

ETHNICITY AMONGST SECOND GENERATION SIKH GIRLS
- A CASE STUDY IN NOTTINGHAM

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ABSTRACT

I examine the cultural lives, social relationships and ethnic identities of 16 to 20 year old Sikh females in Nottingham. Using an interview schedule, I interviewed my respondents individually and, in private.

I present and analyse my findings within a framework which seeks to identify the major factors which can be said to influence the socio-cultural lives and identities of these 'second generation' Sikhs. These factors are either internal to their community (for example, caste membership) or, are externally imposed (for instance, racial prejudice and discrimination). In my framework, I also employ three theoretical concepts. These are 'situational ethnicity', 'bi-culturalism' and 'social structural pluralism'.

In examining my respondents' cultural norms and values, I ask three major questions. First, do they maintain, modify or abandon the Sikh religion and other (Punjabi) traditions? Second, are they acculturated into British norms and values? Third, do they experience 'culture conflict' and, if so, what strategies do they use to reconcile the divergent socio-cultural systems into which they are socialized?

My enquiry into their social relationships entails an examination of the ethnic origins of their female friends and (future) spouses in order to establish whether they are socially encapsulated within their ethnic group at the primary group level of relationships.

Finally, I focus on their self-defined identities; their perceptions of racial hostility and their perceptions of cultural differences between Sikhs and non-Sikhs in order to examine the extent to which they maintain a distinctive ethnic identity.

Briefly, my findings indicate that although partial acculturation into British norms and values has indeed occurred, most Sikh traditions and a distinctive (Sikh) ethnic identity continue to survive in Nottingham. Furthermore, the continuation of endogamous marriages ensures that my respondents remain socially encapsulated. However, such encapsulation is far less pronounced in their friendship patterns.

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INTRODUCTION

The research enquiry, upon which this thesis is based, was conducted in Nottingham between March 1979 and April 1980. The subjects of my investigation were 102 'second generation' Sikh girls of predominantly Punjabi origin, between the ages of 16 and 20. The 'second generation' was operationally defined to include only those girls who were either born in the United Kingdom or educated entirely in British schools, having usually commenced their education at the age of 5.

The aims of my enquiry were to examine the religious, cultural, social and identificational dimensions of the lives of my respondents in order to answer six major questions. First, to what extent did these female members of the second generation maintain, modify or abandon their parental traditions and maintain a distinctive ethnic identity? If Punjabi norms and values had not been totally abandoned, were they adhered to in all situations or were they mainly maintained in specific contexts? Second, had primary socialization into the parental culture and secondary socialization into the socio-cultural norms and values of the wider society subjected Sikh girls to conflicting choices and, if so, what strategies did they employ in resolving any such contradictions? Third, did Sikh girls draw distinctions between themselves and their indigenous peers and, if so, did such perceived differences serve to enhance their ethnicity? Fourth, did they interact socially with white natives

at the primary group level of relationships or were they 'socially encapsulated' by interacting exclusively with Sikhs and/or other South Asians?¹ Fifth, had the girls been exposed to racial prejudice and discrimination and, if so, to what extent did their perceptions and/or experiences of white rejection encourage them to sustain a separate culture and identity? Sixth, how far did these members of the second generation expect members of the future third generation to maintain the Sikh religion and Punjabi culture?

I decided to concentrate exclusively on Sikhs because I thought that my chances of obtaining an adequate number of 'second generation' girls, as defined in this thesis, would be highest amongst the Sikhs. This expectation was influenced by two considerations. The first arose from the available statistical estimates of the size of the South Asian population in the United Kingdom, up to the start of my fieldwork in March 1979. One such estimate was made by Lomas who, basing her calculations on the 1971 Census, recorded that there were approximately 169,700 people of Pakistani origin and approximately 483,100 people of Indian origin in Britain (Lomas, 1973, pp. 69-70). Moreover, it was also estimated that approximately 80 per cent of the total Indian population in the United Kingdom were of Sikh origin (Community Relations Commission, 1976, p. 113). The numerical superiority of the Sikhs in Nottingham was also reported by Lawrence in his study of race relations in that city. According to Lawrence, there were approximately 4,000 people of Indian origin, the majority of whom were Sikhs (Lawrence, 1974, p. 10

and 22). The above information on their numerical dominance in Nottingham was one of the factors which influenced my decision to concentrate on Sikhs with the expectation that I would have access to an adequate number of members of the second generation.

The second consideration arose from the finding, reported in studies on South Asian migration and settlement patterns in Britain, that Sikh men had been reunited with their wives and dependent children at an earlier stage than other South Asians. Ballard and Ballard, for example, had presented a model of migration and settlement involving four basic stages (Ballard and Ballard, 1977, pp. 21-43). The first stage involved the arrival of pioneer male Punjabi pedlars who were followed, in the second stage, by large scale male migration. The third, consolidating phase came with the arrival of women and children and, finally, the fourth stage was characterized by the emergence of the 'second generation'.

An application of this model to South Asians in general, revealed variations in the timing and duration of each stage. For example, the Sikhs reached the third stage during the late 1960s unlike Pakistani Muslims and Sylhet Bengalis who were rather more reluctant to bring women to the United Kingdom, and only started to do so, on a significant scale, in the late 1970s and early 1980s. East African Asians, many of whom were Sikhs, tended, on the other hand, to arrive as complete family units in the 1960s and 1970s and thus began their lives in Britain at the

third stage of Ballard and Ballard's model.

This information on the earlier establishment of family units amongst the Sikhs, together with their known predominance in Nottingham, led me to expect that my chances of obtaining an adequate number of 'second generation' girls, as defined in this thesis, would be highest amongst them.

Yet another factor which influenced my decision to concentrate exclusively on Sikhs was negative, rather than positive, and related to the problems which would arise from an attempt to undertake a study involving girls from different religious and socio-cultural backgrounds amongst the South Asian population in Nottingham, within the time and resources available. Although Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus may share some cultural traditions as well as a common linguistic heritage, should they originate from the same regional area of the subcontinent, they would also be subject to significance differences. For instance, the value of family 'izzat' or 'honour', the ideal of the 'joint family', the arranged marriage and the wearing of the 'Salwar Kameeze' by women, are aspects of socio-cultural traditions which Sikhs share with other Punjabis in general.² In contrast to these similarities, however, religious and socio-cultural differences distinguish Sikhs markedly from, for example, Punjabi Muslims.

An illustration of one such difference is evident in their marital systems. Although the arranged marriage is common to Sikhs and Muslims, there are certain differences in the norms

governing the choice of partners. The Sikhs observe clan exogamy, which ensures that the couple concerned are not related to each other at a distance of the four grandparents (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 115). This contrasts with the cross-cousin marriages favoured by most Punjabi Muslims (Dahya, 1972, p. 25; Jeffrey, 1976, pp. 34-5; Saifullah Khan, 1977, p. 61).

Distinctions between Sikhs and Muslims are, however, more pronounced in the religious sphere. The Sikh Code of Conduct contains directives which are exclusive to Sikhs. For example, the rule which requires initiated Sikhs to observe the 'Five Ks' is one which is peculiar to Sikhism. In accordance with this prescription, a Sikh should have long hair (Kesh); wear a bangle on the right-hand wrist (Kara); wear special underwear (Kacha); carry a sword (Kirpan) and a comb (Kangha) (Cole and Sambhi, 1978; pp. 168-79).

In addition, the Code of Conduct also contains prohibitions which stand in direct opposition to prescriptions within Islam. Examples of this include the prohibition against eating 'Halal' meat, that is the flesh of animals slaughtered according to Muslim ritual and the rule which forbids Sikh women from observing 'Purdah' (ibid).

Given my limited resources, I did not think that my enquiry could adequately reflect the heterogeneity of the South Asian population and, consequently, I resolved to concentrate

exclusively on Sikhs.

My decision to study females was influenced by the nature of the available research conducted on second generation Asians, up to the start of my fieldwork in March 1979. An examination of the existing material at that time indicated that there was a dearth of research studies on female members of this generation, in particular, on those girls who were of secondary school age and older. I found that with the exception of Ballard and Ballard and two small scale enquiries conducted by Chrishna and Sharpe, (Ballard and Ballard, 1972 and 1977; Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976) social scientists had concentrated largely on boys and girls of junior/primary school age (for example, James, 1974; Dosanjh, 1975 and Julka, 1978) and on males, but not females, between the ages of 12 and 25 (for example, Thompson, 1970; Ghuman, 1975; Taylor, 1976; Paige, 1977 and Hindbalraj, 1977).

This does not mean, however, that social scientists had not speculated on female members of the second generation. For example, Saifullah Khan, whose own study concentrated predominantly on the first generation, expressed her expectation that girls of South Asian origin, especially with strict Muslim parents, were likely to experience problems of cultural and intergenerational conflict:

"The values inculcated by the British system of education are in conflict with those taught by parents ... The generation gap is exacerbated by the differential influences of a second culture and value system" (Saifullah Khan, 1975, p. 186).

A more detailed discussion of the above mentioned research studies on members of the second generation is presented in Chapter One.

CHAPTER ONE

A REVIEW OF RESEARCH STUDIES ON THE SECOND GENERATION

- WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO FEMALES

1.1 STUDIES WHICH WERE AVAILABLE, PRIOR TO THE START OF MY ENQUIRY IN MARCH 1979

A common speculation during the 1950s and 1960s was that the children of immigrant parents were likely to internalize the socio-cultural norms and values of the dominant society in preference to their parental traditions. It was also expected that this process of 'cultural assimilation' into the wider society would result in cultural and intergenerational conflict between immigrant parents and their assimilated offspring.

Amongst the empirical research studies which examined the process of assimilation and its effects on intergenerational relationships with regard to South Asians in Britain, were the enquiries conducted by Thompson and Taylor (Thompson, 1970; Taylor, 1976). Although these two studies focused exclusively on males, they were of particular interest to me because their researchers had examined the cultural and social dimensions of the lives of their respondents - aspects which I too had investigated in relation to second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham. In addition, the age range of their respondents was similar to mine, in that Thompson's subjects were aged between 17 and 25 and Taylor's between 15 and 21.

Thompson collected his data through participant observation of several Sikh peer groups in Coventry, between June 1968 and January 1970. His subjects were 71 male Sikhs whom he divided into three generational categories. These were: the 'first generation' whose members had arrived in Britain when over the age of 16; secondly, the 'child migrants' who had migrated from the Punjab between the ages of 5 and 15 and who were a numerical majority in his study and, finally, the 'second generation' whose members were either born in the United Kingdom or had arrived when under 5 years of age.

In contrast to Thompson's method of participant observation, Taylor collected his data with the aid of an interview schedule in Newcastle in the late 1960s. In addition, unlike Thompson who had concentrated on Sikhs, Taylor studied Muslim, Hindu and Sikh males of Punjabi origin. According to Taylor, only 7 per cent of his 67 respondents were born in the United Kingdom, 42 per cent had arrived in Britain when under 5 or at primary school age, and the remainder were over 13 years of age upon arrival in this country.

Despite differences in research techniques, the two studies shared similar aims, theoretical perspectives and findings. Thompson and Taylor both employed a theoretical framework based on Milton Gordon's assimilation variables with which to examine the extent to which young men of Punjabi origin had assimilated into the wider society and, in addition, whether their assimilation had

resulted in intergenerational conflict between themselves and their parents (Gordon, 1964).¹

The variables of assimilation which received particular attention in both studies were 'cultural assimilation', 'social structural assimilation', 'marital assimilation' and 'identificational assimilation'. Briefly, 'cultural assimilation' entailed an examination of the extent to which the young males in both studies had abandoned the norms and values of their parental culture in favour of those of the wider society; 'social structural assimilation' involved an investigation into whether they interacted socially with white members of society at the primary group level of relationships (for example, friendship and peer group relations) or, whether they conducted their relationships strictly with other Punjabis and other South Asians; 'marital assimilation' was measured by the extent to which Punjabi males had married or would consider marrying indigenous (white) women and, finally, 'identificational assimilation' entailed an enquiry into the self-perceptions of the respondents in terms of being 'Indian' or 'English'.

The similarities which Thompson and Taylor shared in the focus of their enquiries, also extended to their findings and the conclusions they reached. They both reported that their respondents displayed a degree of cultural assimilation, since they found that the young men had adopted certain cultural traits of the dominant society, including its language, local accent, mannerisms, hairstyles, clothing, sport and other forms of social

entertainment. In addition, Thompson and Taylor contended that some parental traditions were no longer maintained. For example, Taylor reported that the Sikhs in his study did not wear the turban, did not go to the temple and professed to know very little about their religion. Despite these findings, however, Thompson and Taylor concluded that their young men were not totally culturally assimilated because their research had also demonstrated that the parental culture had not been entirely abandoned. For instance, even though many went out with girlfriends, the majority in both studies reported that they would accept an arranged marriage for themselves. Furthermore, they expressed support for the ideal of the 'joint family' as well as for the value of family 'izzat' or 'honour', thus demonstrating² that parental values had not been totally discarded.

In addition to the above, Thompson and Taylor also reported that 'social structural assimilation' had not been attained. The majority of young men in both studies did not interact socially with white natives but tended, instead, to conduct their friendships with other Punjabis. Moreover, their social structural isolation was reinforced by their stated preference for endogamous marriages and by the maintenance of the arranged marriage.

Thompson and Taylor also contended that despite the partial cultural assimilation of their respondents, the latter had maintained a strong 'Indian' identity. They also reported that despite such assimilation, intergenerational conflict between

parents and their sons was very limited.

In the analysis of their findings, Thompson and Taylor attributed the cultural conformity and lack of rebellion of their respondents to factors which were essentially internal to the ethnic communities they studied. In other words, they asserted that most young men did not totally deviate from their parental traditions due to the effectiveness of social control within the family and the Punjabi peer group. Furthermore, they stated that the young men did not disobey their parents because they did not wish to harm the family 'izzat' and because they loved and respected their parents. In addition, Thompson contended that young men did not rebel because they were ultimately dependent on the older generation with regard to their own marital futures, since access to a bride was controlled by the parental generation, through the arranged marriage.

In my view, these explanations are not entirely adequate because the reasons cited by Thompson and Taylor can indeed be interpreted as additional manifestations of the cultural conformity which they supposedly explain. For example, it can be argued that the young men's deference and respect for their parents, as well as their desire to protect the family honour, were further examples of their adherence to parental cultural values and not, as has been argued by Thompson and Taylor, the reasons for their conformity. Similarly, even if their dependence on the older generation with regard to marriage, acted as a deterrent against deviation from traditional norms and values, it

did not explain why young males wished to marry Punjabi girls despite alternative choices in the wider society. The decision to marry a Punjabi bride could be interpreted as a sign of conformity to parental traditions rather than an explanation for such conformity. Thus, in seeking to account for their findings on the conformity of their respondents in terms of other examples of conformity it can be argued that Thompson and Taylor presented circular arguments. This weakness could have been reduced if Thompson and Taylor had paid equal attention to the external constraints in the wider society to which their respondents were subjected. For example, an examination of the young men's perceptions of racial prejudice and discrimination might have revealed an additional explanation for the survival of Punjabi norms and values in the British context.

Despite these reservations, both studies were of interest to me in the preparation of my own enquiry, because their findings led me to postulate that if parental traditions had not been totally abandoned by males, they were less likely to be rejected by females, since a study by Dosanjh on the child rearing practices of Punjabis in Derby and Nottingham had indicated that, even at the relatively early age of 7 and 9, girls were subjected to wider restrictions and more exacting standards of conformity to parental traditions than their male peers (Dosanjh, 1975).

A similar finding was also reported by Ballard and Ballard who, in addition, indicated that the stricter supervision of females

continued into adulthood, especially until they were married. Ballard and Ballard conducted their study on second generation Sikhs of both sexes between 1971 and 1974 in Leeds. The 'second generation' referred to those Sikhs who were either born in Britain or educated in British schools (Ballard and Ballard, 1977, pp. 43-55).

Starting from the premise that young Sikhs "have been exposed to socialization into two very different cultures at home and at school", Ballard and Ballard examined the extent to which second generation Sikhs in Leeds had managed to resolve the contradictions between their parental culture and those of the dominant society. Their findings, summarised below, were similar to those reported in the preceding studies of Thompson and Taylor, even though the latter had conducted their enquiries approximately 5 years prior to Ballard and Ballard.

Ballard and Ballard contended that although members of the second generation were conversant with British cultural norms and were, therefore, able to present themselves as British when necessary, parental socio-cultural traditions had not been entirely abandoned. Moreover, they reported that they had found very little evidence of intergenerational conflict. Although most young Sikhs did experience a period of disagreement with their parents in their early teens - for instance, in relation to fashions, temple attendance and visiting relatives - the vast majority had, by their late teens and early twenties, decided to maintain or only modify rather than abandon their parental culture.

To illustrate this, Ballard and Ballard cited the example of the modification of the arranged marriage. According to their findings in Leeds, Sikhs had begun to allow their children a degree of participation in the selection of spouses by, for example, introducing the couples and by permitting them to veto the selection. In addition, once engaged, the couples were generally allowed to get better acquainted, sometimes by going out together but more often by telephone contact. This modified form of the arranged marriage was acceptable even to those young Sikhs who had otherwise disregarded Punjabi cultural norms by going out (secretly) with boy/girlfriends.

Their findings on the friendship patterns of their Sikh respondents were also similar to the preceding findings of Thompson and Taylor. Thus, they too, reported that members of the second generation were 'socially encapsulated' because they tended to interact predominantly with Sikhs and/or other South Asians. Indeed, the social interaction of young Sikhs with non-Sikh South Asians was interpreted by Ballard and Ballard as an indication of the development of a 'pan-Asian' ethnic identity amongst members of the second generation. According to the writers, this wider 'pan-Asian' identity marked a difference between members of the first and second generation for, unlike their parents, young Sikhs in Leeds were less concerned with the internal divisions within the South Asian population in Britain, including those of caste, religion, language and country or region of origin, in relation to

their emerging identities.

In analysing their findings, Ballard and Ballard argued that the persistence of the parental culture, the lack of overt intergenerational conflict, the maintenance of an ethnic identity by members of the second generation and their social encapsulation, should not only be attributed to the success of primary socialization but, also, to the effects of their subjection to racial prejudice and discrimination in the wider society. Thus, according to Ballard and Ballard, some young Sikhs had reacted to white rejection by reaffirming their separate ethnic identity, through, for example, the re-adoption of the turban. For the majority, however, the perception and experience of racial prejudice and discrimination had served to discourage total assimilation and had highlighted the advantages of maintaining a supportive kin and ethnic community network in an otherwise hostile environment.

Although Ballard and Ballard had undoubtedly, in my view, made a useful contribution towards the existing material on the second generation, especially in so far as they had included females, I also considered that on the basis of their published essays, their work was far from conclusive. Little information was provided on their methodology and on the size and composition of their sample and this lack of detail made it difficult to evaluate their findings. In addition, this lack of detail also extended to the research data upon which their conclusions were based. For example, Ballard and Ballard failed to state clearly which

findings had led them to assert that "young people, are of course, thoroughly conversant with British cultural norms and are quite capable of presenting themselves as British whenever necessary" (ibid., p. 46).

Similarly, the contention that members of the second generation had modified their parental culture was supported predominantly by a single item - that of the arranged marriage. Moreover, although Ballard and Ballard had studied Sikhs, the religious beliefs and prescriptions of Sikhism, particularly those outlined in the Sikh Code of Conduct, were largely neglected despite a brief reference to temple attendance and the wearing of turbans by young Sikhs.

Despite these reservations, the study by Ballard and Ballard was of relevance to me, first, because I too had chosen to study Sikhs and, second, because of the dearth of research material on female members of the second generation. I now turn my attention to two, small-scale studies whose writers did concentrate on young females of South Asian origin (Sharpe, 1976 and Chrishna, 1975). The first, by Sharpe was based on 47 interviews with fourth form school girls of Sikh and Muslim origin in Ealing, London in 1972. Her central aim was to examine the perceptions of her respondents with regard to their future roles as wives and mothers. The second, by Chrishna, was conducted through informal discussions in Bradford and London in 1973 with 50, 16 to 25 year old Sikh, Muslim and Hindu girls in order to examine the extent to which they were subject to cultural conflict.

The findings of the above studies were similar in several respects. Sharpe and Chrishna both reported that although the girls in their studies expressed feelings of frustration with regard to the social and recreational restrictions they faced, they nevertheless did not overtly rebel against their parents. For example, many reported that they preferred 'love' marriages and, although a minority of girls actually did break traditional norms by going out (secretly) with boyfriends, none were prepared to disobey their parents by refusing to accept an arranged marriage for themselves. Indeed, marriage was perceived by the girls in both studies as an inevitable stage in their lives. They also perceived that they were expected by their parents and other members of their communities to become wives and mothers. The majority of fourth formers in Sharpe's study, as well as those in Chrishna's, were reluctant to accept these future roles and instead, expressed a preference to continue their education and pursue a career. However, they were also aware that, in reality, parental objections and an arranged marriage would lessen their chances of realizing their aspirations. This applied particularly to Muslim girls who were removed from school as soon as possible and married at an early age. Sikhs, on the other hand, were more likely to permit their daughters to continue their education and to take up employment prior to marriage. However, unmarried females in employment were usually chaperoned to and from their places of work and were mostly permitted by their parents only to work alongside female relatives or other South Asian women.

The research enquiries conducted by Sharpe and Chrishna suggested that some cultural changes had occurred between South Asian parents and their daughters. However, whilst the girls did not overtly disobey their parents, limited changes had indeed occurred in their attitudes towards certain aspects of the parental culture even if they had not yet manifested themselves at the behavioural level.

In evaluating these findings, it should be acknowledged that Sharpe and Chrishna both wrote for a general readership. Their studies were descriptive and impressionistic and, in addition, the authors did not attempt to test any particular aspect of sociological theory. Indeed, this specific point was acknowledged by Sharpe, who, in the introduction of her book stated:

"This book does not set out to be a definitive sociological or psychological study, nor does it present or test any grand theories. It is intended as a descriptive account of the situation of young girls in Britain today, set in a historical and social context and illustrated by the girls themselves" (ibid., p. 8).

I accepted the findings of both studies with reservations because of their limitations. I thought that the small numbers of respondents, as well as the fact that they were drawn from all the major South Asian religions, raised doubts about the validity of both studies. In addition, the two investigations were limited in scope, for Sharpe and Chrishna had focused their attention predominantly on the restrictions which females faced in relation to just three items - marriage, recreational pursuits and

employment.

Moreover, in examining these dimensions, Chrishna, in particular, concentrated the focus of her enquiry on the restrictions imposed by parents on her respondents, whilst giving less consideration to the constraints to which they were subject in the wider society. For example, in her discussion on employment, Chrishna did not attempt to examine the extent to which the lack of educational qualifications might have limited her respondents to specific kinds of employment, nor did she examine whether they thought that they had been victims of racial discrimination in the labour market. Instead, she attributed the choices which were made by the girls in her enquiry, predominantly to parental expectations.

In conclusion, my examination of existing studies on second generation South Asians prior to March 1979, indicated the extent to which females had been neglected. Moreover, the limited number of available studies on girls were not considered to be entirely satisfactory for the reasons discussed above.

In my view, there were three major gaps in relation to the enquiries on female members of the second generation. The first arose from the fact that investigations of their conformity to parental traditions had been largely confined to a single dimension of the parental culture - that of the arranged marriage and the restrictions on young people which helped ensure its survival in Britain. Since, however, the arranged marriage is

only one aspect of their cultural heritage, there was a scarcity of information on other socio-cultural traditions. For example, the religious conformity of Sikh girls had been largely neglected in preceding studies. I considered this omission to be crucial, because, apart from its theological beliefs and forms of worship, the Sikh religion is also able to exert its influence over the daily lives of its members, through specific behavioural norms. Thus, for instance, prescriptions which direct Sikhs to observe specific dietary norms, or, those rules which prohibit the cutting of hair, are specific behavioural requirements of Sikhism. Moreover, such rules might also be perceived by young Sikhs to be in conflict with alternative choices in the wider society.

The second major gap in the existing material on female members of the second generation was the scarcity of studies on the children of professional, 'middle-class' parents. Indeed, Ballard and Ballard, Sharpe and Chrishna had all acknowledged that their respondents were predominantly from the 'working class', that is, that their fathers were engaged in manual occupations.

This exclusion of the middle class was, in my opinion, a reflection of the dearth of studies on South Asian professionals in general. This gap was highlighted by Watson in 1977 when he stated that:

"No one to my knowledge has undertaken a full scale study of minority professionals. This category includes doctors, solicitors, lecturers, teachers and corporate executives amongst others; sociologists would probably classify them all as 'middle class' on the basis of their occupations. Until we have detailed ethnographic accounts focusing on the life styles of these professionals, it would be unwise to generalise" (Watson, 1977, p. 16).

My own examination of the existing material on South Asians in Britain, reaffirmed Watson's observation. Moreover, this scarcity also coincided with speculations about the professional 'middle class'. For instance, Ballard and Ballard, whose own study had concentrated on 'working class' Sikhs, nevertheless, suggested that according to their impressions, most professional Sikhs who lived in suburban areas, had sought to anglicize themselves and assimilate into the British 'middle class'. However, their attempts towards assimilation had been largely obstructed by racial prejudice and discrimination from white members of society. (Ballard and Ballard, 1977, p. 51).

Smith was one of the few researchers who examined socio-economic differences in his study on racial disadvantage in Britain. Using type of occupation as an operational definition of socio-economic status, Smith reported that 20 per cent of Indian males and 30 per cent of East African Asian males were in non-manual occupations. Moreover, he contended that there were certain observable differences between those engaged in non-manual, as against manual employment:

"Among Asians, there is a polarisation between those who are well educated, relatively Westernised, speak English well and have smaller families which are likely to have a nuclear structure and those who are uneducated, speak English badly or not at all and have large extended families; the former tend to live in mainly white areas, the latter in areas of high immigrant concentration. This polarisation is also carried over in job levels ... only 6 per cent of Asian men in areas of highest concentration are doing non-manual jobs, compared with 46 per cent in the areas of lowest concentration" (Smith, 1977, pp. 77-8).

Since the above findings in Smith's study applied predominantly to members of the first generation and, since, moreover, the children of professional fathers had been largely excluded from studies on the second generation, questions regarding the similarities and differences between them and their peers from manual or 'working class' backgrounds, remained unanswered.

In addition to this scarcity of information on 'middle class' members of the second generation, I also found that research studies up to March 1979 had failed to consider whether caste membership and (parental) country of origin had any effect on the cultural conformity or non-conformity of young Asians.³ A research study conducted by Hindbalraj Singh on first generation Sikhs had demonstrated that, for instance, Sikhs from the Bhatra caste were more orthodox religiously and more inclined not to abandon or modify their socio-cultural traditions, than Sikhs from the Jat and Ramgharia castes. In addition, Bhatra women were less likely to continue their education and take up employment outside the home. Moreover, Bhatras did not interact socially with Sikhs from the other castes (Hindbalraj Singh, 1977). Explanations for

these differences and lack of social interaction between members of different castes were located in the hierarchical relationship of the castes in India, as well as in Britain. The Bhatras are accorded 'lower' caste status vis-a-vis the Jats and Ramgharias. In India, lower castes have sometimes been able to elevate their (group) position by strict religious observation, often known as 'sanskritization' (Srinivas, 1966). Thus, it was argued that Bhatra orthodoxy could be interpreted either as a form of compensation for their lower social status or as a challenge to such categorisation.

Other studies on first generation Sikhs have also drawn comparisons between East African Sikhs - most of whom are from the Ramgharia caste - and the Jat Sikhs from India. For example, Helweg reported that most of the East African Sikhs in Gravesend were more 'westernized' than the Jats, in terms of education, fluency in the English language and experience of an urbanized life-style. In addition, he noted that they were more 'liberal' in their attitudes towards the education of women, as well as in their willingness to change some cultural norms, including those which govern social interaction between unrelated men and women (Helweg, 1979, p. 126).

Ballard and Ballard too reported that amongst first generation Sikhs, those from East Africa were more educated and 'westernized' than Jats from India. However, they also found that East African Sikhs were more orthodox than the Jats with regard to observing religious requirements, including the wearing of the turban and

attending the temple regularly (Ballard and Ballard, 1977, p. 37). The religious orthodoxy of the Ramgharias from East Africa was attributed by Ballard and Ballard to, firstly, their experience of preserving a separate ethnic identity in Africa and, secondly, to the hierarchical relationship between the castes, which ranks the Ramgharias below the Jats. Thus, according to Ballard and Ballard, "the Ramgharias have long sought to improve their status by following the rules of religious orthodoxy more closely, both in East Africa and in Britain" (ibid., p. 38).

Furthermore, Ballard and Ballard, as well as Helweg reported that there was very little social interaction between members of different castes and, moreover, that such distinctions were reinforced by the maintenance of caste endogamous marriages. Thus, these studies indicated that members of the first generation continued to be influenced by considerations of caste. However, since research studies on the second generation had not examined this variable, it was, prior to my own enquiry, not possible to verify whether young Jats, Ramgharias and Bhatras in Britain differed from each other in their orientations towards the Sikh religion and to Punjabi socio-cultural traditions.

1.2 AN OUTLINE OF MY RESEARCH ENQUIRY

In my own enquiry, I attempted to help fill some of the above gaps by including an examination of intra-ethnic differences amongst Sikh girls in Nottingham, based on caste membership, father's

socio-economic status and country of origin. Moreover, by investigating a wider range of socio-cultural dimensions than found in previous research, I endeavoured to provide a more comprehensive study of the social and cultural lives of female members of the second generation. Thus, in addition to the 'arranged' marriage, I examined areas which had been largely neglected by other researchers. For example, I focused my attention on the Sikh religion, and in particular, on the behavioural norms which Sikhs are instructed to maintain in their Code of Conduct. This enabled me to assess the extent to which Sikh beliefs and practices had been transmitted to my respondents - that is, whether and, for what reasons, they had maintained, modified or abandoned their religious traditions. I was also able to establish whether these members of the second generation perceived contradictions between the norms and values of Sikhism and those of the wider society and, if so, whether they employed any particular strategies to resolve such contradictions.

Another cultural feature which had been largely neglected in preceding studies was the maintenance of the Punjabi language. In my enquiry, Sikh girls were questioned about their everyday usage of their mother-tongue: in particular, with whom and in which situations Punjabi was spoken. Furthermore, I explored their commitment to the parental language by asking them if they wished to become literate in it and, also, whether they intended to teach it to their children - the future 'third generation'.

In addition to the religious dimension and the parental language, I questioned my respondents on the types of clothing they wore, in order to establish whether and, in which situations, they dressed in 'Punjabi' or 'western' clothes. This enabled me to examine whether and, if so why, they maintained Punjabi dress.

Furthermore, I was able to examine the extent to which my respondents were restricted in the choices they made, since certain items of 'western' clothing, including skirts, have usually been considered by members of the first generation to conflict with Punjabi notions of modesty.

I also explored the social and recreational lives of my respondents. By enquiring about their preferences with regard to, for example, music, films, magazines and television programmes, I endeavoured to examine the extent to which their social lives reflected the influence of the parental culture as well as that of the wider society. Furthermore, by recording their leisure pursuits, I sought confirmation of the findings of previous studies, including those conducted by Sharpe and Chrishna. These studies had indicated that young South Asian females were frustrated and bored because they were socially restricted and, indeed, spent most of their spare-time at home watching television.

As in preceding research on the second generation, I also examined the attitudes of my respondents to 'arranged' and 'love' marriages. In addition, I explored their commitment to the Punjabi ideal of the 'joint' family household and to the value of

'izzat' (honour). Furthermore, I examined their aspirations with regard to employment, marriage and motherhood and paid particular attention to their perceptions of the roles which they, as females, were expected to fulfill by their parents and other older Sikhs.

My investigations of my respondents' religious and cultural norms and values, enabled me to record their perceptions of differences between themselves and 'others', especially white members of society. I also examined the extent to which the girls in my study used such perceptions of difference to define and sustain a separate ethnic identity. Furthermore, I attempted to examine whether and, in which contexts, they perceived of themselves as 'Sikhs', 'Indians', 'English', and 'Blacks'. My examination of their identities also entailed a study of their perceptions and experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination, in order to explore the effects of white rejection on their emerging identities.

Another major area of investigation was the social relationships of my respondents. This involved an examination of their friendship patterns, in order to establish whether they were 'socially encapsulated', that is, whether they tended to interact exclusively with Sikhs or other South Asians. Here, I sought confirmation of the findings of preceding research, including those conducted by Thompson, Taylor and Ballard and Ballard, which had indicated that young people of South Asian origin tended to

interact exclusively with other South Asians at the primary group level of relationships. Finally, I explored by respondents' perceptions of cultural change or continuity with reference to the future 'third generation'. This entailed an examination of their expectations for the future generation, in relation to the religious requirements of Sikhism, the Punjabi language, clothing norms, the 'arranged' marriage, recreational pursuits and friendship patterns.

1.3 A REVIEW OF STUDIES ON SECOND GENERATION FEMALES WHICH WERE PUBLISHED AFTER MARCH 1979

Subsequent to the start of my fieldwork in March 1979 and after its completion in March 1980, other studies were published on young females of South Asian origin. One such enquiry was conducted by Brah, in Southall, between 1975 and 1976, on 300 school children between the ages of 15 and 16 (Brah, 1979). Her sample consisted of white and Asian children of both sexes, of whom 66 were girls of Asian origin. Brah did not, however, divulge the exact number of Sikh females in her study.

The aims of her enquiry were first, to examine inter-ethnic perceptions and ethnic differences between Asians and white natives and, second, to study intergenerational continuity and change. To do this, she divided her enquiry into two parts. In the first section, she administered a questionnaire which was based on the semantic differential technique, to all 300 adolescents. This enabled her to examine the extent to which they

perceived differences between people of Asian origin and members of the indigenous population. She also examined the extent to which her subjects identified with members of their own ethnic groups vis-a-vis members of other ethnic groups. Briefly, the results of her questionnaire indicated that the Asians and white adolescents tended to regard both groups to be significantly different from each other. They also tended to perceive that they, as individuals, were more similar to members of their 'own' ethnic groups than to members of 'other' ethnic groups. For example, according to Brah, the Asians considered the 'English' to be more 'individualistic' and 'independent' than Asians in general, as well as, in relation to themselves as individuals. Their white peers, on the other hand, thought that Asians were more concerned with family responsibilities and were less 'individualistic' and less 'independent' than the 'English' generally and, in relation to themselves. Brah contended that this perception of ethnic difference had an effect on relationships between her Asian and white subjects. Thus, for example, she reported that there were very few 'inter-ethnic' friendships, that is, between white adolescents and their Asian peers.

In the second part of her study, Brah examined inter-generational change and continuity by interviewing a sub-sample of her subjects and their parents. There were 20 girls of Asian origin in this sub-sample. Brah examined their and their parents' attitudes on the 'arranged' marriage, child-care and housework, the 'joint'

household and caring for elderly parents. In addition, she sought their views on schools and education in Southall. Briefly, her findings indicated that although some changes had taken place, there was also a degree of continuity between the generations. For instance, Brah contended that the family continued "to play a central role in the lives of Asian adolescents in Southall" (ibid., p. 292). The influence of the family, according to Brah, was apparent "in the evidence that most of the respondents refrained from courting and instead accepted with considerable equanimity the prospect of their marriage being arranged by their parents" (ibid., p. 292). Her respondents also continued to be influenced by the concept of family 'izzat' (honour) and, in addition, were not prepared to run the risk of alienating themselves from their families and other Asian social networks, by failing to comply with parental norms. Furthermore, the Asian adolescents in her inquiry informed Brah that they would look after their parents in their old-age, thus indicating that, in this respect, parental values had not been abandoned. Despite such examples of continuity, however, her study also indicated that certain changes had occurred. However, according to Brah, most of these changes had taken place at the attitudinal level rather than at a behavioural level. For example, although her respondents had informed her that they would accept an 'arranged' marriage, most of them, nevertheless, also told her that they would have liked to have had the opportunity to court and marry a partner of their own choice. Thus, their attitudes towards the 'arranged' marriage differed from those of their parents. However, since none of her respondents expected to challenge their

parents by refusing a traditional marriage, and, moreover, since none of them were married, intergenerational change was confined to the attitudinal level.

In addition to the above, Brah reported that members of the second generation in her sub-sample "were almost unanimously in favour of neolocal residence after marriage" (ibid., p. 293). In this respect they differed from their parents who preferred the 'joint' household. For Brah, this was yet another example of inter-generational change - but one which was essentially attitudinal, since her respondents were not yet married. Another illustration of such change was evident in her findings on their views on housework and child-care. Whilst parents and most male adolescents considered housework and child-care to be women's work, most of the girls favoured a more equitable relationship between husband and wives, especially with regard to domestic responsibility. On the basis of her findings, Brah concluded that "the Asian teenagers growing up in Southall are neither encapsulated in the culture of their countries of origin, nor are they in the process of becoming completely anglicised" (ibid., p. 392).

Brah has undoubtedly made a useful contribution towards our understanding of second generation teenagers of South Asian origin. In particular, the first section of her enquiry provided a valuable examination of inter-ethnic perceptions and the maintenance of an ethnic identity by some young Asians in

Southall. However, one major reservation in relation to this section was that she confined her enquiry to a restricted age range, that is, to 15 and 16 year old teenagers.

In my view, the second half of her study was less satisfactory than the first section. Her conclusions on intergenerational change and continuity were based on her interviews with a sub-sample which was not very large. Indeed, there were only 20 Asian girls in the sub-sample. Furthermore, Brah did not reflect the heterogeneous composition of the Asian population in Southall, since she did not (when presenting her findings) differentiate between, for example, Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus. Throughout her study she tended to refer to them as 'Asians'. Other scholars, including Chrishna and Sharpe, have suggested that, Muslims tend to be more traditional in their attitudes towards women - in relation to, for instance, education, employment and clothing practices (Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976). Brah's failure to differentiate between the different Asian ethnic groups can probably be explained by the fact that there were only 20 girls and 21 boys of Asian origin in her sub-sample. Thus, it would not have been statistically feasible for her to provide a comparative study on the different Asian ethnic groups. Similarly, Brah did not always differentiate between her adolescent male and female subjects when presenting her findings on intergenerational change and continuity. Despite these reservations, I consider Brah's enquiry to be a valid contribution to the existing material on the second generation and, for this reason, I have, when presenting my own data, sometimes drawn

comparisons with her findings.

In 1980, a Sikh teacher called Kalra conducted informal discussions with 30 Sikh girls of secondary school age. In the introduction of his book, he stated that his work was "not based on scientific methods" but was instead "a very personal interpretation and should be read as such". He added, that it was "an impressionist study" (Kalra, 1980, p. 8).

The girls in Kalra's enquiry were either born in the United Kingdom or had emigrated from India when under six years of age. He had contacted them through their families who were well known to him. In his introduction, he stated that discussions usually took place in the presence of other members of the family because "it is not possible to interview girls on their own and to record their inner feelings" (ibid., p. 5). Kalra's aims were to answer the following questions: first, "how far are the younger generation being pulled away from the values and norms of their parents?"; second, to what segments of society are they assimilating?" and third, "at what pace is the gulf of intergenerational conflict opening up?" (ibid., pp. 7-8).

His findings indicated that the majority of his respondents did not overtly disobey their parents but instead conformed to traditional norms. However, since Kalra was a friend of the family, and since he did not interview the girls on their own, the validity of his findings are questionable. For instance,

according to Kalra, although most girls said that they would like to have boyfriends, very few confessed to having one.

In addition, he found that the girls were not allowed to have their hair cut short and were not permitted to drink alcohol and to smoke cigarettes. Kalra also reported that, unlike young males, the girls in his study were socially restricted. They were not allowed to go to discos, pubs and parties and, spent most of their leisure time at home either doing domestic chores or watching television. These restrictions were resented by most of his respondents who also complained bitterly about the different standards which were applied to males. They complained that their brothers were less restricted and had more 'freedom' than themselves.

The 'arranged' marriage was favoured by a third of Kalra's respondents, another third wanted it to be modified and the remainder did not support it at all. Nevertheless, all his respondents said that they would accept an 'arranged' marriage for themselves. On the basis of his findings, Kalra concluded that despite some arguments and although there was some frustration and unhappiness due to social restrictions, there was very little evidence of overt conflict between Sikh girls and their parents. He contended that most girls obeyed their parents even if they disagreed with them and that the few who did rebel totally by leaving home returned to their parents after experiencing hostility and rejection from white members of society.

To my knowledge, Kalra's study - apart from my own - is the only enquiry which concentrated exclusively on second generation Sikh females. For this reason, it is of special interest to me despite its limitations. It was undoubtedly a small-scale study, as he had informally interviewed only 30 girls. Moreover, information on their exact ages was not provided, although Kalra did state that they attended secondary schools in various parts of Britain. One of the major weaknesses of the study arose, however, from his methodology. It is possible that his respondents gave him socially approved answers, since not only was he known to be a family friend and could therefore have been perceived as someone who might divulge information to their parents, but he had also not conducted his discussions in private. These considerations therefore throw considerable doubts on the validity of his findings.

Yet another study which was of particular interest to me, was an enquiry on Sikhs in Nottingham which had been conducted by Nesbitt in 1979 (Nesbitt, 1980). This study did not concentrate exclusively on second generation females, for Nesbitt had included Sikh men, women and children in her sample. Indeed, throughout her thesis, she did not tend to discuss her findings in terms of generational differences. Instead, she concentrated predominantly on caste and gender divisions amongst her subjects.

Nesbitt's aims were first, to examine the nature of caste amongst Sikhs in Nottingham; second, to examine religious and social

rituals, and third, to consider the role of women as bearers of tradition.

She attended temple services and other social functions as a participant observer and also went to the monthly meetings of the Punjabi Women's Society in that capacity. Whilst her data was obtained predominantly through participant observation, she also tested 23 boys and 22 girls in a secondary school in Nottingham on their knowledge of some Sikh beliefs and rituals.

Her findings indicated that members of the Bhatra caste were socially isolated from members of the Jat and Ramgharia castes. The Bhatras had their own temple, they did not interact with Jats and Ramgharias and marriages were strictly caste endogamous. In addition, she contended that the Bhatras differed from the other two castes in several respects. To illustrate some of the differences, Nesbitt provided detailed descriptions of ceremonial 'rites of passage', including marriage ceremonies and special religious services which are performed after the birth of a baby.

For instance, she observed that all Bhatra men at a wedding wore saffron coloured turbans. In contrast, at Jat and Ramgharia marriages, only the bridegroom wore this particular colour. Furthermore, she observed that there were certain rituals at Bhatra weddings which were unfamiliar to members of other castes. For instance, she reported that only Bhatra bridegrooms rode to their weddings on mares. Bridegrooms from other castes tended to arrive in cars.

Nesbitt also observed certain differences in the ways in which Bhatras and the other castes marked the birth of a child. For example, whilst women from all the castes were obliged to have a purificatory bath after giving birth, Bhatra women performed this ceremony on a different day from the Jats and Ramgharias.

In addition to the above, Nesbitt reported that Bhatra women always had long plaited hair, unlike Jats and Ramgharia women who were allowed to keep their long hair unbraided. Furthermore, she observed that Bhatra females of all ages only wore the 'Salwar Kameeze' (tunic and trousers) and, in addition, were veiled especially when in the presence of their parents-in-law and other older Sikhs. Jat and Ramgharia females, on the other hand, wore the 'chuni' (veil) only at the temple. Moreover, unlike the Bhatras, young women from these two castes were allowed to wear saris and 'maxi' skirts in addition to the 'Salwar Kameeze'. They did not, however, wear knee-length skirts. Nesbitt also observed that Bhatra women tended to wear more 'elaborate' jewellery than Jats and Ramgharias and, in addition, wore 'Salwar Kameezes' which were brightly coloured (e.g. shocking pink, green). Women from the other castes usually wore 'Salwar Kameezes' which were less 'bright'.

Another difference between women from the Bhatra caste and those from the other two castes, was that the Bhatras were not allowed to take up any form of employment outside their homes and, in

addition, were not encouraged to continue their education. Girls from this caste were removed from school as soon as possible and prepared for marriage and motherhood. In contrast, the Jats and, especially the Ramgharias, tended to encourage their daughters to continue their education. Females from these two castes were usually permitted to work both before and after marriage. Although Jat and Ramgharia women were allowed to study and find employment, they were, nevertheless expected to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers.

Nesbitt also found that there was some social mixing between Jats and Ramgharias. However, marriages remained predominantly caste endogamous. Social interaction between female members of these two castes usually took place at the temples and, to a lesser extent at the Punjabi Women's Society. This society had a membership of 45 women, most of whom were Jat Sikhs. There were no Bhatras and a minority were Ramgharias. According to Nesbitt, the women who attended the monthly meetings of this society were "not the most westernized, professional women". Indeed, although their parents-in-law allowed them to attend such meetings they were not usually permitted to become members of other societies or to go out on their own. They were, nevertheless, less restricted than Bhatra women.

Nesbitt also contended that young children displayed a lack of understanding and a degree of ignorance of the beliefs and rituals of the Sikh religion. They were also unable to follow the services at the temple, largely because their knowledge of the

Punjabi language was inadequate but also because they had not received any formal religious instruction. Nesbitt attributed the children's lack of religious knowledge to: inadequate teaching resources at the temples; the absence of grandparents; the fact that parents worked long hours and the number of hours that young Sikh children spent watching television.

In my view, Nesbitt's main contribution to the study of Sikhs in Britain, lay in her detailed descriptions of religious services and the rituals which were observed during marriages, births and festivals. She also demonstrated how important it is to acknowledge the significance of caste distinctions amongst Sikhs in Nottingham. In addition, her study indicated that, whilst Bhatra women were the most restricted, women from all castes were nevertheless expected to get married and fulfill their main roles - as wives and mothers.

There were, however, some gaps in Nesbitt's enquiry. Although she concentrated on religious rituals, she tended to ignore or under-examine some religious characteristics. For example, she reported that women observed one of the rules of Sikhism by having long hair. However, she did not examine this further by asking them why they had long hair and whether they wanted to have short, "fashionable " hairstyles. Moreover, apart from long hair, she did not examine the maintenance of other rules, including the 'Five Ks' and those relating to the prohibition of, for instance, alcohol and cigarettes.

So, although one of her aims was to examine the norms of Sikhism in Nottingham, she did not investigate her subjects' attitudes on other cultural and social traits, including their views on the 'arranged' marriage, the 'joint' household, recreational pursuits and friendships patterns.

My final criticism relates to her methodology. As she relied largely on participant observation in the temples, it is possible that she did not have access to those Sikhs who attended the temple infrequently or, not at all. This could therefore have led to the under-reporting of non-conformity in her study. I also have some reservations with regard to the observations she made at the Punjabi Women's Society. Nesbitt did not provide any information on the ages of its members and, moreover, she did not state clearly whether they were 'first' or 'second generation' females. The only information she gave was that they were not "the most westernized or professional of women" and that their parents-in-law allowed them to attend the Society's meetings whilst restricting them in other respects. This sort of information leads one to speculate that the women in this Society were more likely to be members of the 'first' generation and that Nesbitt's observations were therefore largely confined to 'first' rather than to 'second' generation females.

In this section, I have examined three studies which were published after I started my fieldwork in March 1979. These studies were of special interest to me for different reasons.

Despite its limitations, Kalra's enquiry interested me because it concentrated exclusively on second generation Sikh girls.

Although Brah had confined her enquiry to 15 and 16 year old adolescents, I considered it to be of particular relevance because she had studied young Asians of both sexes. Nesbitt's study was of special interest because she had concentrated on Sikhs in Nottingham, even though she had not focused exclusively on members of the second generation, and, moreover, had not presented her findings in terms of generational differences.

Despite the contribution made by these enquiries, however, they still left gaps in the study of second generation females. I hoped to help fill some of them through my own investigation into the religious, cultural, social and identificational aspects of the lives of Sikh girls in Nottingham.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORIES AND CONCEPTS IN BRITISH RESEARCH ON SOUTH ASIANS AND AFRO-CARIBBEANS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I referred to 'assimilation', 'ethnic groups' and 'ethnicity', without examining such concepts in any detail. In this chapter, however, I undertake such an examination and present a discussion of some of the theories and concepts which have been employed by social scientists in Britain, in their studies on New Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants.

Initially, especially during the 1950s, the absorption and settlement of West Indians and South Asians, as well as their relationships with indigenous Britons, were analysed largely in terms of cultural differences and within an 'immigrant-host' framework. According to this approach, the newly arrived immigrants were perceived by their native 'hosts' as 'strangers' whose cultures differed significantly from their own. It was anticipated that, given time, these newcomers (like white immigrants before them) were likely to become more acceptable to native Britons through a process of cultural 'assimilation' (Banton 1955, 1959; Richmond, 1955; Collins, 1959).

By the 1960s, however, British social scientists, supported by studies on racial prejudice and discrimination, acknowledged the significance of 'colour' or 'race' as well as that of culture in the analysis of Britain's ex-colonial immigrants. It was argued, for example, that despite their cultural similarity to white natives, West Indians were just as likely to encounter racial prejudice and discrimination as were people of Indian and Pakistani origin even though South Asian cultures differed significantly from British culture (Patterson, 1965, 1969; Daniel, 1968). Thus white rejection was considered to be a major obstacle to the assimilation of Afro-Caribbeans and South Asians into British society.

By the 1960s and early 1970s, social scientists had also begun to question the inevitability of cultural assimilation, especially with regard to Britain's South Asian population. They contended that although Indians and Pakistanis had modified certain aspects of their cultural traditions, they had not abandoned their cultures entirely (Desai, 1965; Patterson, 1965; Allen, 1971; Dahya, 1972-3, 1974; Saifullah Khan, 1974; Jeffrey, 1976). In view of such findings, analytical frameworks were no longer confined to theories on assimilation. Instead, other theoretical concepts, including those on 'accommodation', 'integration', 'cultural pluralism' and 'ethnicity' were employed in the analysis of race and ethnic relations.

Prior to the late 1960s, this field of study in the social sciences in Britain had been largely dominated by social

anthropologists. The late 60s and early 1970s, however, saw the emergence of studies conducted by sociologists who criticized the social anthropologists for concentrating on cultural factors whilst largely ignoring the structural position of New Commonwealth immigrants and their British born descendants (Rex and Moore 1967; Rex, 1970; Castles and Kosack, 1973). The entry of sociologists also generated a debate on the relationship between 'race' and 'class' in sociological theory. In addition, an increasing number of studies on race and ethnic relations in the 1970s examined the distribution of non-white workers in the economy and their access to different types of housing (for example, Lawrence, 1974; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979). During the early 1980s, exponents of 'class' theories continued to direct their opposition to studies on 'ethnicity'. The latter were criticised for concentrating on cultural factors and, consequently, for paying insufficient attention to the structural position of West Indians and South Asians in Britain (Miles, 1982; Bourne, 1980; Centre for Contemporary Studies, 1980).

The theories and analytical frameworks to which I have briefly referred in this introduction are examined in greater detail in subsequent sections of this chapter. Thus, in section 2.2 I discuss the origins and development of the theories on 'assimilation', 'acculturation', 'accommodation', 'integration' and 'cultural pluralism' and consider their application in British studies on first and second generation South Asians. Theories on 'ethnicity' receive similar attention in section 2.3.

In this section, I also examine the criterion by which 'ethnic groups' have been defined by social scientists and consider the extent to which Sikhs can be said to constitute an 'ethnic group'. In section 2.4 I discuss the contribution made by 'class' theories and examine the relationship between 'race' and 'class'. Finally, in section 2.5 I present a theoretical framework for my own study on second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham.

2.2 THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PERSPECTIVES ON 'ASSIMILATION', 'ACCOMMODATION', 'INTEGRATION' AND 'CULTURAL PLURALISM'

2.2.1 Assimilation Theories and The American Influence

Most of the theories under discussion in this chapter, including those on assimilation, were introduced and developed by American social scientists in relation to the study of (mainly) European immigration to the United States. My own examination of the literature on assimilation suggests that the earliest studies on this subject were conducted in the United States of America by Gumplowicz in 1883 and Simons in 1901. Two decades later, in the 1920s, Park and Burgess contributed towards the development of the theories on assimilation (Park and Burgess, 1921 and 1924). American scholars continued to define and examine assimilation during the interwar period as well as during and after the Second World War (Park and Burges, 1930; Herskovits, 1937; Hirsh, 1942; Woolston, 1945). More recently, Gordon continued the discussion

on the absorption of immigrants and their descendants into the United States (Gordon, 1964).

2.2.2 Assimilation Defined

In examining the writings of early American scholars, including Park and Burgess, I found that their definitions of assimilation were similar in at least three major respects. First, cultural change was considered to be a necessary condition for assimilation to occur. Moreover, cultural change was seen to be essentially unidirectional, that is from the immigrant or incoming culture to that of the dominant culture of the receiving society. No attention was paid to the effect of the immigrant group on American culture nor was it even suggested that some traits of the new arrivals might have been adopted by the dominant culture.

The second common thread in the definition of assimilation was that it was a process and not an unitary event. For example, in 1924 Park and Burgess identified assimilation as "a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Burgess, 1924, p. 735). Almost two decades later, in 1942, Hirsch argued that assimilation was not a concept that could be dichotomized; rather, assimilation was a process, continuous in nature and varying in degree (Hirsh, 1942, pp. 35-59).

The third major point which the early American writers seemed to have agreed upon was that assimilation could be examined at an individual as well as at a group level of analysis. In other words, it could either be viewed as an individual process affecting individual members of an immigrant group independently of the group as a whole, or treated as a group phenomenon in which the entire immigrant group became culturally absorbed into the receiving society.

Many American scholars seemed to have treated assimilation as nothing more than cultural change, i.e. 'acculturation' (Redfield et. al., 1936, pp. 149-52; Siegel et. al., 1953, pp. 973-1002). Others, however, contended that cultural change was a necessary but not a sufficient condition for assimilation to occur. It was argued instead, that at least two additional elements were required (Park and Burgess, 1924, pp. 734-83; Spiro, 1955, pp. 1240-52; Dohrenwend and Smith, 1962, pp. 30-9).

The first involved the attitudes and behaviour of members of the dominant group towards the immigrant group as a whole, as well as towards its individual members. In 1930, Park noted, for example, that "in the United States an immigrant is considered assimilated as soon as he has acquired the language and social ritual of the native community and can participate without encountering prejudice, in the common life, economic and political" (my emphasis), (Park and Burges, 1930, p. 281). Other scholars, writing after Park and Burgess, also considered

this lack of prejudice and discrimination to be a significant factor in the assimilation process of individuals and immigrant groups. For instance, Broom and Kitsuse argued that regardless of the degree of acculturation, assimilation did not occur until such time as the acculturation of the group or individual was also accompanied by their full acceptance on the part of the receiving society (Broom and Kitsuse, 1955, pp. 44-8).

A further point in this connection concerns the manifestation of such acceptance. More specifically, what constitutes acceptance by the wider society? In answering this question, Park and Burgess suggested that one criterion was the extent to which an individual or a group is permitted to participate in primary group relations with members of the receiving society, as opposed to merely being allowed to participate in secondary group relations. According to Park and Burgess, whilst acculturation usually only involves contact at the secondary group level of relationships, assimilation requires contact at both levels (Park and Burgess, 1924, pp. 736-7).

The second element, considered by some American scholars to be essential in the assimilation process, involved a 'positive orientation' on the part of the acculturated individual or group towards the receiving society. More precisely, it was contended that such an individual or group must identify with the society into which they seek acceptance. As early as 1901, Simons, in reviewing the scant literature on assimilation at that time,

noted that it required a "psychic condition necessitating a consciousness of kind" (Simons, 1901, p. 800). Similarly, Park and Burgess argued that a 'unity of thought' was required and that, in addition, assimilation was not only dependent on external (cultural) changes but also on internal (subjective) ones.

More recently, a similar point was made by Johnson, an Australian social anthropologist, in a study on Polish immigration to Australia (Johnson, 1963, pp. 295-8). Johnson distinguished between 'external assimilation' and 'subjective assimilation'. The first term denotes the cultural changes which serve to make immigrants more similar in their appearances and actions to members of the receiving society. 'Subjective assimilation', on the other hand, "extends to the psychological life of the immigrant who seeks to identify" with his or her adopted country. In her study on Polish immigrants, Johnson demonstrated that external indicators, such as language and naturalization, were not significantly correlated with subjective factors of assimilation, including an Australian identity.

Accordingly, Johnson argued that external and subjective assimilation could occur independently of one another. However, in her definition of assimilation she did emphasize that she considered both aspects to be equally essential.

"Assimilation is defined here as a process of change during which the immigrant seeks to identify himself in various respects with members of the host group and becomes less distinguishable from them. Both external and subjective assimilation form the components of the process. One without the other is only partial assimilation." (ibid., p. 296)

Social scientists continued to define and examine the assimilation process in the United States during the 1960s. One of the most notable studies was Gordon's (Gordon, 1964). I consider that his approach was of particular significance because, although he repeated many of the points which were made by his predecessors on the salient characteristics of assimilation, he did provide a more coherent and structured framework than previous studies. He did this by presenting an ideal model of assimilation comprising 7 variables of assimilation, and postulating a sequential relationship between the variables. The first variable in Gordon's model was that of 'structural assimilation'. This term referred to the large scale entrance, by members of the immigrant group, into the social cliques, clubs and institutions of the receiving society at the primary group level of relationships. Thus, like Park and Burgess before him, Gordon distinguished between acceptance of the immigrant group at the secondary level of relationships and its acceptance at the primary level of relationships. The former refers to interpersonal contact which is essentially formal, such as that which occurs at a business transaction, whilst the latter refers to relationships of a more intimate quality - for example, those that occur between friends or between members of the same social club.

Gordon's second variable of assimilation was that of 'cultural assimilation' or acculturation. As in previous studies by his predecessors, Gordon treated it as a unidirectional process of cultural change from the immigrant culture to that of the receiving society.

The third variable was that of 'marital assimilation'. This term referred to the rate of intermarriage between members of the immigrant group and members of the host society. In his fourth variable - that of 'identificational assimilation' - Gordon, like other scholars before him, stressed the importance of a shared identity or a 'sense of peoplehood' which would serve to bind together members of the in-coming group and those of the receiving society. Similarly, as in previous studies on assimilation, he also contended that full acceptance of the immigrant group - manifested by the absence of prejudice and discrimination - was one of the conditions which he considered necessary in the process of assimilation. These ideas were expressed by Gordon in variables five and six, that is, as 'attitude reception assimilation' and 'behaviour reception assimilation' respectively. His final variable was that of 'civic assimilation' which referred to the absence of power conflict between the two groups.

