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INTRODUCTION

In his song *Changes*, the black American hip-hop singer Tupac says: *'We've got to start making changes. Learn to see me as a brother instead of two distant strangers'*. The word 'learn' expresses the need for people to acknowledge each other's cultures while living side by side. Sociology and the Ethnic studies are as many tools permitting the acknowledgement of the different cultures compounding a plural society - in contrast with Ethnology, which was providing an analysis of cultures as being separate from each other -. The reality of multiculturalism is postcolonial; consequently, the theory of Ethnic studies appeared recently, at the end of the 20th century. In the United States of America, for instance, the National Association for Ethnic Studies (department of the Western Washington University) was founded in 1972. The mere concept of multiculturalism and ethnic groups is today uneven. Theory is needed, to understand the social life as it is, and, for governments to adapt their policies to a changing population. Sociology recognized the social differences between genders, this is how feminism came to exist; therefore, sociology logically has to take account of the different ethnic groups taking part in society.

The city of Leicester in Great Britain is a good example of different Ethnic groups living together because the South Asian community is becoming a 'majority-minority' as certain people call it. The aim of my study will be to question the situation of the Asian community in Leicester through the prism of leisure. It will help us understand the way different ethnic groups are dealt with locally. To a wider extent, I will also attempt to question the commonly assumed idea of a successful British ethnic pluralism and its easygoing attitude toward religion. The South Asian community is more important than any other 'ethnic' group in Leicester, but it is also a diverse community. Leicester's South Asian community includes –for the main groups- Hindus from the region of Gujerat in India, and East Africa; Punjabi and East African Sikhs; and Muslims from Pakistan. Tariq Modood has often pointed out the situation of Muslim people in Britain, it is of major importance to consider the different

groups within Leicester's South Asian community; not only to take account of ethnic differences. The South Asian lifestyle transforms Leicester city life as well as the local policies and the economical activities affect the Asian community. I believe that the notion of interaction is at the basis of sociology. Hegel used the restless and unfulfilled power relationship between the master and the slave to illustrate the process towards self-definition. His theory provides an explanation for people's need of others to build one's identity, as well as a more abstract relationship between the ruler and the ruled. The concept of interaction is at the source and at the heart of this memoir. This study is rooted in my relationship to the subject, before presenting an analysis of social interactions.

My position regarding the subject of this study has contributed in its choice. It seems interesting to note that I am white, so that I am not perceived as ' Ethnic' in England. Nevertheless, I am from another country, probably less aware of the British culture than any British-Asian. Before coming to England, I had never been in close contact with any South-Asian people as France only bears one significant community. In some way, my ignorance initially represented an advantage as for the availability of my analysis. Emile Durkheim, who will be referred to later on, evokes the necessity for a sociologist to penetrate into the unknown, not being slave of one's irrational judgements. Besides, I have always lived in multicultural environments and I got really interested in the different cultures surrounding me. I grew up in Marseille. Today, Marseille's population includes people from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia –mainly first and second generation- as a consequence of the waves of immigration that occurred over the 1960's and 1970's, when France needed an important labour force and because of the colonization of Algeria. The city also includes migrants from Africa, as well as some people from the West Indies. I then had the opportunity to observe the different communities by living in the city, as well as by dealing with various people in my daily life. I also lived in Toulouse, which bears three important campuses. As a result, the atmosphere of Toulouse is quite lively. Then again, I came to meet people from many

different backgrounds. As a whole, the groups in which I socialized have always represented a multicultural sample of today's French population. My personality has probably influenced my relation to others. I have always been keen on learning about other people's cultures, by observing their behaviour, habits, and wondering why people live in different ways. How does their History as individuals belong to a wider experience? I am about to undertake a sociological subject and, being observant seems to me quite appropriate when studying such areas in sociology.

My education at university also determined the choice of my memoir subject. I intended to come to England for a while as it fits in with the context of my degree, and it is essential for the improvement of my language. In addition to that, Mr Moore's lecture about multiculturalism particularly interested me. His 'licence' lecture triggered off my unsuspected interest for sociology, and it also fulfilled my curiosity about contemporary history.

I feel that, to a certain extent, my experience and the general context of the Ethnic studies determined the choice of this subject.

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CHAPTER I

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1. PERSPECTIVES

A.   RISKS AND QUESTIONNINGS INHERENT IN SOCIOLOGY.

The path leading the researcher to an available thesis concerning a social group is risky since it deals with an informal material, human beings. Individuals are all different and unpredictable. The first issue to be solved would so be: How to define a common behaviour or similar activities among different people, each having their own way of thinking and different personal identities. The risk is then to produce generalisations. Beyond the study of human entity, my research has to deal with an 'ethnic minority' (notions to be discussed later on): The South Asian community in Leicester, which includes mainly Indians, Pakistanis and East African people. It is highly important not to deal with this group as isolated, or to produce judgments (due to some personal opinion), such mistakes could lead to racist interpretations. To a certain extent, that is unpredictable - the ethnic studies carried out in Europe throughout the 18th century (Enlightenment period) did not aim at racism, as the concept did not exist then. Still, they gave birth to racist theories (claiming superiority and inferiority among human groups); it can be the result of considering groups as isolated from one another. In my opinion, it is also the result of a dichotomy between the research produced by an elite and the popular culture that emerged out of it. For instance, Diderot initiated the universal encyclopedia, which extended knowledge in many domains; but events such as the human fairs that took place in Paris over the 19th century are the counterpart of progress; different ethnic groups were exhibited and pointed out like freaks.

Trying to analyze humanity, on the one hand, and an ethnic group, on the other hand is one of the main obstacles for a sociologist to be objective. Avoiding sorting out those issues would misrepresent reality and could invalidate the conclusion of the study itself.

B.   SOLVING PROBLEMS.

Facing such issues, most of today's sociologists established rules and boundaries as a preamble to their works. In the introduction to <u>'Changing Ethnic Identities' by Tariq Modood, Sharon Beishon and Satnam Virdee</u>, the method chosen is so defined: a qualitative approach (as opposed to quantitative) taking account of the *'quality of respondents' thoughts and feelings interpreted on the basis of their cultural background, pressures and tensions in their experiences, and the knowledge of the different strands in the debates about identity that are currently taking place.'*[1] The authors set objectivity by using concrete knowledge (history, facts), as well as the respondents' testimonies. Interpretations are based on facts, and not on biased opinions. A distinction between 'fact' and 'value' needs to be acknowledged. Like any scientist, the sociologist has to show something about reality. Somehow, he is not an agent of the study, but more like an object, a tool connecting and interpreting different features. The most relevant work revealing the role of sociology as a science seems to be « Les Règles De La Méthode Sociologique »[2] by Emile Durkheim. In his preamble, he asserts that sociological facts must be dealt with like things, through a process of analysis, from the most exterior and self-evident aspects, to the less visible and deepest ones, like a funnel. That means that generalizations should not be ignored but conversely, the researcher has to go through them, and uncover reality. Of course, a study is a process in itself, a tension from a particular question to a general conclusion that can be represented by an arrow; but still, the theory is a segment depending on a wider and endless process; it cannot be separated from what has been done before and what is to be done afterwards.

    Question   theory   Conclusion

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[1] Tariq Modood, Sharon Beishon and Satnam Virdee (1990), <u>Changing Ethnic Identities</u>, Policy Studies Institute, p.2.
[2] Emile Durkheim (1937) <u>Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique</u>, Quadrige, Presse universitaire de France, 5th edition of 1990, preamble p. XII – XIII.

1.

2.

Q   t   C/Q   t   C/Q   t   C/Q   t   C
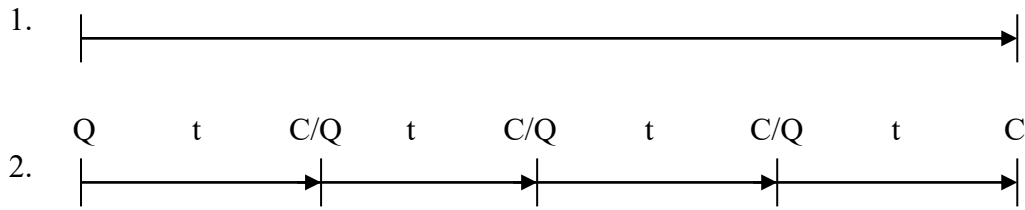
Epistemology is the way research findings have to be judged; it depends on the general scientific context as shown through the above diagrams.

Also, as far as limits are concerned, and particularly in sociology, the limits of time and space are essential for a theory to be available. People are changing and moving, and, today's reality is different from yesterday, and may be invalidated tomorrow. Similarly, reality changes from one place to another one. The following graph could represent a field of research (F):

Time

F

Space
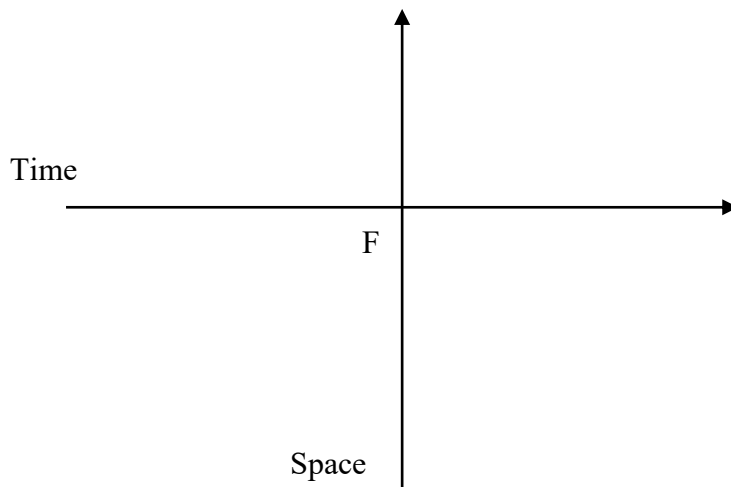
Establishing a limited field of research can thus solve the problems that I first encountered when initiating this study. Emile **Durkheim**'s theoretical work combined with **Tariq Modood**'s practical research taught me the importance of setting the subject of my study in a precise context; both regarding the wider research and a spatial-temporal aspect. Defining the field of research as a specific one is fundamental at first; it is the only way to allow objectivity, to fit in the scheme of a scientific process.

Tariq Modood will be frequently referred to as I am particularly interested in his findings concerning the diversity of the Asian population in Britain. It seems essential to me to take account of the diversity of people composing the Asian community of Leicester, may they be Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus or from different parts of India and Pakistan, but I will also distinguish the different generation of migrants. All the aspects of the community participate in shaping its identity.

- **More about the authors**

E. Durkheim was born in April 1858. One of his most important theories is that, in sociology, things and ideas are connected, in the same way as our knowledge about the appearance of things is related to our knowledge about their inside. Social facts have to be treated like things; a mental attitude that attempted to make sociology a science.

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C. **GUIDELINE**

In Tariq Modood's book: 'Changing Ethnic Identities', one of the respondents explains his belonging to the British culture as follows: *'Being British? Live life, go to discos, nightclubs, pizza restaurants, keeping up with fashion, seeing the latest pictures.'*[3]

Leisure v. Myth of Return: One has to bear in mind that the first generation of migrants basically aimed to return to their original country; being in England was, for them, an opportunity to improve their families' living conditions back home. If the first migrants were willing to save money instead of spending it in Britain, the second and third generations

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[3] Modood T, Beishon S. and Virdee S (1994) p.110.

do not feel the same way. The fact that Asian people now spend their money for leisure in England implies that their community is already integrated to the British society. Therefore, the point of this research will not be to determine whether the Leicester Asian community participates or not in the social life, but it will be to show in what way it has integrated the British system, at a national and local level. My main question could be summed up in this way: '**To what extent, do practices of leisure in Leicester, reveal the process of integration and the identity of the Indo-Pakistani community in British society?'**

Leisure: Leisure could be defined as the result of a deliberate choice; consequently, it cannot be due to any vital needs such as hunger, thirst, etc… Work cannot thus be considered as a part of leisure as it is, generally, a way to support oneself; working voluntarily could be considered a leisure activity. Leisure can neither be influenced by any kind of pressure, may it be social or moral. In 'Sociology of Leisure', C. Critcher, P. Brahman and A. Tomlinson define leisure as something that people choose to do and over which, they have some control, they represent it as follows[4]:

Work Plane

Family Plane

Leisure Plane

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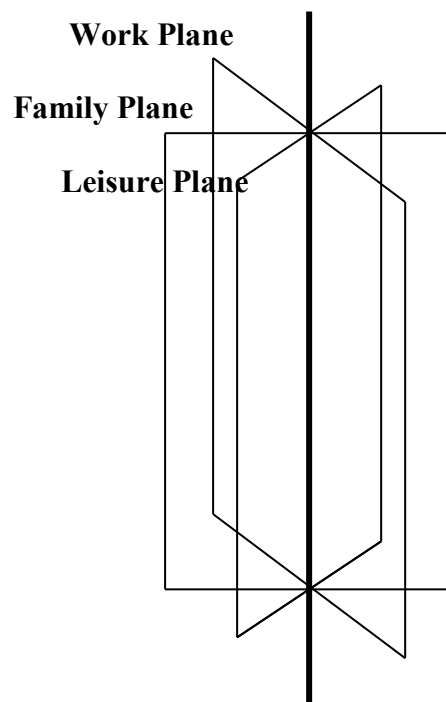
[4] C. Critcher, P. Brahman and A. Tomlinson, 1995, Sociology Of Leisure, A Reader, E & FN-SPON, p.67.

Individual lifeline

They also suggest that leisure can be administrated. They use the example of the English Tourist Board, which sees itself as enhancing people's leisure lives by stimulating the private sector economic growth and employment; leisure thus becomes a marketing issue. The authors also point out the money being earned by the 'culture industries', money spent on gambling, home entertainment equipments, sports and sports equipments, books, toys etc… Leisure means people doing what they want, without constraint or supervision; and yet, the state must ensure a measure of conformity and order. These are contradictions inherent in the social and democratic state.

Gender & leisure: All feminists' theories elaborate on the hypothesis that men subordinate women. In sociology -a discipline which has been dominated by white males- the main questions pointed out by feminists are first, 'Why do men not care for children?' and then, **'Why do men and not women have leisure?'** Leisure is a specific field in which the subordination of women is blatant. It seems relevant to illustrate such a debate through both, the Indo-Pakistani, and the British social background. The South Asian system relies on the **joint patriarchal family**, in which the eldest man rules the whole family. Authority is held by the grand father, the father, or the sons; the family represents a key factor of the oppression of women. Consequently, men are provided with liberties and power -noticeably over women- that women are deprived of, they have to endure men's authority in whatever situation. At the beginning of the film 'Bend it like Beckham'[5], the main character 'Jasminder', who belongs to an East African Sikh family in England complains: *' Why don't men have to come back home and help?'* Such a hierarchy may be reinforced by a phenomenon in which migrants become more traditionalist than people in their original countries; they sometimes become stricter not to dilute the values they inherited from the home country. Moreover, men predominate among the South Asian groups in England.

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[5] Gurinder Chada, Paul Mayeda Berges, 2002, <u>Bend It Like Beckham</u>.

As for the British system, subordination seems more implicit today but it still exists. The nineteenth century in Britain gives us an idea of women's subordination in Western industrialized countries. That period represents the birth of modernity including the emergence of capitalism and the working class as sociological concepts. Rationality and reason replaced religious beliefs. Women were devoted to the domestic sphere while men's activities were in contact with the public sphere –through work and leisure-. A striking example of this division is that, usually, the man of a family used to give part of his wages to his wife, for her to take care of the household and children; keeping the rest for the purpose of his own leisure, to go to the pub and socialize. Such practices continue today, British women often stay at home once they have had children, because school is only compulsory for children over five years old; women are thus suitable for part-time, or temporary jobs. Women are going to be referred to throughout this study; however, it is still important for me to note their lack of representation in the field of leisure, as it became an obstacle to my research. Despite what I formerly expected, most of my respondents happened to be males because they put into effect a sort of control over women by looking after them, over-protecting them (as relatives or friends). A social reality percolates through the gender of respondents.

In both cases, the structural ideologies of society play an important role in the subordination of women. Traditionally, sociologists themselves have tended to justify male supremacy through science and nature, claiming that differences are either rooted in women's biological capacity for motherhood, or, in the innate, biologically determined aggression of the male, as manifested in rape. In all societies, the idea of genders generates inequalities.

Even though Leicester Asian women may not enjoy themselves as much as men do, they play an important role in the social activities of Leicester, by organizing events, for instance. Besides, the fact that women experience oppression will bring questionings about

men's position; do they suffer from any social and moral pressure? If so, to what extent compared to women?

Young Adults: The fact of being young mainly relies on social norms. Obviously, a lot of people would not define themselves as old because it connotes a decline regarding life as a whole. Generally, one can consider that being young is before getting married, having finished one's studies, having a constant job, having children or being settled down. There is a set of social features defining youth. However, someone being forty years old, for instance; acting like a young person would probably be considered as socially deviant, out of the usual norms, and, indeed, in many cases, such behaviours are the result of social problems such as unemployment, divorce, poverty, exclusion or mental illness. Youth is a socially constructed notion as it is not fixed, but it still is commonly recognised.

D. KEY SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS.

Asian: The term 'Asian' as used in Britain defines all migrants from South Asia, that is to say Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Tariq Modood explains that some people can feel reduced by such a generalizing term. It does not take account of the culture inherited from their home countries: the different nationalities, languages, traditions and religions compounding the South Asian population. Indeed, such a term can be seen as a kind of racism from the white British, it also misrepresents the different generations and, subsequently, the fact that young generations are British for they were born there. I will however use this term along my study, as I will have to deal with generalities before reaching more specific conclusions. The word 'Asian' in this work about Leicester, is going to allude mainly to Pakistanis, Indians, and Indians from East Africa, it will not really refer to Bangladeshis, as they do not represent a significant community in Leicester. My work will deal with young

generations who are generally British, this is why I am conscious that the term 'Asian' mainly refers to people's ethnicity, it is a generalizing term.

Assimilation: This is a process inviting 'newcomers' to fit into the host country. In England, assimilation policies were in force in the fields of education -which was presented as a model of meritocracy and opportunity-, and urban policies throughout the 1960's and 1970's. Assimilation can be seen as a denial of the diversity of social, cultural and ethnic groups.

