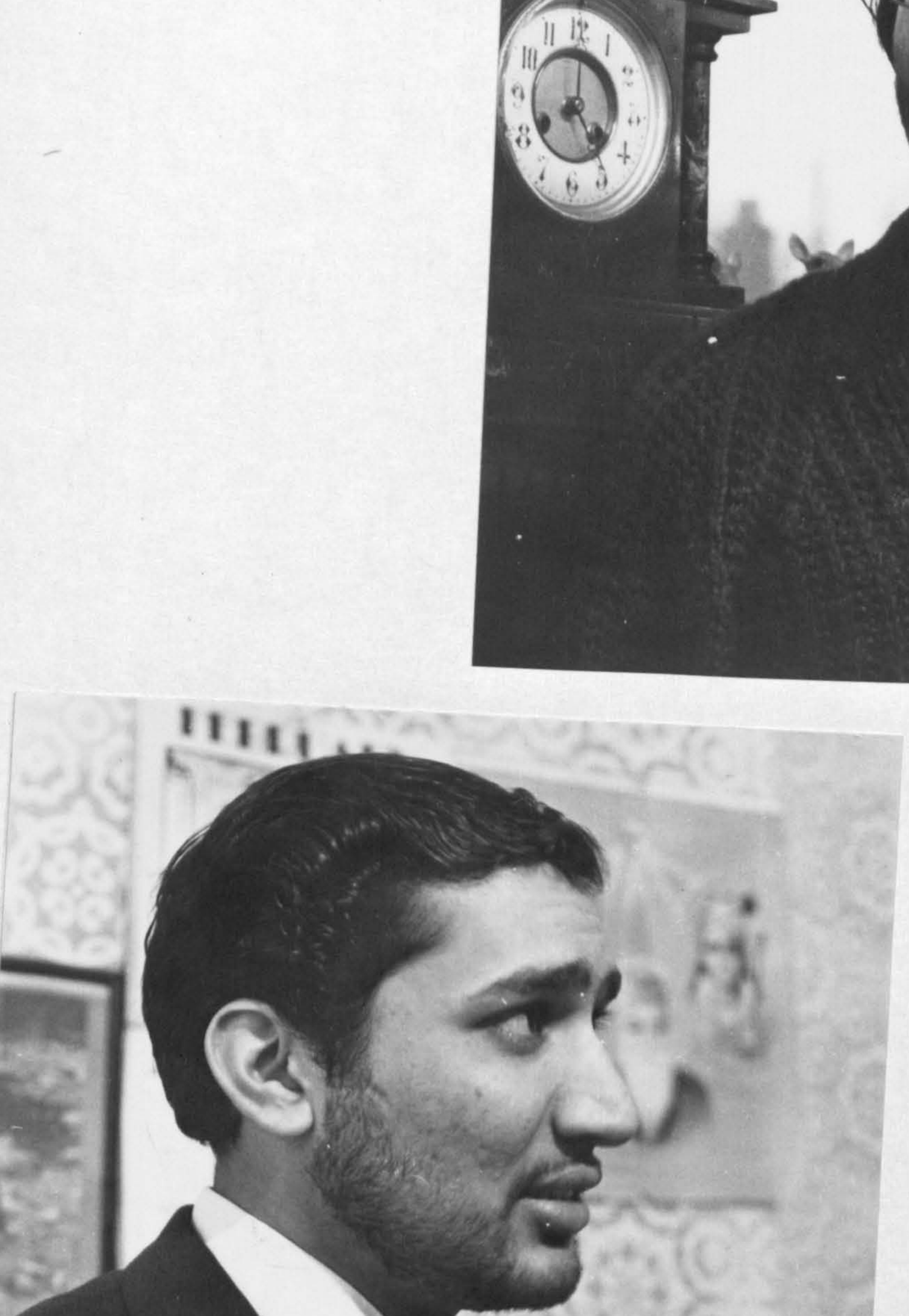

A Feeling of Not Belonging

This feeling was expressed in a couple of the comments quoted already. "It doesn't matter what I become up here, they'd still call us, 'He's coloured', and so on." [1]

"I'd say that I'm coloured and- well I'll be conscious, I'll be shaky about it, not very firm of myself, confident."[2]

Here are some more accounts of this feeling. I asked Lachman whether he thought he could ever feel English.

He said, "Oh no, never".

> (How do you feel?) I don't feel different. I mean if I go to some party or something like that; I will join in. I will sort of mix with them. But I still wouldn't feel as sort of "I'm one of them". I still would feel not as different, I would like to say, but as- Oh I don't know how to describe it. It's just- just sort of out of their line, sort of. Not one of them. Although I can easily mix with them if I want to.
> (In what sense do you feel not one of them?)
> Well it's not because of my colour or anything, but er- it's because of my background I think mainly. And the country I was born in.
>
> Kusam:
> I've never had any complaints about this country, but- I still know I'm coloured. And anything I do, I've got to be careful. I don't only get my name bad, not only the coloureds', but I've got to try and be more good than anybody else. And when I go back home, you see, it's freedom in

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[1] p. 644.

[2] p. 645.

a way for me, because then I can go and do what I like. I don't have to be- you know, I'm same as the rest. Nobody can say, "Oh, he's doing something different". You see up here, say if I'm going out with somebody, well everybody's finger points to you. "Oh, look at him. He's going out with that person." Or: "He's doing bad, something really bad." Well up there, nothing is there.

Yash:
I would consider myself Indian in respect that I'm born Indian by birth and I always will be an Indian. And no matter where I go in the world, I'll always be an Indian. I'll be accepted as an Indian.
(You feel Indian or do you know other people regard you as Indian?)
I don't know about this feeling of Indian. I know other people regard me as Indian. I myself regard myself as Indian. What I'm trying to say is that although I don't know much about my own religion and culture, I nevertheless regard myself as an Indian.
(Why?) Again I- my parents were born Indian, and well, why shouldn't I? Why shouldn't I regard myself as an Indian?
(But when your emotional links are so slender?)
I think this all has to do with the birth. I was born Indian to my Indian parents. Therefore I've always been Indian. I mean obviously I'm English by me attitudes, but nevertheless I'm Indian by- you know, I'm Indian born.
(And you feel yourself to be Indian?)
This feeling of being Indian: no I don't feel myself to be an Indian. I only know I am Indian by- well to my parents and, you know, what's written on the documents, or the passport perhaps. You know you are Indian, you're Indian nationality, that sort of thing. But I don't as a feeling. I mean if I go with some mates of mine, from Britain, I don't feel if I'm Indian. I am - but the question never crops up amongst us.
(So they don't feel you to be an Indian?)
They don't feel as if I was Indian.
(But casual acquaintances would?) Yeh. Say if you go out to a bar or something, and the first person he'll start tapping you in the back, well he'll say, "I was in India during 1943" or something. And you say,

"Oh fine, But I'm sorry. I don't know much about India."
(So you don't feel Indian, but most English people regard you as Indian, and this has made you aware of where you stand?)
No. It's just that, to me as personally, to me it's just all made me feel that I'm of a different race. That's all it's made me feel.
(What has?) Just the pigment of the skin, that's all. And apart from that I come from India, you know, as a continent. That's the only thing it means. I come from a different part of the world, and that's basically all it is.

Lal:
I don't feel myself an English, no not at all. I don't think I could- I don't think you can differ like that, I don't think you can change. I think you are what you are, though, let's put it this way, I could say to myself that, I could think or I could make myself think that I'm English, but I don't think I could ever be English. I could be English in certain manners, but that doesn't mean that I think like I'm English.
In England, when you live in England, no doubt all the time you're scared in case someone comes up to you and says, "Who are you to say such?" If you say something about the country, you're always scared in case someone comes up to you and says, "Who are you to say this - such and such thing about this country? You don't belong here." Whereas in India you can say anything and you know people will listen. There's no-one to come up to you and say, "Oh you don't belong to this country. You don't belong to these people."
(You think you'll still feel this after twenty or thirty years?) Yeh. I mean the main thing, no matter how long you live here, as long as there's a different- the colour of your skin is different, you're still different. No matter how western, no matter how high you get your standard of living, you're still coloured, and they try to cast you as inferior or they try to prove that you're inferior to them.
Other people will always keep on reminding me that "You're not English". But no matter what you do, I could paint my skin white,

I could do anything, I could live here for Thirty years, but even after 30 years if something cropped up which- concerning Indians or something like that, I would tend to lean towards India more than I would lean towards England. It's something natural. It's something inside you. It might be dormant for a while, but it will erupt if something happened.

Rasul:
I don't think I would feel at home in England because I feel inferior to it. Perhaps it's an inferiority complex.
(How do you mean, inferior?) It's just developed recently like, due to these troubles I've had[1] and due to the fact that when you go somewhere, say somewhere decent, say to a decent class hotel or something like this, people tend to look at you in a different sort of light. It's just the way other people look at you, and you feel you just don't fit into it.
(How do they look?) If you were to grow long hair, you know, very long hair, beard, long beard, and this sort of thing, and people looked at you, that's the sort of feeling, as though you are inferior to them.[2] This is the sort of feeling you get from most people - who don't know you that is. People who know you, this is okay. I mean supposing you moved into a higher class area, you just can imagine them just looking at you, looking out of the window just discussing you behind your back, and this sort of thing. You know, I've seen it meself. I don't mind if they just leave you alone, but they don't. They tend to make you feel inferior and make you feel unwanted, which is a bad feeling for a human being. Nobody wants to feel unwanted, do they? This is something that I've felt more recently than I used to feel. In fact when I was at school I never used to think of myself as even being coloured, so to speak, because it never used to crop up. Nobody ever used to point it out or anything, but since I left school, this becomes very apparent. And I say to meself: If you don't fit into it, well go somewhere else where you do fit.[3]

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[1] His difficulty in getting a job.

[2] C.f. the remark by Jerry Rubin, the American Yippie, that "Long hair is our black skin". Quoted in Colin McGlashan, "Groucho Marx's Lenin", The Guardian, October 22, 1970.

[3] All five respondents here quoted were aged twenty, except Lachman, who was seventeen. They had lived in England from the ages of (respectively) nine, eight, nine, fifteen - Lal was a Kenyan - and seven.

These comments illustrate the feeling of not belonging. Some of the young men had difficulty in explaining what they felt, and different ones defined it differently. Rasul related the feeling to his experience of discrimination. Lal linked it to possible racial hostility. Yash and Kusam expressed it rather in terms of always being distinctive because of their colour. Lachman and Lal, on the other hand, said it was not (or not only) a question of colour, but was something innate.

Overall however there was no association between this sense of not belonging and either estimates or experience of discrimination. Nor was there any relationship with mentions of hostility or mentions of possible expulsion.

There are on the other hand associations which support the case I have been trying to argue. In all fourteen young men expressed this feeling of being different. Eight were advantaged on at least three of the measures used above - early arrival, full-time education beyond fifteen, apprenticeship, self-employed parent - and three were advantaged on two. [1] Ten of these fourteen, eight of whom had two or more advantages, thought they would return rather than settle. [2]

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I suggest that the advantaged Indians and Pakistanis were more strongly affected by this sense of being different: "No matter how western, no matter how high you get your standard of living, you're still coloured" (Lal). The distinction is perhaps a subtle one: it is the difference between a fear of victimisation and a feeling of social marginality. The advantaged youths experienced the second but not the first.

Now I concede that all this is quantitatively inadequate, since I did not question every one of the respondents about their feelings of belonging or not-belonging. In any case I am not saying that other less advantaged Asians did not also have this sense of being different. I have no doubt that many who said they thought they would stay felt a similar self-consciousness. It was noted earlier, after all, that few of them showed any emotional attachment to England. [1]

In their case, I suggest, this feeling was overlaid by the more immediate attraction of getting a good job or an educational qualification. [2] More of the advantaged, on the other hand, saw beyond this success - because it was

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[1] pp. 640-1.

[2] pp. 640-1, 656(n).

within their grasp - to the bleak and demoralising realisation that, whatever they achieved, the white English would still point them out as coloured. This, I believe, is why they were over-represented among the young Indians and Pakistanis who said they thought they would return to their country of origin.

There remain two other possible explanations which deserve a brief discussion. The first is that the advantaged Indians and Pakistanis could perhaps more easily see themselves returning because they had the success to impress a critical family and village. The others had less to show for their migration and might fear being scorned as failures. Against this, it must be said that only two respondents showed themselves aware of this prestige consideration, and only one applied it to himself. This was Sharm who said: "They expect a lot when you go back. They don't expect the same person to go back there and say, 'I've come back.'" Sharm felt this to be his own problem - yet he favoured returning to India. In any case I was not asking the young men whether they thought they would return now, but where they thought they would settle for good, that is, whether they favoured return at some time in the future. The question posed in this way allowed the less advantaged plenty of time to succeed before possibly going back.

The second possible explanation is rather similar. This

follows the suggestion, made for example by Anthony Richmond, that immigrants who initially have a more difficult time adjusting come to identify more closely with their new country and to express greater satisfaction than those who make an easy transition. [1] There may well have been an element of this. The less advantaged Asians probably did have a more difficult time adjusting. As was noted, however, they showed little identification with England or even much emotional attachment. [2]

Summary

In this chapter it was seen that only 31 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis thought they would remain in England. Thirty-seven per cent were inclined to return to their country of origin, and 27 per cent were "Don't knows". Surprisingly it was found that the young men who were advantaged in terms of arrival age, jobs, education and parental occupation were more in favour of returning than those who lacked these apparent advantages for settling in England.

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1 Anthony H. Richmond, "Sociology of Migration in Industrial and Post-Industrial Societies, Jackson, op. cit., p. 269.

2 See pp. 640-1.

I show that these advantaged Asians were over-represented among those who were inclined to return not because they felt a stronger emotional bond than the others to their country of birth (though they did feel a close attachment), nor because of potential colour discrimination in England. They certainly had no illusions on this last point, but presumably felt it would not prevent them, with their advantages and ability, from making a career.

Likewise the advantaged Asians did not claim to have met more actual discrimination than the others, and so were not influenced by that. Nor were they apparently affected by experiences of personal hostility or by the possibility of expulsion, though the evidence is incomplete on these points. I suggested, however, that the advantaged Indians and Pakistanis were more strongly influenced that the rest by a sense of being different, of not belonging. Because they were advantaged they saw beyond immediate success to the realisation that whatever they achieved they would always be pointed out as coloured.

28. A QUESTION OF IDENTITY

The question which follows is: What exactly is one to understand by this expressed inclination to return? How literally should one take it?

Will the Parents Return?

The question needs to be asked first of the older generation of immigrants for, certainly in the case of the Asians, what they do is likely to have a decisive effect on what their children do. Hard facts on return migration to the Commonwealth are almost non-existent however. Apropos of India and Pakistan one may perhaps cite Kingsley Davis' calculation that while thirty million Indians emigrated across the world between 1834 and 1937, twenty-four million later returned, leaving a net emigration of only six million. [1] Then there is the more recent estimate by the Economist Intelligence Unit that forty per cent of postwar Indian immigrants to Britain later returned home. [2]

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[1] Kingsley Davis, op. cit., pp. 98-9.

[2] Economist Intelligence Unit, Studies on Immigration from the Commonwealth, no. 2 (London, EIU, 1961), p. 3.

The first fact is largely irrelevant, since the majority of these earlier migrants were indentured labourers who only went overseas for a limited period, and then had the right to be shipped back again. The second figure is almost certainly wrong. It is based on the number of passages on the long sea-routes between England and India between the years 1956 and 1960. It ignores two factors however: firstly, that some Indians may have made the trip to England more than once; and secondly, that some may have come by boat and left by plane.

Data on what Commonwealth immigrants desire, expect or intend is equally scanty. There is the poll, conducted for the BBC programme "Panorama" which Enoch Powell quoted several times to prove that "practically half" of all coloured immigrants with an opinion on the subject favoured repatriation. This survey asked 466 coloured people in ten centres of immigrant concentration: "Would you like to return to your country of origin if you received financial help?" Thirty-eight per cent of respondents said yes, 43 per cent said no, 11 per cent did not know, and eight per cent replied that Britain was their country of origin. [1]

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[1] Lewis Chester and John Barry, "Two strands of the 'go home' debate. 1. Do they want to go?" Sunday Times, June 22, 1969.