A major difference between Gordon's approach and that of his predecessors is that he postulated a sequential relationship between the variables. More precisely, Gordon contended that once structural assimilation had been achieved all the other types of

assimilation would follow. Structural assimilation rather than cultural assimilation was, according to Gordon, the linchpin of the assimilation process:

"... entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs and institutions of the core society at the primary group level inevitably will lead to a substantial amount of intermarriage. If marital assimilation takes place fully, the minority group loses its ethnic identity and identificational assimilation takes place. Prejudice and discrimination are no longer a problem since eventually the descendants of the original minority group become indistinguishable and since primary group relationships build up an in-group feeling. ... once structural assimilation has occurred either simultaneously with or subsequent to cultural assimilation, all of the other types of assimilation will follow ... structural assimilation inevitably produces cultural assimilation." (Ibid., p. 80-1).

Whilst he assigned such a crucial role to the variable of 'structural assimilation', Gordon did concede, however, that 'cultural assimilation' could take place on its own. Moreover, he stated that this condition could continue indefinitely. Indeed, this was partly confirmed when Gordon analysed the findings of other American studies within his seven-variable framework. He reported that although cultural assimilation had been achieved on a massive scale in the United States, structural assimilation had not yet occurred. This led Gordon to conclude that

"the United States is a multiple melting pot in which acculturation for all groups beyond the first generation of immigrants, without eliminating all value conflict, has been massive and decisive, but in which structural separation on the basis of race and religion - structural pluralism as we have called it - emerges as the dominant sociological condition." (My italics) (ibid., p. 234).

In this sub-section, I have outlined the salient characteristics of assimilation, as defined by (mainly) American scholars. To summarise, although many defined assimilation largely in terms of cultural change, others contended that to be assimilated, acculturated immigrants should also have a positive orientation towards the host society and, in addition, be accepted and treated as equal members of that society. Gordon also articulated and expanded these arguments in an ideal model of assimilation which consisted of seven variables. One element which I have not yet examined in this section relates to the extent to which assimilation was expected to occur within a specific time-scale. More particularly, did the scholars who advanced assimilation theories expect members of the first generation to assimilate almost immediately upon arrival or did they expect assimilation to occur over a longer period of time, that is, involving members of the second and subsequent generations? These questions are examined in the next sub-section.

2.2.3 The Sequence of Generations: Accommodation and Assimilation

In the previous sub-section I noted that early (American) scholars tended to define assimilation as a process rather than as an unitary event, thus implying that it could take place continuously over an indefinite period of time and, perhaps, span several generations. Park and Burgess, for instance, recognised the possibility that first generation immigrants would not be assimilated immediately upon arrival in the United States,

although they did, however, expect the new arrivals to become assimilated eventually. Park and Burgess argued that three stages of settlement could occur prior to the final stage of assimilation. These were the stages of 'competition' and 'conflict' whereby newly arrived immigrants are perceived and treated by members of the receiving society as competitors for scarce resources and as foreigners with a different culture. According to Park and Burgess, conflict arising from competition is reduced when the third stage, that of 'accommodation' is reached. For 'accommodation' to be achieved, immigrants are expected, at least outwardly, to conform to the norms of the receiving society. They need not accept the values of that society. In addition, although they can maintain most of their cultural traditions, they might also have to abandon or modify certain aspects of them in particular circumstances, in order to avoid or contain conflict with the indigeneous population. In return, their presence is tolerated but not totally accepted by the latter and, consequently, they can suffer prejudice and discrimination. In this respect, they can also 'accommodate' to their situation by accepting inferior jobs, housing and status vis-a-vis the native population, thus avoiding or containing potential conflict. Although they did not specify an exact time-scale, Park and Burgess believed that accommodation would eventually be followed by assimilation and that, moreover, this could be achieved by first generation immigrants.

Other social scientists, writing at a later period of time, were more specific than Park and Burgess with regard to a generational

sequence of change which can eventually lead to the final assimilation process. For example, Duncan et. al. postulated a three generational cycle of assimilation. According to this view, the first stage of the migration process is characterized by accommodation, whereby most members of the first generation tend to adopt certain norms of the receiving society such as the language, in order to live in that society, whilst, however, maintaining their own socio-cultural traditions. At this stage, the immigrant group organises its own institutions which serve to preserve the original culture and a group identity. Most members of the first generation also tend to interact socially within their own group and, in addition, marriages continue to be endogamous.

The second sequence in this assimilation cycle is concerned with the children of the first generation, most of whom have been born or educated entirely in the receiving society. Referring to the second generation in America, Duncan et. al. postulated that its members were likely to face cultural and intergenerational conflicts as a consequence of their exposure to two competing cultural systems. The writers argued that although some members might abandon the parental culture totally, most were likely to compromise by preserving parental traditions in the home and within the community, whilst being 'American' at school and work. They would thus possess a dual culture and a mixed set of values. Duncan et. al., also expected members of this generation to be less socially isolated than their parents and, in addition, to

have more exogamous marriages than the previous generation. Finally, according to Duncan et. al., complete cultural assimilation is likely to be achieved in the third stage, when the grand-children of the original immigrants, that is, the third generation, can be expected to abandon most of their ancestral traditions. In addition to becoming culturally assimilated, members of the third and subsequent generations become more socially, maritally and identificationally assimilated than previous generations. Moreover, because they are less distinguishable culturally and (perhaps) physically from other members of society, they are less likely to suffer prejudice and discrimination, thus achieving complete assimilation (Duncan et al., quoted by Price, 1969).

The above approaches to the study of assimilation have been critically evaluated in the United States and, more contemporarily in the United Kingdom. Some of the major weaknesses and limitations are discussed in the next sub-section.

2.2.4 Weaknesses and Limitations of Assimilation Theories

A useful summary of the major criticisms of assimilation theories in general, was provided by Price, in a review of the different approaches to the study of assimilation (Price, 1969). The first and, perhaps, most obvious criticism was that assimilation theories were ethnocentric in their assumption that cultural change would be essentially unidirectional, that is, towards the culture of the receiving society. This assumption not only

precluded the possibility that the in-coming culture might have had some influence on the native population, it also failed to examine whether - and, if so, for what reasons - immigrants and their descendants might not wish to completely abandon their cultural and social norms and values.

In this respect, it was argued that in order to study the process of cultural assimilation it was necessary to examine and distinguish between those factors which facilitate assimilation and those which hinder or prevent it from occurring. Some of these factors are essentially internal to the in-coming groups and include: the immigrants' motives for migration; their intentions with regard to permanent or temporary settlement; their on-going links with the countries of origin; their expectations and aspirations and their perceptions of the receiving society. In addition, the internal factors include the extent to which they are able to organise and maintain their own institutions and social networks and establish their own settled communities. It was also argued that the continuous arrival of new immigrants who are usually re-united with members of their family, village or region, serves to reinforce rather than diminish the retention of their own traditions.

Other factors which could have a significant effect on the assimilation process are external to the immigrant group and include: the availability and location of jobs and housing; the attitudes of indigeneous members towards immigrants and their descendants; the persistence of racial prejudice and

discrimination; the extent to which immigrant cultures can be said to be similar or totally different to that of the receiving society and the extent to which immigrants and their descendants are treated as legal citizens, that is, enjoying full political and civic rights.

It was also contended that all the above factors had to vary in significance because the 'immigrants' are a heterogeneous rather than a homogeneous category. Indeed, the assumption that immigrants could be treated as a single category for purposes of analysis, was yet another criticism which was aimed at assimilation theories in general (Halsey, 1970, pp. 472-3; Allen, 1971). In Britain, as an example, there are many telling differences. Members of European minorities (such as Italians, Poles, Spanish, Portuguese, Maltese, Cypriots, Jews and the Irish) can be distinguished by 'colour' or 'race' as well as by culture from people of Afro-Caribbeean, African and South Asian origin. On the other hand, there are religious, linguistic and other cultural differences between West Indians and South Asians. Moreover, nor should it be assumed that the latter share a common perceived identity based on the social significance of skin colour.

Furthermore, there are differences within the West Indian and South Asian populations. For instance, South Asians originated from several countries and can therefore have different national identities (Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, East African Asian). In addition, there are regional and linguistic differences

(Punjabi, Gujarati, Urdu and Bengali) as well as religious divisions (Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian). There are also caste distinctions and divisions based on socio-economic status and educational achievement. Furthermore, whilst most first generation Asians in Britain emigrated from rural and peasant societies, others had already, prior to emigration, lived in urban areas on the subcontinent and in East Africa.

Since non-white immigrants are so heterogeneous, they are also likely to differ in important ways with respect to the factors which encourage or prevent assimilation. For instance, the desire or willingness to become culturally, socially and identificationally assimilated was, during the 1950s and 1960s, more pronounced amongst West Indians than amongst people of South Asian origin.¹ On the other hand, there are also differences within the South Asian population in Britain. For instance, religious and cultural distinctions amongst South Asians can affect the ways in which, for example, some Sikh women are more educated and appear to be more 'Anglicized' than Muslim women of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin.²

Another major limitation of assimilation theories was that they did not take sufficient account of the heterogeneity of the 'host' or receiving society. Far from being a homogeneous society, Britain, for example, is structured by its political, social and economic divisions. In addition, there are other divisions including those based on gender, age and regional origins. This heterogeneity poses obvious problems for assimilation approaches.

Into which 'British ways of life' are immigrants expected to be absorbed? More particularly, are they expected to seek full assimilation into the white 'working class' (to which most of them belong, in terms of socio-economic status), or, are they expected to aspire towards absorption into the 'middle class'?

In this respect, some social scientists, including Khan, have argued that it is necessary to distinguish analytically between the 'culture of dominance' - that is, the culture of the dominant class - and subordinate culture(s) in the receiving society (Saifullah Khan, 1982, pp. 197-215). In the case of the second generation, she noted that its members have not only to cope with the norms and values of 'working-class' or neighbourhood culture(s) but also the norms and values of the dominant culture which is transmitted to them largely through the educational system and the media. Since members of second generation are also socialised into their parental cultures, a study of their cultural lives requires a theoretical framework which acknowledges the influence of several cultural systems. In this respect, assimilation approaches are deficient because they tended to refer to the 'culture of the receiving society', thus implying a monolithic set of norms and values or at least not confronting the problems created by the variety of norms and values. It must also be added that theories on assimilation tended to underestimate the strength and success of primary socialization into the parental culture.

Another criticism of some assimilation approaches was that they implied an inevitable process of ultimate biological absorption through large scale intermarriage. One objection to this is that not all groups will wish to do so. For instance, religious groups might resist the loss of their distinctiveness by ensuring that the children marry endogamously. Moreover, even when a 'mixed' marriage does take place, the spouse from the host society might become absorbed into the religion and culture of the minority group. For instance, in Britain, some white wives of Muslim and Sikh Punjabis have converted to their husbands' religions and have adopted some Punjabi (cultural) traits (dress, food, language and so on).³

More significantly, intermarriage is not necessarily an indication that assimilation is well advanced. In the United States, for example, studies have frequently indicated that the children of mixed 'race' marriages are not usually accorded white status. This applies especially to the offspring of Black-White parents and can continue for several generations, that is, even when one has only a remote black ancestry (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963).

In Britain too, intermarriage does not necessarily diminish the significance of 'race' or 'colour' in relationships between white natives and New Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants. One of the legacies of Britain's imperial past is a deeply embedded notion of superiority and inferiority based on the criterion of 'race' or 'colour'. One of the consequences of this legacy is that dark-skinned people and their cultures are accorded

lower status and can be subjected to racial prejudice and discrimination. Given these notions of racial superiority and inferiority, it can be argued that a white native who marries a person of West Indian or Asian origin might be perceived by other indigenous members as someone who has opted out by becoming one of 'them' rather than as someone who is facilitating the process of assimilation.

In this sub-section I have discussed some of the major criticisms which have been made in relation to assimilation perspectives. In the following sections, I examine the presence of these approaches in British research and discuss some of the other theoretical concepts which replaced assimilation theories in the 1960s and 1970s. These include 'integration', 'cultural pluralism', 'ethnicity' and 'class' theories.

2.2.5 Theories in British Studies: Assimilation, Accommodation, Integration or Cultural Pluralism

My examination of theoretical frameworks in British studies up to the start of my fieldwork in March 1979, suggested that although theories on assimilation tended to dominate during the 1950s, their importance had begun to decline by the early 1960s. I therefore do not agree with Watson who, in 1977 argued that "the assimilation approach dominated the field of ethnic studies until the late 1960s" (Watson, 1977, p. 11). In my view, assimilation perspectives had begun to decline in importance because scholars recognised the significance of four major points. These were, first, that 'colour' or 'race' were significant and complicating

factors which could delay or prevent assimilation; second, that cultural assimilation was not a sufficient condition for assimilation to occur; third, that immigrants and their children might not necessarily wish to abandon all their cultural and social traditions or their own identity and, fourth, that Britain's non-white population was not a homogeneous entity and that consequently there could be different and varied responses to the process of migration and settlement.

One scholar whose work in the 1960s illustrates this development in British studies on New Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants, is Patterson who began her study by employing Park's four-stage, 'race relations cycle' as a theoretical tool (Patterson, 1965). She reported that assimilation had not yet occurred and that, in her view, accommodation was the most relevant concept at that time. Focusing on the West Indian population, Patterson contended that although its members were culturally similar in many respects to white natives, assimilation had not yet been achieved largely as a consequence of racial prejudice and discrimination. She predicted, rather tentatively, that given time assimilation could occur when West Indians no longer faced the barriers of non-acceptance and when they also became more acculturated.

Patterson did not, however, make the above prediction with regard to Britain's South Asian population.⁴ Instead, she examined the extent to which the concept of 'integration' or 'cultural pluralism' could be used to analyse the settlement process of

people who might not necessarily wish to abandon their cultural traditions or their own separate identity. Cultural pluralism was not a new concept, for it had previously been employed in the analysis of multi-ethnic/cultural societies including those in the Far East and the Caribbean (Furnivall, 1948; Smith, 1965). In relation to Britain, Patterson defined it in the following way.

"The incoming group as a whole, through its own organisations, adapts itself to permanent membership of the receiving society, in certain major spheres of association, notably in economic and civic life. On its side, the receiving society accepts the group as a lasting entity, differing in certain spheres that do not affect the overall life of the society, such as religion, cultural and family patterns and, sometimes even in the retention of a mother tongue." op. cit., p.22)

Integration or cultural pluralism is achieved when immigrants and their descendants are no longer discriminated against on grounds of 'race' or culture and are allowed to participate on an equal basis with white natives in the economy, polity and civic life of society. In addition, if they so desire, they are able to maintain their own cultural traditions and organise their own institutions and social networks.

Patterson considered integration to be a gradual process and one which was unlikely to be achieved in the first generation. Once it had occurred, integration, according to her, could either be the final stage in the migration process - due to 'blocked' assimilation or resistance to assimilation on the part of the incoming-group - or, it could be an intermediate stage leading

eventually to complete assimilation.

Empirical research conducted by other scholars on Britain's South Asian population (up to the start of my fieldwork in March 1979), demonstrated that members of the first generation had reached the accommodation stage rather than that of assimilation or integration (Saifullah Khan, 1974; Dahya, 1974; Jeffrey, 1976). Studies on first generation Indians and Pakistanis revealed that although they had adopted certain norms of the receiving society and had modified or even abandoned some of their traditions, they had done so largely in response to the demands of their new environment and not necessarily because of any change in their value systems. Indeed, research studies indicated that their reference groups and values continued to be those of the sending societies. Moreover, cultural traditions were maintained whenever feasible and most South Asians expressed a desire to preserve their cultures. In addition, empirical research demonstrated that the immigrants' motivations for migration, their desires to return home eventually and their on-going links with India and Pakistan were significant factors which hindered or prevented (cultural) assimilation. Besides maintaining their traditional norms and values, members of the first generation also re-established social networks based on ties arising out of kinship, caste, religion, village and regional origins. These networks enabled social interaction, especially at the primary group level of relationships, to be confined largely within their separate communities. The cultural and social isolation of first generation South Asians could be said to present an antithesis to

Milton Gordon's variables of cultural and social structural assimilation. Some British scholars responded to this by using the term 'encapsulation' to describe their respondents' cultural and social separation from indigenous members of British society (Ballard and Ballard, 1972; Jeffrey, 1976; Anwar, 1979).

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, research enquiries had begun to be conducted on second generation South Asians. One of the major questions asked was whether a sequence of generational change had occurred, that is, whether members of this generation had progressed to 'integration' or even 'assimilation'. In some studies, however, the analytical distinction between 'assimilation' and 'integration' was largely ignored. For example, Taylor often used both theoretical concepts interchangeably. In addition, Taylor relied strongly on Gordon's assimilation approach as a theoretical framework, in his study on Punjabi males (Taylor, 1976). In my view this approach was not entirely satisfactory with regard to his findings because it precluded the possibility that actors might not necessarily choose between two cultures - they might, instead, display a duality of socio-cultural norms and values in relevant contexts. Indeed, this was demonstrated in Taylor's enquiry by his findings that second generation males had become acculturated in certain areas whilst also maintaining many of their parental traditions. In contrast to Taylor, Thompson did not confine himself to Gordon's approach (Thompson, 1970). Instead, he also employed the concept of 'pluralism' - a concept which is applied to societies which

contain sections which are culturally and structurally distinct. A more detailed discussion of the findings of both studies has already been presented in Chapter One.

Most of the studies to which I have referred, concentrated largely on the (internal) factors which facilitated boundary maintenance and the retention of socio-cultural traditions by first and second generation South Asians. External factors, on the other hand, tended to be largely overlooked in these studies.

External factors such as the structural position of immigrants and the attitudes of indigenous members of society towards them, had, however, been examined by other scholars. For instance, the existence of racial discrimination in, for example, housing and employment had been studied by Daniel and, at a later date, by Smith and, more recently by Braham et al. (Daniel, 1968; Smith, 1976; Braham et al., 1981). Similarly, British social scientists conducted research on the extent to which white natives are racially prejudiced, including the much discussed and much criticised enquiry by Abrams whose findings were presented in Colour and Citizenship (Rose, 1968). Furthermore, other scholars did not restrict their investigations to New Commonwealth immigrants but also included members of the indigenous population. In addition, they did not limit themselves to attitudinal or cultural factors but also examined the structural position of their respondents. An example of one such study was Lawrence's enquiry into race relations in Nottingham. In presenting his theoretical framework, he argued that some students

of race relations had exaggerated the significance of white attitudes and ignored or underestimated the significance of structural and cultural factors. More precisely, he contended that it is necessary, even in studying attitudes, to take into account (the structural) position of the New Commonwealth population vis-a-vis the indigenous population, for example, in relation to employment and housing.

Lawrence also argued that scholars should investigate the extent to which cultural preconceptions - derived largely from Britain's imperial past - affect the way in which white natives, West Indians and South Asians define the situations which confront them in Britain. In addition, he considered it necessary to relate such cultural preconceptions to the factors which led immigrants to leave their countries and to the reasons why they might or might not envisage permanent settlement in Britain. Furthermore, in discussing Abrams' study of racial prejudice amongst white Britons, Lawrence argued that scholars should not assume that there is a causal link between expressed attitudes and actual behaviour since an actor's behavioural patterns might vary from one social situation to another. Thus, white attitudes towards members of the New Commonwealth population should be examined, not in isolation, but in relation to relevant social contexts (*ibid.*, p. 46-68). This emphasis on the importance of the social situation in relation to an actor's behavioural patterns, was also a feature of other British studies in the 1970s - studies which employed theoretical frameworks based on the concept of

'ethnicity'.

2.3 ETHNIC GROUPS AND ETHNICITY

2.3.1 Introduction

In common with 'cultural pluralism', the origins of the different approaches to 'ethnicity' can be traced to the work of social anthropologists who studied post-colonial societies, including those in Africa and South East Asia. Social anthropologists subsequently employed frameworks based on 'ethnicity' in studies on Western industrial countries.

In Britain, the terminology of 'ethnic groups' and 'ethnic minorities' began increasingly to replace that of 'immigration' and 'immigrants'. This was largely in recognition of the fact that the permanent settlement of people from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan had culminated, not in a 'melting-down' process but in the development of established communities with diverse cultures. Moreover, the term 'immigrant' began to be increasingly irrelevant and contradictory when applied to the children of the original immigrants, especially as research enquiries began to reveal that an increasing proportion were British born. The term 'ethnic' was also used to refer to the presence of white 'ethnics', who, although acculturated in some respects, were nevertheless still culturally distinguishable from the indigenous population.

In the sub-sections which follow, I present a definition of 'ethnic groups' and examine three major perspectives on 'ethnicity'. I also examine the extent to which the concept of 'ethnicity' can be said to represent an alternative to 'cultural pluralism' or 'integration'. In other words, have studies on 'ethnicity' added a new dimension or have they merely repeated much of the substance of preceding theoretical concepts?

2.3.2 'Ethnic Groups' and 'Racial Categories'

Some social anthropologists have defined an 'ethnic group' primarily in terms of its subjective dimension, that is, in relation to an actor's own perception of his identity. An example of this definition was presented by Barth who argued that the most decisive characteristic of an ethnic group was an actor's self-categorisation as a member of a particular collectivity of people (Barth, 1969). According to Barth, the members of this collectivity share a primordial, or "basic sense of identity" which is usually derived from their common origins and background. This shared sense of identity - described by Barth as an "ethnic identity" - is crucial in transforming a collectivity of individuals into an ethnic group. Thus, Barth stated:

"to the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorise themselves and others for purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organisational sense" (ibid, p. 14).

In presenting a definition which emphasized the importance of the subjective dimension, Barth was less concerned with the cultural

characteristics of ethnic groups. Indeed, he was critical of cultural pluralists who had defined and studied ethnic groups largely in terms of (objective) cultural criterion. Such studies, he argued, led merely to an analysis in which "difference between groups become differences in trait inventories" (ibid., p. 14).

The debate on what constitutes an ethnic group continued in the 1970s. Some scholars were critical of definitions which favoured the subjective dimension of ethnic groups. For example, Cohen argued that in terms of observable and verifiable criteria in a study of ethnic groups, "what matters sociologically is what people actually do, not what they subjectively think or what they think they think" (Cohen, 1974). For Cohen, an ethnic group can be operationally defined as a collectivity of people who: share some patterns of normative behaviour, that is, culture; form a part of a larger population and interact with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system. Thus, according to this definition, the existence of an ethnic group is also dependent on the extent to which its members maintain their socio-cultural norms and values.

Other social scientists, however, treated the cultural and subjective dimensions as complementary rather than as opposing elements of ethnic groups. According to this view, an ethnic identity is not necessarily primordial or intuitive but is closely dependent on a group's retention of its socio-cultural norms and values. Thus, an operational definition of an ethnic group would

necessitate the inclusion of the subjective (identity) characteristics as well as the objective (cultural) elements. An example of this definition was presented by Lyon who defined an ethnic group as a collectivity of people who (a) possess a distinctive culture; (b) identify themselves with a common set of beliefs and values derived from their culture which constrain and direct their goals and (c) interact in such a way as to be socially distinct (Lyon, 1972 and 1972-3).

Since the above definitions concentrated largely on culture and identity, other aspects relating to the study of ethnic groups have not yet been discussed in this section. One such aspect, concerns the relationship between race/colour and ethnic groups. Is an ethnic group merely another way of referring to Black and Brown people in Britain or is it distinct from colour/race?

One of the scholars who addressed himself to this question in Britain, was Lyon who contended that "an 'ethnic group' can be distinguished analytically from a 'racial category'" (Lyon, 1972-3). In Lyon's view, a racial category refers to people who, by virtue of phenotypic traits (colour/race) are perceived and treated as 'outsiders' by members of the white majority. These people might, moreover, be culturally similar to white natives or culturally distinct. In any case, however, they are subjected to the barriers of exclusion predominantly because of their 'racial' characteristics. As a consequence, their identity is not self-imposed but is instead defined externally for them by white members of society. They thus, according to Lyon, represent an

'excluded category' based on phenotypic traits.

In contrast to members of 'racial categories', Lyon maintains that members of ethnic groups have identities which are self-imposed. In addition, unlike racial categories which are not necessarily culturally different from the majority, ethnic groups have their own distinctive cultures. Members of ethnic groups also tend to be socially distinct as a consequence of conducting most of the social relationships within their own groups. Thus, they are able to erect and maintain their own boundaries of inclusion and exclusion.

In discussing the application of his models to empirical research, Lyon recognised the difficulties of maintaining his analytical distinction between 'racial categories' and 'ethnic groups' at the micro-level of analysis. This is because there is often an overlap between the two at the empirical level of study. For instance, social relationships between white members of society and South Asians may be influenced by cultural, identificational and 'racial' factors. The criteria of phenotypic traits as well as those of culture might be employed by white natives as markers of exclusion. Similarly, South Asians might, in certain contexts, use such criteria to distinguish between 'themselves' and 'others'.

The last point, reveals a major limitation in Lyon's definition of a 'racial category'. He did not, in my view, allow for the

possibility that Afro-Caribbeans and South Asians might also use phenotypic traits as markers of inclusion and exclusion. In addition, in the references cited, he did not appear to acknowledge the possibility that members of an excluded 'racial category' who might not have a distinct culture, could nevertheless eventually become members of an 'ethnic group' based on a common identity and a shared culture. They could achieve this by, for instance, re-discovering their 'roots' and cultural heritage or, even, by creating new patterns of normative behaviour. Some examples of this transition from 'racial category' to 'ethnic group', include the development of Rastafarianism in the Caribbean and Britain and the emergence of the Black American identity in the United States.

2.3.3 Are Sikhs an 'Ethnic Group' and/or a 'Racial Category'?

In addressing this question, I wish to begin with Lyon's definition of 'ethnic groups' because it includes cultural and subjective elements. I also wish to employ his definition of 'racial categories' - but, however, with the proviso that members of an excluded racial category can become members of an ethnic group.

To recall, Lyon defined an ethnic group as a collectivity of people who (a) possess a distinctive culture; (b) identify themselves with a common set of beliefs and values and (c) interact in such a way as to be socially distinct.

In accordance with this definition, Sikhs clearly constitute an ethnic group because they meet all three conditions. Despite internal divisions, including those relating to caste, socio-economic status, education and country of origin prior to migration, Sikhs share a common religion, a common history, a language and a socio-cultural tradition which originated in the Punjab. Their identity as Sikhs enables them, in certain contexts in Britain, to distinguish themselves from other South Asians as well as from members of the native population. In addition, they tend to marry endogamously, thus ensuring the group's continued existence. Research studies have also indicated that Sikhs tend to interact socially within their own community and can thus be said to be 'socially distinct'.

Furthermore, Sikhs have their own organisations in Britain which reflect their cultural, religious, social and sometimes their political interests. Moreover, some national and local organisations which are officially known as 'Indian' are very often dominated by Sikhs. Examples of Sikh organisations or those run by Sikhs include: the Sikh Gurdwaras (temples); the Southall Youth Movement; the National Association of Indian Youth; the Sikh Students Federation; the Indian Workers Associations and the Indian Womens Associations. Sikhs also have their own magazines and newspapers in the United Kingdom, including the 'Sikh Messenger'. Finally, the politics of a free 'Kalistan' - a movement for an independent Punjab for the Sikhs (whose base is in Britain) - are constant reminders of their separate identity.

The second part of the question in this sub-section refers to the extent to which Sikhs can be said to constitute a 'racial category'. It can be argued that since many members of the white indigeneous population do not always differentiate between Sikhs and other dark-skinned people who have originated from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, with respect to either expressions of prejudice or acts of discrimination, Sikhs can be said to be part of a 'racial category' in terms of the definition which was set out by Lyon.

Having examined some definitions of an 'ethnic group' and the extent to which Sikhs can be said to constitute such a group, I now turn to a discussion of some of the perspectives on 'ethnicity'.

2.3.4 Perspectives on Ethnicity

Social anthropologists who have employed the concept of ethnicity have done so without reaching a consensus. In 1975, Glazer and Moynihan reviewed the available definitions at the time and concluded that there were two major perspectives which they identified as 'primordial' and 'circumstantial' (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975, pp. 19-20). In examining these approaches to ethnicity, I shall argue that their supporters have repeated some of the main arguments of early scholars on assimilation, including that of Park et al.

The primordial perspective

The concept of 'primordialism' was first introduced by Shils in 1957 in an essay relating to the relationship between sociological theory and empirical research (Shils, 1957, pp. 130-45). In his article, Shils contended that his previous enquiries on social interaction within primary groups had failed to acknowledge the significance of 'primordial qualities'. He argued that primordial loyalties differed from ties to other social units because they were deep-seated, intuitive, irrational and atavistic.

Some years later, in 1963, Geertz followed Shils' line of thought, by attributing a key role to such loyalties in the political development of post-colonial countries (Geertz, 1963, pp. 105-57). Thus, according to Geertz, the new leaders of these independent states faced immense difficulties in fostering a 'national' or 'civic' consciousness amongst their peoples because the latter had no concept of loyalty which extended beyond their kinship, regional, linguistic or cultural groups. To Geertz such loyalties were primordial, "givens of social existence". Moreover, Geertz believed that primordial allegiance was not a rational response but one which was intuitive and had a strength of its own. He noted, for instance, that:

"congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable and at times, overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's neighbour, one's fellow believer ipso facto, as a result not merely of interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by the virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself... For virtually every person, in every society, at almost all times, some attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural - some would say spiritual - affinity than from social interaction" (my emphasis) (ibid, pp. 109-10).

Support for the 'primordialist' point of view continued during the 1970s. For instance, Isaacs argued that people had a primal need to belong and that they achieved this largely through a 'basic group identity' (Isaacs, 1975). In describing the characteristics of this identity Isaacs employed a terminology which was very similar to that used by Shils and Geertz. More recently, Connor contended that man's need to belong represented an 'intuitive bond' (Connor, 1978, pp. 377-400). According to Connor, the persistence or regeneration of ethnic diversity in different parts of the world in contemporary times demonstrates that "an intuitive bond felt towards an informal and unstructured subdivision of mankind is far more profound than are the ties that bind them to the formal and legalistic state structures in which they find themselves" (ibid. p.377).

The primordial approach has been employed by scholars to account for the persistence of ethnic diversity in industrialized and modern countries, including the United States, Canada and Western Europe. For example, scholars such as Greeley and Yinger argued that despite the effects of industrialisation and modernisation,

Gemeinschaft-like sentiments and relationships still persist among the descendants of European immigrants in the United States and Canada (Greeley, 1974; Yinger, 1976, pp. 197-216). Others such as da Silva contended that the survival of Basque nationalism is largely due to the group's "basic sense of identity" (da Silva, 1975, pp. 227-51). In studying the development of Scottish nationalism, Esman stressed the importance of primordial allegiances but also examined the effects of situational factors such as the discovery of North Sea oil (Esman, 1977, pp. 251-86).

The main values of the primordial perspective is that it has focused on the emotional strength of the ethnic bond. However, it has several limitations which serve to detract from its usefulness as an explanatory concept of the persistence of ethnic phenomena. Most of its weaknesses stem from the fact that primordialists tended to present their arguments in deterministic and static terms. Thus, for example, primordial traits have often been described as fixed, involuntary and compelling. This viewpoint resulted in an underestimation of an actor's ability to change or suppress his ethnic membership. For instance, in South Africa and in the United States a light-skinned 'coloured' can, if he so wishes, use the strategy of 'passing' as white. Similarly, in India, members of a socially inferior sub-caste can elevate their status through the process of 'sanskritisation'. Briefly, this process entails strict observance of Hindu rites and the prevailing socio-cultural norms and values of the higher sub-castes (Srinivas, 1969).

Primordialists have also tended to view ethnicity as the overriding component of identity. This view ignores the possibility that some individuals do not need to feel 'ethnic' at all. In addition, it failed to sufficiently acknowledge the significance of other factors including those of class and political ideology in the make-up of an actor's identity.

The main challenge to the primordial approach came from the proponents of the 'circumstantial' perspective who argue that ethnic identities and relationships can be fluid and variable in response to certain contingencies. This contrasts with the primordialists who tend to view primordial allegiances as 'givens' which do not change largely because they are 'primitive', 'intuitive' and atavistic.

There are two versions of the circumstantial perspective. The first is known as the 'interest group' viewpoint, whose supporters have argued that ethnic phenomena are not the result of any primordial need to belong, but are the consequences of effective mobilization by ethnic groups in order to obtain access to scarce social, political and material resources. Cohen, for example, applied this concept to his study of Hausa migrants in the Nigerian city of Ibadan (Cohen, 1969). He contended that alliances based on ethnicity function like 'informal interest groups' and are political in certain situations, for instance, when competing with other groups for scarce resources. Thus, according to Cohen, Hausa migrants have manipulated their cultural

traits in order to develop an informal political organisation which they use as a weapon in the struggle for power with other groups.

Whilst Cohen employed this perspective in relation to Nigeria, other scholars claimed it could be applied to virtually any multi-ethnic society. For instance, Van den Berghe noted that the 'ethnic game' was being played in nearly all polyethnic societies in the competition for political, social and material gains (Van den Berghe, 1976, p. 242). Other scholars, including Glazer and Moynihan applied the concept of 'interest groups' to the study of ethnicity in the United States (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975). The authors noted, for example, that one of the major by-products of the Civil Rights movement and the subsequent affirmative action programmes was a bandwagon ethnicity amongst white Americans. Thus, in some cases, even though they belonged to the dominant 'White Anglo-Saxon Protestant' group, white Americans were re-discovering their German, Norwegian, Dutch and other Northern European roots, in order to compete with other ethnic groups for improved conditions in housing, employment and education.

The main advantage of the 'interest group' approach is that it has highlighted the ways in which some ethnic groups in certain situations strive to improve their economic, political and social conditions through ethnic channels rather than through any other type of social solidarity, including that of class. However, some of its critics have noted that by defining ethnicity in terms of interest groups, its supporters have failed to explain why members

of ethnic groups should seek to improve their conditions through ethnicity rather than by, for example, class solidarity (Ballard, 1976, pp. 196-202).

It has also been argued that, since an ethnic group is very rarely homogeneous in terms of its members' socio-economic status, there may be varied and conflicting interests within an ethnic group. Thus, an 'interest group' viewpoint can over-simplify an ethnic group's interest and, by doing so, it can obscure some of the group's internal differences. For example, Yinger has argued that the Civil Rights and Black Power movements in the United States tended to benefit the better educated and higher status Black American rather than his lower status counterpart (Yinger, 1976, p. 208). Other scholars have criticized the proponents of the 'interest-group' approach for concentrating on economic and political factors and, thereby largely ignoring the effects of culture and the strength of emotional ties. Thus, for critics like Connor, explanations which deal exclusively with political and economic factors underrate the emotional power of ethnic bonds and exaggerate the influence of materialism on human behaviour (Connor, 1978, pp. 377-400). In this connection, social anthropologists provided examples of ethnic groups, such as the Jews, who had survived despite persecution and economic hardship (Vos, 1975, pp. 5-41).

Other scholars challenged the 'interest group' approach on the premise that if economic and political factors were of over-riding

importance, then the attainment of such goals by members of ethnic groups would lead to a decline in the importance of ethnicity. That this does not always occur, was demonstrated, for example, by Heisler's study of Belgium's two major ethnic groups, the Flemings and the Walloons (Heisler, 1977, pp. 32-46). In the period preceding the Second World War, there were political and economic disparities between the two groups, with the Walloons as the superordinate group. Since World War II however, the Flemings have made substantial gains and, according to Heisler, have in certain respects displaced the economic and political superiority of the Walloons. Despite this improvement, ethnic consciousness amongst the Flemings seems to have increased rather than decreased.

The second version of the 'circumstantial perspective' on ethnicity is known by social anthropologists as the 'situational ethnicity' viewpoint. Unlike the 'interest group' approach it is less concerned with the ways in which ethnic groups mobilize for material and political benefits and more concerned with the study of social relations between different ethnic groups within a common social system. The main focus of this approach centres on the variability of ethnic identities in relation to specific social contexts, the actors' perceptions of such contexts and the fluidity of boundaries between ethnic groups.

The origins of the term 'situational ethnicity' is usually attributed to a paper by Paden in 1967 on ethnicity in urban Africa (Paden, 1967). The author stated that "situational

ethnicity is premised on the observation that particular contexts may determine which of a person's communal identities or loyalties are appropriate at a point in time" (ibid., p. 61). The essence of Paden's position was that since an actor's ethnic identity can be contextual, scholars should relate this variability to the actor's own subjective interpretation of that situation.

Although Paden might have been the first social anthropologist to formally introduce the term 'situational ethnicity', the ideas expressed by him were not new. For example, in 1940 Gluckman introduced the notion of 'situational selection' in an analysis of the relationships between Europeans and Zulus during a celebration to mark the opening of a bridge in South Africa (Gluckman, 1940, pp. 1-30). Briefly, he contended that an individual's membership of a particular group in a particular situation is determined by the values, interests and motives that influence his behaviour in that situation. He went on to add that "individuals can thus live coherent lives by situational selection from a medley of contradictory values, ill-assorted beliefs and varied interests and techniques" (ibid., p. 26).

In employing a 'situational ethnicity' approach, social anthropologists have drawn attention to the significance of the 'social situation' in ethnic relations. However, it is important to understand how they have defined the concept of a 'social situation'. Most of the scholars to whom I refer in this discussion, tended to refer to a level of social organisation

which is lower than that of the overall society. In my view, Mitchell's analysis of ethnicity in Southern Africa is representative of the way in which the 'social situation' has been defined, (Mitchell, 1970, pp. 83-101 and 1978). In a paper in 1978 on labour migration in Southern Africa, the author stated that he distinguished between the concept of a 'social setting' and that of a 'social situation'. According to Mitchell, the former refers to the macroscopic political, administrative and economic structures in which the migration takes place, whilst the latter refers to the microscopic set of circumstances in which an actor finds himself. In more detail, the setting includes the relative political and socio-economic statuses of the ethnic groups concerned and the distribution of occupation, education, income, wealth and other social and material resources amongst these groups. In addition, the setting entails the immediate and long-term possibilities for change in any or all of these areas.

Both the social setting and the social situation are essential characteristics of situational ethnicity. According to this perspective, the extent to which ethnicity takes on special significance in relation to social interaction between members of different ethnic groups will depend on the ways in which actors define the social situation and appraise the behavioural options open to them, given the constraints imposed upon them in the wider social setting. Thus, it may be that in some situations, ethnicity is a relevant factor which influences the interaction of parties, while in other situations the relationship proceeds in terms of other criteria. This is especially applicable to those

societies which are not primarily stratified in terms of ethnicity and 'race'. In contrast, ethnicity in a country like South Africa is likely to be relevant in diverse social relations as a consequence of its significance in the wider social setting. Moreover, since such groups in South Africa are hierarchically positioned, an actor's decision as to which course of action he chooses to follow may be severely restricted should he belong to a group which holds a subordinate status in that society. Thus, a situational approach to ethnicity focuses its attention not only on an actor's perception of a social situation in relation to his behavioural choices but also on the constraints and opportunities in the wider social structure.

One of the main advantages of such an approach is that it avoids some of the weaknesses of those frameworks which have concentrated predominantly on the subjective dimension of ethnicity, that is, on the actor's perceptions. Barth is probably one of the most influential social anthropologist who has advocated a 'subjective' analysis of ethnic relations (Barth, 1969). Barth, it will be recalled, defined ethnic groups largely in terms of self-categorisation by actors. Briefly, his thesis was that scholars who concentrated on acquiring 'objective' material on cultural traits did not provide a satisfactory analysis of ethnic organisation because the significance of ethnicity depends, not on cultural differences per se, but on the meanings which actors give to such differences. The importance which Barth attached to an actor's self-identification and to his perceptions of ethnic

diacritica has been criticized for ignoring the effects of structural factors on an actor's behavioural and identificational choices (for example, Depres, 1975, pp. 193-4). Critics have argued that statements such as

"it makes no difference how dissimilar members may be in their overt behaviour - if they say they are A, in contrast to another cognate category B, they are willing to be treated and let their own behaviour be interpreted and judged as A's and not as B's" (op. cit., p. 15)

demonstrated that Barth seemed to imply that individuals are free to pursue whatever course of action they desire. This is unsatisfactory, according to Barth's critics, because actors are not always free to do what they choose since they might face constraints in the wider social setting or they might belong to a group which is inferior to other groups in terms of power and status. This argument is summarised neatly by Epstein, who stated:

"For the individual, whether and to what extent he acquires a sense of ethnic identity always involves some element of choice. But such choice is subject to a number of constraints. Some of these are clearly social and relate to certain features of the social system" (Epstein, 1978, p. xiv).

In my view, the main advantage of the 'situational ethnicity' perspective is that it avoids the above limitations by examining the subjective dimension of ethnicity and by relating it to the social structure of society.

In Britain during the 1970s, social anthropologists began

increasingly to employ the concept of ethnicity - particularly the situational perspective - to studies on the New Commonwealth population and to white ethnic groups (e.g. Lyon, 1972-3; Dahya, 1974; Saifullah Khan, 1976; Watson, 1977). Amongst the (British) scholars who discussed the concept of ethnicity was Wallman who set out her definition in 1978. In the following year she edited a collection of essays entitled 'Ethnicity at Work' in which her definition was employed (Wallman, 1978, pp. 200-17 and 1979, pp. i-x).

Wallman advocated a situational approach with the emphasis on the subjective dimension of ethnicity, the fluidity of the social boundary and the variability of the significance of ethnicity in relation to specific contexts. In 1979, she stated that:

"Ethnicity refers generally to the perception of group differences and so to social boundaries between sections of a population. In this sense, ethnic difference is the recognition of a contrast between 'us' and 'them' ... Ethnicity is not simply difference: it is the sense of difference which can occur where members of a particular cultural or 'racial' group interact with non-members. ... Ethnicity is the process by which 'their' difference is used to enhance the sense of 'us' for purposes of organisation or identification" (ibid., pp. ix-x).

It follows from this definition that 'objective' differences such as 'race' or colour, language, religion and other cultural traits do not constitute ethnicity on their own. Ethnicity only occurs when these differences are perceived by actors as having special significance in specific contexts and are used to erect and maintain the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Wallman, contended that "the criteria of difference and the significance of those criteria are always, in some sense, functions of context or situation". In other words, the value of ethnicity is not static but variable and reactive. Thus in Wallman's words:

"It can be regarded as a resource which will, for some purposes and in some situations be mobilised to the advantages of a social, cultural or racial category of people; will have no meaning or value at all in other situations and will, in still others, in which other needs and objectives are paramount, be construed as a liability to be escaped or denied as far as possible" (ibid., p. ix).

Turning to the social boundary, Wallman noted that as the sense of 'us' and 'them' changes, so too do the boundaries. Moreover, not only do the boundaries shift, but so do the criteria which mark them. The boundary process is therefore fluid and reactive and is influenced by several factors. According to Wallman, these factors might be "macro or micro, a function of structure or of perception, of changes in history or of situation". To summarise Wallman's definition, the term 'ethnicity' generally refers to the extent to which actors, in specific social situations, make use of 'racial', cultural or other forms of diacritica to differentiate between themselves and 'outsiders' for purposes of organisation or identification.

In the above section I have examined different perspectives on ethnicity. In the sub-section which follows, I examine the extent to which this concept can be said to have provided a significant alternative to other theoretical concepts or whether it has been largely repetitive. Furthermore, I consider some of the major criticism which sociologists have levelled at ethnicity frameworks, thus leading to a discussion on 'class theories' in section 2.4.

2.3.5 An Evaluation of Ethnicity

In my view, some of the main features of the 'primordial' and 'interest group' approaches are not exclusive to the concept of ethnicity. Indeed, I shall argue that they can be found in the work of early American scholars on assimilation, particularly in the writings of Park et. al. in the 1920s and 1930s.

To recall, 'primordialists' contended that actors value their own ethnic groups and their own cultures above all other ethnic groups, primarily because of a deep, primal need to belong and a belief in a common lineage or descent. Proponents of the 'interest group' approach, on the other hand, viewed ethnicity in terms of ethnic mobilization for maximizing political, economic and social resources.

In my view, similar ideas were expressed by Park et. al. in their discussion of the positive functions of immigrant institutions in

facilitating the process of assimilation as well as in their discussions on immigrants' identities. For example, Park and Miller suggested that it was both natural and beneficial for a newly arrived immigrant who "does not know how to live except as a member of a group" to locate himself amongst his fellow countrymen who had preceded him to America (Park and Miller, 1921). In this way, according to Park and Miller, an immigrant fulfilled a need to retain a sense of identity by interacting with people with whom he shared a language, a common cultural heritage and a common history. This, in my opinion, demonstrates that Park et. al. too recognised the existence and significance of an actor's ethnic identity. However, it must be recalled that the authors did not expect such an identity to have a permanent existence in American society.

Similarly, the view that ethnic groups mobilize as 'interest groups' can also be partly traced to the early writings of Park et. al. The authors contended that rather than preventing assimilation from occurring, immigrant institutions played a positive role in facilitating the process of assimilation (ibid., pp. 119-44). Park et. al. argued that, for example, immigrants were able to improve their social status not as individuals but as members of organised, immigrant groups. Thus, they observed that immigrants "who begin by deserting their group end by attempting to improve the status of these groups" (ibid., pp. 143-4). An improvement in social status, according to Park et. al., enabled members of an (immigrant) group to participate on a more equal

basis in the wider society. This process would eventually lead to the full participation and assimilation of the immigrant group. Thus, the authors in my view, clearly contended that an immigrant group could organise itself to improve its social status in society and that by so doing also improved its members chances of increasing their share of other scarce resources. However, it must be emphasized that the authors envisaged the existence of ethnic groups and their institutions as a temporary rather than a permanent feature of industrialized American society. This was because they thought that the homogenizing effect of acculturation and assimilation would lead to a decline of separate ethnic identities and the erosion of immigrant cultures.

Having briefly examined some similarities between the writings of early scholars on assimilation and the 'primordial' and 'interest group' approaches, I now turn to the question of whether the concept of ethnicity has presented an acceptable alternative to cultural pluralism. The two concepts are similar in certain respects. For example, cultural pluralism and the situational approach to ethnicity are both concerned with the analysis of cultural maintenance and the survival of a group identity in a society with a multi-cultural and multi- 'racial' population. In addition, both concepts focus on the extent to which members of different (ethnic) groups interact with each other whilst preserving their separate cultures and identities. Whilst they share similar objectives, however, they differ in their methodologies. Thus for example, 'situational ethnicity' subscribes largely to a 'subjective' point of view, that is, its

proponents have mainly examined an actor's perceptions and understandings of cultural criteria and, in addition, the relevance he attributes to these elements as a factor on his behavioural choices in specific social situations. In contrast, 'cultural pluralism' advocates a more 'objective' point of view. This means that a cultural pluralist examines the differences between cultural groups as well as the extent to which members of those groups maintain their socio-cultural traditions, largely through the observation he or she makes and in relation to his or her specialized knowledge of the groups' cultures. Thus, one of the major differences between 'cultural pluralism' and 'situational ethnicity' is that the former is largely concerned with examining the 'objective' rather than the 'subjective' differences between ethnic groups.

So far, I have noted some of the similarities and differences between the concept of ethnicity and other theoretical concepts. However, despite the fact that it sometimes covered old ground, I think that the concept of ethnicity has nevertheless made a useful contribution to the field of 'ethnic' studies. In my view, one of its major contributions relates to the development of the 'subjective' dimension of ethnicity as well as to the significance of a 'situational' analysis. This has given rise to a framework which enables the researcher to examine the significance which actors attach to ethnicity, thereby revealing its variable and reactive characteristics and the fluidity of social boundaries between different ethnic groups.

Finally in this section on ethnicity, I examine some of the major criticisms which have been aimed at it by British sociologists, particularly by those of a Marxist persuasion. For example, Sivanandan and Bourne have argued that the concept of ethnicity has merely concentrated on the study of culture and that consequently attention has been diverted away from the most significant factors which structure group relations in Britain (Sivanandan and Bourne, 1980, pp. 331-52). For Sivanandan and Bourne these factors include the structural position of the New Commonwealth population, in particular their 'class' position and the differential distribution of power between the (white) native majority and people of New Commonwealth origin. What was needed, they asserted, was not a study of culture but an investigation of the relationship between 'racism, class and imperialism'. According to the authors such an investigation would reveal the ways in which 'racism' is used by capitalists as a rationale and justification for capitalist exploitation and, in addition, how this is linked with the struggle against imperialism. Sivanandan and Bourne contended that proponents of ethnicity aided the State in its endeavours to prevent black people from transforming the 'race struggle' into a 'class struggle' at the political level by "diverting black energy into harmless ethnic channels" and by "freezing the dynamics of race struggle into culture or ethnicity" (ibid., p. 345-6). In short, Sivanandan and Bourne have accused the concepts of ethnicity of being divorced from the wider structure of society.

How justified are the authors in their criticisms of ethnicity? I think only partly so. More specifically, I think that their criticisms are valid in relation to the actual application of the concept in some empirical research in Britain, but, I do not think that their criticisms are entirely applicable to the concept itself. There have been some studies on ethnicity in Britain which have tended to make very little reference to the political, economic and social structures of the receiving society in which New Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants live. For example, in a collection of essays edited by Watson in 1977, British social anthropologists examined the factors which they considered significant in influencing members of an ethnic group to maintain, modify or abandon their cultural traditions and their sense of ethnic identity (Watson, 1977). Some of the factors were essentially internal to the group and included: the respondent's own frame of reference and value preferences; his or her motivations for migration and commitment to permanent settlement in Britain; his or her access to and participation in a social network based on ties of kinship, caste and geographical origins and on-going links with the sending society. Indeed, the influence of the sending countries was considered by the anthropologists to be of special importance and, in this respect, all the contributors undertook field trips to their respondents' countries of origin. Other factors which were identified as affecting a group's decision to maintain its culture and identity were essentially external to the group. In the essays, the social anthropologists identified the external elements largely in terms

of racial prejudice and discrimination.

Critics of the above collection of essays have argued that although the contributors have acknowledged the significance of the constraints imposed by racial prejudice and discrimination, they have not made satisfactory reference to the political, economic and social structures of British society (Banton, 1978, p. 197; Lawrence, 1977, PP 165-9). It is for this reason that I think that the criticisms made by Sivanandan and Bourne in relation to the concept of ethnicity in general can be aimed at some empirical studies in Britain. However, for the reasons set out below, I do not think that the concept of ethnicity per se entirely deserves such criticisms.

It will be recalled that proponents of the 'situational ethnicity' perspective, particularly Mitchell, argued that scholars of ethnicity should pay attention to the social setting, that is, the macroscopic political, economic and social structures of the wider society. According to this approach, the social setting is of special significance because the importance of ethnicity in social relationships is not only dependent on the perceptions and behavioural choices of the actors involved, but, is also affected by the constraints that confront them in the wider structure - the social setting. Thus, scholars like Mitchell certainly did not ignore structural considerations.

My second reason for defending the concept of ethnicity from Sivanandan and Bourne's criticisms is related to the 'interest

group' perspective. Since the proponents of this approach were particularly concerned with the ways in which members of ethnic groups mobilized to improve their structural position in society, they too cannot be fairly accused of ignoring the relevance of the economic, political and social structures.

I now turn to a more recent evaluation of ethnicity which was presented by Miles (Miles, 1982). One of his main criticisms, upon which I should like to focus, relates to the phenomenological approach which was employed by Saifullah Khan and Wallman in their social anthropological studies in Britain and to their definitions of ethnicity. To recall, Saifullah Khan and Wallman defined ethnicity in terms of the (subjective) perceptions of actors in specific social contexts (Saifullah Khan, 1976; Wallman, 1978 and 1979). A phenomenological approach takes into account the meanings of actions from the actors' points of view and, in addition, relates these meanings to the actors' perception of the social situation. According to Miles, to define ethnicity in terms of perceived differences between groups presents a "conceptual problem of considerable dimensions", since it follows logically that any group whose members defines itself ('us') in contrast to others ('them') is by definition an ethnic group. Such groups, continued Miles, could include "mods, the working class, feminists, punks, trade union negotiators, students and so on" (op. cit., p. 62). Thus, for Miles, a definition based on subjective criteria is of limited analytic value because it fails to distinguish between an ethnic group and other groups whose

members are also able to differentiate between themselves ('us') and others (them).

I think that Miles has made a valid point in relation to scholars who have defined ethnicity in these terms. The problem - as Miles has correctly pointed out - is that Wallman, for example, has a 'hidden' assumption in her writings which implies that ethnic groups can be distinguished from one another by predominantly cultural criteria. But since she does not say so openly, her formal definition of ethnicity as perceived differences between groups is left wide open to the criticism which Miles has aimed against it. Whilst agreeing with Miles in this connection, I do not, however, think that the concept of ethnicity should be discarded. In my view, the problem can be resolved by combining a subjective dimension with an examination of the 'objective' socio-cultural traits which can distinguish some people in Britain from the indigeneous population. The 'objective' element can be derived from a researcher's observations of the group in question and his or her prior knowledge of its traditions. In addition, the 'objective' dimension can include an examination of the extent to which a group preserves itself through endogamous marriages; the existence of social networks and the maintenance of its own institutions. The 'subjective' dimension is of equal importance because actors do categorize each other and in certain situations, such categorizations can affect the way in which they behave towards each other. Furthermore, the respondents in an investigation should be given the opportunity to give a 'common sense point of view' by expressing their opinions freely, since

the researcher's 'model' of their socio-culture might not always correspond to what they themselves perceive as relevant or important.

The second part of Miles' criticism related to the phenomenological approach in the studies by Saifullah Khan and Wallman. The main weakness of such an approach, according to Miles, is that by dealing mainly with the social consciousness of actors, scholars ignore the "underlying historical and structural processes" which are involved in the way actors categorise each other. For Miles, "these processes set the parameters of class boundaries and of fractionalisation within classes, parameters which are not necessarily evident in social consciousness" (Miles, 1982, p. 62). In short, like Sivanandan and Bourne before him, Miles has criticised British studies on ethnicity for tending to ignore 'class' and relations of production.

Empirical studies which have been conducted by social anthropologists like Saifullah Khan and Wallman have indeed tended to concentrate on culture rather than on the class position which members of ethnic groups, particularly those who originated from the New Commonwealth, occupy in Britain. This weakness has, moreover, been acknowledged by social anthropologists themselves. For example, Watson stated that:

"To date, most anthropologists - including the contributors to this volume - have not really come to grips with the problem of class in complex societies" (Watson, 1977, p. 14).

The problem for social scientists in this field is to provide a theoretical framework which is comprehensive, that is, one which not only concentrates on the structural position of the New Commonwealth population vis-a-vis the indigenous majority, but one which also acknowledges the cultural and social heterogeneity of this population. Such a framework also requires one to examine the internal factors which affect a group's decision to maintain its own culture and its own distinctive identity. Since this entails questioning the respondents on, for example, their motivations for migration or their reasons for not wishing to settle permanently in Britain, this section of the framework is essentially 'subjective'.

A concern with the broader structural relationships in society has usually been the province of sociologists and I now turn to the writings of some sociologists who have advocated that scholars should examine the process of migration and settlement of people who originate from the New Commonwealth within a framework of 'class relations'.

2.4 CLASS PERSPECTIVES IN BRITISH STUDIES ON SOUTH ASIANS AND AFRO-CARIBBEANS

2.4.1 Introduction

The 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of studies by sociologists who argued that social scientists, should concentrate on the structural position of the New Commonwealth population -

particularly their class position - rather than on 'race', culture or ethnicity. This debate has continued during the 1980s (for example, Rex and Moore, 1967; Castle and Kosack, 1973; Bourne and Sivanandan, 1980; Miles, 1982).

Sociologists advocating a class analysis, however, did not necessarily share the same perspective. Thus, for instance, Miles has identified three major perspectives in this field of study. These are: the 'divided working class' perspective; the 'under-class' perspective and the 'unitary working class' perspective (Miles, 1982, p. 152). The first and third of these approaches can be said to be Marxist in outlook whilst the second is based on Weberian premises and assumptions.

Due to the limitations of space and time, I shall only examine the work of a selected number of sociologists who, in my view represent each perspective. Thus, I examine the writings of Castles and Kosack in relation to the 'divided working class' approach (Castles and Kosack, 1973). Studies conducted by Rex et. al. represent the 'under-class' perspective whilst the 'unitary class' approach is represented by Westergaard and Resler (Rex and Moore, 1967; Rex and Tomlinson, 1979; Westergaard and Resler, 1976).

2.4.2 The 'Divided Working Class' Perspective

Castles and Kosack started from a Marxist premise that since class position is determined by one's position in the relation of

production, there are two main classes - the bourgeoisie and the working class. According to Castles and Kosack, indigeneous workers and New Commonwealth immigrants constitute the 'working class' by virtue of their identical position in production relations. However, this class, they argued, is divided into two distinct strata. People who originated from the New Commonwealth, according to Castles and Kosack, occupy a separate socio-economic position within the working class because they earn lower incomes and endure inferior social conditions in comparison with native members of their class. This inferior position, they maintain, is due to the fact that they were imported to work at the lowest level of the occupational ladder - a position maintained largely through racial discrimination. Furthermore, the authors contended that this 'objective' division within the working class is paralleled by a 'subjective' division, whereby black and brown people in Britain are perceived by indigeneous members as 'outsiders' who deserve to be allocated inferior jobs and housing because of their presumed inferior racial origins vis-a-vis themselves. For Castles and Kosack, the subjective division was created and manipulated by the capitalists through the ideology of 'racism'. Following Cox's example, the authors defined 'racism' as a set of ideas which were propagated by the Bourgeoisie during the rise of European colonization and imperialism, in order to justify the exploitation of colonial labour and, in addition, to divide the working class both internationally and in the metropolitan countries (Cox, 1970). More specifically, 'racism' is a set of ideas 'propagated among the public by an exploiting

class for the purpose of stigmatising some group as inferior so that the exploitation of either the group itself or its resources or both may be justified.' Thus, in relation to this definition, 'racism' is a means by which one class - the Bourgeoisie - realizes its own interests over those of the working class. Accordingly, conflict which arises from 'racism' is not racial per se but one which is largely class based. In applying this to the situation in Western Europe, Castles and Kosack contended that immigrant labour serves capitalism in two respects. First, as a source of reserve labour and, second, as a means of dividing the working class.

One of the major weaknesses of Castle and Kosack's study in relation to Britain, is that the authors tended to ignore the heterogeneity of the New Commonwealth population. Thus, for example, even though many adults of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin were, at the time of their study, engaged in semi and unskilled manual occupations, Castle and Kosack should have also, in my opinion, examined the occupational status of those people who were engaged in non-manual and skilled manual employment, as well as those who were self-employed. Similarly, the authors should have included those families who did not live in inferior housing in the inner cities but were to be found in better quality housing in suburban areas.

Furthermore, by treating black and brown people as a homogeneous entity, Castles and Kosack also failed to acknowledge the historical and cultural differences which existed within the New

Commonwealth population. One consequence of this omission was the authors' assumption that people of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean aspired towards becoming assimilated into the white working class. In making this assumption, they did not examine the extent to which differences in cultural norms and values, aspirations, motivations for migration and perceptions encouraged or discouraged them to seek 'assimilation', 'accommodation', 'integration' and 'cultural pluralism'. Studies conducted by other scholars have indicated, for example, that first generation Indians and Pakistanis tolerated inferior working and social conditions largely because of their perceptions of being temporary settlers in Britain (for instance, Lawrence, 1974). This has prompted some scholars to describe them as 'migrants' rather than as 'immigrants' - that is, people who arrive in a country without the intention of permanent settlement (Lawrence, 1974; Jeffrey, 1976; Watson, 1977).