Blackness: Blackness is a political challenge to racism. The notion of blackness is the way non-white people unite when suffering from exclusion, racism or violence in Britain. Some Asians who responded to the *Fourth PSI Survey Of Ethnic Minorities* indicated that they were inclined to think of themselves as 'black' in situations where they were in contact with white people. One of T. Modood's respondent compared his identity to black people's by saying: *'Obviously, we originate from different continents and maybe in my parents' time our ways of life were very different. I feel that today I have a lot in common with them in terms of social life, music – for example, I love black American music, soul, rhythm and blues and music like that'.*[6]

Britishness: During the 1980's, hot debates took place on the political stage about the redefinition of British citizenship. Outsiders were seen as either British, with all the cultural allegiances that implied assimilation of British traditions (such as supporting cricket), or as 'ethnic', a threat to the national culture. That decade was dominated by a reinvigoration of British nationalism. In the 1990's, the notion of Britishness became a matter of resources and consumption, the term of 'social exclusion' appeared. Exclusion concerned those with a different lifestyle, considered as 'deviant' (abnormal) and unable to exercise active citizenship because of a lack of resources. Britishness depends on history and political ideologies but it

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[6] Modood T., Beishon S. and Virdee S. (1994) p.95.

seems essential to me to put it the other way round: do people feel British? Confronting different interviews will probably shape another idea of what it means to feel British today.

Creolization: It comes from the word 'Criollo', used by anthropologists to designate people from Spain who colonized South America; two populations confronted their different lifestyles. The concept of creolization expresses the way different ethnic groups influence each other.

Encapsulation: It is a process through which some immigrants encapsulate themselves within their own community; it means that they would rather not mix with another culture as they think theirs is better. Encapsulation can also be a reaction against racism and exclusion. For encapsulated individuals, mixing with another culture would probably represent a loss of their values and a degradation of their way of life.

Ethnic minority: The question of 'What is an Ethnic minority?' is no longer obvious; it is changing and mainly relates to the 'Ethnic majority'. This concept is used to define the groups of people who are in an inferior number within a society. It can be a constructed notion minimizing the importance of a community. In the UK, Asians and British Asians represent 50.3% of the non-white population, as recorded in the National Census of April 2001. Beyond that quantitative aspect, the term 'Ethnic' usually implies the difference of skin colours.

Ethnicity: The concept of ethnicity tends to designate people who are thought to be different because of physical markers such as their skin colour or biological race; people from Cyprus, Poland, Italy or Ukraine are barely considered as ethnic groups as they are white. English people, particularly, consider themselves as individuals while they see outsiders as members of groups. Besides, it is also a way for people to identify with a social group and keep their culture alive through religion, music, sports, language and various traditional activities. Ethnicity evolves constantly under the effect of creolization.

Structure: Structure is an ideology, the product of perpetual interactions between the day-to-day life and socio-political ideals. Structure underlies action; it establishes a main system for people to act within. The post-structuralists came to admit the multiplicity of identities, their theory leaves room for individuals' own choices. However, structure seems to be the tension occurring between choice and constraint in a society, or between the self and the system.

2. METHODOLOGY

A. INTENSIVE APPROACH

a) Qualitative.

I am going to use a qualitative approach, as recommended by T. Modood, but in a slightly different way because the theories and methods have evolved in sociology. Indeed, during the 1970's, sociologists were giving major importance to interviews; the research findings highly depended on a large number of respondents. Today, the emphasis is more laid on analysis and interpretation. A sample of eight interviews, combined with an accurate understanding of the research context should lead to interesting conclusions.

A quantitative approach is mainly based on surveys as well as statistical analysis of secondary source data, whereas a qualitative approach is based on participant observation, in-depth interviewing (primary source data); and a qualitative analysis of secondary source data. Some sociologists argued that quantitative approaches tended to treat people as objects rather than as human subjects; feminists, for instance, promoted a qualitative approach in social sciences.

b) Participant observation.

Participant observation consists in getting involved at different levels of the social life, depending on the subject that is to be dealt with. Personally, I started observing social life in quite a general way at first, so that certain topics arose by themselves. I had casual chats with people I met in the student accommodations, at my workplace, or at any moment of my daily life. The theme of leisure proved more consistent than the other subjects I had thought about.

Then, I came to know the places where some of them liked to go, their interests concerning a certain number of activities such as movies, internet, music, and so on. The main topics approached in this memoir emerged from the environment and various situations, rather than from a predefined idea.

Besides participating in certain events, the notion of observation is fundamental to this method. Observing people's behaviour in context, their attitudes towards the activities they participate in, but also towards each other, their interactions, and reactions. It is also imperative to take account of people's reaction with me, the observer. Is my presence incongruous? Am I rather accepted or rejected? Am I looked at in a specific way? Does my behaviour influence people's reactions? The researcher's interaction with the subject may convey certain aspects of the interactions that take place in the wider society. Collecting interviews is a step forward in the participant observation; to be developed in the next paragraph.

B. PRIMARY& SECONDARY SOURCE DATA

a) Interviews.

- **Respondents**

At first, finding some respondents proved complicated because of my ignorance in terms of sociology. I was embarrassed at asking people if they would accept to be interviewed as I was studying an ethnic group (visibly different). The mere fact of asking people meant putting them into categories, which may have offended them. I chose not to interview people close to me because it would have meant intruding their private life. The things I learned from them are part of the participant observation, like when I observed certain recurrent ideas, expressed by different individuals. For instance, the idea that white British are more selfish than Asians is quite common; many individuals including some of the respondents have suggested it.

At first, I had the opportunity to speak about my study with a few taxi drivers -who are generally forty, fifty years old, they proved interested in what I was saying, they could understand my point. One of them even offered spontaneously to be interviewed. Conversely, the younger generations are apparently less confident, some experience doubt about their identity, being between two cultures; therefore, some were afraid of both the conclusions that I was to draw out of their interviews, and of the personal things that they would have to tell me. I found it essential not to embarrass them. Some other people were first curious about my study, before backtracking after having thought about it. A young Muslim once asked me: *'What if I do not give you the answers you are expecting?';* he eventually cancelled our appointment. The terrorist attacks of July 2005 highlighted people's differences and the collecting of interviews grew difficult for a while afterwards. In times of crisis, people have a tendency to create scapegoats, so that Asians in general felt suspected and the fact that I was asking for interviews could be perceived as awkward. This phenomenon was even more obvious amongst the Pakistani Muslims, they were feeling targeted by the mass media, often connecting terrorism to Islam.

The first three interviews provided me with the key elements essential to the following ones. During the first one, I was subconsciously expecting certain answers from the respondent; I then realized that each individual has a specific history and his own way of seeing it. It helped me to remain neutral and open to respondents' thoughts and feelings.

For the second interview, we made an appointment in a busy café. As a result, the surrounding noise disturbed both the interview and its recording. Although the content of the interview was not affected, such conditions could have been stressful or confusing for the respondent.

During the third one, I realized that an interview could represent an outlet if it was sensitively carried out, if the questions are organized with sense.

I would say that these three different interviews with respectively Vijay, Saf and Faizal informed me about my own reactions towards the subject approached, but also about the context of an interview, and its content.

The four other interviewees included Rana, aged 21, a second-generation Punjabi Sikh working in a warehouse; Dali, a second generation Sikh with an East Africa father and an Indian mother; a 22 year old student. Two girls were also interviewed, they represented two very different points of view: Jasjit (24) had come from Punjab four years ago to get married and join her husband's family; and Meera (23) was a student in Leicester, from a liberal Hindu family living in London, she was consequently living on her own. Those two young women represent a wide spectrum within which, a significant part of other British Asian women can be represented. Some analysts in sociology consider that showing the elasticity of a phenomenon is more important than the quantity of respondents. With the same method, the girls' interviews proved shorter than the boys'. On average, they lasted forty-five minutes to an hour for male respondents and about half an hour for females.

- **Preparing an interview.**

Daniel Bertaux's book 'Récits de vie'[7] gave me an overview of what an interview should be, then, I adapted my method to situations and the different interviews that I carried out. My objective was to allow a conversation in which interviewees would feel comfortable enough to detail certain aspects of their life.

- **Content.**

The method I applied to most of the interviews consisted in starting with random questions about some specific aspect of the respondents' lives such as 'What films do you

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[7] Daniel Bertaux, 2003, <u>Les Récits de Vie</u> Sociologie 128, Nathan Université

most enjoy?' or 'Where do you usually go out on week-ends?' Then I gradually orientated the question towards more general issues concerning their identity and self-definition such as 'Do you feel more Indian or English?'

I found a certain logical in this process because interviewees came to go through several situations of their daily life, which enabled them to give a more general overview afterwards. I also thought that asking questions about people's self-definition straight away could be perceived as rude because it deals with their intimate feelings.

I experienced some difficulties during my first interview, probably because I needed my notes and therefore, I had a tendency to stick to certain questions while I should have been more receptive, and encourage the respondent to elaborate on what he was saying. The best way of doing it was to let my notes aside and eventually check that all the topics had been approached. I noticed that not reading my notes was making the interviewees more comfortable; they were feeling like having a chat rather than being interrogated.

I met the first interviewee, Vijay, at my workplace. His case seemed to me rather consistent because it offered several viewpoints, as he was a student, working in a restaurant, but also for the Leicester Royal infirmary, and as a volunteer in the RAF (Royal Air Force). His situation was also interesting because his parents had divorced; and he started living on his own at the age of eighteen, which influenced his way of thinking about life in general, but also about religion and traditions. The main difficulties during this interview were that, on the one hand, I interrupted him a few times while he was speaking; on the other hand, he was sometimes giving very short answers (*'yeah, yeah.' 'Sort of, yes.' 'No.'*), or very general ones that did not require any explanation *('I like them all'; 'We go wherever we want to go… anywhere.'*). Consequently, the conversation seemed a bit desultory at some points. However, it did not distort the content of the discussion, and some interesting issues emerged out of it.

I met another respondent thanks to friends network. The interview went very well, the respondent was very calm, and he elaborated on quite a lot of subjects. He was the oldest of

the respondents (28), which may explain that he seemed particularly comfortable; his account revealed different periods of his life, the process which made him as he is now, and the way he came to deal with his two cultures -since when he was a teenager until being an adult-. He has been able to produce his own analysis of the experience of youth, being quite dated,

One of the interviews directed my attention to individuals' behaviours because I could see that he was feeling very embarrassed, even a bit reluctant to do the interview. I tried to reassure him much more than required with the others. At first he was reacting as if he was being interrogated, he wanted to finish with it and he was urging me to pass to the following question. It took him about five or ten minutes to relax and then, he started elaborating more on his answers. In reaction, I took time to develop certain points he was elaborating on, I guided him very slightly, and I would not be insistent. At the end of the interview, he said *'It's been good'*, and, he was looking very relaxed, he was the only one to make such a comment. I interpreted his behaviour afterwards by listening to the whole interview again. He had experienced quite a lot of difficult moments in his life, and had a lot of responsibilities to take on -noticeably toward his family-; which can explain his attitude. This interview became cathartic.

b) Other sources

- **Primary source data:**

The interviews represent primary source data, alongside elements of direct observation - part of an intensive methodology -.

- **Secondary source data:**

I used, from the less to the most biased: studies based on primary sources such as 'Understanding and Celebrating Religious Diversity in Leicester's places of Religious Worship Since 1970', Pr. Richard Bonney, Centre for the Religious and Political Pluralism;

Studies of Religious and Cultural diversity. University of Leicester, Academic papers, 2003; original sociological studies such as 'Changing Ethnic Identities' by Tariq Modood, Sharon Beishon and Satnam Virdee; newspaper articles from the local and national newspapers; Hanif Kureishi's autobiography 'My Ear At his Heart'. I also used novels around the topic of the research providing me with a general background: Bali Rai's '(Un)arranged marriage' or Khushwant Singh's 'Dehli'; undergraduate books like 'Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain' by David Mason. Besides, I used the popular media, leaflets, magazines, films, and the Internet, bearing in mind that the latest are not reliable sources, the information provided cannot be taken for granted.

These few key elements lay the perspective of my research. The reader has to bear in mind that my point is to synthesize and interpret different aspects of reality in an attempt to shape the identity of the social group to be analyzed.

1. FIELD OF RESEARCH

A. ABOUT LEICESTER

a) Economy.

- ✓ *The occupational structure* of those living in the city is heavily biased towards manual labour. Plant and machine operatives, and elementary occupations are the two categories where the city has a higher proportion than England and Wales.

- ✓ *Employment sector*: The manufacturing industry represents 26,107 employees (23,4% of the population) against 14,96% for England and Wales.

The city used to be renowned for its textile industry producing knitwear, footwear, and hosiery, but the competition abroad, with a cheaper labour force jeopardized the industry as revealed by the city statistics issued after the census carried out in Leicester in 2001. Those features can be found on the city council website: http://www.leicester.gov.uk.

b) Age structure.

Leicester is a city counting 280 000 inhabitants. Leicester 2001 census[8] reveals that the group of people being between 20 and 30 years old predominates like in most of the cities in Western countries. People aged from 15 to 45 years old represent half of the population, which means that they are either students or professionals. I would argue that the 2001 census (unlike the previous ones) includes students from other parts of the country, which may explain the predominance of people being between 20 and 24. Leicester campus is compounded of three major universities: the University of Leicester, renowned for its teaching and research; De Montfort University, providing further education in many domains

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[8] Appendix i. and www.leicester.gov.uk/about-leicester/city-statistics/2001-census. Demographic and cultural city statistics.

(sciences, engineering, computing and design, as well as health, education, agriculture, business, law, sport, humanities and the arts); and Loughborough University, one of the largest campus in the UK with easy access from the M1, East Midlands Airport and 90 minutes from London St Pancras train station.

c) Ethnic composition.

In the UK, Asians and British Asians represent 50.3% of the non-white population, as recorded in the national census of April 2001. In Leicester, they represent a third of the local population as demonstrated through the figures below.

- **Ethnic Composition : Census 2001**

	Leicester	Percent	England & Wales
White: British	169456	60.54%	87.49%
White: Irish	3602	1.29%	1.23%
White: Other White	5681	2.03%	2.59%
Mixed: White and Black Caribbean	2841	1.01%	0.46%
Mixed: White and Black African	539	0.19%	0.15%
Mixed: White and Asian	**1908**	**0.68%**	**0.36%**
Mixed: Other Mixed	1218	0.44%	0.30%
Asian or Asian British: Indian	**72033**	**25.73%**	**1.99%**
Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	**4276**	**1.53%**	**1.37%**
Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	**1926**	**0.69%**	**0.54%**
Asian or Asian British: Other Asian	**5516**	**1.97%**	**0.46%**
Black or Black British: Caribbean	4610	1.65%	1.08%
Black or Black British: African	3432	1.23%	0.92%
Black or Black British: Other Black	553	0.20%	0.18%
Chinese	1426	0.51%	0.44%
Other Ethnic Groups	904	0.32%	0.42%

During the course of the last 10 years, the size of the various ethnic minority communities in Leicester has grown considerably, but perhaps not as much as some have expected.

A direct comparison between 1991 and 2001 gives an increase of 24,200 (+31.4%) but you need to remember that this includes students from other parts of the country. In 1991, the population of Indian origin formed the largest single ethnic community group in the city, with 22.3% (60,300) of the total population. By 2001, this figure had grown to 25.7% (72,000). This figure ranks Leicester as having the largest Indian population of any local authority area in England and Wales. The large population of Indian origin has resulted in Leicester having significantly high proportions of residents specifying their religion as Hindu, Sikh or Muslim. The national ranking placed Leicester as 3rd, 10th and 17th respectively for these three religions.

The group of Indians in Leicester represents half of the non-white population; besides, all South Asians represent 30% of the population and the white British, 60%. Adding the group of 'Mixed white and Asian' to Asians and 'other white' to white British leaves the proportions unchanged (respectively 30% and 60%). By contrast to Asians, all Black and Chinese represent only less than 5% of the local population. On a national scale, one can note that the white British are 25% less numerous in Leicester than in average for the rest of England and Wales, Asians are conversely in superior number, especially Indians, with 25% of the population, for only 2% in average for the rest of the country. This is the most striking difference amongst the other ethnic groups. There is also a significant difference for the group of 'other Asian' maybe due to the presence of East African Asian migrants in Leicester (not specified on the above figure).

B.   TIME DEFINITION

My interest for the contemporary culture made that most of this work relies on observation and 2004-2005 related events. It will bring the contrasts opposing the notions of 'culture' and 'pop-culture' that certain analysts consider as poorer. One has to bear in mind

that today, 'pop culture' is widely accessible and needs to be taken into account as a social reality.

Present times have to be related to the past and History, noticeably because South Asian culture gives a lot of importance to traditional values as it is one of the oldest civilization. I will attempt to elaborate on contemporary events with a historical perspective. Even a failure, a misguided interpretation of today's reality could prove constructive afterwards. Diverse changes through time and society could invalidate this study, but it is another tie linking sociology to all other disciplines of science.

- Conclusion

As a structure, Leicester has to adapt to its population by creating student accomodations or social structures, for instance, but also by providing activities in the context of the local economy. Studying the group of Asian young adults seems relevant to me as it represents the age structure of Leicester, but also because it will bring issues concerning the second generation migrants, the way they deal with their Asian and British identities. It will also allow me to figure out the process of integration they went through retrospectively.

The theme of leisure also shapes the group to be studied. Leisure depends on one's social, educational and economic profile, but also on each one's occupations, neighbourghood, gender and hobbies. Women are generally more inclined to endure social and moral pressures than men; this is why I came to interview more men than women, it is representative of the social reality. Nonetheless, the case of men cannot decently be studied apart from women, just like the present cannot be studied separately from the past.

2. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

A.   THE INDIAN SYSTEM

Although Kushwant Singh's novel 'Delhi' is a fiction, it relates the different domination of India through the history of Punjab, illustrating the conflicts that occurred between Sikhs, Muslim Moguls and Hindus. The narrative offers different point of views through a diversity of realistic characters (untouchables, emperors, poets etc…). As an appendix, Kushwant Singh added the dates of the important events as well as the emperors' reigns until the independence of India and Gandhi's assassination. I would advice anyone interested in the Indian history to read this book.

a) Religion:

- **Hinduism (82%):**

Hinduism is the oldest religion in Asia, it has no sacred text. It is based on cults, myths and rituals. According to Hinduism, three Lords rule the world. Brahma: the creator; Vishnu: the preserver and Shiva: the destroyer. Lord Vishnu did his job of preserving the world by incarnating himself in different forms at times of crisis. The three Lords that rule the world have consorts and they are goddesses. The consort of Brahma is Sarasvati; goddess of learning. Vishnu's consort is Lakshmi; goddess of wealth and prosperity. Shiva's consort is Parvati who is worshipped as Kali or Durga. Along them are a number of other gods and goddesses quite similar to the ancient Greek religion. Hindus' worship is not formal. The distinction between purity and impurity is fundamental as it was basically a way to order society. The former inhabitants of India were the Aryans and the Dravidians until 2000B.C. Then the Indo-Europeans (or Sanskrit) speakers expanded from the black sea towards west and east. They civilized the population of India with the caste system; people from the higher castes are considered as the purest, and those from the lower ones as the most impure. The Brahmins caste is the highest, including priests, teachers, sages, thinkers, intellectuals; the Dalits are casteless (also called the « untouchables », the four castes were not allowed to have

any physical contact with the untouchables), at the bottom of society, their jobs include tasks such as cleaning the toilets, killing animals or the work of leather. For Hindus, killing animals is wrong; it goes along the principle of reincarnation. After the Brahmins are the Kshatria, the warrior castes. After them are the Vaishya, business people; and after them are the Sudra, who are the common peasants and workers. That is a non-exhaustive list as the caste system is complicated, with many sub-castes. Hindus' main beliefs are re-incarnation on the one hand: going through several lives makes you purer and purer until you reach a degree of purity allowing you to Nirvana - when someone dies, his ashes are traditionally spread in the Ganges -; and vegetarianism on the other hand: destroying life is wrong, cows are sacred as they represent a source of wealth. Hinduism as a religion interacts a lot with the social organization and is, therefore, inseparable from India's structure. According to Hinduism, lord Vishnu has had ten incarnations in times of crisis: as a fish, a turtle, a boar, a strange being half man and half animal, a dwarf, a priest, the character Rama, Krishna. For Hindus, lord Vishnu's ninth incarnation is Balaram, the elder brother of Krishna; he became Buddha for the Buddhists. His tenth incarnation is Kalki, supposed to rise from the sea in a world of chaos to destroy evil[9].

Tariq Modood shows that the second generation of Hindu migrants in Britain generally follows food restriction (especially not eating beef), but not alcohol restriction. They mostly refer to religion when considering a marriage partner.[10]

- **Buddhism (0.7%):**

The prince Buddha Siddhartha Gautama founded Buddhism in India during the fifth century B.C. He decided to join the ascetics, people trying to resist basic needs, starving to

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[9] http://adaniel.tripod.com/religions.htm
[10] Modood T. Beishon S. and Virdee S (1994) p.50.

search for enlightenment. 'Buddha' meant enlightened in his region, this is the way Siddhartha became a Buddha. His theory was that life is a long suffering. The Buddhist worship is based on non-violence and a right behaviour in order to reach the Nirvana: the world without suffering; Buddhists are vegetarians. During the sixth century, there was a Buddhist empire in India, governed by the emperor Asoka. Buddhism expanded toward Sri Lanka and Asia, it is the most rapidly spread religion. Even though Buddhism was dominating India in the past, it is not the case anymore. It gave birth to many branches such as the Zen or the Tantric Buddhism, depending on the cultural influences, be they Japanese, Indian or Tibetan. Today, Buddhism is prominent in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Mongolia, Japan, Cambodia, Bhutan, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam[11].

- **Islam (12%):**

The Moguls introduced Islam in central Asia, Kazakhstan and India throughout the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries - after twenty centuries of Hindu dominance over India. Muslims came from Bukhara, Turkey, Iran, Yemen and Afghanistan. At first, they used military force to conquer India, people had to convert to Islam otherwise they were killed. They gradually extended their power to most of India and established a political authority, which lasted until the arrival of the British and French during the 18th century. There are various trends within Islam in India and not all of the Muslim emperors were fanatics -one of the Mogul emperors, Akbar, was very liberal and open to other religions. In his book ' My Ear At His Heart', Hanif Kureishi evokes his uncle's view of Islam in Pakistan: ' *I wanted Islam to be the guiding star, its moral direction… its social philosophy, its dynamic message of the dignity and equality of all'[12]*, that reveals the ambition of Islam as a universal way of life. Urdu replaced Sanskrit in poetry, singing and literature. Islam can be seen as opposed to Hinduism as it has a sacred text (the Koran) clear and simple in term of duties, it prohibits figurations of god; Muslims believe in the equality of all humans - which is in complete

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[11] http//www.adaniel.tripod.com/religion.htm
[12] Hanif Kureishi, (2004) 'My Ear At His Heart, reading my father, Faber & Faber, p.92.

contradiction with the caste system-. Muslims living in Great Britain usually come from Pakistan or Bangladesh, but also from many other parts of the world (Malaysia, Indonesia, etc…).

The second generation of Muslim migrants in Britain still considers religion as *'important' or 'very important'*[13]. In the book 'Changing Ethnic Identities', one of the Muslim respondents sees Islam as '*a body of ethical principles, source of decency and civilized behaviour'*, she considered it as a guidance rather than dictatorship.

- **Sikhism (2%):**

The term 'guru' means teacher and 'Sikh': learner. The first guru, Nanak (1469-1539), developed Sikhism, which includes beliefs from the two main religions in Punjab (Hinduism and Islam). Like Muslims, Sikhs are monotheist (belief in one invisible God), they have a sacred text: the Guru Granth Sahib -written by ten gurus, Nanak being the first one-. It also contains contributions of Hindu as well as Muslim saints. Religious tolerance is one of the central principles of the Sikh philosophy. Like Hindus, they believe in Karma and reincarnation; like Muslims, they oppose idol worship and believe in the oneness of the human kind. The tenth Guru (Gobind) proclaimed that after him, the guru would be the Granth Sahib, the text itself. They tried to abolish the caste system and traditions such as the *sati* - burning of Hindu widows -. Such rituals reveal a gender inequality rooted in religion, women are considered as insignificant without their husbands. Sikhs strongly believe in equality between men and women. In Sikhism, everyone has equal right irrespective of his/her religious beliefs, colour, sex or caste. Their temple is a 'Gurdwara', its four doors represent its openness to all. Education and knowledge are important for both boys and girls. Sharing and helping each other are important features for the Sikhs; every Gurdwara has its Langar (common kitchen). Health is also important for them, as God is present to human being; fostering a healthy diet is part of the worship. Originally non-violent as attempting to

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[13] Modood T. Beishon S. and Virdee S (1994) p.51; p.52.

reconcile Muslims and Hindus, Sikhs gained a more military attitude since some of the Sikh Gurus were executed in the Punjab area by the Mogul emperors. The most peaceful co-existence of Islam and Sikhism was with the fifth Guru Arjan Dev (1581-1606), who was a friend of the liberal Mogul emperor Akbar[14]. Jehangir, who became emperor after Akbar, turned out to be a religious fanatic, he tortured the Guru to death: he was made to sit on a hot iron plate, then boiled in a cauldron and finally, hot sand was poured on his body. Thus he became the first Sikh martyr. The tenth guru then decided to make his followers a community of fighters, he adopted the surname 'Singh' which means ' lion' and so did his followers. Since then, Sikhs kept on having a combative attitude, even today, they serve and strengthen the Indian police or army; they also became the steering masters of India. In his book <u>Sikhs and Sikhism in Britain, fifty years on the Bradford perspective</u> (Bradford Libraries, 1988), Ramindar Singh explains that the tenth guru ordained all baptized Sikhs to bear five Ks:

1. *Kes:* uncut hair

2. *Kangha*: a comb

3. *Kachha:* specially designed shorts

4. *Kara:* a steel bracelet

5. *Kirpan:* a sword

Women wear the Salwar (baggy trousers) Kameez (tunic). The main religious restrictions are:

- ✓ Not to consume tobacco;

- ✓ Not to commit adultery;

- ✓ Not to cut hair;

- ✓ Not to eat *halal* (meat killed by ritual slaughter).

Sikhism imposes no strict restrictions concerning food or alcohol, so that they could socialize better with the British officers than Hindus or Muslims; they first developed close links with the British army and are now in great proportion in the Indian army. Yet, the above

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[14] Ramindar Singh (1988) <u>Sikhs and Sikhism in Britain, fifty years on the Bradford perspective</u> Bradford libraries, p.25.

restrictions can be contested. They are also not supposed to drink alcohol but they adapt the rules to each one's way of living. The fact that Ramindar Singh's view on religion may be distorted shows how flexible Sikhism can be, contrarily to Islam. 50% of the Sikhs today live in Punjab, 50% are spread between Hong Kong, Singapore, Canada, Australia, France (Bobigny), and Britain where they tend to go to the temple on Sunday to relax and eat[15]. Gurdwaras are generally divided into two parts: the community center (where to play sports, music, games) with a Langar (free communal kitchen); and the religious temple. Sikhs' names end in '-Singh'; the main castes are the Jat (farmers), the Khatri (business people), the Dobi (washermen), Jhir (water carriers) and Nai (barbers). Most of them do not give any importance to the caste system, as their new social order was to embrace all people, '*in the guru's Langar, the Brahmin and the untouchable ate together as members of the same family.*'[16] There is a 'Guru Gobind Singh Gurdwara' in Bradford where the Gurmukhi -script used by Sikhs for written Punjabi- is taught every Saturday. Even if Sikhism condemns the caste system, Sikhs in Britain are divided into four main groups: The Jat Sikhs, members of the rural peasantry and the farming community from the Punjab who perceive themselves as of higher social status; the Ramgharia Sikhs, village artisans, carpenters blacksmiths, masons, bricklayers, plumbers, tailors; the Ad-dharmi Sikhs/Ravidasias, mainly those who were landless agricultural labourers; and the urban based caste groups, largely from business backgrounds.

Tariq Modood underlines the unimportantness of religion for second-generation Sikhs in Britain although they acknowledged that their parents were very religious.

Even though *Christianity (2, 5%)* has existed in India for two thousand years, most of the conversions to Christianity occurred when missionaries arrived in India with the European powers of the 15th century. For some people of the lowest castes, Christianity represented an opportunity to escape their conditions as untouchables, established by Hinduism.

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[15] Lecturer J. Moore (2004) licence civilization lectures at the university of Toulouse II.
[16] Ramindhar Singh (1988) p.10.

- **Other religions:**

Jainism - about 0.5%; Zoroastrianism - about 0.01%

- **Conclusion:**

The main religions in India are Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism; they all played a role in India's history and affected its population. The fundamental differences between Islam and Hinduism resulted in violent conflicts over centuries. Hinduism seems strongly related to the past with its beliefs about the creation of earth, they consider human as a part of nature. They give a lot of importance to the maintaining of traditional values such as the caste system. Contrarily, Islam is ambitious, turned towards the future. Muslims believe in the human potency to develop knowledge in various domains, thanks to a number of clear rules, in an attempt to create equality. Islam aims to expand and evolve through a *social philosophy*. Sikhism appears as a compromise between those backward and forward views of religion by worshipping certain Hindu ancestral beliefs and, at the same time, promoting equality and claiming the oneness of human kind. Sikhism seems to be the result of History, created to reconcile two population in troubled times. Khushwant Singh's novel 'Delhi' (1990, Editions Philippe Picquier), relates the history of Punjab in a romanced form, it gives the reader an idea of the tensions that occurred through centuries between the three religions. Punjab was, indeed, the region where Mogul emperors were fighting Hindus. Sikhism was, therefore, logically born at the meeting of the two populations.

Today's India religions:

India's Religions
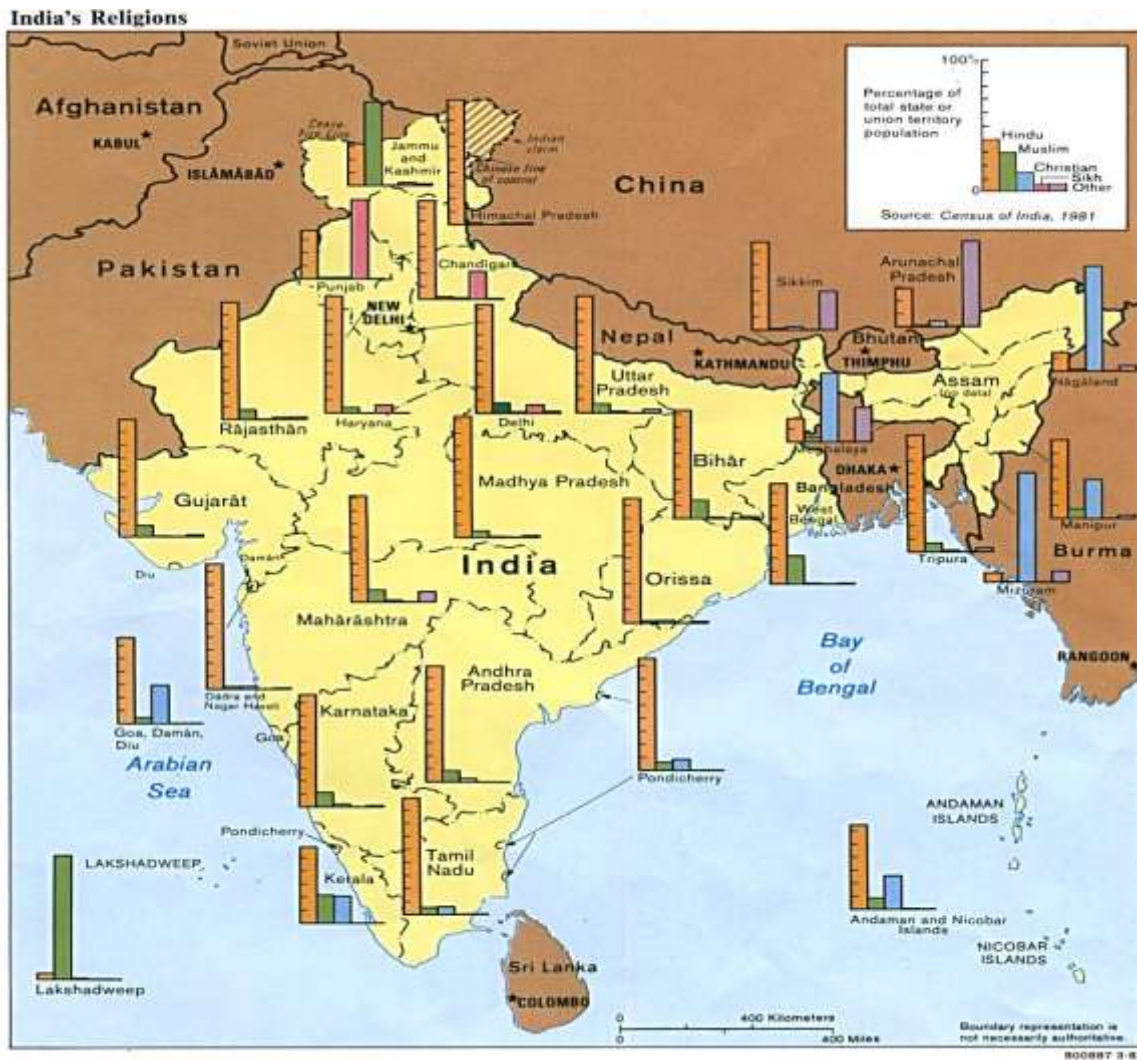
b) The Joint Patriarchal Family:

The household is under the authority of the oldest man with unmarried sons and daughters; married sons; their sons' children and the daughters who have been married and are widowed or divorced. The joint patriarchal family or extended family model is still vivid in Britain although transformed with the British values; for instance, women gained more economic freedom in Britain, which has resulted in them having a greater say in the family's financial decision. It also created a way for women to develop their own social contacts; do shopping on their own, but also to sponsor members of their own family for settlement in Britain or social visits. In spite of more liberal and cultural traditions, the majority of men still

hold fairly conservative attitudes in Britain. Young generations generally have to show a lot of interest for the family, and elders should be respected. Richard Berthoud's study about the household earnings in <u>'Ethnic Minorities in Britain, diversity and disadvantages' (Policy Studies Institute, 1997)</u> revealed that *'Indian and African Asian households had rather more adults, but a slightly lower rate of employment among them. Overall, though, this group had more workers per household than whites, Caribbeans and Chinese.'*[17] The family works out like an organization, in which each one has a role to play.

Endogamy: families are connected to each other and form a 'clan' or 'Biradari' (Birad means brother). All these families descend from the same ancestor. Endogamy is when somebody marries inside the group. In some cases cousins or second cousins marry. The clan is an important structure in the Mirpur district (Pakistan). The clan for Sikhs is a 'Gotra'.

Exogamy: it is when you marry someone outside the clan, Hindus don't give any importance to the clan, and Sikhs practice exogamy even if they belong to a clan.

'Izzat': it is the notions of honour and reputation within a joint patriarchal family or a clan, economic growth and a moral behaviour reflect the good 'izzat' of a family.

c) Marriage

- **Tradition:**

Forced marriages can happen but they remain quite rare, in most of the cases, arranged marriages prevail. Young people are introduced to several potential partners through the intervention of the family or marriage brokers. Contacts can be arranged on different occasions like other people's marriages, religious festivals and celebrations. Both parts have at anytime the right to refuse although the pressure to say yes can be quite strong. In a traditional society, everyone has to either get married or become a priest. The reputation of the family noticeably relies on arranged marriages. The partner usually has to be from the

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[17] Tariq Modood, Richard Berthoud (1997) <u>Ethnic minorities in Britain, diversity and disadvantages</u>, Policy Studies Institute London, p.156.

same caste or a higher one, but rarely from a lower one. In Britain, families' attitude toward marriage varies, some become rather liberal, and others would reject their children's partner if he/she is from a different caste. Families' attitude depends on their religious and social background, their principles toward marriage also change from generation to generation, and rules become less strict for the second or third generation of migrants. The migrants who had to endure a difficult past in Britain – racism or economic difficulties - push their children to marry within their community, as they reject English culture as a whole. In Britain, young Asians are more educated as they are quite successful in the educational system, they can therefore gain a better social status than their parents. They are more conscious of the British culture; men and women can arrange their own marriages through the means of adverts at the back of the newspapers or using websites. The Indian culture provides a rational vision of marriage, it has to be carefully planned; that attitude is very far from the western romantic emotions about 'falling in love'. Asians consider emotions as dangerous, for them, it is not a matter of two individuals, but two families have to get on well together, everyone plays a role in the marriage. Divorce is allowed in all Asian religions even though it represents a loss of 'izzat'. Marrying a British Asian often represents an opportunity to get a better life for women back in India.