Robin Ward has produced more subtle figures. He did this by asking a sample of 338 coloured people in Manchester not only, "What would you like to do?" but also, "What do you expect to do?" Forty-one per cent said that ideally they wanted to go home "when they could". Another 35 per cent wanted to go home "at some time". Eleven per cent definitely wanted to stay, three per cent were undecided, and the rest did not know. Asked what they thought they would actually do, only ten per cent <u>expected</u> to go back when they could. Twenty per cent definitely expected to stay here for life. Four per cent expected to stay, while keeping ties with the old country. Fifty-three per cent wanted to keep open the possibility of either staying or going. Twelve per cent had no idea what they would do.[1]

These are the only figures I have been able to discover. There are several things to be noted. The first is that neither of these pieces of research refers exclusively to Indians and Pakistanis. They both concern the heterogeneous category "coloured people". Secondly, the Panorama enquiry was no kind of scientific survey: interviewers in the street simply stopped people with black faces. The organisers themselves admitted, "It was a straw poll".[2] Ward's survey

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>.

[2] <u>Ibid</u>.

appears to have been thoroughly systematic, but even he has not wholly overcome the difficulty, raised at the very beginning of this chapter, about how to interpret answers to this kind of question.

The problem is the myth of "the old country". The anthropologist Tom Blair has commented:

> Any immigrant community, white or black, preserves for a very long time the myth of "going home". Every time they have a bad day, experience prejudice, anything like that, they can shrug it off by saying: "Hell, it's not my country; I plan on going home". That does not mean they seriously expect to go - whether they admit it to themselves or not.[1]

Blair calls it a "psychic defence mechanism". A Pakistani businessman in Bradford made a similar response to the BBC's repatriation figures:

> We are always <u>thinking</u> of going back home. Even those of us who have been here for 30 years have been thinking of going home all along. But it is something else altogether to start selling your property here, packing, buying the tickets, etc.[2]

Triseliotis makes the same point and concludes: "From my investigations there is no evidence that any appreciable number do in fact return".[3] Likewise Rose and his colleagues

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>.

[2] Dilip Hiro, "Powell makes people hate us, say immigrants", <u>The Observer</u>, June 15, 1969.

[3] Triseliotis, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 94.

maintain:

> We are satisfied that we are dealing with minorities who are here to stay and that they and their children will be part of the future of this country.[1]

Lord Radcliffe, on the other hand, has tried to suggest that "what we shall see taking shape are rather colonies of immigrant workers than immigrant settlers in the full sense".[2] One might quote in this context the Pakistani, mentioned by Daniel, who considered questions about discrimination and the colour bar irrelevant to himself because, he said, "I only work here".[3]

This argument concentrates on the demographic and socio-psychological character of immigrant communities, thus circumventing the problem of interpreting immigrants' declared intentions. The case was perhaps tenable while Asian immigrants were predominantly single men living, like the Sparkbrook Pakistanis, "in their bleak rooms in a sort of male transit camp".[4] The thesis cannot easily be maintained now that, certainly in Newcastle, most Indians and Pakistanis

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[1] Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 676.

[2] Lord Radcliffe, "Immigration and Settlement: Some General Considerations", Race, Vol. XI, no. 1 (July 1969) p. 42.

[3] Daniel, op. cit., p. 35.

[4] Rex and Moore, op. cit., p. 129.

have sent for their wives and children to join them. [1]

This, says Rose, is in many ways a most decisive step:

> It involves uprooting them from [the man's] family and removing them from the authority of the head of his family. He himself will move out of the dormitory settlement, away from the colony of single men, to his own house in another neighbourhood; he will have a stake, which is wider than his economic interest, in his adopted country; and he will become more aware of the values of British society.[2]

To be sure, the family will still be part of the wider network of the extended family, though this itself is weakening in India. [3] Admittedly they may not see themselves psychologically as settlers. Part of the reason is that there is in fact a third possibility <u>in addition</u> to the apparent alternatives of migrate-and-settle and migrate-and-return. Jackson writes:

> Today it is increasingly apparent that a significant number of migrants spend periods of their lives outside their country of birth, returning home and perhaps after a further period setting off again, without the implications of finality usually associated with such moves.[4]

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[1] Though there is no concrete evidence, it seems likely that immigration restrictions encouraged men to bring their families over. The controls appear to have done this, firstly, by stopping immigrants re-entering Britain if they went home for more than two years; and secondly (after 1968), by permitting children under sixteen to come over only if both parents were already in England. Hepple, <u>op. cit.</u>, p.14.

[2] Rose and Associates, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 446.

[3] Bell, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 60.

[4] J.A. Jackson, "Migration: Editorial Introduction", <u>Migration</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 4.

A.H. Richmond calls these sort of migrants "transilients" and defines them as "part of a highly mobile and skilled labour force ready to move from one urban industrial centre to another, wherever their particular educational and occupational skills are in demand, irrespective of political or cultural boundaries". [1]

Richmind says transilient migration is typical of post-industrial society. [2] Certainly the great mass of Indian and Pakistani immigrants are not even skilled or urban. All the same Asian migration to England has more than a little of the same quality. The Punjabi tradition of enlisting in the Army and of migrating to all corners of the globe was noted at the very beginning of this study. In the present discussion I want particularly to draw attention to the migrational custom of alternating between India/Pakistan and England. Rex and Moore found this among Pakistanis in Sparkbrook.

> We found a common pattern of returning home and re-immigration, the immigrant staying in England for between three and five years and returning home for anything between six months and two years before again returning to England. There were also cases of brothers emigrating in rotation, one coming to England as another returns to Pakistan. [3]

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[1] Anthony H. Richmond, "Sociology of Migration in Industrial and Post-industrial Societies", Migration, op. cit., p. 244.

[2] Ibid., p. 272.

[3] Rex and Moore, op. cit., p. 116.

This is the normal pattern in Newcastle among both Indians and Pakistanis. It is a compromise which permits them the best of both worlds. They have the emotional solace of being able to return to the land of their birth, yet they hold on to the comforts and material advantages of living in an industrial country.

The significant thing is that they do in fact return from their visits to India and Pakistan. It is unlikely that they would go back even for a visit without attaining some degree of success. An unsuccessful person would probably not have the prestige to show his face and, in any case, probably could not afford the fare and the many presents he would have to bring with him. Those who go back could, presumably, settle down with honour. Yet all my enquiries suggest that the great majority come back to England before two years' absence precludes them from readmission. [1] Not even the racial atmosphere in England seems to have altered this. At the time of the Powell furore in 1968 there was much talk among Indians and Pakistanis of pulling out before the situation got worse. [2] In Newcastle few if any appear

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[1] Compare Alberoni's comment on southern Italian migration to the United States: "What had been planned as a temporary stay would, in fact, become permanent, either because the emigrant had made his fortune or because, not having made it, he hoped to do so and was ashamed to go back." F. Alberoni, "Aspects of Internal Migration Related to Other Types of Italian Migration", in Jansen, op. cit. p. 298.

[2] See the quote from Hardev, p. 660.

Adrian Mayer concluded his study of Sikhs in Vancouver,

> So the return to India rarely takes place and the idea of retirement there is a dream, though one which may shape actions in Canada to the extent of making people more conservative and less liable to make contacts with white Canadians in what they see as only a temporary situation.[1]

Similarly I suggest that Asian settlement in England has in fact become permanent. With their immediate family (often including aged parents) around them and sending down their own roots, spending perhaps six-nine months back home every four or five years and showing no signs of permanent departure, Indians and Pakistanis give every objective indication of being settlers, not migrant workers.

Will the Children Return?

Turning now to my young respondents, one recalls that 37 per cent said they thought they would return to India, Pakistan or East Africa. It is noteworthy what such a relatively high proportion of this generation should give this answer, since they had spent a much shorter time than their parents in the country of their birth and had only childhood memories of it. Indeed early arrivals and young men advantaged in other ways were over-represented among the

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[1] Mayer, A Report, op. cit., p. 31.

would be returners. Nevertheless because of the myth of the old country their answers must be subject to the same severe qualification as attached to the older generation's intention to return.

Though perhaps surprising, my finding that almost 40 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle favoured returning to their country of origin is not in fact unique. Ward's Manchester survey revealed admittedly that very few coloured immigrant children wanted to leave England under any circumstances. [1] Figueroa, on the other hand, found that half the West Indian leavers he interviewed in North London said they would like to be back in the West Indies by the time they were thirty, though only a quarter expected to return. A third chose some other country, and only one-sixth said they would like to be living in England, though a quarter expected to be living there. A quarter could not say where they would be living. Figueroa found that half the English leavers interviewed also said they would like to be living in another country, which perhaps puts the other set of figures in perspective. [2] Again, Bhatnagar reports that 52.3 per cent of the West Indian schoolchildren in his survey and no fewer than 73.7 per cent

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1 Chester and Barry, op. cit.

2 The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 208.

of the Cypriot children said they intended returning home. [1]

Similarly when the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration visited Wolverhampton during their investigation of the problems of coloured school-leavers, Mrs. Jill Knight MP remarked with surprise that 95 per cent of the young immigrants she had spoken to at the College of Further Education said they were going back to their country of origin as soon as they could. Mr. Aaron Haynes, the town's West Indian community relations officer, commented:

> I think an increasing number of people will go back, largely because of a certain sense of national pride. New nations have grown up, with new ambitions, and they are calling out for trained personnel in a large number of areas, and a large number of people will feel glamourised at the idea of going back to help build a new nation ... A large number of these ... will find this early enthusiasm will die and they will be caught up either with something equally as exciting here or with other destinies and will remain.[2]

Relevant here are the results of a survey carried out in Australia by Taft, Daw and Ewen. They asked Australian children, the children of British immigrants and the children of non-British immigrants (aged twelve-fourteen) the question: "Are there any countries in which you would like to live more

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[1] Bhatnagar, op. cit. p. 100.

[2] The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 434.

than Australia?" They found that of the British children 39 per cent preferred Australia, 54 per cent preferred Britain, and seven per cent some other country. Among the non-British children 30 per cent preferred Australia, 44 per cent chose their parents' country, and 26 per cent a third country. Of the Australian children 52 per cent preferred Australia, but 48 per cent opted for some other country, in most cases the United States.

The high proportion of immigrant children who said they preferred to return to their parents' country is noteworthy, since they were either born in Australia or were quite young when they emigrated. Taft comments that it is especially striking when compared with the results for adults. In an area sample of Perth, for example, the percentage of grown-ups who said they would like to return home if political and economic conditions warranted it were: British ten per cent, non-British 35-50 per cent.

> Clearly the children, especially the British, and even the Australians, have a much weaker tie to Australia than do their parents. On the available evidence, it is not possible to say whether the differences are due only to the greater flexibility of youth, combined with less realism, whether it represents a more permanent effect on the younger generation of cosmopolitan-oriented mass media, or whether it simply means that national identification is weaker in children than in adults.[1]

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[1] Taft, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

The figures for Australian children link up with Figueroa's finding that 50 per cent of his English respondents said they would also like to migrate. Whatever the reasons for these preferences, [1] and whatever their validity, they serve as a warning that young immigrants' expressed desire to return may not necessarily reflect experience or awareness of hostility, or inability to adjust to the new country. Apropos of the young Asians in Newcastle, however, I stick to my conclusion that the atmosphere of hostility was a major influence in making the young men say they thought they would go back.

Few of these young Asians seemed to envisage much difficulty in readjusting to the very different life back there. Lachman, for example, said:

> Oh no. I think I could [adapt] very easily. I mean these memories that I've got, they're sort of locked away inside me. I don't think they're ever going to fade, fade away.
> (What do you remember with most pleasure?)
> Playing with kites and sort of playing about with animals - bulls and cows and all them, milking them and all that. That was fun. Sort of getting the foodstuff from the fields for the cattle at night time. And the skies at night time. You know, when the sun set, it's beautiful sky, red and blue and everything as well.
> (You don't think your return might be a disappointment?) It could happen. I'm not saying it does, but it could. But I don't think so.

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[1] Personally I would emphasise the last of the three possible factors mentioned by Taft. At the age of 31 I feel far greater attachment to England than I did at 16, when I had never been across the Channel, but would happily have migrated to Australia.

Manjit, on the other hand, was sceptical whether successful young Indians and Pakistanis would return to those countries for good.

> I think they will go back for a few years probably, you know, sort of possibly to work there for a few years, but they'll probably come back in the end. Because I mean once you've lived in England, you couldn't sort of put yourself sort of twenty years back in India really. You know, there's still no electricity in quite a lot of places. The sort of life would be too difficult, for the rest of your life I mean.

Manjit foresaw a similar kind of transilient future for himself, except that he was emotionally more oriented to England than many of the others.

> I would possibly go back to India for a few years, but I don't think I would like to stay there. And after spending a few years there, with possibly some other places, I would come back in the end to England.

Nazir, who was sent back to Pakistan to get married, found the life very strange, having come to England at the age of six. I asked what in particular struck him thus.

> Oh everything - cattle, gan to sleep and you're itching all the time. Them things biting yer, all these little flea things. Oh ay I was up all neet with them a few days like. But I got brooned off, I think my skin went hard. (Laughs) Oh you couldn't recognise me when I was here before. White, I was exactly nearly white. When I went back there I know I changed my colour. I went black. Over there it's- I didn't like the taste of anything. Well here well I never eat nee chapatis before when I went home- before I went home. I always used to eat English dinners, go in

> the cafes - and these tinned foods, beans, things like that. Well sometimes I still got the idea, but I getting used tiv it. You know what I mean, my wife cooks it and everything now, getting used to it.[1] Well another strange thing, the way they're getting married. Well I thought it was something similar to this into this country, but it's something different altogether. You're getting on the camels, and drums and God knaas what playing. Oh ay, that's what they dee over there. They get you on the camels and all, put you in the tubs and - oh hell! Oh, stranger life altogether that.

I believe that few of the young men are likely voluntarily to return to India or Pakistan for good. This is not to deny their powerful attachment to those countries, their idealistic desire to help in their development and the strong attraction of plain curiosity: "I hear my mother and father talking a lot about it. So I just want to go back and see if it is really true what they're saying."[2] I suggest, however, that, once over there, they will experience the same mixed feelings that one returned Jamaican migrant confided to Betty Davison.

> It's complicated, you see, I just feel like coming home. I was home sick. Now I am home sick to go back.[3]

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[1] This illustrates Rose's point that the arrival of Pakistani wives, while giving the men roots in England, also reinforces traditional culture and religious observance. Rose and Associates, op. cit., pp. 446-7.

[2] p. 647.

[3] Betty Davison, "No Place Back Home: A Study of Jamaicans returning to Kingston, Jamaica", Race, Vol. 9, no. 4, April 1968, p. 508.

This was certainly the case with Rasul's elder brother, who went back to Pakistan for two years after leaving school in Newcastle. He said:

> If I go back home I'm thinking about England because I've spent about fifteen years in here. I've only lived ten years in my country, and that's it. Both are my countries now. I feel both for them the same, same feelings for both countries, but I don't think I'll ever be able to live in here or there and forget about the other. I've got to go here and there. If I go back home, I'll still come back for a few years, and then go back.

An Asian Identity

I have no wish to play down the fact that 37 per cent of the Indians and Pakistanis said they favoured returning. I am merely debating what this expressed inclination means. I do not interpret it as meaning that these young men will return permanently, but rather as evidence of their strong identification with India and Pakistan, which results from the feeling of not belonging discussed in the last chapter.

This is <u>not</u> to say that the remaining young men identified with England. As was seen, the 31 per cent who were inclined to settle in England showed nothing like the same emotional commitment to the country as those who thought they would return exhibited towards India and Pakistan. [1]

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[1] pp. 640-1, 642-4.

Still less did they see themselves as English. This is clear from the following comments of two would-be settlers. First, Surinder - born in England but upset by hostility at school. [1]

> I suppose it's just a name here and there, but sometimes it all gets too much, and you can't, you know, you can't bear being provoked any more. That's why I've started disliking this country a bit, not much, but it's sort of made me want to go back. But at the same time I want to stay, if you see what I mean. I used to love England, but this, day after day, sometimes it gets to a point where you just reject it, you can't take any more. That's why I've started disliking some people. And in the same way disliking the country a bit.

Then there was Hardev, who boasted:

> Well I mean with Albert there - he doesn't take me as an Indian or wherever I come from, sort of stuff. He takes me as Hardev, and that's it. He knows for a fact if he doesn't like the colour, he can go and take a running jump, y'knaa, and he can mind his own business, and I'll mind me own. With most of my friends, it's the same way. We don't bother about colour. I mean He's English, so he's English. To me he's just another bloke, and that's it.

Though proud to be taken not as an Indian but on his individual merits, Hardev nevertheless did not regard himself as English. He said of himself and his brother: "We're

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[1] Of the five respondents born in England, three thought they would settle, and two were "Don't knows".

what you might call unpredictable Indians. We don't really know where we stand."