I think that this distinction is especially significant in relation to Castle and Kosack's study because it helps to explain why the authors assumed that people of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin would aspire towards assimilation. Since Castle and Kosack referred to these people as 'immigrants' throughout the study and, since an 'immigrant' is sociologically defined as a person who leaves his or her own country to settle permanently in another and is, moreover, expected to abandon his or her cultural traditions, it is understandable that Castle and Kosack should have made such an assumption. Defining them as 'migrants', on the

other hand, would have required an examination of their motivations for migration, their on-going links with their countries of origin and their reasons for maintaining their socio-cultural traditions. These factors were not included in their investigations.

My final criticism relates to Castles and Kosack's tendency to homogenize the native working class and to their contention that the arrival of black and brown workers from the ex-colonies created the division of the working class in Britain. By advancing this argument, the authors, in my view, largely ignored the divisions which existed prior to (and after) the arrival of overseas workers. Some of the divisions within the working class which are particularly significant in this respect include the different levels of skill in relation to both manual and non-manual occupations as well as other differences arising from such factors as gender, age, region and unemployment.

2.4.3 The 'Under Class' Perspective

Rex is the main supporter of this approach which he presented in 1970 and developed more fully in conjunction with Tomlinson in 1979. According to their thesis, New Commonwealth 'immigrants' and their descendants constitute a class beneath the working class by virtue of their inferior circumstances and life chances. Rex and Tomlinson defined class in terms of the level of distribution of resources via three 'markets' - that of employment, housing and education. Thus, their definition and therefore their analysis is

based on Weberian rather than Marxist assumptions. They contended that the majority of South Asians and Afro-Caribbeans occupied an inferior and separate position in all three markets vis-a-vis native members of the working class largely because of the impact of racial discrimination. Furthermore, they argued that white natives in this class united with other indigenous classes to reject New Commonwealth immigrants and their British born descendants, thus preventing their absorption or assimilation into the British working class.

According to Rex and Tomlinson, this rejection has caused the New Commonwealth population to organise in their own self-defence. Amongst the South Asian population, the process of organization is manifested in family and community networks within which individuals aim at capital accumulation and social mobility. Among West Indians, on the other hand, even though a minority might aspire and perhaps achieve assimilation, the majority, according to Rex and Tomlinson, are likely to withdraw from competition altogether, with the emphasis on the formation of a black identity. Thus, the authors envisaged an increasing polarization between the black and brown 'under-class' and members of the white working class.

The 'under-class' perspective has been criticised by some sociologists who favour a Marxist definition of class. For example, Miles has argued that the main limitation of Rex and Tomlinson's study stems from their definition of class. More specifically, Miles has contended that if class had been defined

in terms of the relations of production instead of in relation to the level of distribution of resources via 'markets', Rex and Tomlinson would have had to acknowledge that West Indians and South Asians are part of the working class, albeit a 'racialised fraction' of it. Furthermore, Miles argued that since the demand by capital, after the Second World War, was for wage labour and, since the majority of people from the ex-colonies entered Britain to sell their labour for a wage, they automatically became part of the working class. In setting out his own theoretical framework, Miles presented a development of the 'divided working class' perspective. Briefly, he argued that black and brown people constituted a 'racialised fraction' of the working class but that this fraction is one of several which already exists within it (Miles, 1982, pp. 152-88).

Rex and Tomlinson's study has also been criticized by Richmond, both with respect to its empirical evidence and methodology (Richmond, 1980, pp. 107-10). The first of Richmond's criticisms is that Rex and Tomlinson generalized from the experience of immigrants and their children in one area - Handsworth - to the situation of New Commonwealth immigrants as a whole, despite the fact that Handsworth was chosen for study precisely because of its atypicality. Furthermore, continued Richmond, even within Handsworth, survey data was collected only from those enumeration districts with the highest concentrations of New Commonwealth immigrants in the 1971 census. Moreover, no attempt was made to compare the experience of families in these localities with the

growing proportion who were to be found in areas of low immigrant concentration. According to Richmond, given this bias, it is not surprising that Rex and Tomlinson found housing and educational deprivation, high unemployment and low occupational status and generally poor social and cultural integration. Had they interviewed people who did not live in Handsworth, for example, teachers, nurses, doctors, clerical workers and skilled manual workers, they might have obtained different empirical results.

Richmond's second major criticism relates to Rex and Tomlinson's sample survey. He argued that the authors did not achieve a representative sample for two reasons. First, because they used quota sampling techniques which were only designed to ensure that a proportionate number were drawn from each of the selected enumeration districts. Thus, there was no other guarantee that the respondents were representative in any other respect. Richmond's second reason for criticizing the sample was that it was too small for any controls to be introduced for intervening variables including that of gender, age or family type.

Richmond's criticisms were aimed at Rex and Tomlinson's empirical findings and their sampling techniques. He did not attempt to criticize the theoretical arguments underlying the concept of the 'under-class'. Indeed, he described Rex's arguments as 'sophisticated'. Challenges to Rex's thesis have been presented by supporters of the 'unitary working class' perspective and it is to a discussion of this approach that I now turn.

2.4.4 The 'Unitary Working Class' Perspective

This approach is represented by Westergaard and Resler whose thesis is that people of New Commonwealth origin in Britain are an integral part of the working class. Referring specifically to Rex's theory on the 'under-class', Westergaard and Resler argued that "there is little sense to such characterizations" because although many people of Asian and Afro-Caribbean are handicapped in the labour market, in no way does this happen to all of them, so as to constitute an 'under-class' (Westergaard and Resler, 1976, pp. 356-60).

In order to support their arguments, the authors referred to the census data of 1966. This indicated that among none of the migrant groups from the New Commonwealth was there anything like a majority of men in unskilled occupations. Moreover, Westergaard and Resler noted that white immigrants, such as the Irish, were similar in some respects to black and brown workers. Thus, according to Westergaard and Resler, even when one includes the semi-skilled in order to make an aggregate in lower-grade manual work, only Pakistani men showed a clear majority who were confined to such occupations - some two out of every three. For men from the Caribbean countries, the figure was just under half, a figure which was, in fact, not very different for the Irish. One third of the men born in India were engaged in semi and unskilled manual occupations. Thus, argued Westergaard and Resler, with the exception of Pakistani men, the majority of New Commonwealth males were employed in skilled manual or non-manual occupations. This

led them to assert that "the plain point is that professional, white-collar and skilled manual blacks tend to be left aside in the stereotypes of public debate and research alike" (ibid., p. 357).

The above arguments, however, do not imply that Westergaard and Resler did not acknowledge the fact that black and brown people can be disadvantaged and discriminated against because of their 'race' or colour. Indeed they acknowledged this but argued that such disabilities were not strictly peculiar to 'coloured' people, although "dark skin increases the risk of subjection to them" (ibid., p. 358). For the authors, overcrowding, lack of privacy and facilities, at high rents with a risk of harassment by landlords, are conditions common to many households - not only to black and brown ones. Westergaard and Resler were especially critical of those researchers and 'liberal reformers' who, according to them, had only rediscovered "what in fact are common disabilities of class". For the authors these are the "widespread and long-standing conditions inherent in the workings of capital, market and state in a divided society" (ibid., p. 359).

Having outlined these three major perspectives on class theory in relation to British race relations, I am more inclined to support this aspect of Westergaard and Resler's argument because I think that scholars of the 'divided' and 'under-class' perspectives have tended to obscure the differences which exist within and between the various groups which constitute the New Commonwealth

population in Britain. Of course, this does not in any way deny that people of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin are subjected to racial discrimination, disadvantage and, especially in contemporary times, to high levels of unemployment. However, it is also necessary to acknowledge that they have a diversity of socio-cultural backgrounds and, in addition, are heterogeneous in terms of, for example, socio-economic status, housing conditions, family size and educational achievement.

The continuing debate on the educational underachievement of children of West Indian origin has, for example, indicated that South Asian children, as a whole, do better educationally than their Afro-Caribbean peers, despite racial prejudice and disadvantage and despite the handicap of having cultures and languages which are distinct from those of their indigenous peers. There is also evidence which demonstrates that there are differences of educational achievement within the wider category of 'South Asian', for example, between the children of recently arrived Bangladeshis and those from the more settled Punjabi Sikh population (Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985; Little, 1985; Tomlinson, 1980).

The findings of other research studies suggest that differences in education might also extend to other areas, especially between South Asians and West Indians. In this respect, Ghodsian and Essen conducted a national survey in Britain of the social and home circumstances of sixteen year old children of Asian, West Indian and Irish origin (Ghodsian and Essen, 1980, pp. 195-99).

The respondents in this study were compared with a sample of indigenous children of the same age. The sample consisted of 203 children of Asian origin, 122 children of West Indian origin, 495 children of Irish origin and 8,317 indigenous children.

Amongst the areas of study were the type and quality of housing, the occupational status of the father, the financial position of the family and the extent to which the children had free school meals. Briefly, Ghodsian and Essen's findings suggested that the Asian children fared better than their West Indian peers in all areas. Thus, for instance, when compared with the West Indians in the survey, a higher proportion of second generation Asians lived in better quality housing and were less likely to be found in Council property. Similarly, whilst 72 per cent of the Asian respondents had fathers in non-manual occupations only 12 per cent of the West Indian children came from this occupational background. Furthermore, according to the authors, a higher proportion of Asian households had a 'high' weekly income of #60+ a week. The authors also noted that the Irish children in their survey were very similar to West Indian children in their home and social circumstances. Thus, second generation Asians fared better than both the West Indian and the Irish children.

In presenting their findings, Ghodsian and Essen did not detail the exact occupations of their respondents' fathers. Thus, there was no information on the numbers of men who might have been self-employed. This area of employment is yet another example of some

of the differences between people of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin, in that there are, at present, fewer West Indian-owned businesses than Asian ones.

The differences, to which I have briefly referred, need to be acknowledged, examined and explained. Scholars supporting the 'divided' and 'under-class' perspectives on class have tended to overlook them. Proponents of the concept of ethnicity, on the other hand, have examined the heterogeneity of the New Commonwealth population, especially their cultural diversity, but, have tended to deal less satisfactorily with structural factors.

Finally, in evaluating the merits of a class analysis, I would argue that it is more directly applicable to large scale studies at the macro level of analysis - for example, when studying the occupational distribution or the housing tenure of a national sample of respondents. It is also, in my view, much less directly relevant to the questions I asked my respondents in relation to their religious, social and cultural lives. However, there is one particular aspect of a class analysis which can be applied to a study of cultural norms and values. This is the mode by which the dominant class in society transmits its own culture to subordinate classes through the educational system and the media and, by so doing, maintains its hegemony. Thus, in so far as Sikh girls in my study have been through the British educational system and have been exposed to the influence of the media, a theoretical framework should include this aspect of a class perspective.

2.5 A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR A STUDY ON SECOND GENERATION SIKH GIRLS

The limitations of 'assimilation' and its different perspectives have already been discussed in previous sections of this chapter. Moreover, my review, in Chapter One, of empirical research conducted on second generation South Asians, indicated that scholars such as Thompson and Taylor who, had employed assimilationist frameworks, found that their male respondents had not totally abandoned their cultural traditions and, furthermore, were not 'social structurally', 'maritally' and 'identificationally' assimilated. Similar findings on young females were reported by, among others, Chrishna and Sharpe (Thompson, 1970; Taylor, 1976; Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976).

I concluded that an assimilationist framework was unsatisfactory because it could not explain why members of the second generation had not totally abandoned their parental traditions and their ethnic identity. This limitation is largely due to the unidimensional and ethnocentric bias of its assumptions. In my view, the main value of, for instance, Gordon's assimilation variables was that they enabled the researchers to identify and set out the main areas of study and, in addition, to describe their respondents' socio-cultural lives (Gordon, 1964). Due to its limitations, I have decided not to employ a framework based on assimilation perspectives. However, I have organized my enquiry in accordance with Gordon's variables because, as I have already stated, I think that this is a useful method for identifying and

presenting the main areas of study. Thus, my enquiry includes an examination of the cultural and social structural dimensions of my respondents' lives, as well as sections on their family and marriage patterns, their identity and their perceptions and experience of racial prejudice and discrimination. More specifically, although these areas were presented by Gordon as variables in his perspective on assimilation, they are not intended as a measurement of assimilation in my study.

I also reject the term 'between two cultures' which has been employed by some scholars because it is a descriptive term which does not have an analytical value (Anwar, 1976; Watson, 1977). It implies that members of the second generation are caught in a cultural and identificational vacuum, a situation which can give rise to cultural and intergenerational conflict. However, studies on young South Asians, including those which have been published under the title 'Between Two Cultures', have indicated that far from being in such a vacuum, they possessed a strong ethnic identity and did not appear to be involved in serious, overt conflict with their parents (Ballard and Ballard, 1977). In addition, the findings of these studies also suggested that although young South Asians maintained most of their parental traditions, they were also conversant with British socio-cultural norms and values and were thus able to choose between them in relevant contexts.

A study of members of the second generation, therefore, requires a framework which acknowledges the possibility that, first, young South Asians might be neither 'fully assimilated' into British norms and values nor entirely 'encapsulated' within their own cultural traditions and, second, that they might not be 'between two cultures'. More specifically, in my view, these perspectives should be replaced by an approach which concentrates instead, on three central questions.

First, to what extent do members of the second generation construct bridges between the different cultural systems to which they are exposed? In this respect, are they creating a cultural synthesis or do they possess a 'contextual culture'; that is, do their normative patterns reflect the suitability of specific situations?

Second, if their exposure to two socio-cultural systems presents them with conflicting and contradictory norms and values, what strategies do they employ to cope with their dilemmas?

Third, to the extent that they do not totally abandon their parental traditions, what are the factors which help sustain an ethnic culture and identity in an alien country?

In my own enquiry on second generation Sikh girls, I answer these questions within a framework which is based on three theoretical concepts - 'bi-culturalism', 'situational ethnicity' and 'structural pluralism'.

Bi-culturalism' This concept should not be confused with 'cultural pluralism'. Whilst the latter refers to the existence of diverse cultural groups in a society, 'bi-culturalism' refers to a process by which individual members of an ethnic group or even an ethnic group as a whole, are socialized into two separate and distinct socio-cultural systems. Through the process of socialization, individuals internalize the normative patterns of both systems, that is, they attain a knowledge of the norms and values and are able, if required, to behave accordingly. However, although they internalize both socio-cultural systems, they might not necessarily identify with all the normative patterns of both systems. In other words, they might not have a positive orientation to particular norms and values.

Second generation Sikh girls have been socialized, especially during their childhood, into the Sikh religion and Punjabi socio-cultural traditions. It must be pointed out that this is more likely to be a variant of the original culture because members of the first generation have accommodated to the demands of a new social environment by modifying or even abandoning certain traditions. In spite of this, however, the parental culture in Britain retains many of its distinctive Punjabi features and values and, in this respect, is distinguishable from the indigenous socio-cultural system.

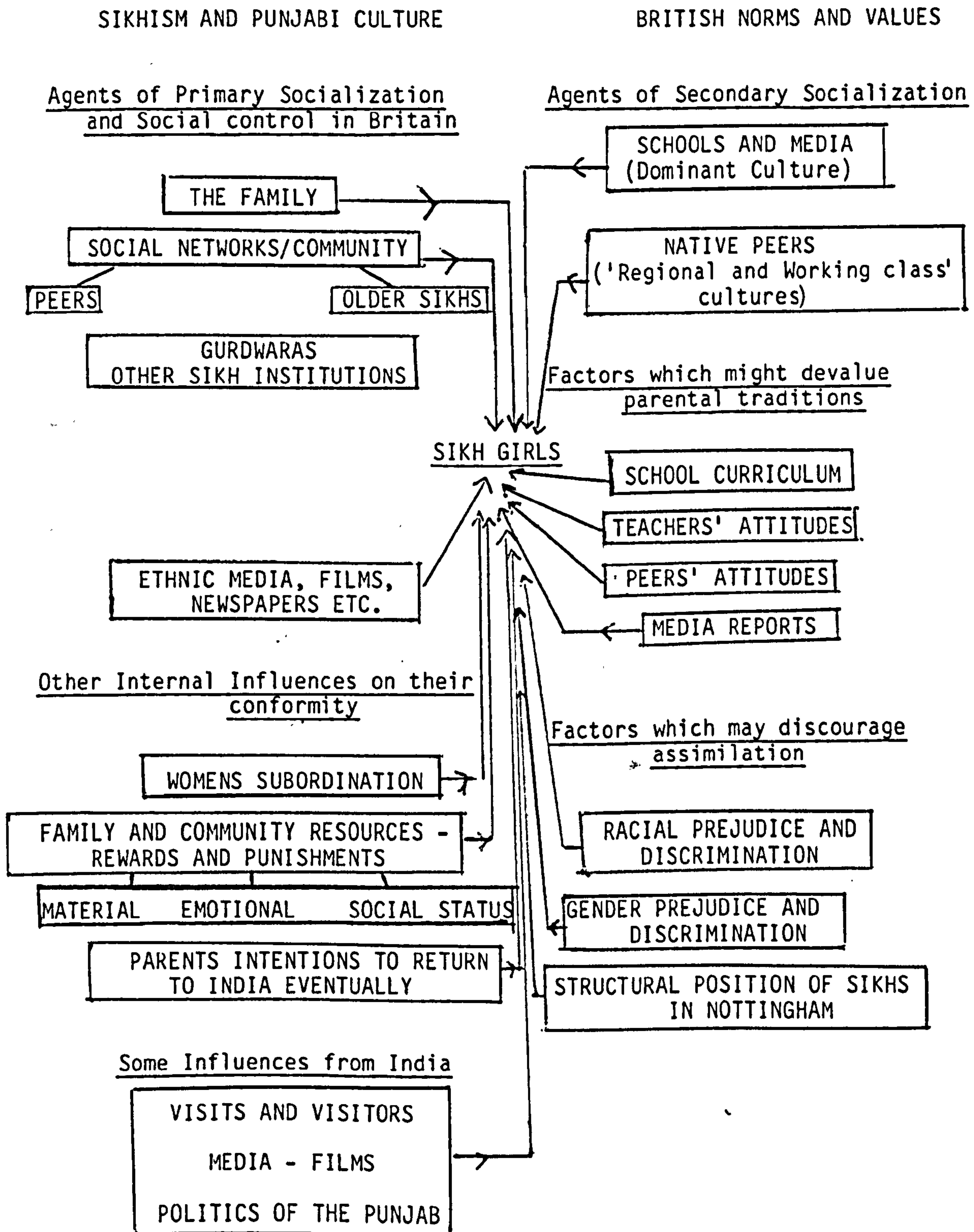
The Sikh religion and the British variant of the parental culture

are transmitted to the children and reinforced through various agents. (See Diagram A, p. 120). Due to the cohesiveness of the Sikh community, the agents of primary socialization and social control do not only include parents but also include other (older) members of the community. In addition, Sikh institutions such as the Gurdwaras represent yet another channel through which Sikhism, the Punjabi language and socio-cultural traditions are transmitted and reinforced in relation to the second generation. Other socialization agents include: Punjabi-language newspapers and magazines; Indian films and videos and publications in English, such as the 'Sikh Messenger' which are aimed at an Indian readership in Britain.

Since the girls in my study were either born in Britain or educated entirely in British schools from the age of 5, they have also been socialized into the British socio-cultural system. This system, however, is not a unified one for it is composed of more than one culture. For example, there is the culture of the dominant class, which I refer to as the 'dominant culture'. This dominant culture dominates the educational institutions and the media, both of which serve as its main agents of socialization. On the other hand, young Sikhs are also exposed to regional and working-class cultures of the wider society. In common with the cultures of the different ethnic groups in Britain, these sub-cultures are rarely 'officially' represented in the educational system. Members of the second generation are usually exposed to these subordinate indigenous sub-cultures through contact with their white peers.

DIAGRAM A

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH MAY INFLUENCE THE
SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND IDENTIFICATIONAL LIVES
OF SIKH GIRLS



Through socialization, Sikh girls internalize the norms and values of the two socio-cultural systems (and their sub-systems). They therefore have access to two languages (Punjabi and English) and to different cultural resources which they will use flexibly, according to the context in which they find themselves. It is predicted that the (behavioural) choices they make will depend on their perceptions of the requirements of the context and on their perceptions of the resources which are at their disposal. Furthermore, the choices they make will be determined by the constraints which confront them both within and outside the Sikh community. Two examples will illustrate this. Sikh girls who wish to wear the 'kara' (Sikh bangle) at all times might be prevented from doing so because school regulations prohibit the wearing of jewellery. Although the 'kara' is a religious symbol and not therefore just an item of jewellery wearing it might be construed by the authorities as breaking regulations. Sikh girls can therefore resolve this by a 'contextual' choice - they might only wear the 'kara' at home and within the community. Thus, their behavioural choice in this instance is determined by external constraints.

The second example relates to the wearing of the 'salwar kameeze' (Punjabi dress). Girls whose parent might prefer them to wear the 'salwar' instead of knee-length 'Western' skirts, might nevertheless wear the latter, particularly when they are at school. This should not be interpreted as a sign of their rebelliousness or assimilation, however, because the wearing of

skirts might merely reflect school regulations. Upon returning home from school, the girls might revert to the 'salwar kameeze'. Thus, in this example, internal and external constraints exert an influence over their choices.

Situational Ethnicity

It will be recalled that an emphasis on (a) the significance of the social context or situation; (b) the perceptions of the actors and (c) the opportunities and constraints which may influence their behavioural choices are some of the main features of Mitchell's perspective on 'situation ethnicity'. In my view, the 'situational ethnicity' perspective is particularly pertinent to my study because it corresponds with my own expectations of the ways in which my respondents are likely to react to the cultural choices which face them. Moreover, it is also especially suitable for examining whether and, if so, in which contexts, they sustain a distinct ethnic identity. To recall, according to the situational approach to ethnicity, an actor's ethnic identity is not primordial or fixed but is reactive and flexible in response to specific contexts. In addition, it is dependent on the actor's perceptions of the situation and on the opportunities and constraints which exist within and outside his or her community. Thus, in relation to my respondents, the sense of being 'Sikh' and 'Indian' might be reinforced by daily participation in a distinct religious and socio-cultural system. On the other hand, these identities might also be reinforced by perceptions and experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination.

Structural Pluralism

So far, I have limited my discussion of a theoretical framework to two major areas of my study - that of culture and identity. The third major area concerns an examination of the social relations of second generation Sikh girls. I employ the concept of 'structural pluralism' to examine whether social interaction at the primary group level of relationships is conducted predominantly with members of their own ethnic group in Nottingham or whether my respondents also interact socially with non-Sikhs. In this respect, a study of their social relations with the latter also entails an examination of the extent to which social boundaries between 'us' and 'them' remain static or whether they are fluid and reactive in response to different circumstances or changed perceptions. For instance, whilst the boundaries might remain fixed in relation to a girl's prospective marriage partner, they might be relatively fluid with regard to choosing her girl-friends.

The erection and maintenance of social boundaries not only pertains to relationships between Sikhs and non-Sikhs but also to intra-ethnic relationships, that is, between Sikhs and Sikhs. Some scholars have indicated that caste distinctions, are for example, maintained in relation to marriage as well as in the sphere of social interaction between members of different castes in Britain (Singh, 1977; Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Nesbitt, 1980). In addition to caste, Sikhs can also be differentiated in

terms of socio-economic status and country of origin prior to migration. Some studies have demonstrated that East African Sikhs, for example, tend to be more religiously orthodox than Indian Sikhs (Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Peggie, 1982). Thus, I also examine my respondents' cultural norms and values in terms of such intra-ethnic distinctions.

My final concern, in this framework, is to identify which factors are most likely to ensure that second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham maintain their parental traditions. In this respect, I think that one of the major factors relates to the resources which Sikhs, as an organised and cohesive ethnic group, are able to offer their conforming offspring. As Diagram A illustrates, the resources may be of an affective or emotional nature or they may involve material assistance. Furthermore, they may provide the means by which one's social status within the group is maintained or improved. By cooperating with kin and other members of the same caste, members of the first generation are able to pool their resources and provide a secure social, emotional and economic base which enables their children - particularly their sons - to attain occupational and educational mobility. In relation to girls, however, parents are more likely to ensure that they have a secure future by arranging a 'good' marriage and by providing the couple with financial assistance, particularly during the initial year of the marriage. Indeed, the subordinate position of women amongst Sikhs and the roles that they are expected to fulfill, are additional factors which might encourage females to conform rather than rebel. Additionally, the effectiveness of social sanction

and social control, through the medium of gossip, are greatly facilitated by the existence of social networks amongst Sikhs in Nottingham.

It is likely that the effectiveness of these internal resources in ensuring or encouraging conformity will be enhanced by the girls' perceptions of white hostility towards them. Furthermore, their perceptions of limited opportunities outside the community, for example in relation to employment and housing, will serve to convince the girls that remaining within the group has its advantages.

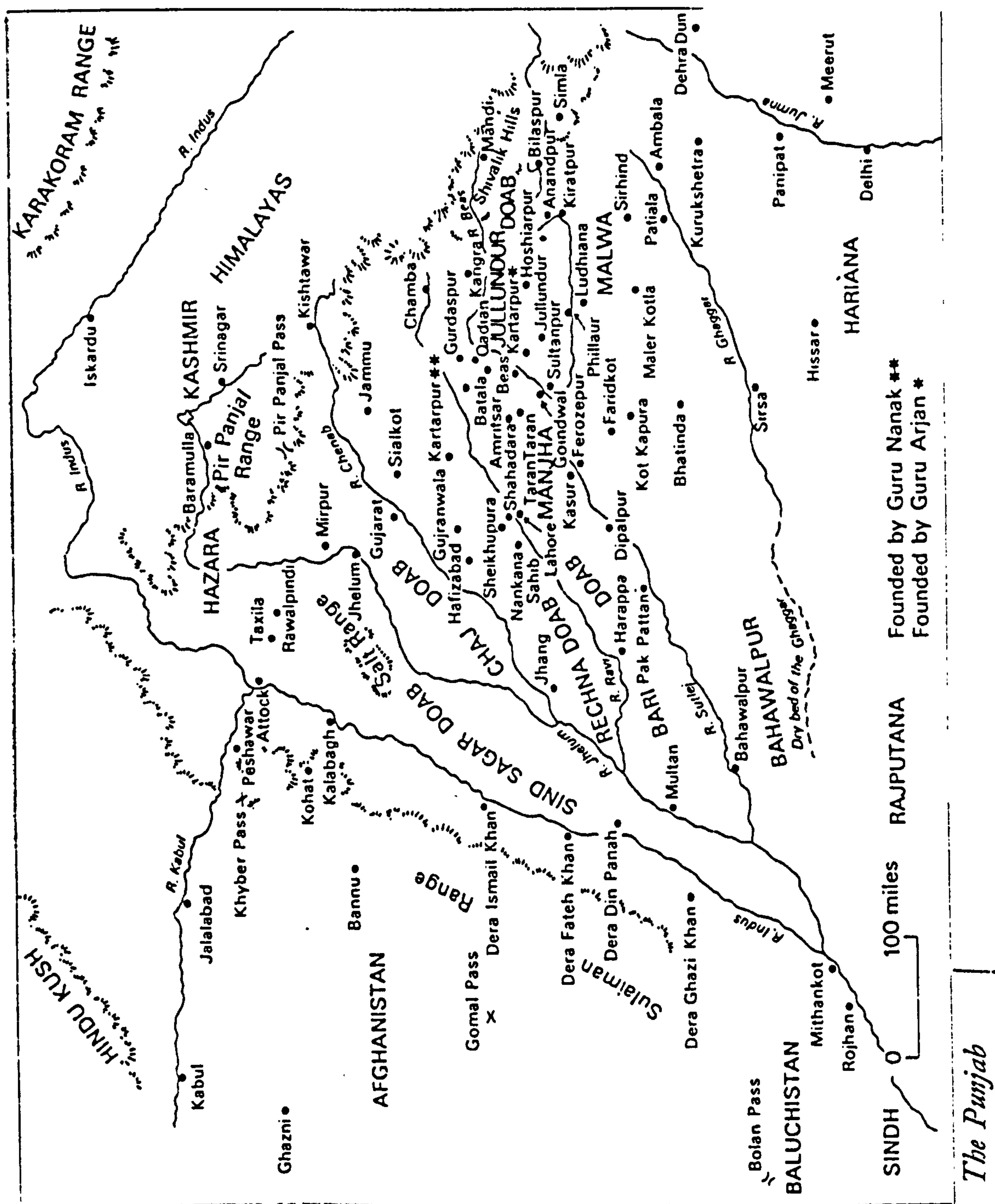
Another factor which may encourage Sikh girls to adhere to their parental traditions relates to the extent to which they consider themselves and their families to be temporary rather than permanent residents in Britain. Research studies have indicated that most first generation Indians and Pakistanis in Britain intended to return home eventually. If this 'sojourner mentality' has been successfully transmitted to members of the second generation then they are more likely to be in favour of maintaining their religion and Punjabi traditions. However, not all Sikhs will want or, indeed, be able to return to the parental country of origin. For instance, East African Sikhs who can be classified as political refugees are unlikely to return to Africa and are thus more likely to be permanent settlers in the United Kingdom.

To summarise, in Chapter Two I have examined some of the major perspectives which social scientists have employed in their studies on the New Commonwealth population in Britain. Amongst the main theories and concepts discussed were those relating to 'assimilation', 'integration', 'accommodation', 'bi-culturalism', 'cultural pluralism' and 'ethnicity'. For reasons already discussed, I locate my own position within a framework which employs three theoretical perspectives - , 'bi-culturalism', 'situational ethnicity' and 'structural pluralism'.

In view of the fact that one of the major areas of my study concerns the extent to which my respondents adhere to their religion and Punjabi cultural traditions, the next chapter - Chapter Three - provides an outline of the origins, development and requirements of the Sikh religion. In addition, it contains some background information of those Punjabi traditions which are particularly pertinent to women. Furthermore, since the presence of second generation girls in Nottingham can be attributed to the migration of their parents to this country, Chapter Three also contains a brief discussion of the migration and settlement process of Sikhs in Britain.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SIKHS, THEIR MIGRATION TO BRITAIN AND THEIR
SETTLEMENT IN NOTTINGHAM



3.1 THE ORIGINS, BELIEFS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SIKH RELIGION¹

3.1.1 The Origins

The Sikh religion was founded and is based in the Punjab, a state in north-western India, which is also the homeland of the majority of Sikhs who emigrated from India to Britain. The history of Sikhism can be traced to the first four decades of the sixteenth century in the Punjab, during which time its founder, Guru Nanak attracted a group of followers to whom the title 'Sikh' or 'disciple' came to applied.

During the sixteenth century, northern India, including the Punjab, was under the political dominance of the Mughal (Muslim) rulers. Despite some conversions to Islam, however, the population remained predominantly Hindu. In addition, as in other parts of India at that time, Hindu society in northern India was also stratified by the caste system.² These structural features were of particular significance to the origins and development of the Sikh religion.

Guru Nanak (1469-1539) was born a Hindu of the high ranking Khattri sub-caste. During his childhood he received a thorough

orthodox Hindu education in Sanskrit as well as in Persian and Arabic. As a young man, he was employed in the chancery of a Muslim nobleman and, during his free-time, engaged in religious discussions with 'holy men' (sadhus and yogis). At the age of thirty, he underwent a profound mystical experience which he interpreted as a sign from God that he had been chosen to reveal the Divine message to the world. He undertook a series of journeys as a religious pilgrim to the centres of Hinduism and Islam and travelled as far as Sri Lanka and Tibet. During this time, he began to attract a group of followers to whom he became the 'Guru' - a title used to describe a person who dispels ignorance or darkness (gu) and proclaims religious enlightenment (ru).

When Guru Nanak was approximately fifty, he returned to the Punjab and settled permanently in Kartapur with his family and followers. Here, he established a religious community which expanded in membership and drew its support mainly from the Hindu population.

The Hindu context of the birth of Sikhism is of special significance to Sikh history and to the teachings of its founder. This is because Guru Nanak rejected the Hindu caste system and challenged the supremacy of the Brahmin priests (McLeod, 1975, Chapter 20). His acceptance of people from all castes, including the 'untouchables' into the new faith, contrasted sharply with the Brahminic tradition which excluded members of the lower and

out-castes from equal participation in religious rituals. Furthermore, at a personal level, Guru Nanak, a non-Brahmin, challenged Brahmin supremacy by daring to communicate Divine knowledge, a task only performed by the priestly caste.

In addition, by composing his own hymns in the vernacular rather than in Sanskrit (the language in which the Vedas are written), Guru Nanak went even further against Brahminic tradition by preaching in a language which was understood by members of all castes. This was of particular significance because Sanskrit was only taught to people from the higher castes who, therefore, alone had access to the Vedas. Indeed, ancient Hindu laws prohibited members of the lower castes from learning Sanskrit and they were thus effectively prevented from attaining Vedic knowledge.³

Finally, the challenges to Brahminic traditions, as briefly outlined above, were also accompanied by certain theological differences between Guru Nanak's new religion and Hinduism. These are summarised below.

3.1.2 The Teachings of Guru Nanak

It is only possible, in this thesis, to give a brief summary of the main characteristics of the Guru's teachings. Sikhism is strictly monotheistic. The Oneness of God was affirmed by Guru Nanak and has continued to be the most fundamental belief of the Sikhs up to modern times. This belief in one God is in direct

contrast with the Hindu Pantheon, that is, the worship of several deities.

In addition, Guru Nanak taught that God is without physical qualities (nirguna) and that, moreover, God does not descend into the world in the form of either an animal or human, male or female. Instead, according to the Guru, God is revealed through an inner process within human beings which the Guru described as 'truth' (sat). This represented a rejection of a belief, prevalent in Hinduism, of the incarnation of God. According to the Hindu doctrine of Avatar, deities can and do take different physical forms on Earth (Parrinder, 1970). Thus, Vishnu, one of the most popular Hindu deities, is believed to have generated himself in several physical forms, including that of a human being. Rama and Krishna are two of the human forms which Vishnu is believed to have taken on Earth. The Hindu belief in the incarnation of deities was rejected by Guru Nanak, who reduced the status of Rama and Krishna to mere messengers of God.

In addition, the Guru also rejected the religious rituals performed by Brahmin priests, in particular, sacrifices; penances; spells; magic and astrology. He argued that since God dwelt inside every human being, these forms of communication were unnecessary. Instead, meditation and the Guru's own hymns replaced Hindu rites.

According to Guru Nanak's teachings, one of the major barriers which prevents people from perceiving the presence of God within

themselves, is 'haumai'. This is depicted as being a state in which human beings do not recognise their dependence on the Divine Being, since they fail to recognise that they and the world they live in, are ultimately linked with God. The Guru taught that this duality leads to 'maya' - that is, the attachment of human beings to temporal values. 'Maya' manifests itself in such undesirable traits and values as lust, anger, greed, pride and materialism. If unchecked, 'maya' results in 'samsara' (rebirth) on the basis of 'karma' (past actions). However, 'mukti' (liberation) is possible if one conquers 'haumai' by ceasing to be attached to worldly values and by becoming God conscious. Liberation in this context refers to the release from the path of death and rebirth (reincarnation) to the attainment of a permanent union with God.

The means for achieving these goals, according to the Guru's teachings, are through 'namsimran' (certain forms of meditation and prayer); 'sewa' (serving God dutifully and joyfully and by practising the virtues of contentment, patience humility and service to other human beings. In addition, the Guru directed his followers to take pride in employment and to practise charity to fellowmen. Above all, he taught that all of these virtues and goals could be achieved by being a 'householder', that is a married man or woman who lives with his or her family, rather than by being an ascetic or recluse. This 'householder' concept in Sikhism is of particular significance because it challenges the Hindu method of attaining a spiritual merger with God through the four stages of student, householder, ascetic and recluse.

the four stages of student, householder, ascetic and recluse.

Finally, Guru Nanak not only rejected caste distinctions in the new faith but also endeavoured to raise the status of women by denouncing the practise of Sutti, by allowing widows to remarry and by encouraging women to play an active role in the new religion. The following quotation expresses the Guru's sentiments with regard to the inferior social status of women:

"It is through woman, the despised one that we are conceived and from her that we are born. It is to woman that we get married. She is our life-long friend and the survival of our race depends on her. On her death bed a man seeks another wife. Through woman we establish our social ties. Why denounce her, the one from whom even Kings are born?" (quoted by Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 142)

3.1.3 Scholastic Interpretations of Guru Nanak's Teachings

Scholars of Sikhism differ in their interpretations of the Guru's aims and achievements. One school of thought argues that Sikhism is syncretistic, an attempt to build a bridge between the two competing religions at that time - that of Islam and Brahminical Hinduism. According to this view, a synthesis of the two faiths was achieved by Guru Nanak (Kushwant Singh, 1966; Parrinder, 1961). This interpretation is popular amongst Sikhs in general.

Other scholars, however, perceive the Guru as a social reformer, fighting against the social inequalities of his time, especially that of caste and gender. Accordingly, proponents of this view often refer to the Guru as the 'sixteenth century Gandhi'

(Srinivasar-Iyengar, 1969; Harbans Singh, 1975).

The above two interpretations are rejected by scholars from a third school of thought who argue that Guru Nanak's beliefs are best interpreted within the 'Sant' tradition of North India, to which the Guru would have had access during his youth and early years as a religious pilgrim. One such scholar is McLeod, whose work has had considerable impact on the study of Sikhism (McLeod, 1968 and 1976). Briefly, his thesis is that preachers of the 'Sant' tradition in India taught beliefs which were very similar, if not identical, to those of Guru Nanak. Since this interpretation has been influential in the study of Sikhism, I think that it warrants some elaboration in this sub-section.

It is argued that like Sikhism, 'Sant' beliefs are monotheistic. In addition, 'Sant' preachers too taught that God does not take physical form in order to be incarnated onto Earth. The 'Sants' spurned all external practices of religious practices and, like Guru Nanak, considered meditation as the only legitimate means of communication with God. Finally, in common with Guru Nanak, they wrote their devotional hymns in the vernacular rather than in Sanskrit and, moreover, instructed men and women of any social status.

The above similarities, according to proponents of the 'Sant' school of thought, place the Guru's teachings firmly within the 'Sant' tradition of his time. Thus, it is argued that the Guru believed in monotheism not because of the influence of Islam (as

argued by those who supported the syncretic theory) but because of the 'Sant belief in the Oneness of God. Similarly, the view that Guru Nanak was a social reformer is also dismissed by advocates of the 'Sant' interpretation, on the basis that Guru Nanak had rejected social inequalities on theological rather than social grounds (McLeod, 1976; Cole and Sambhi, 1978, pp. 1-6). That is, it is argued that since the Guru believed in a God who is accessible to all creatures, he must have inevitably reached the logical conclusion that such a belief could not condone inequality on the basis of membership of caste or gender. Guru Nanak is quoted as saying:

"Whoever utters the Name (of God) who lives in all hearts is delivered from the Dark Age. In the hereafter, no one is distinguishable by caste."
(quoted by Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 137).

Before his death in 1539, Guru Nanak appointed Guru Angad as his successor and left behind him an embryonic religion which was developed by nine successive Gurus until 1708.

3.1.4 The Development of the Sikh Religion from 1539 to 1708

Guru Angad (born, 1504, Guru 1539-52) followed the pattern established by Guru Nanak and is remembered chiefly for popularising the Punjabi script and for beginning to compile a collection of Guru Nanak's hymns.

Guru Angad appointed Guru Amar Das (born 1479, Guru 1552-74) as his successor. This leader sought to strengthen the cohesion of

the expanding community by building a place of pilgrimage at Goindwal in the Punjab, where Sikhs could meet. In addition, he introduced distinct Sikh rituals and festivities during the Hindu spring and autumn festivals of Baisakhi and Divali, in order to emphasize the differences between Sikhs and Hindus.⁴ Guru Amar Das also reaffirmed the rejection of caste distinctions by establishing the 'langar' (common kitchen) where all could eat together, thereby denouncing the Brahminic rules governing caste commensality (i.e. rules which prohibited members of higher castes from sharing a meal with people of inferior status).

The fourth leader of the Sikhs was Guru Ram Das, who was appointed by his father, the previous Guru. Guru Ram Das, (born 1534, Guru 1574-81), was mainly remembered for founding the city of Amritsar, a site of pilgrimage, where the Holy Temple now stands. He led a community which expanded steadily in the Punjab and which attracted new members mainly from the Jat peasantry who were the dominant landlords and farmers in the area at that time.

When Guru Ram Das died, he was succeeded by his own son, Guru Arjan, (born 1563, Guru 1581-1606) whose main achievements were the building of the Golden Temple at Amritsar and the compilation of the 'Adi Granth (The Sikh Holy Book) which contains the hymns of the first five Gurus.⁵

During Guru Arjan's leadership, the Moghal ruler Jehangir set himself the task of transforming India into an Islamic society.

Guru Arjan consequently became a martyr to the Sikhs when he was executed for not accepting Islam.

Guru Arjan was succeeded by his son, Guru Harogbind, (born 1595, Guru 1606-44). Guru Harogbind organised the Sikhs in their struggle against the Moghal rulers and introduced the concepts of 'Miri' and 'Piri'. 'Miri' means the protection of the oppressed by means of the sword and 'Piri' is the feeding of the hungry.

The taking up of arms by the Sikhs during this period in their history is a topic which has been discussed by several scholars who have reached different conclusions. For example, the Indian scholar, Mohammed Latif, argues that religious persecution by the Moghals encouraged an otherwise pacifist religious group - the Sikhs - to take up arms in defence of religious freedom (Latif, 1964). This view is the popular one shared by the majority of Sikhs. McLeod, however, argues that although it is a historical fact that Muslim aggression against Hindus and Sikhs did exist, the Moghal ruler, Jehangir, had political rather than religious motives for his suppression of the Sikhs. This was because Jehangir feared the growing political and economic power of the Jats, a people with a martial tradition who were, moreover, the dominant owners of land in the Punjab. Taking up the sword, according to McLeod, was not an innovation but a continuation of a Jat tradition (McLeod, 1976, p. 12).

Whatever the reasons for taking up arms, however, the armed struggle by the Sikhs against the policy of Islamization

continued during the leadership of the seventh leader, Guru Har Rai (born 1630, Guru 1644-61). Guru Har Rai had been chosen by his grandfather, Guru Hargobind to succeed him as the new Guru.

The struggle against the Muslim rulers was continued by the Sikhs under the leadership of the eighth Guru, Guru Har Krishnan, (born 1656, Guru 1661-64). This child leader had been appointed by his grandfather, the previous Guru. The child leader was, in turn, succeeded by his grand-uncle, Guru Tegh Bahadur, (born 1621, Guru 1664-75). The process of Islamization intensified during the leadership of this Guru who was executed for refusing to convert to Islam.

Before his execution, Guru Tegh Bahadur appointed his son, Guru Gobind Singh, as his successor. Guru Gobind Singh (born 1666, Guru 1675-1708) was the last spiritual leader of the Sikhs. He is most remembered for continuing the struggle against Muslim oppression.

The year 1699 is considered to be the turning point in his leadership as well as in the history of the Sikhs, for it was the year when the Guru, in an attempt to infuse strength, unity and an identity into his followers, founded the Khalsa Brotherhood or the 'Company of the Pure' at the spring festival of Baisakhi. Here, he introduced 'Khande-di-pahul' (an initiation ceremony) in which 'amrit' (nectar) was given to all who wished to become members of the Khalsa, irrespective of caste or gender.

In addition, Guru Gobind Singh proclaimed a Code of Conduct which was intended to give the Sikhs a distinctive identity and cohesion. In this Code, members were instructed to observe specific rules which are summarised below.

- 1) All men were to be called 'Singh' which means a lion and all women 'Kaur' or princess - thus signifying equality between all castes.
- 2) All members of the Khalsa were instructed to observe the 'Five Ks', that is:
 - i) Kesh - to have long hair, which reminds the Sikhs of the saints of the past and which aids group consciousness;
 - ii) Kangha - to carry a comb which enables the hair to be kept clean;
 - iii) Kirpan - to carry a sword which signifies self-respect;
 - iv) Kara - to wear a bangle on the right wrist to remind the Sikhs of their unity with God and the Khalsa and, finally,
 - v) Kacha - to wear special underwear which signifies modesty and cleanliness.
- 3) Smoking tobacco, the eating of 'halal' meat from animals slaughtered according to Muslim tradition and drinking alcohol were forbidden.
- 4) Sexual intercourse with Muslim women was not permitted.
- 5) Women were instructed not to wear Purdah although they were asked to cover their heads with a 'chuni' (veil) in the

temple.

- 6) The turban became obligatory for initiated men.⁶ Especially during times of persecution, the turban served to strengthen group cohesion for it became a means of identifying Sikhs, as well as purging the movement of its less courageous followers.

These rules became compulsory for all initiated Sikhs. However, although thousands of the Guru's followers undertook the initiation ceremony, many chose not to, despite their belief in the teachings of Guru Nanak and his successors. These people became known as 'Nanak Pathis' or 'Sahj-dhari' Sikhs because although they remained Sikhs in so far as they adhered to the teachings of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, they were not obliged to follow the rules of conduct which were introduced by Guru Gobind Singh.

The newly formed Khalsa together with the 'Sahj-dhari' Sikhs continued their struggle against the Muslim rulers, but with heavy losses. Guru Gobind's sons were horrifyingly tortured and executed and he himself was finally killed. Before his death in 1708, he declared the line of human Gurus to be at an end. Instead, he installed the 'Granth Sahib' - the Holy Book of the Sikhs - to act as his successor.

3.1.5 Sikhism After The Ten Gurus (1708-1985)

During the eighteenth century the Sikhs organised themselves into twelve military units and engaged in warfare against the Moghals.

During this period, Moghal dominance was also challenged by Afghan invaders with whom the Sikhs also waged war. The Sikh struggle finally ended successfully when a Sikh, Maharajah Ranjit Singh, captured Lahore in 1799 and for four decades ruled most of the Punjab, until the British annexed it in 1849. This period of the Sikh Raj is well remembered by Sikhs. It is estimated that there were approximately ten million Sikhs in the Punjab during the reign of Ranjit Singh.

After the British conquest in 1849, the Sikhs seemed to have offered little resistance to their new rulers and, indeed many were recruited into the British Indian army. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the British undertook a system of irrigation which developed the Western Punjab into new agricultural lands called the 'Canal Colonies'. The Jat Sikhs, who were highly regarded by the British, were amongst those who were allocated farming land in the 'Canal Colonies'. (McLeod, 1976, p. 95).

During this period, they had also begun to migrate from the Punjab to other parts of India, as well as to South East Asia, East Africa, Canada and the United States of America. Such migration was mainly in response to a shortage of land due to population growth and the absence of any system of primogeniture amongst the Sikhs.

By the early 1920s in India, orthodox Sikhs had become alarmed at

the evidence that elements of Hinduism had invaded their religion and, in addition, that the temples were controlled by men who were not Sikhs. Consequently, a reform movement called the Singh Sabhas was founded with the aim of restoring the faith to its original purity. One of the off-shoots of this movement was the birth of the Akali Dal in 1920 which was set up to take control of the temples. The Akali Dal was later to develop into a political party which is still active in the Punjab in present times.

In 1931, a specially appointed committee took control of the temples and drew up an official 'Rehat Maryada' (A Guide To The Sikh Way of Life) which was finally published in 1945. Its main features are summarised below (translated and summarised by Cole and Sambhi, 1978, pp. 167-79).

The 'Rehat Maryada' (A Guide to the Sikh Way of Life)

- 1) A Sikh should be a monotheist, believe in the teachings of the Gurus and not take part in any form of idolatory.
- 2) A Sikh should meditate on the Gurus' teachings and study the Holy Book.
- 3) A Sikh should recite certain prayers and take part in congregational worship. To do this, a Sikh is encouraged to attend the temple, but temple attendance is not compulsory as Sikhs are permitted to worship wherever there is a copy of the Holy Book - including private houses.

- 4) Every Sikh should attempt to maintain a space at home where a copy of the Holy Book can be installed and he or she should learn the Gurmukhi script in order to read the Holy Book.
- 5) A Sikh should not observe caste distinctions.
- 6) A Sikh should not believe in magic, astrology, omens and sacrifices.
- 7) A Sikh should marry a Sikh and live a holy life with one spouse. He or she should not become an ascetic or recluse.
- 8) A Sikh male should work and earn an honest living.
- 9) A Sikh should give generously to charity.
- 10) A Sikh should serve other Sikhs by assisting them in times of need or by performing communal tasks in the temple.

Finally, the Rehat Maryada instructs Sikhs to follow the Code of Conduct which was established by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699.

All Sikhs are encouraged to follow the Rehat Maryada. However, Guru Gobind Singh's Code of Conduct only becomes compulsory when a person has been initiated and can then be said to be a true Khalsa Sikh. This ceremony does not normally take place before the age of fourteen with the full consent of the applicant. It is probably comparable to the confirmation service of the Church of England and to the Barmitzvah ceremony of Judaism, which also takes place at about the same age. If a Khalsa Sikh breaks a rule, for example, by cutting his or her hair, he or she can be reinstated after performing certain acts of penance.

Sikhs who have not been initiated are encouraged to follow the rules and to believe in the teachings of the Gurus. Accordingly, an uninitiated, non-turbaned, short haired Sikh male who believes in the religious teachings would still consider himself a Sikh and would not be rejected by other Sikhs.

During the period of the Singh Sabha reform movement, other events in India were leading to Indian independence from the British. The Sikhs too played a part in the struggle against the British who finally granted India her independence in 1947. With the consequent partition of the Punjab at that time, approximately 2.5 million Sikhs crossed into India. The majority of Sikh refugees settled in the Indian section of the Punjab but others were obliged to seek opportunities in other parts of the country as well as abroad (Britain, Canada, The United States, East Africa and the Far East). The acute shortage of land brought about by the arrival of refugees as well as the absence of any system of primogeniture amongst the Sikhs, made migration a particularly viable solution to a people who were not strangers to migration and travel.

In present day India, it is estimated that there are approximately 11 million Sikhs or just under two per cent of the total population of India. East Punjab still has by far the highest number, approximately 8.2 million. Other areas where Sikhs have settled in substantial numbers are Delhi, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan (Census of India, 1971).

Although Sikhs are predominantly in the agricultural sector of the economy in East Punjab, they are also represented in most occupations in other parts of India. In recent times, due to the 'Green Revolution', East Punjab has attained significant economic prosperity compared with other States in India, by becoming a highly productive farming area, earning it the reputation of 'the granary of India'. In addition, there has been an expansion of small-scale light industries which have been partly financed through remittances from overseas Sikhs (Aggarwal, 1973).

The economic expansion in East Punjab has attracted non-Sikhs - mainly Hindu - workers from neighbouring States whose presence has reduced the Sikh majority from 60 per cent in 1971 to approximately 52 per cent (ibid., p. 10). This increase in the Hindu population has increased Sikh fears of their possible disappearance and reabsorption into Hinduism. In addition, the economic success of some non-Sikhs has been viewed with resentment by some of the poorer sections of the Sikh population in the Punjab (Ballard, 1984, pp. 464-6).

Political demands for an independent Sikh State of Kalistan, articulated by some Sikhs after independence in 1947 but most recently by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale (1947-1984), have won support from young Sikhs in India, especially those from the poorer strata of Sikh society. There has also been some support for a Sikh Kalistan amongst some members of the Sikh diaspora, most notably, Dr Jagjit Singh Chauhan, who resides in England but

who also has some support in Canada.

The events leading to the storming of the Golden Temple, the subsequent death of Bhindranwale and the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi and the communal violence which followed, has served to focus world attention on the position of the Sikhs in India today.

3.1.6 Sikhs and the Caste System

The issue of caste in relation to the Sikhs involves two central questions. First, are caste distinctions observed despite the egalitarian principle of Sikhism and, second, if so, what is the caste composition of the Sikhs?

The answer to the first question is that caste distinctions have not been completely obliterated. The survival of caste observance constitutes a moral problem debated by Sikhs, for it contradicts the teachings of the Gurus (Basson et al., 1979). For example, Guru Arjan reaffirmed Guru Nanak's teachings when he declared that the religion was for all castes - Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. Guru Gobind Singh chose his first initiates from each caste, thereby symbolising equality between all members of the Khalsa. Thus, in so far as the lower and untouchable castes were accepted into the faith, permitted to enter the temple freely, allowed equal participation in religious worship (and continue to do so in contemporary times), caste distinctions have been discounted by the Sikhs.

However, caste membership and the hierarchical ranking of castes continue to be of significance to Sikhs especially in relation to the social sphere of their lives, but, also, to a lesser extent, with regard to their economic position in the Punjab.

The social significance of caste is best illustrated in the area of marriage and social interaction. Sikh marriages in India and abroad are predominantly caste endogamous, thus ensuring its survival. In addition, inter-caste social interaction, particularly between members of the highest caste and those from the lowest, is very limited both in India as well as amongst the Sikh diaspora (Saberwal, 1972, pp. 18-84; Nesbitt, 1980; Bhachu, 1981).

The economic inequalities between different (Sikh) castes in the Punjab are particularly visible in the relationship between the high ranking Jats and the landless, low status Mazhabi and Ramdasia Sikhs (Untouchables). The Jats maintain their economic dominance over their 'untouchable' farm labourers by ensuring that the latter are debarred from owning land (Aggarwal, 1973).

Examples such as these demonstrate that caste distinctions have not been completely obliterated by the Sikhs despite the egalitarian message of the Gurus.

The second issue which relates to caste is the actual caste

composition of the Sikhs. In presenting this information, I have also listed the occupations which are traditionally associated with each sub-caste, as recorded by Rose (Rose, 1922). This does not imply, however, that the members of the different sub-castes are still engaged in such occupations in contemporary times.

All ten Gurus were Khattris, a sub-caste from the high ranking mercantile caste. Although they did attract followers from their own sub-caste, the highest number of recruits were from the Jat sub-caste, a farmer caste who were of lower status than the Khattris. In contemporary times, the Jats still retain their numerical superiority amongst the Sikhs in India as well as abroad. In addition, they are politically active in the Punjab where they dominate the Akali Dal party (Pettigrew, 1975; Nayar, 1966).

The second largest sub-caste amongst the Sikhs is the Turkan or carpenters from the artisan caste, whose members are also known as the Ramgharias. It is thought that this artisan caste may have imitated their Jat employers in becoming Sikhs. It is more probable, however, that the Ramgharias were attracted to the egalitarian principles of Sikhism since their own caste position was a low one, inferior to the Khattris as well as the Jats. The Ramgharias established settlements in East Africa from where substantial numbers migrated to the United Kingdom in the 1960s after African independence. Other artisan castes which became incorporated into the Turkan sub-caste are the Lohars (blacksmiths), the Nais (barbers) and the Chhimbas (calico

printers).

The third largest caste group amongst the Sikhs are the Untouchables, comprising the Chuhras (sweepers) and the Chamars (leather-workers), now known as Mazhabi and Ramdasia Sikhs respectively. Their recruitment into the Sikh religion is largely attributed to the egalitarian principles of Sikhism. However, they are still designated the lowest position amongst Sikhs in the caste hierarchy and, in contemporary times, the vast majority are landless labourers in the Punjab. Very few Mazhabi and Ramdasia Sikhs have migrated from India for they have not been able to afford the financial expenses involved in emigration.

Finally, there are other sub-castes which are numerically smaller than those already mentioned. The Aroras, a sub-caste of the mercantile caste are accorded higher social status than the numerically superior Jats, Ramgharias and Untouchables. The remaining sub-castes are ranked below the Jats and Ramgharias but above the Untouchables and include: the Aluwalias (distillers) and the Bhatras (itinerant pedlars). Small numbers of Aluwalias settled in East Africa and some have emigrated to the United Kingdom. Members of the Bhatra sub-caste too emigrated from India in small numbers and Bhatra communities are to be found in Britain.

An outline of the origins, beliefs and development of the Sikhs

and their religion has been presented in Section 3.1. In addition to their religious beliefs and norms, however, Sikhs are also part of a socio-cultural heritage which has its origins in the Punjab. Since this study is concerned exclusively with Sikh girls, attention is focused below on those Punjabi socio-cultural traditions which are particularly relevant to women.

3.2 THE PUNJABI SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The value of 'izzat' or 'honour' is of prime importance to Punjabis in general, although families vary in the degree to which they seek to enhance it. What follows is a general account of its significance and it should not be assumed that it is universally applicable to all Sikhs. 'Izzat' is an extremely favourable appraisal conferred by society on a group whose members conform to culturally preferred norms, values and behavioural patterns. The concept of 'honour' is an effective means of social control, for through its attainment, a group can raise its social status. The social position of a group is maintained or even improved by ensuring that members do not bring 'shame' to the group by failing to observe the socio-cultural traditions of their society (Peristiany, 1966).

To Sikhs, one of the most important of such groups is that of the 'joint family' - whose 'izzat' is to be protected and increased, usually in relation to other 'joint families' within the same sub-caste. According to the Punjabi concept, the 'joint family'

consists of a married couple, their unmarried children, any married sons and the latter's wives and offspring. Ideally, these people all live together under one roof and have a common domestic arrangement, thus forming one 'household'. In addition, property is ideally owned by all the male members. However, in reality, some 'joint families' do not own property and in such cases, the income of the members is usually pooled together (Srinivas, 1966, pp. 182-4; Hershman, 1981; Ballard, 1977).

In the 'joint family' formal authority is usually vested in the eldest male who controls the family finance and is responsible for making final decisions regarding other family matters. Relationships within the 'joint family' are hierarchically structured on the basis of age and gender. Superordinates are expected to support and care for subordinates, who are in turn, expected to obey and respect their superordinates. Above all, however, members are bound together by a network of obligation and reciprocity which does not necessarily diminish even when they are physically separated, as in the case of migration or the setting up of separate households by individual male members.

Every member of the 'joint family' has a responsibility to protect and, if possible, increase the family 'izzat' by, for example, meeting socially approved goals. One such goal is the gaining of 'robh' or 'patronage' by, for instance, assisting kinsmen or fellow villagers to find employment or by assisting them to settle down in Britain. Another goal is 'zamindari' or

the ownership of land. 'Izzat' can also be enhanced through a son's educational or career achievements, whilst an unmarried daughter is able to contribute to her family honour by being married honourably through the arranged marriage and/or by acquiring a husband whose family has higher prestige than her own. Indeed, the children of a high izzat family are usually in strong demand as potential spouses and their parents are able to be highly selective and are also able to obtain substantial marriage settlements.

Protecting the family honour thus entails monitoring the behaviour of all members of the group. However, in general, a certain amount of deviance by males is tolerated, whilst more exacting standards of behaviour are expected from females, especially single girls. Consequently, even during childhood, girls are more strictly supervised than males (Dosanjh, 1975). The demands and expectations arising from the value of family izzat inevitably affect young females in several areas of their lives. For the purpose of this study the areas considered include clothing; social and recreational activities; interpersonal relationships with males; the arranged marriage and employment.