- **Mixed marriages**

Mixed marriages represent a threat for the family structure. Bali Rai's book: « (Un)arranged marriage », published in 2001 by Corgi Books, is the story of a young boy Manjit who gets involved in an arranged marriage with a girl living in India. He is a Jat Punjabi (Sikh) and a second generation Asian in Leicester. During the course of the story Manjit, or 'Manny' gets enforced to stay in the Punjabi countryside and manages to escape thanks to his uncle. Beyond the issue of arranged marriages, the story tackles many issues faced by British Asians - drug taking, alcoholism, stealing, bullying, teenage pregnancies,

racism, violence and intolerance-. Rai's book emphasizes the dichotomy between the traditional values of the first generation Asians in Leicester and their children, the conflicts emerging from it generates an identity crisis within the main character, but also, within the community.

However, mixed marriages are increasing between different Asian religions. 20% of the Asians marrying in Britain marry outside their community (with the white British); the white partner has to accept symbolically the religion, which subsequently gets modified.

- **Semi-arranged marriages:**

The same level of education, wealth or a range of common interests can compensate for the caste. Education is a significant way of gaining 'izzat' in Britain, while it would be land ownership back in India; children are then pushed to succeed in education.

B.   MIGRATION

a) Pioneers

Isolated individuals started migrating to Great Britain even before the Second World War and the independence of India (15th of August 1947). During the 1930's Indians began developing links with the British army and navy, particularly Sikhs. Then, at the end of their service they had no role left to play in their villages deprived from economic activities. Some of them then decided to live in Britain and used their pensions to start businesses as peddlers -selling clothes, handkerchiefs or socks-. It proved quite successful as the British emerging middle class was weekly paid by cash and had no access to banks. For Britain, Indian people represented a new source of labour; pioneers realized their new opportunities to earn money in Britain as well as for other workers. A chain migration then started, which helped funding the modernization of agriculture in India: the Green Revolution took place during the 1950's

and 1960's, farmers invested in new machines and innovations. Several members of a family would join the pioneers in Britain as it was seen as a positive way to get cash in order to send it back to India. Basically, the migrants aimed to return to India after four or five years –this phenomenon is known by sociologists as the myth of return, expressed by the first migrants in any country-.

b) Male economic migrants.

The role of pioneers had been essential as they enabled their fellows from India to join them. Indeed, they were the ones who spoke English; they bought old Victorian houses -for low prices but still in good conditions- so that they could rent rooms to new immigrants. It suited everyone. Even though these old houses were not really comfortable, it did not matter as these men only wanted to earn money and they aimed to return anyway. Their community was not visible as they only were in Britain to work; the money they earned was not to spend but to save.

c) Families reunited

Some migrants decided to bring their wives and families to Britain as they found several advantages in staying there. First they could provide their children a good education for free; then, the fact that Britain is a secular country allowed them to live their own way, their religions were respected (festivals could be celebrated), they could recreate their traditions through 'Mandirs' (Hindu temple), 'Gurdwaras' (Sikh temples) or mosques for the Muslims. Furthermore, once they had bought a house and brought their families, they had much less money to send back to India.

d) British born and educated generations

As the first generations of migrants kept on saving money, they climbed up the social ladder and became doctors, engineers etc… Spatially, their successful integration into Britain made Asians move to middle-class suburbs. The exception to this success occurred in small textile towns because the textile industry collapsed during the 1980's and 1990's. Some British born Asians tended to turn to crime or encapsulation as a result of the rejection of the British society. Those negative effects remained a minority of cases regarding Asians' story in Great Britain.

e) Locations.

Most of the Asian people in Britain are originally from the regions of Punjab and Gujarat in India, or from the Mirpur in Pakistan and Sylhet in Bangladesh.

People from the region of Mirpur, in Pakistan, migrated to the North of England because there was a need for workers as the textile industry was in difficulty after the Second World War. Hence, they migrated to the county of Lancashire where the cotton industry was - North West coast of England-; in the cities of Manchester, Lancaster, Oldham, Rochdale or Burnley. They also moved to the counties of Yorkshire and Gloucestershire in the cities of Leeds, Gloucester, Bradford and Batley where the wool industry used to be.

As for Indian people: Punjabis Sikhs migrated in all parts of Britain, like did people from Gujarat, both Muslim and Hindus.

Bangladeshi people from Sylhet developed tight links with the British military and merchant navy. The specification of their migration to England is that they opened a large number of restaurants all over Britain; even today, Bangladeshis own many Indian restaurants.

The case of East Africa Asians: After the colonialism of the 19th century, the British government sent Indian people, especially Gujaratese to East Africa -Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi- as a Labour force. They then represented a middle-class there. After the 1960's, most of the British colonies gained their independence. The African leaders 'Africanized' their countries; therefore, Asians became unwanted. Most of them moved to big cities such as London, Birmingham, Manchester and Leicester.

C.   IN LEICESTER

As explained in the previous paragraph, some of the Asians in Leicester are originally East Africa Gugeratese, but this is not sufficient to describe the diversity of Asians living there.

a) Landmarks.

According to 'Understanding and Celebrating Religious Diversity. The Growth of diversity in Leicester's places of religious worship since 1970', written by the Professor Richard Bonney[18]; a total of 39 164 South Asians migrated into Leicester between the year 1951 and 1991, including 20 841 Indians, 17 168 East Africans, 1 155 Pakistanis and 685 Bangladeshis. That was a period when religious groups started to make statements to the local press, noticeably to the *'Leicester Mercury'*. Leicester was the first authority to produce a policy on places of worship, probably in an attempt to assert the growth of diversity in religious buildings and its structural richness for the city cultural and social life. In the meantime, a lot of conflicts and tensions emerged. The *'Leicester Mercury'* proclaimed

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[18] Pr. Richard Bonney, 2003, '*Understanding and Celebrating Religious Diversity in Leicester's places of Religious Worship Since 1970',* Centre for the Religious and Political Pluralism. Studies of Religious and Cultural diversity. University of Leicester, Academic papers p.17, 18, 19, 20.

Leicester *Full* on the 31st of August 1972 (Appendix ii). The city council itself was, then, trying to persuade the refugees to look elsewhere for a permanent settlement. By 1981, Leicester had approximately 10% of the UK's South Asian immigrants from East Africa. In 1991, the Asian population represented 23.7% of the population; more than Birmingham (13.5%) or Bradford (13.3%). The 2001 Census showed the distribution of religions within the Asian community and out of the community as shown below.

- **Religion : Census 2001**[19]

	Leicester	Percent	England & Wales
Christian	125187	44.72%	71.75%
Buddhist	**638**	**0.23%**	**0.28%**
Hindu	**41248**	**14.74%**	**1.06%**
Jewish	417	0.15%	0.50%
Muslim	**30885**	**11.03%**	**2.97%**
Sikh	**11796**	**4.21%**	**0.63%**
Other religions	1179	0.42%	0.29%
No religion	48789	17.43%	14.81%

Compared to the population in India, Sikhs are in greater proportion amongst the Asian community of Leicester. It seems that the earliest South Asian settlers in Leicester were the Jat Punjabi Sikhs, representing now 60% of the Sikhs in Leicester. The Ramgharia Sikhs, from East Africa represent 40% of them, the latest having a more orthodox view on religion; they are usually more conservative than those of the Jat caste.

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[19] http://www.leicester.gov.uk/

b) Settling areas.

▪ 1960's: The Asian migrants in Leicester first settled in the low-priced housing areas close to the railway and bus station. This pattern is quite remarkable in a lot of European cities like Marseille, where the poorest areas were first around the station and the harbour. The case of French cities is now different from England as France developed suburban areas with estate buildings around the cities during the 1960's and 1970's in order to lodge the labour force coming from the North African countries. In 1963, these small areas around Leicester city centre, counted about one to five percent of Asian settlers. In 1969, the area in close proximity to the station counted ten to twenty percent of Asians, and decreasingly around five to ten percent, and one to five percent. It is during this period that migrants started settling in the Belgrave area -north-, today well known as a Hindu neighbourhood with Indian clothing shops, jewelleries and food. The first and Central Mosque was built in October 1989 in Conduit Street, behind the train station.

▪ 1970's: During a decade, and following the influx from Uganda, Asians settled all around the city centre, but they tended to concentrate more specifically in the areas of Belgrave -north- and Highfield -east-. Muslim people, today mostly inhabit the eastern part of the city with East Park road and Evington road. Recently, the Masjit Umar mosque was built on Evington road; it is a big building attracting a lot of male believers from the whole Highfield area. You can also find the 'Guru Teg Bahadar Gurdwara' -Sikh temple- on East Park road. 1978: some parts of these areas counted more than fifty percent of Asian inhabitants. The settlers from India concentrated in the districts of Latimer -north-, Crown Hills and Spinney Hill -east-. The migrants from East Africa first settled in the districts of Wycliffe -near the station-, Spinney Hills and Latimer; then they established in the northern part of Leicester: Latimer and Belgrave even though they are the ones who expanded the more throughout Leicester, contrasting with people from Pakistan who first concentrated in the

district of Wycliffe, then Spinney Hills -east-. John Martin and Gurhapal Singh represented the movement of settlers in Leicester[20], figures to be found in Appendix iii.

[20] John Martin and Gurhapal Singh (2002) <u>Asian Leicester</u> Sutton Publishing p.15-20.

CHAPTER III NIGHTLIFE

In England, going out in pubs, bars or clubs is an important way of socializing. The term of socializing itself is commonly used; for instance, some would say 'I only smoke when socializing', the idea of socializing is tightly related to going out. This is how people come to know their workmates, colleagues, university mates, or random people. I would argue that the climate in England is rather cold or rainy most of the time, which means that people, cannot really socialize outdoors. Students often organize 'Pub-crawls' to celebrate the end of a term, specific university-related events, or just to celebrate birthdays and on various occasions. A pub-crawl consists of going from bars to bars until getting to a pre-selected club. Such an organization illustrates the importance of going out for British people.

The presence of numerous students transforms Leicester nightlife. It is particularly remarkable over the summer when most of them are away; the atmosphere becomes much quieter than during the rest of the year. The students' 'NUS card' entitles them to discounts in various shops, but also on drinks and clubs entrances all over the UK. Can we consider such offers as an attempt to lower students' expenses? I would argue that it is a way of attracting students who have money to spend. Indeed, students come either from wealthy families who can afford to pay for their children's education; or, others take loans to help them finance their studies in terms of daily life and also to pay their tuition fees. As a result, students generally have money to spend. They also represent a future market for selling brands. After graduating, students become able to handle well-paid jobs, so that brands target them as future consumers.

As for Asian students, they now correspond to the same level of wealth as the white British, thanks to the successful integration of the first generation of migrants. In some families, and according to the system of the joint patriarchal family; one of the children – generally the youngest son- works to support his family and the household by helping paying bills or their mortgage, so that the other children can study. The Jat Sikhs, who were formerly

farmers in India, often consider themselves as manual workers; work contributes to a good 'Izzat'.

Each place needs to adapt its management according to Leicester multiculturalism. The main issue here will be to determine whether one can observe a common behaviour within and outside the South Asian community.

1. POPULAR PLACES

The young Asian's favourite places to go to, in town, seem to be the following ones:

A.   'BAR RISA', Granby Street:

Usually busy on student nights and weekends, the 'Bar Risa' is a place where people like to go before clubbing. Drinks are cheap and you can find offers such as 'buy one get one free' on drinks to encourage the customer. You can sit on sofas, at large wooden tables, to chat; or just dance. The music displayed there is generally a mix of the most popular singles on radio and on TV. By midnight, the customers start leaving to carry on partying in clubs or in other busy places. Mostly Asian young people frequent this bar and, generally, the white British would not go there spontaneously although, of course, there are some exceptions to this rule. On a busy night, white people represent a minority amongst the 'Bar Risa' customers. Nonetheless, I had the opportunity to observe a change over the summer, when only locals remain in Leicester, people know each other after years living in the same city. Therefore, the atmosphere of the bar becomes quieter, and the crowd more multicultural.

B.   'REVOLUTION', New Walk:

Similarly to 'Bar Risa', 'Revolution' is a place where people go before two. The Disc Jockey plays R&B or Hip-hop music on busy student nights. The following chapter will demonstrate that certain young Asians, and particularly girls came to appreciate RnB and Hip-hop music. A smaller bar located on the first floor offers a quieter atmosphere for people who prefer having conversations. The name 'Revolution' is supposed to remind of the Russian revolution as this bar is specialized in vodka. As a lot of Indians are keen on spicy flavours, they can enjoy the chilly vodka or the 'Bloody Mary' cocktail with 'Tabasco'. Contrarily to 'Bar Risa', 'Revolution' is quite expensive, even if they practice student discounts for the 'NUS card' holders. The entrance tickets costs grow from two pounds to 'more' until the closure. On their July flyer, they promote *'a party inspired by something a little more spicy […] some sexy sounds […] a hot top revolving DJ every Saturday'.* (Appendix ix).

C.   'CREATION', Church Gate:

This place is probably the most popular club amongst the Leicester students. Getting in usually costs about five to seven pounds after ten because the club has three different rooms, with three different atmospheres; students offers available on Tuesday and Thursday nights. I was quite surprised at observing that music and people were divided into different groups. One of the two main room mostly attracts white people with pop, dance music, rock or 'cheesy' music, contrastingly, the second room attracts more young Asians with Bhangra Djs like Jassi Sidhu, 2Play, DJ Spoony, Tigerstyle, Rishi Rich, Raghav, Hanif, Panjabi Hit Squad. The music played in the second room is mainly R&B, and Bhangra music. Creation itself advertises on its website*: 'Once inside you can pass through several zones and experience new and different styles and music each with their identity'.* That is quite appealing as a concept but in concrete terms people are a bit separated as for instance, Indian people know how to dance on Bhangra music, while English or European could not manage it

at all. Besides, the same music tracks are often played, with the same Bhangra tunes that Rana (21) qualified as '*cheesy*' because everyone knows them. Drinks are served at three different bars, two being in the main rooms. The third one is upstairs; more intimate and cosy with Soul and Hip-hop music.

D. 'ZANZIBAR', Gravel Street:

It is located two minutes away from the 'Creation', and functions on a very similar concept. There is a square bar at the centre of the main room where a mix of pop, party, dance classics and cheesy tunes is displayed. A lot of student nights are organized in this part of the club. You can access another part of the club through a tunnel. The second room is smaller and has a different name: 'The Cobarna', with a more intimate space, the Disc Jockey plays a *'sexy blend of R&B and soul classics'* as advertised on the website[21]. Curiously, the decoration of this club is reminds of eastern adornments. The entrance is a wide room in the middle of which is a round fountain, you can find an amphora next to the cash desk, then, people access the main room through a thick door with blue mosaics reminding the Muslim architecture, on both sides of that door are windows with grids of the same shape. A funny detail is the fake elephant head hung above the toilets door. For the rest, a dim light and warm colours emphasize this Asian fantasized atmosphere. Quite surprisingly, decoration is more finely worked in the main room than in the second one, supposed to attract Asian customers.

I would argue that both of those clubs are spacious; therefore, they need more money than other places to pay for the staff and keep the building. This may be a reason for them to try and please as many customers as possible.

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[21] http://www.Leicester.zanzibarnightclub.co.uk/

E. **'DE MONTFORT STUDENTS' UNION' :**

As explained in the second chapter (Age Structure in Leicester), De Montfort University develops skills in many domains whereas the University of Leicester is more specialized in theoretical knowledge. It is interesting to note that South Asians predominate in the first one whereas it is white students in the second one. Some of the De Montfort University (DMU) students come from India to develop their education and go back to India with more skills. They are sometimes humorously called the 'freshies' by their British Asian mates. Both of the unions organize parties on student nights. Again, the music in DMU Union is generally R&B and Bhangra while it is more pop music and rock in the Leicester University one.

Conclusion:

One has to bear in mind that this is only an overview of Leicester parties. It is non-exhaustive and is highly influenced by the student activity; yet, it is still representative of the way multiculturalism is dealt with regarding nightlife. The first paragraph of chapter four, about music, will provide a more accurate idea of the way people come to mix, and also about the way things tend to evolve.

On the 21st of July 2006 (9.30 a.m.), the BBC broadcasted a programme about the young British Asian; a young man called and said he was wondering whether his parents would have done this or that; he added *'We do different things… like going out late at night'*, to which a girl answered *'Bombay is worse than England, I went out there, and came back home at 6 in the morning'*. It shows that the first generation migrants are sometimes unaware of the way life evolves in India, and it can be at the source of family conflicts in England.

2. FOOD

Making food at home does not have the same significance as going out for a meal; the first one being a necessity; the second, an element of leisure. Generally, Indian food is made out of a set of forty five to fifty spices, plus around forty vegetables, and flour, milk or *ghee* - purified butter-[22]. Meat is added for the non-vegetarian dishes -mainly chicken or lamb, but not beef because it is considered as a sacred animal for Hindus, a belief that influenced the whole Indian gastronomy-. Leicester is crowded with all sorts of Indian restaurants, from 'The Tiffin', being the most expensive one - London road-, to the 'Mac Indian's', a fast-food restaurant offering Indian burgers on Belgrave Gate. I would note specifically 'The Red Veil', where the chefs are inspired by Indian food, but also by all sorts of eastern food, to create an innovative cuisine. In all of the Indian restaurants, the dishes are served on hot iron plaques in the centre of the table so that people can share them and taste every dish because it is the traditional way of eating. They normally pick the food with pieces of 'Naans', flat bread, that can either be served plain or with different flavours; otherwise, they use 'chapattis', another kind of flat round bread, the Sikhs do a 'roti' bread. One of the interviewees said that Asians were more demanding while eating in Indian restaurants because they know the way it has to be cooked. At the same time, restaurants have to adapt certain dishes of their menu in order to suit European tastes by making them milder, for instance. One of the respondents said: *'The food at home is more oily and more hot, the food in restaurants is more of a really mild kind of food and it never tastes the same than the food at home'*, this respondent's arguments about food seemed pertinent as he said that he had worked in most of the Indian restaurants in Leicester as well as in the areas of Wigston and Syston (north and south): *'I used to work in a restaurant before, my father used to own one as well, so I have been there as well. Because of that, I started knowing everyone in the restaurant thing, whether I go to London road, or if I*

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[22] Chandal Patel (2000) <u>Traditional Indian Recipes</u> Published by Chandal Patel, Leicester.

go to Oadby or anywhere there's always someone I know who's working in a restaurant.' All of them agreed on the fact that the food they could eat at home was different from the restaurants food.