Just as I suggested in the last chapter that many of the young men who thought they would settle shared the feeling of not belonging articulated by those who favoured return, so I would argue that almost all of them felt themselves to be Asians, not English. The difference between those who were inclined to stay and those who were inclined to return was that the latter saw beyond the immediate opportunities to be had in England because, as I said, these were within their grasp. The former saw tha prospects which England still had to offer. The latter, because they were more successful, saw the limitations to their further development.

The identification with India and Pakistan shown by the young Asians who said they thought they would go back is similar to the gesture of association made by the 17-year-old South London runner Marilyn Neufville just before the 1970 Commonwealth Games. It will be recalled that she dropped out of the British team and ran instead for Jamaica, the country she left at the age of eight. She went on to win the 400 metres in world-record time, but then, according to the papers, disgraced herself by sulking at the prize-giving ceremony and by refusing to talk to the press. Miss Neufville explained later:

> My only excuse is that I've had problems here finding out who I really am and where I belong ...
> Since I've been here [in the Commonwealth Games village] I've felt really Jamaican ... Living with Jamaicans here has helped me towards an identity. There's been some tensions between our boys and some of the English. One of our team got some milk thrown over him and when he was annoyed (wouldn't you be) he was called a black bastard. He didn't like it.[1]

The similarity to my Indian and Pakistani returners is not I think fanciful. Here was an advantaged coloured girl, whose potential, so the papers claimed, had been developed in England in a way it could never have been in Jamaica, and who had before her a glamorous future in British athletics. Yet she crossed over and joined the people to whom she felt she belonged. Her feeling of solidarity was strengthened when one of her new team-mates met racial abuse which suggests that her previous non-belonging was inspired by a feeling of racial unease and vulnerability. [2]

In a memorable passage George Orwell writes of English civilisation:

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[1] Neil Allen, "Miss Neufville seeks her identity", The Times, July 27, 1970. See also The Guardian, July 24, 1970. I must thank my friend Philip Heywood for bringing this parallel to my attention.

[2] At later interviews however she denied this was the case. See: "Marilyn has no grudges", The Guardian, July 13, 1971.

> ... Above all, it is <u>your</u> civilisation, it is <u>you</u>. However much you hate it or laugh at it, you will never be happy away from it for any length of time. The suet puddings and the red pillar boxes have entered into your soul. Good or evil, it is yours, you belong to it, and this side of the grave you will never get away from the marks that it has given you.[1]

The young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle did <u>not</u> feel that England was them.[2] It is true, as I have suggested, that if they return to their countries of origin, they may well discover that England <u>has</u> left some marks on them. But at the time they felt only to be Indians and Pakistanis living in England, either content with limited possibilities or disillusioned about wider prospects.

A few of the youths, admittedly, anglicised their names. Occasionally they even used them on official documents like their driving licence or the voters' list, but more often they were in the nature of nicknames, but nicknames used by other Asians. Thus Gurdave became David. Jarneil became Jerry. Karneil became Curly. Karam became Charley.

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[1] George Orwell, "The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius", <u>The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell</u>, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, Vol. 2: My Country Right or Left 1940-1943 (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1970), p. 76.

[2] But it was true of a successful West Indian quoted in John Brown's study of immigrant groups in Bedford: "Well, man, you know; Bedford - it's me". <u>Op. cit</u>. p. 115.

Ravinder was transformed into Robin. [1]

There was however barely any rejection of Indian- or Pakistanness, no attempt to pass as anything else, no resentment, such as Geoff Dench noted among the Maltese, at being identified and labelled. [2] One exception, perhaps, was Prem, who wanted to embrace the Youth International of the pop world. I recorded this illuminating exchange between him and his father, a bus driver.

> Prem:
> He sort of wants to keep me Indian, you know, which I don't like. I would like to think that I've got no nationality, you know, I'm just a human being and I think what I want.
>
> Father:
> Every person in the world belongs to some nationality. He's got something to stand on whether he's English, Indian, Pakistani or any nation. Must be something where he has to stand. He just can't say that I don't belong to anybody.
>
> Prem:
> No, that's completely different. What I would like to say is that I belong to everybody. You were talking- you're beginning to segregate people altogether.

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[1] None of these, it should be said, were among my respondents. Parents themselves sometimes gave English names to younger sons born in England. I came across a Stephen, a Paul and a Geoffrey, all sons of Hindu families.

[2] Geoff Dench, "The Maltese in UK: Community or Category?", paper given at the Institute of Race Relations/Royal Anthropological Institute/British Sociological Association annual race relations conference, University of Aston in Birmingham, 1969.

Father:
No, I'm not segregating people. You have a nationality. Everyone has got his nationality.

Prem:
I shouldn't be that way. I know it's the way of life, but it shouldn't be like that.

Father:
Well that is the reality, and nobody can say it's not. You know, even now I'm an Indian. Supposing I change my nationality and become an English person. Will it make any difference, apart from technically? People here in Britain will still treat me as an Indian. If I go out, I'm not going to take my passport that, "Oh I'm English". I'll be every time everywhere treated as an Indian.

Prem fell into a disgruntled silence after his last contribution. As indicated, most of my respondents would have agreed with the father. Their lack of doubt about their identity contrasts with the situation among West Indian and Cypriot children as reported by Bhatnagar. [1]

The conclusions of these last few pages link up with our earlier finding that young men who often strongly criticised Indian and Pakistani traditions did in fact conform on such crucial issues as accepting arranged marriages, respecting their parents and concealing their religious disbelief. When it came to the crunch, the young men's parents and older Asians asserted themselves as the dominant reference group.

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[1] Bhatnagar, op. cit., p. 147.

How the Young Men Saw their Communities' Future

If the young men still regarded themselves as Indians and Pakistanis, and if all at least conformed on these major issues, the question arises of how they envisaged the future development of their communities. What modifications did they want to see in the old ways? Accordingly I asked: "Are there any traditional customs, ways of behaviour, forms of dress and the like that you think Indians and Pakistanis living in England should give up now that they are over here?" Table 117 shows the replies.

TABLE 117

"Are there traditional customs you think should be given up by Asians in Britain?"

Yes	30
No	27
Don't know/Depends	5
No response	5
Total	67

It is seen that no fewer than 40 per cent of the young men thought there was nothing in the traditional ways which should be changed. At the same time the 45 per cent who could find things to criticise for the most part mentioned rather minor matters. This is shown in Table 118. Some respondents gave more than one reply.

TABLE 118

Traditional things respondents thought should be given up.

Traditional dress	18
Arranged marriages/Children's lack of freedom	7
Dietary prohibitions/Eating habits	5
Wedding ceremonies and customs	3
Don't speak properly	2
Seclude themselves	2
Other	3

N=30

One notes that only seven young men raised the question of arranged marriages or the child's lack of freedom in the family, whilst eighteen found something to criticise about traditional dress. (This admittedly may have got a lot of mentions because of its inclusion in the question.) Only two respondents said Indians and Pakistanis should stop secluding themselves from English society, fewer than complained about either eating traditions or wedding customs.

Here are a few of the comments.

> Lachman:
> Shalwar - you know, that tight pyjama costume they wear - all the Indian women wear that. I don't think that's good that, although it's all right though. I mean it's wrong in India for women to show off their legs, it's wrong that is. It's right that they wear that type of clothes, but here I think they should wear something else. Maybe a long dress - not a miniskirt, a fairly long dress, but English type.

Bashir:
Some blokes go along holding hands - they look like queers. And they want to stop blowing their noses with their fingers.

Nihal:
They do behave a bit of a silly, Indian people. Especially the- most of the womens. They don't know how to dress properly and how to speak. Or they speak very loud. They don't hardly speak gentle, anything like that.

Rasul:
If an English person comes and sees you sitting there filling your gob with your hand; you know, they think it's quite awful the first time they see it. They do, they think it's quite absolutely awful. Well after a while I suppose they get to accept it, but it leaves not only a bad impression but it's wrong for the, you know, "When in Rome do as the Romans do", this sort of thing. I think this should apply a lot more than it does to Indians and Pakistanis. They also keep a closed community, but I think this is true of all immigrants. They always keep a tight community amongst themselves.

The things the young Indians and Pakistanis felt should be abandoned were, then, generally marginal rather than central to the core of the old way of life. There were however important differences between the three religious groups, as Table 119 shows.

I classify as central features of the traditional culture arranged marriages, the lack of freedom for children and self-seclusion from groups which were felt to be different, that is, lines 2 and 6 in Table 118. All the other things mentioned by my respondents - dress, eating habits, wedding customs etc. - I categorise as marginal.

TABLE 119

"Are there traditional things which should be given up?"
The two previous tables summarised. By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
No	15	7	5	27
Yes: marginal only	4	11	5	20
Yes: central+	-	6	3	9
Don't know/No response/ Unclassifiable	7	2	2	11
Totals	26	26	15	67

+ This line includes respondents who mentioned both central and marginal things.

One notes in Table 119 the contrast between the young Muslims and the other two groups. Fifty-eight per cent of the Muslims thought there was nothing that should be abandoned, compared with 33 per cent of the Hindus and 27 per cent of the Sikhs. Fifty-three per cent of the Hindus and 65 per cent of the Sikhs thought there were things which should be changed, compared with only fifteen per cent of the Muslims. None of the latter suggested central alterations in the old culture. As already mentioned, most of the reforms proposed by Hindus and Sikhs were also directed at marginal traits. Only 20 and 23 per cent respectively advocated really central changes.

The differences are nevertheless apparent. While the young Muslims saw little need for any modifications in the

traditional way of life, the young Sikhs in particular were keen to champion alterations in marginal features. Forty-two per cent of the latter and 33 per cent of the young Hindus thought that Indians and Pakistanis in England should adapt on these mainly external issues. This contrast is similar to that noted between the Muslims and the rest in the matter of religious orthodoxy and observance. The young Muslims were not prepared to make any concessions. As Ahmed said: "They haven't got any bad habits, have they? I think they are all right where they are now." Hindus and especially Sikhs - who had almost all discarded the turban - were readier to adapt and outwardly conform to English society.

This was shown in the reaction to one particular piece of cultural flamboyance. One young Sikh, before catching the train to get married to a girl in the Midlands, left his father's house in traditional style. Dressed in silk and satin, wearing a veil, carrying a sword, he rode down grey Crown Street on a white horse, a four-year-old best man perched before him. In front, playing drums and kazoos, was a shako-ed juvenile jazz band from County Durham. At the animal's head walked an Irish-looking horse-man in an open-neck white shirt. Behind came the groom's dazzlingly-clad sisters and the old father clutching a bag of money. Round him jostled a crowd of grinning English kids waiting for the "hoy oot" when the coins would be scattered among them.

On a darkening winter afternoon, the chimney-pots already black against the sky, it was an eery and impressive scene, traditional Punjab with a strong admixture of Geordie. However the comments of other young Sikhs were critical.

> Dalip:
> I don't think all that publicity was necessary, because people say to me, "Are you going to get married like that?" Am I hell! This is the sort of thing that should be cut out. Though I admit it does look a bit psychedelic getting married on a horse.
>
> Ajit:
> I wouldn't go in the house like that. I would go in the car. It looks stupid because it's in England. English people don't do things like that in here.[1]

In their concern that their community should be outwardly less obtrusive these Sikhs thus differed from the younger (post-1947) Sikh immigrants to Vancouver, who were troubled by no such self-consciousness. Mayer says, "It is as if they continued to act in the way they would have in the Punjab had they had the opportunities, but with a different social backdrop" and goes on to describe a picnic which illustrates the point.

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[1] C.f. one man's comment to DeWitt John about a religious procession held at the opening of a gurdwara: "We have these things in Punjab, but the English people do not understand them and they were very unhappy. Such things should not be done. They just bring resentment." John, op. cit., p. 32.

> The time was spent in card-playing, drinking, playing kabadi ... and shouting comments at passing white girls - in Punjabi, the language used throughout the afternoon. Towards the end of the day, everyone gathered and sang folksongs from the villages of their birth. The occasion reflected an admiration for physical strength and manliness (involved in the roughness of kabadi and the ability to drink a lot) which has been noted for Sikh village society in India. Nobody talked in anything lower than a shout, and the affair attracted considerable attention, little of it approving, from nearby white picknickers.[1]

A similar division between Muslims and the rest manifested itself when I asked my respondents how they foresaw their own children's marriages taking place. I went through the different possibilities: "Will you decide whom they marry without consulting them? Or will you select possible husbands and wives but let them have the final say? Or will you let them select possible husbands and wives but have the final word yourself? Or will you let them marry whom they like even if you disapprove of their choice?" Table 120 gives the replies.

TABLE 120

How the young Asians foresaw their children's marriages. By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS	ALL
Decide without consulting them	4	-	-	4
Let them have the final say	8	3	1	12
Have the final word myself	3	3	4	10
Let them marry even if I disapprove	3	11	5	19
Don't know	5	6	4	15
No response	3	3	1	7
Totals	26	26	15	67

[1] Mayer, A Report op. cit., p. 26.

The main distinction, as suggested in the discussion of the young men's own marriages, lies in who was envisaged as initiating any match, the parents (lines 1 and 2) or the children (lines 3 and 4). It is seen from Table 120 that only fifteen per cent of the Muslims said they were ready to marry their children without even consulting them, while 46 per cent wanted to keep the initiative to themselves. By contrast, not one of the young Hindus or Sikhs thought they would decide a marriage without consultation, and only seven and twelve per cent respectively wanted to retain the initiative at all.

On the other side of the divide, 60 per cent of the Hindus and 54 per cent of the Sikhs said they would let their children inaugurate the relationship, compared with only 23 per cent of the Muslims. A mere twelve per cent of the Muslims said they would let their children have complete freedom, compared with 33 per cent of the Hindus and no fewer than 42 per cent of the young Sikhs.

The young Sikhs and Hindus adopted, in short, a much more laissez-faire attitude to their children's marriages than did the young Muslims. The latter stuck to a more traditional position. One may reasonably regard the differing stances on this crucial issue as symptomatic of how my respondents are likely to handle their children's up-bringing as a whole. If this assumption is correct, then

the relatively permissive attitude of the Hindus and Sikhs, plus their frequent ignorance of and indifference to religion, [1] mean taken together that orthodox belief and traditional values will probably become still more attenuated in the next generation.

It is possible that the wives my Sikh and Hindu respondents marry will slow this process, particularly if they come straight from India. As noted elsewhere, it is the mother who is - or should be - the transmitter of tradition. [2] In view however of the relative lack of success of the young Sikhs' and Hindus' own mothers, I do not expect the wives' influence to be very effective either. Thus the gap between the Muslims and the rest may even widen.

If my Sikh and Hindu respondents really allow their children the degree of freedom in marriage which the answers in Table 120 indicate, then there may well be some intermarriage in the next generation. It was seen that few young men disapproved of mixed marriages, at least in the hypothetical case of a friend. [3] This tolerance was common to all three religious groups, but is likely to remain

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[1] See chapters 20 and 21.

[2] p. 489(n).

[3] pp. 616-8.

particularly theoretical if the father reserves the right to select possible partners for his children. What happens depends also, of course, on the development of white attitudes towards the Indians and Pakistanis.

Political Attitudes

I conclude this chapter with a mention of the young men's political attitudes. Quietism and conformity were the rule. It was the same wish to keep their heads down as was noted in their parents. For a start, almost all the young men I spoke to agreed with the control of coloured immigration. They felt it was numbers that made them disliked. As Dalip said, "If it just starts building up, just riots and that start". [1] Here are a couple of other comments. Note Surinder's wild exaggeration, typical of the panicky time.

> Kamlesh:
> I think they're being reasonable. Of course my parents would disagree, blaming it on England of course. But I think it only stood to reason that one day this had to happen, at the rate that they were coming in. A thousand a week or something, wasn't it? Or fifteen hundred a week or something like that? Well they can't take that many.

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[1] p. 645.

Surinder:
There's a large majority already of immigrants in England, and they're coming in every day in thousands, as you could say, and soon there's going to be- half the population of England's going to be coloured. And I suppose there'll come a time when they'll not take any more and they might start sending them back.

The quietism and conformity showed itself secondly in the young men's response to discrimination and anti-black propaganda. It was seen already that the reaction of the older Indians and Pakistanis to Powell's speech was not to assert their rights but to make themselves unobtrusive.[1] This attitude was fully shared by most of the younger generation with whom I discussed the matter.