One way in which a girl can bring disrepute to her family is if she is perceived to be breaking Punjabi notions of modesty by wearing 'indecent' clothing. This value is reaffirmed in the Holy Book where there is a warning against wearing clothes "which

cause pain to the body or breed lustful thoughts" (quoted by Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 109). Thus in Britain, the wearing of skirts which reveal the legs or jeans which emphasize the figure are usually perceived, especially by older Sikhs, as immodest and unacceptable for their female offspring (Anwar, 1976; Helweg, 1979, p. 126). Women are able to meet the requirements of modesty by wearing the 'Salwar Kameeze', which consists of a tunic, covering the top half of the body, and trousers. In addition, a scarf or veil (chuni) is usually worn. The Salwar not only meets the requirements of modesty but also provides ample scope for the fashion conscious. In Britain, Punjabi (Indian) and Pakistani women who wear the Salwar Kameeze are readily identifiable.

A more serious threat to the family honour, however, is the 'bad' reputation which a girl earns when she is seen to be interacting with males to whom she is not related. Such interaction might only take the form of talking to boys. Going out with members of the opposite sex would be a much more serious infringement for, by doing this, a girl is considered to be breaking traditional norms governing the relationship between unrelated men and women. Males, however, are given much more freedom in this respect. The norms governing relationships between the sexes are even evident in the 'gurdwara' (temple). Here, even though men and women worship together and although women are permitted to lead the service, the sexes sit separately. Deviation from these norms, especially by unmarried girls, can harm the family honour. Consequently, she not only jeopardizes her own marital chances

for making a 'good match' within a high 'izzat' family but also those of her siblings and cousins. In very rare cases in the Punjab, parents have even killed an erring daughter in order to restore family honour. This has not, to my knowledge, ever taken place in Britain.

For these reasons, a girl is not usually allowed to go out with boys and is therefore not permitted to frequent certain social and recreational venues where she would have the opportunity of meeting males. Thus, in this context, pubs, discos, parties and even youth clubs are frequently perceived by parents as unacceptable venues for their daughters. These restrictions, however, do not necessarily apply to males who are less strictly supervised than their sisters (Ballard, 1979, pp. 109-29; Chrishna, 1975, pp. 35-7; Sharpe, 1976, pp. 261-91).

The arranged marriage is part of a socio-cultural system in which an individual's prestige, desires and freedoms are usually subordinated to the communal evaluation of his or her group. In return for supporting the interests of the group, an individual can usually expect to receive emotional, social and financial security from a supportive kin network. In India, despite urbanization and industrialization and, although there are some 'love' marriages as well as a few inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, the vast majority of people marry according to caste and religious requirements and in the arranged manner (De Souza, 1975).

When arranging their marriages, Sikhs observe caste endogamy and clan exogamy. In addition, other factors such as the dowry settlement, the level of education, the physical appearance, the general health and the compatibility of the partners are also deemed relevant. In the case of the man, his career is also taken into account (Bhachu, 1981).

The bride's career potential is not given equal attention because of the roles which women are expected to fulfill. Thus, in India as well as in Britain, research studies have demonstrated that even 'middle-class' Sikhs see the future of their daughters largely in terms of marriage and motherhood (Helweg, 1979, pp. 129-30; Kalra, 1980, p. 68). In reality, however, economic necessity has ensured that a growing number of married women of Indian origin are in paid employment in Britain (Smith, 1977, p. 66; Simons, 1982, p. 170; Allen, 1982, pp. 128-145). Amongst, the Sikhs, the exception are women from the Bhatra sub-caste, the majority of whom are not permitted by their menfolk to take up employment outside their homes (Hindbalraj Singh, 1977; Nesbitt, 1980; Ghuman, 1980).

An outline of those Punjabi socio-cultural traditions which have an effect on the lives of females has been briefly presented in section 3.2. The subordinate position of women and the separate roles they are expected to play are due to socio-cultural factors and are, in fact, contrary to the teachings of the Gurus who endeavoured to raise the status of women. In strictly religious

terms, women are accorded equality with men, for they are allowed to conduct services, permitted to vote in temple elections and allowed to remarry. Moreover, the concept of 'Eve' as the root cause of man's fall from grace has no parallel in Sikhism. Instead, women are thought of as partners of men. Historically, Guru Amar Das appointed women as missionaries, whilst such Sikh heroines as Mai Bhago and Sharan Kaur led armies against the Moghals. It is also significant that Guru Gobind Singh was assisted by his wife in the preparation of the holy 'amrit' (nectar) when he instituted the Khalsa. In Hinduism, the touch of a woman would have defiled and nullified the whole ceremony.

3.3 SIKH MIGRATION TO BRITAIN

3.3.1 The Pioneers and 'Newfrontiersmen'

The earliest Sikh migrants to Britain were men from the Bhatra sub-caste who arrived in the early 1920s and engaged in hawking clothing from door to door. The success of these men encouraged other Sikhs as well as Muslim Punjabis to come to Britain and become peddlars. It is estimated that there were between 3000-4000 migrant men who took up this occupation between 1930 and 1950 (Desai, 1963).

These pioneers were following a tradition of migration amongst the Sikhs which started in the nineteenth century. After 1880, Sikh soldiers who had been stationed in Hong Kong and Singapore

returned to these countries as civilians and began to establish small businesses. By the turn of the century, Sikhs had also migrated to Indonesia, Fiji, Australia, the United States and Canada. By the beginning of twentieth century, Ramgharia Sikhs, who were skilled craftsmen, were recruited by the British to construct the railways in East Africa and subsequently settled there.

Mass migration of Sikh males to Britain commenced in the post-war period of the 1950s. Like other New Commonwealth immigrants, the Sikhs responded to the demand for their labour at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy and found employment largely in the manufacturing, transport and service industries (Aurora, 1967). Their arrival in the United Kingdom, however, was not entirely due to the 'pull' factors of employment opportunities in Britain, but was also a response to specific circumstances in the Punjab.

After the partition of the Punjab in 1947, some 4 million refugees crossed into Eastern Punjab, India, thus resulting in a rapidly growing population. Between 1951 and 1961 the population of post-partition Punjab increased by 60 per cent to over 20 million (Marsh, 1967, p. 3). In a predominantly agricultural society, this rapid growth, together with the fact that the Sikhs do not have a system of primogeniture, resulted in an acute shortage of farming land.

Migration to Britain, particularly for males, became a viable solution to the Sikhs, a people who (unlike most Hindus) were not

opposed to migration. Married Sikhs were not usually accompanied by wives and children, mainly because of the 'sojourner mentality' of these early migrants whose aims were to maximise savings for the joint family before returning to the Punjab. The joint family enabled males to migrate and yet leave their wives and children in the relative security of the family home (Rose et. al. 1969, p. 54).

The economic success of these 'new frontiersmen' in the early 1950s encouraged kinsmen and fellow villagers to come to Britain, thus engaging in what has become known as 'chain migration'. Punjabi values of social obligation and reciprocity were reflected in the assistance which new arrivals received in the search for employment and accommodation.

An increase in the numbers of kinsmen and fellow villagers enabled the re-establishment of caste, regional and village networks in British cities. This stage in the settlement of South Asians in Britain was characterized by the 'all male household' which was essentially a supportive and co-operative venture based on the ties of kinship or quasi-kinship. Residents in the 'all male household' usually shared living expenses and ate together. They worked long hours, lived frugally and sent regular remittances back to their families. This period of the migration process ended, especially in relation to Sikhs, with the arrival of wives and children in the 1960s.

3.3.2 The Reunion of Families and The Arrival of East African Asians

The decision to send for wives and children was partly influenced by immigration legislation in 1962 which introduced controls on the entry of Commonwealth citizens into Britain. Before 1962, migrants from the Commonwealth were free to return to their countries of origin and then re-enter Britain, if they so wished. In 1962, automatic re-entry was curtailed by immigration legislation and men began to send for their wives and children and, in some instances, for their dependent parents.

The period prior to 1962 saw the rush of Commonwealth (mainly non-white) immigrant men, women and children to 'beat the ban'. These included East African Asians, amongst whom were Sikhs, who continued to enter Britain during the 1960s and 1970s following the granting of independence to Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The reunion of families from India continued throughout the 1960s and was virtually completed by the Sikhs in the 1970s.

The vast majority of Indian Sikhs originated from a small area in East Punjab called the Jullundur Doab. It is estimated that they and their British born offspring together with the Sikhs from East Africa constitute approximately 80 per cent of the total population of Indian origin in Britain (Community Relations Commission, 1976, p. 113). Although there are no official statistics on the Sikh population in Britain, estimates have ranged from 250,000 to 400,000 (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, p. 163;

Kalra, 1980, p. 24). Similarly, since there are no official statistics of the caste composition of Sikhs in this country, one is dependent on estimates that the two numerically dominant sub-castes are the Jats and Ramgharias, followed by the Bhatras and, finally small numbers of Khattris, Aroras, Aluwalias, Darzis and - Chamars (Hiro, 1971, pp. 8-13).

Sikh settlements have been established largely in the major industrial cities especially London, Birmingham, Leicester and Leeds. Smaller numbers of Sikhs also settled in other cities and towns including Nottingham, Sheffield, Bradford, Huddersfield, Gravesend, Bristol, Bedford, Northampton, Swansea, Cardiff and Glasgow.

3.4 SIKHS IN NOTTINGHAM

3.4.1 Size and Distribution of the Sikh Population

In the early 1950s, West Indians made up the largest majority of all New Commonwealth immigrants in Nottingham. Indians and Pakistanis began to arrive in substantial numbers in the late 1950s and early 1960s. According to the 1966 Census Sample, there were approximately 8,500 people in the city who had been born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan, that is, just under 3 per cent of the total population of 305,000. Since this figure did not include children born to immigrant parents, the proportion of New Commonwealth immigrants was appreciably higher, although it is unlikely that it exceeded 5 per cent of the total.

The 1971 Census established that there were at least 15,332 people living in the city whose parents had both been born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan. A study commissioned for the City Council, at a later date, estimated that the non-white population had increased to between 20,000 and 30,000 by the mid 1970s (quoted by Simpson, 1981, p. 143). The vast majority were West Indians (15-20,000), followed by Pakistanis (5,000) and Indians (4,000). As in other parts of Britain, Sikhs who originated from the Jullundur District in East Punjab, constituted the majority of Indians in Nottingham.

An examination of the 1966 Census revealed that the New Commonwealth population of Nottingham was largely concentrated in the inner city areas, including Hyson Green, Lenton, The Meadows, Old Radford and St. Anns. These areas were recorded as having the largest proportion of sub-standard housing in Nottingham, that is, dwellings without the three basic amenities of an indoor lavatory, bathroom and hot water tap (quoted by Lawrence, 1974, p. 74). The 1966 Census also recorded that only 14 per cent of the New Commonwealth population was housed by the local authority, although Nottingham Corporation owned at least 40 per cent of the total housing stock (ibid., p. 88).

A study by Lawrence on race relations in Nottingham, confirmed this finding on the under-representation of Afro-Caribbeans and Asians in public housing. In addition, he reported that 68 per cent of the West Indians, Indians and Pakistanis in his study

were owner-occupiers, albeit of poor quality housing, whilst 23 per cent were tenants in the private sector, mostly in 'sub-standard' dwellings. This inferior quality of housing was attributed, by Lawrence, to racial discrimination, to the disadvantaged position of immigrants in the labour market and to a 'sojourner mentality' which led them to tolerate poorer housing conditions (ibid., pp. 86-100).

An analysis of the census return for 1971 which was undertaken for the City Council revealed that approximately 71 per cent of New Commonwealth Immigrants and their children remained in the central areas of the city, that is, the six wards of Bridge, Forest, Lenton, Market, Radford and St. Anns (quoted by Simpson, 1981, pp. 142-3). However, since this figure referred to the non-white population in general, it obscured certain differences between West Indians and South Asians. For example, a study by Hussein in 1975 on the distribution of New Commonwealth immigrants in Greater Nottingham, revealed that a substantially higher proportion of Indian and Pakistani immigrants (in comparison with West Indians) had moved away from the inner city areas and had become owner-occupiers of better quality housing than that available in the older inner city areas (Hussein, 1975). Thus, although most Indians (and therefore Sikhs) continued to live in such central areas as Lenton, Hyson Green, Radford, Meadows and St. Anns, they were also found outside the city in Arnold, Aspley, Beeston, Chilwell, Mapperley, Sherwood, Top Valley, West Bridgford and Wollaton.

Finally a study conducted by the Nottingham and District Community Relations Council on housing in Nottingham revealed that Indians and Pakistanis continued to be under-represented in the public sector during the 1970s, predominantly as a consequence of their preference for home ownership (Simpson, 1981, pp. 19 and 92). Simpson also reported that during the slum clearance programmes in Nottingham (between 1975 and 1978), a higher proportion of West Indians were allocated public accommodation in comparison with Indians and Pakistanis.

In summary, there are approximately 4,000 people of Indian origin in Nottingham; the majority of whom are Sikhs. In the 1950s and 1960s they tended to live in inner-city areas, largely in sub-standard housing. By the mid 1970s, although most remained in these areas, there was a movement away from the inner city and Sikhs are now found in several residential areas in Nottingham. Finally, only a small proportion are in public housing, in contrast with the majority who are owner-occupiers.

3.4.2 Sikh Employment in Nottingham

Sikhs arrived in Nottingham at a time when unemployment in the city compared very favourably with the situation nationally, and when, in addition, there was a demand for their labour at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy. Like other immigrants from the New Commonwealth, they undertook those jobs which were, in the main, unacceptable to, and unpopular with, white natives. During the post-war period, Nottingham had a variety of

industries as well as the once all-important textile and clothing industry. These included the tobacco industry (John Players), the chemical/pharmaceutical industry (Boots The Chemist) and the bicycle industry (Raleigh Cycle Company). In addition, an expanding sector during the 1950s and 1960s was the manufacture of engineering and electrical goods.

Despite Nottingham's varied industry, however, it was established that Afro-Caribbean and South Asian men tended to be concentrated in certain areas of employment. An examination of the 1966 Census revealed that from a total of 24 industrial categories, white male workers were found in all 24, West Indians in 19, whilst Indians and Pakistanis lagged behind in 14 and 11 categories respectively. Indian males were represented in transport (25.4%); textiles (17.9%); engineering and electrical goods (11.9%); bricks and pottery (9%) and distributive trades (7.5%). Small numbers were also found in mining (4.5%); construction (4.5%); public administration and defence (4.5%); professional and scientific services (3%); gas, electricity and water (1.5%) and in food, drink and tobacco (1.5%) (Lawrence, 1974, pp. 109-10).

Lawrence's study on race relations in Nottingham demonstrated that Indian, Pakistani and West Indian males were predominantly engaged in unskilled, manual occupations. Lawrence attributed this in part to discriminatory practices by white employers which restricted these workers to those jobs which were unpopular with

the indigenous labour force. Furthermore, he contended that such discriminatory practices obstructed them from making even modest improvements in their status by confining the majority to unskilled work, even though promotion to semi-skilled occupations required only a minimal degree of training (ibid., pp. 111-29).

Although they were largely confined to unskilled manual jobs, Indian males in Nottingham were not subject to high levels of unemployment during the period leading up to the early 1970s (ibid., p. 103). By the mid-1970s, however, the effects of the economic recession started to become more evident. By 1975, 18,000 manufacturing jobs had been lost and further research revealed that between 1975 and 1978 unemployment in this sector had increased by a further 26 per cent (Simpson et al., 1978). This reduction in employment opportunities in the manufacturing sector had a negative effect on West Indian and South Asian employment in Nottingham, since a high proportion of them were employed in this sector of the economy. By 1979, it was estimated that one in every ten non-white workers were unemployed (11.3%), in contrast with one in fourteen (7.2%) for the general economically active population in Nottingham (Hubbuck and Carter, 1980, p. 24).

Partly, coinciding with the rise in unemployment, however, was a further movement of Indians into the small business sector in the city. Such businesses included small scale clothing, grocery and hardware shops, newsagents, sub post-offices, travel agencies, driving schools, market stalls, wholesale warehouses and small

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clothing factories.

Despite this entrance into self-employment, however, the majority of Indians in Nottingham remain dependent on the labour market and are consequently affected by its fluctuations and the economic recession.

So far, in this section, attention has been focused on first generation males. Information on the employment of first generation women and members of the second generation cannot be included since it is not available. One of the few studies on second generation Asian and West Indian employment in Nottingham was an enquiry on racial discrimination undertaken by the Nottingham and District Community Relations Council between 1977 and 1979 (Hubbuck and Carter, 1980). Briefly, they concluded that young people of Afro-Caribbean and Asian origin had only 'half a chance', at least in relation to employment, since their findings indicated that, in the search for white collar employment, racial discrimination against young non-white people occurred in nearly 50 per cent of all the job applications they made. However, they also concluded that females faced less discrimination than males. For instance, they found that females who applied for secretarial and retail work had the probability of being rejected on racial grounds in three out of every ten vacancies. This contrasted with the results of their tests on males which demonstrated that males who applied for jobs as sales representatives were likely to face racial discrimination in six

out of every ten vacancies. Hubbuck and Carter suggested that this difference was probably due to the reluctance of white managers to appoint West Indian and Asian males in relatively higher status occupations.

To summarise, in this section, I have briefly examined the economic position of male members of the first generation in Nottingham. Due to the dearth of research material, I am unable to provide any information on female employment in Nottingham. For this reason, in my own enquiry, I endeavoured to help fill this gap by recording details on the types of occupations in which some of my respondents were engaged. In addition, second generation Sikh girls in my study who were still in full-time education were questioned about their future (job) aspirations.

In this chapter, I have presented some background information on the Sikh religion and have outlined some of the main characteristics of Punjabi culture. I have also briefly examined the migration and settlement patterns of Sikhs in Britain. The next chapter deals with the methods employed in my enquiry on second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS EMPLOYED IN THE STUDY

4.1 METHODS EMPLOYED IN FINDING THE RESPONDENTS

The difficulties involved in obtaining random samples of ethnic minorities, as outlined by Krausz in the late 1960s, still applied when I began to plan my research in the late 1970s (Krausz, 1969). For instance, in order to obtain a random sample of the population with which I was concerned, I would have needed access to an official record which listed the names and addresses of all 16 to 20 year old, second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham. Since such a record did not exist, I was obliged to consider less adequate sampling frames and other methods.

The Register of Births was rejected as a sampling frame because it did not include those Sikh girls living in Nottingham who were born in other parts of the country or girls born abroad. The Electoral Register was also unsuitable because girls under 18 would have been excluded, those eligible to vote might not yet have registered and, in any case, there was no way of determining the ages of those listed. Constructing a sampling frame by interviewing the residents of a random selection of streets was also impossible, given my limited resources, but, in any case, would not have been as satisfactory as the method I adopted.

I finally decided to contact my respondents mainly through educational institutions in Nottingham (schools, sixth form colleges, colleges of further and higher education) and to increase their numbers by using the 'snowball' technique. Accordingly, my supervisor and I consulted the Education Adviser for Immigrant Education who, in turn, introduced me to the District Careers Officer in Nottingham.¹ With his assistance, as well as that of several other careers officers, I established contact with principals and headteachers who, in turn, agreed to organise informal meetings with Sikh girls who were within the required age category. At these introductory meetings, I gave the girls a brief description of my project, informed them about myself, assured them of complete confidentiality and requested their cooperation. I also gave them my address and telephone number, in case their parents wished to talk to me. In addition, I enquired whether they had any female relatives or friends with whom I could make contact.

I consider this method to be the most appropriate because I am confident that it enabled me to obtain almost the entire population of 16 to 18 year old Sikh girls in Nottingham. At the start of my fieldwork, 'official' statistics had indicated that the vast majority of girls of Indian origin within this age category, had chosen to continue their education, in preference to registering for work or unemployment.¹ Thus, by establishing contact through the educational establishments as well as through the 'snowball' effect, I had achieved access to almost an entire

population instead of a random sample.

In finding my respondents, I approached the private as well as the state sector of education. However, my search in Nottingham's private schools was relatively unproductive since it produced only one 16 year old Sikh girl.

In addition to the above methods, I increased the numbers of respondents in my study by visiting the temples as well as by requesting the Presidents of the Indian Workers Association and the Indian Womens Association for assistance. This enabled me to make contact not only with 16 to 18 year olds but also with 19 and 20 year old females. In addition, I was introduced to those who were working as well as to girls who were unemployed.

Furthermore, this method enabled me to make contact with girls who were temporarily absent from Nottingham, e.g. who were attending colleges outside the city. Finally, since I was a member of the South Asian Society at the University of Nottingham, I was also able to locate female students of Sikh origin at the University.

A total of 110 second generation Sikh girls between the ages of 16 and 20 were contacted. Since 8 declined to take part in the study, 102 females were interviewed.

Table 4.1 Total Number Of Girls Contacted And The Methods Of Contact Which Were Employed

METHODS OF CONTACT	%
Educational Institutions	60
'Snowball' effect	27
Indian Workers Association, Indian Women's Association, and Sikh Temples	10
University of Nottingham	3
N = 110	100

Table 4.2 Total Number Of Respondents And The Methods By Which They Were Contacted

METHOD OF CONTACT	%
Educational Institution	61
'Snowball' Effect	28
Indian Workers Assoc., Indian Womens Assoc., & Sikh Temples	10
University of Nottingham	1
N = 102	100

As indicated in Table 4.2, of those who agreed to take part in the study, 61 per cent were contacted through educational institutions in Nottingham whilst the 'snowball' effect provided me with a further 28 per cent of second generation Sikh girls. Only 10 per cent of my respondents were introduced to me by members of Sikh associations in Nottingham and, finally, only one respondent was a member of the University of Nottingham.

The process of establishing contact with the girls and their parents prior to formal interviews was a fairly time-consuming one. Indeed several informal meetings were often arranged in order to allow my respondents and their parents the opportunity of questioning me about my intentions. I consider this to be time well spent because it enabled me to gain the confidence and cooperation of my respondents and their parents.

In addition to gaining their confidence and cooperation in this way, however, I believe that my personal attributes - in particular, my gender (female) and ethnic origins (East African Asian of Goan descent) - enabled me to gain access to my respondents and avoid some of the difficulties encountered by male researchers in relation to the studying of young South Asian females in Britain. Thompson, Taylor and Hindbalraj Singh, for example, all experienced difficulties in including girls in their enquiries largely because parents were reluctant to permit male scholars to interview their unmarried daughters (Thompson, 1970; Taylor, 1976; Hindbalraj Singh, 1977). Moreover, even when a male researcher does succeed in including young South Asian women in

his study, other problems can arise particularly in establishing rapport with his respondents. In my opinion, this is best illustrated in the study of Kannan, who decided to restrict questions on sexuality and social interaction between the sexes to his male respondents, on the grounds that such topics would have been embarrassing for the girls in his enquiry (Kannan, 1978). Kannan's decision to omit topics of a sensitive and personal nature in the interviews with his female respondents is an indication of the effects of the gender barrier which can inhibit communications between any male investigator and his female South Asian subjects and which can, as a consequence lead to the under-reporting of deviance amongst young women.

I am confident that my own gender as well as my ethnic background were valuable assets which assisted me in resolving some of the above problems. For example, Sikh parents allowed me to interview their daughters in private. In my opinion, my acceptability was largely due to my gender and background, since, as an Asian and, unlike a male interviewer, I did not present a threat to the family reputation. Indeed, I encountered positive support for my project from most girls and their parents who, spontaneously, said that they were delighted that an Asian woman had decided to conduct a study on their lives. Many girls believed that the media misrepresented them by exaggerating such negative aspects as running away from home. Accordingly, they hoped that my enquiry would help redress the balance.

In addition to helping me gain access to my respondents, I am confident that my personal resources also made it easier for me to establish rapport with them. The girls appeared to perceive me as an Asian whose cultural background was not too dissimilar to their own and, therefore, as someone who would empathize with them. I also believe that my Asian background encouraged my respondents to be more candid about their conformity to and/or deviance from their parental culture than they might have been if interviewed by a white researcher i.e. by an outsider with little or no knowledge of their traditions and, moreover, a member of the dominant society who might hold negative attitudes towards their way of life. Finally, I am confident that my ethnic credentials were of special assistance in my enquiry on the girls' perceptions and/or experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination. Since this can be a particularly sensitive and painful topic, girls might be reluctant to discuss it candidly with white interviewers because of the risk of insulting them or because they did not wish to be accused of having a 'chip on the shoulder'. I believed that with my background I was able to avoid or at least minimize this problem because I am confident that my respondents assumed that I too had been subjected to racial prejudice and discrimination in the wider society.

4.2 COLLECTING THE DATA

4.2.1 The Interview Schedule

In view of the restricted size of the population with which I was concerned, I decided that every girl who had agreed to participate should be included in my study. I considered that collecting information would be best achieved by conducting individual interviews, as opposed to any other method.

Participant observation within a home environment was rejected because I would only have been able to spend time with a limited number of girls and their families. Moreover, it would not have been easy to ensure that those chosen were representative Sikhs, especially in relation to (parental) socio-economic status, caste membership and country of origin.

The 'group discussion' technique was also considered inappropriate because such groups can often be dominated by particular individuals and there might also be pressure from membership of a group, to agree with the majority view. In deciding to conduct individual interviews with my respondents, I was aware that the method was not without its own possible drawbacks and weaknesses. For example, the experience of being interviewed could prove stressful to some young girls and thus affect the quality of the information obtained from them. In addition, there was the usual problem of relying on the accuracy of interview answers. For example, my respondents might not have been entirely honest with me. These possibilities were of particular significance,

especially in relation to questions on behaviour since I had no means of verifying their responses through, for instance, participant observation. I am confident, however, that I had overcome or at least minimized these disadvantages by establishing rapport prior to the interviews, and by having the advantage of being an Asian woman (as discussed already).

4.2.2 The Interview Schedule and the Interviews

The interview schedule consisted of predominantly open-ended questions, in order to permit the girls to speak for themselves and elaborate on their responses if they so desired. However, in order to ensure a measure of uniformity, the schedule had a set format and all interviews were conducted strictly in accordance with it.

The schedule was tested in a pilot study in Hounslow, Middlesex, in January 1979. This led to minor changes, mainly in the wording of certain questions.

Interviews in Nottingham commenced in March 1979. The girls were interviewed on their own, without the presence of any third party, in order to create an atmosphere in which they would not be intimidated or influenced by any other person and, in addition, where they could more easily be assured that the information they imparted would be treated in complete confidence.

All respondents were asked whether they wished to be interviewed

at home or whether they preferred to be interviewed either in my flat or at the International Community Centre. Those girls in full-time education were also asked if they wished to be interviewed on school or college premises. Sixty per cent of all my respondents chose to be interviewed at home and 23 per cent were interviewed on school or college premises. A further 12 per cent visited my flat and, finally, 5 per cent of my respondents were interviewed at the International Community Centre.

Interviews, with the exception of 10 cases, were tape-recorded and lasted on average 1.5 to 2 hours. Hand written notes taken in the course of the interview replaced the recorder in the case of those respondents who declined to have the interview recorded.

Interviews conducted in the respondents' homes were usually completed during one session, although a small number required more than one visit. Those conducted in educational establishments, however, often required more than one session per girl because it was not always possible to complete an interview within the time allocated - usually spare periods and lunch time breaks.

A total of 102 girls participated in the study. The last interview was conducted in March 1980. The fairly long duration of the enquiry was mainly due to the use of the 'snow-ball' technique to ensure contact with as many of the total population as possible.

Each recorded interview was transcribed in preparation for the next stage, that of coding the data for analytical purposes. This was made more time consuming due to the earlier decision to have mainly open-ended rather than pre-coded questions in the interview schedule. Due to a major operation in May 1981 and a prolonged period of convalescence, I was unable to proceed with the analysis and writing-up stages of my study for almost 2 years, thus causing a major delay in the submission of my thesis.

4.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THOSE INTERVIEWED

4.3.1 Countries of Birth and Ages of Respondents

All respondents met the requirements of my operational definition of the 'second generation'. That is, they had either been born in the United Kingdom or had been educated predominantly in British schools, having usually commenced their education at the age of 5.

As Table 4.3 shows just over half of the respondents (51 per cent) were born in India and Pakistan. A small minority of 9 per cent were born in East Africa, whilst 40 per cent were born in Britain.

Table 4.3 Countries of Birth

Country	%
India and Pakistan	51
United Kingdom	40
East Africa	9
N = 102	

The girls were between the ages of 16 and 20 at the time they were interviewed and the exact numbers in each age category are listed below in Table 4.4

Table 4.4 Ages of Respondents

Ages	%
16	29
17	24
18	18
19	16
20	13
N = 102	

4.3.2 Marital Status and Occupational Status of Respondents

Ninety-five per cent of my respondents were single and 5 per cent were married when interviewed.

Although all respondents were above the official school-leaving age when interviewed, 65 per cent of them were still in full-time education. A further 23 per cent of the girls in my enquiry were employed, whilst 4 per cent were officially registered as unemployed and were, at that time, 'job hunting'. Five per cent of my respondents were not permitted by their parents to take up employment and, instead, remained at home in preparation for their forthcoming marriages. Finally, 3 per cent of my respondents stayed at home to look after their children.

As indicated above, 23 per cent of the girls in my enquiry were employed. Sixty-two per cent of these girls were engaged in non-manual occupations. For example, they worked as secretaries, clerks, typists, bank and building society cashiers, laboratory technicians and shop assistants. The remaining 38 per cent worked in manual occupations as machinists, assembly workers, packers, hospital auxiliaries and cleaners.

4.3.3 Parental Country Of Origin, Caste And Socio-Economic Status Of Respondents

Eighty per cent of the respondents' parents had originated from India, predominantly from the Punjab. A further 18 per cent were East African Sikhs and just 2 per cent had emigrated from

Pakistan.

In terms of caste, the Jats were the most numerous at 49 per cent, followed by the Ramgharias (27 per cent) and the Bhatras (20 per cent). Finally, 3 per cent of my respondents were from the Aluwalia caste.

Ninety-one per cent of the fathers of my single respondents were employed whilst 5 per cent were unemployed during my fieldwork. A further 2 per cent had retired and, finally, 2 per cent were deceased. In order to categorize the single respondents' socio-economic status, previous occupations were used in the case of unemployed, retired and deceased fathers. The socio-economic status of married respondents was based on their husbands' occupations.

On this basis, 65 per cent of my respondents can be said to be 'working class' since their fathers, or, if married, their husbands were engaged in manual occupations. A further 19 per cent of the respondents' fathers or husbands were self-employed businessmen whilst 13 per cent were engaged in professional and managerial occupations. The remaining 3 per cent were employed in skilled non-manual occupations.

Before I begin to present my findings in Chapter Five, I think that it would be useful to remind the reader of the aims of my study. The aims of my enquiry were to examine the religious,

cultural, social and identificational dimensions of the lives of second generation Sikh girls in order to answer the following major questions.

First, to what extent did my respondents maintain, modify or abandon their parental traditions and to what extent did they maintain an ethnic identity? If Sikh norms and values had not been totally abandoned, were they adhered to in all situations or were they mainly adhered to in specific contexts? Second, had primary socialization into the parental culture and secondary socialization into the socio-cultural norms and values of the wider society subjected Sikh girls to conflicting choices and, if so, what strategies did they employ in resolving any such contradictions? Third, to what extent did members of the second generation construct bridges between the different cultural systems to which they are exposed? In this respect, were they creating a cultural synthesis or did they possess a 'contextual culture' - that is, did their normative patterns reflect the suitability of specific situations? Fourth, did Sikh girls draw distinctions between themselves and others, particularly indigenous members of society and, if so, did such perceived differences serve to enhance their ethnicity? Fifth, did they interact socially with white natives at the primary group level of relationships or were they 'socially encapsulated' by interacting exclusively with Sikhs and/or other South Asians. Sixth, had the girls been exposed to racial prejudice and discrimination and, if so, to what extent can it be said that this encouraged them to sustain a separate culture and identity? Finally, how far did

these members of the second generation expect members of the future third generation to maintain the Sikh religion and Punjabi culture?

My findings on the maintenance of the Sikh religion and other socio-cultural traditions are presented in Chapters Five to Eleven. In Chapter Twelve, I examine the extent to which my respondents were 'socially encapsulated' at the primary group level of relationships and, in Chapter Thirteen, I examine their perceptions and/or experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination. Finally, in Chapter Fourteen, I explore my respondents' self-defined identities.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS: THE MAINTENANCE, MODIFICATION OR ABANDONMENT OF RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Prior to the start of my fieldwork in March 1979, I examined several publications on the origins and development of the Sikh religion. The knowledge gained from this exercise enabled me to outline some of its main beliefs and practices in Chapter Three. In particular, I summarised those religious requirements which were prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699 and which were later documented in the 'Rehat Maryada' - 'A Guide To The Sikh Way Of Life' - (Cole and Sambhi, 1978, pp. 168-79).

One of my aims in this Chapter is to answer two inter-related questions. First, had a knowledge of these religious requirements been transmitted to my respondents and, second, if so, did these members of the second generation adhere to their religious traditions? Furthermore, if Sikh girls did maintain their religious traditions, why and in which situations did they do so? On the other hand, if the religious requirements were not adhered to, why had they been abandoned?

Although the above questions relate predominantly to the reported behaviour of my respondents rather than to actual observable

practices, for reasons which have already been discussed in Chapter Four, I am confident that the girls in my study did not mislead me by giving dishonest replies. In this chapter, I also examine my respondents' perceptions of religious differences between Sikhs and non-Sikhs, especially the indigenous members of British society. This enables me to consider the extent to which such perceptions have helped these second generation Sikhs to sustain a separate ethnic identity.

5.2 REPORTED CONFORMITY AND NON-CONFORMITY TO RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

5.2.1 The Five Ks - Kesh (long hair), Kara (a bangle), Kangha (a comb), Kirpan (a sword) and Kaccha (underwear)

The introduction of the Five Ks by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699 was devised to strengthen the cohesiveness of the Sikhs at that time, by giving them a distinctive identity vis-a-vis Muslims and Hindus in the Punjab. According to the Rehat Maryada, observing the Five Ks has continued to be one of the main characteristics of the Sikh religion.

In order to examine whether my respondents were aware of this element of Sikhism and, also, whether they adhered to it, all the girls were asked two questions: "What are the Five Ks (i.e. Kesh, Kara, Kangha, Kirpan and Kaccha)?" "Do you keep any of them?".

In reply to the first question, 97 per cent were able to identify the Five Ks accurately, whilst only 3 per cent stated that they

had never heard of them. Thus, the vast majority of Sikh girls in my enquiry were aware of these particular religious requirements.

Table 5.1

Maintenance of the Five Ks

	Kesh %	Kara %	Kangha %	Kirpan %	Kaccha %
Yes	75	73	55	2	0
No	25	27	45	98	100
DK	0	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100
	N = 102				

*

All respondents i.e. married and unmarried

As indicated in Table 5.1 above, when asked about their own practices, in relation to the Five Ks, 75 per cent of my respondents maintained Kesh, that is, they had long hair. Similarly, 55 per cent said that they carried the Kangha (a comb) and 73 per cent replied that they wore the Kara (a bangle). In contrast, only 2 per cent said that they carried the Kirpan (a sword) whilst none of my respondents claimed to observe the rule associated with the wearing of the Kaccha (special underwear).

These findings relate to all my respondents. However, in discussing them, I shall treat my married and single respondents separately. This is because, in examining why they maintained or did not maintain the Five Ks, I questioned the single girls about their perceptions of parental expectations, in order to examine whether conformity was due largely to parental pressure and whether those who did not adhere to the Five Ks had disobeyed their parents. My married respondents, on the other hand, were also questioned about their perceptions of their husbands' and parents-in-laws' expectations, in order to find out whether they were obliged to conform to the Five Ks, by these members of their families.

5.2.1.1 Kesh (Long Hair)

(a) Single Girls

There were 97 unmarried girls in my enquiry, 74 per cent of whom had long hair and 26 per cent had short hair. In order to establish whether those girls who maintained Kesh had done so willingly or whether they felt that they had been pressured into doing so by their parents, I asked them: "Have you ever seriously considered cutting your hair?" In reply, 71 per cent (of 72 girls) said that they had not done so but 29 per cent replied in the affirmative. The former were asked: "Why wouldn't you like to?" In response, 89 per cent of these respondents told me that they wished to preserve Kesh because they considered it to be an important element of Sikhism. A further 6 per cent said that

they did not wish to cut their hair because, quite simply, they "liked long hair" and the remaining 5 per cent said that they "did not know". All 71 per cent (of 72 girls) were then asked: "Do your parents compel you to have long hair?" Only 5 per cent said "yes" whilst 95 per cent of these respondents informed me that they had not been coerced by their parents into maintaining Kesh but had adhered to this tradition because they wished to do so. The following quotes represent the replies I was given by such respondents:

There is a rule in the Sikh religion which says that girls are not allowed to cut their hair. Some do however. I trim it, I don't cut it. I like long hair, but I also want to preserve the tradition because I am a Sikh. Mum and Dad have never told us not to cut our hair. It's something which you decide for yourselves.

Sometimes you might admire someone's hairstyle - you say, 'that girl has a nice hair-do.' But then you look back and think to yourself, 'is it worth it?' Because you have been given this individuality as a Sikh. So I hope I don't cut my hair. Some girls argue with their parents about this topic but my Mum and Dad have taught us the value of long hair and, I agree with them. They have never tried to force us. I have long hair because I want to.

Thus, most of the girls who had long hair can be said to have had a positive orientation towards this aspect of Sikhism. In contrast to them, however, when asked: "Have you ever seriously considered cutting your hair?" 29 per cent of those with long hair reported that they had wanted to have short, especially styled hair. When asked why they wanted to have their hair cut short, all responded that they did not accept the tradition and that, in addition they preferred to have more fashionable

hairstyles. They were then asked: "Why haven't you had your hair cut short?" In reply, all the girls in this sub-section said that their parents had prevented them from doing so but that they had obeyed their parents because they did not wish to upset them. In addition, 65 per cent (of the 29 per cent spontaneously said that they believed that other Sikhs would gossip about them and that this would be harmful to the family izzat (honour). Fifty per cent of the girls in this category also told me spontaneously that even when they only wanted to make minor changes to their hair, for example, when wishing to have a fringe, their parents misconstrued this as a sign of rebelliousness. The comments which follow below are typical of the replies which I obtained from such respondents:

I would like to have it cut because I don't believe that long hair is part of religion. It's part of tradition. But what Indian people do is to put everything into religion. They think that if they pull everything into religion, it will stay there. If I want to have my hair trimmed they think I want to be a rebel. Everyone stares and gossips.

What's so good about long hair? Especially when I got a bit older, I wanted to have my hair cut - to see what I look like. Some Sikh girls have got into trouble with their parents for cutting their hair. It's not worth the trouble. My Dad made me take the oath (Amrit) just so that I couldn't cut my hair. Then, Indian people gossip a lot. If you go to the temple and your hair is short, all the ladies stare at you and gossip. Your parents can get very hurt by this. They spoil the family name.

I now turn my attention to the single girls in my enquiry whose hair was short. To recall, there were 25 girls in this category. In order to ascertain whether they had always had short hair,

they were asked: "Have you always had short hair?" Seventy-two per cent replied in the affirmative but 28 per cent said that they had not always had short hair.

When asked whether their parents approved, those respondents who said that they had always had short hair, replied that their parents had never sought to enforce this characteristic of Sikhism, because they "were not religious". In contrast, all the girls who had previously maintained Kesh, replied that their parents had disapproved and had been very disappointed by their actions. They were asked: "Why did you decide to have your hair cut short?" They all stated that they had done so, despite parental opposition, because they preferred to have fashionable hairstyles and because they did not wish to maintain a tradition which they did not agree with.

To summarise, 74 per cent of all my single respondents maintained Kesh and a majority of these girls did so willingly. Although 26 per cent of all the single interviewees had short hair, this did not appear to have caused much intergenerational conflict because the majority had never been obliged to maintain this element of Sikhism and only a minority had overtly disobeyed their parents by having had their hair cut short.

(b) Married Women (5 respondents)

There were 5 married respondents in my enquiry, 80 per cent of whom had long hair and 20 per cent had short hair. In order to examine whether those who maintained Kesh did so willingly, they

were asked: "Have you ever seriously considered cutting your hair?" All replied that they had never wanted to have their hair cut short. They were then asked: "Why wouldn't you like to?" All replied that they accepted its significance to Sikhs. Like the single girls who had also adhered to this tradition willingly, these young married women stressed that they had not been coerced into conformity by any member of their families. For example:

Long hair is one of the main rules in our religion. Like Samson, well, his strength was in his hair. It's the same with the Sikhs. Some of our Gurus were killed by the Muslims because they refused to cut their hair. This is why I don't want to forget the tradition. I do it because I want to. Nobody forces me. My husband agrees with me, he wears a turban. But even if he didn't, I would still have long hair because it's my religion.

Only one respondent did not adhere to Kesh. She said that her parents had never enforced this element of Sikhism. When asked if her husband and parents-in-law approved of her short hair, she replied in the affirmative and, added that the family she had married into were "not too strict about religion".

There are very few studies with which the above findings can be compared. My review of research enquiries conducted on young Sikhs up to 1982, indicated that only two scholars had examined Kesh in relation to their female respondents. The first of these was Nesbitt, who, in a study of Sikh men and women in Nottingham, appeared not to have encountered any females with short hairstyles (Nesbitt, 1980). She concentrated on examining the

differences between Bhatra women and those from the Jat and Ramgharia sub-castes and reported that Bhatra females tended to braid their long hair, whilst women from the other sub-castes usually left it unbraided. I would argue that, this difference is essentially one of degree rather than kind, since they all had long hair. I am unable to compare my findings satisfactorily with Nesbitt's for two main reasons. First, in presenting her findings she did not differentiate between members of the first and second generations. Thus, it was not possible to determine whether second generation girls in her study differed from older women with regard to maintaining Kesh. Second, Nesbitt did not appear to have asked her respondents why they had long hair and whether they had ever considered abandoning Kesh. In view of this omission, she seemed to have accepted their adherence to this Sikh tradition unquestioningly.

The second scholar who did examine the maintenance of Kesh was Kalra (1980, p. 7). He reported that out of a total of 30 second generation girls, only 2 had short hair. However, although he presented this as a fact, he did not ask the latter why they did not have long hair. Moreover, like Nesbitt, he also failed to examine the reasons which led the majority to maintain Kesh. In addition, his findings were limited because he did not ask these girls whether they wished to abandon this particular element of Sikhism.

5.2.1.2 Kara (A Bangle)

(a) Single Respondents (97 girls)

When my single respondents were asked whether they kept any of the Five Ks, 73 per cent of them replied that they wore the special bangle. Only 27 per cent said that they did not do so. In order to find out why they wore the Kara and whether they did so willingly, I asked these respondents: "Why do you wear the Kara? Probe - Is it because your parents compel you to do so?"

In reply, 87 per cent (of 73 per cent of my respondents) said that they wore the special bangle because they considered it to be an important element of the Sikh religion and, furthermore, that they willingly preserved this particular tradition.

In contrast to these respondents, 13 per cent (of 73 per cent) informed me that they only wore the special bangle because they were obliged to do so by their parents. They themselves did not believe in its significance but they did not wish to disobey their parents.

In order to examine whether those girls who said that they maintained Kara did so all the time or whether they wore it only in specific situations, they were asked: "On what sorts of occasions do you wear the Kara and why do you do so on such occasions?"

Table 5.2

Occasions on which the Kara was worn by
single respondents

Occasions	%
All the time	65
Only at home, at the temple and at Sikh functions	35
N = 71	100

Sixty-five per cent of the 71 respondents replied that they wore the special bangle 'all the time'. Approximately half of them said that they wore it 'all the time' because of its special significance to Sikhs, whilst almost a quarter of these girls said that they wore the bangle 'all the time' because not only did they wish to maintain this tradition but it had also become a habit. The remaining girls said that they had 'no particular reason' for wearing the Kara 'all the time'.

Unlike the above respondents, 35 per cent (of 71 girls) informed me that they only wore the Kara at home, at the temple and at Sikh functions. When asked: "Why do you wear it on these occasions?", 68 per cent of these respondents replied that it was not always easy or possible to wear the Kara outside the boundaries of the Sikh community. When asked to elaborate, they said that they were not allowed to wear jewellery at school and,

consequently, they only wore it at home and at Sikh functions. Thus, for these girls, the Kara retained its importance as a religious symbol but only in relevant contexts. In contrast to these respondents, however, the remaining 32 per cent (of the 35 per cent) said that they wore the special bangle only when at home and at Sikh functions because they did not wish to disobey their parents. When away from home they discarded it because, as one girl explained, "it does not mean that much to me".

To summarise, 73 per cent of my single respondents said that they maintained Kara, the majority of whom reported that they did so willingly. Whilst 65 per cent of these respondents said that they wore the Kara 'all the time', 35 per cent of them informed me that they did so only in relevant situations. Whilst most of the girls in the latter category said that they only wore the Kara in specific situations due to the difficulties they had encountered outside the Sikh community, a minority of their peers said that they only wore the bangle on such occasions because of parental pressure.

I now turn my attention to those respondents who said that they did not wear the Kara under any circumstances. To recall, there were 28 girls in this category. When asked: "Why don't you wear the Kara and do your parents approve?" 75 per cent of them replied that they did not do so because their parents had never tried to enforce this regulation since they were 'not religious'. In contrast, the remaining 25 per cent said that they had indeed

disobeyed their parents by not wearing the Kara. When asked why they had abandoned this Sikh symbol, they replied that they did not wish to maintain a tradition which they did not accept. Furthermore, 80 per cent of them recalled that when they were at junior school, they were not always allowed to wear this bangle and that, as a result, they had begun to wear it less frequently from then onwards.

To summarise, 73 per cent of all the single girls in my enquiry said that they wore the Kara and the vast majority of them did so because they considered it to be an important symbol of Sikhism which they wished to preserve. Some of them, however, said that they only wore it in specific situations because external obstacles in the form of school regulations had not made it easy for them to wear it outside the boundaries of the Sikh community. Although 27 per cent of all the unmarried girls did not wear the Kara, most of them did not encounter any difficulties with their parents because they had not needed to disobey them. Indeed, only a few girls had defied their parents by abandoning the Kara.

(b) Married Women (N = 5)

All the married respondents in my study said that they wore the Kara all the time. When asked for their reasons, all stated that they did so because, as Sikhs, they wished to preserve their religion. When probed, in relation to their husbands' and parents-in-law's influence, all five stated that nobody coerced them.

Since other scholars do not appear to have studied this feature of Sikhism, I am unable to make any comparisons.

5.2.1.3 Kangha (A Comb)

(a) Single Girls (N = 97)

When asked about keeping the Five Ks, 53 per cent of all the single respondents replied that they carried the Kangha in their handbags or in their pockets but 47 per cent responded that they did not. In order to ascertain whether those who carried the Kangha did so willingly, I asked them: "Why do you carry the Kangha. Is it because your parents compel you to do so?"

Seventy-two per cent (of the 53 per cent) justified their actions by pointing to its symbolic significance, for example, "It's part of the Sikh religion". Furthermore, they all stressed that they did so without any pressure from their parents. In contrast, 28 per cent (of those who carried the Kangha) said that they only did so when and if their parents asked them. Thus, they only conformed reluctantly in specific situations (i.e. at the temple and at Sikh functions) because they did not wish to overtly disobey their parents. Forty-seven per cent of the single girls, on the other hand, said that they never carried the Kangha. When asked, "Why don't you carry the Kangha and do your parents approve?", 84 per cent stated that they had not been asked by their parents to do so. Another 6 per cent said that they did not understand its significance and that they had never been obliged to carry the comb by their parents. The remaining 10 per cent said that they did not carry it because they "did not believe in

it" and that they had consequently disobeyed their parents.

In summary, the Kangha had not been abandoned by 53 per cent of all my single respondents. Moreover, most of them maintained it willingly. There appeared to be no overt conflict with parents over this particular Sikh characteristic since only a very small minority of the girls (including the 45 who did not carry it) had been at odds with their parents with regard to wearing the Kangha.

(b) Married Women (N = 5)

All the married women said that they carried the Kangha. When asked for their reasons, all five responded that they did so because they wished to preserve their religion. When probed about their husbands' and in-laws' attitudes towards the Kangha, all replied that these members of their families encouraged them to keep the Five Ks but did not force them to do so. Since this is another feature of Sikhism that appears not to have been investigated amongst young Sikhs by others, I am again unable to make any comparisons.

5.2.1.4 Kirpan (A Sword) and Kaccha (Special Underwear)

Only one respondent said that she carried the Kirpan. Indeed, she did carry a miniature sword in her handbag. When asked why she did so, she replied that she tried to adhere to as many rules of the Sikh religion as possible because she was a Sikh. The remaining 99 per cent, did not, carry the Kirpan. When asked why they did not do so, almost half of them replied that their parents had never asked them to do so and that, moreover, other Sikhs in

Britain did not carry swords. Approximately a quarter said that they thought that Sikhs would not be permitted by the Police to carry swords in England and the rest said that they did not think that Sikh women were obliged to observe this particular element of Sikhism.

Questions on the observance of Kaccha were received with much amusement and some embarrassment by my respondents. All replied that the wearing of 'old-fashioned' underwear was only observed by their grandmothers and that they, as young girls, wore more fashionable underwear. They thought that Sikhs in India might maintain this tradition but that most young Sikhs in this country did not do so.

To summarise my findings in relation to the Five Ks, three of them were observed by the majority of the girls I interviewed. These were Kesh (75 per cent), Kara (73 per cent) and Kangha (55 per cent). However, Kirpan was only maintained by one respondent and none did so with respect to Kaccha.

5.2.2 Prohibited Foodstuffs, Alcoholic Drinks and Tobacco

When Guru Gobind Singh instituted the Khalsa (Sikh Brotherhood), he instructed his followers to refrain from eating Halal meat - that is, meat from animals, slaughtered according to Muslim ritual. He also forbade them to consume alcohol, tobacco or drugs.

5.2.2.1 Forbidden Foodstuffs

In order to examine the extent to which my respondents were aware of these restrictions, I asked them: "Are there any types of meat which Sikhs are forbidden to eat?" "For example, Halal meat?" In spite of it being mentioned by me, 96 per cent of my respondents said that they had never heard of Halal meat or the restrictions relating to its consumption. Thus, only 4 per cent knew that Sikhs are not permitted to eat Halal meat. As indicated in Table 5.3, however, 80 per cent of the girls in my study thought that Sikhs were not allowed to eat beef. Thirteen per cent stated that there was no prohibition on any type of food, 4 per cent specified Halal and beef and the remainder said that they did not know.

Table 5.3 Prohibited Food - as identified by Respondents

Prohibited Food	%
Halal and Beef	4
Beef	80
None	13
DK	3
N = 102	100

The girls' perceptions on the consumption of beef are not difficult to explain. Although Guru Gobind Singh did not include

beef in his list of prohibited items, Hindu beliefs on the sanctity of the cow have been maintained by Sikhs as a consequence of their Hindu origins. Since the vast majority of my interviewees showed an obvious lack of knowledge with regard to Halal meat, I decided to examine whether they ate beef. Accordingly, they were asked: "Have you ever eaten beef?" Forty-nine per cent replied in the affirmative, 17 per cent that they had eaten beef only when they thought there was no alternative and 34 per cent replied that they had always avoided it.

(a) The Single Girls (N = 97)

When the findings on the single respondents are presented separately, 52 per cent of them said that they did eat beef, 17 per cent said that they only ate beef if there were no alternatives and 31 per cent replied that they never did so.

In order to ascertain whether the 'beef-eaters' perceived that they had disobeyed their parents, they were asked: "Do your parents allow you to eat beef?". In response to this question, 52 per cent stated that they had always been permitted to eat beef since their own parents did not maintain this tradition. In contrast, 48 per cent replied that their parents did not allow them to eat beef at home and that they would not approve if they discovered that they had done so. When asked why they had disobeyed their parents covertly, they replied that they did not accept the belief in the cow's holiness. For example:

We are not supposed to eat beef, but I don't agree with this. It's stupid really. I think meat is food, it's good for you. I don't believe that the cow is holy. It's not true.

A very different point of view was expressed by those girls who had admitted to eating beef occasionally and by those who said that they always avoided it. The occasional 'beef-eater' reported that it was not always possible to avoid this item, especially when away from home. They tried their best to do so, however, because of its religious significance. The following quote illustrates this point of view:

We respect the cow because it is sacred. I have never eaten beef knowingly. What I mean is that it's not always possible to know for sure whether it's beef. When I was younger, I used to accept what was on the plate at dinner time in school. Now that I'm older, I always make sure to ask. If it's beef, I'll choose something else - fish and chips perhaps! If there's nothing else, then I'll eat beef. But very seldom.

Despite such obstacles, however, 31 per cent of all my single respondents said that they never ate beef. I asked them "Why don't you eat beef? Is it because your parents don't allow you to?" Eighty-seven per cent told me that they felt rather nauseated at the idea of eating it and that they maintained this dietary norm willingly. For example:

We respect the cow because it is sacred. In India the cow does a lot of work for human beings. It gives milk, people make cheese and butter from the milk. It also ploughs the fields. So because of this, Indian people respect it. We don't believe in killing the cow. I couldn't eat it, anyway, I would really feel quite ill.

The remaining 13 per cent (of 31 per cent) said that they would like to eat beef but that their mothers did not cook it and also because they did not wish to disobey their parents.

In summary, the vast majority of all my respondents were not conversant with the religious prohibition in relation to Halal meat. Instead, most of the girls thought that Sikhs are not permitted to eat beef. Forty-nine per cent of my single respondents said that they did eat beef, 17 per cent said that they tried their best to avoid it and 31 per cent stated that they never ate it.

(b) Married Women (N = 5)

All the married respondents in my study said that they did not eat beef. When asked for their reasons, they expressed views which were very similar to those which were given to me by the single girls who did not eat beef. Thus, they stated that they believed in the holiness of the cow and that the very idea of eating beef made them feel uncomfortable. When asked if their husbands and in-laws ate beef, they replied that as far as they were aware, these members of their families did not eat it either.

5.2.2.2 Smoking Cigarettes

All respondents were asked: "Are Sikhs allowed to smoke?" Eighty-four per cent replied that smoking was not allowed, 10 per cent thought only Sikh women were not permitted to smoke whilst the remainder said that they did not know. Thus, a majority were

aware of this particular element of Sikhism although a minority mistakenly believed that this rule only applied to women.

All my interviewees were asked: "Have you ever smoked cigarettes?" All 102 respondents declared that they had not done so. When asked if they would like to, once again, all of them replied in the negative. When asked for their reasons, it was evident that the vast majority had very strong opinions about the adverse effects of smoking on one's health, since 97 per cent stated that "smoking is unhealthy". However, their reasons also indicated that they did not approve of women - especially Sikh females - smoking cigarettes. Ninety per cent spontaneously said that they had been brought up to believe that it was "unnatural" for a Sikh woman to smoke and, as a consequence, to witness such behaviour in a (Sikh) woman provoked feelings of shock and dismay:

I don't like Sikh girls drinking or smoking. You get used to the idea of women not smoking. I mean, my Aunt from Canada, she smoked and I was shocked. I nearly fainted on the spot! They are more westernized than us in Canada. I don't think that it is very nice for Sikh women to smoke or drink. I won't allow my daughters. I think it's horrible for girls. If my daughters smoked, I would be most upset.

To summarise, all my respondents seemed to have internalized this characteristic of Sikhism. Indeed, these members of the second generation demonstrated that they had been socialized by their parents into accepting the idea, that, in some areas of Sikhism, different degrees of conformity are expected from men and women. In relation to smoking, although 84 per cent said that males and females were not supposed to smoke, 90 per cent spontaneously

stated that, in their opinion, women should abide by this rule more strictly than men. I am unaware of any other studies which have examined this aspect of Sikh behaviour.

5.2.2.3 Drinking Alcohol

I thought that my respondents might perceive differences between being allowed to drink 'weak' alcohol (e.g. beer, shandy, wine) and spirits. Accordingly, I asked them "Are Sikhs forbidden to drink alcohol drinks like beer, shandy and cider?" and "Are Sikhs forbidden to drink brandy, whisky, gin, rum etc.?".

Table 5.4 Respondents' Perceptions of Weak Drinks

	%
Weak drinks are forbidden	80
Men are allowed to drink but women are not	7
Weak drinks are permitted	9
One may drink but one may not get drunk	2
DK	2
N = 102	100

Table 5.5 Respondents' Perception of Spirits

	%
Spirits are forbidden	81
Men are allowed to drink but women are not	7
Spirits are permitted	9
One may drink but not get drunk	3
DK	0
N = 102	100

My expectations were not met since a majority of my respondents considered that Sikhs are forbidden to drink 'weak' alcohol as well as spirits. Thus, since 80 per cent thought that Sikhs are not allowed to consume 'weak' drinks and 81 per cent said that spirits are forbidden, it can certainly be said that the majority of these members of the second generation were aware of this particular requirement of their religion. As with their perceptions of cigarettes, 7 per cent thought that the rule only applied to women. Only 9 per cent said that Sikhs are not forbidden to drink alcohol.

In order to enquire whether they thought that Sikhs, in general, followed this rule, those girls who knew that alcohol is prohibited were asked: "Do you think that most Sikhs obey this rule?" Ninety per cent replied that Sikh males did not, although

most women did. Only 10 per cent said that, in their opinion, both men and women adhered to this element of Sikhism. Indeed, Sikh men received a lot of harsh criticism from 60 per cent of the 90 per cent. For example:

In the Sikh religion, they say you must do everything to be healthy - like not smoking and not drinking. But the men don't obey. What really annoys me is that you see the Sikh men wearing turbans and yet they drink and smoke. That's hypocritical. I don't like it. But you can't stop the men.

We are not allowed to drink. But they don't care, the men. You know, they go into the tradition - it's just like having a rule book - and they'll tick off the things which they want to do. They want to drink and smoke, so they do so. It's like us young kids, we want to have our freedom. In a way they want to have their freedom - for example, their freedom is smoking and drinking whilst ours is going out. But they don't let us go out for a social life. Whereas, if they want to drink, they can do it. They say what they want and they do it.

In order to examine whether the girls themselves observed the prohibition, they were asked whether they had drunk 'weak' alcohol and spirits. Sixty per cent of all my respondents replied that they did not drink any alcohol at all but 40 per cent said that they did.

(a) Single Girls (N = 97)

When the single girls are separated from the married respondents, 58 per cent stated that they did not drink at all. When asked why they did not do so, 31 per cent cited religious reasons for not doing so, for example, "drinking is forbidden in our religion". Twenty-five per cent thought that alcohol is detrimental to

health. The remainder (44 per cent) not only cited religious and health reasons but also pointed out that a woman who drinks in public runs the risk of harming her family's honour because other Sikhs would gossip about her. The following quotes represent some of the above justifications for not drinking alcohol:

In Scotland and in London women drink. Because of this they get bad reports especially when they get drunk. In Scotland, three ladies drank a lot and this Indian man took them home and they spent the night there. Then the news went all over the place, even as far as Nottingham. I don't think ladies should drink, that's the way we are brought up.