Besides, Italian restaurants are attracting more and more Asian customers; they are seen as modern restaurants, offering both, another kind of food, and, the possibility to share dishes as well. The example of 'Antibo'- an Italian restaurant on London Road- seems to be a good illustration of that because it is surrounded by ten Indian restaurants. It is an expensive restaurant that some people would qualify 'posh', which counts several wealthy regular Asian customers. I was working there as a waitress for six months and could observe the different ways people used to enjoy their food. Most of the Asians liked to share their food so that they generally ordered pre-sliced pizzas, starters, side orders and pastas altogether in the middle of the table with side plates. Contrarily to other customers, they would rather like to have their starters and main courses together. The restaurant adapted to their tastes with a home made chili sauce, spicy garlic bread, or 'Penne Arrabiata' -a kind of chilli pasta -. Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus were part of the clientele, some of them drinking, others not, some eating meat and others not. I also noticed that the Sikhs used to fully enjoy their meals by spending a lot of money on drinks and food, regardless the cost.

The Indian restaurants adapt their dishes to western tastes, and, modern restaurants aim to fit the Asians' culinary habits. Vijay (23) illustrated this shift in tastes by saying about his family: *'Their food taste is different from mine. They prefer going to Indian restaurants or Chinese. I don't like those restaurants… I prefer Italian… More like modern restaurants.'* While speaking about food, one of the respondents said *'I like my Fish and Chips, that's my best food. Because I've been eating Indian food all my life, I like my Fish and Chips, the Döners, burgers, I like all of that'*.

Combining both tastes, some 'halal' fast-food restaurants spread all over the city, with, noticeably, a large number of 'Maryland' and 'Dixy Chicken' offering mainly fried chicken

and veggie burgers -made out of soy and vegetables- all either mild or spicy. The term 'halal' written in Arabic, means that the chickens have been killed as recommended by Islam. So they suit all customers and their diets, taking account of every religious restriction, which can seem a bit contradictory as Islam opposes consumerism and Hinduism is against all forms of killing animals. Today, all of the traditional English pubs in Leicester offer, at least a 'Chicken Tikka' or a 'Curry' on their menu alongside the usual 'Fish and Chips' or 'Full English Breakfast'. Curry has actually been voted the national British dish in the late 1990's. It shows that, today, white British people enjoy their curry as much as their very traditional food. In most of the supermarkets, you can find ready made 'Chicken Tikka Massala', curries, Naan breads, hot and mild sauces, wide ranges of spices, they even conceived products such as the chili mayonnaise, half way between two culinary cultures. The mention 'suitable for vegetarians' also appears on many products.

Conclusion:

Even if Indian people keep on having their own culinary customs when going out (to Indian and Chinese restaurants), they tend, now, to combine them with more modern restaurants such as the Italian or Mexican ones. The restaurants themselves adapt to those new customers. Besides, Indian restaurants have a great success among English customers, their cuisine is now very popular, it influences English people's tastes and their food habits, even on a daily basis; Samosas and Curries represent an alternative to Fish and Chips, bacon and sausages.

3. DRINKS

A majority of the Asians in Leicester enjoy drinking alcohol as suggested previously in the paragraph about the different local bars and clubs. The most popular drink in England is beer although the so-called 'Alco pops' are growing successful among young populations. By now, Indian beers are also appreciated in the country. In his book (Un)arranged marriage, Paperback (2001), Bali Rai evokes a beer that the main character had discovered in India: *'He handed me a bottle of beer called Cobra and told me to have a drink. As I took a little swig of the bitter-tasting beer, my cousins asked uncle Piara if they could have some to'*[23]. Pent-up in Indian restaurants in the past, they are now extending to more and more pubs and bars. In Leicester, the 'Cobra beer' can now be found on draught in many places, including traditional English pubs. The BBC news of the twenty first of October, 2001[24] was predicting a boom in the Indian beer market, because the South African Breweries invested in the Indian market while the first world beer markets (including the UK) were declining. Meanwhile a general shift in drinking preferences from spirits to beer could be observed. The breweries' purpose was to raise the consumption per capita in India. More generally, the article mentions that the *'SAB is also producing brands to appeal specifically to Indian consumers'.* All of the Indian beers can be found in Leicester; alongside the 'Cobra', are the 'Bangal Tiger', 'King Fisher', 'Lal Toofan', 'Singha' and the 'Tikka Gold' beers.

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[23] Bali Rai (2001) (Un)arranged marriage, Corgi books p.133-134.
[24] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/1617745.stm

4. THE CASE OF MUSLIMS

In the second chapter -'family and social contacts'- of 'Changing Ethnic Identities', Tariq Modood demonstrates that keeping strong links with their relatives overseas was prominently important for people from Pakistan and Bangladesh by sending money, but also by sharing values and the same attitude towards life, especially through religion. One of his second-generation Pakistani respondents argued: *'Contact with family is important in terms of knowing who you are. It is a must to keep in touch with your family'*[25]. Even for the second-generation migrants, the immediate family still represents a source of reassurance, stability and support. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are in closer touch with their extended family than Indians. Some Muslim respondents still admitted a tension between their behaviour and what they had been taught. The case of Muslim Asians in Leicester is specific compared to other religious groups. Contrarily to Hinduism, and Sikhism, Islam imposes stricter restrictions. Of course, Hindus are generally vegetarian but it does not affect their social life as they can go and eat in most of the restaurants; basically, they are not supposed to drink alcohol but it seems that mainly women are affected by this rule. The Koran prohibits drinking alcohol as it is considered as a mirage; that is what the word alcohol means in Arabic. More generally, the concept of leisure itself is rejected by the most religious Muslims, who see it as an element pushing them away from a virtuous and humble way of living; it is considered as wrong. Socialization in England often takes place when people have a drink, may it be with workmates or friends. Moreover, the pub is a kind of institution in England. Bars and pubs can be found all over Leicester, in all areas. Such a reality represents a cultural clash. As a consequence, the most fervent Muslims do not go in places where other people socialize; it does not fit their ideology. Some young Muslims still go to bars, pubs, or clubs to meet their friends and choose to have soft drinks, but they generally end up feeling uncomfortable while

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[25] Modood T., Beishon S. and Virdee S. (1994) Chapter 2.

everyone else drinks alcohol. An alternative to that exclusion is the 'shisha cafes'; there are a few of them in Leicester; there is one on Belgrave Road; 'Zeytoun', off London Road, and another one opened recently on Belgrave gate. They generally offer soft drinks, including the 'Lassi', Indian drink made out of yoghurt, some of them also offer a range of Indian dishes, and you can smoke the shisha pipe with different flavoured tobaccos. However, those are not places where anyone mixes. Shisha cafes are most of the time manned by Muslim men; again, it is not an explicit rule to exclude people but, having said that, if a woman, a white man, or a white woman enters one of those cafes, he or she will probably be looked at in a strange way. Although the tenants would serve them as any customer, their presence would be perceived as incongruous. Old and younger generations go there; even groups of girls, but both sexes barely mix.

Conclusion:

Divisions exist between Pakistani Muslims and white British in Leicester because of cultural and religious values. The term of 'Paki' is a racist insult used by the BNP and by some white British people towards Asians; even Hindus or Sikhs swear at each other using that pejorative term, for instance someone would tell his friend he's a 'paki' because he is doing something stupid. The case of Muslim people in Leicester illustrates how tensions occur according to different pressures, especially in the field of leisure. One can argue that young generations of Muslims are more inclined to endure an identity crisis in Britain as they are under both, the pressure of their families' traditional values; and the pressure of the outside world devaluing them as individuals.

5. SIKHS AND ALCOHOL

A lot of Punjabi songs speak about alcohol, like Kamal Heer's 'Bhajan Kuray' in which the singer says 'Finish the bottles, everyone has to get drunk', another popular song is called 'Hor Glassy' (one shot). Some Sikh families would not like to visit other families if there is no meat or alcohol on the table. Young Sikh men also enjoy going out with their male friends, to drink a lot, dance and laugh together.

In the UK, Sikhs represent the second heaviest drinkers after the white British. Half of the respondents argued that most of their money was spent on alcohol, however it seems that, in Leicester, Sikhs come to drink for many occasions. The rules of Sikhism appear unclear, and, my observations led me to think that their religious restrictions depended much on each one's experience, family and educational background. Jas (24), a Punjabi respondent living with her husband's family, said she did not drink, neither did her husband's family, although her father living back in India was a drinker. Despite the fact that Sikhism claims equality between genders, women are generally more inclined not to drink.

Bali Rai questions the relation of Sikh men to alcohol along '(Un)arranged marriage' through the main character's father, who believes that drinking participates in making his sons 'real Punjabi Jat Sikh men'. The story is set in Leicester and the author explains that the main character's dad drinks every day apart from Sunday, when he goes to the Gurdwara. Dali, a young Sikh respondent said that his Sikh friends were heavy drinkers, one of them having *'the biggest collection of empty bottles of Baccardi'*. Men tend to drink more in families who came to England with a poor educational background. Those families generally give a lot of importance to work, parents expect their children to take care of them and maintain the family life in the household by marrying within the community and by participating in the family finances. Some use the motto *'Work hard, play hard, drink hard'* to describe their lifestyle. The first generation migrants generally acquired wealth by working hard. Such families are

much more concerned about maintaining their 'izzat'. For the younger generations, it seems that different aspects of their lives push them to drink. In (Un)arranged marriage, the main character describes his father's behaviour during a wedding: *'He was hammered and I didn't really feel like talking to him so I looked around for a place to sit and have a bottle of Pils, which was the only beer that my old man had bought. The rest of the booze was either Baccardi or Famous Grouse, typical for most Punjabi wedding piss-ups.'*[26] The novel is fictional but it aims to show a certain reality, it takes place in certain areas of Leicester (Evington, The Shires in town, Victoria Park); even the bus numbers are the right ones. Young generations of Sikh men in Leicester are tempted to drink within the familial nucleus, with their workmates as well as in town, when they go out. Either way, they are in a drinking environment. Bali Rai highlights confusion between culture and religion, and the way people interpret them. Further along the novel, the main character discovers his interest for Sikhism while he deplores some of his family's values -that he explains by his parents' lack of education-. The tensions between their duties towards the family and their outside life can bring them to endanger their health by abusing alcohol. Sikh families tend to become more liberal after several generations living in England, or if they benefit from further education.

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[26] Bali Rai (2001), p.252.

6. ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG USE

In Leicester, Asian girls are expected not to drink; it is difficult for them to go out at night. However, they can be allowed to go out with males who are related to the family in some way. Situations vary according to the different families; the student activity also makes that more girls go out as some student girls live on their own, away from their family. Meera (24) asserted: *'A lot of it* [money] *is spent on alcohol… food as well, I'm eating a lot of takeaways and shopping as well –clothes shopping-. But mainly alcohol and food.'* She also explained that the fact of being from London made her parents used to multicultural atmospheres, she also felt that her family was more liberal than Asian families in Leicester: *'I can have any boyfriend as long as they're not Muslim because Hindus don't go on well with Muslims. My family always drinks; we go to the pub together. They'd rather that we are honest than hiding things behind their back. In Leicester, people are very traditional, it is quite shocking.'*

Saf, a Muslim respondent argued that if he started smoking, drinking and dating girls, it was partly to react against his parents' attitude. Many times, his family suspected him of breaking religion as he was going out and smelled of cigarette. Little by little, he came to feel that his parents would suspect him any way; so, he started smoking, drinking, and dating girls. His behaviour implies that, at a stage, he had no regard for religion rather than trying to keep his parents happy. Such reactions do not only occur in Muslim families though. Indeed, in the families where the parents are the first generation of migrants, or, if a family is religiously strict or very keen on a traditional way of life; children, who have socialized within the English culture, may feel caught in a dilemma and, therefore, try to escape through deviant behaviours such as an excessive use of alcohol or by taking drugs. Rana, 21 said that he was taking cocaine and ecstasy to enjoy the music and socialize; he saw it as a way to enhance the night. Then he added that he used them when he was feeling down, *'to escape from the*

pressure of being an Indian child, in an Indian household. The unnecessary pressure about where is my life heading and what I am supposed to do with it at this present moment of time. Drugs make me come up to a level where I'm happy; it's more or less like an anti-depressant'. When asked whether he found that there was a lot of drugs circulating in Leicester, he answered: *'Hell yeah! You can find any type of drug you want in Leicester because a lot of people provide the service of something that doesn't need to be sold… because everybody wants it… like people who don't want to drink alcohol because they want something else, something different. Otherwise you get a shit load of people drinking everyday. So people like to get a different effect on their body or on their mind.'*

One has to bear in mind that, whatever their religion; Indians in Britain have to deal with two very different backgrounds: According to the <u>CIA world fact Book</u>, the United Kingdom GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is of £27,700 per capita, while it is of £2,900 in India. India has been developing through its huge cinema industry (based in Bombay, it produces Bollywood films, referring to Hollywood as the main pole of cinema production). By now, middle classes are developing in India and, the South of India is also becoming an important computer industry. However, it remains a poor country, compared to the United Kingdom. During my enquiry, most of the respondents considered that some of their values were different from white British ones', for instance, most of them suggested the ideas that British people were more selfish, narrow-minded or less respectful than Asian people. When asked why people were acting differently, Saf answered: *'This is the way it has always been and it will never change, no way.'* Such ideas about each of the groups are probably due to cultural differences but, then, they participate in the production of stereoptypes, which, themselves, structure society and create a system or a way of functioning between social groups.

7. BEYOND GENERALITIES

Discrepancies between the Asian community and white British people appear in Leicester social life; indeed, some places are mostly frequented by either one or the other group and the commerce itself functions on that dichotomy, attracting certain types of customers. Having said that, the Asian community represents today a group of consumers as wealthy as their white peers, so that they tend to have the same type of activities. The respondents who were born in Leicester agreed on the fact that they did not like places such as 'Creation' arguing that they found it more adapted to younger people and that parties, there, often ended in fights. Dali (22) said about 'Revolution' that it was *'mainstream'*, and *'full of Indian people'*, before adding that *'a multicultural kind of atmosphere is nice; nowadays, I like places like Basement, Nomad, because the crowd is multicultural'*. Those are the few places still open after two in town; a moment when everyone mixes regardless of each one's culture, but it mainly gathers locals, and very few students. Even if the groups are still distinct and Asian people keep strong links and respect towards older generations; the young generation have a tendency to get less religious because of their socialization in England, being both, a secular country and a leisure society. The Joint Patriarchal Family also gets transformed in Britain; the notions of clan and 'Izzat' get transcended through one's social image or financial situation. Moreover, cases of divorces and split of the families happen more possibly in Britain than it would in India, the children can also get to work on their own and acquire their independence rather early. Vijay (23) was speaking about religion in these terms: '*Between my grandma, my mum, and me, it goes straight down.*'

As suggested earlier, Leicester pubs, bars and clubs tend to reinforce the difference between ethnic groups but it does not seem to bother anyone because everyone has the choice to enjoy the music they most like. However, some young Asian men are bored of places *'full-*

packed of Asians', because they find it a bit boring, they enjoy meeting different people and enjoy different styles of music.

The fact of going out is the possibility for Asians, both to identify to the English culture (partying, clubbing, or eating 'junk' food); and, to participate in it by expressing their own roots, noticeably through food, but also through music as developed in the following Chapter. Going out seems to be an element of integration even though it also participates in developing alcohol addictions for those who experience difficulties being between two cultures. I would add that such addictions can also be observed on young white British because bars and pubs are everywhere in Leicester, it is the most accessible avenue of leisure.

CHAPTER IV THE MEDIA

1.   AT HOME

A.   THE INTERNET

While discussing the topic of media, most of the respondents mentioned the Internet as their first media. They suggested numerous ways of using it, amongst which I noted: to download music, to buy items, to check the news, to listen to the radio, to e-mail, to chat or just to have a look around randomly like Saf said: *'I'm always on the Internet, I go on anywhere and… I don't know I'm just messing around, really. There's nothing serious I want to do, I just go on there and go all over the place, wherever I want, and check out everything.'*

The only specificity of Asians' use of the Internet is that they can keep in touch more easily with their relatives overseas. People can even communicate directly, seeing and speaking to each other with equipments such as microphones or web cams. Faizal, 23 argued: *'I sometimes use the MSN messenger with a few people, friends from different cities, or for the family. I've got an uncle in Canada; we normally ring up, but it costs money. I've got a mate in London, he's always on the Internet anyway, so I speak to him to see what's going on.'*

By offering as many possibilities on an international scale, the Internet may represent a new means of communication, giving way to cross-cultural interests. Beyond that, it may participate in getting people concerned by more global issues. The political and financial globalization (with structures such as the International Monetary Fund) or the satellite technologies are as many features providing a smaller perception of the world. The Internet

seems to contribute to this phenomenon by attenuating the distance between countries and cultures.

The Internet is not related to any place, so that it does not bring up any particular value regarding cultures and ideologies, or, all of them. It appears as an element of uniformity, which is widely accessible. Besides, it seems difficult to classify the Internet as either part of the popular or quality media. One could consider it as popular because it is rather accessible and contains uncertain information in many domains. But it also gives useful information about the actual events (cinema, exhibitions, newspaper articles). Can we still consider it as a media bringing leisure in the latest case? It seems to become a service, rather than an entertainment, and so is it when used to download music. Those who could not afford all the music and films can now access to it for free with the 'peer to peer downloads'; the Internet remains a service but it participates in spreading all sort of culture.

B.   TV

As explained previously, the satellite technologies offer the possibility to watch channels from all over the world, Jas explained that she used to watch Indian soaps; she disliked English soaps like 'Eastenders' because she could not know what was going on. She also said watching Bollywood films with her mother in law and sisters in law, although her husband (a second generation migrant) was not keen on them. Similarly, Meera argued that she did not like Bollywood films although she could come to watch them with her grandmother, mother or sisters.