I spent part of one Saturday morning trying to persuade some of my respondents to come on the earlier mentioned anti-Powell demonstration planned for the afternoon. I had no success whatsoever. Khan said, "I'm busy. I've got to service my father's van." Niranjan, behind the counter of his father's store, made the excuse, "I would have come, but seeing I'm working I cannot". Raj and Surinder were more interested in going to see United play Manchester City. Surinder said, "It'll just flare things up".

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[1] pp. 651-3.

In the event, unprompted by me, two of my respondents were on the march, practically the only Indians or Pakistanis who took part. One of them was Lal who said he came because he felt that coloured people should stand up for themselves, since the demonstration was for their benefit. At the very least, he said, the spokesman for the Indian and Pakistani communities should not have condemned it.

When I met him some months later, Lal said he had had a long argument with his uncle on the subject. His uncle had put the view that there was always going to be discrimination. It was the Englishman's country, and Asians would have to put up with it in just the same way as an Englishman would have to in India. There was no trouble in the North East, he said, so "why fan the ashes into flames?" Most of the young men would have agreed. Mohan said:

> They'll never get their human rights nor their needs like that, marching on roads, shouting slogans. I think that's rubbish.

This political unassertiveness contrasts particularly with the increasingly militant Black Power attitudes reported among young West Indians in England. Stevenson and Wallis, for example, found in their sample of West Indian boys in North London that 50 per cent thought black people should fight for what they wanted.[1] Whatever else, this

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[1] Stevenson and Wallis, op. cit., p. 279.

presumably included taking part in demonstrations.

Very little is known about the political attitudes of young Asians elsewhere in England. Though at least the Indian Workers' Associations have leaders who are generally left inclined, and indeed contain a strong communist element, [1] Indians and Pakistanis seem in general to be much less affected by radical ideas than West Indians. However one indication, perhaps misleading, of a possibly different temper among the younger generation was a memorandum from two young Indians presented to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration when it visited Wolverhampton. Despite its comic phrasing, it shows a powerful political class consciousness.

> In this "free society", we all the workers of Great Britain in general and the coloured immigrants in particular are Free to be sucked, Free to sqeak, Free to be sacked, Free to be devoured by discrimination. Free to be ruined by Racialism, Free to die by inches, Free not to dream of life. In this jungle Law is free to defend the pirates, and parasites against the workers. Law is not free to defend the workers against "legalised exploitation". In this jungle Powell (the Racial Monster) is free to poison the nectar of unity of the working class on the baseless basis of colour ... The Immigration Act 1968 (or the South Africa Act) and the Race Relations Act (or the Eye Wash Act) are free to divide workers on basis of colour ... The school-leaving teen-agers are free to be refused apprenticeships with

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[1] John, op. cit., pp. 47, 67-9.

bright future - so say Kapur Singh of 29, Hawthorn Street, Wolverhampton and Gurmel Singh, 86, Hart Road, Wolverhampton and so many others. Can anyone help us get rid of this Freedom?[1]

These sentiments are quite different from those prevailing among young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle. Part of the reason for the different attitudes may well be the greater success of the Newcastle youths in education and employment. Twenty-two per cent of Stevenson and Wallis' West Indians were out of work. In Wolverhampton coloured immigrants represented one-third of all unemployed boys.[2]

Summary

In this chapter I concluded that the older generation of Indian and Pakistani immigrants have become permanent settlers, apart, that is, from periodic extended visits home. I concluded similarly that few of the young Asians in Newcastle were likely to return to their country of origin

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[1] The Problems of Coloured School-Leavers, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 444-5. I suspect that the memorandum was not the unaided work of the youths whose names appear at the end. Mr. S. Singh, acting secretary of the Indian Workers' Association, Wolverhampton, who presented it on their behalf, addressed the Select Committee in remarkably similar terms.

[2] pp. 366-7.

voluntarily and for good. The inclination to return expressed by a substantial minority I interpreted as evidence of a strong identification with these countries. I argued that almost all the young men saw themselves as Indians and Pakistanis, those who said they thought they would stay no less than those who said they favoured going back. Which answer they gave depended on whether they stressed the opportunities or disadvantages of being Indians and Pakistanis in England.

I showed that the young Sikhs and Hindus were more ready than the Muslims to see their communities adjust, at least outwardly, to English society. The Hindus and Sikhs adopted too a much more laissez-faire attitude towards their children's marriages. Finally, I indicated the young Asians' political quietism.

29. EMERGING PATTERNS OF ASSIMILATION

I conclude this descriptive account by trying to find theoretical concepts with which to define the extent to which the Indian and Pakistani adolescents in Newcastle had adjusted to English society. The great majority of them, it will be recalled, were properly not second generation immigrants, but only "half-second", having like their parents been born in India, Pakistan or East Africa. It is therefore far too early to elaborate any kind of generational sequence of adaptation, such as those essayed in the United States by, for example, Kramer and Leventman [1] or Glazer and Moynihan. [2]

This chapter makes no attempt to discuss all the literature on the integration of immigrants. [3] Still less do I presume to add to/theory on the subject. My endeavour is merely to plot the position of our half-second generation

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[1] Judith R. Kramer and Seymour Leventman, Children of the Gilded Ghetto (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961).

[2] Op. cit.

[3] The best short review of the subject I know is Charles Price's "A Study of Assimilation", Migration, op. cit. pp. 181-237.

in terms of adjustment and non-adjustment, and from there to hazard a few informed suggestions as to how the truly second generation Asian communities will develop.

The Need for More Precise Concepts

The problem is that many of the concept in common use - like integration, accommodation, assimilation - are not sufficiently precise to place accurately any particular immigrant group. This criticism attaches to the early race relations cycle of Robert Park and Ernest Burgess. They argued that whenever two ethnic groups come together, their relationship passes through the four basic processes of social interaction. These are: competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. [1]

Park and Burgess describe accommodation as "a process of adjustment, that is, an organisation of social relations and attitudes to prevent or to reduce conflict, to control competition, and to maintain a basis of security in the social order for persons and groups of divergent interests and types to carry on together their varied life-activities".

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[1] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 3rd revised edition, 1969), pp. 506-10, 734-7. See also: Robert Ezra Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1950).

Assimilation they define as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life". [1]

The concepts and the sequence have remained influential. A modified version was used in a number of the pioneering studies of immigrant groups in this country which appeared in the late fifties and early sixties. Thus Jerzy Zubrzycki, writing about the Poles, divides the adjustment of an ethnic minority into three stages (or solutions): conflict or individual disorganisation - accommodation - assimilation. [2] Sheila Patterson, writing about West Indians, likewise distinguishes three phases. First there is accommodation, then integration, which may or may not lead on to the third phase of assimilation. [3] Desai, writing about Indians, contrasts accommodation and assimilation as alternative means of achieving integration. The latter, he says, leads to identification, the former to a toleration of differences. [4]

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[1] Park and Burgess, op. cit., p. 735.

[2] Jerzy Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants in Britain (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), p. 75.

[3] Sheila Patterson, Dark Strangers (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 19-26.

[4] Desai, op. cit., p. 147.

I am not here concerned with Park and Burgess' race relations cycle as a process. I wish to consider it merely as a descriptive classification. The main criticism is that, as Price says, "the term accommodation or assimilation is too wide, concealing the fact that there may be complete assimilation in some things (dress, religion and language, say), accommodation in other things (economic life and family customs) and conflict in others (housing or education). [1]

There are different types and degrees of accommodation and assimilation. For example, though an individual may be assimilated in the sense that he is no longer identified objectively as a member of a separate minority, it does not follow that he identifies himself with his new country. One of Zubrzycki's respondents made this point: "I think a man may be naturalised, may speak perfect English and feel at home among the English, yet he may be fully conscious of his own nationality". [2] Subjective identity was seen in the last chapter to be very important, but it does not operate as a separate variable in the race relations cycle. Sheila Patterson, to be sure, is well aware that assimilation may

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be uneven,[1] yet she adheres to her three phases of absorption, probably because in the first years of settlement, as she says, one is usually concerned only with accommodation.[2]

The second relevant criticism is that made by Rex and Moore. They say: "We have no unitary concept of the host society but see it compounded of groups in a state of conflict with one another about property and about power, as well as of groups with differing styles of life arranged in a status hierarchy."[3] In other words, an immigrant group, if it seeks to adapt, does not adjust to society at large, but rather to a particular segment of it.

It is evident, as Maurice Freedman suggested in a review of Desai's book, that more subtle concepts are needed than accommodation and assimilation.[4] A.H. Halsey made a similar plea more recently. He said:

> There will be a continuing need for anthropological study of these changing patterns of life, so that the developing heterogeneity of the coloured population can be fully accounted for, not in the theory of assimilation but in a new

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[1] Patterson, op. cit., p. 25.

[2] Ibid., p. 24.

[3] Rex and Moore, op. cit., p. 14.

[4] Race, Vol. VI, no. 1 (July 1964), p. 71.

theory of integration where the process is seen as a highly differentiated one of absorption, incorporation and accommodation to the multiple relationships of locality, occupation, politics, religion and indeed the whole network of society.[1]

Gordon's Assimilation Variables

One of the most convincing attempt to provide this theory has come from Milton M. Gordon in his book Assimilation in American Life. Gordon distinguishes seven assimilation variables or sub-processes and classifies them as follows.

The assimilation variables [2]

Sub-process or condition	Type or stage of assimilation
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioural assimilation (acculturation)
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society on primary group level	Structural assimilation
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation (amalgamation)
Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation
Absence of discrimination	Behaviour receptional assimilation
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation

1 A.H. Halsey, "Race Relations: the lines to think on", New Society, March 19, 1970, p. 473. See also: Philip Mason, "What do we mean by integration?" New Society, June 16, 1966, pp. 8-11.

2 Gordon, op. cit., p. 71.

Gordon says that assimilation on all seven variables would represent complete assimilation to the culture and society of the host society, though he is careful to state that he makes no judgement of "the sociological desirability, feasibility, or moral rightness" of such a goal. [1]

Crucial to Gordon's classification is the distinction between cultural and structural assimilation, the first two variables listed above. Cultural assimilation involves changes in the minority's way of life and manner of doing things, so that their norms of behaviour and their values become more like those prevailing in the new country. Structural assimilation, on the other hand, means large-scale entry into the structure of the host society by means of relationships at primary group level. The primary group Gordon defines as a group "in which contact is personal, informal, intimate and usually face-to-face, and which involves the entire personality, not just a segmentalised part of it ... The intimate friends we invite to our house regularly for dinner and to whose parties we are invited in return constitute a primary group. The civic committee for the preservation of the community's parks to which we belong and which meets twice a year is a secondary group." [2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 69.

[2] Ibid., pp. 31-2.

There is perhaps also need for a definition of the "sense of peoplehood" listed as a condition for identificational assimilation. This social-psychological element, says Gordon, is a "special sense of both ancestral and future-oriented identification with the group". He continues: "With members of other groups I may share political participation, occupational relationships, common civic enterprise, perhaps even an occasional warm friendship. But in a very special way which history has decreed, I share a sense of indissoluble and intimate identity with <u>this group and not that one</u> within the larger society and the world."[1] Thus Gordon's sense of peoplehood supplies the independent variable of subjective identity which was missing from Park and Burgess' race relations cycle.

Using these seven types of assimilation Gordon finds that, in terms of adaptation to the middle-class white Protestant "core society and culture" of the United States,[2] American Jews, for example, are substantially assimilated at the cultural and civic levels, but are very little assimilated either structurally, maritally, identificationally or on the

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 29. Emphasis in the original.

[2] Gordon makes the point that his seven variables can be measured against other assimilation goals, such as the "melting pot". The goal must be stated before the variables can be applied. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 74-5.

level of prejudice. According to Gordon, that is to say, the American Jews' norms of behaviour have moved close to those of the core culture, and there is very little power conflict with the core society. Yet they have not intermarried or even established large-scale primary relationships with the latter. They do not regard themselves exclusively as Americans, but have an "inner layer" sense of peoplehood which is Jewish. As Jews they are still the target of prejudice, though discrimination has been partly overcome. [1]

Having established his variables, Gordon states in three hypotheses the processes by which they relate to each other. These are:

1. Cultural assimilation is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene;

2. Cultural assimilation of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs either simultaneously or later, and this condition of "acculturation only" may continue indefinitely.

3. Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to cultural assimilation, then all the other types of assimilation will naturally follow. [2]

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[1] Ibid., pp. 76-7.

[2] Ibid., pp. 77, 81.

Gordon's theory is more elaborate than I have stated here, yet even in this simplified presentation it impresses one as lucid, comprehensive and cogent. There are deficiencies nevertheless. The most important is that there is no place for economic absorption. As Price rightly says, this cannot be wholly included in cultural assimilation. [1] I therefore add to Gordon's list an eighth variable, that of economic assimilation, which I define as substantial representation at all socio-economic levels of employment and over all types of industry.

The Assimilation of Young Asians in Newcastle

I now use the eight variables to attempt to plot the assimilation of the Indian and Pakistani youths in Newcastle. I measure their assimilation against the (hypothetical) goal of adaptation to the "core society and culture" of the English middle class though, like Gordon, I emphasise that this implies no assumption about the desirability of such a goal. Table 121 summarises my conclusions. For definition of the variables, see p. 713.

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[1] Price, op. cit., p. 221. Price makes a number of other criticisms which are not really relevant here. Most are valid; one which I believe is not is the objection that at its formal level Gordon's theory does not show the host society to be heterogeneous.

TABLE 121

Paradigm of the assimilation of young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle.

Basic goal referent: adaptation to middle class core society and culture

Type of assimilation:	
Cultural	Hindus and Sikhs: Partially Muslims: Substantially No
Economic	Substantially Yes
Structural	Partially
Marital	No
Identificational	No
Attitude receptional	No
Behaviour receptional	No
Civic	Yes

Marital Assimilation

My categorisations need to be explained and justified by a recapitulation of the evidence. One may start with those variables where there is little doubt about assimilation or non-assimilation. The young men were not assimilated maritally. None of my respondents had married an English girl. Nineteen per cent were already engaged or married to Indian or Pakistani girls, the matches having been wholly or largely arranged by their parents. [1] Of the

[1] pp. 605-6.

remainder only 24 per cent were prepared to initiate a marriage themselves. Only thirteen per cent said they were ready to go ahead in the face of their parents' disapproval, [1] but even members of this independent-minded minority were pressured into accepting an arranged marriage within the community. [2] I concluded that few if any of my respondents would marry out. I hear of only two young Indians or Pakistanis who had. [3]

Identificational Assimilation

My respondents were not assimilated in terms of identification. This was apparent in their frequent references to India and Pakistan and their inhabitants as "our country", "my people", [4] and likewise in the rather high proportion (37 per cent) who said they thought they would return and settle. [5] The overwhelming majority of the latter gave reasons which showed strong attachment to the

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[1] p. 607.

[2] pp. 619-27.

[3] pp. 635-6.

[4] pp. 133, 643-4.

[5] p. 637.

land of their birth. [1] On the other hand, rather few of the young men who thought they would stay in England showed the same sort of commitment to this country. [2] I concluded that almost all my respondents felt themselves to be Indians or Pakistanis, not English. [3]

Prejudice and Discrimination

That there was still prejudice and discrimination hardly needs to be argued. It was noted that the proportion of the economically active Asians claiming to have met discrimination in employment (32 per cent) was close to that reported in the PEP survey. [4] There is thus no evidence that the younger generation escaped discrimination more lightly than their elders. Since my interviews the 1968 Race Relations Act has come into operation. This has almost certainly cut down colour discrimination by making it more difficult to discriminate overtly. However the discretion that rests with people like employers means that in practice

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[1] pp. 642-3.

[2] pp. 640-1.

[3] pp. 686-92.

[4] p. 333.

discrimination is unlikely to be completely removed by legal measures, desirable though they are. In any case only another PEP-style investigation can establish what the situation really is.

I did not systematically ask the young men about their experiences of prejudice and racial hostility. Yet anyone with ears will have heard anti-Asian sentiments expressed every day in Newcastle. It may be that these feelings are directed mainly against the older generation, but I doubt it. After all, the concentration of coloured children in certain schools has long been a cause of emnity among English parents. And one of Enoch Powell's frequent allegations is that the Registrar General has grossly underestimated the coloured immigrant birth-rate. [1]

Civic Assimilation

The condition for civic assimilation, according to Gordon, is the absence of value and power conflict. I conclude that the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle were assimilated on this level. Their political quietism has been noted. [2] They were apparently not prepared to assert

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[1] See, for example, The Times, May 2, 1970.