I think it's unhealthy and you can get addicted to it. If the mother drinks then, you encourage your children to drink. And that's not on. Also, Indian people gossip a lot. If a woman drinks it's really bad. It's unladylike. It's disgusting. The whole family will tell her not to drink.

I now turn my attention to those (single) girls who said that they did drink. There were 41 respondents in this category. When asked to name some of the drinks which they had consumed, 87 per cent admitted to having drunk 'weak' drinks such as shandy, wine and sherry and 13 per cent said that they had drunk 'weak' drinks and spirits. In order to ascertain whether their actions provoked any problems with their parents, all 41 were asked: "Do your parents know you drink?" In reply, 76 per cent replied in the affirmative and stated that they only drank at home or within the community, especially when celebrating someone's birthday and at other social functions such as a wedding. They all stressed, however, that they only drank infrequently and, in moderation, for they thought that alcohol could have harmful consequences on their

health. In addition, half of them said, spontaneously, that women should not drink as much as men.

In contrast to these girls, 24 per cent said that they drank without their parents' knowledge and consent. They claimed that they had been introduced to alcohol by their white peers and that their parents would be very annoyed if they were made aware of their daughters' actions. For example:

I went to the pub at lunch time with my English friends. They got me this drink. 'Drink this, they said'. I think it was wine or sherry. I tasted it and I didn't really like it, but I drank it because I would look silly. I do drink now, mainly martinis and wine. My parents and my brother would kill me if they found out.

To summarise, 58 per cent of my single respondents said that they did not drink alcohol under any circumstances. These girls appeared to have fully internalized this specific item in the Sikh Code of Conduct. In contrast a further 42 per cent said that they did drink alcohol but most of these girls said that they did so with parental knowledge and consent. Moreover, they were keen to emphasize that they only drank in moderation and, furthermore, stated that they thought that drinking alcohol was detrimental to one's health. Only a small number of my single respondents said that they disobeyed their parents covertly by drinking alcohol in pubs.

(b) Married Women (N = 5)

All my married respondents said that they did not drink alcohol under any circumstances. When asked why they did not do so, the reasons they gave were identical to those given by the single girls who said that they were 'teetotalers'. For example, they stated that they had no desire to drink alcohol because it was a religious rule and also because they considered it to be an unhealthy habit. Moreover, when asked if their husbands and in-laws had influenced their views, they replied that they had always - even before being married - maintained this particular element of Sikhism.

I am unable to compare my findings on the eating, drinking and smoking habits of my respondents with other studies on young Sikhs since other scholars do not appear to have studied these particular areas.

5.2.3 Using 'Kaur' as a Surname

When Guru Gobind Singh instituted the Khalsa (Sikh Brotherhood), he stipulated that men should replace their caste surnames by the name 'Singh' (Lion) and women by the name 'Kaur' (Princess).

All respondents were asked, "Do you use Kaur at the end of your name?" Fifty-three per cent said that they used it as a middle name, for example, Surinder Kaur Gill. When asked why they did not use Kaur as their last name, 89 per cent of these girls responded that the authorities at school and at work would be too

confused if faced with a large number of women who all shared the same name. Accordingly, they were known by their fathers' (caste) surname or, if married by their husbands'. The remaining 11 per cent said that they "had no particular reason" for not using Kaur as a surname.

Twenty-five per cent of all my respondents, on the other hand, employed Kaur as a surname. They were asked why they did so. In reply, they all said that they had always used it as their last name because it was the appropriate name for a Sikh girl.

In contrast to the above, twenty per cent said that they did not use it as a surname because their parents had not asked them to do so. The remainder (2 per cent) said that they did not know how to answer the question because they did not know what 'Kaur' meant.

Thus, since 53 per cent of all my respondents used Kaur as a middle name and another 25 per cent employed it as a surname, it can be said that these members of the second generation still adhered to an element of Sikhism whose main function is to enhance a distinct (Sikh) identity.

Once again, I am unable to compare these findings with other studies on second generation Sikhs since I am not aware of any other enquiries conducted on this particular aspect of Sikhism.

5.2.4 Temple Attendance

Although Sikhs are not obliged to attend the gurdwara (temple), they are encouraged to do so in the Rehat Maryada ('A Guide To The Sikh Way Of Life', printed in Cole and Sambhi, 1978, pp. 168-79). Gurdwaras are not only venues for religious worship but also serve as a focus of social interaction. There are three gurdwaras in Nottingham and, when I visited them prior to the start of my fieldwork, I was able to confirm that members of the three main sub-castes in Nottingham (Jats, Ramgharias and Bhatras) attended separate temples.

In order to examine whether the girls in my enquiry went to the temple(s), they were asked: "How often do you go to the temple?"

Table 5.6 Temple Attendance

Frequency	%
Often (at least once a week)	42
Occasionally/hardly ever	41
Never	17
N = 102	100

As indicated in Table 5.6, 42 per cent said that they attended the gurdwara every week and at least once a week. On the other hand, 41 per cent replied that they only went to the temple for weddings

and religious festivals and the remaining 17 per cent stated that they never went to the temple.

(a) Single Girls (N = 97)

When my findings on the single girls in my study are presented separately from their married peers, 40 per cent replied that they went often to the gurdwara, 42 per cent said that they rarely went and 18 per cent responded that they never attended the gurdwara.

In order to establish whether those girls who claimed to attend the temple frequently, did so willingly and, in addition, in order to find out what they did there, I asked them: "Why do you go to the temple? Is it because your parents compel you to? What do you do there?". Their answers indicated that they all did so without being instructed to by their parents. They went to the temple to participate in the religious services as well as to meet their friends. In replying to the above open-ended questions, these girls expressed positive attitudes towards the religious and social activities which took place in the gurdwara. They said that they tried their best to participate in the religious services even though eighty-five per cent of them felt that they did not have sufficient knowledge of the Holy Book. In particular, they voiced their disappointment at not being able to follow the services satisfactorily because of language difficulties - they did not understand Gurbani very well. The quotes which follow illustrate some of the answers I was given by these respondents:

I go to the temple at least once a week. I go to pray, to listen to the stories and to meet other Sikhs. I enjoy listening to the stories because they leave me speechless. I don't always understand everything because of the language, but I understand it basically.

We go whenever we can, usually on Sundays. But you don't have to go to the temple to pray. When you do go, you take your shoes off, cover your head with a chuni, give a small contribution. Then you bow to the Book. Then they read the Granth and sing. I join in if I know the words. I don't understand the language very well. It's a pity really. I meet my friends there. We chat and we get hushed by everyone. I go to the temple because I want to. I enjoy it. My parents go too.

We try and go every week. On Saturdays there is a youth club. My Dad and some of us organised it. We teach the young children about the religion. I go to the temple on Sundays. Everyone goes. When we were younger we used to talk to friends but now we listen to the prayers and we try to join in as best as we can. Sometimes there are visitors - special preachers from India. Last week, I went every evening because of the visitors from India.

Forty-two per cent of the single girls, however, said that they only attended the gurdwara occasionally. When asked for their reasons, 86 per cent replied that they had not been obliged to do so by their parents because they too did not go to the temple very frequently. Moreover, approximately half these girls stated that when they did attend the gurdwara they did not understand the services satisfactorily due to an inadequate knowledge of the language and the feeling of alienation that resulted. For example:

I don't go too often because I don't understand what is being said. My parents go more often than me, but they never force me. I only go for special functions - not regularly on Sundays. I do believe in the Sikh religion and in God, but I find the service very boring.

I don't go very often. My parents don't go often either. We only go for Divali or weddings. We are not too religious. My parents never force me to go to the temple. It's not easy to understand what happens there because I don't speak the language very well. Nobody explains the Book to me.

Although these girls did not go to the temple very often, they did so without being coerced by their parents. In contrast, however, 14 per cent said that they attended the gurdwara occasionally in order to "keep the peace" by not disobeying their parents. Three-quarters of this sub-category said that they did not understand the religious services whilst the remainder stated that they did not believe in the religion at all. For example:

Well, I really go with my Mum because she believes in the religion more than I do. I accompany her, so as to keep the peace. I go there to see my friends. I don't understand the Granth (Holy Book).

I go once in a blue moon in order to please my Mum and Dad. I don't believe in the Sikh religion at all.

Finally, 18 per cent of all my single respondents said that they never went to the temple. They were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you don't go to the temple?". Fifty-six per cent replied that neither they nor their parents had done so. According to these girls, their parents were "Not strict about religion". In contrast, 44 per cent (of the 18 per cent) said

that they had disobeyed their parents by refusing to attend services at the temple because they did not believe in the religion and, moreover, were unable to follow such services because of language difficulties. There were only 7 girls in this sub-category and 3 of them were highly critical of those people who went frequently to the gurdwara because they perceived that such people did not have sincere motives for doing so.

I think that on the whole, most people who always go to the temple only go there in order to be better than others. I mean everyone, especially the men, want to be on the Committee. God says you should love and be equal, whereas they go to the temple in order to compete with one another. They are hypocrites. They go to the temple and pretend that they are perfect Sikhs. But then, when they leave the temple, they go to pubs, they drink and smoke and don't keep the rules - like the 5 Ks.

In summary, 40 per cent of my single respondents said that they went regularly and willingly to the temple, almost the same proportion said that they only did so occasionally and the remainder said that they never went to the gurdwara. A common complaint which was made by most of the girls in all three categories was that they were unable to understand the religious services satisfactorily due to an inadequate knowledge of the Gurbani script and the Punjabi language.

(b) Married Women (N = 5)

Four out of five of my married respondents said that they attended the gurdwara at least once a week. When asked why they did so and what they did in the temple, the replies they provided were very similar to those given by their single peers who claimed to be

frequent 'attenders'. In other words, they went regularly in order to participate in the services but also to meet their friends. Like their single peers, they too thought that they had difficulties in understanding the services but, nevertheless enjoyed their visits. When probed about their husbands and in-laws (in order to ascertain whether they had been coerced into attending the temple), all responded that they themselves chose to do so and were, therefore, not compelled by any member of their families.

Only one of my married respondents said that she only went to the temple for weddings and to celebrate certain festivals. When asked for her reasons and whether her husband and parents in-law approved, she replied that she had never been encouraged by her parents to go more often to the temple and that now that she was married, she was not obliged to do so by her husband or in-laws. She also stated that she had been inadequately instructed about religion and that consequently, she was unable to understand the services.

To summarise my findings on temple attendance, when the findings on my single and married respondents are combined, 42 per cent of all my respondents said that they went often to the temple, 41 per cent said that they only did so occasionally and 17 per cent said that they never went to the temple. These findings suggest that for over half the girls in my study, attending the temple was not considered to be an important feature of their lives. This raises

an important methodological consideration with regard to some of the sampling methods that have been used in the study of Sikhs in Britain. For example, Nesbitt's thesis was largely based on the observation she made as a 'participant observer' in the three different temples in Nottingham (Nesbitt, 1980). In view of my own findings in relation to temple attendance, it is therefore probable that Nesbitt did not have access to those Sikhs who did not go very often to the gurdwara and to those who never did so. An obvious disadvantage of this sampling method is that by concentrating largely on those people who are regular and active members of a congregation, a scholar could easily run the risk of under-reporting deviance and over stating his or her subjects' conformity to religious beliefs and practices. In my own case, if I had relied exclusively on studying Sikh girls at the temple(s), just over half my respondents might never have been included in my enquiry.

5.2.5 Celebrating Festivals - Baisakhi, Divali and Christmas

The festival of Baisakhi commemorates the birth of the Sikh Khalsa (Brotherhood) in 1699. In order to ascertain whether my respondents celebrated this particular festival I asked them: "Do you celebrate Baisakhi, the Sikh New Year which is on April 13th?" Eighty per cent replied that they did do so, 17 per cent said that they did not and 3 per cent responded that they had never heard of Baisakhi.

Those who replied in the affirmative were asked: "What do you do to celebrate?" All replied that they usually went to the temple,

had special sweets at home and sometimes went to family parties. Those girls who said that they did not celebrate Baisakhi were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you don't?" Two-thirds of them responded that they were not aware of its significance and that, moreover, their families did not do anything special on that day. The remaining third said that they did not know why they did not celebrate Baisakhi.

My question on the celebration of Baisakhi prompted a spontaneous response from 83 per cent of my respondents with regard to the festival of Divali. These girls said that they and their families celebrated this autumn festival by lighting candles in their homes, by sometimes going to the temple and by exchanging sweets and presents with their friends.

Thus, the above findings would suggest that the majority of these members of the second generation continued to celebrate Sikh and Indian festivals. In order to examine whether my respondents celebrated Christmas, I asked them: "Do you celebrate Christmas?" Eighty-four per cent of my respondents replied in the affirmative. Only 16 per cent replied that they did not celebrate Christmas. The vast majority were asked: "Why do you celebrate Christmas?" Seventy per cent (of 84 per cent) said that they celebrated Christmas because they lived in England and also because "everyone does so". A further 15 per cent said that they celebrated Christmas because Sikhs respected other religions. The remaining 15 per cent told me that they did not know why they celebrated

Christmas.

I asked 84 per cent of my respondents: "What do you do to celebrate Christmas?" Their replies indicated that 72 per cent of these respondents celebrated Christmas with their families by having an Indian meal and by exchanging gifts and cards with friends and relatives. In contrast, a further 28 per cent (of 84 per cent) said that they usually had a "traditional English meal" - Turkey, mince pies and Christmas pudding - and that they also exchanged cards and presents with friends and relatives.

The minority of respondents who said that they did not celebrate Christmas were asked: "Why don't you celebrate Christmas?" Fifty per cent (of 16 per cent) said that they did not celebrate Christmas because their families did not do so. A further 30 per cent of this minority told me that they did not celebrate Christmas because they were Sikhs and because "it was not their religion". The remaining 20 per cent were unable to answer my question. Thus, my findings suggest that the vast majority of my respondents celebrated their own Indian festivals as well as that of the wider society. Although the vast majority of my respondents said that they celebrated Christmas, only a small minority of them said that they ate a "traditional English meal" on Christmas day. Since the majority of my respondents said that they only ate Indian food on that day, it would appear that Christmas had been partly 'Indianized' or adapted by my respondents and their families.

5.2.6 Monotheism and the Granth Sahib (The Holy Book)

Monotheism is one of the most fundamental beliefs of the Sikh religion. In order to examine whether the girls in my study had been instructed about this belief, I asked them: "Could you tell me how many Gods Sikhs believe in?" Forty-eight per cent said that there is only one God, 47 per cent said that they thought that Sikhs believe in "about ten Gods" and the remainder did not know.

Thus, just over half of my respondents did not know that Sikhism is monotheistic. Indeed, the girls in this sub-section appear to mistakenly think that the ten Gurus were regarded as Gods.

Besides being instructed to believe in one God, Sikhs are also instructed to believe in the teachings of the Granth Sahib (the Holy Book). Accordingly, my respondents were asked: "Do you believe in the teachings of the Holy Granth?". Thirty-two per cent responded that they believed in it although they were not able to read it satisfactorily because of an inadequate knowledge of Gurbani. Six per cent replied that they did believe in its teachings and were, moreover, able to read it satisfactorily. Sixty-two per cent, however, felt unable to answer this question because they thought that they were not sufficiently informed about the Book and its teachings.

Since over half my respondents did not know that Sikhism is monotheistic and, furthermore, since 62 per cent perceived that

they were not well informed about the teachings of their Book, it would appear that their religious education was deficient in some way. In the following sub-section, I examine the channels through which they were (or were not) taught about Sikhism.

5.2.7 Religious Education

All my respondents were asked: "How did you learn about Sikhism?". Thirty-two per cent replied that they had been taught by their parents but that they had also received formal instruction in the temple(s). Thirty per cent said that their parents had given them some guidance but that they had not attended the temple for formal instruction. Finally, 35 per cent responded that they had not been taught by anyone in particular but that they had usually tried to emulate their parents. Three per cent said that they had not received any religious instruction.

In order to find out whether they were satisfied with their religious education, I asked them: "Are you satisfied with the way in which you were taught about Sikhism?". Thirty-two per cent replied that they were very satisfied because they had always been able to ask their parents for a satisfactory explanation. In addition, they thought that the classes which were held at the gurdwara(s) were particularly helpful in encouraging members of the second generation to gain religious knowledge and understanding. Furthermore, half these respondents said that they were able to increase their understanding of Sikhism by reading books and pamphlets which were written in English. According to them, these books were easily available in the temples. For

example:

I'm very satisfied. Parents taught me. If the parents don't teach us, then how can they expect the children to know about their religion. My father, he teaches me. My parents are strict about religion. We also go to the temple and the teacher there gives us lessons.

I go to the temple. I know about the Holy Book because my parents talk about it. You know, like when it's the Guru's birthday, they celebrate it in the temple and they talk about Sikh history. In this way, you learn something about it. I used to have special classes but I don't anymore because of my exams.

I'm happy with the way my parents have taught me. I learned mainly from my parents, by following their example. When I go to the temple and if I don't understand something, I always ask my parents to explain. I've also read several books lately. I've been questioning myself, I want to find out more, so I read books about Sikhism.

I've learned about my religion gradually. Sometimes Dad tells us stories. He picks up a point from what happens during the day. He tells us, 'you can't do that during the lifetime of the Gurus'. I find it really interesting, I do. Sometimes I read a few books about the Gurus in English. We also have some classes in the temple.

These girls were therefore satisfied with the way in which their parents had socialized them into the Sikh faith. Half of them, moreover, were themselves active members of the temples as well as of special 'youth wings' whose main function was to educate the children.

We have a youth wing on Saturdays. I'm a member of the committee. It's basically for the young children who don't know Punjabi. So there's no point in them coming into the Gurdwara and listening to the Holy Book if they don't understand it. For this reason, on Saturdays, we teach them about the religion in English. We also try to improve their Punjabi.

I've got an older brother and sister who went to University. They were away from the family and they lost touch with the religion. I was born here and my Dad and a few others decided to teach the children about Sikhism. So they decided to introduce classes at the temple. We get a translation into English and we also get books in English. I'm becoming more involved by helping to teach the younger children. I think it's a good way of keeping the religion.

In contrast to the above, 68 per cent of all my respondents said that they were not at all satisfied with their religious education. When asked for their reasons, 56 per cent (of the 68 per cent) stated that they were unable to follow the services and knew very little about Sikhism because they had no instruction. For example:

I've never had any lessons. Nobody explains it to me. When I was younger, I used to say that I was a Hindu I didn't know the difference. I would like to know more. I think parents should teach us and if we go to the temple, the priest should teach us.

A further 40 per cent (of the 68 per cent) explained that despite some guidance from their parents they were nevertheless still rather 'ignorant' about their religion. They thought that their parents were often unable to transmit their knowledge satisfactorily due to language barriers.

No one taught us as such. They think that we should learn it by ourselves - by following their example. I think that if my parents could have taught us in English we might have learned more. I understand more about Christianity than about Sikhism because I've had Religious Education in school. I don't know what the Holy Granth is about. I wish I had more books in English.

Finally 4 per cent of my 'dissatisfied' respondents reported that despite parental guidance and although they had been sent to the temple for instruction, they remained confused because, in their view, their Sikh teachers had not been able to answer their questions.

I do believe in God, but I find Sikhism too confusing. Even people in the temple don't know what they are talking about. Our Grantie (teacher) twists the thing to suit him. We used to question him in order to learn more about the religion - but I got fed up because he twisted everything and I never learned a thing. I mean, we asked, "why shouldn't we cut our hair?". And he replied that we shouldn't because hair is natural. O.K. this sounds right. But then he said that hair is alive. Well, hair isn't alive is it? Then, someone said to him, "why do we cut our nails?" And he cannot answer that. Then he twisted it around and said, "you are asking me a question like what is red or what is green? You can't answer such a question." I think he said this because he could not answer our questions.

Thus, a majority of the girls in my study perceived that they were inadequately informed about their religion. In order to ascertain whether they would have liked to have had such instruction in school, I asked all my respondents: "Should Sikh children be taught about the Sikh religion in school?"

Eighty-two per cent were in favour of having such instruction in school, 15 per cent were not and 3 per cent did not know. I asked

the girls in the first category, "Why should they be taught this in school?". Ninety-one per cent of these respondents replied that if Sikh children were taught by a qualified (Sikh) teacher it would prevent them from becoming confused. For example:

I think that's a good idea because especially when children start school it can be very confusing for them. Poor kids, their Mums tell one thing and their English teachers tell them another. They don't know where they stand. It's not fair on the kids and that's why I think it's a good idea to have a Sikh teacher in the school.

Thirty per cent of the girls in this category also thought that a qualified teacher would be able to teach children about Sikh history and that this would give them a positive self-image which would help them to cope with the criticisms they encountered from white natives. For instance:

I think that it is a good idea to teach it at school because at school you will learn about the history. At home you learn only the practical side, like making the food and how to behave. At school you will learn about the Gurus and the language. I think that Sikh children should be taught not to be ashamed of themselves. They should be taught to be proud of themselves in their own minds. I think that they are criticised by the Christian - English - people and they become ashamed.

A further 30 per cent in this category said that the Sikh religion should be taught to all school children. They thought that this would improve the relationship between Sikh children and their white peers if the latter had some knowledge of the religion and its history. These girls spontaneously reported that, in their experience, Sikh children were often 'teased' by their white peers

and that, in their opinion, this was due to the fact that white natives knew very little about Sikhism.

Forty per cent of the girls who said that Sikh children should be taught their religion in school, pointed out to me that they were more knowledgeable about Christianity than their own religion. One girl in particular, who was, at the time of my study, taking an examination in Religious Education, described some of the difficulties and confusion which confront children when their knowledge of Christianity is not matched by comparable instruction in Sikhism. She said:

I know hardly anything about the Sikh religion. Yet, I am taking an exam in RE. But it doesn't cover the Sikh religion. I know much more about Christianity and in some ways I identify with it although I am not a Christian. I think it might be a good idea to include other religions in school because it would provide a more balanced approach to religious education. I think that it would benefit Sikh children because there's a lot of confusion in their minds. They know of Jesus and Mary but they are unable to name the Gurus. They say English prayers but they don't know how to say Sikh ones.

Thus 82 per cent of all my respondents said that Sikh children should receive some religious education in school. In contrast, 15 per cent did not agree with this proposition. They were asked: "Why shouldn't they be taught this in school?" Seventy per cent responded that Sikh children should be taught by their parents and in the temple because "white people will not like it". Ten per cent thought that the school authorities would not be able to find a qualified Sikh teacher in this country and the remainder said that children should not be instructed because they should

"integrate" and become "like the English".

To summarise, only 32 per cent of all my respondents said that they had received some formal religious instruction in the temple(s). Most Sikh girls perceived that their knowledge of Sikhism was deficient in some way and accordingly, were dissatisfied with what they considered to be a lack of educational facilities. Furthermore, a majority thought that Religious Education at school should include a section on Sikhism. Moreover, 60 per cent of my respondents spontaneously referred to their perceptions of white attitudes towards the Sikh religion. Half thought that by teaching all children, Sikhs would be respected by white natives. The other half said that such instruction would help Sikh children to combat the effects of what they perceived to be the negative attitudes of white peers.

Other scholars have also commented on the lack of religious education which is available to young Sikhs in Britain. For example, in his study on Sikhs in Gravesend Kent, Helweg observed that most children did not receive any instruction about their religion from qualified 'Granties' (teachers). Consequently, according to Helweg, most of them were confused and demonstrated very little knowledge of the main beliefs and practices of their religion (Helweg, 1979, p. 97). A similar view was expressed by Nesbitt (Nesbitt, 1980). She reported that most of the Sikh children whom she had observed in Nottingham were inadequately taught their religion. She attributed this to the general lack of

educational facilities, too much time spent on watching television, few grandparents in the United Kingdom and the lack of parental guidance because parents often worked long hours.

My own enquiry revealed that, during the duration of my fieldwork, special weekly classes were available in the temples. However, only 32 per cent of my respondents said that they had attended such classes, whilst the majority said that they had not done so. This probably explains why almost half of them did not know that the ten Gurus were not 'Gods' and why most girls said that they were unable to participate in the religious services. However, I found that my respondents had certainly not abandoned their religious traditions. For example, 75 per cent had long hair, 73 per cent said that they wore the bangle and 55 per cent said that they carried a special comb. Furthermore, the name 'Kaur' was still retained by 78 per cent of the girls in my enquiry. In addition, all stated that they did not smoke cigarettes, 60 per cent said that they never drank alcohol and 47 per cent reported that they did not eat beef. Finally, 42 per cent said that they went to the temple often and regularly.

Having established that these characteristics of Sikhism continued to survive in Nottingham, it is now time to consider whether such adherence to religious traits was largely situational. In other words, how pertinent is the concept of 'situational ethnicity' to my findings on religious norms?

In my view, it is applicable to those girls who, in response to internal and external factors, tended to confine religious traits to specific and relevant contexts within the Sikh community. One such example relates to the Five Ks, particularly to the maintenance of Kara and Kangha (bangle and comb). Twenty-seven per cent of my respondents said that they only wore the Kara at home, in the temple and at other Sikh functions. Similarly, 53 per cent of my subjects said that they only carried the Kangha when within the Sikh community. The vast majority of these girls explained these acts of selective conformity in terms of the difficulties they had encountered in maintaining these traits in the wider society (external constraints) and in terms of their desire to comply with parental and community expectations (internal factors). Thus, in this example, these members of the second generation can be said to have adopted a situational approach to conformity.

Other examples relate to the eating of beef and the drinking of alcohol. My findings have indicated that 38 per cent of my respondents said that although they refrained from eating beef at home, they did eat it when away from home. Similarly, 10 per cent of my subjects said that they only drank alcohol when away from the Sikh community. The majority of these females rationalised their actions by pointing to the difficulties of avoiding beef and alcohol in the wider society. Thus, in so far as they maintained these particular Sikh norms selectively, i.e. within the community, they manifested a situational approach to preserving parental traditions.

So far, I have argued that situational ethnicity can be said to have occurred in relation to those respondents who tended to confine religious traits to specific and relevant contexts within the Sikh community. However, I would also argue that situational ethnicity has its limitations since, in my study, not all second generation girls conformed to traditions in this way. For instance, it bears no relevance to those respondents who said that they willingly maintained traditions in all situations. Examples of such adherence relate to the wearing of the bangle (49 per cent); abstaining from beef, alcohol and cigarettes (30 per cent, 60 per cent and 100 per cent respectively). Thus, to the extent that these respondents said that they willingly maintained these traits "all the time", i.e. within and outside the community, it can be said that their conformity was far from situational or flexible.

Furthermore, I would argue that situational ethnicity cannot be applied to those respondents who said that they did not adhere to traditions under any circumstance. For instance, twenty-four per cent said that they did not wear the Kara (bangle); 45 per cent said that they did not carry the Kangha (comb); 98 per cent said that they never carried the Kirpan (sword) and all respondents said that they did not wear Kaccha (special underwear).

Furthermore, 28 per cent of my subjects said that they did not refrain from eating beef and 30 per cent said that they drank alcohol. In conclusion, situational ethnicity was only partially

evident with regard to the extent to which my respondents adhered to religious traditions.

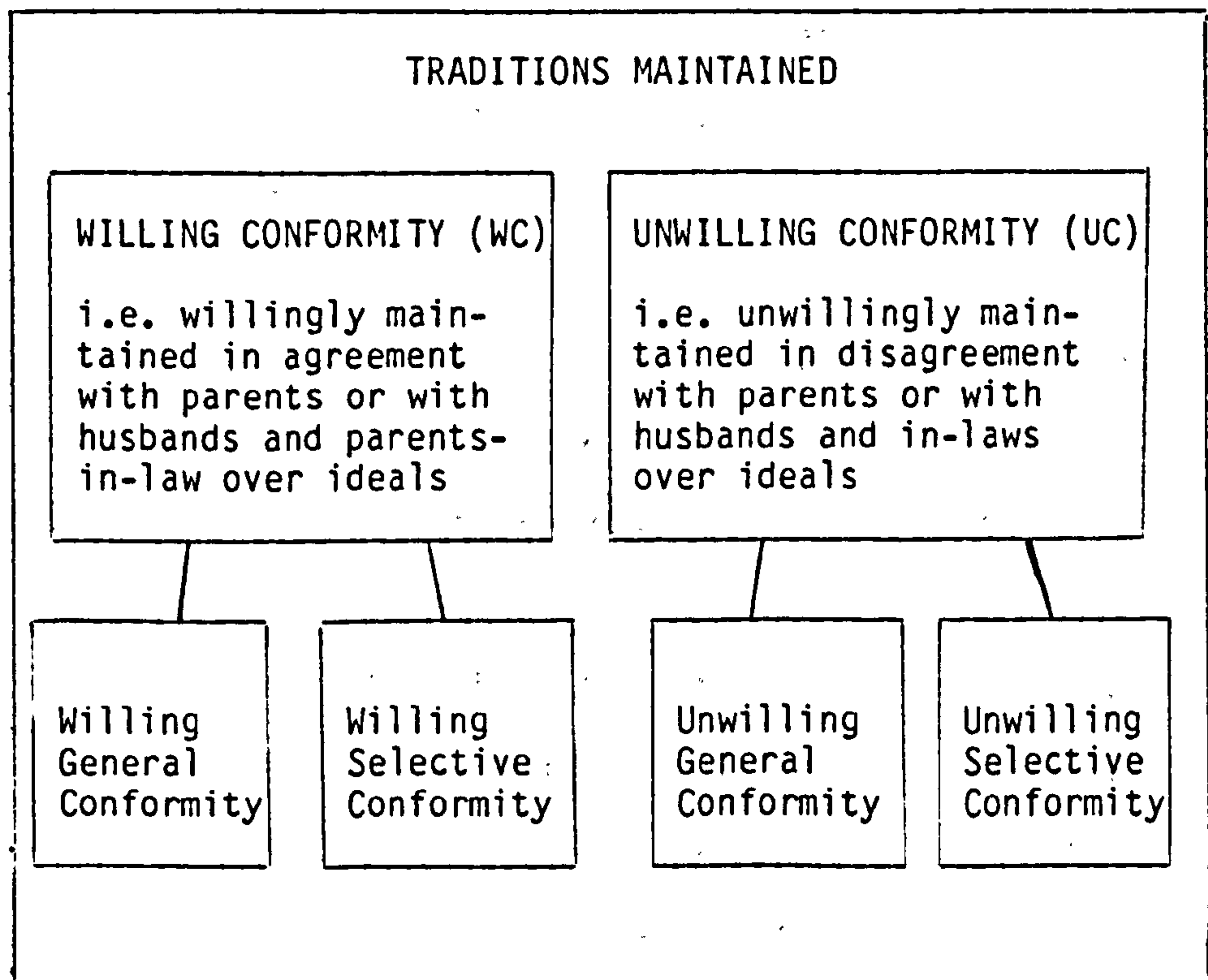
5.3 PATTERNS OF CONFORMITY AND NON-CONFORMITY

In sections 5.2 I examined the extent to which some of the main beliefs and practices of the Sikh religion - as prescribed in the Code of Conduct and the Rehat Maryada - were maintained or abandoned by my respondents. The results of my enquiry in this area demonstrated the extent to which these members of the second generation maintained their religious traditions. Moreover, my findings also indicated how important it is to recognize that there are different types of conformity and non-conformity.

After examining the girls' responses to my questions on their religious beliefs and practices, I consider it useful to distinguish between two main categories of conformity - Willing Conformity (WC) and Unwilling Conformity (UC).

Figure 1

Categories of Conformity



As Figure 1 indicates, Willing Conformity can be said to exist when traditions are maintained by the girls because they themselves wish to do so. Single girls agree with their parents with regard to preserving their traditions and perceive that they meet their parents' expectations. Consequently, there is no basis for intergenerational conflict. Similarly, it applies when young married women are not coerced into maintaining their traditions by their husbands and parents-in-law, but do so willingly. Willing Conformity represents a strong sense of commitment towards parental norms, values and behavioural patterns.

Willing Conformity can be divided into two sub-categories.

Willing General Conformity exists when traditions are maintained permanently in all situations. On the other hand, when they are maintained only in specific and relevant situations it can be said that Willing Selective Conformity exists. This form of accommodation is accepted by parents, husbands and parents-in-law.

My enquiry also revealed that Sikh girls sometimes only adhered to their religious practices in deference to their parents. There were no married women in this category. Thus, as indicated in Figure 1, Unwilling Conformity can be said to occur when Sikh girls do not accept the beliefs and practices of Sikhism but, nevertheless, still maintain them due to family and community sanctions. These girls perceive that their values differ from those of their parents but, since they do conform, albeit unwillingly, conflict is avoided or contained. Unwilling Conformity therefore represents a rejection of traditional norms, values and behavioural patterns at an attitudinal level. This category corresponds to Brah's findings on changes in value at the level of ideology rather than at the behavioural level (Brah, 1979).

Unwilling Conformity can be divided into two sub-categories.

Thus, Unwilling General Conformity can be said to exist when traditions are adhered to unwillingly in all situations and all the time. Unwilling Selective Conformity, on the other hand, can be said to occur when they are maintained only in specific and

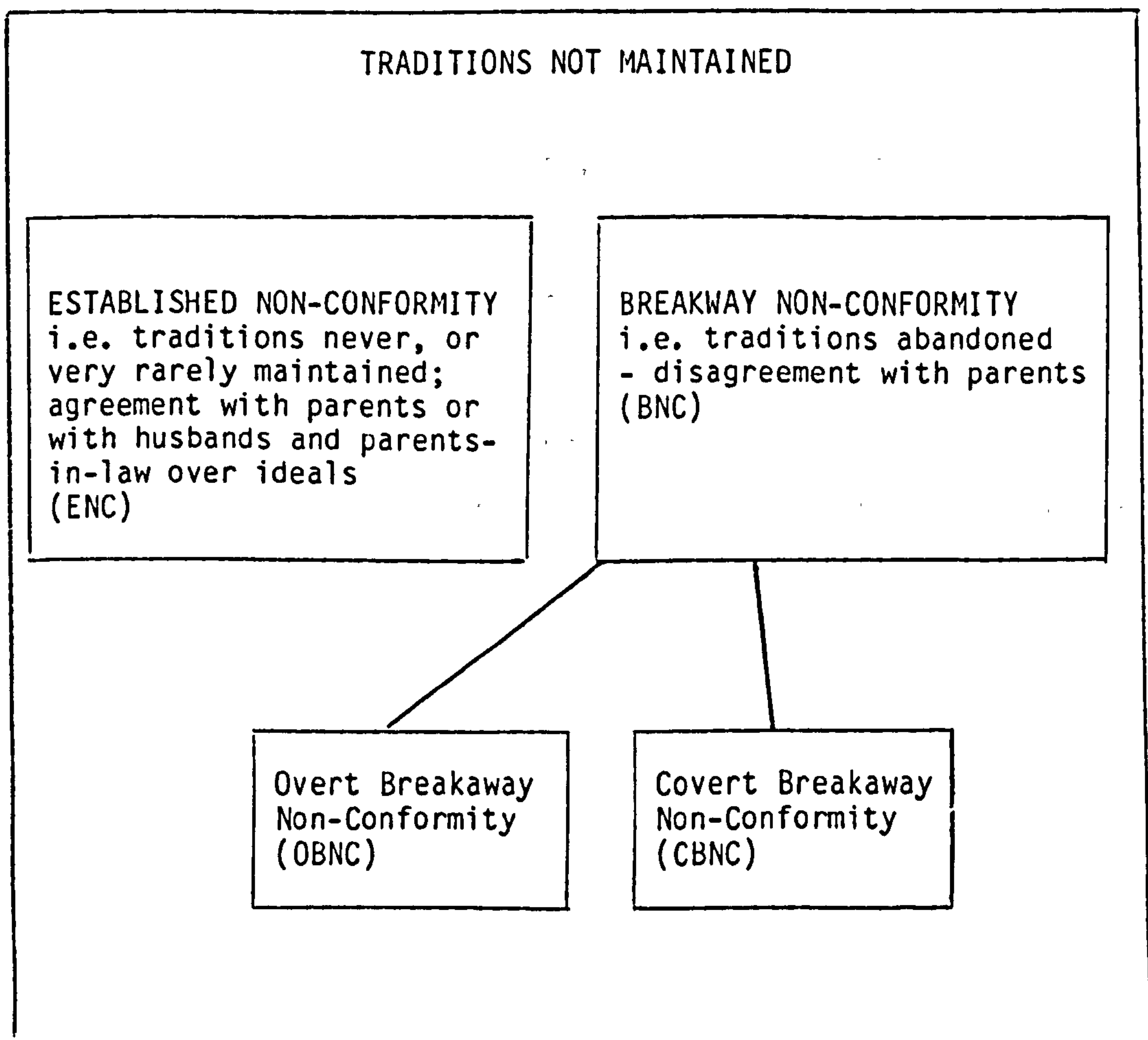
relevant situations.

The results of my enquiry on the religious beliefs and practices of Sikh girls also enabled me to identify two main categories of non-conformity. I call them Established Non-Conformity and Breakaway Non-Conformity. As indicated in Figure 2, Established Non-Conformity can be said to exist when Sikh girls never or very rarely adhere to religious traditions. However, this does not lead to intergenerational conflict because their parents do not expect or put pressure on them to conform. Often, the parents have also abandoned Sikh norms, values and behavioural patterns. Similarly, young married women in this category are not pressured into conforming to Sikh practices by their husbands and parents-in-law. Established Non-Conformity can be said to represent a rejection of traditions.

In contrast to the above, some girls disobey their parents by abandoning their traditions - thus giving rise to Breakaway Non-Conformity. These girls perceive that they do not meet their parents' expectations. However, some disobey their parents overtly (Overt Non-Conformity) and others do so secretly (Covert Non-Conformity). Overt intergenerational conflict only occurs in relation to the first sub-category, whilst it is avoided or contained in the second sub-category. Since none of my married respondents said that they had disobeyed their husbands and parents-in-law in this way, this categorisation does not apply to them.

Figure 2

Categories of Non-Conformity



It is now possible to re-examine my findings on the religious practices of Sikh girls by employing a framework based on the above types of conformity and non-conformity. For example, Table 5.7 shows that 54 per cent of all my respondents had long hair because of personal conviction, (Willing Conformity) in contrast to 21 per cent who maintained Kesh only in deference to their parents (Unwilling Conformity). Moreover, 18 per cent of the girls I interviewed can be said to be established Non-Conformists in relation to Kesh, since they had not been socialized to adhere to this specific element of Sikhism. Finally, with regard to Kesh, only 7 per cent had overtly abandoned this tradition without parental consent. Since Willing Conformity can be said to represent a strong commitment to preserving Kesh, in contrast to Unwilling Conformity, Established Non-Conformity and Breakaway Non-Conformity - all of which represent a rejection of this ideal, it would appear that 54 per cent of my respondents were strongly committed to maintaining long hair whilst 46 per cent were not.

Table 5.7 The Maintenance and Abandonment of the 5 Ks

		KESH (hair) %	KARA (bangle) %	KANGHA (comb) %	KIRPAN (sword) %	KACCHA (underwear) %
WILLING CONFORMITY	<u>*Gen</u>	54	49	2	2	0
	<u>*Sel</u>	0	15	39	0	0
UNWILLING CONFORMITY	<u>*Gen</u>	21	0	0	0	0
	<u>*Sel</u>	0	9	14	0	0
ESTABLISHED NON-CONFORMITY		18	20	40	98	100
BREAKAWAY NON-CONFORMITY	<u>Overt</u>	7	4	5	0	0
	<u>Covert</u>	0	3	0	0	0
N=102		100	100	100	100	100

*Gen = General

*Sel = Selective

In relation to the Kara (bangle), 49 per cent of my respondents said that they wore it willingly and all the time, that is they demonstrated a total degree of Willing General Conformity.

On the other hand, 15 per cent said that they wore the Kara only in relevant situations, albeit willingly. These girls were conforming selectively (Willing Selective Conformity). When these two sub-categories of conformity are added together, 64 per cent of my respondents can be said to have displayed a strong sense of commitment to this particular element of Sikhism.

In contrast to the above 64 per cent however, 9 per cent wore the Kara selectively and unwillingly (Unwilling Selective Conformity) whilst 20 per cent had never been asked by their parents to wear the Kara (Established Non-Conformity). Finally, in relation to the bangle, only 4 per cent had overtly disobeyed their parents by refusing to wear it and 3 per cent had not conformed to it secretly (Breakaway Non-Conformity). Thus, 64 per cent of the girls in my study exhibited a strong sense of commitment to this tradition and 36 per cent did not appear to support it.

In relation to the Kangha (comb) 39 per cent of my respondents said that they willingly maintained this tradition albeit only in relevant situations (Willing Selective Conformity). On the other hand, 14 per cent of the girls interviewed said that they carried the comb only when asked to do so by their parents in relevant situations (Unwilling Selective Conformity). A further 40 per cent can be placed in the Established Non-Conformity category because they said that they had never been obliged to carry a special comb. A smaller minority of 5 per cent said that they had disobeyed their parents by refusing to carry the Kangha. Thus, 41 of my respondents can be said to have demonstrated a strong commitment to maintaining this characteristic symbol, whilst 59 per cent did not appear to support it.

When the different types of conformity and non-conformity are applied to an examination of my respondents' reported adherence to Kirpan (a sword) and Kaccha (special underwear), one finds that,

in these areas, only Established Non-Conformity prevails, since the vast majority of the girls in my enquiry reported that these rules were neither enforced by their parents nor maintained by most other Sikhs in Britain.

In summary, the above exercise suggests that Sikh girls can be divided into two groups, especially in relation to having long hair, and wearing the Kara. Just over half of them willingly conformed to these traditions and can be said to have displayed positive attitudes towards maintaining them, whilst just under half did not express any interest in preserving them. In addition, there appeared to be very little basis for intergenerational conflict in relation to the Five Ks. This was reflected in the low incidence of Overt or even Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity. This lack of reported conflict can also be explained by the existence of Unwilling Conformity, whereby conflict was avoided or contained and by the extent of Established Non-Conformity. This category is of special significance because it would seem that many parents do not put pressure on their daughters to adhere to these elements of Sikhism, having already abandoned them in some cases themselves.

I am also able to employ the above framework to re-examine my findings on my respondents' reported behaviour in relation to eating beef, drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes and attending the temple. As Table 5.8 indicates, 30 per cent of the girls interviewed said that they always avoided beef without any

coercion from members of their families (i.e. an example of Willing General Conformity). Seventeen per cent, however, said that they only ate beef if and when there was no alternative (i.e. an example of Willing Selective Conformity). When both sub-categories of conformity are combined, a total of 47 per cent of the girls in my study represent a positive orientation towards this Indian custom. In contrast, 28 per cent of my respondents who had always eaten beef and who were therefore in the Established Non-Conformity category, had clearly rejected this tradition. Moreover, 21 per cent of the interviewees reported that they had covertly abandoned this dietary norm, that is, they had exhibited a total degree of Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity.

When the figures for alcohol are examined, one finds that 60 per cent of the girls reported that they willingly abstained from it (General Willing Conformity). Thirty per cent, however, said that they had drunk alcohol but always within the family (Established Non-Conformity). Finally, (in relation to alcohol) 10 per cent of my respondents said that they had disobeyed their parents covertly by drinking alcohol (i.e. An example of Covert Breakaway Non-

Table 5.8 Patterns of Conformity and Non-Conformity in Relation to eating beef drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes and going to the temple.

	Beef	Alcohol	Cigarettes	Temple
	%	%	%	%
WILLING <u>Gen</u> CONFORMITY <u>Sel</u>	30 17	60 0	100 0	0 42
UNWILLING <u>Gen</u> CONFORMITY <u>Sel</u>	4 0	0 0	0 0	0 6
ESTABLISHED NON-CONFORMITY	28	30	0	44
BREAKAWAY <u>Overt</u> NON-CONFORMITY <u>Covert</u>	0 21	0 10	0 0	8 0
N = 102	100	100	100	100

Gen = General
Sel = Selective

Conformity). Thus, it would seem that 60 per cent of the girls were strongly committed towards maintaining this characteristic of the Sikh religion and that 40 per cent were not.

Whilst 60 per cent of my respondents said that they never drank alcohol, all of them stated that they did not smoke cigarettes and that, moreover, they did not wish to do so. In this respect, only Willing Conformity prevails.

Finally, Table 5.8 indicates that, with regard to temple attendance, 42 per cent of my respondents said that they went to the gurdwara willingly (Willing Conformity), whilst 6 per cent said that they did so reluctantly (Unwilling Conformity). Only 8 per cent said that they overtly disobeyed their parents by refusing to go to the temple (Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity) and 44 per cent reported that they had never or very rarely done so and, moreover, that they had not been pressured by their families (Established Non-Conformity).

To summarise, apart from smoking cigarettes - over which there was complete consensus, Sikh girls in my enquiry can be divided into two almost equal groups. There were those who demonstrated a willingness to preserve their traditions in contrast to those of their peers who expressed little or no interest in doing so. Furthermore, there appeared to be very little intergenerational conflict in relation to eating beef, drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes and going to the temple. This is reflected in the low incidence of Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity. Overt conflict was

incidence of Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity. Overt conflict was averted in some instances, as for example in relation to beef, because almost a quarter of my respondents said that they ate this item of food without parental knowledge or consent. However, the lack of intergenerational conflict was also reflected in the existence of Established Non-Conformity whereby Sikh girls are not obliged by their families to maintain traditions. Thus, with regard to eating beef, drinking alcohol and going to the temple, 28 per cent, 30 per cent and 44 per cent respectively did not experience any conflicts with their families even though they did not keep these traditions.

Having examined the extent to which the main beliefs and practices of Sikhism - as prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh - were maintained or abandoned by my respondents and, their reasons for doing so, I now turn my attention to an examination of their perceptions of difference between Sikhs and Non-Sikhs.

5.4 PERCEIVED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SIKHS AND NON-SIKHS

In order to examine whether the beliefs and practices of the Sikh religion were employed by my respondents in drawing comparisons between themselves and non-Sikhs particularly white natives, they were asked: "Do you ever compare the Sikh religion with other religions?". Ninety-six per cent of my respondents replied that they did do so and only 4 per cent responded that they did not do

so. Accordingly, those who replied in the affirmative were asked to identify the religions with which they compared Sikhism. All the girls concerned stated that they compared the Sikh religion with Christianity. They were asked: "In what ways do you think that they are similar and in what ways do you think that they are different?". In response, 20 per cent (of the 96 per cent) said, that in their opinion, both religions shared the same "message", that is, a belief in God, instructions to "love thy neighbour" and other "commandments" such as, "Thou shall not commit murder". According to these girls, although the "message" is the same in both religions, the methods of worship are different. In addition, they thought that the five Ks and other characteristics of Sikhism, such as the prohibition of drinking alcohol and eating beef distinguished Sikhs from Christians. For example:

I suppose I do compare my religion with Christianity because I live here and I've attended school assembly. In some respects they are very similar. They both say things like 'do good to others', 'love thy neighbour, don't kill other human beings etc'. Jesus gave the Christians this message whereas our Gurus were messengers in India. Sikh prayers are different from Christian ones - there's a difference in language for instance. Then there's our Granth - it's different from the Bible. The stories are different. The Sikh religion has a different history from the Christian religion. Then there are other things that Christians don't have to do - like the Five Ks, turbans for men, not eating beef, not smoking, not drinking alcohol etc.

Comparisons such as the above were also made by a further 70 per cent (of the 96 per cent) who, in addition, said that they thought that Christians had 'more freedom' than Sikhs. When asked to expand on their answers, these girls tended to use the terms 'Christians', 'English' and 'white people' interchangeably. They

said that unlike "English" girls, Sikh (girls) were not permitted to go out in the evenings, were not allowed to have their hair cut short, were not always allowed to wear skirts, could not have 'love marriages' and were not permitted to go out with boys. Thus, for these girls, both religious practices, such as the Five Ks and Punjabi socio-cultural traditions such as the 'arranged' marriage were salient characteristics which distinguished Sikhs from Christians/English people. For example:

There are lots of differences. For a start, the Christians have more freedom. What I mean is that English girls can cut their hair, they can wear skirts, they can go out whenever they want. Sikh girls can't do any of these things. Sikh girls have to obey their parents, especially for marriage. Sikh men have to wear turbans. Then we have the 5Ks - the Christians don't have them. We are not supposed to eat beef or drink. We have our Bible and the English have theirs. We say prayers in Punjabi, theirs is in English. But both religions say 'believe in God and do good things'.

Finally, 10 per cent of my respondents who said that they compared the Sikh religion with Christianity, confined their comparisons to socio-cultural criteria. In other words, they did not refer to any of the religious rules which had been discussed with them during the interviews. Instead, when asked to cite some of the differences which they perceived existed between Sikhism and Christianity, they emphasized socio-cultural norms, including the 'arranged' marriage and other restrictions which applied specifically to women - for instance, those relating to their social and recreational activities.

In summary, 96 per cent of my respondents said that they compared Sikhism with Christianity. Moreover, most of these members of the second generation appeared to equate Christianity with being "English". In this respect, they therefore drew comparisons between themselves (as Sikhs) and white members of society.

My findings also indicated that apart from 20 per cent (of the 96 per cent) whose perceptions of difference were based largely on religious criteria, the majority of my respondents employed both religious and socio-cultural diacritica with which to distinguish between Sikhs and white natives. This suggests that most Sikh girls in my enquiry defined Sikhism in terms of both the religious requirements - as prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh - and Punjabi cultural traditions. This finding is significant because it suggests that my respondents' definitions of the requirements of the Sikh religion differed in some respects from my own. My definition was based predominantly on the main beliefs and practices of Sikhism which are prescribed in the Code of Conduct and the Rehat Maryada. In conducting my interviews, I examined these religious requirements - such as the Five Ks - separately from Punjabi socio-cultural traditions - for example, the 'arranged' marriage. My respondents, on the other hand, tended not to distinguish between both dimensions in their perceptions of Sikhism, as revealed in their replies to my question on their perceptions of differences between Sikhism and other religions. Socio-cultural norms, such as those governing the restrictions on wearing skirts or those relating to the 'arranged' marriage were

often vested with religious significance. In other words, the 'arranged' marriage was considered to be a religious requirement rather than a cultural tradition. Thus, the main difference between my definition of the requirements of Sikhism and that of most of my respondents, was that I concentrated on those religious practices which are prescribed in the Code of Conduct and the Rehat Maryada, whilst most of my respondents combined these religious requirements with the norms, values and behavioural patterns of Punjabi culture. In my view, this difference of approach does not invalidate my findings on the religious dimension of my respondents' lives because, in so far as the majority of the girls in my enquiry did include such religious requirements as the Five Ks and the prohibition on drinking alcohol in their perceptions of Sikhism, both definitions were similar.

It has already been demonstrated that the vast majority of the Sikh girls in my study perceived that there were significant differences between Sikhs and white members of society. In order to examine whether my respondents also thought that their religious traditions had been devalued by white natives, they were asked: "Has someone who was not a Sikh ever criticised the Sikh religion in your presence?" Ninety-two per cent replied that they had been subjected to criticism, 5 per cent said that they had not and 3 per cent did not know. When asked to expand on their answers, 77 per cent (of the 92 per cent) replied that the 'English' had done so, 14 per cent said that they had been criticized by white natives and by Pakistani Muslims and 9 per

cent responded that Muslims in particular, had often argued with them over Sikhism. Their responses revealed that, in their experience, white people tended to disparage their dietary norms, their traditional clothing (i.e. the Salwar Kameeze) and their marital systems. For instance:

Yes, lots of white people make fun of our religion. I remember, when I was young, in primary school, I used to be a typical Indian girl - dressed up with the scarf, the bangle and the salwar kameeze. And they said, "why are you dressed up like that? You look like a right hooligan." And I said "well, it is our religion". They said, "your religion is stupid really, the things you wear and the way you have to get married and that." Well, I said, "that's part of my religion". When I got home from school, I cried. I was really upset. I tried to explain to them but with some white people, they will never listen, never understand. I thought to myself, I'll never dress up Indian again. I never did, especially not to school. But now I wear the Sari sometimes, because I have to learn to live like an Indian before I get married.

Yes, there are some white people who mock our religion. There's a man who lives on the next street and he often says stupid things like "have you seen chips, do you eat curry?" Some English people also criticize the way we dress and especially the way we get married. I think that this makes Sikh children ashamed of themselves. When I was younger, in primary school, the teachers didn't like us to wear the bangle or the salwar kameeze. I think that things are changing nowadays in school. The teachers have become more aware of our culture. But there is still a lot of prejudice against our religion. It's bound to affect us but I don't know what you can do about it.

The above quotations, especially the first one, demonstrate how such experiences of white antipathy can cause unhappiness and serve to restrict some traditions to relevant situations within the Sikh community. For instance, the girl in the first quotation said that she decided not to wear the Salwar Kameeze and the Kara

when at school, although she continued to do so at home. Ten per cent of my respondents also reported that they tended to accept such criticisms from their white peers and from white adults, when at primary school, but that when they entered secondary school, they endeavoured to defend themselves by participating in impromptu discussions. For example:

Some would mock the outward appearance of the religion - such as the turban or the kamiz. I think that it is a matter of toleration. You've got to tolerate people who are ignorant of the facts. I try to tolerate it as much as I can. I try to explain it to them (i.e. the English). I try to argue with them and ask them "what makes you think that your way is the best?" It's not so much defence, but I try to make them understand what we do and why we do it. I try to fill the vacuum in their minds.

Thus, the vast majority of the girls in my enquiry said that they had been subjected to criticisms by white members of society. Twenty-one per cent of my respondents however, also stated that, in their experience, Muslim Pakistans had often 'attacked' or 'criticized' the Sikh religion. When asked to be more explicit, these respondents replied that their Muslim peers had sometimes argued that since only Islam was the 'true religion', Sikhism was not an authentic religion. Moreover, their Muslim critics, according to these respondents, also derided the Sikh religion by saying that it was merely a branch of Hinduism. Criticisms such as these probably reflect the historical antagonisms which have existed between Muslims and Sikhs ever since the birth and development of the Sikh religion in the Punjab. I have already discussed this particular episode of the history of Sikhism in

Chapter Three.

Of more significance, however, are the criticisms by white natives, to which most of my respondents were reportedly subjected. In view of such experiences, Sikh girls might be expected to display low levels of allegiance to their religion and a rejection of a Sikh identity. In order to test this proposition, all my respondents were asked a hypothetical question: "If you had the chance to be born again and if you could choose your own religion, what would you choose?" Seventy-seven per cent replied that they would choose to remain Sikh, 20 per cent said that they would like to be "Christians" or "English" and 3 per cent did not know.

Those respondents who chose Sikhism were asked why they did so. In reply, 30 per cent said that they preferred to remain Sikh because they considered the (Sikh) family to be more supportive and, in many ways, superior to the "English" family. These girls were highly critical of the parents of their white peers whom they perceived to be less caring and less protective than their own parents. For instance:

I'll keep Sikh because Sikhs take more care of their kids. You know, they put you on the right track. Whereas, the English don't bother with their children. The kids go out whenever they want. The Indians can't do this.

Sikhism. I don't like having boyfriends like English girls. I like staying at home, learning to sew and cook. Then you get married, you have children and teach them about Sikh ways. It's no good being English, especially if you are a girl, it's better to be Sikh.

I'd choose to be born a Sikh. I think for a start it's the only religion I know. And there's a lot of backing - you see, the Asians are an extended family. I was saying to my (white) friends the other day, that if my Dad died, I wouldn't really know that one of my parents had died because my Uncle would immediately take over. Whereas, if I was English, I would be put into a home. Our network of families is so close, isn't it?

A further 41 per cent said that they would choose to be born Sikhs because they were satisfied with their own religion and because they would like to be re-born into their own families.

I would stay with the same religion. Why? Because I think that Sikhism is simple. I don't find it difficult - like Hinduism, it's difficult because you have to pray to all those Gods. With the Christian religion you have different sects - Catholics, Church of England etc. Our religion is simple. I'm happy with it. Also, I like my Mum and Dad and so, I would choose them.

A further 15 per cent said that they would choose Sikhism, on condition that certain restrictions were removed:

I'd like to be Sikh but I would not like some of these restrictions - I mean it's too much. The next generation, they won't have them. All the restrictions about boyfriends and not wearing skirts and not cutting you hair - well, they will all die out, unless you get a strict mother-in-law. We talk among our cousins, we say, "oh, we will let our kids do anything." I think that I'd still be a Sikh, but the more tolerant kind of Sikhism.

Finally, the rest of the girls in this category simply stated that they were "proud to be Sikhs". As one girl put it, "I like being a Sikh because Indian is the best. I wouldn't like to be a Christian or a Paki".

To recall, in contrast to the majority who chose to remain Sikh, 20 per cent of all my respondents said that they would choose to be "Christian" or "English". When asked for their reasons, all stated that they would like to 'have more freedom'. They perceived that Sikhism was very restrictive and that their white peers did not have to suffer such restrictions. For instance:

I would choose Christianity because it is better - well, the way of living is better. Separation from home, marriage. There are many things which you can do when you are English but you can't when you are Indian.

I'd like to be born English. I think that they get a better life than us. You know, they are quite free to do what they want. I believe in freedom. I mean, in the Sikh religion, you are made to stay at home. I don't like that. I like mixing with everybody. In the Sikh religion, your Mum and Dad say that you can't marry an English boy or any boy that you like. That's why I'd like to be English.

Thus, the response to my hypothetical question indicates that a majority of my respondents would choose to remain loyal to their ethnic group and, moreover, displayed a sense of pride in being Sikh, even though the vast majority perceived that some white members of society had devalued their traditions. One-fifth of the girls, however, did not exhibit such allegiance to Sikhism largely because they considered it to be socially restrictive.

In summary, 96 per cent of my respondents said that they did compare their religion and culture with that of the indigenous population. Their responses to my question demonstrate that these members of the second generation perceived that white

natives differed significantly from Sikhs in relation to religious and socio-cultural norms, values and behavioural patterns. Furthermore, the majority of girls perceived that their own traditions were not always respected by white members of society. My findings also indicate that my respondents' perceptions enhanced a sense of difference between 'us' (Sikhs) and 'them' (white members of society). Moreover, this perception of difference was sometimes used by the girls to positively identify with other members of their ethnic groups vis-a-vis white natives. For example, some girls thought that it was "better to be born a Sikh" because they believed that in contrast to their own parents - whom they perceived to be caring and supportive, white parents did not display much interest in their children. Thus, in this example, perceived differences in relation to Sikh and English family systems were used by some girls to assert a positive ethnic identity. Not all respondents, however, expressed such negative opinions on the norms, values and behavioural patterns of the indigenous population. For instance, 20 per cent of the girls whom I interviewed said that they would have preferred to be "English" because they thought that, unlike themselves, white children were not closely supervised by their parents and thus enjoyed a degree of "freedom" which was denied to Sikh children.