Most of the interviewees were not all that interested in television, the Internet becoming a predominant media. Respondents, in general, mostly enjoyed soaps and films. One of them said: '*I like my comedy… So anything with comedy, I watch it. Serious topics and all that, not really; I'm not really interested by documentaries or things like that…, that's too much boring, I don't need to know all that. So, anything with comedy, like 'Friends'… I watch*

a lot of movies whether it's action or comedy or romantic, I like watching all of the films.' A lot of young people, be they English or Asian enjoy watching 'Eastenders', a soap taking place in east London, the series shows a variety of people with whom everyone can identify; it aims to represent the contemporary English population. There even is a Bhangra remix of the 'Eastenders' music track. I noted that more recent English soaps such as 'Two pints of lager and a packet of crisps' showing young British people, are more concerned in representing a multicultural society than other older famous soaps such as 'Eastenders' or 'Only fools and horses'.

Two of the respondents said that they were watching documentaries; trying to select the programmes that they watch to make it useful. The individuals' educational and social background seems to determine their choices in relation to the 'pop', accessible culture.

In some way, television is also interested in people who watch it; Asians appear in various programmes as presenters or in advertisings and series; they represent a group of consumers as powerful as the English white middle-class. One advert for a car compares a white British family to an Asian family, it presents them as neighbours, so from the same social class, with the same needs.

Conclusion:

Although television is getting international with a multiplication of channels and programmes, it seems to remain poor in content, and therefore belongs to the pop culture. However it also appears as an element of uniformity as a lot of people watch the same programmes on the national channels. TV is a good subject of conversation at work, it is an easy way to communicate with other workers. I worked in a few warehouses and factories, where workers often evoke the latest episodes of 'Eastenders' or the latest gossip from 'Big Brother'.

C.   RADIO

In Leicester, four radio stations broadcast Asian programmes: Sabras Radio (1260 AM), with music, news and features for the Asian community; Sabras radio sponsored the 'Mumbai after dark' nights at 'Weavers' (King Street) taking place on the first Saturday of every month, and described as *'The finest Bollywood Asian underground and desi flavours'* (appendix x). The BBC Asian network is nationwide (836 AM). The Raaj radio, located on London Rd. (95.1 FM) and Vaisakhi radio are both based in Leicester and broadcast Punjabi programmes (Vaisakhi being a Sikh celebration). Oak FM (107 FM) displays a mix of classic hits, country and Asian music from Loughborough. Many Asian radios start broadcasting in the midlands as it is the region with the highest proportion of population from South Asia. It reflects the fact that the British policies allow the different communities to express ideas from their point of view in the public sphere. The case of BBC Asian Network is even a step forward favouring the expression of the British Asian community through a national channel. Meera said she was listening to nowadays' Bhangra music on the Internet BBC Asian network. Those networks are also an opportunity for everyone to discover the South Asian music and the community interests although programmes are often in different languages, mainly Hindi or Gujerati.

However, radio in general is now less successful among young generations as media such as the Internet, DVDs or television prove more entertaining to them. One of the interviewees said that he needed to be very bored to listen to the radio, when driving, for instance. Another respondent said listening to the radio on the Internet because any kind of music could be found on there, he added: *'I like to listen to '1 extra', which is the new black radio station on BBC digital radio, with drum n bass, garage, break beats, mostly dance… fast music'*. The radio needs to adapt to new technologies to survive; just as for newspapers,

they will need to become '*location-indifferent and language indifferent*' –Tony O'Reilly (see next paragraph).

D.   NEWSPAPERS

a) A new market:

The young Asian population both in South Asia and abroad represent a new source of newspapers readership. In his article: <u>*'A billion people? This is a country where you can't afford not to be publishing'* (The Observer, Business and media, 02/04/06)</u>, James Robinson reports that newspapers in the streets of Mumbai '*make the vibrant British market seems positively sedate[27]*'. It is also stipulated that India's educated middle-class is expanding rapidly, their main languages including Hindi, Urdu and English. Most importantly, there are no constraints on press freedom. The largest English language title there is the Times of India, which dwarfs the circulation of any other English language paper. Publishers such as DMGT (publisher of the Daily Mail) or Independent News and Media (publisher of the Independent) are getting more and more interested in the Indian market. Independent chairman Sir Tony O'Reilly said: '*My view for the future of all media is you've got to be location-indifferent, language indifferent and platform indifferent*', he added: '*You also need to choose markets with consumer purchasing power because the lifeblood of newspapers is advertising*'. The reporter points out that India meets the latest criterion with an economy growing of 8 percent per annum. Increased sales in developing countries have compensated for a steady fall in the west for the last five years. Rupert Murdoch already has a foothold in India with the Times and a newly appointed Mumbai-based Indian business editor Ashling O'Connor.

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[27] James Robinson, 02/04/06, <u>*A billion people? This is a country where you can't afford not to be publishing*</u>, The Observer, Business and media, p.9.

b) In the UK:

There is, today, a large number of Asian newspapers sold in the United Kingdom, some of them being imported from India, Bangladesh or Pakistan, and others published in England. Six of them are in Bangali, thirty-six in English, seven in Punjabi, two in Gujerati, two in Hindi and five are in Urdu. It would be worthless enumerating all of them, selecting a few of them may give us an idea of their diversity and content.

The **Bangla Express** (Weekly) acts as the voice of the Bangladeshi community in Britain. It is aimed at a younger readership and covers current affairs, sports, women's page, etc. It was established in 2002.

London: Surma News Group.

The Asian Post (Weekly) is a tabloid aimed at the British Asian community and covering international and national news, entertainment, fashion, lifestyle, listings and recruitment. It was established in 2001.

London: Hussain Media.

The Asian Telegraph (Weekly) is an equal opportunities newspaper covering politics, fashion, cinema, and book reviews.

London: Datalog Ltd.

The **Asian Times** (Weekly) is aimed at all religious and national groups in the British Asian community, combining news from throughout Asia with nationwide British coverage. Also includes a public sector and jobs direct recruitment supplement. It was established in 1983.

London: Ethnic Media Group

The **Britasian** (Weekly) contains general news, features, gossip, sports and celebrity interviews.

London: Ashoka Publications Ltd.

The Muslim News (Monthly) is a newspaper of and for the Muslim community. It covers political and community affairs both UK and international.

Harrow: Ahmed Versi

The Pakistan Post (Weekly) is a bilingual broadsheet in Urdu and English covering international and national news, sport, business, fashion, entertainment, etc. It was established in 2001.

London: Hussain Media.

The **Punjab Times International** (Weekly) contains general news and features. It was established in 1965.

Derby: PTI Derby Ltd.

The Punjabi Guardian (Fortnightly) is a bilingual newspaper (Punjabi and English) covering international and local news, plus news of the Asian community in the UK and Europe. Established in 1987.

Birmingham: The Punjabi Guardian.

The Daily Jang (Daily) covers national and international news and events, plus news of the Asian community in the UK and Europe. In Urdu and English. Established in 1971.

London: The Daily Jang.

The above selection supplies an overview of the way South Asians' issues are represented in the UK, but, it also shows that the communities make use of the English cultural custom of reading newspapers. The above list presents news, political issues, or tabloid gossips, which are quite typical of the British press -where the format was created in the early 20th century-. Titles such as the 'Asian Times', 'Asian Telegraph', 'Punjabi Guardian' either refer to the papers' ownership (Times, Guardian), or, it is a deliberate choice relating both readerships as they became comparable through the rise of India's middle class. A good example of creolization is the 'Britasian' claiming inter-ethnicity by its mere title. The

biggest publishers came to plan worldwide publications in view of the intense communication existing between India and Britain.

In Leicester, most of the newsagents' shops offer several of those newspapers, in English, Punjabi, Urdu or Hindi. They also usually have magazines focusing on fashion or weddings, mainly targeting British Asian women. The central reference library on Bishop Street (city centre) also provides various newspapers in Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi; they are available on the first floor for free. However, most of second generation Asians in Leicester cannot read Hindi, Urdu or Punjabi. The local paper 'Leicester Mercury' is very popular among them as it provides local news, but also local services such as adverts to rent a house on Monday, to find a job on Wednesday, to buy a house on Saturday and other daily adverts if you want to buy or sell cars for instance. Otherwise, and, unsurprisingly, the more educated of the respondents enjoyed buying other newspapers, like Vijay, 24: *'I do buy once a week the Financial Times, and sometimes, during the week, I read the Independent. '*Dali also said that he was reading the 'Times' and 'Financial Times'; the 'Leicester Mercury' to look for jobs but he argued that it was *'full of garbage'*; he opposed the sensational and local news to more intellectual articles with a good level of language, such as business articles. I would argue that with the success of the Internet and free newspapers such as Metro, people seem to get less interested in the traditional press, which may explain a decrease of the UK readership in general.

c) Conclusion:

Young generations show some distrust towards the traditional media (television, press) and prefer keeping a sort of control over their information, as illustrated through the growing success of the Internet. In 'The Propaganda Model', Noam Chomsky was analyzing the mass media in western countries; he saw it as a non-violent propaganda, operating without the use of force. According to Chomsky *'The general subservience of the media to the state*

propaganda system does not result from direct government order, threats or coercion, centralized decisions, and other devices characteristic of totalitarian states, but from a complex interplay of more subtle factors'.[28]He put forth the proposition that the media represents the '*societal purpose of protecting privilege from the threat of public understanding and manipulation'*. In other words, the purpose of the media is to cultivate public stupidity and conformity, in order to protect the powerful from interference by the lower orders. According to Lippmann -who first used the term: 'manufacture of consent'-, '*the common interests very largely elude public opinion entirely, and can be managed only by a specialized class whose personal interests reach beyond the locality; the public should remain merely interested spectators of action'.*[29]I could observe a movement away from the traditional mass media -as opposed to a passive consumption-; which may explain the decline of the television and of the UK newspapers readership. In India, the manipulation of the media seems currently quite striking as the most important American publishers try to hold the market while a middle class raises, and, people get more educated than by the past. Therefore, the term of 'brainwashing under freedom' used by Chomsky and Herman in 'The Propaganda Model' seems quite appropriate to the techniques of control over the media as they are today.

2. MUSIC

As previously found out, the distribution of music in bars and clubs can be an element of division. Listening to Indian music represents, for young Asians, a way of keeping close links with their inherited culture, it is both, the music transmitted to them by their parents; and a reference to India as the lyrics often refer to its history. It creates a trace of the family history within a wider one. It is therefore obvious that Bhangra and Hindi music are very

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[28] Milan Rai, 1995, <u>Chomsky's Politics</u>, Verso, p.33.
[29] Milan Rai (1995) <u>Chomsky's Politics</u>, Verso, p.22-23.

popular amongst young generations. Initially, Bhangra was a lively form of music and dance that originated in the Punjab. Bhangra began as a part of harvest festival celebrations; it eventually became a part of diverse occasions such as family gatherings or weddings. In the late 1960s and 1970s, several singers from the Punjab set the stage for Bhangra to become a mass phenomenon in the UK. It was not until the early 1980's that Bhangra moved from secluded halls and venues to the bright lights of the clubs and cities of England. Some of the most popular of these singers are still active today, like Kuldip Manak, Amar Singh Chamkila, and A. S. Kang.

a)   **From tradition to modernity:**

As an account of history, Bhangra evokes colonization and the migration from Punjab to the Western countries, for instance, one of Chamkila's song: 'Nal Gharge de Bhangra bolian' says that, people migrating from India should not forget their roots and culture. One has to bear in mind that, today 50% of the originate Punjabis do not live in India. Besides history, the Bhangra lyrics generally talk about alcohol or women. Hindi music includes all types of Indian music -Bhangra, Bengali, Carnatic songs, Gujarati music, instrumentals, wedding songs and others-. During the three past decades, Hindi music grew popular and got creolized with other kinds of music such as hip-hop, reggae, dancehall or drum and bass. In 2005, the Manak's version of 'Hor glassy' got mixed with the hip-hop beats of one of 50Cents' recent singles. In return, American RnB singers use Indian instruments and rhythms. Mariah Carey, for instance, by releasing the single 'Boy Punjabi' or, 50Cents, who used an Indian string in his song 'Candy shop'. In shorter terms, the Hindi music evolved from a traditional to a contemporary form, adapting the same instruments to different types of music including the most wide spread ones.

The Bhangra Djs who play in the club Creation also offer their services for Indian weddings; that is to say that the traditional form of Indian music also fit the club's expectations, the bass being an important element of music in clubs. Hindi music got first

mixed with black music such as dancehall, reggae, American Hip-hop and RnB, which can express a form of 'Blackness' as for their position towards the British society. The increasing influence of hip-hop beats from the likes of Timbaland and Dr Dre, and the growth of Asian influences on the hip-hop scene as a whole, seems to point to potentially rich pickings in the future.

Today, bhangra is getting mixed with house, drum and bass, garage and niche music with the influences of DJs such as Punjabi MC –whose essential titles are GT Road or Bheer- or Bikhram Singh, leader of the New York Bhangra stage. Dance music in general, is a more abstract form of music that avoids the language boundary; it is made to give a feeling rather than a discourse. Rana (21) underlined the universal aspect of music by saying: *'Music is something that everyone loves'* then he précised that he was listening to music from all over the world, including Indian music. Tigerstyle are two Sikh DJs from Scotland (appendix vi), they consider that *'music is a very important form of expression, not just in the Indian culture, but everywhere. It's a form of escapism but your relationship with music happens without you really knowing that it's there'*. The Peepul Centre brochure describes their style as *the meeting of true traditional Punjabi sounds with state-of-the-art production methods giving them a contemporary edge*[30]. They played in Creation amongst other DJS on the 28th of March 2006 with tickets on sale for £15. The Peepul centre recently opened in Leicester on Melrose Street (Belgrave area). Films, music, dance, theatre, debates and seminars take place there, in collaboration with the city council. It aims to provide a quality culture with a multicultural perspective (see appendix vii). Tigerstyle played in the Peepul centre on the tenth of December 2005, with tickets on sale from £5 to £7; the Darbar South Asian Music Festival took place there at the beginning of March 2006. Dali said that his tastes in music were '*getting more diverse everyday*'; he was first listening to Hip-hop, then Rock'n'roll, then House and Drum and bass. He explained that the new Bhangra scene -with Djs such as

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[30] Peepul centre season brochure, autumn/winter 2005, p.27.

Punjabi MC or Tigerstyle- was interesting because they transform Indian instruments into new forms of music *'rather than mixing a Drum and Bass tune with a Bhangra tune'*.

b)   Creolization:

The case of Leicester shows that South Asian music in England was first traditional and confined to private spheres, corner shops or taxis; then, it grew popular in clubs and finally became part of a quality culture, as opposed to pop culture. It is a less accessible form of entertainment, which demonstrates that people show an active interest for the South Asian culture; Leicester inhabitants are ready to get informed and pay to attend concerts or participate to debates about the South Asian music.

To a certain extent, Indian music in Britain reveals a shift from an identity of foreigners towards the fact of fully taking part in the western contemporary music. One of the Tigerstyle brothers argued: *'In my case, music was everywhere. My family has a rich Sikh heritage and I heard all sort of old folk song and melodies, and I learned how to play classical dubla at quite an early stage. That got me interested in a lot of Punjabi folk music and types of Indian percussions.'*

Most of the respondents affirmed that they were keen on garage music. Similarly, most of them asserted that they liked listening to various kinds of music; one of them simply said: *'there's some R&B I like, some R&B I hate, there's some pop I like, some I hate, hip hop again, some I like, some I don't, all different types of music, some I like and some I don't.'* In 'My Ear at His Heart', Hanif Kureishi explains that in the 1970's, he used to listen to The Rolling Stones, Bob Dylan, The Beatles or The Sex Pistols,[31] that is to say that his tastes in matter of music were westernized whereas the Indian music was still confined to the private sphere, in the family circles. Today, Bhangra and Hindi music can be heard on the radio, in clubs and it is even creolizing with European music, that also represents the movement of the Indian community in the society, from the ghettos, being outsiders, to the state of active

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[31] Kureishi H. (2004) p.142-143.

citizens. The position of girls with music is to be developed further on, in the fifth chapter about fashion because the two topics seem interconnected.

c)   **Pop-culture v. Art:**

I would argue that mainstream music can be an element of division on the market of bars, but one can observe a mix of different influences in connection with the Indian music when analyzing music for itself. Leicester bars and clubs participate in spreading new sorts of music, but it is generally the most commercial ones. On the other hand, the city council encourages a real cross-cultural development of music as a 'valuable' art. As a conclusion, I would say that the laws of the market tend to vulgarize the interactions in the field of music (making it a popular entertainment) whereas the local authorities value it, making an art of it. However, in both cases, cultural inter-connections can be observed.

3. FILMS

A.   **SPECTATORS:**

Depending on each one's personality, some young Asians enjoy watching Indian movies -Bollywood -, and some not; but all of them have seen some. In order to illustrate that comment, I will confront two of the respondents, Vijay saying: '*When I was a kid yes, I used to watch Bollywood films, only because my mum used to watch them, but it's always predictable.*' and Saf -while asked if he watched Bollywood films at home-: *'Oh yeah, I've got loads and loads of them. I've got English films, Bollywood films, I've got a whole collection'*. Spending more time at home than boys, girls are usually keener on this kind of films. Male respondents generally explained that the females of the household were watching Bollywood film; female respondents said that they would watch them (if so) with the other women of the family. It represents an indoor activity, which corresponds to the lifestyle in

India, where women are confined to the household. Bollywood films are usually about three hours long; they often deal with love stories, the honour and reputation of a family. In 'Kabhi Khushi Kabbie Gham', the father – the authority figure in the context of a joint patriarchal family- rejects his son because he loves a girl from a lower caste, which cannot be tolerated. Dali argued that Bollywood films were continuously bringing the same values: '*They are too dramatic, pretty often similar, with a romantic storyline and the pressure exerted by parents'*. A lot of those films also deal with exile in Great Britain or America; in 'Kal Ho Naa Ho', the whole story is set in New York although it is in Hindi and exclusively about Indian people. Many young Asians in Leicester find them unrealistic, like Rana who argued: *'I was raised in Bollywood films, that's how I learned Hindi, but it is over glamorized, just like Hollywood films, they just show a fantasy world, they're not connected with real life situations.'* Then he added laughing*: 'That's three hours of your life that you won't get back again'.* Quite fairly, he also blamed the American films that he found over glamorized as well.

Then a new sort of films appeared recently, with a western format of about one hour and a half, and concerning both eastern and western cultures. 'Bride and Prejudice', which was out on the screen in March 2005, is a Bollywood-like movie with a shorter format that suits European spectators; the plot is a love-story between an Indian woman and an English man. In Leicester, the 'Piccadilly Cinema' on Abbey lane –Belgrave area- is devoted to Bollywood movies, but other cinemas play Bollywood movies alongside other movies; the Odeon, for instance -on Aylestone road- mixes American movies with Bollywood ones in order to satisfy most customers. Just like music, Indian cinema plays a role on the public stage of Leicester it is getting widely accessible.