[2] pp. 451-3.

themselves, collectively or individually, as members of a minority - not even on the issue of protecting themselves against anti-immigrant hate-mongering. The older generation took the same self-effacing attitude. [1] In any case there were no real community organisations outside the mosque, the gurdwara, the Hindu temple and the Asian pictures. [2]

I should emphasise I am not claiming that there were no issues of conflict between the Asian and the English in Newcastle. Of course there were. I am saying that the Indians and Pakistanis did not mobilise themselves on these issues as communities. Admittedly they were few in number, too few probably to think of sponsoring their own candidate in the local elections, but not too few to constitute an effective pressure group. Elsewhere in the country it was different. Asian communities put up candidates, Indian Workers' Associations campaigned against immigration legislation and in Sparkbrook a Commonwealth Property-Owners' Association was formed to represent the interests of Asian landlords in conflict with the Public Health Department. [3]

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[1] pp. 702-6.

[2] pp. 448-50.

[3] Rex and Moore, op. cit., p. 168.

I should add that the Indians and Pakistanis were not integrated civically as a powerless underclass. On the contrary, the parents of my respondents were often very successful as entrepreneurs and landlords. It was argued that the older Asians' political quiescence stemmed precisely from this success. [1]

Economic Assimilation

I suggest that on this level also the young Indians and Pakistanis were - or will be - largely assimilated. It was seen that the economically active youths had obtained as high a proportion of apprenticeships as their English counterparts. [2] Just over a half of those in full-time education had been academically successful to the extent of gaining admission to university or polytechnic. [3] These aimed at professional careers, mainly in science and technology. If, as I argued, they realise their ambitions, [4] then the young men will be well represented at the different socio-economic levels of employment.

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[1] p. 453.

[2] p. 341.

[3] p. 135.

[4] pp. 411-4.

My economically active respondents were, in addition, well distributed over different industries, [1] over different firms [2] and over firms of different sizes. [3] The matched Asians, thirdly, tended to earn rather higher wages than the English control sample. [4] There were gaps, it is true, The young men were comparatively under-represented in service industries, [5] and very under-represented in non-manual employment. [6] Nevertheless, if, as I anticipate, the professional aspirants succeed, then one will see substantial economic assimilation of the younger generation.

Structural Assimilation

I come now to the two most significant of the assimilation variables. The first of these, structural assimilation, means large-scale entry into the receiving society's primary groups. On this point I have fairly detailed information.

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[1] pp. 355-6.

[2] p. 359.

[3] pp. 360-1.

[4] pp. 363-4.

[5] p. 357.

[6] p. 338-9.

It was seen that 43 per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle had English best friends. Eighteen per cent of these had exclusively non-Asian best friends, whilst 52 per cent had best friends who were exclusively Indian or Pakistani. [1] It will be remembered that best friends were defined for respondents as those they saw most of in their spare time. They were thus a youthful equivalent of the "intimate friends" mentioned in Gordon's definition of a primary group. [2]

Of the three religious groups a much higher proportion of Hindus had English best friends than either Muslims or Sikhs. [3] The difference between Hindus and Muslims largely disappeared however when age of arrival was taken into account: among early arrivals most Hindus and Muslims had English best friends. [4] This pattern did not apply to the Sikhs. Their early arrivals included a group, who though more or less anglicised, said they did not have any English best friends. [5]

In addition to the 43 per cent with English best friends,

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[1] p. 563.

[2] p. 714.

[3] p. 563.

[4] p. 567.

[5] pp. 567-8.

a further eighteen per cent of the young Indians and Pakistanis had "next best" friends who were English. [1] Neverthless it is, I think, clear that the young men were at best only partially assimilated in this all-important structural respect, which Gordon calls "the keystone of the arch". [2] All the same a higher proportion had English best friends than had best friends from other Asian religious groups. [3]

Cultural Assimilation

Lastly, I grasp the nettle of cultural assimilation. In Table 121 I make a distinction between the Hindus and Sikhs, on the one hand, and the Muslims on the other. I do this, in the first place, because of the marked difference between the Muslims and the others in religious allegiance and practice. It was seen, for example, that while 85 per cent of the young Muslims said Islam was very important to them, only 31 per cent of the Sikhs and ten per cent of the Hindus made the same claim of their religions. [4] Among the two

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[1] p. 569.

[2] Gordon, op. cit., p. 81.

[3] p. 566.

[4] p. 465.

latter there was also a widespread ignorance about the religion. [1]

Again, 69 per cent of the young Muslims fasted for the whole month of Ramadan, and 88 per cent made at least some attempt. [2] By contrast, only 58 per cent of the Sikhs had been to the gurdwara on the last feastday, and only 40 per cent of the Hindus had been to the temple for Diwali. [3] Again, 81 per cent of the Muslims said they did not go into bars, [4] and 92 per cent that they did not eat pork. [5] On the other hand, only 58 per cent of the Sikhs, and only 33 per cent of the Hindus abstained from beef. [6] Only 15 per cent of the Sikhs had kept their turbans. [7] Compared to the Muslims, then, the young Sikhs and Hindus showed themselves less committed to their respective religions, they were revealed as practising it less and transgressing against it more. In word and deed the Muslims were much more orthodox.

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[1] pp. 470-3, 477, 485-8.

[2] p. 509.

[3] p. 511.

[4] p. 501.

[5] p. 501.

[6] p. 502.

[7] p. 504.

A similar division was apparent when I asked respondents whether there were any traditional customs which they thought Indians and Pakistanis living in England should give up. Fifty-eight per cent of the Muslims could think of nothing that should be changed, compared with only 33 per cent of the Hindus and 27 per cent of the Sikhs. Moreover the few Muslims who did have suggestions mentioned only marginal things, like women's dress or eating habits. [1]

It is true that a majority of the Hindus and Sikhs with criticisms to make also raised only marginal questions. Only 23 per cent of the Sikhs and 20 per cent of the Hindus challenged features which were central to the traditional way of life, such as arranged marriages. [2] It is true that in practice all the young men, whether independent or orthodox, continued to observe the most central norm of all which was respect for their parents. From this stemmed their acceptance of endogamy and arranged marriages, [3] likewise the discretion and lack of rebellion shown by disbelievers and rule-breakers. [4] Most young Indians and Pakistanis had also in common a sense of separate Asian identity.

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[1] pp. 696.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] See chapter 26.

[4] See chapter 23.

There is nevertheless a clear distinction between the Muslims and the rest. Partly it is the difference between orthodoxy and conformity, for the Sikhs and Hindus included a much higher proportion of sceptics and non-practitioners than did the Muslims. Partly it is a difference in the willingness of the orthodox to envisage modifications in the traditional way of life. The Sikhs in particular were happy to propose concessions in marginals and externals. Forty-two per cent thought Indians and Pakistanis should adapt in this sort of respect. Among the Hindus the proportion was 33 per cent, but among the Muslims only fifteen per cent. [1]

It must be admitted that the difference, thus defined, does not show up on every variable relating to cultural assimilation. There were firstly the already mentioned core values of respect for one's parents, and so on, which all the young men observed. In addition the gap between the Muslims and the rest was not apparent on the measure of regular religious worship. [2] (This was because I did not ask the right question.) Nor did the Muslims patronise the Asian film shows more than the other two groups: the young Sikhs had been rather more often. [3] On the other hand, the

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[1] pp. 696-7.

[2] p. 494.

[3] On both these measures the Hindus do however emerge as the most acculturated.

pattern did hold for the ability to read and write their parents' language. [1] Again, a higher proportion of Muslims (23 per cent) than of the other two groups said they disliked English pop music.

Much more important, the difference asserts itself strongly in the attitudes of respondents towards their children's marriages. Forty-six per cent of the Muslims said they wanted to retain the right of initiating the match, compared with only twelve per cent of the Sikhs and seven per cent of the Hindus. At the other end of the scale, a mere twelve per cent of the Muslims envisaged their children having complete freedom of choice, compared with 33 per cent of the Hindus and 42 per cent of the Sikhs. [2] I argued that if this laissez-faire attitude was indicative of how the Hindus and Sikhs would bring up their children generally, then orthodox belief and traditional values will be further diminished in the next generation. I argued also that if the Sikhs and Hindus really allow their children this degree of freedom in marriage, there may well be some intermarriage. [3]

Having described the extent to which the young Indians and

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[1] pp. 454-5.

[2] p. 699.

[3] p. 701.

Pakistanis in Newcastle were acculturated, I have to try and define their exact position on this final axis of assimilation. The Muslims I would say were substantially not assimilated culturally. A number of Sikhs and Hindus, on the other hand, no longer held certain central cultural values, such as religious allegiance. Rather more, while not abandoning central values, were keen to adapt on marginal issues relating to external behaviour. I therefore characterise the Sikhs and Hindus as partially assimilated culturally.

Three Assimilation Profiles

The young Muslims were markedly more assimilated structurally (that is, in terms of entry into primary groups) than they were culturally. The Sikhs and Hindus I termed partially assimilated on each of these variables. Were the latter groups perhaps more assimilated on one axis than on the other? I attempt to answer this in Table 122, which shows how the Sikhs and Hindus, considered separately, compared on relevant measures of structural and cultural assimilation. Figures for the Muslims are also given.

TABLE 122

Young Asians compared on measures of structural and cultural assimilation. By religion.

	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	HINDUS
STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION:			
No. with English best friends	10	8	11
CULTURAL ASSIMILATION:			
Said religion completely/fairly unimportant	1	9	6
Did not observe festivals	3+	10	8
Ate pork/beef	2	10	10
Went out with girls or to dances	3	15	8
Thought should be changes in tradition	4	17	8
Would let children have initiative in marriage	6	14	9
Total in each religious group	26	26	15

+This figure refers to the number of Muslims who did not attempt to observe Ramadan. If one adds those who failed to fast the full month, the figure is 8.

Table 122 shows graphically how little the Muslims were assimilated culturally compared with the other two religious groups. But it also reveals a difference between the Sikhs and the Hindus. One sees that the Sikhs had attained a greater degree of cultural than structural assimilation. In other words, there were, as noted earlier, young Sikhs who were anglicised in outlook and behaviour, yet had no English best friends. [1] With the young Hindus the reverse was the

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[1] pp. 567-8.

case. Their cultural assimilation, though considerable, fell somewhat short of their structural assimilation.

Table 122 suggests that each religious group had its own distinct pattern of cultural and structural assimilation. The differences between the three groups are not to be explained by differences in the age of arrival, in terminal education age, in parental employment status in England or in parental occupation in India and Pakistan. [1]

A Middle Class Assimilation Goal?

At the outset I took as the young Asians' hypothetical assimilation goal adaptation to English middle class core society and culture. It remains to try and distinguish which particular segment of a heterogeneous society my respondents were in fact adapting to. Various indications are scattered thoughout the narrative. One noted my respondents' disdain for the poor white population of Elswick, which was extended sometimes to the working class in general. [2] They likewise disapproved of English teenagers

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[1] It may be objected that I lack the variety of measures of structural assimilation that I have of cultural assimilation. Yet the measure of the former that I cite is surely the key one. Cultural assimilation, on the other hand, has many more facets.

[2] pp. 107-8.

in the area. [1] Fifty-six per cent of those with English best friends drew them exclusively from outside the district. [2] Most of those with English best friends in the area did not get to know them via the locality, but through the school, or in some other way. [3] It has been many times repeated that the young men who were still studying full-time had meritocratic aspirations. In addition a fair number of workers had it in mind to start their own business one day. [4]

The young Indians and Pakistanis, in short, showed little desire to integrate with the people of Elswick. Nor, even if workers, did they seem to feel much in common with the inhabitants of Council housing estates. These, I think they felt, were monolithically proletarian, communally close-knit and hostile.

No, in as far as they wished to adapt, the assimilation goal for possibly a majority lay in the middle class spectrum. Most of the rest without such high pretensions nevertheless placed themselves socially and ecologically in districts such as Arthur's Hill, Fenham, Benwell or Heaton, which were a

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[1] pp. 572-3.

[2] p. 570.

[3] p. 571-2.

[4] pp. 393-6.

mixture of lower-middle and upper-working class, of owner-occupiers and long-established tenants of whole houses and flats.

The style of life in both sorts of area - middle class and mixed - was attractive because in contrast to slum Elswick the locality was quiet and private, and the people were felt to be respectable, friendly but not intrusive. In such a milieu they would be accepted on their individual merits, but allowed to live their own lives because of the belief in keeping oneself to oneself. They could adapt to the extent that they chose, but maintain other traditions without interference.

These were the social strata the young Indians and Pakistanis, I believe, saw themselves assimilating to, in so far, it must be repeated, as they <u>were</u> assimilating on the various axes discussed above. Their goal differed little from that of their parents, except that my respondents perhaps wanted more to distance themselves residentially from other Indians and Pakistanis. This however is no more than a suggestion, as I did not question many of the young men on the point.

Summary

To recapitulate, then, the places on the eight assimilation variables - I conclude that the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle were not assimilated either maritally, or in terms of their own sense of identity, nor in the sense that they no longer met prejudice and discrimination. Civically they were assimilated, and substantially so economically. They were partially assimilated structurally, that is, in terms of entry into white primary groups.

On the last variable, that of cultural assimilation (i.e. the acquisition of English values and behaviour patterns), I distinguished between the Muslim Pakistanis, who had substantially not assimilated and the Hindus and Sikhs who had assimilated in part. Each of the three religious groups showed a different balance between cultural and structural assimilation. The overall direction of assimilation was either towards the middle class or towards the lower-middle upper-working class non-Council house stratum.

Structural Pluralism in England?

These assimilation placings tend to follow Gordon's American model rather than the rival Australian assimilation sequence of Alan Richardson. Gordon, it was seen, hypothesised

that the cultural assimilation of a minority group is likely to be the first type of assimilation to occur, and that an "acculturation only" stage can continue without any other type of assimilation taking place.

Richardson, on the other hand, makes acculturation the last stage of his assimilation scale. The other stages are satisfaction and identification. Richardson claims that an immigrant must reach a certain degree of satisfaction with his new life before he can "begin to think of himself as to some extent Australian", and that this identification must occur before he moves on to the final stage, "which involves actually becoming like Australians of similar background". Progress from one stage to the next is not however inevitable.[1]

Richardson's sequence was apparently confirmed in a number of studies of different European immigrant groups in Australia which are reported by Taft in From Stranger to Citizen.[2] Taft concludes:

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[1] Alan Richardson, "The Assimilation of British Immigrants in a Western Australian Community: a Psychological Study", Bulletin of the Research Group for European Migration Problems, Vol. 9, no. 1/2 (January/June 1961), p. 29. See also: Alan Richardson, "A Theory and Method for the Psychological Study of Assimilation", International Migration Review, Vol. 2 (1967), pp. 3-30.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 25-62.

> The findings on the assimilation sequence mean that the popular belief is not correct that knowledge of English is a prerequisite for the satisfaction and identification of non-British immigrants. Much more frequently it is the satisfaction and identification of the immigrant that leads to any substantial progress in English.[1]

It will be noted that structural assimilation finds no place in Richardson's purely psychological sequence. Taft himself makes good this deficiency. He uses factor analysis to reveal the two factors most basic to assimilation. First comes what he calls "primary integration". This is the situation in which the immigrant feels satisfied with Australia and desires to stay, in which he identifies himself as an Australian, thinks Australians unprejudiced and wants to become naturalised. Then follows "secondary integration" in which the immigrant uses English, adopts various Australian behaviour norms and mixes socially with Australians. [2]

Taft's and Richardson's sequences have in common, however, that cultural assimilation is presented as conditional on satisfaction and identification.

Except in the case of the Muslims, my Newcastle data does not show clearly whether or not cultural assimilation was the

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[1] Ibid., p. 70.

[2] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

first type of assimilation to occur. Among the Muslims it was not the first to take place, for while structurally they were assimilated in part, they were very little assimilated culturally. Among the other two groups partial assimilation had taken place on both axes, so one cannot say which came first.

The findings do show however that the Sikhs and Hindus, contrary to Richardson's sequence, had attained partial acculturation even though they did not identify themselves as English. And though they did not identify, all three groups, pace Taft, were structurally assimilated in part.

In short, the assimilation profile of none of the three religious groups fit the Richardson/Taft sequence which says that satisfaction and identification must precede cultural or structural assimilation. [1] The Newcastle Muslims do not fit Gordon's sequence either, since they have made more progress in structural than in cultural assimilation.

In the case of the Hindus and Sikhs it is unclear whether cultural or structural assimilation started first.

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[1] Taft does however admit that the sequence for second-generation immigrants in Australia "appears to be different in that these subjects have moved closer to the Australian norm on acculturation measures than on identification". Ibid., p. 70.