5.5 A SUMMARY OF CHAPTER FIVE

The results of my enquiry on the Sikh religion indicate that its main beliefs and practices remained well supported. For instance,

75 per cent of these members of the second generation maintained Kesh (i.e. they had long hair), 73 per cent said that they wore the Kara (a bangle) and 55 per cent said that they carried the Kangha (a comb). Furthermore, all my respondents stated that they did not smoke cigarettes, 60 per cent reported that they did not drink alcohol under any circumstances and 51 per cent said that they did not eat beef. In addition, 78 per cent of my respondents maintained the name 'Kaur' (Princess), although some of them only used it as a middle name.

Although these traditions were well supported, a majority of the girls in my study considered themselves to be inadequately informed about the Sikh religion. Indeed, there appeared to be some evidence to support this view. For example, over half my respondents did not know that Sikhism is monotheistic, only a very small minority were able to define 'Halal' meat and the majority said that they were unable to follow the religious services or read the Granth (Holy Book). The vast majority thought that Sikh children should be formally instructed about their religion in school. During the duration of my research project, religious instruction was available in the temples but only 32 per cent of my respondents said that they had attended these classes. Indeed, these girls tended to go to the temple regularly and, in this respect, differed from 58 per cent of my respondents who said that they went to the temple only occasionally or not at all.

The results of my enquiry also indicate the need to distinguish between different types of conformity and non-conformity. For

instance, Willing Conformity can be said to exist when traditions are maintained without coercion whilst Unwilling Conformity occurs when Sikh girls maintain them against their will. In contrast, Established Non-Conformity can be said to exist when traditions are not adhered to because Sikh girls have not been socialized in to doing so. Finally, Breakaway Non-Conformity occurs when the girls disobey their parents by refusing to preserve their traditions.

There appeared to be very little scope for overt conflict between my respondents and their parents in relation to religious practices, and this was reflected in the very low incidence of Breakaway Non-Conformity, that is, very few girls said that they had overtly - or even covertly - disobeyed their parents. Moreover, in almost all the variables which were examined, over half or just under half of my respondents said that they had willingly conformed to the religious rules concerned. In addition, in relation to some elements of Sikhism, for example, with regard to drinking alcohol and going to the temple, a fairly substantial proportion (30 per cent and 44 per cent respectively), said that they had not been obliged by their families to maintain these traditions strictly (i.e. Established Non-Conformity). Thus, Sikh girls who conformed willingly and those who were 'Established Non-Conformists' did not appear to disagree with their parents with regard to those characteristics of Sikhism which were examined in my enquiry. Finally, the lack of overt intergenerational conflict can also be attributed to the actions

of girls who avoided such conflict by reluctantly adhering to some elements of Sikhism, for instance, by not having their hair cut short (21 per cent), by carrying the Kangha (14 per cent), by wearing the Kara (9 per cent), by not eating beef (4 per cent) and by going to the temple (6 per cent).

In addition to the above, the results of my enquiry also demonstrate that my respondents perceived significant differences between Sikhs and white members of society. Although some girls identified these differences largely in terms of religious criteria, most of them drew distinctions between 'them' (white natives) and 'us' (Sikhs) in terms of religious and Punjabi cultural criteria. Although a sizeable minority (20 per cent) displayed a preference for certain cultural traits of the wider society, for most of my respondents, the distinctions they perceived between Sikhs and white natives served to enhance rather than lower the value of their own religious and socio-cultural traditions.

CHAPTER SIX

PRESERVING THE MOTHER TONGUE - THE PUNJABI LANGUAGE

My aim in this chapter is to examine whether my respondents spoke Punjabi and, if so, to enquire when and with whom they did so. Accordingly, all respondents were asked: "Can you speak Punjabi?". All replied that they could speak their mother tongue but 65 per cent spontaneously added that, in their opinion, they spoke it "rather badly".

In order to find out with whom and in which situations Punjabi was spoken, the girls in my study were asked several questions. First, in relation to their parents, they were asked the following: "Which language do you usually speak with your parents at home?" and "Which language do you usually speak when you are out with your parents?"

As indicated in Table 6.1, 45 per cent of these second generation Sikh girls said that they only spoke Punjabi with their parents. When asked why they did so, they all replied that their parents did not speak English very well. A further 30 per cent of my respondents stated that they spoke Punjabi with their mothers, but, that they spoke both English and Punjabi with their fathers. When asked to elaborate, these girls informed me that their

Table 6.1 Languages Spoken with Parents at Home

Languages Spoken	%
Punjabi with Both Parents	45
Punjabi with Mother*	2
Punjabi with Mother and, English and Punjabi with Father	30
English and Punjabi with Both Parents	20
English with Both Parents	3
N = 102	100

* Father deceased

Table 6.2 Languages Spoken with Parents when Away from Home

Languages Spoken	%
Punjabi with Both Parents	45
Punjabi with Mother*	2
Punjabi with Mother and English and Punjabi with Father	30
English and Punjabi with Both Parents	15
English with Both Parents	8
N = 102	100

* Father deceased

mothers had a very basic knowledge of the English language and, for this reason, they only spoke Punjabi with them. Their fathers, on the other hand (according to these girls) had a better command of the English language than their mothers and, for this reason, they were able to communicate with them in both languages. Thus, for example, they said that they usually spoke Punjabi when in the presence of both parents but, if alone with their fathers, they would often switch to the English language. In addition, half of them said that they sometimes had to ask their fathers to translate for them when they were unable to express themselves adequately in Punjabi, when conversing with their mothers or other non-English speaking relatives.

Another 20 per cent of my respondents stated that they spoke both English and Punjabi with their parents. When asked to elaborate, 80 per cent of them replied that since their own standard of fluency in Punjabi was "poor", they were often unable to express themselves satisfactorily in that language. Consequently, they switched over to English whenever they found themselves in difficulties.

Finally, as Table 6.1 indicates, 3 per cent of my respondents said that they only spoke English with their parents even though they were able to speak "a little" Punjabi. When asked for their reasons, they replied that they did not need to speak Punjabi because their parents spoke English fluently. They added that they were only obliged to speak their mother tongue when in the presence of (usually) older, non-English speaking Sikhs.

As Table 6.2 shows, when the girls were asked to name the languages which they usually spoke when they were out with their parents, the vast majority of respondents made it clear that being out with their parents did not make any difference to the language they used. Forty-five per cent said that they only spoke Punjabi because their parents did not speak English very well and 30 per cent responded that they spoke Punjabi with their mothers and both English and Punjabi with their fathers. Fifteen per cent of all my respondents said that they spoke English and Punjabi with their parents depending on the situation in which they found themselves. For example, they said that they would usually speak Punjabi when visiting relatives or Sikh friends but if they were out shopping with their parents they would usually speak English. Finally, only 8 per cent of the girls I interviewed said that they only spoke English when out with their parents. When asked why they did not speak Punjabi, they replied that they thought that it was impolite to do so, especially when in the company of people who did not speak it.

In summary, my findings suggest that Punjabi was still spoken by the vast majority of my respondents even though many of them thought that they did not possess a very high standard of fluency in it. Furthermore, my findings indicate that although the vast majority informed me that they spoke their mother tongue with their parents, the English language was not excluded. For example, 30 per cent of the girls said that whilst they

communicated with their mothers in Punjabi, they spoke Punjabi and English with their fathers. Another 20 per cent said that they spoke to their parents in both languages whilst a small minority claimed to speak only English. It would appear that there were fewer mothers than fathers who had more than a basic knowledge of the English language. It is probably for this reason that a higher proportion of Sikh girls said that they spoke only Punjabi with their mothers.

In addition to the above, I also examined the extent to which second generation Sikh girls spoke Punjabi with their siblings. Accordingly, I asked them: "Which language do you usually speak with your brothers and sisters at home?"

Table 6.3 Languages Spoken with Siblings at Home and when Away

Languages Spoken	At Home	Away
Punjabi and English	51	15
English	49	85
N = 102	100	100

As Table 6.3 indicates, 51 per cent of my respondents said that they spoke both languages. When asked to elaborate, they all said that it depended on the circumstances in which they found themselves. Three-quarters of them stated that if their parents

- especially their mothers - were in the same room, they and their siblings would usually speak in Punjabi but that when they were on their own, they would usually converse in English. In contrast to these girls, 49 per cent of my respondents reported that they usually only spoke English with their brothers and sisters. They added that if their parents spoke to them in Punjabi, they would sometimes reply in that language whilst carrying on a conversation with their siblings in English.

In order to examine whether my respondents also spoke Punjabi with their siblings when away from home, they were asked: "Which language do you usually speak when you are out with your brothers and sisters?" As indicated in Table 6.3 above, 85 per cent replied that if and when they went out with their siblings on their own (i.e. without their parents or other older relatives, they usually spoke in English. Fifteen per cent, however, said that they tended to speak both languages even when not accompanied by their parents or other relatives.

The above findings suggest that English tended to be the main medium of communication between my respondents and their siblings, especially when they were on their own and, particularly, when they were away from home. The majority of my respondents, however, said that they were able to switch linguistic codes whenever they were required to do so.

So far, I have concentrated on the languages which were spoken by my respondents when communicating with their parents and

siblings. I now turn my attention to the married women amongst them, in order to examine whether these young women spoke to their husbands in Punjabi. Accordingly, they were asked: "Which language do you usually speak with your husband?" There were only 5 women in this group and all replied that when they were on their own they usually conversed in the English language, but that when they were in the presence of their parents-in-law or other (older) Sikhs, they spoke Punjabi. Two of these young women had toddlers and I asked them: "Which language do you usually speak with your children?". Both replied that they usually spoke in English, but that they sometimes spoke Punjabi because of their parents and parents-in-law.

Having identified the languages which were usually spoken by my respondents, I also examined the extent to which they were literate in Punjabi. Accordingly, I asked all my respondents whether they could read and write that language. In reply, 75 per cent said that they could only speak their mother tongue, whilst 20 per cent responded that they had a basic knowledge of the written language. When asked: "Where did you learn to write it?", they informed me that they had achieved this by attending special classes at the temple(s) and at the International Community Centre in Nottingham. Finally, only 5 per cent of all my respondents said that they could read and write Punjabi "fluently" because they were preparing to take 'CSE' examinations in it. Thus, the majority of the girls in my study were not literate in their mother tongue.

In order to examine whether Sikh girls would have liked to improve their command of the Punjabi language, they were asked: "Are you satisfied with the way in which you have been taught Punjabi?" Seventy-two per cent said that they were not satisfied, 25 per cent replied that they were satisfied and 3 per cent offered no opinion. When those who were dissatisfied were asked for their reasons, 79 per cent of them informed me that they would have liked to have had some formal instruction in their mother tongue because they often found that they were unable to express themselves sufficiently fluently in it and, as a result, felt that they were not communicating effectively with their parents and other older Sikhs. In addition, they said that they had difficulties in understanding the services which were conducted in the temples. A further 21 per cent (of 72 per cent) said that they would have liked to have had some education in their mother tongue because they would then be able to read the letters which their parents received from relatives in India. The following quotations illustrate some of the answers I was given by girls in this group:

I would like to learn Indian better. It would help me because I get very nervous sometimes, if I think that I'm saying something wrong in Punjabi. It would make me more fluent. Nobody taught us the language properly. Also I would be able to understand what is happening in the temple.

I wish I could speak Punjabi better than I do at the moment. I also wish that I could learn to read and write it. I would like that because then I would be able to read books and write letters. My brother-in-law reads Indian newspapers. I wish I could do that. If I spoke my language properly, I wouldn't get stuck for words. It's difficult when you can't talk to your parents or relatives properly. Like my Mum, she always speaks to us in Indian but we don't always reply in Indian. So there's a lack of communication between us. When our relatives come over and they begin to speak in Punjabi with us, we can't recognise the voice - because we are so used to our mother speaking to us - and so, we can't understand what they are saying. We don't talk the language very well.

In contrast to the above, 25 per cent of my respondents said that they were satisfied with the way in which they were taught Punjabi. When asked for their reasons, 80 per cent of them replied that, in their opinion, the standard they had achieved was sufficient for them to be able to communicate effectively with members of the older generation and to be able to understand their religious services. Finally, 20 per cent (of the 25 per cent) said that they were satisfied with the way in which they had been taught Punjabi because they did not think it was an important or necessary language in the British context.

The above findings suggest that the majority of my respondents would have liked to attain a higher standard of proficiency in their mother tongue. In order to elicit their views on the teaching of Punjabi in school, they were asked: "Do you think it would be a good idea for Sikh children to be able to choose Punjabi as a language at school - just like French, German, etc, and be able to take examinations in Punjabi?" Eight-five per cent said that they thought it was a "very good" idea, 13 per cent

replied that they did not think that Punjabi should be taught in school and the rest said they did not know.

Table 6.4 Reasons for Teaching Punjabi in School

REASONS	%
To improve intergenerational communication and to preserve parental culture and ethnic identity	40
As above but also to improve relations between Sikhs and white natives	48
In case of repatriation to India	5
To improve one's chances of finding work	7
N = 87	100

As indicated in Table 6.4, when asked: "Why do you think it is a good idea?", 40 per cent of the girls who thought that Punjabi should be included in the school curriculum, replied that it would enable Sikh children to communicate more effectively with their parents and with other older members of the community. In addition, they thought that it would help to maintain their culture and their identity as Sikhs. For example:

I think it is a good idea because I want to keep my culture, my language and my religion. It would help Sikh children to know who they are and not to forget that they are Sikhs. Sometimes, it's nice to have a second language. If the language is taught in school, it's better because in school, it will be taught by a qualified teacher. This is better because sometimes Sikh parents are either too busy or they are not educated. So, they can't teach their children properly. If the children are taught in school they will be able to communicate better with their parents. Especially, some parents can't speak English and their children can't really tell them what they want to say because they can't speak Punjabi very well. That's when the conflict starts. That's why I think it is a very good idea.

The above reasons were also given by a further 48 per cent who also thought that teaching Punjabi in school would improve the self-image of Sikh children and the relationship between Sikhs and white members of society. These girls said that all children should be given the opportunity to learn Punjabi because it would help "English" children to respect their Sikh peers and it would encourage the latter to have more pride and confidence in themselves. For example:

I think that it's a very good idea. But it shouldn't only be for Sikhs. I think the English should also learn Punjabi because then they would know something about our culture and our history. If they knew more about us, they would not be ignorant about Indian ways. I think that quite a few English people would like to learn Indian if they were given the opportunity. I think it would bridge the gap between us. You know, some children are ashamed of being Indian. I think that if the language was introduced in school, it would make them proud. It's a very good idea because children would have no trouble communicating with parents.

Finally, only 5 per cent of my respondents said that they thought that Punjabi should be taught in school in case of repatriation:

If we went back to India and we couldn't speak Punjabi, it wouldn't be good. One day we will have to go back. Why? Because if more and more come over, they are going to do something about it - about sending us back. Like what happened in Uganda. In the villages in India, nobody speaks English.

In contrast to the above respondents, 13 per cent of all the girls I interviewed, said that they did not think that Punjabi should be included in the school curriculum. When asked for their reasons, 55 per cent of this minority replied that their mother tongue should be taught at home and in the temple because other subjects such as English and Mathematics were more important than Punjabi for improving one's employment prospects. Twenty-five per cent responded that the mother tongue should only be taught in the temples because white teachers and white parents would not approve of its inclusion in the school curriculum. The remaining 20 per cent stated that Punjabi was unnecessary because "Sikhs should integrate".

To summarise, the results of my enquiry on the mother tongue indicate that it was maintained by the vast majority of my respondents, even though most of them thought that they were not very proficient in it. However, it would appear that Sikh girls tended to use the Punjabi language largely when communicating with their parents and with other, older members of the community. When they were interacting with their siblings, or, if married, with their husbands, these members of the second generation tended to employ the English language.

Thus, I would argue that 'situational ethnicity' had indeed occurred in this particular area of my respondents' lives in so far as these members of the second generation said that they tended to speak Punjabi predominantly in specific and appropriate contexts within the Sikh community.

My findings also indicate that only a minority of the girls I interviewed were literate in Punjabi. Most of my respondents, however, would have liked to have had the opportunity to improve their command of that language. They wished to do so not only because they wanted to improve intergenerational communications but also because they wanted to preserve their language and identity. Indeed, when asked to comment on the idea of teaching Punjabi in school, the majority of my respondents expressed their support for this idea and most of them stated that they wished to preserve their mother tongue. Moreover, some of the girls said that white children should also be taught Punjabi in order to improve their perceptions of Sikhs in Nottingham and, consequently, help to improve relationships between white natives and Sikhs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DRESSING FOR THE OCCASION: PUNJABI OR 'WESTERN-STYLE' CLOTHING

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The Salwar Kameeze (tunic and trousers) is predominantly worn by women in Northern India and Pakistan. In Britain, Sikh, Muslim and Hindu women of Punjabi origin who wear the Salwar Kameeze, are easily identified by this distinctive form of clothing.

In this chapter I examine whether this tradition had been maintained or abandoned by second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham. If it had been maintained, my respondents were questioned about their reasons for doing so, in order to examine whether they had done so willingly or whether they had been pressured by their parents. Married respondents were questioned about their husbands' and parents-in-law's attitudes towards this particular garment. In cases where the Salwar Kameeze had been abandoned, respondents were asked why they had done so, in order to establish whether this had given rise to any intergenerational conflict.

An additional objective in this area of my enquiry, was to examine whether my respondents also wore 'Western-type' clothing.

In particular, I examined whether their parents, or, if married, their husbands and parents-in-law, objected to certain types of clothing relating to Punjabi notions of modesty. Furthermore, I wished to examine whether the girls were subjected to conflicting choices, that is, between Punjabi and 'Western' clothing, and, if so, I examined the strategies they employed in resolving such conflicts.

7.2 THE SALWAR KAMEEZE

All my respondents were asked: "Can you tell me whether you always, usually, sometimes or never wear Punjabi dress, i.e. the Salwar Kameeze?".

Table 7.1 Wearing the Salwar Kameeze

	%
Always	10
Usually	25
Sometimes	35
Never	30
N = 102	100

As indicated in Table 7.1, only 10 per cent of my respondents said that they always wore Punjabi dress, that is, they did not

wear 'Western-type' clothing under any circumstances. In contrast, 30 per cent replied that they never wore the Salwar Kameeze, that is, they only wore 'Western-style' clothing. A further 25 per cent of my respondents, on the other hand, said that they usually wore Punjabi dress, that is, they tended to wear it at home, in the temple and within the confines of the Sikh community. When they were outside the community, for example, at school or at work, these girls tended to wear 'Western' dress. Finally, 35 per cent of my respondents replied that they sometimes wore Punjabi dress, for example, when attending a wedding ceremony or when visiting relatives, but, that they mostly dressed in 'Western' clothing.

(a) Single Respondents

When my married respondents are excluded, as indicated in Table 7.2, 6 per cent of the single girls in my study said that they always wore the Salwar Kameeze, 32 per cent said that they never did so, 25 per cent stated that they usually wore Punjabi dress and, finally, 37 per cent replied that they sometimes wore it.

Table 7.2 Wearing the Salwar Kameeze (Single Girls)

	%
Always	6
Usually	25
Sometimes	37
Never	32
N = 97	100

The minority who said that they always wore the Salwar Kameeze were asked why they did so. All replied that their parents did not approve of 'Western' clothes, especially knee-length skirts and "tight jeans". In addition, they said that their parents wanted them to maintain traditional dress because they did not want them to "become like the English". When asked whether they agreed with their parents, half of them replied in the affirmative but the rest said that they did not share their parents' views in this area because they would have liked to wear "English" clothes. These respondents also informed me that they had not found it easy to wear the Salwar Kameeze in all situations, since they had sometimes been "teased" by white people and West Indians.

Girls who said that they usually wore Punjabi dress at home, in the temple and within the community, were also asked for their reasons for doing so. There were 24 girls in this category.

Eighty-four per cent said that their parents had reluctantly agreed to allow them to wear 'Western' clothing when at school, college or work because it was not always possible to wear Punjabi dress in these places. For example, some school authorities did not permit their female pupils to wear trousers and some personnel managers insisted that their female employees wore skirts or dresses. In addition, they also said white people sometimes laughed at Sikh women who wore the Salwar Kameeze. Circumstances such as these encouraged the girls in this sub-category to compromise by wearing the Salwar Kameeze at home and within the confines of the community. When asked whether they wore it willingly, 68 per cent of the 24 girls in this sub-category replied in the affirmative and the rest said that they did not want to wear Punjabi dress but that they did so in order to avoid conflict with their parents.

Not all parents, however, had reservations about 'Western' dress, since 16 per cent of the 24 respondents who said that they usually wore the Salwar Kameeze, also said that their parents approved of them wearing "English" clothes. According to these girls, they and their parents thought that one should be suitably dressed for the occasion. Like their peers in the above sub-category these respondents also informed me that, in their experience, Sikh women were sometimes verbally abused by white members of society in relation to their traditional costume.

A further 37 per cent of my single respondents said that they

sometimes wore the Salwar Kameeze, for example, when attending wedding ceremonies or when they went to the temple. When asked for their reasons, 71 per cent of them said that they did so willingly because they did not wish to abandon their traditional costume completely and also because they did not consider "English" clothing to be suitable for Sikh functions. They also said that other (older) Sikhs would gossip about them if they attended such social and religious functions in anything other than the Salwar Kameeze. Furthermore, they all stated that it was not at all easy to wear Punjabi dress outside the confines of their community because of "taunting" and "teasing" by some members of the indigeneous population and, sometimes, by West Indians. The remaining 29 per cent (of 37 per cent) said that they reluctantly wore the Salwar Kameeze very occasionally in order to obey their parents and to prevent other Sikhs from gossiping about them. They themselves did not like this particular mode of dress and would have preferred to abandon it totally. Indeed, the Salwar Kameeze seemed to have been abandoned by 32 per cent of my single respondents who said that they never wore it. They were asked why they never did so and whether their parents approved. Sixty-seven per cent replied that they had never worn it since their parents had not asked them to do so. Thirty-seven per cent responded that they had disobeyed their parents by refusing to wear the Salwar Kameeze under any circumstances. They had done this because they did not think that it enhanced their physical appearance: For example; "I don't look nice in it".

Thus, these findings suggest that 'situational ethnicity' had indeed occurred with regard to 62 per cent of my single respondents (i.e. those who said that they wore the Salwar Kameeze 'usually' or 'sometimes'). Since these respondents tended to wear this mode of dress selectively, that is, predominately within the Sikh community, I contend that they demonstrated a 'situational' approach to conformity. Conversely, the concept of 'situational ethnicity' cannot be applied to either the minority of respondents (6 per cent) who said that they wore the Salwar Kameeze in all situations or to those respondents (32 per cent) who said that they never ever wore traditional dress.

To summarise, only 6 per cent of my single respondents said that they always wore the Salwar Kameeze whilst 32 per cent said they never did so. On the other hand, 37 per cent said that they wore their traditional dress only occasionally whilst 25 per cent said that they usually did so.

(b) Married Respondents (N = 5)

Four of my married respondents said that they always wore the Salwar Kameeze because their husbands and parents-in-law disapproved of "English" clothes including skirts and jeans. When asked whether they agreed with this view, 3 out of the 4 girls in this category said that since they themselves did not wish to wear "English" clothes, they agreed with these members of their families. In contrast, only one of my married respondents

said that she usually wore 'Western-style' dress but that she did wear the Salwar Kameeze occasionally. When probed about her husband's attitudes, she replied that neither her husband nor her parents-in-law had put pressure on her to wear Punjabi dress more often. Like the majority of single girls in my study, this married respondent maintained this particular tradition on a 'situational' basis.

Thus, the results of my enquiry suggest that the Salwar Kameeze was far from abandoned by my single and married respondents. However, my findings also indicated that although 70 per cent of the girls in my study maintained this tradition, there were different types of conformity involved. As indicated in Table 7.3 only 6 per cent of my respondents said that they willingly wore the Salwar Kameeze all the time (Willing General Conformity). Forty-six per cent, however, said that they wore Punjabi dress in relevant situations, for example, at home, when visiting relatives and when attending Sikh functions. Moreover, they said that they did this because they wished to maintain this tradition and not because they had been pressured by their parents or, if married, by their husbands or in-laws (Willing Selective Conformity). In contrast to these girls, 4 per cent of my respondents said that they had reluctantly agreed to wear the Salwar Kameeze all the time (Unwilling General Conformity) whilst a further 14 per cent informed me that they wore it in relevant situations only because they did not wish to disobey and disappoint their parents (Unwilling Selective Conformity).

Table 7.3 Categories of Conformity and Non-Conformity in Relation to the Salwar Kameeze

Categories of Conformity	The Salwar Kameeze %
Willing General Conformity	6
Willing Selective Conformity	46
Unwilling General Conformity	4
Unwilling Selective Conformity	14
Established Non-Conformity	20
Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity	10
Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity	0
N = 102	100

My findings also revealed that the Salwar Kameeze had indeed been abandoned by some respondents and that, moreover, there were different categories of non-conformity. As indicated in Table 7.3, 20 per cent of the girls I interviewed, said that they had never worn Punjabi dress because their parents had not required them to do so (Established Non-Conformity). On the other hand, 10 per cent of my respondents told me that they had disobeyed their parents by refusing to wear it under any circumstances (Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity).

Thus, it would appear that second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham can be divided into two, almost equal groups in this respect. The first consists of 52 per cent of my respondents who willingly conformed - whether generally or selectively - and who, therefore, displayed a sense of commitment towards preserving this tradition. The second group consists of 48 per cent of my respondents who either conformed unwillingly or not at all and who, therefore, did not exhibit any sense of commitment towards maintaining this Punjabi cultural trait.

There also appeared to be very little potential for intergenerational conflict between Sikh girls and their parents. This was reflected in the low incidence of overt disobedience (i.e. Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity) and in the existence of Unwilling Conformity, whereby conflict was avoided or contained. In addition, the majority of my respondents, that is those in the Willing Conformity and Establishment Non-Conformity categories (a total of 72 per cent), said that they agreed with their parents in relation to this particular cultural tradition.

Finally, in relation to the Salwar Kameeze, my findings also reveal that most of my respondents were very conscious that, by wearing this specific garment, Sikh females could sometimes become the targets of verbal hostility in the wider society. Although I did not question them directly about white antipathy towards this cultural trait, at least 60 per cent of the girls in my enquiry spontaneously informed me that some white natives and,

even some West Indians sometimes ridiculed the Salwar Kameeze. However, this did not prevent the majority of my respondents from wearing Punjabi dress, although most of them seemed to have compromised by wearing it predominantly within the confines of the Sikh community.

7.3 'WESTERN-STYLE' CLOTHING

As Table 7.4 indicates, 92 per cent of my respondents said that they wore "English" clothes. Since only one of them was married, the findings on this respondent are not presented separately.

Table 7.4 'Western-Style' Clothing

	%
Yes	92
No	8
N = 102	

They were asked to name the sorts of 'Western' clothes which they usually wore and were also asked whether their parents (or husbands) objected to any of the clothes they wore. In reply 35 per cent stated that they were allowed to wear trousers (including jeans) but that they were not permitted to wear skirts

or dresses because their parents and other, older Sikhs considered it immodest for a woman to reveal her legs. When asked whether they agreed with this view, 70 per cent of the girls in this category said that they shared their parents attitudes with regard to wearing skirts. For example:

My parents don't allow English clothes like skirts because they want us to be decent. My parents are right. I want to keep our customs.

Our religion doesn't allow skirts. I'm not interested. I like to please my parents anyway. I'm not worried about skirts. I wear cords and trousers.

Twenty-five per cent of their peers in this category, however, said they would like to wear skirts and only obeyed their parents reluctantly. They also stated that they were obliged not to wear skirts in order to prevent other Sikhs from gossiping about them and harming the family 'izzat' (honour). For instance:

My Dad doesn't want me to wear them. I haven't asked him why. I would like to wear them, in summer. I sometimes think, "why can't I wear them?" But then I know that it is not usual for Sikh girls to wear skirts, so I forget about it. I don't think I will wear skirts, but perhaps when I get married or when I get a job, I might. Some jobs - well, they don't allow you to wear trousers, in which case, my Dad will let me. But, he would be very disappointed.

Indian people don't allow girls to wear skirts. People gossip if you do, especially if you go to the temple. All the ladies there will stare and gossip. My Dad says, "I don't like you to wear skirts". He thinks that the boys will start! (laughs) I don't think that there is anything wrong with wearing skirts, it's nice. My Dad says that once we get married, we can do what we want.

In contrast to the above, 25 per cent (of the 92 girls) said that they wore trousers and skirts. They added that their parents had reservations about them wearing skirts but that they had been obliged to comply with regulations at school or at work. These girls said that they therefore wore skirts or dresses whenever they were required to do so, but, once they returned home, they changed into the Salwar Kameeze or wore trousers (usually cords or blue jeans). This can therefore be said to represent a 'situational' approach to conformity i.e. 'situational ethnicity'. When asked whether they agreed with this form of accommodation, 68 per cent said that they were happy with this arrangement, whilst 32 per cent replied that although they did obey their parents they only did so in order to avoid arguments and prevent other Sikhs from gossiping about them. The following quotes illustrate some of the answers I was given by girls in this category:

They allow me to wear skirts at school. But, they don't allow me to wear skirts all the time. Because Indian people don't like girls to show their legs. I don't think my family would really mind, but, other Sikhs would gossip. This can be bad for the family. That's why it's best to avoid arguments.

When I was younger, they didn't allow me to wear skirts because it was considered indecent. Now that I'm older, I've got this part-time job and I have to wear a skirt. My parents allow me to wear a skirt but, they are not too happy about it. I don't really agree with this tradition because I think that there's nothing wrong with it.

Thus, by dressing "for the occasion" these respondents demonstrated a 'situational' approach to clothing norms, that is, they wore Salwar Kameeze at Indian functions and 'western' dress

when outside the Sikh community.

Unlike the girls in the above category, 30 per cent (of the 92 respondents) said that they did not have any restrictions with regard to the clothes they wore. They were allowed to wear skirts, dresses, shorts and trousers. They dressed according to the situation in which they found themselves. According to these girls their parents did not hold the same views as other Sikhs and, moreover, were not too concerned about others gossiping about them. For example:

A lot of people say that our tradition does not allow us to wear skirts. My parents don't agree with these old traditions. In India, these ideas originated because when women worked in the fields they had to cover their legs and their bodies for the sake of decency. Nowadays, things are different. My Dad says that we've got to live here, we've got to keep up with the customs here as well as our own. So, he allows us to wear skirts but we also wear our own dress.

We are allowed to wear anything. The Sikh religion is a new religion. It does not tell us what to wear, as long as it is decent. My Dad says that we should dress for the occasion. If we play sport, we wear shorts. If we go to an English party, I wear a skirt or a dress. If I go to an Indian do, I'll wear a Salwar or a Sari.

Thus by dressing in this selective way these respondents can be said to demonstrate a 'situational' approach to clothing norms.

Finally, only 10 per cent (of the 92 respondents) said that they wore trousers but that they also disobeyed their parents by wearing skirts when away from home and outside the Sikh community.

Half of them said that they did so overtly whilst the other half said that they disobeyed their parents covertly. For example:

I do wear them (skirts). They tell me off, but they can't tell me what to do. They don't like it. That's my freedom.

My Mum was dead against me wearing a school skirt. I said that if she didn't allow me, I would leave home and live with my sister. I think it's silly not to wear skirts. We argue about it. We aren't supposed to show the legs.

I only wear them when I'm out with my friends. I like them, they are nice. My Dad is strict, he would stop me if he knew. When he goes out to work and my Mum goes out to work, I'll wear them. So I wear skirts when they are not there.

To summarise, 90 per cent of my respondents said that they wore "English" clothes. However, my findings also suggested that the skirt presented a problem to most of these respondents since they informed me that their parents and other, older Sikhs objected to this particular item of clothing because it did not meet Punjabi standards of modesty. Thirty-five per cent (of 90 per cent) said that they were allowed to wear trousers but not skirts, whilst a further 25 per cent informed me that their parents had compromised by permitting them to wear skirts strictly in relevant situations, for example, in school or at work. This represented a form of accommodation to particular circumstances in the wider society. In contrast, a minority said that they had disobeyed their parents by wearing this item, albeit in specific contexts, whilst a further 30 per cent said that they were allowed to wear skirts whenever they considered it relevant to do so.

Thus, despite Punjabi notions of modesty, a majority of my respondents said that they did wear skirts - albeit selectively for example, they said that they would not normally wear skirts when attending the temple, Sikh weddings and other functions within the community. Such selective choices can be said to represent an element of 'situational ethnicity' in this particular area of their lives.

The results of my enquiry also indicate that there are different types of conformity and non-conformity in relation to this item of clothing. As indicated in Table 7.5, 29 per cent of all the girls in my study said that they never wore skirts and, moreover, that they had not been coerced into this decision by any member of their families (Willing General Conformity). On the other hand, 15 per cent of my respondents said that they had willingly agreed to wear skirts only when required (Willing Selective Conformity). In contrast to the girls above, 11 per cent said that although they were not allowed to wear skirts, they would like to do so, and in this respect they had reluctantly conformed to this Punjabi tradition (Unwilling General Conformity). A further 8 per cent said that they were only allowed to wear skirts in relevant situations but that they themselves would prefer to wear them more often (Unwilling Selective Conformity).

Table 7.5 Categories of Conformity and Non-Conformity in Relation to Wearing Skirts

Categories	Skirts %
Willing General Conformity	29
Willing Selective Conformity	15
Unwilling General Conformity	11
Unwilling Selective Conformity	8
Established Non-Conformity	28
Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity	5
Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity	4
N = 102	100

I now turn my attention to those respondents who said that they did wear skirts. As indicated in Table 7.5, 28 per cent of all my respondents said that they had always been allowed to wear this item (Established Non-Conformity), whilst only 5 per cent informed me that they had overtly disobeyed their parents by wearing skirts and only 4 per cent said that they had covertly disobeyed their parents by wearing this item of clothing (Overt and Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity).

Once again, my respondents can be divided into two categories. The first consists of those girls who said that they willingly

conformed - whether generally or selectively - that is, a total of 44 per cent. The girls in this category can be said to have demonstrated a sense of commitment to this Punjabi tradition. The second consists of 56 per cent of my respondents who said that they had either conformed unwillingly or not at all and who, therefore, did not show much interest in maintaining this standard of modesty.

It is not easy to compare my findings with those from other studies because very few scholars have examined the clothing norms of their South Asian female respondents. For example, Nesbitt noted that most of the Sikh women and girls in her study in Nottingham wore the Salwar Kameeze and a few more 'maxi' skirts. She did not appear to have come across any young women who wore (knee-length) skirts or dresses (Nesbitt, 1980). This discrepancy is probably due to the fact that Nesbitt's findings were based predominantly on her observation in the temples. Since most females would have probably dressed in the Salwar Kameeze, especially when attending the gurdwara (temple), it is unlikely that many would have run the risk of provoking community gossip by daring to wear (short) skirts to the temple.

A brief examination of South Asian attitudes towards 'Western' clothing was conducted by Anwar on behalf of the Community Relations Council (Anwar, 1975). All the respondents in this C.R.C. study were asked: "Do you see anything wrong in Asian girls wearing Western clothes?" Anwar reported that 54 per cent of the

Sikh parents replied that there was something wrong whilst 75 per cent of the young Sikhs in the study said that they did not think it wrong for Asian girls to wear Western clothing. In my own enquiry there were very few girls who thought that Sikh girls should be restricted to the Salwar Kameeze as opposed to 25 per cent of the respondents in the C.R.C. study. However, further comparisons are limited because Anwar did not provide any detailed information on specific items of clothing - for example, on skirts.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MARRIAGE, BOYFRIENDS, THE 'JOINT' HOUSEHOLD AND FUTURE ASPIRATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I examine the extent to which the 'arranged' marriage had been maintained or abandoned by my married respondents and whether the single girls in my study were prepared to accept such a marriage for themselves. During the course of my interviews, I also explored my respondents' attitudes towards 'arranged' and 'love' marriages, in order to determine whether or not they had a preference for the latter. Furthermore, I examined their perceptions of exogamous marriages - where one partner is not a Sikh - so as to ascertain whether, and, if so, why, second generation Sikh girls wished to maintain endogamy. In addition to the above, I explored attitudes towards the idea of going out with boys. Single respondents were asked whether they did go out with boyfriends and, if so, whether this provoked any conflict with their parents. In this Chapter, I present my findings on my respondents' perceptions of the differences between the 'joint' household and the 'nuclear' household. Finally, I explore my respondents' perceptions of their future roles in relation to employment, marriage and motherhood.

8.2 MARRIAGE

8.2.1 'Arranged' versus 'Love'

(a) Single Respondents (97 girls)

To find out whether my single respondents expected to be married in the traditional manner, they were asked: "If you get married what sort of marriage do you think it will be - arranged, love or what?"

Ninety-two per cent replied that they anticipated an 'arranged' marriage whilst only 8 per cent said that they expected to have a 'love' marriage. Thus, the vast majority of my single respondents expected to conform to the 'arranged' marriage. These girls were then asked: "Could you tell me how your marriage will be arranged?" Their responses to this question suggested that it is possible to distinguish between three different forms of the 'arranged' marriage. I have called these the 'pure arranged marriage', the 'modified arranged marriage' and the 'liberal arranged marriage'.

A 'pure arranged marriage' can be said to exist when it is arranged by the parents and relatives without any form of consultation with the couple concerned. On the other hand, a 'modified arranged marriage' can be said to exist when the prospective spouse is chosen by the parents and relatives but the couple are introduced and are allowed to refuse marriage. They are not permitted to become any better acquainted prior to the final decision. In contrast, the 'liberal arranged marriage' can

be said to exist when the couple are not only introduced by the parents and relatives but are also permitted to become better acquainted. In addition, they are given the opportunity to refuse.

Sikh girls who have a 'modified' or a 'liberal' arranged marriage therefore have some say in the final decision. However, in so far as the initial choice is made predominantly by the parents, and the partners concerned are only asked for their approval, the marriage remains essentially an 'arranged' one, with the parents still in control of the overall situation.

Table 8.1 Marriage Expectations - Pure, Modified or Liberal
(Single Respondents)

Type of Arranged Marriage	%
Pure Arranged Marriage	26
Modified Arranged Marriage	54
Liberal Arranged Marriage	20
N = 89 *	100

* Excluding 8 girls who expected to have a 'love' marriage.

As indicated in Table 8.1 above, 54 per cent of those who said that they expected to have an 'arranged' marriage also told me that they would be introduced to the prospective spouse and

permitted to refuse. They thus expected to have a 'modified arranged marriage'. Twenty-six per cent, however, said that their parents and relatives would choose their husbands without consulting them. These girls therefore expected to have a 'pure arranged marriage'. Finally, 20 per cent of these single respondents stated that they would be able to get to know the prospective spouses before taking part in the final decision. They were thus expecting to have a 'liberal arranged marriage'.

Thus, the vast majority of my single respondents thought that they would have an 'arranged' marriage but most of them also expected to have some say in the final choice. A similar finding has also been reported by Ballard and Ballard in their study of Sikhs in Leeds. They noted that most parents did consult with their children before a marriage was formally arranged (Ballard and Ballard, 1977, p. 48).

Having established that 92 per cent of my single respondents expected to be married through the 'arranged' method and that only a minority thought that they would have a 'love' marriage, I now examine the extent to which their expectations corresponded to their preferences. In other words, did those who expected to have an 'arranged' marriage do so despite their personal preference? Accordingly, all the single respondents were asked: "If you had the choice which would you prefer for yourself, an arranged or a love marriage?"

Sixty-eight per cent replied that they would prefer a 'love' marriage whilst 32 per cent said that they would prefer an 'arranged' marriage. When asked for their reasons for preferring a 'love' marriage, 45 per cent of the girls in this category responded that it was a matter of personal "freedom" - it was one's right to choose one's husband. Emotional involvement or "being in love" with one's spouse was also judged to be of great importance by these girls. In addition, they thought that it was better to know one's spouse prior to marriage because a stranger might prove to be a "criminal", a "batterer" or just an "unpleasant" person with whom one was incompatible. For example:

I'll never really accept an arranged marriage. What I mean is that I'll get married by the arranged way but I won't be happy about it. Because you don't know what the person is like, he might be a criminal or a batterer. You know, there is one cousin who got married recently. Her husband is really good looking but when she got married she got battered. She's got black eyes and he also used to hit the children. I think that the English way of getting married - to know the boy before marriage is better. But if you get married to someone whom you don't know, then, when you learn what he is really like, it's too late. There's nothing you can do about it. My Mum - she had a good husband. She was lucky. It's pure luck, that's all.

I would prefer to have a love marriage, where I could choose my own husband, because with an arranged marriage, you never know, do you? In love marriages you know the person, whereas in an arranged marriage you go in through a vacuum and try to gain something from there. You hope that love grows. I'm afraid that we won't hit it off, you know what I mean? Then you have to live with someone you don't like. Love marriages are the best because you are with someone you want very much. I've seen some happy arranged marriages, but I've also seen some unhappy ones. My Aunt who is only 22 is already divorced, her husband treated her badly.

A further 30 per cent of the girls in this category said that they preferred 'love' marriages because they thought that arranged marriages were not successful in Britain. Seventy-five per cent (of the 30 per cent) believed that marriages were particularly unsuccessful when one of the partners was "imported" from India. Accordingly to these girls, spouses from India were often unsuitable because of cultural differences. For example:

I don't like the arranged marriage, it doesn't work in England. Mostly, the girls are from India and the boys don't know a thing about them. The girls don't know anything about English culture and they can't even speak English. The boys don't speak Punjabi very well. The result is that they don't work. I've seen some that haven't worked. I think that the parents try to cover it up and say that the marriage is working when it isn't going well. A woman's got nothing left if the marriage doesn't work. They all blame her. I think that love marriages are the best because it's your choice. But I won't have the opportunity.

The remaining 25 per cent (of the 30 per cent) pointed to what they perceived of as failed arranged marriages within their own families:

I don't like the arranged marriage at all. My sister got married and her marriage is broken, she's separated. She doesn't want a divorce because it's a shame for the family. My cousin's marriage is also broken. She has a baby. I prefer a love marriage because you know the person before you marry and you love him.

My sister had an arranged marriage but now she is separated. My parents still believe in them but I don't. I don't think that people are all that happy in arranged marriages. My parents' marriage isn't happy. Also my Aunt and Uncle are not happy. Love marriages are happy because you have the choice.

One of these girls came from a 'broken' home and she described how her parents' arranged marriage had failed:

My Mum and Dad married in India in the traditional way when they were very young. My Dad came to England alone and fell in love with an English lady. At first, when my Mum came to England, they tried to get on but it didn't work because my Dad was still in love with that lady. So he divorced my Mum and he now has another wife and children. The children are completely English. I like my English Mum, I visit her quite often. We always spend Christmas there. I feel sorry for my Mum, she is completely lost over here and she is unhappy. I think she feels lonely, she can't understand the way of life over here. I prefer a love marriage, but I can't see that happening because my Mum doesn't want me to go out. I don't want to cause her any more unhappiness. My Dad wouldn't mind if I had a love marriage, but my Mum would.

Finally, 25 per cent of my single respondents who preferred love marriages said that they thought that arranged marriages were no longer successful largely because Sikh males were given more "freedom" than females. In their view, this encouraged men to take their wives for granted and gave some husbands the opportunity to be unfaithful. Half the girls in this sub-category also thought that some men physically abused their wives and that this led to the break-down of arranged marriages. For example:

I find that lots of the Sikh boys in England are really bad. They are allowed to go out, whereas the girls have to stay at home. The boys go out with English girls and they do everything, and yet, they expect to marry an innocent Indian girl. Like my cousin, the chap is really bad. They got a nice innocent girl for him from India. He's married but he still goes out with English women, whereas his wife stays at home.

I think that arranged marriages don't work in this country. The men have too much freedom, whereas the girls have none. The men go out even when they are married but they expect girls to be innocent. Some men beat their wives. My cousin had an arranged marriage and she suffered a lot. Her husband treated her badly, gave her black eyes. When a marriage fails they blame the woman. But I think it's the man's fault too. At least when you marry for love, you know him before the marriage and you can find out whether he is bad. If he's a violent man, you shouldn't marry him.

To summarise, 68 per cent of all my single respondents had negative perceptions of the 'arranged' marriage. Forty-five per cent of these females said that they preferred 'love' marriages largely because they believed that couples should be emotionally involved with each other and also personally and culturally compatible. A further 30 per cent (of the 68 per cent) thought that 'arranged' marriages were unsuccessful in the British context and the remaining 25 per cent (of the 68 per cent) said that they did not support the traditional method of marriage because it gave males "more freedom" than females. Finally, most of these single respondents perceived that women who enter an "arranged" marriage could become the victims of male violence or marital break-up.

In contrast, 32 per cent of the single respondents said that they preferred the 'arranged' marriage and, indeed, had very different perceptions of it when compared with the above 68 per cent. When asked why they preferred the 'arranged' marriage, 78 per cent (of the 32 per cent) responded that they could rely on their parents to "make the right match" and that, moreover, the 'arranged' marriage ensured them security and family support not only during marriage but also in the event of its failing. These girls also

contrasted what they perceived to be the relative stability of arranged marriages with the high divorce rate of love marriages, especially those made between members of the indigenous population. For example:

An arranged marriage becomes a love marriage. When you get married, what you do, you get to know each other. It's something to look forward to. It builds up gradually into love. I don't think love marriages are all that successful, there's a lot of divorce. I prefer an arranged marriage, for a start, if it breaks up, our parents will always support us. The family looks at everything, because love alone is not the only thing that keeps a marriage going. It's probably the last thing.

I don't mind the arranged marriage. You know your parents know you best. They know the right match for you. I would feel secure in an arranged marriage because the parents support us. They give us lots of help, money and jewellery and furniture. Especially for Indian girls, because of the way we are brought up, they are more secure than falling in love. Love marriages are alright for the English. But they don't work, do they? I don't believe in falling in love because it ends in divorce, doesn't it?

A further 12 per cent of the girls who preferred an 'arranged' marriage thought that one of its advantages was that everyone could get married, whatever their physical looks. In addition, the girls in this sub-category said that they saw no real difference between marriage agencies in the wider society and methods employed by their parents. For instance:

I don't object to the arranged marriage because really it is the same to me as the video tapes in America and the marriage agencies in England. You know women meet their busbands through these agencies. With us, well, our Mums and Dads are the agents. Nowadays you get to meet the person. When you think of it, it's really good to have an arranged marriage. Why? Because you might end up with nobody. I mean, sometimes, I think, these English girls when they go out, they dress absolutely exotic, all that make-up. What are they doing it for? They are going to find a boy, eventually one to marry. Sometimes, they have a bad night. They've gone through all that trouble and they come home without finding anyone. In a way, we are lucky, we don't have to do that. We will all get married, whether are are ugly or pretty. So, that's an advantage.

Finally, 10 per cent of the single girls who preferred an 'arranged' marriage said that they knew of 'love' marriages in their own families which had not succeeded. This was sufficient to convince them that the 'arranged' marriage was the best method for securing one's future happiness. For example:

I think arranged marriages work. My brother used to go out with a Sikh girl and my parents found out. Then they agreed and they got married. She was a very modern girl, her hair was cut and everything. But it didn't work. It's gone wrong. They are going to separate. So I'm definitely going to have an arranged marriage. I know about more arranged marriages which have worked than which have not worked. When I was younger, I was dead against them. But when you get older, you look around and you see other people happy. You then find out what's good for you. I have a future to look forward to.

Thus, my findings indicated that 68 per cent of all my single respondents preferred the 'love' marriage and had negative perceptions of the 'arranged' marriage. In contrast, 32 per cent of the single girls in my study preferred the 'arranged' marriage and had negative perceptions of its alternative, the 'love'

marriage. I now turn my attention to the extent to which their stated preferences corresponded to their expectations of their future marriages.

Thirty-two per cent of the single respondents informed me that they expected to be married in the traditional manner and that they would not object because it was what they preferred. In contrast, 60 per cent of the unmarried Sikh females stated that they would reluctantly accept an 'arranged' marriage but that they preferred to marry someone of their own choice 'for love'. The remaining 8 per cent said that they preferred a 'love' marriage and that this was what they expected to have.

To find out why 60 per cent of the unmarried females would unwillingly conform to the 'arranged' marriage, they were asked for their reasons. The answers they gave revealed that 75 per cent of them were acutely aware of the responsibility they shared with other members of their families for maintaining and increasing family honour (izzat) and social status within the Sikh community. They realized that by deviating from traditional norms, especially in relation to a female interacting with males, they would easily damage their own chances of "making a good match" as well as that of their siblings. Furthermore, they said that they did not wish to cause any unhappiness within their families and, moreover, did not want to sever relations with their parents. Indeed, these girls perceived that the loss of parental support (emotional and sometimes financial) would not easily be

replaced by alternative resources in the wider society. For instance:

If you run away, it harms everyone. Indian people gossip a lot. My Mum and Dad would be too ashamed. It would be difficult because I've got sisters and if I got bad, then nobody would want to marry my sisters. I wouldn't want to hurt my parents, they are very good to us. They work hard and they help us a lot. They will give us everything when we get married. If I left home to marry someone I want, I would lose everything, my parents' security. And if my relationship with the man failed, I would be totally alone. It's not easy living by yourself, finding a house and bringing up the children by yourself. Whereas, if I had an arranged marriage, even if it didn't work out, my parents would be on my side.

A further 20 per cent (of the 60 per cent) said that they would accept an 'arranged' marriage reluctantly because, quite simply, they could not conceive of disobeying their parents and they did not wish to lose contact with their families. The remaining 5 per cent were unable to answer my question. These replies suggest that the vast majority of these girls would accept an 'arranged' marriage largely for because of the constraints in their circumstances. Thus, their unwilling acceptance of such a marriage can be said to represent a 'situational' response to maintaining parental traditions.

Unlike the above 60 per cent of my single respondents only 8 per cent of the single girls said that they expected to "marry for love". When asked whether their parents would approve, 4 out of 8 girls in this sub-category replied that their parents were in favour of 'love' marriages with a Sikh partner. For instance:

My Dad says that it is up to us if we want an arranged marriage. He says that he doesn't like the way arranged marriages are going. He says that we should choose someone from our own religion. He says that if there is someone that I like, a Sikh boy - he has to be Sikh - then, I must tell him. He won't refuse. So I'm going to choose a Sikh boy and then present him to my father. We've got love marriages in the family with Sikhs and they are happy. My Dad wants it this way. He says it's too big a responsibility to find us husbands who might not get on with us. I think this is a very good idea.

The other four, however, said that they intended to disobey their parents whatever the consequences - even if it meant being ostracized by members of the family and other Sikhs:

I'm going to have a love marriage. My parents won't be happy but there's nothing they can do to stop me. They might not even want to look at me again, but I'm going to do what I like.

To summarise, 60 per cent of my single respondents said that they would reluctantly accept an 'arranged' marriage, 32 per cent said that they would willingly accept it and only 8 per cent informed me that they preferred and expected to have a 'love' marriage. Other scholars have reported similar findings. For example, Chrishna and Sharpe both reported that most of the young South Asian females in their studies said that they preferred 'love' marriages but that they would not disobey their parents by refusing a traditional marriage (Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976). Similarly, Anwar and Brah both found that the majority of their second generation male and female respondents expected to conform to the 'arranged' marriage even though they had expressed a

preference for the 'love' marriage (Anwar, 1976; Brah, 1979).

8.2.1 (b) Married Respondents (5 females)

In order to examine whether my married respondents had married in the traditional manner they were asked two questions: "Is your husband a Sikh?" and "Could you tell me whether your marriage was arranged?" All of them were married to Sikhs and all replied that they had had an 'arranged' marriage. They were then asked: "Could you tell me how it was arranged?" Two of my married subjects replied that their husbands had been selected for them by their parents and other relatives and that they themselves had not been consulted. In other words, they had had what I have termed a 'pure arranged marriage'. Another two said that they had been introduced to their husbands and allowed to refuse marriage. One of these girls said that she had refused to marry two other men before she eventually agreed to marry her husband. These two girls had therefore had what I have called a 'modified arranged marriage'. Finally, one married respondent responded that she had been allowed to get better acquainted with her husband before agreeing to marry him, that is, she had had a 'liberal arranged marriage'.

The married respondents were asked two further questions: "What were your feelings at the time when your marriage was being arranged?" and "Why did you agree to an arranged marriage?". Both young women who had had a 'pure arranged marriage' said that they had been happy and excited during the period when their marriages were being arranged. They also told me that they had willingly

accepted such an arrangement because they were confident that their parents had made the "right match" for them. Furthermore, they said that they preferred the 'arranged' marriage because they thought that 'love' marriages usually "ended in divorce". They also said that they had no regrets since they believed that they were happily married and because they received emotional and financial support from their parents whenever required. For instance:

You know, our parents know us best. They know the right match. I never doubted them. It's better to get married this way because our parents will always help us. I felt quite happy when my marriage was arranged. It was something to look forward to. You know, with the arranged marriage, you get married first and love comes later. Love marriages are alright for the English because they are free to go out with boys. But they don't work, do they? They usually end in divorce. I'm quite happy, my husband is nice. He has some bad habits, but everyone has some bad habits. We are all human beings. He's not so bad, really! We've become friends. If things get complicated, like - if we have an argument - then I can always talk to someone in my family about it. We always sort it out in the end. Whereas, if I had a love marriage, I would be on my own with my problems.

Similar support for the 'arranged' marriage was also expressed by one of the two respondents who had had a 'modified arranged marriage'. She said that she had willingly agreed to marriage after she had been introduced to her husband because she trusted her parents and also because "it was love at first sight!" She informed me that she had no regrets and that she thought that her own marriage was probably more successful than most 'love' marriages because of the latter's high divorce rate.

In contrast, my other respondent who had had a 'modified arranged marriage' said that she had reservations with regard to her own marriage. She informed me that she had not wished to marry, at that time, because she had wanted to continue her education. However, her parents and other relatives had insisted on her marriage when she had completed her stay at sixth form college. She had tried to delay the decision by refusing to marry two other candidates but, in the end, had bowed to pressure. She said that she had reluctantly agreed to the marriage because she did not want to be the cause of any family discontent. In addition, she realized that she would have made the situation worse by, for example, leaving home, because such behaviour would have had repercussions on her family's reputation. She was acutely aware of her responsibility towards preserving the family honour. In addition, she perceived that the emotional and financial support which was available to her within her kin network would not necessarily be easily accessible in the wider society. For example, she said:

I wasn't happy when my marriage was arranged and I'm not too happy at present either. I mean, my husband isn't a bad chap, but I didn't want to get married in the first place. I wanted to go to college to study dentistry. I wanted to have a profession and a good future. But my relatives used to come over every-day. They used to ask me when I was going to get married. All they can think of is marriage and producing children. I would have preferred to marry someone of my own choice. Someone with my interests. My husband isn't interested in the same things, you know. We don't have much in common. I tried to delay things. Like, I met two other guys. They were OK, quite good looking and well qualified. But I said 'no'. Then the time came when I couldn't refuse any more. So, I agreed, to keep the peace and to please my parents. They work hard for us and I couldn't hurt them. I mean, I couldn't run away because this would be bad for them. Everyone would gossip and they would get a bad name. Then nobody would want to marry in my family. I couldn't leave home because I love them and I don't think I would find the same security if I left.

Finally, the only married respondent who had had a 'liberal arranged marriage' said that she too had not wanted to get married because she had wanted to continue her education. However, after resisting her parents and relatives for a full year, a compromise was reached. She informed me that she had agreed to get married on condition that her future husband and his parents allowed her to continue her training as a textile designer. Indeed, when I interviewed her, she was still continuing her studies. In addition, she told me that although she would have preferred to have had a "proper love marriage", she felt that she had obtained the best possible compromise, since she and her husband had been allowed to become better acquainted before and after their engagement, that is, they had been permitted to go out together, albeit chaperoned. She added that she was "reasonably happy" and that she "had a good future to look forward to" because she

intended to "make the best of things".

To summarise, only five of my respondents were married. Three said that they had willingly accepted an 'arranged' marriage, that is, they were 'Willing Conformists'. In contrast, two of the married respondents were 'Unwilling Conformists' since they informed me that they had succumbed to family pressure although they preferred the 'love' marriage and despite their desire to complete their education before marrying.

When the findings on my single and married respondents are presented together, 67 per cent of all the respondents said that they preferred the 'love' marriage, compared to the 33 per cent who preferred the 'arranged' marriage. Thus, at the attitudinal level, most Sikh girls in my study did not support the traditional method of marriage. However, at the behavioural level, the 'arranged' marriage has a secure future, in so far as the vast majority of my single respondents said that they would accept such a marriage for themselves, and all the married respondents had already done so.

8.2.2 Endogamy versus Exogamy

I examined my respondents' perceptions of 'mixed' marriages, that is, when one partner is not a Sikh, in order to examine whether these members of the second generation wished to preserve their own ethnic group through the maintenance of endogamous marriages. I also examined whether my respondents differentiated between other Asians (Hindus and Muslims) and non-Asians (white natives

and West Indians) in relation to the idea of marrying a non-Sikh. Accordingly, all the girls in my study were asked four questions:

- i) "Suppose you could marry anyone you wanted, would you be willing to marry a Muslim?";
- ii) "Would you be willing to marry a Hindu?";
- iii) "Would you be willing to marry a white person?" and
- iv) "Would you be willing to marry a West Indian?"

Table 8.2 Respondents' Willingness to Marry Endogamously or Exogamously

Answer	Muslim %	Hindu %	White person %	West Indian %
Yes	4	20	17	5
No	90	70	73	90
DK	6	10	10	5
	100	100	100	100
	N = 102			

8.2.2.1 Muslims

As indicated in Table 8.2 above, 90 per cent of all my respondents said that they would not be willing to marry a Muslim,

whilst only 4 per cent said that they would be willing to do so. The former were then asked: "Is there any particular reason why you wouldn't be willing to marry a Muslim? and if yes, may I ask what it is?" Forty-eight per cent (of the 90 per cent) replied that their parents would object to such a marriage because "Sikhs and Muslims do not get on". They told me that the "feud" between Muslims and Sikhs preceded their parents' generation. Consequently, a Sikh who marries a Muslim would be rejected by his or her family. In addition, he or she would have to change his or her religion. None of the girls in this sub-category said that they would be willing to become Muslims. For example:

My parents are very anti-Muslim. They wouldn't be too keen. They wouldn't have anything to do with me if I married one. There is this hatred between Sikhs and Muslims. Muslims are completely different from us. We had a feud with them years ago. My people would reject me completely. It's very, very bad if you marry one. Even if you are seen walking with one, it's bad. I wouldn't change my religion, anyway.

I would not even think of marrying a Muslim. There are too many differences. Our religions are very different. My parents would never look at me again. No, I couldn't think of it. I would never become a Muslim and give up my own religion.

A further 43 per cent (of the 90 per cent) said that they would not be willing to marry a Muslim because their parents would ostracize them. In addition, they held negative opinions of (Pakistani) Muslims. For instance:

You don't feel safe with them. They can have four wives. I've heard all these stories about them. They get married to Indian girls, take them to Pakistan and then, they dump them. My Mum is really terrified of them. I don't like them. They can marry as many women they can afford, whereas the lady, she's stuck with the one. I'm not keen on that. They don't treat their wives very well.