B.   FILM MAKING:

a) Locally:

Leicester city council organized the festival *'Cinema India, the art of Bollywood'*, it lasted four months, from the second of July until the sixth of November 2005, including dance lessons, various workshops for anyone to learn how to design jewellery, create textiles, makeover, posters, mini films, there were also exhibitions at the New Walk Museum, and theatre plays. Activities were open to all, some being free, and other costing from £1 up to £7. They took place in many places all over the city and were widely promoted in libraries, shops or bars. A lot of organizations were in partnership with this event, with, noticeably the 'BBC radio Leicester', 'New Walk Museum', or 'Phoenix Art', a cinema usually showing low budget and international films. Women play an essential role in organizing all of these events; this is not as explicit as the presence of males in public places but it demonstrates a great will to share their culture through leisure. Through such an event, women handle their own integration into Leicester social life; it also gives them the opportunity to show their own view of leisure, by being creative and combining tradition with the local social events in places that promote a quality culture.

b) Social films:

'Bend it like Beckham'[32] shows the discrepancies that can occur between the two cultures and the way people overcome them within the English society. It illustrates the conflict between the first and second generations of migrants through the relationship between an East African Sikh family in England and the youngest daughter who refuses to conform to her parents' expectancies. The film is quite accessible as it is under the form of a comedy, but

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[32] Gurinder Chadha, Paul Mayeda Berges, (2002) <u>Bend it like Beckham</u>.

it still tackles many sociological issues concerning the process of integration of Sikh families in the UK after two generations.

Ken Loach's film, 'Ae Fond Kiss' (2004) is set in Glasgow; it relates the problems faced by a second generation Pakistani Muslim and a white British catholic when they decide to go out together. Ken Loach is known for the realism of his films and their sociological extent. It reveals both characters' point of view in the context of their social and familial background. 'Ae fond kiss' avoids the clichés, it deals sensitively with a complex situation in which the Pakistani boy fears to shatter his family by not getting married within the community; the white girl also finds out that her family opposes their relationship. The young boy being a DJ confirms the reality of the Bhangra stage that significantly grew in Glasgow during the past few years. The white British and the Asian community get confronted through the plot of a couple. Again, it genuinely tackles contemporary issues related to the Ethnic Studies.

c) Conclusion:

The traditional Bollywood cinema has an important place in British Asian households. In Leicester, it is also widely accessible on the screens although some respondents find it a bit unrealistic or predictable. Today, the Indian cinema is not only Bollywood movies; it got creolized with the western format. On the other hand, more intellectual films, less accessible, analyze the Asian community in Britain; which means that they represent a social reality that needs to be taken into account to understand the diversity of today's British population. It is interesting to note that, as a white British man, Ken Loach demonstrates that the situation of the Asian community in Britain has become an issue for people outside their community. Besides, respondents were generally unhappy with the price of cinema, going to the pictures costs around £5, to which you need to add the *'bus fares and pop-corn'* as suggested by Meera; Dali argued that it was *'too much of an effort to organize'*. The case of cinema shows

certain inequalities; both of the above respondents were students who would probably need access cinema.

d) Creolization and uniformity:

Cultures increasingly interact at all levels through the media, with a constant communication between England and India. The most neutral form of media seems to be the Internet. A diversity of cultures can be observed through newspapers and television, although so far, they seem biased, as mainly western companies have hold of the market. Those are two aspects of the uniformity created by the media.

Diversity becomes creolization at a more ideological level as revealed in the field of cinema and music. The fact that Asians participate in the political life of local authorities, favours the participation of Asian inhabitants in a valuable culture that stimulates integration, by giving a positive social image of the community. The different interviewees proved interested in quality entertainments as long as they could afford them.

1. SPORTS

A. CRICKET

The modern form of cricket originated in England, and is popular mainly in the countries of the Commonwealth. In some of the South Asian countries, including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, cricket is by far the most popular sport. However the Indian film 'Lagaan'[33] illustrates a dispute over the ownership of cricket. It takes place during British colonization in India; at one stage, the Indian characters see English men playing cricket, then, one of them says: 'I was playing this game when I was seven'. Indeed, they already had a similar game with simpler rules. In his book 'My Ear At His Heart' Hanif Kureishi often refers to cricket. The story is a biography and autobiography about three generations of men, starting with his grandfather in Pakistan to his own experience in Britain. Cricket appears throughout the narrative as a unifying motif. The narrator's father is a great cricket player; he is also the one who first migrated to England. Historical links between the UK and India/Pakistan are illustrated through cricket. In Kureishi's book, the father is described as a fervent cricket player who *'would organize cricket matches with the local boys'[34]* whilst in London. Further on, the author argues: *'In a nascent Third World country, sport can represent a public affirmation and focus for patriotism. Leon Trotsky told C.L.R. James that spectator sport was a substitute for political action.'[35]* He draws a link between sports and politics, also evoking the role of Mohamed Ali in the US during the war in

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[33] Amir Khan and Ashutosh Gowariker (2001) Lagaan .
[34] Kureishi H. (2004) p.82.
[35] Kureishi H. (2004) p.90.

Vietnam. On p 162, he explains the contrasts between the grandfather and his father's experience in Pakistan: *'Being brought up under the Raj, culture, for my father was only British, and, to a certain extent, American'*[36]. In literature, as well as on screen, cricket is often used to describe South Asians' identity, in relation to Britain and the British people.

In the movie 'Bend it Like Beckham' (2002), the character of the father also suggests that he used to be a good cricket player back in East Africa, then, the English cricket clubs rejected him on a racist basis. While explaining his experience to his daughter, the father seems frustrated and full of resentment; he wants to protect his daughter from the same suffering. However, towards the end of the film, he decides to let her play football, arguing that he would rather her fighting the racial prejudices than suffering them. He also realizes that things have changed and, eventually, he starts playing cricket again, with the white Irish character (his daughter's coach). The filmmakers decided to show a sort of reconciliation between the first generation migrants and Britain, through sports. Again, sports express the political relationships between two cultures. The notion of patriotism is discussed through sport. It turns out that cricket and football carry different values.

Leicester is known for its tradition of cricket; a statue located at clock tower (city centre) represents a cricket player alongside a football and a rugby player. In the 1980's, an Asian team from Kenya was quite successful in Leicester. The Leicestershire County Cricket Club is the most renowned of the local clubs. Every Sunday teams of Asian, or white play in parks such as Nelson Mandela Park, or around the University Of Leicester. Some of them organize games in Victoria Park or Abbey Park; a lot of kids carry their cricket sets on Sunday when the weather allows it. Nevertheless, cricket is getting less popular now, as football is becoming the most attended sport among young generations. One of the interviewees said: *'I can't stand cricket, cricket is a boring sport.'* Those who know how to play cricket have generally been taught by their fathers. However, Asians are today involved

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[36] Kureishi H. (2004) p.162.

in English cricket at all levels. In March, the 'Leicester Mercury' congratulated the Luton - born Punjabi Panesar- for his performance as newly appointed spinner for the English cricket team -.[37] The player was happy with his acceptance in the team: *'The other players have made me feel so welcome and I feel a big part of the squad. There is a lot of energy and everyone is really positive'* (see appendix iv).

In 'British Cultural Identities' (1997), Mike Storry and Peter Childs point out the fact that *'Significantly, soccer is associated with Britain's cities while cricket, which may well be played in urban centres (…) is associated with rural Britain. Even if cricket is widely played on village greens, a genuinely popular grass-roots game, there are class associations to all British sports, which underline the British distinction between the upper classes (gentlemen) and the lower classes (players) over the dispute of ownership of cricket.'[38]*A class dispute has to be added to the one over the origin of cricket.

B.   FOOTBALL

As an urban sport, football is not as class-associated as cricket. Many football players represent 'heroes' as some are recruited in poor areas; Ronaldo, for instance was from the shantytowns of Brazil, Zidane, from the 'banlieues' of Marseille; then, they came to earn big amounts of money. They universally represent an image of success; everyone wants to identify to those characters embodying a great destiny. Therefore, football is widely accessible, noticeably on the pub screens; it gathers spectators and raises a common interest. In the film 'Bend it like Beckham', Jasminder wants to become a professional football player, she idolizes the English player David Beckham. Beyond the fact that she is not allowed to play football as an Asian girl, other issues are tackled throughout the story. Contrarily to her father, she is accepted and respected in the club she plays for. I would argue that, similarly to

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[37] Leicester Mercury, March the 8th 2006, 'England spinner gets full Monty of support', p.45. APPENDIX IV.
[38] Mike Storry and Peter Childs, 1997, 'British Cultural Identities', Routledge, p.113.

the Internet, football is a part of leisure that introduces a more global view of the world. On the one hand, this sport may encourage fanaticism and nationalism, but, on the other hand, the practices and rules of football are the same all around the world, they are known by kids in any country. In 'Bend it Like Beckham', football shows a diluting of boundaries due to its worldwide impact. In England, football has replaced cricket in terms of popularity.

Those are the two sports mainly played in Leicester parks. However, most of the respondents argued that they did not really play football, one of them explained: *'Even when I am with my little brother, he'd take his friends, I'd take my friends and we'd all have a football match; all my friends, after ten minutes, we're all sitting and having a fag, we're all tired. None of my friends like to do sports, if we go to the park, we might mess around with the football, but not proper sport. We used to even go to the gym, but, we stopped all that as well.'* another one said *'I don't have time usually but, yes, I like baseball, I'm not too keen on football, it bores me sometimes so I tend not to watch football unless if I am with friends and there is a match on, that's it.'* one of them concluded on the topic by saying *'That's how it is, I hate sport now. I used to play a lot before but now I can't.'*

Alongside those sports are the gym clubs, representing an alternative to team and outdoor sports. Although some young people go there, it seems to predominantly suit professionals, as it is a flexible way to exercise and socialize. When asked whether he found that Leicester was a good place for leisure, Dali answered: *'There is a social pressure about drinking. You're pubbing and drinking when you're in your 20's because you get less time for that when older. With sport, you can have a more diverse lifestyle, an outdoor lifestyle... a healthier lifestyle. If you really want to, you can enjoy much wiser activities in Leicester.'* He recommended sport as a possible solution to alcohol problems.

2. FASHION

It seems that two main factors influence the way people dress. Fashion is one of them, by determining codes. In Asian families, the members also represent the well being of the family. The notion of 'izzat' involves a common effort to provide the family with a good reputation. It depends on people's behaviour, their social image represents the family, and therefore, it is important to look clean, well mannered, and well dressed. It seems relevant to try and understand the way young Asians undergo those influences according to gender, as their dressing codes are different. In Leicester, young Asians are students –which means that either their parents can afford their children's education, or that they benefit from loans-. Otherwise, they are working and, being often successful in their studies, they can manage to get well-paid jobs. Again, the Pakistani Muslim community seems to be in a different situation, with a higher rate of unemployment, both for males and females as explained through the Chapter about employment written by Tariq Modood in <u>Ethnic minorities in Britain, Diversity and Disadvantages</u>.

A. GIRLS

If there is one domain where Asian girls spend their **money** for leisure, it is prominently by buying clothes and getting involved in fashion. Living on her own as a student, Meera said that shopping was her second way of spending money for leisure, after alcohol. Jas, a working young woman living in the context of a joint family, said it was her first way of spending money.

<u>Asian influence:</u> the areas of Belgrave and Melton Road are known for their shops of Indian clothes – with a diversity of saris, salwaar kameez (Punjabi dress), all sort of traditional clothes for men and women – and jewellery. Asians come from all over the country to purchase Indian clothes for weddings or just to wear in their daily life. On the 7th of

November 2005, the 'Leicester Mercury' published an article entitled 'My Bollywood Dream' (Appendix v) reporting the final contest of Miss India UK, which had taken place in Leicester before the Miss India worldwide finals in Bombay. The winner, Nikki Rana was a Leicester student (De Montfort University), 23 year old. Liz Crowson (reporter) argued: *'There is a strong Asian community in Leicester and to bring an event like this to the city is brilliant'*. Then she evoked another contestant Mira Pancholi, 20, from Wigston '*whose hobbies include shopping and socializing'.* Leicester plays an important role regarding the representation of Indian fashion in England. This is a domain through which women come to express themselves. Although men own most shops and businesses, women create dresses, they also sell them and participate in the organization of events such as fashion shows. It is a way of transcending a social image of the community. Consequently, in any « girly » shops (clothes and accessorizes) of Leicester -but probably throughout Britain as well-, you can find clothes reminding one of India, even more since the Hippy fashion came back this year with wide colourful skirts, shirts, flip-flop shoes, but this influence seems even more obvious about accessories -earrings, bangle like bracelets, bags with little bells or wide shoulder strap bags-. A good example of creolization would be the fashion shops such as « Top Girl » in the shopping centre Haymarket or « Cuba » in both of the main shopping centres (Haymarket and the Shires). Held by Asians, those shops mix the very British fashion with traditional Indian clothes and accessories. Unlike older generations, Asian girls would not wear the traditional Indian clothes except on occasions like weddings, religious celebrations or on Sunday, a day when Indian families tend to gather and have activities together; like going to the temple, staying at home or going shopping.

a) Western influence:

When they go out at night, Asian girls in Leicester like to look attractive. All girls try to look pretty while going out at night. Far from the traditional dressing codes of their parents or grand parents, the miniskirt, for instance, is one of the essential fashionable accessories as well as high heels, some glossy lipstick or the latest fragrance. When Asian women do not have to wear religious attributes, they value their public image, sometimes by buying expensive clothes: '*For me, if I am going to buy something, it has to be really nice, even if it's expensive, I don't care'*. (Jas). However, it seems that representing the families' 'izzat' is the responsibility of men rather than women.

b) Integration process:

I would argue that today's RnB displays an image of women that influences the girls' dressing codes. A few years ago, women tended to be represented like sexual objects in the field of music. The hip-hop and R&B clips used to show over sexualised girls, adulating men -generally the singers-. When questioned about her music tastes, Meera explained: '*I listen to anything, but mainly American hip-hop like Nas and LL Cool G; and Rnb'*. Lately, women have appeared more frequently on the RnB stage, they still show a sensual aspect of themselves in video clips, but they seem to have taken the control back over their bodies and sexuality (with artists like Lil Kim or Missy Elliot). Missy Elliot decided to avoid the use of sexuality in her video clips, she focused on more artistic effects.

Music now brings the image of a free woman, with whom, all girls are tempted to identify. It is interesting to note that Black American women instigated that change, which can be put alongside the expression of blackness in music, described previously in the paragraph concerning music (chapter about the media). One could argue that RnB permitted Asian girls to position themselves as 'Black' (different because of their ethnicity), as well as women (undergoing males' oppression). The 'Black feminists' theories underlined the

difficulties of being both victims of males and of racism. The representation of women in RnB denotes a stage in the process of integration of Asian young women in the UK. It is a process similar to boys, from a position of outsiders, to blackness; plus the gender barrier, that highlights some contrasts between women in South Asian countries and Western countries. Men seem to have reached a position of 'insiders', citizens, whereas women seem to still position themselves as 'Black'.

c) Muslim women:

The case of Muslim women remains distinct because some of them have to wear veils or the 'burqa', so that, the only visible part of their body is their eyes. It is then hard to distinguish young women from aged ones. They definitely endure more pressure from their families as Islam considers exhibiting women's hair and body as a sin. Similarly, once dressed like other girls, you cannot distinguish Muslim Asian girls from the others. They also have difficulties concerning work, as well; in Muslim families, men usually work. However, even if Muslim women come to work, they have to face difficulties to socialize with their workmates because they are not allowed to go and drink with their colleagues, they can barely access leisure.

B.   BOYS

a) Family representation:

One can argue that the values of honour and « Izzat » get transcended through the British dressing codes, as a Western country. Most of them would not go out at night if not nicely dressed, they would not like any of their peers to find them miserably dressed. The question of 'image' and social representation is very important to some of them. In some way, looking good shows that the whole family is respectable and/or wealthy. Descending from

patriarchal families, Asian boys have to represent its well being; it is also a way to show their ability to handle a family-life themselves. Contrarily to today's ideology in Western countries, for Asian people, individuals are invariably considered as part of their families, or clan, although the notion of clan is difficult to apply in Britain. In England, children have the opportunity to become independent and families are more inclined to split up than in India, noticeably because women are entitled to work too. In some way, the patriarchal values are shifting because the British system is different from the ones in India or Pakistan.

The fashion market also pushes people to fit a common trend. The matter of a social image seems to be brought up by both the Indian notion of honour and 'izzat', and by the English capitalist system selling fashion. English boys also like to wear nice clothes; they are also concerned about their image as social agents. Boys are more and more targeted by the fashion brands; advertisings appeal to Asian boys as they represent a significant part of the population. In shorter terms, boys give a lot of importance to their image either because of their families' values, or to follow the rules imposed by fashion. In Leicester, young Asians often observe each other, so that they need to behave themselves and to be seen with the right people not to be judged in a wrong way by their peers. That is more obvious for the locals than for the students because they know each other's family. Meera, from London, was complaining about such attitudes: '*People stay with others of the same kind.(...) They haven't got anything interesting in their life; so, they have to talk about yours*'.

Some of the boys like wearing designer clothes, the most expensive ones; but they tend to prefer more casual clothes when mature like Saf: '*I used to be up to date in all the fashion… whatever comes up, I used to buy it. But now, I don't buy that much, what I do is that I normally keep everything in stock from before, I like to mix and match and wear it. I'm more into my casual, the smart wear is only at work.*' then he added: '*Because it doesn't matter what other people think of me, I don't care. I wear my clothes for myself, not for others; that's how it is.*' Those quotes seem quite representative of the matter of 'image' for

Asian boys in Leicester. Indeed, they highlight the fact that youngsters give a lot of importance to their social appearance both because their family influences them and because they are more vulnerable to fashion marketing. As a result, it is essential for them to show a good image of themselves while it tends to be less important for older men who are independent and more mature regarding fashion trends and advertising. It seems that the social pressure within the Asian community is quite strong in Leicester, but grown up and independent men come to question it.

b) Conclusion:

The result of those different influences is that youngsters take great care of themselves; they need to show something about their identities and where they belong. In clubs, for instance, you can see Sikhs wearing both their turban and the latest pair of trainers. I also observed a surprising style in the Highfield area, where a lot of Muslim boys mix their traditional Muslim dress and Nike trainers. It is a fashion created at the meeting of two cultures.