Nevertheless their assimilation pattern follows Gordon's model in that they had begun assimilating culturally without identifying. The Sikhs in particular were assimilating on American lines. They, it was seen, were the most assimilated culturally but the least assimilated structurally. Similarly in the United States W.F. Whyte, for example, studied two groups of young second-generation Italians in "Eastern City", one lower class, the other college-educated and socially mobile. Both, he found, confined their cliquing, dating and organisational activities almost entirely to other second-generation Italian-Americans.[1] Again, in "North City", Kramer and Leventman found that 82 per cent of second-generation Jewish males had only Jewish friends and were not on visiting terms with any gentiles.[2]

At the same time there was however considerable cultural assimilation. Gordon, following such writers as Ruby Kennedy[3] and Will Herberg,[4] says the American situation is one of

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[1] William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943).

[2] Kramer and Leventman, op. cit., p. 175.

[3] Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 49, no. 4 (January 1944), pp. 331-9; also her "Single or Triple Melting-Pot" Intermarriage in New Haven, 1870-1950", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 58, no. 1 (July 1952), pp. 56-9.

[4] Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (New York, Doubleday, 1955).

structural pluralism.

> The most salient fact ... is the maintenance of the structurally separate subsocieties of the three major religious and the racial and quasi-racial groups, and even vestiges of the nationality groupings, along with a massive trend towards acculturation of all groups - particularly their native born - to American culture patterns. In our view, then, a more accurate term ... is structural pluralism rather than cultural pluralism, though some of the latter also remains.[1]

Young Asians Elsewhere in England

My data relates only to Newcastle. Are similar assimilation patterns taking shape among young Indians and Pakistanis in other parts of England? Information is so scanty that in the case of young Sikhs it is impossible to say whether they are typical or not. I have been able to find only two albeit brief accounts of their assimilation style.

Narindar Uberoi, writing about Southall, says:

> One has only to observe the young Sikh boys, consciously trying to copy the lives of their English counterparts, to realise that among the younger generation there already exists a definite desire for assimilation and a need for cultural and

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[1] Gordon, op. cit., p. 159. Emphasis in original.

> social identification with English society. It seems reasonable to suppose that many of them will carry this attitude with them into adult life.[1]

This assessment reveals little more than a confusion between different kinds of assimilation. Certainly the young Sikhs, more or less as in Newcastle, may have been trying to copy the lives of English adolescents. But one cannot infer from this that they want also to assimilate structurally and to identify.

More recently John Brown concluded of second-generation Sikhs in Bedford:

> They will seek further accommodation with English life and a great measure of outward and visible resemblance ... Yet the outwardly emancipated Sikh will still marry according to caste, still observe the seclusion of women before marriage, and still cling to the fundamental tenets of his faith. Compromises in Bedford, in brief, will be a matter of outward forms rather than of inward realities.[2]

This account unfortunately makes no mention of structural assimilation. Yet one recognises here the distinction I have already made between marginal and central features in the traditional way of life. The implication of the passage is that these young Bedford Sikhs still have an Indian identity. At the same time they seem to be more religiously orthodox than those in Newcastle.

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[1] Narindar Uberoi, "Sikh Women in Southall", Race, Vol. VI, no. 1 (July 1964), p. 38.

[2] John Brown, op. cit., p. 225.

If one cannot say whether the young Sikhs in Newcastle were typical, it is probable that the young Hindus were not, since the majority of Hindus in England are not like them Punjabis, but Gujaratis. [1] Most of Desai's material relates to Gujaratis, but except in a couple of speculative paragraphs at the very end of the book he makes no mention of the younger generation. If one compares Desai's study however with accounts specifically of the Sikhs and with Punjabi Hindu parents in Newcastle, it does appear that the older generation of Gujaratis are much less inclined than either to adapt to British ways. "In fact", says Desai, "most of them accept only those cultural changes which are the minimum condition for making money." [2] It is likely therefore that their children will also be less assimilated structurally and culturally than my Hindu respondents in Newcastle.

Very little again has been written about the assimilation of young Pakistanis in this country. Goodall however concludes his account of Pakistani family life in England by saying, " ... There seems little likelihood of substantial changes in the traditional way of life of Pakistani villagers in the present generation of children". [3] One recognises the same

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[1] Rose and Associates, op. cit., p. 468.

[2] Desai, op. cit., p. 87.

[3] Goodall, op. cit., p. 91.

lack of acculturation among young Pakistanis in Newcastle.

Overall however information is so lacking that one cannot say how far the assimilation styles of young Indians and Pakistanis in the city are being reproduced in other parts of the country.

Summary (cond)

It was argued in the last part of this chapter that the assimilation profiles of the three religious groups tended to follow Gordon's American model rather than the Australian sequence of Richardson and Taft which says that satisfaction and identification must precede cultural or structural assimilation. It was noted that the Sikhs were assimilating on the American pattern of structural pluralism, being the group the most assimilated culturally but the least assimilated structurally. It was, finally, impossible to say whether young Indians and Pakistanis in other parts of the country were assimilating on the same lines as in Newcastle.

30. CONCLUSION

The Jewish Precedent

The similarity is remarkable between the Sikh style of assimilation reported in the last chapter and the pattern of structural pluralism in the United States. England is not America, but there is a precedent in this country for this kind of assimilation. It is to be found among the Jews.

The Russian Jews who sought refuge here from the persecutions unleashed at the end of the last century were admittedly European, yet every bit as outlandish as Indian and Pakistani immigrants. They came from the enclosed, exclusive, medieval world of ghetto and _shtetl_. They spoke Yiddish. The men had long beards and wore boots and long coats. Married women shaved their heads and wore wigs. They brought with them "the hunted look of the pale, which had become fixed through constant dread of pogroms and attacks". [1] They lacked confidence and brought few skills, yet rather like

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[1] Louis Wirth, _The Ghetto_ (Chicago, Phoenix Books, 1928), p. 181.

the Hindus and Muslims, they were buoyed up by the proud conception of themselves as a Chosen People. [1] They were orthodox and very strict.

Jewish parents kept very tight control of their children. Krausz reports that in Leeds in the early years public dancing was banned, and marriages were fixed only through the shadchan, or marriage-broker. Young Jews were not allowed to watch football matches on the Sabbath, and the theatre was put entirely out of bounds. [2]

The new arrivals soon encountered a virulent anti-alien campaign which demanded, and in 1906 secured, government control of immigration. It is worth comparing the tone and terms of this campaign with those used in the nineteen-sixties by Enoch Powell. Here is one of the chief spokesmen, Major William Evans Gordon, Conservative MP for Stepney, addressing parliament in 1902.

> Not a day passes but English families are ruthlessly turned out to make room for foreign invaders. Out they go to make room for Rumanians, Russians and Poles. Rents are raised 50 to 100 per cent and a house

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[1] Howard M. Brotz, "The Outlines of Jewish Society in London", A Minority in Britain, ed. Maurice Freedman (London, Vallentine, Mitchell, 1955), p. 182.

[2] Ernest Krausz, Leeds Jewry: Its History and Social Structure (Cambridge, The Jewish Historical Society of England and Heffer, 1964), p. 18.

> which formerly contained a couple of families living in comparative decency is made to contain four or five families living under conditions which baffle description ... It is only a matter of time before the population becomes entirely foreign ... The rates are burdened with the education of thousands of children of foreign parents ... A storm is brewing which, if it be allowed to burst, will have deplorable results.1

As the result of continuing prejudice against them, Jews, like many of my young Indians and Pakistanis, remain often insecure. Brotz, for example, writes:

> Sometimes in talking with Jews one gets the impression that they think that a gigantic telescope is focused upon them by the non-Jewish world, which does little else but sit and stare and approve and condemn. Basically this would seem to be a projection of their own sensitivity about themselves on to non-Jews.[2]

Yet despite this alien exclusiveness, this prejudice, this insecurity, where are the grandsons of the ghetto now? Influenced by the general population, they have fallen away markedly from former orthodoxy. In Leeds Krausz found considerable laxity in the observance of the Sabbath.[3] Only

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[1] Quoted in Paul Foot, Immigration and Race in British Politics (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 88-9. Before the Jews of course similar charges were slung at the Irish. See: John Archer Jackson, The Irish in Britain (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 153.

[2] Brotz, op. cit., p. 168.

[3] Krausz, op. cit., p. 45-6.

two-thirds of the city's Jews went through the religious wedding ceremony. [1] Only two-thirds bought kosher meat, and many of these ate non-kosher food outside the home. [2] On the other hand, the community adhered strictly to other requirements, such as circumcision, synagogue attendance on High Festivals and burial in a Jewish cemetery. [3] Most also kept, for their symbolic value, traditions like the lighting of the Sabbath candles and having a mezuzzah on the doorpost. [4]

Against this again, synagogue services have become like church services. [5] Nationally even the orthodox United Synagogue has, according to Freedman, adopted "sermons in English, stained-glass windows, organ music, choirs and ministers in distinctly untraditional clerical garb". [6] Similarly many of the myriad Jewish agencies set up parallel to gentile organisations - such as the Association of Jewish

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1 Ibid., p. 85

2 Ibid., p. 107.

3 Loc. cit.

4 Ibid., p. 109. A mezuzzah is a small box containing a parchment inscribed with Biblical verses.

5 Ibid., p. 72.

6 Maurice Freedman, "Jews in the Society of Britain", Freedman (ed.) op. cit., p. 231.

Ex-Service Men and Women, the Leeds Jewish Board of Guardians, the Leeds Home for Aged Jews, the Leeds Jewish Music Club, the Moor Allerton Golf Club - these are Jewish not because they take any distinctly Jewish form or serve any particular Jewish end, but because they are composed exclusively of Jews. [1]

The facts remains however that these separate organisations have been maintained. The Jews, though anglicised, have not been absorbed. They have preserved their Jewish identity and consciousness. In Leeds the intermarriage rate probably does not exceed ten per cent. [2] Like their American cousins English Jews show a strong preference for friendships within their own community. One Leeds respondent told Krausz: "We get on with our non-Jewish neighbours, but we don't make friends with them. Mixing, that's a different thing." [3] In a more recent study in the London suburb of Edgeware the same writer found that Jews living there were on friendly terms mostly with other Jews and that their close friends were almost exclusively Jewish. Sixty-five per cent of all respondents said they felt "more

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[1] Brotz, op. cit., p. 183.

[2] Krausz, op. cit., p. 100.

[3] Ibid., p. 127.

at home" in a Jewish district. [1]

In trying to define the position of the Jews in English society Krausz distinguishes between cultural assimilation, or acculturation, and physical assimilation. [2] He shows that in Leeds the former has taken place to a considerable extent, but not the latter. Using Gordon's terminology, one would describe Leeds Jewry as substantially assimilated culturally, but not assimilated either structurally or maritally or identificationally. [3] One clearly recognises the similarity between their assimilation style and that of the young Sikhs in Newcastle.

Certain Differences

There are differences of course. One of these is that there has been no previous Indian immigration to England,

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[1] Ernest Krausz, "Jews in Britain: Integrated or Apart?", paper given at the Institute of Race Relations/Royal Anthropological Institute/British Sociological Association annual race relations conference, University of Aston in Birmingham, September 1969, pp. 5-6

[2] Krausz, Leeds Jewry, op. cit., p. 104.

[3] In the paper on his Edgeware study Krausz describes the situation as one of cultural pluralism. This seems a misnomer, as the figures he gives on religious observance etc. do not suggest that the community there was any more culturally conservative than that of Leeds. Op. cit., pp. 10, 1-3.

whereas the refugees from the Czarist pogroms followed several earlier waves of, by then, successful and established Jewish settlers. The latter provided their destitute co-religionists with accommodation and financial assistance, they used their influence to try and modify anti-Jewish xenophobia, but more important in the present context, they showed great zeal in "Anglicising" the newcomers.

Sir Samuel Montagu, Liberal MP for Whitechapel, founded for example the Jewish Working Men's Club, the explicit aim of which was "the Anglicization of the Jews of the East End and the provision of a place of innocent amusement". [1] Moses Angel, headmaster of the Jews' Free School in Spitalfields, set himself a similar goal. He said he had to educate immigrant children who

> were ignorant even of the elements of sound; until they had been Anglicized or humanized it was difficult to tell what was their moral condition, and many of them scarcely knew their own names.[2]

Not only was there no previous Indian immigration, but Indian and Pakistani professionals in England also appear generally to be at pains to disassociate themselves from the ordinary Asian immigrants. An Indian MA working on the buses in Oxford has recalled the "snobbish indifference" of compatriots

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[1] Gartner, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., p. 223.

who were students. Employed later as a hospital porter he noted the "deep feeling of shame" on the faces of coloured (presumably mainly Asian) doctors when they saw him doing menial work. "These people", he wrote, "believe that social distance alone could maintain their social status and any association with the working immigrants would jeopardize their own position in the eyes of their friends." [1]

A second difference is that the Indians and Pakistanis lack anything remotely approaching the array of parallel organisations set up by the Jews. A particular lack was noted in Newcastle, but most towns with Asian communities had only mosque, temple or gurdwara committees, an Indian Workers' Association and/or a Pakistani Welfare Committee, plus perhaps some kind of Indian or Pakistani patriotic association. These last are often only questionably representative. [2]

The third difference is that whilst the East European Jews fled the ghettos for ever, the Indians and Pakistanis, as was seen, are "transilients", who spend regular holidays back in the subcontinent. This fact may well be connected

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[1] Henri Tajfel and John L. Dawson (eds.) Disappointed Guests (London, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, 1965), p. 109.

[2] See Rose and Associates, op. cit., pp. 492-510. For a detailed study of the IWAs, see John, op. cit.

with the previous point. Oscar Handlin gives the ease of movement between the old home and the new as one of the reasons why in the United States Negroes and Puerto Ricans have not matched "the richness and breadth" of the communal life of earlier immigrants. [1]

This last is probably the most important difference. Together with the first - the lack of Anglicising co-religionists - it will tend to slow up the assimilation of the Asians. The relative absence of Indian and Pakistani institutions may, on the other hand, facilitate the process. I suggest that these differences are not likely to lead to any important divergence in the striking parallel between the assimilation pattern of Jews and Sikhs.

The Sikhs are, of course, the biggest of the three Asian minority groups in England. [2] What however will be the

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[1] Oscar Handlin, The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 105-9.

[2] Rose and Associates estimate that in England and Wales in 1966 there were, excluding white Indians, 180,400 Indians who were born in India. They state (p. 52) that Sikhs constituted four-fifths of the Indian migration to this country, which makes them about 140,000 and the Hindus about 40,000 in number. They put the number of Pakistan-born Pakistanis (again excluding whites) at 109,600. David Eversley and Fred Sukdeo compute slightly lower totals. Both sets of figures are quoted in the Institute of Race Relations' Facts Paper Colour and Immigration in the United Kingdom 1969, p. 2. For comparison, between 1875 and 1914 an estimated 120,000 Jews settled in Britain. Gartner, op. cit., p. 49.

pattern for the Muslims, and for the Hindus who, it was argued, were nationally also likely to have a second generation which was substantially unassimilated culturally?[1] I suggest that neither group can long maintain cultural segregation in the face of the powerful centripetal attraction of English society. I would predict that though the process of assimilation among the Muslims and the non-Punjabi Hindus will be slower starting, it will develop and it will follow the Sikh model, that is, gradual cultural assimilation, but little assimilation on the structural, marital or identificational levels.

The Uniform of Colour

There remains one other difference to discuss. It is argued forcefully that the assimilation of Commonwealth immigrants will be different from that of other immigrants because of the "uniform of colour" that they wear.[2] The significance of this uniform is not merely that, unless they intermarry, these immigrants and their children will always stand out by their skin pigmentation. It lies also in the

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[1] p. 743.

[2] This is the title of Hilda Kuper's study of black-white relations in Swaziland (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1947).

association that colour has with Britain's colonialist past.

As John Rex puts it,

> Not only are they distinguishable on the basis of their skin colour, language, religion and domestic culture, but also they are known through these indicators to have come from fulfilling colonial roles to/the role of worker in the metropolitan society. Thus there is at the moment of encounter with the native metropolitan population a double-banked criterion of role ascription.[1]

/adopting

The argument, in other words, is that the white British, citizens of a former imperialist power, identify coloured immigrants as colonials and are therefore particularly resistant to letting them assimilate, at least if it means giving them equality. Rex, it seems to me, damagingly weakens his case, however, when in an expanded version he concedes that the similarities between European anti-Semitism and other racial problems "far outweigh the differences".[2]

Anti-Semitism in England did not arise in a post-colonial situation. Jews were not distinguishable by colour, nor were they stereotyped as inferior. Yet this did not protect them from discrimination and hostility. They were

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[1] John Rex, "The Concept of Race in Sociological Theory", Race and Racialism, ed. Sami Zubaida (London, Tavistock Publications, 1970), p. 44.