Finally, only 9 per cent (of the 90 per cent) informed me that they themselves would be prepared to marry a Muslim but that they would never do so because of parental objections. All of them thought that Sikhs should be allowed to marry other Asians, including (Pakistani) Muslims because of their common Asian heritage. Half of the girls in this sub-category said that they had discussed this topic with their fathers who had not agreed with them:

My parents are not too keen on Pakistanis - Muslims. It goes back to the old days. I've often said that it doesn't matter if you are Gujarati, Pakistani or whatever, you are a human being. We are all Asians, the same kind of people. One day, I had a discussion with my Dad about this. He said 'Pakistanis are different'.

8.2.2.2 Hindus

As indicated in Table 8.2 when my respondents were asked whether they would be willing to marry a Hindu, 20 per cent replied in the affirmative but 70 per cent said that they would not be willing to do so. The rest said that they did not know. The girls who said that they would be willing to marry a Hindu were asked: "Would you be quite happy to do so?" All replied that they would be "quite happy" because they thought that their parents would accept a Hindu since some members of their families had married Hindus.

These girls informed me that "Hindus were not very different from Sikhs" and because of this were more acceptable than Muslims.

Seventy per cent of all my respondents, however, said that they would not be willing to marry a Hindu. They were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you wouldn't marry a Hindu? If yes, may I ask what it is?" Seventy per cent of these girls responded quite simply that they preferred to marry their "own kind" and that they wished to marry a Sikh because they did not want to change their religion. Twenty per cent (of the 70 per cent) informed me that their parents would not accept a non-Sikh and that they themselves preferred to marry someone who shared the same religion. For example:

I like my own type. We know what we are like, what our life-styles are. I wouldn't like to cope with a different religion and culture. Hindus are different from us in some ways, although they are also similar to us in some ways. But there are probably more differences. I prefer to marry a Sikh because of the religion and culture. Our parents would prefer it too.

The remaining 10 per cent (of the 70 per cent) were unable to answer my question.

8.2.2.3 White Natives

When the Sikh girls in my study were asked if they would be willing to marry a white person, 17 per cent replied in the affirmative, 73 per cent said that they would not be willing to do so and 10 per cent did not know. To examine whether they would

have any reservations, the girls who said that they would be willing to marry a white person were asked: "Would you be quite happy to do so?" In reply, 80 per cent of them said that they would not be "too happy" because they thought that it would not be easy to marry a white person because of parental disapproval as well as the possibility of being ostracized from the Sikh community. In addition, they considered that such a marriage would be fraught with difficulties because other white natives would not accept an Indian. Nevertheless, despite such obstacles, they said that if they loved the man, they would "take the plunge". The remaining 20 per cent (of the girls in this sub-category) said that they would be "quite happy" to marry a member of the indigeneous population because they preferred to marry an "English" husband. When asked why they preferred an "English" husband, they replied that they would "have more freedom" and would have a "good social life", whereàs with a Sikh, they would not be given much "freedom".

In contrast to the above 17 per cent, 73 per cent of all my respondents informed me that they would not be willing to marry a white member of society. They were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you wouldn't marry a white person? If yes, may I ask what it is?" Seventy-one per cent (of the 73 per cent) replied that they would not do so because the children of "mixed" marriages would not be accepted by either white natives or by Sikhs. In addition, they thought that a Sikh who married a white person ran the risk of being rejected by his or her own family and

community, with no guarantee that he or she would be accepted by members of the indigeneous population. Furthermore, these respondents said that they would not be willing to abandon their own religion and culture. For instance:

They don't know our ways, we have different ways. The English and West Indians, they laugh at us - at the way we dress and that. Then our temples, they don't believe in our temples and in our religion. There are a lot of differences really.

I could never marry a white person. Well, I think it is the influence of all the years, you are told about it when you are young. I think that the biggest reason is our life-style and our religion. An English person would not be able to change into our ways and it would be difficult for us to change our ways. It would be difficult for both partners. I wouldn't really want that. If you marry an English man you would be an outsider. English people don't like the person who marries an Indian. And, Indians don't like the person who marries an English person. I hate mixed marriages because they lose contact with everyone. My Dad doesn't even look at the English husband of my cousin. He hates them. The children suffer.

I don't believe in mixed marriages and I don't believe in half-caste children. It causes a lot of conflict in the family and the community. If they marry Hindus, it's not so bad because the family will accept it eventually. But, it's really bad if he is Jamaican, white or Pakistani. My cousin, she has married an Englishman and nobody speaks to her. I visit her secretly, because she is my cousin. You can't cut yourself away from a relative just like that. But the old people do. White people don't really like it either. The children don't belong to either side. It's better for everyone if you marry your own kind.

A further 22 per cent said that they would not be willing to marry a white person largely because of cultural incompatibility.

Finally, 7 per cent (of 73 per cent) told me that they themselves would not object to marrying an "Englishman" but that they would

not do so because they would not be prepared to run the risk of losing contact with their families. These girls thought that, should the marriage fail, a Sikh girl would not necessarily be given any emotional or financial support by her family.

8.2.2.4 West Indians

My respondents were also asked whether they would be willing to marry West Indians. In reply, only 5 per cent said "yes" whilst 90 per cent responded that they would not be willing to do so. The remaining 5 per cent said that they did not know. The minority who had replied in the affirmative were asked: "Would you be quite happy to do so?" All replied that they would not be "too happy" because they thought that their parents and most other Sikhs would not approve of such a marriage. They added, however, that if they loved the man very much, they would be prepared to disobey their parents.

The vast majority of my respondents who had told me that they would not be willing to marry a West Indian were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you wouldn't marry a West Indian? If yes, may I ask what is it?" Seventy-eight per cent (of the 90 per cent) said that West Indians would be unacceptable to their parents and themselves because of cultural differences:

They are not at all like us. They wouldn't be able to change their culture and we wouldn't be able to change our culture. We are very different really. They don't believe in our religion and in our temples. They don't speak Punjabi. They don't know nothing about Indian culture. Our parents would not like us to marry West Indians. I wouldn't because of the culture and our life-style.

Twenty-two per cent said that they would not be willing to marry a West Indian not only because of cultural differences but also because their parents "did not like them". When asked to elaborate, they told me that their parents considered "Jamaicans" to be "wild" and "uncivilized" and, moreover, that they "looked down on them".

Ninety per cent of these girls informed me that their fathers disliked West Indians because of "bad experiences" in their (business) dealings with them. For example:

My Dad doesn't like Jamaicans at all. I think it is because he was attacked by them in the taxi. He says that they are bad company, they get you into trouble.

My Dad is a businessman. A lot of his customers are coloured. He doesn't like them much. It's partly that he considers them to be lower than us. But it's also because they have tried to cheat him. They are involved in crime. He says that they don't like to work and that's why they go into crime.

In summary, a majority of my respondents said that they would not consider marrying outside their own ethnic group even if they had a free choice. In other words, they supported the retention of endogamous marriages. Even though (Pakistani) Muslims share a common Asian heritage with Sikhs they were rejected by the vast

majority of my respondents. Indeed, Muslims fared worse than members of the indigeneous population and only very slightly better than West Indians. It would appear that stereotypes of Muslims and accounts of historical antagonisms between them and Sikhs, have been transmitted to these members of the second generation. Sikh girls in my study perceived differences between 'us' (Sikhs) and 'them' Muslims - distinctions that could not be easily erased or ignored even through inter-marriage.

Hindus appeared to be more acceptable than Muslims since 20 per cent of all my respondents said that they would be willing to marry a Hindu husband. Nevertheless, most of the girls in my enquiry said that they would not marry a Hindu largely because of religious differences, and the wish to maintain their own ethnic group.

White males seemed to be more acceptable than Muslims but slightly less acceptable than Hindus since 17 per cent of my respondents said that they would be willing to marry an "Englishman". However, the majority told me that they would not consider a "mixed" marriage with a white person because it would be fraught with difficulties. Most Sikh girls thought that such a marriage could lead to ostracism from their families and community, with the additional risk of non-acceptance by white members of society. They also thought that cultural differences between themselves and an "English" person would not facilitate a successful marriage. Indeed, cultural incompatibility and parental opposition were the

main reasons which most of my respondents gave for not wishing to marry a West Indian. Thus, in conclusion, a majority of the second generation Sikh girls whom I interviewed, wished to retain endogamous marriages, thereby preserving a separate ethnic group and a distinct identity.

8.3 GOING OUT WITH BOYFRIENDS

(a) Single Respondents (97 girls)

In her study on South Asian girls in London, Sharpe noted that although "only a small fraction of the girls said that their parents allowed them to go out with boys, twice that number declared that they had a boyfriend" (Sharpe, 1976, p. 283). Most of the girls told Sharpe that they did so secretly.

I asked my single respondents: "Do you go out with boys?" Seventy-one per cent of the single girls in my enquiry replied that they did not do so, but, 29 per cent said that they did go out with boys. The latter were then asked: "Are they Sikh, West Indian, English or what?" In reply, 43 per cent said that they had a Sikh boyfriend, 36 per cent said that their boyfriends were "English", 14 per cent replied that they went out with Gujarati Hindus and 7 per cent declared that they had Pakistani Muslim boyfriends.

Those girls (a total of 12), who told me that their boyfriends were Sikhs were then asked: "Do your parents know you go out with Sikh boys?" Twenty-five per cent of these girls said that their

parents knew about their relationship with their boyfriends. I then asked them: "What do they think about it and, do they try to stop you?" All replied that their parents did not try to stop them from going out with their young men because they wanted them to choose their own husbands from within the Sikh community. For example:

I have a Sikh boyfriend. My father and his father are good friends. We got together a year ago. Our parents are all in favour of us getting married. I think my Dad is rather glad that I've found someone for myself. But he doesn't want me to go out with a Pakistani or an Englishman. He wants me to stick to my own kind. But he doesn't want me to go into a relationship that doesn't end up in marriage.

The remaining 75 per cent of the females in this sub-category informed me that their parents did not know that they went out with Sikh boys. They were then asked: "What do you think they would say or do if they found out?" Half of them thought that their parents would either arrange their marriage as soon as possible or send them "back to the village in India", whilst the other half thought that their parents might be persuaded to accept their Sikh boyfriends as possible, prospective sons-in-law. For instance:

My parents don't know about my boyfriend. We go out together secretly. I tell my parents that I'm going to visit one of my girlfriends and we then go out. I tell my sister because she too does the same. But I don't make it too obvious. If they found out, it would be big trouble. They would pack me off to India.

They don't know for sure that I've got a boyfriend. He is my cousin's friend and he, my cousin and I go out together. I tell my parents that I'm going out with my cousin, so they allow me to do that. Then, I meet my boyfriend that way. If they found out, I think they would be angry at first. But I think that because he is a Sikh, and because my Dad knows his Dad, they would agree, if we wished to get married. At the moment, I'm not sure whether I want to marry him.

Sixteen per cent of my single respondents told me that they went out with non-Sikh boys. They were asked: "Do your parents know you go out with non-Sikh boys?" All replied that they went out secretly. They were then asked: "What do you think they would say or do if they found out?" All replied that they would not be allowed to go out on their own any more. In addition, 90 per cent of these girls said that they thought that their parents would arrange their marriages as quickly as possible or even send them "back to India". For example:

My boyfriend is English, very blond, very good looking. I meet him in town during the daytime - I'm not allowed to go out in the evenings. We have to be careful because if my parents or big brother find out, there will be trouble. They will tell me to stay at home all the time. I think they would find a husband for me straight away. They might even send me to India.

My boyfriend is Gujerati. We go to the disco and sometimes to the Wimpy. My parents wouldn't be too happy if they found out. But I tell my brother and sisters, since they too do the same. If my Dad found out, it would be the end for me. I would have to get married to someone he chooses. I would do what my Dad says because I wouldn't want to run away and lose contact with my family. I think that they would react very strongly - they might even send me away to the village in India.

Thus, my findings suggest that over a quarter of my single respondents did not conform to the Punjabi norm which restricts social interaction between unrelated males and females. Despite such non-conformity, however, I would argue that the behaviour of these respondents was essentially 'situational' in so far as the majority of them said that they only went out with boyfriends when outside the Sikh community. In other words, they maintained this tradition within but not outside the Sikh community.

I now turn my attention to the majority of girls in my study (69 respondents) who said that they did not go out with boys. They were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you don't go out with boys? If yes, may I ask what it is?" Fifty-three per cent replied that they would like to have boyfriends but that they did not "dare go out with boys" because other Sikhs would gossip about them and this would have a detrimental effect on the family's reputation. For example:

I would like to have a boyfriend. I've been asked by all sorts - Indians, West Indians, white boys. I haven't because I dare not because the consequences are too great. Also, if you go out, you can't always say you are going to a friend's house because your friend's Dad knows you well and your Dad can find out. All the taxi drivers who are Sikh, keep an eye on the Indian girls. Gossip spreads like fire and you can disgrace your family. When lads ring me up at home, I get really nervous, just in case my Dad finds out.

Seventy per cent of the girls in this sub-category also pointed out to me spontaneously that their parents had instructed them not to talk to boys, something which they found extremely difficult to do, especially in co-educational institutions or at work. For

instance:

My Mum and Dad says 'avoid boys'. But you can't, can you? When I first went to College I was really shy. My Mum and Dad always told me not to talk to boys. Now I have quite a number of friends at college who are boys, but not boyfriends. My Mum is shocked, she thinks I'm really bad.

My parents are very strict about boys. I am not supposed to talk to them. If I'm late from school, they want to know where I've been and with whom. If I'm seen talking to a boy they get really suspicious. They think I'm going out with him, even if I'm only talking.

A further 27 per cent (of the 69 girls), however, said that they did not go out with boys because they "did not want to be like the English" and because they "did not want to get into trouble, that is, become pregnant". They told me that they thought that "English women had too much freedom and consequently "got into trouble" unlike their Sikh peers. They said that they had no interest in having boyfriends because they wished to be married in the traditional manner For instance:

I don't want to have a boyfriend. I prefer our ways. English girls go out with boys and they do everything. Then they get pregnant. Our parents are strict, that's why you don't find any Indian girls who become pregnant before they get married. It's better to be like us. I wouldn't want to get into trouble with boys.

A further 10 per cent (of the 69) also said that they did not want to go out with boys but their reasons differed from the above. They informed me that after careful consideration they had come to the conclusion that going out with boys "was not worthwhile" because it provoked "too much conflict within the family". In

addition, none of them were prepared to sever their links with their families. For instance:

A lot of girls go out with boys behind the backs of their parents. This isn't good because if they get caught they will be in trouble. The Dad would tell the girl to leave home and never come back. I wouldn't like that. I like Mum and Dad. I don't want to leave them.

Finally, 10 per cent (of the 69 girls) said that they did not go out with boys because they believed in the 'arranged' marriage but also because they were too busy with their studies:

I wouldn't stay away from lectures because of a boy. Lectures are more important. I've no time for them (boys). Also I couldn't lie to my Dad, he would know. He always seems to know when we are not telling the truth. It's best to stay away from boys and it's best to have an arranged marriage.

The findings in section 8.3 indicate that it is possible to divide my single respondents into four categories of conformity and non-conformity. Thirty-three per cent of these girls said that they willingly maintained this norm (i.e. Willing Conformity), whilst 38 per cent said that they did so unwillingly (i.e. Unwilling Conformity). In contrast, 26 per cent informed me that they had broken this tradition by going out with boys secretly (i.e. Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity). Finally, only 3 per cent of my single respondents said that their parents allowed them to go out with boyfriends (i.e. Established Non-Conformity).

Thus, it would appear that a third of the unmarried girls in my study were committed to maintaining this parental norm but that

two-thirds of my single respondents did not support it. Furthermore, there seems to have been little evidence of overt conflict between Sikh girls and their parents. This was manifested in the absence of Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity, that is, when parents are overtly disobeyed by their daughters. The lack of such conflict was also assisted by the existence of Unwilling Conformity (38 per cent) and Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity (26 per cent).

(b) Married Respondents (5 girls)

I asked my married respondents: "Did you, before you were married, go out with boys?" Only one replied in the affirmative. She was then asked: "Were they Sikh, West Indian, English or what?" In reply, she told me that she had been out with only one boy and he was a Gujarati Hindu. I then asked her: "Did your parents know that you went out with him?" She said that her parents did find out when she was seen by a Sikh friend of the family. I then asked her: "Did they try to stop you?" She replied that she had been "grounded" by her parents, that is, she had been closely supervised by members of her family. Her parents and several aunts and uncles had then held a "family conference" and she was asked whether she would agree to an arranged marriage. She informed me that after several "agonizing" weeks she decided to comply with her parents' wishes because she had no desire to leave home and because of the detrimental effects which such an action would have had on her family's reputation. In addition, she said that she was not really prepared to lose contact with her family

"for the sake of just one man, even if you love him because love might not last forever".

The other four married respondents were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you didn't go out with boys? If yes, may I ask what it is?" Three of them said that they had not done so because they preferred the 'arranged' marriage and were therefore not interested in "going out and getting into trouble with boys". Furthermore, they said that they would not have wanted to disobey their parents because if they earned themselves a "bad" name, nobody would marry their sisters.

Finally, only one married female said that she would have liked to have had a boyfriend but that she "had not dared to go out with boys because the consequences were too great". When asked to expand, she told me that she had had several opportunities which she had not taken because her parents and other members of the family had "kept an eye" on her. She had been accompanied to and from college and had not been allowed to go out on her own in the evenings. Her only contact with members of the opposite sex had taken place during the daytime, that is, at college. Upon completing her studies, she had been asked by her parents to get married.

To summarise, prior to marriage, 3 out of 5 of my married respondents willingly conformed to this tradition (i.e. Willing Conformity) another did so unwillingly, (i.e. Unwilling Conformity). The remaining respondent had broken this norm but

had ceased to do so when her parents found out about it (i.e. Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity).

When the findings on my single and married respondents are presented together, 34 per cent said that they did not want or had not wanted to go out with boys (i.e. Willing Conformity)), whilst 37 per cent said that they reluctantly conformed to this tradition, (i.e. Unwilling Conformity). In contrast, 26 per cent said that they covertly disobeyed their parents by going out with boys and 3 per cent said that they went out with Sikh boys with their parents' permission (i.e. Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity and Established Non-Conformity respectively).

8.4 HOUSEHOLD PREFERENCES - 'JOINT' OR 'NUCLEAR'?

Having examined my respondents' attitudes towards 'arranged' and 'love' marriages in section 8.2, I now turn my attention to an examination of their views on the 'joint family household' and its alternative, the 'nuclear family household'.

As discussed in Chapter Three, members of the first generation usually aspire towards the ideal of the 'joint family' household, whereby sons continue to live with their parents even when they marry.

(a) Single Respondents (97 girls)

To find out whether my respondents supported this ideal or whether

they preferred to set up a 'nuclear' household, they were asked: "If you get married, would you like to live with your in-laws (i.e. your husband's parents) or would you like to set up your own home with just your husband and children?" As indicated in Table 8.3 below, seventy-five per cent replied that they would prefer to live on their own with their husbands and children.

Table 8.3 Joint or Nuclear Household

Household Type	%
Nuclear	75
Joint	10
No preference	7
Don't know	8
N = 97	100

Only 10 per cent said that they would prefer to live with their husbands' parents, seven per cent stated that they had no preference and 8 per cent did not know.

Those who stated their preference for a 'nuclear' type household were asked: "Why would you like to set up your own home with just your husband and children?" Sixty-nine per cent (of the 75 per cent) them replied that they wanted to be "independent" after marriage. They wanted to be able to make their own decisions with

regard to running a home and bringing up their children. They said that they did not want their mothers-in-law or sisters-in-law to "boss" them. Another 24 per cent (of the 75 per cent) said that since they did not want to "cook, clean and wash" for the whole family, they would prefer to live in a separate house. The remaining 7 per cent were unable to answer my question. The following quotes represent some of the answers I was given:

I think that it's best to have your own house. You can keep in touch with his parents and with your parents, but it's better to have your own home. Why? Well, because if you're unlucky, you can end up with a bossy mum-in-law. She can command you to do this and that. I would not like that. I would prefer to make up my own mind about things.

It's a question of independence and privacy. I think it's not good for a marriage if the parents always meddle. In your own home, you can make all the decisions. Like, you can decorate the living room the way you like and not the way your mother-in-law likes. Then there's the kids. You have more say in how you bring them up.

I'll not get married if I don't get my own house. I've told my Dad. I want my own place. Because, if you live in your parents-in-law, you are asking for trouble. They will tell you that you can't go out in the evenings, what time you have to be back. How to behave all the time. I've had enough of that now.

No, I'm not going to live like that because I do not want to cook and clean for everyone. I want my own home.

The minority (i.e. only 10 per cent of my single respondents) who said that they preferred to live with their in-laws were asked: "Why would you like to live with your in-laws?" Sixty per cent of them replied that as they had no experience of running a home,

they would be happy to have some help and guidance from their mothers-in-law. These girls also thought that there would be less housework for them to do because there would be others in the house. A further 20 per cent said that they thought that one advantage of living with one's in-laws was that there would always be someone at home who could help to look after the children. The final 20 per cent were unable to answer my question. The following quotations illustrate some of the answers I was given:

It's quite nice to live with your family. I'm not experienced. I won't know what to do about running a home. In a way, it's a good idea to have a mother-in-law because she can help you to make the meals.

I'd prefer to live with my in-laws because I would get a lot of support from them. They would help to look after the children and I would be able to take a job, if I wanted. There are many advantages really, more than disadvantages. If you don't have money, they will help you. But, they can sometimes meddle when you don't want them to do that.

Thus, the majority of my single respondents did not wish to maintain the 'joint family household' largely because they desired a degree of "independence" and "privacy" after marriage. All single respondents were also asked: "If you get married, do you think that the way you will live as a family will be different from the way in which your parents live as a family in Britain?" Ninety-one per cent of the single girls replied that there would be some differences but 5 per cent said that there would be no changes. The remainder did not know. The 91 per cent who had replied in the affirmative, were then asked: "In what way will it be different?" Thirty-four per cent said that marriage would

entail "freedom", particularly in their social and recreational lives. They informed me that, unlike their own mothers, they would go out with their husbands to discos, parties and restaurants. In addition, they thought that they would have a wider network of friends, including non-Sikhs, than their parents. A further ten per cent (of 91 per cent) also said that, unlike their parents, they would go on holiday with their husbands and children. Furthermore, they said that they would celebrate their childrens' birthdays by inviting their non-Sikh friends - something which their own parents did not do.

I think it will be different. When my Dad goes to the pub he never takes my Mum. They never go to discos or parties. I'll probably go to discos and fairs with my husband. They only have Sikh friends whereas we will have other friends. I think we will go on holiday, perhaps to Spain. Indian families don't go on holiday usually. We will have a good time. My children will have birthday parties and I'll invite their friends. We don't have proper birthday parties, I mean, only the relatives come. But, for my children, I'll invite all their friends.

A further 38 per cent (of the 91 per cent) also said that they would have a fuller social life with their husbands. However, the girls in this sub-category also informed me that they wanted to have a more "open" relationship with their husbands and children than the one they had had with their parents. In addition, they told me that unlike their parents, they would treat their sons and daughters "equally" especially in relation to household chores. For instance:

It will be different. We will have more of a social life. When my parents were young they used to go to the cinema and they still visit their friends. But we will go to discos and parties. Most Sikh girls I know don't talk to their Dads. But I have a lot of conversations with my Dad. But I don't think that we can talk about some things which hurt them, so I keep those things to myself. Now, with my children, I hope that they will be able to discuss openly with me. I argue with my parents about going out. They think we are happy staying at home. They don't understand because when they were young, they did not go out in India. I'll be bringing up my children with two cultures, whereas my parents brought me up with just the Indian culture. One other thing - I will teach my sons to cook and help in the house too because it's not right for women to do all the work.

There will be more communication. I hope that we will be able to sort things out by talking, whereas, now, I don't bother to tell them how I feel. I hope my children will be able to come to me and say 'mother, I have this problem'. We will be a proper family. Now, we are not a proper family, I do whatever they tell me to do, but we don't talk.

It's terrible. Indian homes are places where people get food and shelter but there's no real communication between parents and children. I want to be open and frank with my husband and children. It will be freedom for me. I hope that I'll go out a lot. I'll only marry someone who is lively. There will be more equality. I mean, he can't go out on his own and leave me sitting at home. Also, I'll treat my daughters and sons equally. My sons will have to help with chores and they will have to come home in the evenings at the same time as the girls. There will be more equality. Now, in my home, my brothers have more freedom. Most Indian men have more freedom than women.

Ten per cent (of the 91 per cent) thought that in addition to "going out" more often than their parents, they would have a more "western-style" house. Finally, 8 per cent (of the 91 per cent) said that a major difference between their future family life and that of their parents would be the possibility that members of their generation would not be prepared to maintain traditional

obligations to members of their wider kin network. For example:

It will be a different society. We will probably go out more. Another thing is that our Dad is head of the family. So, he has got a lot of responsibilities towards my cousins. For example, you know, according to Indian custom, he has to look after the wedding arrangements. He has to give presents as though he is the father. I don't think that we will feel such responsibility towards our nieces and nephews.

To summarise, most of my single respondents said that they preferred to live with their husbands and children in their own homes. This indicates that these members of the second generation did not support the Punjabi ideal of the 'joint family household'. Furthermore, my findings demonstrate that the vast majority of my single respondents expected their own married lives and their own family relationships to be different from those of their parents. In particular, most of them anticipated a fuller and more varied social life. Moreover, a substantial minority of these members of the second generation said that they hoped to have a more equitable relationship with their future spouses. In addition, these respondents expressed a desire to treat their sons and daughters more evenhandedly, especially in relation to housework and to social and recreational "freedoms".

(b) Married Respondents (5 girls)

My 5 married respondents were asked: "Do you share your home with your husband's parents?" Two replied in the affirmative whilst the other 3 said that they lived with their husbands in their own homes. The former were asked: "Why did you choose to live with

your in-laws?" Both girls replied that "it was the custom" for a son to live with his parents, especially if he is the eldest. I then asked them: "Have you and your husband ever seriously considered living in your own home without your in-laws?" One of the respondents replied that she and her husband had done so, whilst the other said that she and her spouse had not considered setting up home on their own. The first girl was asked: "Why did you consider it?" She informed me that they would like to have more space since they shared their house with five other members of the family. She also said that they would like to have some "privacy" because when she and her husband wanted to have a "personal" discussion, they could only do so in their own bedroom. Although she would have preferred to have a separate household she did not think that they would ever leave her in-laws, first because her husband, as the eldest son, had a special responsibility towards his parents and, second, because of financial constraints.

The other respondents who had told me that she had not considered setting up house without her in-laws, was asked: "Any reason why not?" She told me that she enjoyed living with her family because she was never lonely and because there was always "plenty of help with the housework and the children".

I asked the three married respondents who did not live with their parents-in-law: "Why don't you live with your husband's parents?" Two replied that they preferred to live in their own homes because they wished to be "independent" and also because it would have

been too crowded in their in-laws' houses. The third replied that she did not live with her husband's parents because first, they did not live in Nottingham and second, she and her husband had always wanted to maintain a separate household in order to have some degree of autonomy in their married lives.

All three respondents were then asked: "How different do you think your life would be if you were to live with your in-laws?" They all replied that it would be "very different". When asked to elaborate, they said that they would not have much "freedom". For instance, they thought that their parents-in-law would not approve of them going out in the evenings too often. Other "restrictions" included: not being able to cook whatever and whenever they wished; not always being allowed to listen to "pop" music; having to behave "properly" all the time and having to share a bathroom! For example:

When you share a home with your family it can lead to trouble. For a start, there's too many women in the kitchen. So, who's the boss? If it's in the mother-in-law's kitchen, then she is. It will be difficult to eat different meals. We would have to come home at the same time everyday, so that, we would all eat the same food. Then, there's only one front room, one television and one stereo. I suppose, we could have a separate television in our bedroom. But it wouldn't be the same if you want to listen to your records and your father-in-law didn't like it.

At the moment we like to go out at least twice during the week and usually at weekends. I don't think my mother-in-law would like that - she would expect me to stay in and cook or sew or something. There would be arguments. So, it's best to live on your own. I'm not saying that you should lose all contact with the family. I mean, we see them every week and I like to do that. But not live with us.

Living with your family can be quite nice in some ways. You know, you can always rely on them for help, even for money. But, there are also disadvantages. Like, say you want to have English or coloured friends, your parents-in-law might not allow you to invite them. We've got all sorts of friends and we invite them home for a meal. We also go out and I think that my mother-in-law might not like that if I live with her. Also, I prefer to have lots of space, whereas if I lived with my family, I would have to share everything. Especially in the mornings, it would be a rush to get ready because there would be only one bathroom.

It would be very different. I wouldn't have as much freedom as I have now. Now, I can raise my kid the way I want. I speak to her mainly in English, whereas, if I lived with the family, they would be speaking Indian. She goes to a playschool and she mixes with everyone. We make most decisions by ourselves although there's a lot that we discuss with the family. Like, my husband's Dad helped us to get the mortgage. We talked about it with the family and they helped to find the money. So, it's good to have a family near you, but not with you.

Thus, my findings indicate that the vast majority of my respondents did not wish to maintain the 'joint' family household. Indeed, it can be argued that an emphasis on such concepts as 'my own home', 'privacy' and 'independence' by members of the second generation in my study suggests that they have internalized and identified with some values of the wider society values which conflict with those relating to the ideal of the 'joint' family household. However, since the vast majority of my respondents were unmarried and had therefore not yet established their own homes, their rejection of the ideal of the 'joint' family household had only occurred at an attitudinal level. These findings are similar to those reported by Brah in her enquiry on 16 year old South Asians in Southall (Brah, 1979).

8.5 MARRIAGE, MOTHERHOOD AND EMPLOYMENT

Other studies have indicated that Indians in Britain tend to define their daughters' future roles largely in terms of marriage and motherhood (Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976; Helweg, 1979 and Kalra, 1980). In my own enquiry, I examined the extent to which my respondents expected to be confined to such roles. I also explored their own aspirations in relation to employment.

Sixty-five per cent of my respondents were still in full-time education when interviewed. A further 23 per cent were employed whilst 4 per cent were officially registered as unemployed and were, at that time 'job hunting'. The remaining 8 per cent were not permitted to work and, therefore, stayed at home.

I asked those respondents who were still in full-time education: "What do you think you will do when you leave school/college?" Fifty per cent of the 66 girls in this category said that they hoped to "find a job", work for a few years and then get married. In contrast, a further 30 per cent out of these respondents said that they expected to continue their education at institutions of higher education, after which they hoped to find suitable employment. Another 18 per cent said that they thought that they would get married "straight away" and the remaining minority of 2 per cent were unable to answer my question. Thus, since only 18 per cent of these respondents said that they would be getting married as soon as they left school/college, it can be said that the vast majority of the girls in full-time education did not see

their immediate futures just in terms of marriage and motherhood. Instead, they hoped to "find a job".

I asked this vast majority: "What sort of job will you be looking for?" Thirty-two per cent (of 52 girls) said that they would be looking for secretarial or clerical work. A further 38 per cent expressed a desire to be employed in a professional capacity. These girls hoped to become dentists, doctors, nurses, social workers, linguists, textile designers, computer programmers and teachers. In contrast to these girls, a further 15 per cent (of 52 girls) said that they would be looking for "factory work" and another 10 per cent said that they wished to "work in a shop". Finally, a small minority of 5 per cent were unable to answer my question. These findings suggest that most of these respondents wished to obtain non-manual employment and a substantial number of them aspired towards professional employment.

Having examined the employment aspirations of those respondents who were still in full-time education, I now turn my attention to those girls who were no longer studying. There were 36 females in this category, 64 per cent of whom were employed whilst the remaining 36 per cent were not working when interviewed. I asked the former: "Where do you work and what do you do there?" Their replies indicate that 62 per cent of them were engaged in non-manual occupations. For example, they worked as secretaries, clerks, typists, bank and building society cashiers, laboratory technicians and shop assistants. The remaining 38 per cent worked

in manual occupations as machinists, assembly workers, packers, hospital auxiliaries and cleaners.

The minority who were not employed were asked: "Are you looking for work?" Forty-two per cent (of 12 girls) said that they were not seeking employment because they were not permitted by their parents to do so. These girls told me that they stayed at home in order to prepare for their forthcoming marriages. In contrast, a further 33 per cent (of 12 girls) said that they were 'job hunting' but had not yet found suitable employment. The final 25 per cent (of 12 girls) said that they stayed at home to look after their children.

These findings would suggest that only a minority of my respondents were not permitted to work. A substantial majority of the girls in my study either expected to "look for a job" after completing their studies or, were already employed when interviewed. In order to examine whether my single respondents expected to work after getting married, I asked them: "If you get married and, if you have children, do you think that you will stay at home or will you go back to work?" The two childless married females were asked: "If you have children, do you think that you will stay at home or will you go back to work?"

Forty-five per cent (of 99 respondents) said that they would stay at home until the children started school. For example:

I will stay at home and look after my kids at least until they start school. I think that small children need their mother. I wouldn't want to leave them and go to work when they are small. When they start school, then I'll probably go back to work.

I'll stay at home because I don't think that it's right for women with babies to go to work. Children need their mothers. But, I won't stay at home forever. I'll go to work when the kids are older, perhaps when they start school. I don't think that our families would accept it if I didn't stay at home. They would expect me to be a mother to my kids. So, I'll stay at home at least until they are older.

A further 37 per cent (of 99 girls) said that they would stay at home indefinitely for example:

I'll not work when I have children. Because I don't want to neglect my kids, like the English, you know. The English, they don't care about their children. The women go to work, they don't look after their kids. I'll stay at home because I want to give my children a good life.

I'll definitely be at home, looking after my kids. If you don't want to look after your own children, then what's the point in having them. I think that a mother's place is with the children. I'll take care of my children.

In contrast to the above, only 10 per cent (of 99 respondents) said that they would return to work "as soon as possible". These respondents told me that they would employ child-minders or send their young children to nursery school because they wished to pursue their careers. For example:

I don't think I want to stay at home. I've got aspirations, you know. I've studied really hard for my A levels and I hope to go to University. I'd like to have a career as a dentist. After studying so much, it wouldn't make sense to give it all up and stay at home. No, I'll find a baby-minder or a good nursery.

I want to be a teacher and so, I'm studying a lot. I don't want to stay at home because teaching - my career - means a lot to me. Even if I have a bad marriage, my career will tide me over. If I have children, I will try to convince my husband that someone else should look after them - like a relative. We have a lot of relatives in Nottingham. If my relatives won't co-operate then I'll look for a nursery school or a childminder. I think that I would get bored at home. Also, the money is always useful, isn't it?

The remaining 8 per cent (of 99 respondents) said that they did not know whether they would stay at home or go back to work. Thus, these findings suggest that the vast majority of second generation girls in my study had been successfully socialized into accepting their future roles as wives and mothers. However, not all of them expected to be confined indefinitely to such roles. Forty-five per cent said that they would return to work when the children started their schooling but a further minority of 10 per cent said that they intended to pursue their careers even whilst their children were of pre-school age.

8.6 A SUMMARY OF CHAPTER EIGHT

In this chapter, I have examined whether my respondents supported traditional norms and values in relation to marriage, endogamy, boyfriends, the 'joint' household and their future aspirations. My findings indicate that the 'arranged' marriage has an

immediate future, in so far as the vast majority of my single respondents expected to have an 'arranged' marriage and, all the married females had accepted such a marriage for themselves. Furthermore, my findings suggested that marriages were arranged in three different ways. I have called the different types of 'arranged' marriages: the 'pure arranged marriage'; the 'modified arranged marriage' and the 'liberal arranged marriage'.

Despite such differences however, only a third of my respondents said that they preferred the 'arranged' marriage, whilst two-thirds informed me that they preferred the 'love' marriage. Indeed, the girls who preferred the 'love' marriage also held negative attitudes towards the 'arranged' marriage. In particular, most thought that it was unsuccessful in Britain and they cited examples of marriages which had failed, in order to support their views. In addition, many of these girls thought that women were especially disadvantaged in an 'arranged' marriage because they ran the risk of being married to men who might physically abuse them.

Although most second generation Sikh females in my enquiry expressed a preference for the 'love' marriage, only a very small minority said that they expected to have one. Thus, it can be said that, at the attitudinal level, a majority of my respondents did not support the 'arranged' marriage. However, since the vast majority of my single respondents said that they would not disobey their parents, it can also be said that the 'arranged' marriage

had been and was likely to continue to be maintained at the behavioural level.

When my respondents were questioned about going out with boys, 29 per cent declared that they had done so and, most said that their parents did not know about their boyfriends. Just over half of the remaining 71 per cent said that they would have liked to have had boyfriends. Thus, it can be said that although a majority of second generation Sikh girls maintained this tradition at a behavioural level, most did not wish to preserve this norm.

Although most of my respondents favoured "love" marriages and going out with boys, they did not express much support for exogamous marriages. In other words, the majority would not be willing to marry non-Sikhs, including Hindus, Muslims, Whites and West Indians. The feelings of antipathy which were expressed by most of my respondents towards Muslims suggest that historical antagonisms between Muslims and Sikhs continue to be remembered even by members of the second generation in Nottingham. Moreover, they served to heighten and define the sense of difference between 'us' (Sikhs) and 'them' (Muslims). Similarly, the rejection of other non-Sikhs as possible marriage partners, also served to define the boundaries between themselves - Sikhs - and 'others', including Hindus, members of the indigenous population and West Indians.

My findings also demonstrated that the vast majority of second generation girls in my study did not wish to maintain the 'joint'

household. The reasons they gave for this preference suggested that there was a degree of ambivalence in their attitudes. For, on the one hand, they expressed a desire to preserve close links with their parents and in-laws and, in addition, perceived that they could rely on them for emotional and even financial support, whilst on the other hand, they said that they wanted "freedom", "independence" and "privacy". Thus, it would appear that these members of the second generation had internalized some values of the dominant society. Such values - especially those of 'independence' and 'individualism' - can be said to conflict with those values usually associated with the 'joint' family. Finally, my findings suggest that the vast majority of my respondents had been successfully socialized into accepting their future roles as wives and mothers. Whilst accepting such roles, however, almost half of my respondents said that they would like to work at a later stage in their married lives. Furthermore, a substantial minority of the girls in my study expressed a desire to have a more equitable relationship with their husbands and, in addition said that they intended to treat their sons and daughters evenhandedly, particularly with regard to housework and social and recreational pursuits.

CHAPTER NINE

SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Other studies on young females of South Asian origin have indicated that they were severely restricted in their social and recreational lives and, as a consequence, were unhappy and frustrated at their lack of 'freedom'. Girls and young unmarried women were usually home-based and were, in particular, not permitted by their parents to frequent such venues as discos, pubs and youth clubs - venues which would have given them the opportunity to interact with males (Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976; Anwar, 1977; Helweg, 1979 and Kalra, 1980).

In my own enquiry, I questioned my respondents about their leisure pursuits and sought confirmation of the findings of previous research.

9.1 EVENING AND WEEK-END PURSUITS

(a) Single Respondents (97 girls)

To ascertain whether they were largely restricted to the home during the evenings, my single respondents were asked: "Are you usually allowed to go out either with friends or on your own, in the evenings?" Seventy-one per cent of my single respondents replied that they were not permitted to do so either with friends or on their own. They added that they sometimes went out in the

evenings with their parents or other members of the family. In contrast to these girls, 29 per cent of the single respondents responded that they were permitted to go out in the evenings either with their friends or on their own. However, seventy per cent of these girls also added spontaneously that they were not permitted to do so every evening and that, when they did go out, were obliged to return home at a specific time.

All my single respondents were then asked: "How do you usually spend your evenings?" Fifty-three per cent of my single respondents said that they usually spent their evenings at home. Apart from doing their homework, they said that they usually helped their mothers with household chores, including cooking, washing-up, ironing and looking after younger siblings. In addition, they informed me that they watched television and sometimes listened to music. They also told me that they spent some of their time learning to sew and knit. These girls were not permitted to go out in the evenings unaccompanied by their parents or other relatives.

A further 18 per cent said that they too spent most of their evenings at home, helping their mothers with housework, watching television, listening to music, reading, sewing, knitting and "preparing for marriage". All of them had completed their education and, consequently, did not require to devote any time to school or college homework. These girls also informed me that their parents took them out occasionally but that they were not

allowed to go out with their friends or on their own.

In contrast to the above, 15 per cent of my single respondents said that they were allowed to go out in the evenings unaccompanied by their parents or relatives. However, they added that they were not allowed to do so every evening. Half said that they went out with their friends approximately once a week, whilst the remainder said that they did so approximately once a fortnight. Furthermore, all the girls in this sub-category informed me that they spent most of their evenings studying for examinations although they also managed to help their mothers with domestic chores. In addition, they said that upon completing their homework and domestic duties, they usually watched television, listened to music and pursued their hobbies - for example, tapestry, learning to play a musical instrument, drawing/sketching, making model dolls, stamp collecting and making jewellery.

Finally, 14 per cent of my unmarried respondents also said that their parents sometimes allowed them to go out with their friends in the evenings. Fifty-five per cent (of the 14 per cent) told me that they did so approximately once a week, whilst the remainder said that they were allowed to go out at least once a fortnight. These girls also informed me that they spent most of their evenings watching television, helping their mothers to cook, wash-up and entertain visitors, sewing, knitting and listening to records. All of them had completed their education and therefore did not spend their evenings studying for

examinations.

The above findings suggest that my single respondents were largely confined to the home, where they shared domestic duties with their mothers and where their main entertainments were watching television and listening to music. Although 29 per cent said that they were permitted to go out in the evenings the majority of my single respondents were not allowed to do so, except when accompanied by their parents or other relatives. Furthermore, most of the unmarried girls in my enquiry, said that they spent some of their time preparing for examinations or doing set homework.

Having examined the evening pursuits of these members of the second generation, I now proceed to their week-end activities. All the single respondents were asked: "What do you usually do on Saturdays?"

(1) Saturdays

Forty-five per cent of my single respondents stated that they usually met-up with their friends in town during the daytime. They went shopping together or merely spent their time in "browsing", "talking" and "having a meal or a snack". However, these girls informed me that they were obliged to return home, usually between 4 and 6 pm and were not permitted to go out with their friends on Saturday evenings. They said that they usually spent the evening watching television, helping to cook the

evening meal, entertaining any visitors, listening to music and helping to look after their younger siblings. They also said that they sometimes accompanied their parents on social visits to relatives and friends or to functions within the Sikh community.

In contrast to the above, a further 20 per cent of my single respondents said that they were not permitted to go out with their friends even during the daytime. These girls told me that they usually went shopping with their parents but were otherwise confined to the home. They also said that they sometimes went with their parents to visit relatives and friends.

Finally, 29 per cent of my single respondents said that they usually spent Saturday mornings and/or afternoons with their friends in town, and, in addition, were sometimes allowed to go out in the evenings. Some of the venues they cited included discos, cinemas and parties. They also said that if they did not go out with friends in the evenings, they watched television or visited their relatives and family friends with their parents and siblings.

(2) Sundays

In response to the question: "What do you usually do on Sundays?", 33 per cent of my single respondents said that they usually went to the temple on Sunday mornings. These girls also informed me that they usually spent the rest of the day either by helping to entertain relatives and friends of the family or by being entertained by them.

A further 50 per cent of the unmarried females told me that they usually stayed at home but that they sometimes accompanied their parents on visits to friends and relatives. They also said that they often had to help entertain friends and relatives because not do so, could incur criticism from other Sikhs and dishonour to the family name. For example:

You know, when someone comes to your house, you've got to act like a Sikh girl. You've got to be polite, you've got to talk with them, you must cook for them and make them comfortable - you can't go away and watch the World Cup! If you don't do all this, then, they will go away and say, 'Oh, their daughter is like that. She is spoilt'. This can be bad for your Mum and Dad. I mix in with people. If I don't know them, I'll sit with them and get to know them. Especially on Sundays, we have a lot of visitors.

Finally, 17 per cent of the single respondents said that they "did not do anything special" on Sundays. They told me that they usually stayed at home and "did the usual boring things", including cooking, watching television and doing their school/college homework.

My findings on the evening and week-end pursuits of my single respondents indicates that they spent most of their time with their families and other members of the Sikh community. Sikh girls shared domestic duties with their mothers and played an active role in entertaining guests. Indeed, the exchange of visits between relatives and friends appeared to be a major feature of their social lives. Television and music also seemed

to be their main sources of entertainment. Moreover, those who were still in full-time education said that they spent part of their "free-time" preparing for examinations or completing homework.

My findings also suggest that it is possible to divide my single respondents into three categories. First, 20 per cent of them were very restricted, in so far as they said that they were not permitted to go out on their own, even during the daytime. Second, 51 per cent were less restricted, since they said that they were allowed to go out unaccompanied by their parents, during the daytime. Third, 29 per cent of the unmarried females were even less restricted, in so far as they said that their parents allowed them to go out with their friends during the daytime and sometimes, in the evenings.

(b) Married Females (5 Respondents)

I asked my married respondents: "How do you usually spend your evenings?" All replied that they usually "stayed at home", "did the cooking and housework", watched television and listened to music. Four of the respondents also said that they sometimes entertained visitors and that they sometimes "went out" with their husbands. I asked these females: "Where do you go when you go out?" Two of these respondents replied that although they sometimes went to pubs, discos and restaurants they were more likely to visit their relatives and friends. The other two respondents said that they usually visited their relatives and friends and sometimes went to restaurants and cinemas.

I asked my five married respondents: "What do you usually do on Saturdays?" Three replied that they usually went shopping in the mornings or afternoons and that they sometimes visited their relatives and friends in the evenings. These respondents also said that they usually stayed at home on Saturday evenings because they "had too much housework" and also because their husbands did not always ask to take them out. In contrast, the other two married females told me that they and their spouses usually "enjoyed" themselves on Saturday evenings by going out with friends to cinemas, discos, pubs and restaurants.

I asked my married respondents: "What do you usually do on Sundays?" All five responded that they usually stayed at home or visited their relatives. In addition, three of them said that they went to the temple on Sunday mornings. For all five, however, Sunday appeared to have been a "day of rest".

9.2 LISTENING TO MUSIC AND WATCHING FILMS

9.2.1 Music

In order to find out whether my respondents listened to 'Eastern' and 'Western' music, I asked them two questions: "Do you ever listen to Indian music?" and "Do you ever listen to English music?"

Table 9.3 Musical choices

Eastern or Western Music	%
Eastern only	0
Western only	13
Eastern and Western	87
N = 102	100

As indicated above, 87 per cent of all my respondents said that they listened to both types of music, whilst only 13 per cent replied that they only listened to English music. The latter were then asked: "Any particular reason why you do not listen to Indian music?" They replied that they did not enjoy Indian music because most of the songs were sung in Hindi - a language with which they were not too familiar. In addition, they told me that they found Hindi songs very boring and repetitive and since they did not go to see Indian films very often, they were unable to appreciate the music from these films. For instance:

I prefer English music because it is in a language I understand. It's about life in England. You know, music from Indian films in Hindi, is very popular with Sikhs. But, as I don't go very often to Indian films, I can't enjoy the music and the songs.

The vast majority of respondents who said that they listened to both types of music were then asked: "Which do you like listening to most - Indian or English music? Why?" Fifty-two per cent replied that they had no preference, 25 per cent said that they

preferred Indian music, 20 per cent responded that they preferred English music and 3 per cent said that they did not know.

Those girls who stated that they had no particular preferences also said that although they thought that Indian music was "very different" from English "pop" music, they enjoyed listening to both. In addition, they said that songs from Indian films were particularly popular amongst most members of their families including themselves. However, they assured me that they were equally interested in English 'pop' music.

When asked for their reasons, the girls who preferred Indian music said that they did so because the songs were from films and the lyrics were "romantic", "beautiful" and "talked about love and life". Almost 50 per cent of these girls also said that they enjoyed Indian music best because it helped them to express an Indian identity. For instance:

Well, I'd rather have Hindi music because if I'm with somebody, I can listen better to Hindi music. Well, they will know better what I am rather than with English people."

I prefer Indian. I think that it says the things I want to say. I understand the words, I go to see the Indian pictures and it relates to the pictures. The words of the songs have meaning. The English songs are only to get money. The Indian songs have meaning.

Finally, the respondents who said that they preferred English music, were asked why they did so. All 20 per cent replied that they considered Indian film music to be repetitive and

uninteresting. For instance:

I prefer English music because I find the Indian film music so amazingly boring. It's always based on the same theme - boy meets girl and they fall in love. Then the parents find out and the girl and boy have to part because of the arranged marriage. My brother and sister, they love Indian music but I prefer English music. They say 'oh you want to be English'. But that's not true, just because you like English music doesn't mean that you want to be English.

To summarise, my findings suggest that the Indian musical heritage was far from abandoned by the vast majority of second generation Sikh females in my enquiry. However, since all my respondents said that they listened to "English" music, it can also be said that both forms of music had become a feature of their cultural lives.

9.2.2 Films

In order to examine whether my respondents watched Indian and English films, they were asked: "Do you watch Indian films?" and "Do you watch English films?"

Table 9.4 Watching Films

	English Films %	Indian Films %
YES	100	95
NO	0	5
	100	100
	N = 102	

As indicated in Table 9.4, all my respondents said that they watched English films and 95 per cent said that they watched Indian films. They were then asked: "Where do you usually watch Indian films and where do you usually watch English ones?"

Table 9.5 Venues for Watching English Films

Venues	%
At home on television and at the cinema	33
At home on television	67
N = 102	100

Table 9.6 Venues for Watching Indian Films

Venues	%
At home on video	44
At home on video and cinema	10
At the cinema	46
N = 97	100

As indicated in Table 9.5, 67 per cent of my respondents said that they watched English films on television, although 33 per cent said that they also went to the cinema. Those girls who said that they only watched English films on television were asked why they did not go to the cinema. In reply 75 per cent of them said that they were not allowed to go out, whilst the remainder said that they could not afford to do so and that it was cheaper to watch films on television.

As indicated in Table 9.6 the availability of video recorders would seem to have enabled over half of my respondents to view Indian films with their families in their own homes. However, 46 per cent of the girls in my study said that they went to Indian cinemas in Leicester with their parents, relatives and friends.

These findings indicate that my respondents had access to films from India as well as those produced in the English speaking parts of the world. Moreover, my findings suggest that Indian

films continued to be watched and were far from abandoned by these members of the second generation.

Finally in this sub-section on the recreational pursuits of my respondents, I examined the extent to which my single subjects were or were not prevented by their parents from watching any particular types of English and Indian films. Accordingly, all unmarried girls were asked: "Are there any types of English and Indian films which your parents don't allow you to see, or which they disapprove of?"

Ninety-one per cent of my single respondents said that their parents were less likely to disapprove of Indian films because most of these films were more "innocent" than some English ones. According to my respondents, Indian films did not depict nude scenes and they "hardly had any kissing and cuddling scenes". These characteristics, according to these girls, therefore made Indian films more acceptable to parents than some English films. The remaining 9 per cent said that they did not know.

My question on English films elicited a very different response. Twenty-five per cent of my single respondents informed me that their fathers did not allow them, under any circumstances, to watch "dirty" films - that is, those involving explicit love scenes and nude or semi-nude bodies.

In addition, they said that they were not permitted to watch

programmes in which "unmarried people lived together instead of getting married". According to these girls, their fathers either switched off the television set or sent them up to their rooms when such films appeared on the screen. When asked why their fathers disapproved of such films, 50 per cent (of 25 per cent) replied that they thought it was because their parents "wanted Indian girls to remain innocent before marriage". The remaining respondents in this category said that they did not know why they were not permitted to watch such films.

A further 70 per cent of my unmarried respondents said that although their parents did not approve of films which depicted explicit love scenes, pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations and nudity, they did not try to prevent them from watching such films, if they wished to do so. However, all the girls in this category admitted that they "felt very shy and embarrassed" when watching such films with their parents. Sixty-eight per cent (of the 70 per cent) said that they would sometimes "switch over to the other channel" or their parents would sometimes leave the room. The remainder said that they would all continue to watch the film in deep embarrassment. For instance:

They don't really approve of films with plenty of kissing and sex and nude scenes. Sometimes my Mum and Dad walk out of the room. We all feel shy. Sometimes, if it is really bad and, if we feel really guilty, we switch over to the other side.

Well, when my Mum sees nudes on the TV, she feels embarrassed. Also my brother, he feels ashamed. We all blush. But we don't switch it off.

They don't really approve of 'dirty' films. They think, 'she's only a little girl, she shouldn't know about such things'. But I watch them because I have to learn about sex someday. We all feel a bit uncomfortable when we watch these kinds of films.

Finally, only 5 per cent of my single respondents informed me that they were free to watch any type of film because their parents did not try to exert any influence or control over their viewing habits. According to this minority, their parents' lack of fluency in the English language meant that they (i.e. the parents) rarely watched television themselves.

To summarise, whilst Indian films were far from abandoned by my female members of the second generation, English films had also become part of their recreational lives. However, according to the vast majority of my single respondents, their parents disapproved of some films on moral grounds. Despite parental disapproval, however, the majority of my single subjects said that they were allowed to watch such films if they so wished. Most girls said that they did so with feelings of embarrassment.

9.3 GOING TO DISCOS, YOUTH CLUBS AND PUBS

Other scholars have contended that girls of South Asian origin in their enquiries were not permitted by their parents to go to discos, youth clubs and pubs (Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976; Helweg, 1979 and Kalra, 1980). In my own enquiry, I examined

whether my respondents wished to go to such venues, whether they did so and their perceptions of these venues.

9.3.1 Discos

(a) Single Respondents (97 girls)

All single respondents were asked: "Do you ever go to discos?" Seventy-one per cent of them replied that they did not do so but 29 per cent declared that they did go to discos. The latter were then asked: "Which one do you go to?" In reply, 86 per cent said that they usually went to 'Isabellas', 'Scamps' and 'Tiffanys' in the town centre, whilst 14 per cent responded that they only went to school or college discos. All the girls in this category, were then asked: "How many times a month do you usually go to discos?" Fifty-one per cent (of the 29 per cent) replied that they did so approximately "once or twice" a month, 30 per cent said that they went to discos once every other month and the remainder replied that they did not do so "very often". I then asked them: "Do your parents know you go to discos?" Eighty-nine per cent of them replied that their parents did know, whilst 11 per cent said that they went to discos secretly. Those girls who told me that their parents knew about their visits to the disco, were then asked: "What do they think about it?" There were 25 girls in this sub-category, 50 per cent of whom said that their parents had certain reservations, that is, they were "not too happy" but that they nevertheless allowed them to go to discos, provided that they came home between 11 pm and midnight. In contrast 32 per cent informed me that their parents had no

objections to discos and were therefore "quite happy" when their daughters went there. Finally, 18 per cent of the 25 girls said that their parents disapproved of discos, and did not want their daughters to go to them. They had therefore overtly disobeyed their parents by going to discos. Whilst 29 per cent of my single respondents declared that they did go to discos, 71 per cent said that they did not do so. The latter were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you don't go to discos? If yes, may I ask what it is?" Ninety-per cent stated that their parents did not allow them to do so and 10 per cent said that they did not go to discos because of parental objections as well as a lack of money. All these girls were then asked: "Would you like to go to discos?" Seventy-eight per cent of my single respondents who did not go to discos replied that they would like to do so. When asked why they would like to do so, 90 per cent (of the 78 per cent) replied quite simply that they would like to enjoy themselves - "have a good time with my friends". The remaining 10 per cent said that they would like to "go out with boyfriends". In contrast to these girls, 22 per cent of their peers replied that they had no interest in such forms of entertainment. When asked why they did not wish to go to discos, these girls replied that such venues were "for the English" and not for themselves. They informed me that they thought that discos were "alright for the English because they can meet their boyfriends there", but that they did not want to go to such places because they did not want to mix with boys, as they supported the arranged marriage.

In summary, although a substantial minority of my single respondents said that they went to discos, the majority said that they did not do so, largely because of parental objections. However, my findings also suggest that, if given the opportunity, most of the girls who were not permitted to go to discos would have liked to have done so.

(b) Married Respondents (5 females)

I asked them: "Do you and your husband ever go to discos?" Two of my respondents replied that they did not do so but three said that they did go to discos with their husbands. The former were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you do not go to discos? If yes, may I ask what it is?" One girl said that she was "not interested" because she "would not know how to dance", whilst the other replied that she would have liked to do so but her husband was a "bit old fashioned" and did not think that Indian women should go to such venues.

Those who said that they did go to discos were asked: "How many times a month do you usually go to discos?" One replied that they did so approximately "once or twice" a month and the other two females said that they usually went to discos once every other month. I also asked them: "Do your parents-in-law know that you go to discos?" All replied in the affirmative. I then asked them: "Do they approve?" Two of the girls said that their parents-in-law did not approve but that as they did not live with them, they were able to go out as they pleased. The remaining respondent informed me that her parents-in-law "did not meddle"

with respect to their social activities. Thus, three of my married respondents declared that they went to discos but the other two said that they did not do so.

When the findings on my married and single respondents are combined, 70 per cent of all the females I interviewed said that they did not go to discos whilst 30 per cent admitted to doing so.

9.3.2 Youth Clubs

All single respondents were asked: "Do you ever go to mixed youth clubs - that is, clubs for boys and girls of all races?" Only 12 per cent of my single respondents replied in the affirmative whilst 88 per cent of them said that they did not go to mixed youth clubs. The former were asked: "Do your parents know that you go to such youth clubs?" All replied that they always asked their parents for permission if they wished to go to a youth club meeting. I then asked them: "Do your parents approve?" Thirty per cent said that their parents did not approve initially, largely because they did not want their daughters to interact with males. With the help of their teachers, however, these girls had succeeded in convincing their parents that youth clubs were "safe" and "harmless" as there was always an adult present to supervise the members. Sixty-eight per cent of the minority who said that they went to youth clubs, informed me that their parents approved and were "quite happy" because they were satisfied that the youth club leaders would "look after us properly".

The vast majority of my single respondents, however, said that they did not go to youth clubs. There were 86 girls in this category, all of whom were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you do not go to youth clubs?" Fifty-five per cent replied that their parents did not allow them to do so because they were not permitted to go out in the evenings and because they were not "supposed to talk to boys". Twenty-six per cent said that they were "too old for youth clubs". They added that even when they were younger their parents did not allow them to go to youth clubs because first, they were not permitted to go out in the evenings and second, they were not allowed to interact with males. A further 10 per cent also said that they were "too old for youth clubs". However, these girls informed me that their parents had allowed them to do so when younger. Finally, 9 per cent said that they did not go to youth clubs because they did not know of any in their own vicinity.