3. SOCIAL LIFE

A. DATING

The activity of dating as a leisure activity seems to be eminently masculine among Asian youths in Leicester as they benefit from fewer restrictions than women. Faizal, a Muslim respondent admitted that he did not know any Muslim girls who would go out at night. One of the respondents explained that Asian girls tended to take relationships very seriously, he felt like they tolerated up to a certain amount of jokes from their partner but over which they would get upset. He also suggested that they usually speak about marriage at a very early stage of the relationship. Asian girls would barely date a white British man, they do

not have a romantic view of love like in western countries, and they generally look for a suitable life partner rather than for a temporary boyfriend. Similarly, another interviewee said, while speaking about his Hindu male friends: *'They wouldn't go out with a white girlfriend, they just stick to Indian.'*, and then added: *'There is some sort of pressure in the Indian culture to get married to another Indian because, the older generations are always looking at « What is he doing, what is this one doing, what is that one doing? » '.* The older generations' pressure is an important factor of the younger generations' relationships, but, then again, girls are more confronted to their parents' influence as they spend more time in the household. Some guys would only go out with Indian girls to maintain their image, that is to say that they would not like to be seen in a public place with a white girl. Thus, caste and religion become secondary issues. One the one hand, that can be seen as a sort of racism, but on another hand, it also shows the way younger generations are getting less religious and, mixing with other types of Asians may be a step further away from the traditional rules. While discussing his mother's opinion about his partners one of the respondents said: **'She'd like me to be with an Indian girl but she knows that I wouldn't give a shit about what she says about girls.'** Lately, Asian guys have started dating English girls as they take relationships less seriously, it seems more obvious for independent men, but it still happens for some of those who live with their family although they often have to hide it. Ken Loach's film 'Ae Fond kiss', shows the impossibility for a family to accept their son's white partner because it would shatter the structure of the joint family. A similar situation is described throughout Bali Rai's book '(Un)arranged marriage', : the character's father beats him up for not accepting the family rules, his mother practices emotional blackmail by telling him that she would die if he refuses to marry as planned by the family. In Leicester, mixed relationships are often short cut, and remain 'dates' because the children fear to destroy their families. Having a relationship with a white girl appear as easier to them because it provides them with more liberties, if things go wrong in a couple, they can just break up without having any responsibilities towards their

partner or her family. Therefore, dating becomes multicultural in places favouring a multicultural atmosphere like late bars such as the Basement or Nomad, where I once heard the funny line: '*You're hotter than my mum's curry.*' Mixed couples and mixed marriages are rising but they mainly concern white women with Asian men and barely the other way round. Those cases still remain a minority as a lot of Indian boys are also expected to marry Indian girls. While studying, some Indian boys go out with white girls because they know that they have to find an Asian partner by the end of their education.

The most accurate interpretation enabling us to figure the situation of young Asian men in Leicester seems to be the following. They are torn up; on the one hand, their families often expect them to find an Asian partner, and they would not like to hurt their parents. Also, they respect Asian girls and women and are rather protective towards them. On the other hand, they are more involved in Leicester's social life than Asian girls through leisure, therefore, they are more in contact with others ethnic groups. As a result, they are more tempted to experience dating and sex than the girls, who are more confined to the private sphere. This creates a gender dichotomy, and some Asian girls can prove rather resentful towards either the girls hanging out with Asian boys, or the Asian boys betraying them by seeing white girls. Even though the notion of clan cannot really exist in Britain, girls endure more pressure to marry within the community.

B.   HANGING OUT.

It is as easy as sitting on a bench to detect some significant sociological facts in Leicester. Fashion is one part of the way people 'show' themselves; people you hang out with represent another aspect of it. Even though one of the respondents argued that, in Leicester, people were more mixed than in Birmingham, but it is not as obvious when one observes people's behaviours in the street. First, there are distinctions due to skin colours; generally,

Black people hang out with Black people, Asians with Asians, and so on. In the daytime – at lunch break, for instance-, you can see a mix of people because they are most likely workmates or university mates. The context of work is usually where Asians come to hang out with white people, like one of the interviewees explained: *'When I was growing up, I used to hang around with Indians and black people, when I started work, I started getting along with English people, so, then I started becoming friends with them. Without work, I wouldn't know English people'.* Then, he explained: *'I wouldn't say 'Oh, I like the Indians better than the English' or anything like that.'* Another one said: *'If you walk downtown right now, an Indian will most probably be with another Indian as friends'.* Some people also mix when they are students, at the university, but it is not so obvious either, a student told me: *'it's only at university, which I find that everything is sort of mixed. But, having said that, I think that again, even at university, Indians would speak to Indian friends and the white or English people would speak to their white friends.'* These separations are also striking in the bars and pubs as I pointed out in the first chapter of this work, probably because everyone is looking at each other. Some Asians consider that hanging out with white people is a shame, hence, arguments can burst; for instance, if a Hindu sees another Hindu with white people; some would not hesitate to remind their peers that it is wrong, a loss of honour. I would argue that people stay within their community as long as they are concentrated in one area (like Pakistanis in the area of Highfield). Children who go to mixed schools, for instance, come to hang out with more diverse friends. The case of Meera and Jas illustrates the variations of the phenomenon. Meera argued that she was hanging out with *'a mix of girls, guys, black, white Asians etc…'* because she grew up in London with a diversity of schoolmates; on the contrary, Jas said that she only had one friend that she met in college when she arrived from India; her lifestyle makes socialization difficult, and the people she sees the most are the members of her family. However she still felt more free than if she was living in India, where she *'wouldn't go out, wouldn't wear trousers'.*

Beyond the comments and reflections that can be said between individuals, the pressure is certainly more constructed than factual. The pressure comes from the older generations, therefore the strength of family links and respect for older generations establish implicit rules that act on the social contacts of younger generations. When asked in what ways he was feeling Indian, Vijay, 22 answered: *'I think that the best part of being brought up in the Indian way, it's that you learn to respect other people and elders but also anyone else.'*

On Sundays, you can see Asian families going out together, they may go shopping in the city centre. If the weather is good enough, they go to parks, noticeably Abbey Park, in Belgrave area, Victoria Park, or Spinney Hill in Highfields. Jas said she enjoyed going to Evington Park on Sunday to let the kids play and to socialize with other women from the same area. They usually go there wearing traditional clothes, children often carry devices to play football or cricket. Even though it is a familial activity -part of a tradition -, a lot of young Asians still enjoy spending time in the company of their family, so that it may be considered as a part of leisure.

Conclusion:

The main findings that can be interpreted through sports and outdoor activities are first, a generation gap, then a gender dichotomy; both influencing social facts. Cricket often represents the first generation migrants' resentment towards Britain, which younger generations seem to have overcome through more universal interests such as football. It shows the progress of integration.

Besides, I would also underline Dali's suggestion that sport may represent a solution to the alcohol problems evoked along the third chapter of this work.

Fashion is a domain where men endure more pressure from the family than girls as they represent its respectability; however it also reveals that girls are behind them in terms of integration as they socially position themselves as 'black', noticeably through the RnB

discourse. A creolization can be observed in the way people dress; it denotes permeability between the cultural groups, despite the apparent social divisions. It seems that divisions are important for older generations who fear the loss of their values, and influence younger people's behaviour although they come to mix increasingly. One of the respondents involved in a mixed couple said that they could not go to town during the day by fear of being seen by older people who would report it to his family; but they could still go out at night because, he said '*it is different for young people'*.

1.   A MATTER OF URBANISM

In 'In Réseaux' (1996), Phil Cohen demonstrated that the reduction of public spaces such as streets, pubs, gardens and courtyards resulted in a break down of the popular sociability. In Leicester, it appears that the numerous pubs remain an important way of socializing, which produces two main effects as regarding the communities' relationships.

a)   A limited choice.

The omnipresence of pubs limits young adults' choices in terms of leisure. Consequently, it highlights the alcohol problems faced by the most vulnerable young Asians. Besides, it also participates in encapsulating the Muslims, who end up in exclusively socializing within their own community, in specific places such as shisha cafés or mosques. The abusive behaviour and aggressiveness shown by some youngsters indicates that they perceive themselves as being excluded from society, more than the older generations who were not necessarily conscious of the gap between their community and the rest of the population. A growing feeling of exclusion can lead some individuals to commit crimes; there is a call for recognition that would imply a change in the city structure towards more varied activities (developing sport activities, for instance). Rather than reaching a deadlock, their behaviour can represent a frustration born from feeling apart, or in other terms, a desire to participate in the wider social life.

b)   A source of contact.

As seen above, the conflicts between different ethnic groups can be a sign of progress. A limited choice of activities creates a necessary uniformity that generates contacts

and creolization. In 'Multiculturalism', C. W. Watson uses the example of Malaysia, where the different communities came to meet by buying or selling in the context of a capitalist economy; he explains the social fact of multiculturalism by the interactions on the market place. Gathering people around an economic interest participates in diluting the stereotypes due to each group's isolation from the other. After the decline of its industry, Britain developed a service society, partly based on consumerism, so that the sector of leisure now generates intensive money exchanges.

2.   UNIFORMITY AND DIVERSITY

People's behaviours show a movement towards uniformity in all the domains approached throughout this research. Watson deplored a consequence of globalisation as follows: '*Multiculturalism in terms of diversity and difference appears, then, to be under threat from global convergence*'[39]. The potential danger of global phenomena would be to produce a unilateral widespread lifestyle through, for instance, the monopoly of big cinema productions, or an overwhelming control of the mass media by the richest publishers extending their publications abroad, noticeably in India –as stated by Rupert Murdoch in his latest interventions-. Similarly, a unique view on fashion or on food would end in annihilating the diversity of cultures, and it could endanger individuals' uniqueness to a certain extent.

In today's multicultural societies, the political authorities balance this uniformity according to their position in the political spectrum, with more or less liberal perspectives. In 'Communication' (1962), Williams formulated propositions in favour of a democratic control of the mass media that he saw as a means of influence. Research carried out by Williams and Thompson in the field of Cultural Studies demonstrated that, at the end of the 20th century, culture was interrelated with power, and strategies for social changes. However, the

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[39] C.W Watson, 2000, Multiculturalism, Open University Press, Buckingham-Philadelphia, p.68.

interviewees proved selective in their choices, especially concerning the media. Despite the multiplication of TV channels, young people seemed to prefer the Internet because it is more adjustable to each one's interests. In the 1970's, Hoggart developed a non-determinist thesis through the notion of sub-culture. He observed that, while under a structural constraint, young people were developing tactics of selection in their identity potential; he opposed such tactics to a passive consumption. The local authorities need to remain involved in the representation of all the communities.

As a multicultural city, Leicester encourages diversity in leisure activities. The possibility for people to express themselves determines the recognition of every group, and, therefore, it determines the quality of the relationship between the different ethnic groups.

3.   POP CULTURE V. QUALITY CULTURE

Pop culture, being identified as the most accessible form of culture, participates in creating some social divisions. Mainstream music, cinema production, tabloids or wide spread TV programmes often confirm certain stereotypes because they are made to appeal to a greater number; therefore, they cannot approach specific topics that would require in depth research. Then again, I would argue that, that popular culture is tightly linked to marketing strategies; it aims to generate profit. The development of the pop culture creates a class division by offering a poorer culture to the poorer people, whereas richer classes are given access to a culture of quality, and sources of knowledge. The South Asian minorities in Britain have now reached the same class profile as the white British so that they are equally affected by the class divergence.

However, the case of Leicester shows that Asians are more and more represented in quality activities, which give their groups a positive social image. Young adults generally have less money than active adults and students particularly deplored the prices of quality

activities. The Asian community proves active in the field of arts, both because the spectators demand such leisure activities, and because the artists are dynamic. Again, the local authorities motivate this positive exchange of cultures as observed through the recent opening of the Peepul centre in Leicester and other initiatives encouraging low budget cinema productions, for instance. Armand Mattelart and Erik Neveu stated that the creators from ethnic minorities were more recognized in Great Britain than in France[40].

4.   IDENTITY

At a local level, the city structure has to counteract the dangers of a capitalist economy by maintaining a diversity of cultures and the possibility to fulfil oneself as an individual personality. None of the respondents could identify themselves as either British or Asian; they all claimed that their lifestyle was at the meeting of two cultures. The term of British-Asian seems to acquire its full meaning for those second-generation migrants. On the 12th of July 2006, the Leicester Mercury published the article '*Hindu voices "go unheard"'* with the subtitle: *'identity: why "Asian" tag is rejected in favour of "British Indian"'.* A Hindu city councillor argues: *'We feel we all get sucked in by the term "Asian". It does not tell anything about a person. People are much more comfortable with terms such as British Hindu because that actually tells you something.'* (see Appendix viii). They show a desire to fully participate in British society, not by assimilation but by mixing their inherited values with the British conception of leisure. The involvement of South Asians in politics is both a starting point and a result of the acceptance of different groups in Britain.

The subject of leisure has highlighted a gender division; females' integration proves slower although it follows the same pattern as males. Therefore, males' integration stimulates a growing independence for girls and, virtually challenges some forms of gender oppression.

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[40] Armand Mattelart- Erik Neveu, 2003, Introduction aux Cultural Studies, la Découverte, Repères, p.36.

The second group that seems to suffer in that process of integration is the Muslims. The pertinence of the term 'Ethnic Studies' as such is questionable as the study of 'ethnic' groups needs to distinguish the different religions, genders, social status, origins and so on.

Some disparities exist between the different Asian groups in Leicester, and probably also between the different multicultural cities in the UK. Yet ethnic minorities seem to follow the same process of integration, from a position of outsider to a self-definition as British. Leisure appears as a key element at the basis of this process because, on the one hand, it stimulates socialization, and; on the other hand, it is a field in which the different cultures find a ground for expression. People are willing to maintain their communities' representation, but individuals also expect to be considered as such by keeping control over their own means of expression. To a wider extent I would suggest that British people (regardless of their origins) are willing to maintain a certain freedom of expression; they come to question mainstream forms of leisure, they also proved sceptical about a mainstream mass media that can be perceived as oppressive. The Asian community is ideologically involved in the British system; an energetic attitude that acts in favour of their integration in Britain, still in process for certain groups.

I first had the feeling that ethnic groups were very divided in the sphere of social life, but this research made me realise that important changes are taking place thanks to individuals' willingness to initiate them. However, I still feel that the white British remain passive, they seem to adopt a pragmatic behaviour, socializing with other groups if they come to meet them in specific contexts. They do not seem much concerned by the issue of integration. It would be interesting to complete this study with an analysis of the white British behaviour.

5.   EPISTEMOLOGY

It seems that the methodology I adopted lead to some relevant findings that can fit in the context of the current Ethnic and Cultural Studies. The isolation of Muslim groups corresponds to Tariq Modood's findings as he has often pointed out their situation. I would argue that, it adds some credit to his theory; being a Muslim himself, T. Modood could be blamed for displaying a biased analysis.

The topic of leisure also permitted to approach the behaviour of different social classes, one of the purposes of 'Cultural Studies', a trend of sociology that appeared at the end of the 20th century. The review 'Media, culture and society' was created in 1979 by researchers from Leicester and from the Central London Polytechnic; in the 1960's, Hoggart founded the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham. All the sociological disciplines need to be interrelated, to provide an accurate analysis of society, as diverse as it can be today. I recommend an interdisciplinary approach in sociology. This is a point that has been defended by the feminists, who underlined the necessity of considering the diversity of women and of their experiences. In Britain, South Asians have reached an equivalent social status to that of the white British, and they play a role in society – noticeably through their practices of leisure -. It is therefore, necessary to implement sociological methods combining the disciplines together. Some parallel questionings arose by themselves through the present study, such as, for instance, the Sikhs' valuation of work, or the condition of Asian women in a non-patriarchal society; and other wider issues about for instance the expressions of racism; or the tensions between social structure and individuals.

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Vijay: **a 23 years old male, his parents were East African Asians from Kenya, originally from the region of Gujerat, in India. They got divorced in England when Vijay was aged eighteen. He was born in Leicester, studies and works at the Royal Infirmary, but also in a restaurant on weekends and as a volunteer for Royal Air Force with the 'Cadets'. He is from a Hindu background, his grandmother also living in England.**

Safraz: **a 28 years old male, his parents were from Pakistan, then, they migrated to Leicester, were Safraz was born. He is unemployed at the moment although he had worked in various Indian restaurants in Leicestershire. He married an Indian girl despite his parents' disapproval, had a child and then divorced. He is from a Muslim background.**

Faizal: **a 25 years old male whose mother was a Hindu from Kenya, his father was a Muslim from Pakistan but lived most of his life in Leicester, where they got married. His dad had passed away in 2003, which made him responsible for his family. His mother had converted to Islam so that she could marry his father, he considers himself as a Muslim. He works for the 'Leicester Mercury' but also prints different newspapers like 'The Sun', 'News of the World' and papers for London, Kent or Sussex.**

Rana: **a 21 years old male whose parents migrated from Punjab after an arranged marriage, they are Sikh. Although Rana was working in a warehouse and living at his parents, he expressed a strong wish to avoid the traditional lifestyle of his family, refusing to get married or to stay at home in the context of the joint patriarchal family. His point of**

view was a source of conflicts in his family, especially with his father, who often refused to speak to him. Rana did not consider himself as religious.

Dali: **a 23 years old male whose father migrated from East Africa, his mother was from India, both Sikhs. Student in International Business at the 'De Montfort University', he did not seem in opposition with his parents' lifestyle although he admitted mixing with more various groups of people since he started studying.**

Meera: **a 23 years old female, whose parents migrated from India. From a Hindu background, her family represented the most liberal amongst the interviewees' families. She was from London and came to Leicester to study at the 'De Montfort University'. She had had a liberal education in London, where she always got mixed with all sorts of people.**

Jasjit: **a 24 years old Punjabi female, who migrated from Punjab to join her husband's family after her arranged marriage. Member of a Sikh joint patriarchal family she had had two children and was working as a financial assistant for the national probation service. Besides, her family seemed rather traditional; none of them were drinking alcohol. Besides she was happy with her life in Leicester, and admitted she would not go back to India, she had a good relationships with the members of her household, gathering three generations (eleven people). She still said that she was looking for another house for her, her husbands and children, to be more independent, but she found other houses to small.**

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APPENDIX