[2] John Rex, Race Relations in Sociological Theory (London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970), p. 119.

disliked above all for their ability. [1] The Jews remind us that there is always a stick with which to beat a minority. One notes also that anti-Semitism has not prevented Jews attaining substantial assimilation where they wanted it. It has not stopped them pulling themselves up occupationally from being immigrant workers to being heavily represented in commercial, professional and managerial positions.

Rex argues none the less that in practice the different position of the colonial immigrant worker shows itself in two ways. "First, he is more severely confined to the position of replacement worker and resident, [2] and second and most

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[1] See, for example, the anti-Semite Arnold White, who wrote in praise of the Russian pogroms: "The intellect of the Jew is masterful. His assiduity, his deadly resolve to get on, his self-denial and ambition surmount all natural obstacles ... Russia would have no chance of survival against the cold determination of a people that exists only when living as a parasite growth on another race." Quoted in Foot, Immigration and Race, op. cit., p. 94. Or compare the milk roundsman quoted by Orwell. '"A Jew don't do no work, not the same as what an Englishman does. 'E's too clever. We work with this 'ere" (flexes his biceps). "They work with that there" (taps his forehead).' George Orwell, "Antisemitism in Britain", The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, op. cit., Vol. 3: As I Please 1943-1945, p. 379.

[2] That is, "he finds that there are certain jobs not yet eliminated by technical advance which are so arduous or unpleasant that they are not acceptable to the majority of the metropolitan working class. And he finds when he seeks to house himself that there are certain kinds of house occupancy which are least desired by the metropolitan population which are the only types available to him." Rex, Race Relations, op. cit., pp. 108-9.

important, he cannot expect with confidence that his children or grandchildren will have been accepted into the stratification system of the host society." He goes on:

> In the second generation his children find that there is no way out and up for them. It is not quite true to say that they will necessarily live in a ghetto, for they will not be entirely cut off from people of different ethnic backgrounds. But what will be true is that the places where they live and work and the people amongst whom they live and work will not be covered by the value system of the society as a whole. Physically they live within the society. Morally they remain outside of it.[1]

I submit that in Newcastle, on the contrary, the young Indians and Pakistanis were well on the way out and up. Crucially they did better educationally than their white contemporaries.Twenty-one per cent had gained admission to university or polytechnic. These, and possibly others, were all set to realise their ambition for professional careers. Moreover those already in work had achieved substantial equality in employment. In other words, there is every sign that the young Asians were being accepted into the stratification system. In addition they had made considerable progress in assimilating on the cultural, structural and civic axes.

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[1] Ibid., p. 109.

I am not sure what Rex means when he says that children of colonial immigrants will remain morally outside the society. Certainly they are likely to be the target of continuing racial hostility. I argued that the climate of mounting racial animosity did indeed give my respondents a feeling of social marginality, a sense of not belonging. The point is however that it did not stop them making substantial advances on the other assimilation variables. It did not stop them making great strides out and up. One must await other research to see whether the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle were typical in this respect.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am not complacent about race relations in this country. On the contrary, it is difficult to be optimistic about it. The latest, brutal twist in the deteriorating spiral is given by the government's Immigration Act. This is plainly racist in inspiration. One of its main effects will be to create "a rightless group of workers under continuous surveillance at work and in their communities".[1] It is likely to make all coloured people feel that they do not belong and are here only on sufferance. They are being made scapegoats for the failure of successive governments to provide enough jobs, sufficient housing and adequate social services.

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[1] Ian Macdonald, "What the Bill Says - and What it Means", Race Today March 1971, pp. 74-5.

By its distinction between patrials and non-patrials the Immigration Act strikes above all at the civic assimilation of the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle. It may not affect the young men's assimilation in other directions, since they have so far succeeded in fighting their way through racial hostility. Yet the fact that any government should introduce such vicious and discriminatory legislation lends undeniable strength to Rex's argument.

> The history of anti-Semitism, says Price, shows that even when numerous families so intermix and intermarry with the host population that they become quite invisible - as had happened with many German families of part-Jewish origin by 1933 - they can be uncovered, plucked forth into the harsh light of political prejudice, and violently discriminated against.[1]

Similarly this Immigration Act was unthinkable even ten years ago. Its enactment by the white majority shows with bleak clarity that our young Indians and Pakistanis will remain vulnerable to possible further plunges into racialism. We must organise ourselves and our society to ensure these do not occur.

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[1] Price, op. cit., pp. 190-1.

Summary

In this final chapter I examined the Jewish precedent pluralist for the structural/assimilation of immigrants in England. I discussed the similarities and differences between the Jews and the Asians. The parallel between the assimilation style of Jews and Sikhs - the biggest Asian group - was particularly striking. It was argued that though Muslims and non-Punjabi Hindus were far less assimilated culturally, their assimilation will follow the Sikh model, but more slowly.

Rex maintains that the assimilation of coloured colonial workers is different from that of other immigrants, above all in that their children and grandchildren will not be accepted into the stratification system of the host society. I believe I have shown that despite an atmosphere of mounting racial hostility the young Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle were being so accepted and were making great strides "out and up" from the bottom of society.

APPENDIX

The Asian Population

The 67 young Indians and Pakistanis whom this thesis is about were not a sample. They were the total interviewed population of Indian and Pakistani youths who reached leaving age in secondary schools in Newcastle upon Tyne over a six-year period, the calendar years 1962-67.

I took as my frame the lists of pupils of leaving age compiled by the schools each year. In secondary modern schools the leaving age was fifteen, but in selective schools it was deemed to be sixteen. Comprehensive pupils were listed at fifteen.

Having got my lists, I simply picked out all the apparently Indian and Pakistani names. These were my universe, though I of course excluded young men who proved not to be Indian or Pakistani (an Irish youth surprisingly surnamed Hassan, for instance). I likewise discarded four who turned out to be of mixed parentage (Asian fathers and English mothers).

This left me with a true total population of 79, of which I was able to interview 67. I spoke to most of these in the first quarter of 1968. I caught up with the remainder over the next six months, though only after considerable difficulty, caused partly by the diffidence and suspicion of some respondents, but more by removals and out-of-date addresses. I traced six youths, and vainly followed others, to other parts of the country. I met three refusals and, despite extensive informal enquiries within the community ("Do you know where a lad called Zulfiqar lives?"), was finally unable

to locate another nine. Most of these, I was reliably informed, had returned to India and Pakistan. In these circumstances a wastage of only fifteen per cent was a good result. Table 123 gives details of these non-interviews by type of school.

TABLE 123

Young Indians and Pakistanis: interviewed and non-interviewed. By type of school attended at leaving age.

	REFUSALS	NON-CONTACTS	INTERVIEWED
Secondary modern	-	6	26
Selective	-	-	16
Comprehensive	3	2	25
Other[+]	-	1	-
Total	3	9	67

[+] One non-contact went to a school for the educationally sub-normal.

The Matched Asians

The total interviewed population of 67 young men went to twelve different secondary schools throughout the city. These comprised two grammar schools, a new comprehensive school, a technical school which later became part of another comprehensive, seven ordinary secondary moderns and a Catholic secondary modern.

Out of this total, however, four-fifths (54) of the young men attended one or other of just five secondary schools in the west end of Newcastle. These were three secondary modern schools, known as Cambridge Street, Cruddas Park and

Westgate Hill; John Marlay, the technical school which turned comprehensive; and Slatyford, the new comprehensive school. (All the John Marlay pupils I interviewed were selected. All pupils from the other schools were non-selected.) The remaining fifth of the young men were scattered so thinly over the other seven schools that they were excluded for the purpose of comparison with English youths. One Indian boy who was the sole Asian pupil in his year in the technical school was also left out.

These 54 Indians and Pakistanis (less one) who went to the five west end schools comprise the matched Asians. They are so called because it was with them that the English control sample was matched. I explain in a moment how the matching was carried out. It should be noted that like the city-wide "parent" group the matched Asians were not a sample. They were a sub-population.

The exclusion of the fourteen Asians who did not go to the five west end schools had the effect of slightly understating the city-wide Indo-Pakistani performance in education and jobs. Among the fourteen, for instance, were six of the sixteen young men who went to selective schools and five of the seventeen with apprenticeships. Table 124 shows how the matched Asians under-represented all Indians and Pakistanis in the city in these and other ways.

TABLE 124

Matched Asians compared with all Indians and Pakistanis.

	MATCHED ASIANS			ALL ASIANS		
	No.	Total	%	No.	Total	%
Born in England or came at primary school age & younger	22	53	42%	33	67	49%
Came at upper secondary age (13+)	22	53	42%	23	67	36%
Attended selective schools	10	53	19%	16	67	24%
Continued full-time education after 15	28	53	53%	38	67	57%
Still in full-time education at interview	18	53	34%	27	67	40%
Econ. active youths with recognised apprenticeships	12	35	34%	17	40	42%

The English Sample

The English control sample was, as already stated, matched with the matched Asians who went to the five west end schools. The purpose of the matching was to reproduce among the English youths the same breakdown by type of school and year of reaching leaving age as in the Asian sub-population.

I therefore selected a number of very small English samples, each of which was drawn from a distinct population. These populations corresponded to the types of school - secondary modern, technical, comprehensive - in which the matched Asians were represented in each of the six years with

which I was concerned. In 1965, for example, matched Asians reached leaving age in secondary modern schools and in the technical school. I accordingly numbered separately the English secondary modern population and the English technical population and from each population I selected the required sample by random numbers.

The secondary modern schools were numbered and sampled together for each year there were matched Asian leavers. If however one secondary modern had no Indian and Pakistani leavers in a particular year, that school was omitted from the secondary modern population for that year. The technical school before it became a comprehensive was sampled separately for each year there were Indian or Pakistani leavers. After it became a comprehensive, that is, in the years 1966 and 1967, it and the new comprehensive were sampled together for each year. (The young man excluded from the matched Asians was discarded because he was the only Asian leaver at John Marlay in 1966 and a control sample from the two schools taken together for that year would probably have over-represented the former.) In all there were nine English sub-populations.

It must be stressed that the English sample is not in any sense a simple random sample of English pupils who reached leaving age in these five west end schools in this six-year period. This is because the representation of the different sub-populations is conditioned by the proportion of <u>matched Asians</u> in each particular year/school-type category. Type of school and year of reaching leaving age were so important that it was obviously desirable to eliminate their effects from any comparison.

The aim, then, was to ensure that both groups of pupils reproduced the same age-range and had, as far as possible, the same teaching in the same schools. Unfortunately,

because it took so long to contact some of my Indian and Pakistani respondents, the English interviewing had to begin before I had completed my Asian interviews. It was therefore impossible to construct an English sample which was matched 1:1 with the matched Asians. I had however interviewed most of the Indians and Pakistanis by this time and so I was able to estimate fairly closely the number of Asians falling in each year/school-type category. I then used these proportions to determine the size of the English samples to be drawn from each of the nine sub-populations. This estimate could not lead to an exact matching between the Asian and English youths, but Table 125 shows the numbers are approximately the same.

Although it was not supposed to happen, the same name (Asian and English) occasionally appeared in the leavers' lists twice in successive years. I checked exhaustively for all such doubles, took the year and school of the name's first appearance as correct, in counting missed it out the second time, and matched accordingly.

With the English sample I had some interviewing help, but tracing some of the respondents proved almost as much work as contacting some of the Indians and Pakistanis, because again the addresses were often old and many young men had moved or been rehoused. In the end we failed to interview only three of the 60 in the English sample. All of these were non-contacts. It took six months, though most young men were interviewed in three.

One lad was dropped from the English sample because he turned out to be coloured. I wanted the sample to be all-white and all-English, as one of the objects of the comparison was to try and measure the disadvantages of being black. This young man was replaced with another selection made from the appropriate population.

During analysis of the material one of the English youths at the technical school turned out not to have been selected, but to have been admitted after comprehensivisation. He was discarded from the sample, but not replaced because of the time which had elapsed since the interviews. This left me with a final English sample total of 56. Table 125 compares the matched Asians and English in detail, that is, by year of reaching leaving age and by type of school attended at that time.

TABLE 125

Matched Asians and English: Compared by year of leaving age and type of school attended at that age.

		ASIANS	ENGLISH
1962	SECONDARY MODERN:	... 4	... 4
	W. Hill	1	3
	C. Park	3	1
1963	SECONDARY MODERN:	... 3	... 4
	C. Street	1	1
	C. Park	1	2
	W. Hill	1	1
	TECHNICAL	... 1	... 2
1964	SECONDARY MODERN:	... 6	... 5
	C. Street	2	1
	C. Park	1	2
	W. Hill	3	2
	TECHNICAL	... 1	... 2
1965	SECONDARY MODERN:	... 5	... 4
	C. Street	2	-
	W. Hill	3	4
	TECHNICAL	... 3	... 6
1966	COMPREHENSIVE	...13	...15
1967	TECHNICAL	... 5	... 6
	COMPREHENSIVE	...12	... 8
Total		53	56

Table 126 summarises the numbers in each group who went to the different types of school.

TABLE 126

Matched Asians and English: numbers in each type of school.

	ASIANS	ENGLISH
SECONDARY MODERN	... 18	... 17
C. Street	5	2
C. Park	5	5
W. Hill	8	10
TECHNICAL	... 10	... 16
COMPREHENSIVE	... 25	... 23
Total	53	56

Differences Between the Two Groups

The first difference to note between the matched Asian and English youths is the way in which the secondary modern pupils are distributed among the three secondary modern schools. Westgate Hill is over-represented in the English sample, and Cambridge Street is under-represented. This is the result of lumping secondary modern schools together each year for sampling purposes. They were not sampled separately because this would have created too large a number of sub-populations. I do not think the difference here will more than slightly distort the comparability of the two groups.

The second, more serious difference is the higher proportion of selected pupils in the English sample. This is caused by

the fact that in the years 1963 and 1964 only one Asian pupil reached leaving age in the technical school. In order not to select just one matched English youth in each of these years I selected two. This meant however that to maintain approximate age proportions I had to have an English sample of six selected pupils for 1965 to correspond to the three on the Asian side.

The distortion is serious, but it operates in favour, obviously, of the English sample which nevertheless performed less well educationally than the matched Asians. I take the difference into account throughout the thesis.

The third difference between the two groups is not apparent from the tables, but has already been touched on. It is that the two sets of interviews, Asian and English, were for the most part consecutive in time, not contemporaneous.

As stated above, I interviewed most of the Indian and Pakistani youths in the first three months of 1968 and followed up the remainder through the summer and autumn. I and my helpers did not begin to interview the English sample until August the same year and did not contact the last few respondents until the beginning of 1969.

The difference in time was small, but it makes comparisons slightly misleading because the English interviews were started only after the end of the academic year. Thus three English youths had just left school and one young man had just finished at polytechnic.

Had they been interviewed two or three months earlier they would have been classified as "still at school" and "full-time student" respectively. This fact is however taken into consideration in the comparisons in chapter 10.

I do not think the fact that the two sets of interviews were consecutive occasions any other distortions.

Other Possible Sources of Error

Two other possible sources of error should be admitted. One concerns the drawing of the English sample. The matching was done before I realised that, despite the change to the comprehensive system in 1965, the older pupils at Slatyford school (the new comprehensive) were still all non-selected, having been transferred from secondary moderns, whilst those at John Marlay were still almost all selected from the time it was a technical school.

Instead of sampling the two schools together for 1967, it would have been more consistent to match each school separately. However this was not done. No problem arises for the year 1966 because, as explained, the only Indian or Pakistani boy at the technical school in that year was excluded from the matched Asians.

The second possible error arises from the suspicion that some of the young Indians and Pakistanis may have given false ages - either through uncertainty or to get into the country or to get into school in England. I discuss this problem in chapter 6. I do not believe that many did this. However even if one assumes, as devil's advocate, that many did, it should be emphasised that this invalidates only one of the comparisons between the two groups. This is the one contained in Table 36 which shows that over twice the proportion of Asian as of English pupils continued full-time education after fifteen.

The other measures of Asian educational attainment and aspiration and other contrasts in the field of employment

are not affected. I repeat that in any case I do not think many Indians and Pakistanis did give false ages.

The Statistical Significance of Differences

In testing the statistical significance of the differences found between the matched Asian and English youths in chapters 10, 15 and 16 I took account of three facts. The first was that the matched Asians were not a sample, but a sub-population. The second was that the matched English were a sample selected by a random process. The third was that since the two groups were matched on the basis of overall proportions and not individual for individual, the usual procedures for comparing the differences between matched samples could not be used.

In this situation I decided to take the Asian sub-population as the model and to test by the Chi Square method the goodness-of-fit between this model and the English sample. In other words I assumed that the distribution of the Indians and Pakistanis in terms of the criterion variable was identical to the distribution of the English population. I used the Asian population to estimate the parameters of the English population distribution. If one compares the distribution of the English sample with that of the English population inferred from the Asian sub-population, one should, on this assumption, find no significant difference between the theoretically obtained distribution and the sample distribution. If however the distribution of the Asian sub-population is <u>not</u> the same as that of the English population in respect of the criterion variable, then there could be a statistically significant difference between the estimated English population distribution and the sample distribution.

The term "statistically significant difference", as used in the text, should be understood as implying that it was implausible to suggest that the English population and the Asian sub-population had identical distributions with respect to the particular criterion variable. In this situation one assumes either that the two distributions are not the same, or that the sample was biased, i.e. that the parameters of the English sample are significantly different from those of the English population.

The formula for the goodness-of-fit test is

$$X^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

where O_i is the observed frequency and E_i the expected frequency in the i-th category. The expected frequency for each category was calculated by multiplying the proportion of matched Asians in that category by the total number of English pupils. It was calculated in this way since if there was no difference between the English population and the Asian sub-population in respect of the criterion variable, one would not expect the distribution of the English sample to differ significantly from that of the estimated English population.

What the test does is to suggest whether an apparent difference between the two groups reflects a real difference between the populations or whether it can reasonably be explained by a vagary of sampling. A large Chi Square implies a real difference between the two populations. If the Chi Square is small any difference may be due to chance. One calculates the statistical significance of the Chi Square by referring to a Chi Square distribution table. (The degree of freedom throughout this study is one.) The significance of the Chi Square is expressed in terms of p,

that is, the probability that the difference in question could have arisen by chance on the null hypothesis that there is no difference between the populations.

To take an example, the first difference I tested in this study was in the proportions of young men continuing full-time education beyond fifteen.[1] The value of the Chi Square was 19.71, and with one degree of freedom p was $< .005$, i.e. the probability of the null hypothesis applying was less than five in a thousand. Statistically therefore this difference was very significant.

It is important to remember, as noted earlier, that the English sample is not representative of all English pupils in these five west end schools and in these particular years of reaching leaving age. Rather it represents an English population having the same distribution of year/school-type characteristics as the Asian sub-population. This results inevitably from the decision to match in the way described above. It should at the same time be stressed that this close matching has the advantage of permitting a very precise comparison which tries to control for these extraneous factors.

One problem arises from using the Chi Square test in the manner described above. The null hypothesis assumed in each case was that the distribution of the Indian and Pakistani pupils was equivalent to the distribution of the English pupils. Presumably, however, the proportions of Asian pupils falling in various categories defined by the criterion variable would in fact vary from year to year. The comparatively small size of the Asian group would of course emphasise this variation. In other words, estimates made of the population parameters of the Asian population might well be out by some considerable margin. This is the inevitable result of the method by which the data was gathered.

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[1] p. 180.

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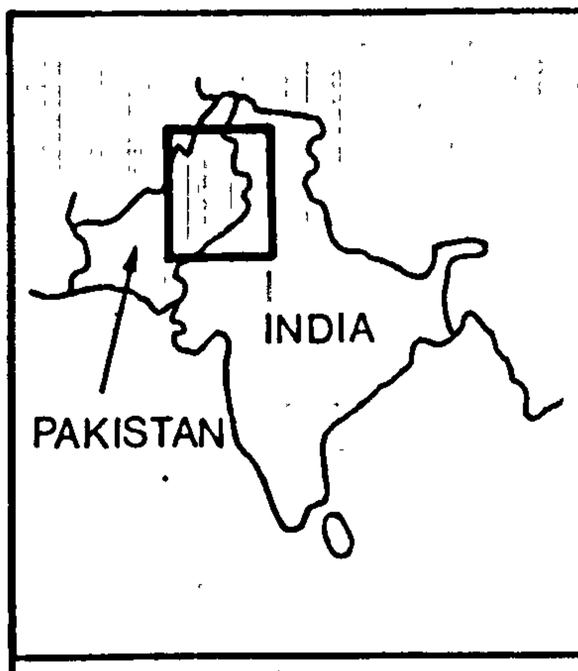


Azad Kashmir

Kashmir (Indian Controlled)

RAWALPINDI

MIRPUR

JHELUM

INDUS

PAKISTAN

GUJRAT

West Punjab

CHENAB

JHELUM

North West Frontier Province

LAHORE

AMRITSAR

BEAS

HOSHIARPUR

LYALLPUR

JULLUNDUR

RAVI

FEROZEPUR

MONTGOMERY

East Punjab

MULTAN

MUZAFFARGARH

SUTLEJ

INDIA

Bahawalpur

Rajasthan

DELHI

SCALE. 1:4M

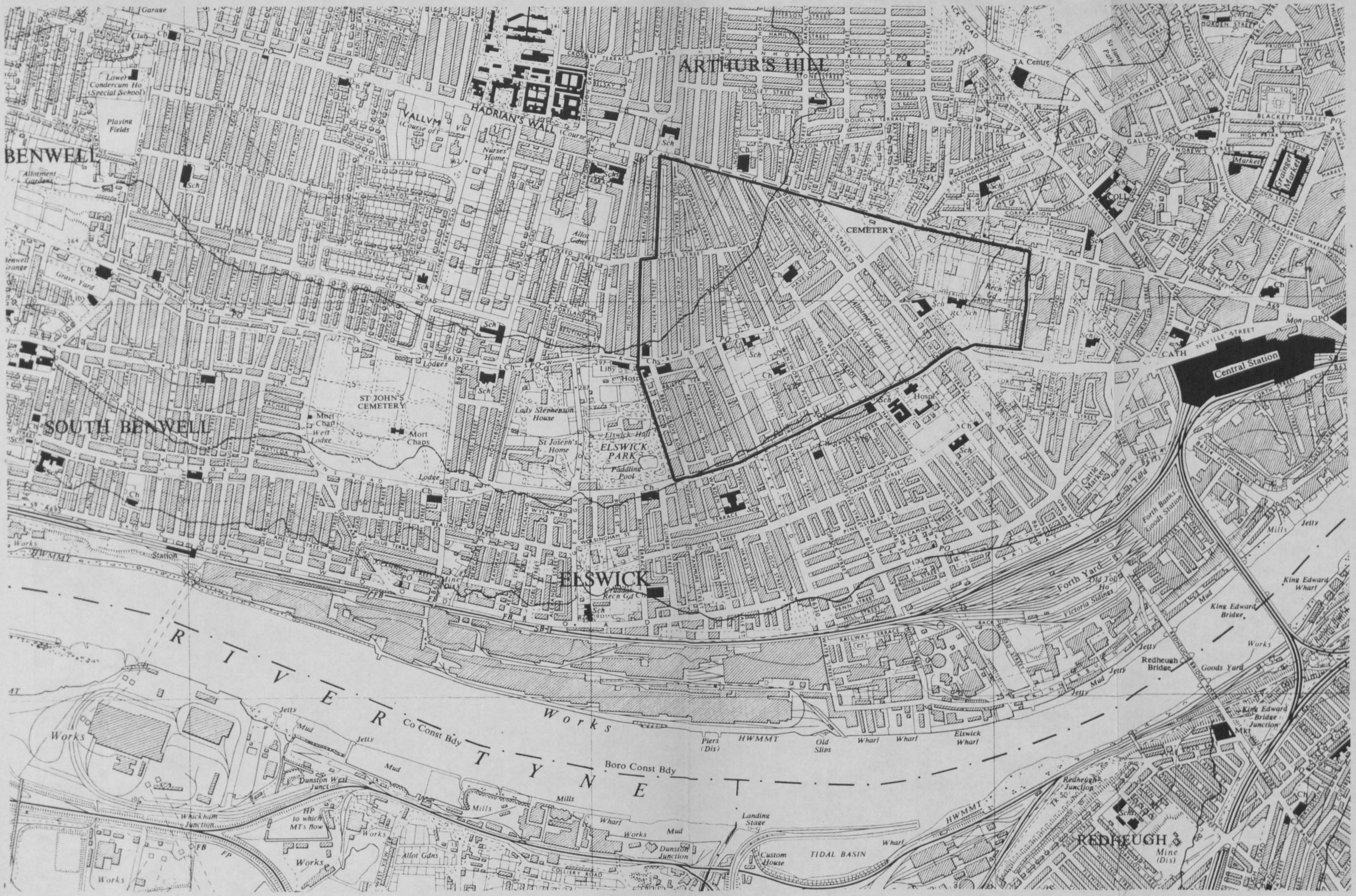
KEY.

INDIA-PAKISTAN BORDER

PRE-PARTITION PUNJAB

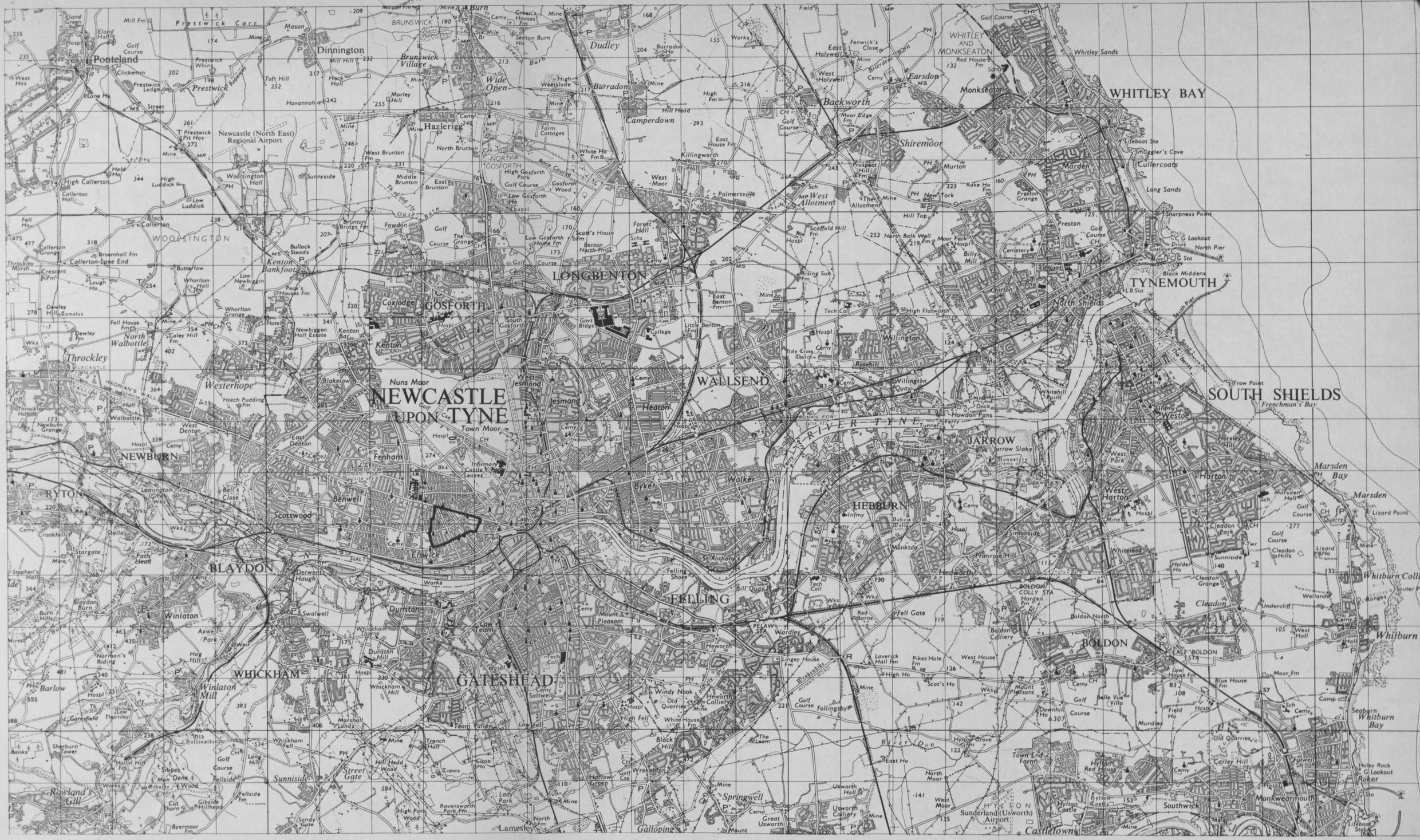
KASHMIR CEASE-FIRE LINE

Map 1. THE PUNJAB



MAP 2

NEWCASTLE'S INNER WEST END SHOWING THE BOUNDARIES OF TWILIGHT ELSWICK


Ponteland
Dinnington
Brunswick Village
Wide Open
Hazlerigg
Newcastle (North East) Regional Airport
Prestwick Carr
Prestwick
Prestwick Roseway
Dudley
Burradon
Camperdown
Backworth
Shiremoor
WHITLEY AND MONKSEATON
Monkseaton
WHITLEY BAY
Marden
Cullercoats
Lang Sands
Sharpness Point
TYNEMOUTH
North Shields
SOUTH SHIELDS
Frenchman's Bay
Marsden Bay
Marsden
Whitburn
Whitburn Bay
Seaburn
Roker
Monkwearmouth
Southwick
Sunderland (Usworth) Airport
Castletown
HYLTON
BOLDON
EAST BOLDON
Cleadon
Harton
West Harton
HEBBURN
JARROW
WALLSEND
Willington
Howdon Pans
RIVER TYNE
Tunnel
Ferry
Dock
Willington Quay
Rosehill
Tech Coll
Chirton
Preston
Billy Mill
Murton
New York
Earsdon
Whitley Sands
Golf Course
Lifeboat Sta
Smuggler's Cave
Black Middens
North Pier
South Pier
Harbour
Groyne
Throw Point
Lizard Point
Whitburn Colliery
Souter Point
Ranges
Cleadon Park
Cleadon Hills
Cleadon Grange
Sunniside
Whiteleas
Primrose Hill
Monkton
Hedworth
Boldon Colliery
Boldon North Br
Boldon Colly Sta
Harden Fm
Fell Gate
Red Barns
Pelaw
Pelaw Sta
Wardley
Lingey House Fm
Laverick Hall Fm
Pikes Hole Fm
West House Fm
High Ho
Scot's Ho
Mount Pleasant
Golf Course
Follingsby
Belle Vue Villa
Downhill Ho
Hylton Grove
East Ho
North Moor
West Moor
Hylton Red House
Hylton Castle
Town End Farm
Mundles
Field Ho
Blue House Fm
Low House Fm
Moor Fm
Camp
Old Quarries
Carley Hill
Holey Rock
Lookout
Holder Ho
Undercliff
Wellands
Boldon North Br
Usworth Hall
Usworth Colliery
Great Usworth
Springwell
Harlow Green
Wrekenton
Black Hill
The Leam
High Fell
Low Fell
Windy Nook
Old Quarries
Hewworth Colliery
White House Fm
Team Valley
Marshall Lands
Whickham Hill
Whickham Fell
Trench Hall
Hill Head Wood
Street Gate
Sunniside
Ravensworth Park Fm
High Park Wood
Lady Park
North Fm
Lamesley
Galloping
Sandy Gate
Byermoor Fm
Gibside Hillhead
Gibside
Cut Thorn
Mon Dene Wood
Sherburn Tower
Rowland's Gill
Hollin Hill
Hollinside
Sherburn
Garesfield
Barlow
Norman's Riding
Winlaton Mill
Winlaton
Axwell Park
Swalwell
Dunston Hill
Dunston
Low Team
Derwent Haugh
Stargate
Blaydon Burn
Blaydon
Stella
Crookhill
Lemington
Bell's Close
Scotswood
Benwell
Elswick
Fenham
Nuns Moor
Town Moor
Jesmond
West Jesmond
Heaton
Byker
Walker
Wallsend
Willington
Tech Coll
Rosehill
Howdon Pans
Willington Quay
Whitehill Point
Percy Main
Chirton
Preston
Billy Mill
Murton
New York
Earsdon
Monkseaton
Whitley Sands
Golf Course
Lifeboat Sta
Smuggler's Cave
Cullercoats
Lang Sands
Sharpness Point