My findings reveal that there were 78 Sikh girls in my enquiry who said that they had never attended a youth club meeting. They were all asked: "Would you like to go to a mixed youth club?" Eighty-one per cent replied in the affirmative, 14 per cent said that they would not like to go to a mixed youth club and 5 per cent did not know. Those who had replied in the affirmative were asked: "Why would you like to do so?" Sixty-nine per cent of them told me that they were often bored because they were usually based at home in the evenings. They thought that a youth club would be "something to do" and "somewhere to go without the family". The

remaining 31 per cent said that they would like to go to a youth club because they would like to "mix with boys" and meet their friends without any supervision from their parents.

The minority who said that they would not like to go to youth clubs were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you do not wish to go to youth clubs?" Sixty per cent of them replied that they did not want to go out in the evenings on their own and that they were "not interested in mixing with boys". The remaining 40 per cent said that since they knew that their parents would not approve, they had no desire to disobey them by going to youth clubs.

In summary, only a very small minority of my single respondents said that they went to youth clubs. The vast majority said that they did not do so largely because their parents did not permit them to go out in the evenings and, in particular, to interact with males. If given the opportunity, most of the unmarried females would have liked to become members of such clubs.

9.3.3 Pubs

(a) Single Respondents (97 girls)

All the unmarried girls in my enquiry were asked: "Do you ever go to pubs?" Seventy-three per cent replied that they did not do so, but 27 per cent said that they did. The former were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you do not go to pubs?" All replied that "Indian girls are not allowed to go to pubs", and that their parents would never permit them to do so. I then asked

them: "Would you like to?" Of the 71 girls in this category, 84 per cent of them replied that they did not wish to go to pubs, 10 per cent said that they would like to do so and the remainder did not know. Those girls who said that they would not like to go to pubs were asked why they did not want to do so. In reply, 77 per cent of them said that they did not approve of Indian women drinking alcohol in public places. In addition, they informed me that they would feel "uncomfortable" in a pub because it "was alright for the English" but "not natural for Indian girls". Twenty-three per cent of these girls said that they had no desire to go to pubs not only because they did not want to drink alcohol but also because their parents would "get a bad name" should other Sikhs find out about them.

In contrast to the above, 26 of my single respondents told me that they did go to pubs. I asked them: "How many times a month do you do so?" Forty-six per cent replied that they did so approximately "once or twice" a month, 23 per cent said that they went to the pub about once every other month and 19 per cent said that they did so "often", at least "once a week". A further 12 per cent informed me that they had only gone to a pub once in their lives and that they had decided not to return because they had not felt comfortable in such an environment. For example:

My Dad has changed a lot. I asked him if I could go to the pub. He really surprised me when he said 'yes'. I wanted to experience the great social thing which it is supposed to be. I went once, but that's it. I never went again. Well, it's not for us really. It's for the English - for them to meet their boyfriends. It's not really right for us Indian girls to be seen in pubs. It's unnatural. I wouldn't drink alcohol there anyway. You get a bit shocked if you see an Indian woman drinking in public, don't you.

I asked all 26 girls: "Do your parents know you go to pubs?"

Sixty-eight per cent replied that they went to pubs secretly and usually at lunch time. I then asked them: "What do you think they would do/say if they found out?" All replied that their parents would try to stop them from going out and half said that their parents might even "hit" them. For example:

My Mum and Dad don't know. That's one thing I wouldn't tell them. My Mum would be very, very upset. My Dad would be upset too, they would explode. They might even hit me. I think that my Mum would strike me for going to a pub. She doesn't mind me going dancing to Tiffanys. It's the word 'pub' - straightaway you think of drinking, whereas, with 'Tiffanys', you think of dancing. When I go to the pub, I don't drink alcohol, I drink orange juice. I really go there for a social thing with my friends.

Unlike the above 68 per cent, however, 32 per cent (of the 26 females) said that their parents knew that they went to pubs. They were then asked: "Do your parents approve?" Fifty per cent of them informed me that their parents did not approve but did not try to prevent them from going to pubs. The other 50 per cent, however, said that their parents were "quite happy" because they were confident that their daughters would not get drunk or disgrace themselves by "misbehaving". For instance:

My Mum and Dad trust me. They know that I won't get up to anything. I don't drink much, I stick to one or two drinks. They have always told me that I should be a responsible person. I won't let them down. I tell them exactly where I'm going and I come home by 11 or 11.30. If I can't get a lift, I ring my Dad and he collects me. My parents don't want me to travel home by myself.

To summarise, 74 per cent of my single respondents said that they did not go to pubs, 23 per cent said that they did so and 3 per cent said that they had only been to a pub on one occasion and had decided not to return. Moreover, most of the unmarried girls considered pubs to be unsuitable venues for Indian females largely because they thought that Indian women should not disgrace the family name by drinking alcohol in public.

(b) Married Females (5 respondents)

All married respondents were asked: "Do you ever go to pubs with your husband?" Two of them said that they did so but the other three said that they did not. The former were asked: "How many times a month do you do so?" One replied that she and her husband usually went to pubs "at least once a week" and the other respondent replied that she and her husband did so approximately "once a month". They were both asked: "Do your parents-in-law know that you go to pubs?" Both replied that they did not tell their parents-in-law because they were certain that their in-laws would not approve. According to these girls their husbands' parents were "old fashioned" and would not approve of their daughters-in-law going to pubs.

In contrast to the above, three of my married respondents said that they did not go to pubs with their husbands. They were asked: "Any particular reason why you do not do so? If yes, may I ask what it is?" Two of them replied that they did not wish to do so because they did not think that pubs were "right for Indian women". The other married female replied that she would like to do so but her parents-in-law would not allow her to go to pubs with her husband. She added, spontaneously, that if she had her own home, her husband would take her out to pubs and discos.

Finally, all three respondents were asked: "Does your husband go to pubs without you?" All replied in the affirmative. I then asked them: "How do you feel about this?" Two of them replied that they were "quite happy" because "it's alright for men to go to pubs" whilst the other respondent said that she "felt a little angry" because she would like to sometimes accompany her husband to the pub.

9.3.4 A Summary of Section 9.3

My findings on discos, youth clubs and pubs suggest that the majority of my respondents continued to adhere to Punjabi norms - in particular to those norms which do not usually permit young, unmarried females to go to venues in which they might interact with members of the opposite gender. Moreover, my findings also indicate that it is important to acknowledge that there are different types of conformity and non-conformity. To recall, in previous chapters, I have called these: 'Willing Conformity',

'Unwilling Conformity', 'Overt and Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity' and 'Established Non-Conformity'.

'Willing Conformity' can be said to occur when a girl conforms to parental norms because she wants to do so and is not obliged to do so against her will. In contrast, 'Unwilling Conformity' can be said to occur when she conforms reluctantly. 'Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity' can be said to occur when a girl breaks her traditions overtly and thus disobeys her elders. On the other hand, 'Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity' can be said to occur when she abandons her traditions secretly. Finally, 'Established Non-Conformity' can be said to occur when a girl is permitted by her parents (or if married, by her husband and parents-in-law) to break with traditional norms and values.

Table 9.7 Patterns of Conformity and Non-Conformity in Relation to Discos, Youth Clubs and Pubs

Types of Conformity & Non-Conformity	Discos %	Youth Clubs %	Pubs %
Willing Conformity	19	17	61
Unwilling Conformity	51	59	7
Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity	3	0	20
Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity	3	0	4
Established Non-Conformity	24	18	4
Don't Know	0	6	4
	100	100	100
	N=102	N=66*	N=102

* Excludes married respondents and those single respondents who said that they were too old for youth clubs

As indicated in the above table, 51 per cent of all the second generation Sikh females in my study said that they would have liked to go to discos but that since they were not permitted to do so they had reluctantly maintained this norm (i.e. Unwilling Conformity). In contrast, 19 per cent of my respondents informed me that they had no interest in discos - (i.e. Willing

Conformity). A further 24 per cent of the Sikh females in my enquiry, however, said that they went to discos with the consent of their parents or in-laws (i.e. Established Non-Conformity). Finally, in relation to discos, only a very small minority had either abandoned their traditions overtly or had done so secretly (i.e. Overt and Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity respectively).

Pubs were less popular with my respondents than discos, as 61 per cent of the girls in my enquiry said that they did not wish to go to pubs (an example of Willing Conformity) whilst only 7 per cent of my respondents said that they had reluctantly agreed not to go to pubs (an example of Unwilling Conformity). A further 20 per cent informed me that they went to pubs secretly whilst only 4 per cent of my respondents said that they had overtly disobeyed their parents by going to pubs openly and without their approval (an example of Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity and Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity respectively). Finally, only 4 per cent of the girls in my study said that they went to pubs with parental consent (an example of Established Non-Conformity).

As indicated in Table 9.7 my findings on discos, youth clubs and pubs suggest that there was very little scope for overt intergenerational conflict, in so far as only a very small minority of my respondents admitted that they had overtly - or even covertly - disobeyed their elders. Furthermore, my findings suggest that even when traditional norms of behaviour had been abandoned such departures from parental norms did not necessarily lead to intergenerational conflict as they were sanctioned by the

parents themselves (i.e. examples of Established Non-Conformity). Finally, my findings also revealed that overt conflict was avoided or even diffused when parental norms of behaviour were unwillingly maintained by those respondents who reluctantly obeyed their parents by not going to discos, pubs and youth clubs.

9.4 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND THEIR WHITE PEERS IN RELATION TO FREE-TIME ACTIVITIES

In order to examine whether my respondents compared their own recreational pursuits with those of their white (female) peers, they were asked: "Do you think that most white girls spend their free-time in much the same way as you?" Seventy-two per cent of all my respondents replied that they thought that most "English" girls differed from them in the way they spent their leisure time. A further 25 per cent said that there were similarities and differences between themselves and their white female peers. The remaining 3 per cent of the respondents said that they "did not know".

Those respondents who had stated that white girls differed from them with regard to recreational pursuits, were then asked: "In what ways are they different?" Of the 73 girls in this category, 71 per cent of them replied that their white peers had "more freedom" than Indian girls and consequently, unlike themselves, "English" girls went out in the evenings to discos, pubs and parties. In addition, according to these respondents, indigenous females were allowed to go out with males. Furthermore, these

respondents said that they thought that most white parents did not have "much control over their children" and that some "English" girls "got into trouble" - i.e. became pregnant - because they "did not know how to use their freedom" and because they "did not know when to stop". White females were perceived by my respondents in this sub-category as free agents who were able to go out whenever and wherever they pleased. Sixty-nine per cent of the girls in this sub-category spontaneously added that although they would like to be more like "English" girls in relation to going out in the evenings and having boyfriends, they did not wish to emulate them in other respects - particularly with regard to unwanted pregnancies. For example:

I do compare the way they go around. They have much more freedom. I would like to be like them in some ways. I mean I would like to go out without my parents. My dream is to go out with a boy. English girls are lucky. They can do all this. But they never seem to get on with their parents. Their parents don't seem to care too much about them, whereas our parents do care about us. English girls can do everything straight away. This is why they can get into trouble - get pregnant. They have too much freedom and they don't know when to stop. I would like to have some of their freedom but I wouldn't get myself in trouble.

I think that the English take things for granted. They take their freedom for granted. They can go out whenever they want. But they don't know how lucky they are. For instance, if they fall in love with a person and then they finish it, they say 'that's it'. They don't seem to care. Whereas with Indian girls, if they fall in love with someone, they are very faithful. I think it's because Indian girls are restricted - that's why they come to value love. English girls don't care about their parents all that much. Indian girls care, they would give up their own freedom and enjoyment for their parents. Indian girls are protected by their parents so few Indian girls will become sluts. I would like to go out and have a boyfriend openly like the English but I wouldn't want to go mad. I would have some restriction, keep up some standards. I wouldn't want to become an unmarried mother.

In contrast to the above, 29 per cent (of the 73 girls) did not express any interest in emulating their white peers. In response to my question: "In what ways are they different?" the girls in this sub-category said that white girls were "too free", "did not respect their parents" and "went out with boys to pubs, discos and parties". In addition, they informed me that they did not wish to "be like English girls" because they had no interest in going to such venues with boyfriends. For example:

Well you know they have more freedom than us. They can be independent, they can disagree with their parents. They have no respect, whereas we Indian girls have got a lot of respect for our parents. You sort of feel afraid when you do something against your parents wishes. We don't have the same independence. They go out much more, especially at night and with boyfriends. I don't want to be like them. I feel safe, I like the security I have at home. They go to discos, it's their scene - for boyfriends. They also drink. We don't have much in common.

I don't want to be like the English girls. I don't want to go out with boys and I don't want to go to discos and pubs. The English, they get into trouble. They get pregnant and they get into fights. Sometimes my English friends ask me why I don't come out with them. I don't make excuses for anything. I just tell them that it is our tradition. Obviously, they also tell me about their boyfriends. It doesn't affect me at all because I don't want to do that anyway.

Thus, 72 per cent of all my respondents thought that most white girls led social lives which were very different from their own. Twenty-five per cent of my respondents, however, did not share this view entirely but, instead, said that indigenous females were similar and different from themselves. When asked to elaborate, 70 per cent of the 26 girls in this category informed me that they did go out in the evenings and, in this respect, were similar to "English" girls. They added, however, that although they went to discos, restaurants and pubs, they did so less frequently than their white female peers. In addition, they said that indigenous girls were allowed to stay out later than themselves. They also informed me that unlike themselves, "English" girls were able to go out with boys "very openly" whereas they did so "secretly". Another difference cited by these respondents was that they spent part of their free-time at functions within the Sikh community and with their relatives. For example:

I don't think that English girls visit relatives like I do, they don't seem to get on with their parents either. I spend some of my time at Sikh functions and visiting relatives. Otherwise, I suppose I do go out like English girls - discos, shops, pubs, restaurants. But English girls have more freedom to go out. They do so more often than us. Also, they stay out late. I usually come home by 11 pm, never midnight. Most English girls of my age go out openly with boyfriends, whereas I have to be careful.

A further 20 per cent (of the 26 girls) said that they were similar to "English" girls because they too went out in the evenings to discos and parties. However, they added that unlike indigenous females they did not go to pubs and they did not have a "special boyfriend". In addition, they said that they were also different from their "English" peers because they visited their relatives and went to Sikh functions during their spare time.

Finally, 10 per cent (of the 26 girls) said that they were similar to white girls because they were allowed to have boyfriends and were also permitted to go out in the evenings. They added, however, that indigenous females usually went out more frequently than themselves and generally stayed out later. They also stated that unlike themselves, "English girls did not visit their relatives".

To summarise, the vast majority of my respondents were prepared to compare themselves with their white (female) peers in terms of recreational pursuits. Seventy-two per cent of them considered their indigenous peers to be very different from themselves in this respect. Most of them, moreover, would have liked to emulate

white girls. However nearly 25 per cent of the girls in this category employed these differences to enhance their sense of identity as Sikhs by contrasting their own families with those of their white peers. English girls were perceived by these respondents as free-agents whose parents did not seem to care about them. Sikh parents, in contrast, "protected" their daughters and, for this reason, according to these respondents, they did not wish to emulate their white peers. Finally, 25 per cent of all my respondents thought that there were similarities and differences between themselves and indigenous females in the way they spent their leisure time.

9.5 RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR LEISURE TIME PURSUITS

Since other researchers (for example, Chrishna, 1975 and Sharpe, 1976) have reported that their South Asian female respondents were frustrated and unhappy with the restrictions they faced in their social and recreational lives, I gave my respondents an opportunity to express their feelings in this respect by asking them: "How happy are you with the way you spend your free-time?" In reply, 52 per cent of my respondents said that they were "not at all happy" or that they were "unhappy". In contrast, 45 per cent of the girls I interviewed, informed me that they were "very happy" or "quite happy". The remaining 3 per cent said that they "did not know".

Those respondents who said that they were "unhappy"/"not at all happy" were then asked: "Why do you feel this way?" There were 53

girls in this category. Their responses to this question indicate that these girls can be divided into two sub-categories. The first consists of 57 per cent of the girls who were very restricted, in so far as they were not permitted to go out on their own even during the daytime. These girls said that they were unhappy because they considered themselves to be too restricted. They told me that they would like to go out with their friends during the daytime and in the evenings. The second sub-category consists of 43 per cent (of the 53 girls) who said that they were allowed to go out on their own during the daytime. They were, however, not allowed out during the evenings. These girls informed me that they were not at all happy because they would like to go out with their friends in the evenings as well as during the daytime and have fewer restrictions. The quotations which follow represent some of the answers given by those respondents who said that they were "unhappy"/"not at all happy" with the way they spent their free-time.

I'm not very happy. I think of life and why I am living the way I am. What I get out of life and I don't get much out of life. I just do things to please other people, so that depresses me. If I could, I would just like to go out with my friends and have a pleasant evening. But all I do is to go to an Indian function, in an Indian community. I would like to be trusted. They've always got doubts about me. I haven't tried to explain to them. I've seen how my sister and brother have tried to explain to them that there's nothing wrong in going out - to discos, for example. I've seen my sister cry. It doesn't do any good because our parents stick to the view that girls shouldn't go out on their own. It only brings conflict, nobody wins. So, I never bother. I just listen to my records. I would like to go out with my friends to discos and parties but I know that I won't be allowed. Other Sikh girls try to explain to their parents that they are not doing anything wrong by going to discos. But the rest of Indian society says it's wrong. You can give your parents a bad name - that's what they are afraid of. They say that if a girl goes out, especially with a boy, she can't be a proper, typical Indian girl, she can't be good. This disgraces your family and nobody will want to marry in your family.

I wish they would let me out now, after all I'm older (18). If I want to go out, I can't say 'I'm going out'. I have to say 'Can I go out, please let me go out' - sort of 6 week drag. And then the answer comes 'No'. It gets me mad because I would not go out every night - I've got too much studying to do. But once in a while I do feel like having a break. Like I wanted to go to Goose Fair, all my friends were going. I tried to go on Thursday and I didn't manage. I got told off even before I got there. I had to return home.

Forty-five per cent of all my respondents told me that they were "very"/"quite happy" with the way in which they spent their spare time. I then asked them: "Why do you feel this way?" Fifty-nine per cent of these respondents replied that they were satisfied because they did go out with their friends during the daytime and at night. They also said that they were aware that other Sikh girls differed from themselves in that they were "confined to the

house" and "not given much freedom". For example:

I'm allowed to do the things I want to do, but what I lack is the time to fit everything in. I think that Sikh girls whose parents are very strict and also who are not very educated, are very restricted. They are not allowed to go out - even to visit friends. They don't make friends outside the Sikh community. They don't do much except study and stay at home. I'm really lucky, my Dad is educated. I'm allowed to go out even at night. But I always tell my Dad where I am.

I have a lot to do. I can go out if I want and I have a part-time job. I tell my parents where I am going. I don't tell lies. My parents don't really like me going out at night, but I stand up for myself - otherwise, they will always tell me what to do.

I'm happy. when I go to discos, my Mum thinks it's a waste of time - but she doesn't stop me. She thinks that I ought to spend time at home helping her. As I get older, she is letting me have my own way, she doesn't try to stop me. Now, mostly, I'm tied up with my voluntary work, trying to get experience about what is going on about me. My Mum and Dad allow me to do most of the things I want to do because I always explain why I want to do these things - like voluntary work or just going out with friends for a break from studying.

In contrast to the above, the remaining 41 per cent (of the respondents who expressed satisfaction with their social lives) said that despite the restrictions they faced, they were content with the way they spent their free-time because they did not want to "be like the English". For example:

I'm satisfied, I won't grumble. I don't go out alone but in a way I like my life better than the English. I mean, my parents are strict, but I don't want to go out late at night. I'm frightened. I don't want to be like English girls.

I'm quite happy. I'm too busy with my studies to bother. My parents don't allow me to go to discos and that - especially in the evenings. My Dad says "you can control yourself from doing things, but can you control your friends?" It's like you can stop yourself from doing things but you can't control other people. So you are better off not going. I agree with that. I think in many ways it's better to have restrictions. English girls can often get into trouble because they have a lot of freedom.

I'm happy. I don't want to go out at night. I don't want to have boyfriends. I don't want to be like the English. I like the security I have at home. I mean, how many Indian girls become pregnant when they are only 15? None. Because our parents are strict, we know damn well what the consequences would be.

To summarise, when asked how they felt about the way in which they spent their free-time, 52 per cent of my respondents replied that they were "unhappy" and 45 per cent said that they were "happy". This finding does not totally confirm the findings of previous research on young South Asian females, including the studies conducted by Chrishna and Sharpe, since they reported that the vast majority of their respondents were frustrated and unhappy with their restricted social and recreational lives. In my own study, whilst just over 50 per cent of the Sikh girls expressed such feelings of frustration, a further 19 per cent informed me that they were content with such restrictions. Furthermore, 26 per cent of my respondents said that they were "happy" because they faced fewer restrictions than other Sikh girls in that they did go out, especially in the evenings.

In this chapter, I have examined some aspects of the social and recreational lives of my respondents. My findings suggest that

although a substantial minority of these members of the second generation were allowed out unchaperoned, the majority of my respondents spent most of their leisure time at home and within the Sikh community. Amongst my unmarried respondents (a total of 97 girls), 20 per cent can be said to have been very restricted as they said that they were always accompanied by their parents or other relatives. Fifty-one per cent (of the single girls) were less restricted in that they said that they were permitted to go out with their friends during the daytime but not at night. The remaining 29 per cent of the unmarried girls were the least restricted in so far as they informed me that they went out unaccompanied by members of their families during the daytime and in the evenings.

Although my findings suggest that most of the respondents were largely restricted to the home and within the Sikh Community with respect to their social and recreational lives, the results of my enquiry, do not, nevertheless, totally confirm the findings of previous studies on young South Asian females. Other enquires (for example, Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976; Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Anwar, 1977; Brah, 1979; Kalra, 1980.) have indicated that the vast majority of young females were severely restricted. Indeed, none of these researchers seemed to have encountered any female respondents who went to discos and pubs. In contrast, my own enquiry suggests that not all my respondents were severely restricted. Indeed, a substantial minority of my subjects said that they went to discos and pubs. (30 per cent and 28 per cent

respectively). Moreover, with respect to going to discos, some of these girls, said that they were doing so with parental permission. Furthermore, unlike the respondents of other studies, a substantial minority (29 per cent) of my subjects said that they did go out unchaperoned in the evenings and most of these girls also informed me that they had their parents' permission.

My findings also reveal that 52 per cent of my respondents were unhappy with their restrictions but that 19 per cent were actually satisfied with their restricted social and recreational lives. In contrast, a further 26 per cent of my respondents said that they were "happy" with the way they spent their leisure time largely because they felt that they were not totally prevented from "going out" and "enjoying" themselves.

Finally, the majority of my respondents contrasted their own restrictions with what they perceived as the "freedom" enjoyed by their white (female) peers. Most of these respondents expressed a desire to enjoy some of these "freedoms" - for example, going to discos and parties and having boyfriends - whilst, at the same time, not wishing to emulate the "English" totally by being "too free".

CHAPTER TEN

PATTERNS OF CONFORMITY AND NON-CONFORMITY; SITUATIONAL ETHNICITY AND INTRA-ETHNIC COMPARISONS

10.1 TYPES OF CONFORMITY AND NON-CONFORMITY AND SITUATIONAL ETHNICITY.

In the preceding five chapters, I have examined the extent to which religious and other cultural traditions had been maintained by my Sikh respondents. My findings, summarised below in Table 10.1, have shown that the majority of Sikh traditions continued to be adhered to by a majority, or sometimes a clear majority, of my respondents. For example, with respect to the Five Ks, 75 per cent of my subjects maintained Kesh (long hair), 73 per cent said that they wore the Kara (bangle) and 55 per cent said that they carried the Kangha (comb). However, none of my respondents said that they wore Kaccha (special underwear) and only a very small minority said that they carried a minature Kirpan (sword).

Table 10.1 The Maintenance and non-Maintenance of Traditions

Variable	Conformity	Non-Conformity	Total
Maintaining Kesh (hair)	75	25	100
" Kara (bangle)	73	27	100
" Kangha (comb)	55	45	100
" Kirpan (sword)	2	98	100
" Kaccha (underwear)	0	100	100
Not Eating Beef	51	49	100
Not Drinking Alcohol	60	40	100
Not Smoking Cigarettes	100	0	100
Attending the Temple	48	52	100
Celebrating Baisakhi	77	20	97
Wearing the Salwar Kameeze	70	30	100
Norms relating to skirts	63	37	100
Preserving Punjabi	100	0	100
Maintaining Arranged Marriage	92	8	100
Not Having Boyfriends	71	29	100
Not Going to Discos	70	30	100
Not Going to Pubs	68	28	96
Not Going Out in Evenings	71	29	100
Unchaperoned			
Listening to Indian Music	87	13	100
Watching Indian films	95	5	100
N = 102			

A similar level of adherence emerged with respect to other religious traditions. For example, 51 per cent of my respondents said that they did not eat beef and 60 per cent of my subjects said that they did not drink alcohol under any circumstances. Moreover, all my respondents said that they refrained from smoking cigarettes. Table 10.1 also shows that 48 per cent told me that they attended the temple frequently and 77 per cent of my respondents said that they celebrated the Sikh festival of Baisakhi.

When questioned about the clothes they wore, 70 per cent of my subjects said that they continued to wear traditional Punjabi dress and 63 per cent of my respondents also told me that they observed the restrictions regarding the wearing of knee-length skirts. Table 10.1 also shows that with respect to the maintenance of the Punjabi language, all my respondents said that they spoke their mother tongue.

My findings also reveal that the arranged marriage seemed to have a secure future in so far as 92 per cent of my subjects said that they would accept - or, if married, had been content to accept - such a marriage for themselves. Moreover, 71 per cent of my respondents told me that they did not go out with boyfriends.

When I questioned my respondents about their social and recreational pursuits, 71 per cent informed me that they were not permitted to go out in the evenings unchaperoned; 70 per cent told me that they did not go to discos and 68 per cent of my respondents said that they did not go to pubs. In addition, 87 per cent of my subjects said that they continued to listen to Indian music and 95 per cent of my Sikh respondents said that they watched Indian films.

Despite such conformity, however, my findings also reveal that a substantial minority of my respondents did not always adhere to

certain traditions. For example, with respect to the Five Ks, 25 per cent of my respondents did not have long hair (Kesh); 27 per cent of my Sikh subjects said that they did not wear the special bangle (Kara); 45 per cent said that they did not carry the special comb (Kangha); 98 per cent of my respondents said that they did not carry a sword (Kirpan) and, finally, all my respondents said that they did not observe Kaccha.

A similar level of non-adherence emerged in relation to other religious traditions. For instance, 49 per cent of my respondents said that they did eat beef, and 40 per cent said that they did drink alcohol. In addition, 52 per cent of my subjects either said that they did not go to the temple at all or that they did so infrequently. Table 10.1 also shows that 20 per cent of my respondents told me that they did not celebrate Baisakhi.

When they were questioned about the clothes they wore, 30 per cent of my respondents said that they did not wear the Salwar Kameeze under any circumstances and 37 per cent of my subjects said that they did not observe the restrictions regarding the wearing of skirts. In contrast when I questioned my respondents about the maintenance of their mother tongue, all of them said that they spoke Punjabi.

Table 10.1 also shows that whilst only 8 per cent of my respondents said that they would not accept an arranged marriage

for themselves, a far higher percentage of my subjects (29 per cent) told me that they had broken with tradition by going out with boyfriends.

With respect to their social and recreational lives, a substantial minority of 30 per cent of my respondents said that they did go to discos; 28 per cent of my subjects told me that they did go to pubs and 29 per cent said that they went out in the evenings unchaperoned. Finally, a small minority of 13 per cent of my respondents and a further minority of 5 per cent said that they did not listen to Indian music and did not watch Indian films.

Thus it would appear that whilst none of my respondents had abandoned the Punjabi language and only a very small minority of 8 per cent of my subjects had rejected the arranged marriage, a substantial minority of the girls in my study did not conform to religious traditions, clothing norms and social and recreational restrictions. Despite these examples of non-conformity, however, the results of my enquiry suggest that the majority of Sikh traditions continued to be maintained by most members of the second generation in my study.

In the preceding five chapters, I was also able to distinguish between different types of conformity and non-conformity to religious and other cultural traditions. To recall, I argued that Willing Conformity can be said to exist when parental norms

are willingly maintained by the girls because they themselves wish to do so. Such conformity can be said to be General when the tradition is adhered to in all situations or Selective when it is maintained only in specific situations (Willing General Conformity) and Willing Selective Conformity respectively). Furthermore, I contended that Unwilling Conformity can be said to exist when religious and cultural traditions are unwillingly maintained by the girls in deference to their parents or, if married, to their husbands and/or parents-in-law. Unwilling Conformity can be General or Selective (Unwilling General Conformity and Unwilling Selective Conformity respectively). I also argued that Established Non-Conformity can be said to occur when Sikh girls are permitted by their parents or, if married, by their husbands and/or in-laws to abandon religious and cultural traditions in all situations. Finally, I contended that Breakaway Non-Conformity exists when Sikh girls disobey their parents or, if married, their husbands and/or in-laws by abandoning traditions. Such disobedience can be Overt or Covert (Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity and Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity respectively). In Chapters Five to Nine, I employed the above categories to examine each individual variable. A summary of the results are provided in Table 10.2 .

Table 10.2 Types of Conformity and Non-Conformity to Sikh traditions

VARIABLE	WC*	UC*	ENC*	BNC*	DK*	%
	%	%	%	%		
Maintaining Kesh (long hair)	54	21	18	7	0	100
Maintaining Kara (bangle)	64	9	20	7	0	100
Maintaining Kangha (comb)	41	14	40	5	0	100
Maintaining Kirpan (sword)	2	0	98	0	0	100
Maintaining Kaccha (special underwear)	0	0	100	0	0	100
Not Eating Beef	47	4	28	21	0	100
Not Drinking alcohol	60	0	30	10	0	100
Not Smoking Cigarettes	100	0	0	0	0	100
Attending the Temple	42	6	44	8	0	100
Celebrating Baisakhi	68	9	20	0	3	100
Wearing Salwar Kameeze	52	18	20	10	0	100
Norms re. skirts	44	19	28	9	0	100
Preserving Punjabi	85	15	0	0	0	100
Maintaining arranged marriages	34	58	4	4	0	100
Not Having boyfriends	34	37	3	26	0	100
Not going to discos	19	51	24	6	0	100
Not going to pubs	61	7	4	24	4	100
Not going out in evenings unchaperoned	20	51	24	5	0	100
Listening to Indian Music	70	17	13	0	0	100
Watching Indian Films	80	15	0	5	0	100

*

WC = Willing Conformity (General and Selective)
UC = Unwilling Conformity (General and Selective)
ENC = Established Non-Conformity
BNC = Breakaway Non-Conformity (Overt and Covert)
DK = Don't Know

10.1.1 Examples of Willing Conformity

As Table 10.2 shows, this particular type of conformity occurred in all but one area (i.e. the maintenance of Kaccha). Incidences of Willing Conformity ranged from a low level of 2 per cent to a high level of 100 per cent. As indicated in Table 10.2, when my respondents were asked whether they adhered to the Five Ks, 54 per cent said that they willingly maintained Kesh (long hair), 64 per cent replied that they willingly wore the Kara (bangle) and 41 per cent said that they willingly carried the Kangha (comb). A very small minority of 2 per cent said that they carried a miniature Kirpan (sword) out of personal conviction and none of my respondents told me that they maintained Kaccha (special underwear). When they were asked about their eating, drinking and smoking habits, 47 per cent of my subjects responded that they were happy to abstain from eating beef and 60 per cent of them also said that they willingly refrained from drinking any alcohol. In addition, all my respondents told me that they did not wish to smoke cigarettes. Table 10.2 also shows that when my respondents were questioned about temple attendance and whether they celebrated Baisakhi, 42 per cent of them said that they willingly went to the temple frequently and regularly and 68 per cent said that they celebrated Baisakhi out of personal choice. Furthermore, when they were asked about their clothing norms, 52 per cent of my respondents said that they wore the Salwar Kameeze because they wished to do so and 44 per cent of my subjects said that they did not wish to break with tradition by wearing "English" skirts "all the time". Table 10.2 also shows that a vast majority of 85 per cent of my respondents expressed their

support for the maintenance of the Punjabi language. However, when they were questioned about their views on the arranged marriage and whether they went out with boyfriends, a smaller number (34 per cent) said that they willingly supported the traditional form of marriage and that they had no desire to go out with boyfriends. Furthermore, as Table 10.2 shows, when my respondents were questioned about their recreational and social lives, only 19 per cent of them told me that they did not wish to go to discos and 20 per cent of them said that they did not want to go out in the evenings unchaperoned by members of their families. Thus only a small minority of my respondents willingly accepted these restrictions which prevented them from going to discos and going out unchaperoned. However, a far higher percentage of my respondents (61 per cent) said that they willingly refrained from going to pubs. Finally, when I asked my subjects whether they listened to Indian music and whether they watched Indian films, 70 per cent and 80 per cent respectively said that they did do so out of personal choice.

Thus although Willing Conformity occurred in all areas but one, it would seem that larger numbers of respondents willingly conformed to most of the religious traditions, the clothing norms and the preservation of the mother tongue, whilst smaller numbers of respondents willingly accepted their social and recreational restrictions and Sikh norms relating to the arranged marriage and going out with boyfriends.

10.1.2 Examples of Unwilling Conformity

As Table 10.2 indicates this particular type of conformity occurred in 17 out of 20 variables. For instance, 21 per cent of my respondents said that they unwillingly maintained Kesh (long hair), a small minority of 9 per cent of my subjects said that they wore the Kara (bangle) in deference to parental wishes and 14 per cent said that they carried the Kangha (comb) for similar reasons. Unwilling Conformity did not apply to the maintenance of the two remaining Ks - Kirpan (sword) and Kaccha (special underwear). When my respondents were questioned about their eating, drinking and smoking habits, only 4 per cent of them said that they unwillingly abstained from eating beef and only a single respondent said that she unwillingly refrained from drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes. Table 10.2 also shows that only 6 per cent of my subjects told me that they went to the temple because they did not wish to disobey their parents or, if married their husbands and/or parents-in-law. Similarly, only 9 per cent of my respondents said that they unwillingly celebrated Baisakhi.

When my subjects were asked about their clothing norms, 18 per cent informed me that they wore the Salwar Kameeze unwillingly and 19 per cent said that they would like to wear skirts but that they were not permitted to do so. Table 10.2 also indicates that 15 per cent of my respondents said that they unwillingly maintained their mother tongue.

Furthermore, Table 10.2 shows that when they were questioned about their commitment to the arranged marriage 58 per cent of my respondents said that they would only accept a traditional marriage unwillingly. Furthermore, 37 per cent said that they would like to go out with boyfriends but that they did not do so because they did not wish to disobey their parents. When my respondents were questioned about their social and recreational pursuits, 51 per cent of them expressed their displeasure at not being allowed to go out in the evenings unchaperoned. Fifty-one per cent of my subjects also said that they would like to go to discos but were not permitted to do so. However, only 7 per cent of my respondents said that they unwillingly obeyed their parents by not going to pubs. Finally, when they were asked about their tastes in music and films, 37 per cent of my subjects said that they did not enjoy listening to Indian music and only did so in deference to parental wishes and 15 per cent of my respondents told me that they unwillingly watched Indian films for similar reasons.

Thus it would appear that Unwilling Conformity occurred more strongly with regard to such areas as the arranged marriage, going out with boyfriends and social and recreational restrictions and less strongly with regard to the maintenance of religious norms, clothing traditions and the mother tongue.

10.1.3 Examples of Established Non-Conformity

As Table 10.2 shows, this type of non-conformity occurred in 18 out of 20 variables. For instance, when my respondents were questioned about the Five Ks, 18 per cent of them said that their parents had not asked them to observe Kesh (long hair); 20 per cent said that they had not been obliged to wear the Kara (bangle); 40 per cent said that they had not been expected to carry the Kangha (comb); 98 per cent said that they had not been asked to carry the Kirpan (sword) and, finally, all my respondents said that they were not obliged to wear Kaccha (special underwear). Furthermore, when they were questioned about their eating, drinking and smoking habits, 28 per cent of my respondents said that they did eat beef with parental consent and 30 per cent said that they were allowed to drink alcohol. However, none of my respondents said that they were permitted to smoke cigarettes and all of them also stated that they were happy to accept this restriction. Table 10.1 also shows that 44 per cent of my respondents said that they were not obliged to attend the temple and 20 per cent said that their families did not celebrate Baisakhi.

When asked about their clothing norms, 20 per cent of my subjects told me that they had never been expected to wear the Salwar Kameeze and 28 per cent of my respondents said that they were allowed to wear "English" clothes including skirts. Table 10.2 also shows that none of my respondents said that they were permitted to abandon their mother tongue.

In addition, when my respondents were questioned about the arranged marriage and going out with boyfriends, only 4 per cent of them told me that their parents would allow them to have a "love" marriage instead of an "arranged" one and only 3 per cent of my subjects said that they were permitted to have boyfriends.

When I examined my respondents' social and recreational restrictions, 24 per cent of them told me that they were allowed to go to discos but only 4 per cent of my subjects said that they went to pubs with parental permission (or, if married, with their husbands' and/or in-laws consent). Twenty-four per cent of my respondents also said that they were permitted to go out in the evenings unchaperoned. Finally, when I asked my respondents whether they listened to Indian music and watched Indian films, 13 per cent of them said that their families rarely listened to Indian music but none of my subjects said that they and their families had ceased to watch Indian films.

Thus these findings suggest that whilst a substantial minority of my respondents were permitted to abandon religious traditions, clothing norms and even most of the social and recreational restrictions, all of them were expected to speak their mother tongue and only a very small minority of them were allowed to go out with boyfriends and have a "love" marriage instead of an arranged one.

10.1.4 Examples of Breakaway Non-Conformity

As Table 10.2 shows, Breakaway Non-Conformity occurred in relation to 15 out of 20 variables. For instance, 7 per cent of my respondents said that they had disobeyed their parents by failing to maintain Kesh (long hair). Another 7 per cent said that they had disobeyed their parents by refusing to wear the Kara (bangle) and a further 5 per cent of my subjects said that they had gone against parental wishes by not carrying the Kangha (comb). None of my respondents said that they had defied their parents by not maintaining Kirpan and Kaccha. When they were asked about their eating, drinking and smoking habits, 21 per cent of my subjects told me that they ate beef without parental consent and 10 per cent said that they drank alcohol despite parental disapproval. None of my respondents said that they had obeyed their parents by smoking cigarettes. Table 10.2 also shows that only 8 per cent of them said that they refused to go to the temple whilst none said that they had gone against their parents wishes by not celebrating Baisakhi.

Furthermore, when they were questioned about their clothing norms, only 10 per cent of my subjects said that they had disregarded their parents' wishes by not wearing their traditional dress and another minority of 9 per cent said that they had disobeyed their parents by wearing skirts.

Table 10.2 also indicates that when my respondents were asked whether they supported the arranged marriage and whether they

went out with boyfriends, only 4 per cent said that they had refused to have an arranged marriage but 26 per cent said that they had disregarded their parents' wishes by going out with boyfriends.

When my respondents were asked about their social and recreational pursuits 6 per cent said that they went to discos without parental permission and another 5 per cent told me that they went out in the evenings unchaperoned, but 24 per cent of my subjects said that they went to pubs in defiance of their parents' wishes.

Finally, when I questioned my respondents about their musical tastes and whether they watched Indian films, a small minority of 9 per cent told me that they did not tend to watch Indian films even though their parents tried to encourage them to do so. None of my respondents said that they disregarded parental wishes by not listening to Indian music.

Thus, only three areas - not eating beef, not going out with boyfriends and not going to pubs - had been abandoned without parental permission by a substantial minority of my respondents. Most of the remaining traditions had only been abandoned in this way by a very small minority of my subjects.

To summarise I have given examples of Willing Conformity, Unwilling Conformity; Established Non-Conformity and Breakaway Non-Conformity. Although Willing Conformity occurred in the vast

majority of areas, it was more prominent with regard to religious traditions, clothing norms and the Punjabi language and less prominent with regard to the arranged marriage and social and recreational restrictions. Unwilling Conformity, on the other hand, occurred more strongly in relation to the arranged marriage, and social and recreational restrictions and less frequently with regard to religious traditions, clothing norms and the mother tongue. Established Non-Conformity occurred, to a fairly substantial extent, in most areas apart from the arranged marriage, going out with boyfriends, preserving the Punjabi language and smoking cigarettes. Finally, although Breakaway Non-Conformity occurred in most areas, fairly substantial levels of it were only to be found in relation to three traditions - not going out with boyfriends, not going to pubs and not eating beef.

10.1.5 Situational Ethnicity

I now examine the extent to which the concept of 'situational ethnicity' relates to the above findings on the religious and socio-cultural aspects of my respondents' lives. To recall, 'situational ethnicity' is based on the premise that the maintenance of a separate culture and identity by members of an ethnic minority depends on: a) the social situation in which they find themselves; b) their perceptions of the situation and c) their appraisals of the behavioural options which are open to them - given the opportunities and/or constraints which exist both inside and outside the ethnic community. In other words, whilst cultural traits and an ethnic identity might be maintained

in some situations, they might be considered less relevant or indeed completely inappropriate in other contexts. Ethnicity can therefore be flexible and variable. To what extent did 'situational ethnicity' exist in my study?

In my view, 'situational ethnicity' can be said to exist in three respects. First, it applies to those respondents who, with parental consent, either willingly or unwillingly maintained Sikh traditions only in specific and relevant contexts, predominantly within the Sikh community (i.e. Willing/Unwilling Selective Conformity). When they were outside the community, they tended not to adhere to its religious and socio-cultural traits. For example, 24 per cent of my respondents said that they only wore the Kara (bangle) at home, in the temple and when attending other functions in the Sikh community. The vast majority of these girls said that they wore the Kara selectively because of the constraints they had encountered in the wider society. For instance, according to these respondents, some school authorities do not permit their pupils to wear jewellery on school premises and, consequently, Sikhs in such establishments are discouraged from wearing the Kara. Thus, in this example, the girls' perceptions of the constraints they faced in the wider society (external factors) and their preceptions of the requirements of the Sikh religion (internal factors) had resulted in a situational approach to conformity, in so far as the Kara was confined to relevant and specific situations within the Sikh community. Since their parents consented to such situational behaviour, there appeared to be hardly any scope for

intergenerational conflict between these respondents and their parents.

Other examples of this particular situational approach to conformity relate to the Kangha (comb); beef; the Punjabi language; the Salwar Kameeze and skirts. Fifty-three per cent of my subjects said that they carried the Kangha only when it was relevant to do so. In relation to beef, 17 per cent of my respondents said that although they did not eat it at home, they did so when away from home. Most of these girls, however, said that it was not always easy to avoid beef outside the Sikh community and consequently, they were not always able to refrain from eating it. Thus in so far as these respondents maintained these traditions selectively i.e. predominantly within the Sikh community, it can be said that they displayed a situational approach to conformity.

Another example relates to the Punjabi language. My findings indicate that second generation girls tended to speak Punjabi predominantly with their parents and other older Sikhs. When interacting with siblings and (Sikh) friends, they usually spoke in the English language although they were also able to communicate with each other in their mother tongue if they perceived it necessary or relevant to do so. Thus, whilst the mother tongue continued to survive in Nottingham, members of the second generation can be said to demonstrate a situational response to linguistic choices.

This type of selective conformity was also evident in the clothing norms of the majority of my respondents. Sixty per cent said that they tended (with parental knowledge) to wear the Salwar Kameeze (traditional dress) only within the confines of the Sikh community. When outside the community, these respondents wore "English" clothes, including jeans, cord trousers, dresses and skirts. The vast majority of these females thought that it was not at all easy for Sikh women to wear traditional dress in the wider society. According to these respondents, Sikh females were rarely permitted to wear the Salwar Kameeze in schools or at work and, furthermore, those who did wear it were often "teased" by some white people. The skirt presented a problem to most (70 per cent) of my subjects since, on the one hand, their parents and other older Sikhs did not approve of the skirt because it did not meet with Punjabi notions of modesty - and, on the other hand, school authorities and personnel managers did not always allow females to wear trousers. The majority of these respondents compromised by wearing skirts selectively and by dressing "for the occasion". Once more, since these traditions were maintained in a flexible manner with parental consent, selective conformity did not appear to give rise to intergenerational problems between these respondents and their parents.

The second major aspect of situational ethnicity in my study relates to females who, like the respondents above, confined traditional traits to relevant and specific situations within the

community, but, unlike the respondents above, had abandoned such traits when outside the Sikh community without parental knowledge. In other words, they only maintained traditions when in the presence of their parents and other (usually older) Sikhs. When not directly supervised by them and especially when they were in the wider society, they secretly discarded Punjabi Sikh norms. I have called this type of behaviour, Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity. For instance, 21 per cent of my subjects said that whilst they did not eat beef at home, they did do so when away from home and, that moreover, their parents did not know that they broke this particular tradition. Similarly, 10 per cent of my subjects said that they never drank alcohol at home although they did do so in pubs without parental knowledge. A very small minority (3 per cent) said they they secretly abandoned the Kara when away from home. Other examples include: going to pubs secretly (20 per cent); going out with boyfriends secretly (26 per cent); going to discos secretly (6 per cent) and wearing "English" skirts when outside the community (4 per cent). Thus by abandoning these traditions when outside the Sikh community and by maintaining them within its confines, these respondents can be said to represent a situational response to behavioural choices. Furthermore, since the girls' parents were not aware of their daughters' selective behaviour, there appeared to be hardly any potential for overt conflict between these respondents and their parents.

So far I have argued that situational ethnicity can be said to exist with regard to those females who (either willingly or unwillingly) tended to confine Sikh Punjabi traditions to specific and relevant situations (either with or without parental knowledge). In other words, situational ethnicity applies to Willing or Unwilling Selective Conformity as well as to Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity. I would also argue, however, that there is yet another aspect of situational ethnicity. This relates to those respondents who, due to the constraints in their circumstances, unwillingly maintained Sikh traditions "all the time" and in all situations. I have called this type of behaviour Unwilling General Conformity. In other words, although their conformity was not flexible, it was nevertheless 'situational' to the extent that these girls only adhered to traditional traits because of the circumstances in which they found themselves. In particular, they did not have the opportunity to abandon their traditions or even maintain them selectively because they were strictly supervised by their parents and, moreover, were usually totally dependent on them. For example, 52 per cent of my respondents said that they unwillingly accepted the restrictions which were imposed on them in their social and recreational lives because they did not have the opportunity to go out since, in addition to being strictly supervised by their parents, they were also financially dependent upon them (i.e. they informed me that they "had no money for going out to discos etc"). Thus, although these respondents were unhappy with their restricted social and recreational lives, they felt unable to remedy this particular problem largely because of

the constraints in their situation.

Another example of such Unwilling General Conformity relates to boyfriends. Thirty-eight per cent of my respondents said that they would like to go out with boys but were unable to do so because they were closely supervised by their parents and also because they "knew" that access to a Sikh husband was controlled by older members of the community. In other words, if they wished to marry a Sikh, they had to "behave properly", be "good Sikh girls" and not "shame" the family name. They responded to such internal constraints by unwillingly accepting this particular socio-cultural norm. In my view, their reported behaviour represents a situational response to the constraints in their circumstances.

Other examples in which this aspect of situational ethnicity arises include those relating to Kesh (hair, 21 per cent); clothing restrictions (11 per cent of my respondents) and dietary norms (4 per cent). In other words, these subjects said that they obeyed their parents unwillingly with regard to not cutting their hair, not wearing "English" skirts and not eating beef largely because of the constraints in their circumstances - in particular, their lack of personal "freedom" (i.e. they were very closely supervised by their parents) and their economic and social dependence on their families. These constraints in their circumstances prevented the girls from abandoning their traditions completely or from even maintaining them selectively.

In discussing the relevance of the concept of 'situational ethnicity' to my study, I have argued that it applies to Willing and Unwilling Selective Conformity, Covert Breakaway Non-Conformity and Unwilling General Conformity. When these categories are combined together, it can be said that situational ethnicity occurred with regard to the following variables: Kara (27 per cent of respondents); Kangha (53 per cent); Kesh (21 per cent); beef (42 per cent); alcohol (10 per cent); temple attendance (48 per cent); Baisakhi (77 per cent); Punjabi language (100 per cent); Salwar Kameeze and skirts (64 per cent); boyfriends (63 per cent); arranged marriages (60 per cent); discos (54 per cent); pubs (27 per cent); Indian music (87 per cent) and Indian films (95 per cent).

It is apparent from these figures that 'situational ethnicity' is only partially relevant to my findings for, although it did occur, it did not relate to all respondents or, indeed, to all variables. In my view, the concept of situational ethnicity is only partially relevant for two reasons. First, it does not apply to those respondents who said they they willingly adhered to Punjabi Sikh traditions in all situations and whatever the circumstances. I have called this type of conformity Willing General Conformity. This indicates that ethnicity need not always be flexible and situational. Instead, it can be rigid and consistent in so far as traditions are willingly maintained "all the time" that is, in all situations. Examples of this mode of

general conformity include those relating to Kara (bangle 49 per cent of all respondents); Kangha (comb, 2 per cent); Kesh (hair, 54 per cent); beef (30 per cent); Alcohol (60 per cent); cigarettes (100 per cent); salwar kameeze (traditional dress, 6 per cent); boyfriends (33 per cent); marriage (33 per cent); pubs (61 per cent); discos (19 per cent) and youth clubs (17 per cent).

My second reason for arguing that situational ethnicity is only partially relevant to my enquiry relates to those respondents who said that they did not adhere to Punjabi Sikh traditions at all. These girls fall into two categories. The first consists of those females who said that they had been socialized by their parents to abandon traditions (i.e. Established Non-Conformity) and the second consists of those girls who said that they had overtly disobeyed their parents by abandoning socio-cultural norms largely because they "did not believe in them" (Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity). Examples of these two types of non-adherence (when combined) include those relating to Kara (24 per cent of all respondents); Kangha (45 per cent); Kesh (25 per cent); Kirpan (100 per cent); Kaccha (100 per cent); beef (28 per cent); alcohol (30 per cent); salwar kameeze (30 per cent); boyfriends (3 per cent); marriage (7 per cent); pubs (8 per cent); discos (27 per cent) and youth clubs (18 per cent). Since these respondents did not maintain these Sikh traditions at all (i.e. not even selectively), it can be said that situational ethnicity did not occur with regard to Established Non-Conformity

and Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity.

In summary, the concept of 'situational ethnicity', is only partially relevant to my study. It can be said to have occurred with regard to four categories of reported behaviour (i.e. Willing/Unwilling Selective Conformity; Unwilling General Conformity and Breakaway Non-Conformity). Conversely, it did not relate to Willing General Conformity, Established Non-Conformity and Overt Breakaway Non-Conformity.

10.2 RESPONDENTS' PROFILES OF CONFORMITY AND NON-CONFORMITY

Having examined the extent to which ethnicity was situational and having identified different types of conformity and non-conformity in relation to each individual variable, it is now time to examine patterns and types of conformity and non-conformity relating to each individual respondent. For example, how many girls were largely conformist (whether willingly or unwillingly and whether selectively or generally) and conversely, how many were largely non-conformist?

In order to answer this question, I compiled a profile of each respondent based on the findings which have already been presented in Chapters Five to Nine. Thus in drawing up each profile, I recorded the number of times each respondent had maintained Sikh traditions either selectively or generally and either willingly or unwillingly (i.e. Willing Selective or Willing General Conformity and Unwilling Selective or Unwilling General Conformity).

Conversely, I also recorded the number of times she had abandoned them (i.e. Established Non-Conformity and Breakaway Non-Conformity). The results of this exercise suggested that my respondents could be divided into eight distinct categories depending upon whether they were largely conformist or non-conformist. I have called such categories:

- i) Willing Traditionalists)
- ii) Unwilling Traditionalists) largely conformist
- iii) Semi Willing Traditionalists)

- iv) Modernists)
- v) Rebels) largely non-conformist

- vi) Willing Dualists)
- vii) Rebellious Dualists) Varying mixtures
of conformity and
- viii) Others) non-conformity

Table 10.3 Profiles of Conformity and Non-Conformity

Categories	%	%
Willing Traditionalists	29	51
Unwilling Traditionalists	14	
Semi Willing Traditionalists	8	
Modernists	20	26
Rebels	6	
Willing Dualists	8	23
Rebellious Dualists	5	
Others	10	
N = 102	100	

i) Willing Traditionalists are those who said that they had willingly conformed to a clear majority of the religious and cultural traditions which were examined in my enquiry and summarised in Tables 10.1 and 10.2. To recall, I examined the extent to which my respondents had maintained Sikh traditions relating to: the Five Ks; prohibited foods, drinks and tobacco; temple attendance; the festival of Baisakhi; traditional forms of clothing; the Punjabi language; the arranged marriage; going out with boyfriends; and the social and recreational activities of my subjects.

As Table 10.3 shows, 29 per cent of my respondents were classified as Willing Traditionalists since they said that they had willingly conformed to a clear majority of these traditions. Ms A was one such traditionalist. She was 16 years of age and

had been born in Nottingham. She was a Bhatra by caste, her father owned a retail shop in Nottingham and her mother was a housewife. When interviewed, Ms A was still in full-time education, studying for CSE examinations. She attended a girls school in Nottingham in accordance with parental wishes as well as her own stated preference. Ms A had long braided hair and when I interviewed her, on school premises, she was wearing a blouse and trousers in the school colours. During the course of the interview, she informed me that she had been permitted by her headmistress to wear such clothing to school instead of the usual blouse and knee-length school skirt.

Ms A exhibited a substantial level of adherence to Sikh traditions. For example, in relation to the Five Ks, she had long, uncut hair (Kesh); she wore the Kara and she carried a Kangha as well as a minature Kirpan. When asked why she maintained these traditions, Ms A revealed a strong sense of commitment to her religious heritage. For example, she said:

A true Sikh has to have Amrit and then she or he must keep the rules - like, the Five Ks, not eating meat, going to the temple and so on. I try my best to be a Sikh. I haven't had Amrit yet, but I would like to when I'm older. But, I try to keep the religion, you know, because it's no use becoming like the English. I want my religion to survive. In this country it's easy for us to forget our religion. But, I'm proud to be a Sikh. I have long hair, not because my parents force me to but because I want to. You know, many Sikhs had to die because the Muslims wouldn't allow them to be Sikhs. So, I'll keep my religion. I wear the Kara because it's part of my religion, I carry this comb and this small Kirpan because it reminds me that I'm Sikh. My parents have never forced me to keep these rules. They have taught me about Sikhism. If parents don't teach their kids, how can the children learn about Sikhism? I'll teach my kids so that they don't forget our religion.

Ms A also showed a similar level of willing adherence to other religious traditions. For example, she said that she willingly refrained from eating beef, drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes. With regard to the eating of beef she said:

We are not supposed to eat it because the cow is sacred. I believe that, I wouldn't like to eat beef, I would feel sick. I don't eat school dinners. I always go home and my mum gives me something to eat. If we go out with the family we always have a vegetarian meal. I don't like English food anyway. It's so tasteless, everything tastes the same.

When asked why she did not drink alcohol and why she did not smoke cigarettes, Ms A's responses revealed that although she knew that these rules applied to members of both genders, she nevertheless believed that Sikh women ought to adhere to these traditions more strictly than Sikh men. Her reason for holding this view was that such socially unacceptable behaviour in a Sikh female would disgrace her family and jeopardize its reputation

(izzat) amongst other Sikhs in Britain. For instance, she said:

I don't drink and I don't smoke. Why? Well, because we are not supposed to in our religion. The gurus said that we shouldn't eat, drink or smoke things that are bad for the health ... The men don't always keep these rules. But, I think that it's worse if women are seen drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes. Why? You get shocked when you see a Sikh woman drinking and smoking. We are brought up not to expect this. It's disgusting, it's not natural for Indian women to do this. They get a bad name you know. The whole family suffers if the woman gets bad. No one will want to marry into such a family. Like, in Scotland, there were three ladies who drank a lot and this Indian man took them home and they spent the night there. The news went all over the place even as far as Nottingham and London. Everyone gossiped about them. They were completely disgraced. I don't think Indian ladies should drink. I'll probably allow my sons but not my daughters. That's the way we are brought up.

Ms A also said that she willingly attended the temple frequently and that she had received religious instruction from her parents as well as from Granthees (teachers) at the temple. She expressed support for the teaching of Sikhism in state schools. For example, she said:

I always go to the temple on Sundays with my parents ... I go there to pray and to meet my friends, it's a social thing too. My family have never forced me, I like to go to the gurdwara. I try to learn as much as I can about my religion. We have a Granthee (teacher) and he tells us stories from the Granth (Holy Book). My parents also teach me. My Dad always explains things to us. If the parents don't teach the children, then how can Sikh children know anything about their religion. My parents have always tried to encourage us to keep our religion. I think that's good ... I think that it would be a very good idea for Sikh children to learn about Sikhism in school. Why? Because, if their parents don't teach them at home and if there's a proper teacher in school, it will be best. They shouldn't forget our religion.

In addition to conforming to religious traditions, Ms A said that she willingly maintained other socio-cultural norms. For example, when she was questioned about the clothes she wore. Ms A said that apart from wearing "English" trousers at school, she always dressed in the Salwar Kameeze, despite experiencing some verbal hostility from indigenous members of society. She informed me that she had no desire to wear skirts and jeans and that her school had accommodated to her requirements by allowing her to wear trousers instead of skirts. She said:

It's part of our religion not to show our legs. My parents don't allow me to wear English clothes including skirts because they want us to be proper Sikhs. I think my parents are right, I want to keep our customs. They don't want us to become like the English. I'm not too bothered about skirts, I'll stick to the Salwar Kameeze. My Mum makes my clothes. She tells me what to wear and I wear it. When I started in this school, the teachers asked me to wear a skirt. My Dad had a talk with the Headmistress and she agreed that I could wear a pair of trousers. Not a Salwar Kameeze but these trousers. I think it's alright. When I go home I always change into a Salwar Kameeze. I think that it's more comfortable than skirts and also it's more decent ... It's not easy in this society to keep our customs. Some white people and also some coloureds, they laugh at our clothes, they make fun of what we wear. But I try to ignore them because I want my culture to live. I don't want to stop our culture.

Ms A displayed a similar level of willing adherence to the Punjabi language. She said that she spoke Punjabi with her parents and other relatives and that she was learning to read and write it at the temple. She thought that Sikh children should be taught to read and write their mother tongue in school and informed me that she wished to maintain Punjabi in the future (third) generation. For example:

I want to keep my religion, my culture and my language. Sometimes it's nice to have a different language. I wish that I could have studied it in school. I'm learning to read and write a little at the gurdwara because if you don't understand the language it's not good because all the religious services are in Punjabi. If you don't speak the language then you won't be able to communicate with the old people. Also, in India in the villages, nobody speaks English. If we go back one day, we will have to speak Indian ... I think it would be a very good idea for children to learn it in school with a proper teacher. It's nice to have our own language. The West Indians they get jealous of us because they don't have a language. When I have kids, I'll make sure that they speak our language.

Ms A displayed a similar level of adherence to parental norms relating to the arranged marriage, boyfriends and the joint household. She held negative views on "love" marriages, particularly those which were conducted between members of the indigeneous population. She told me that she did not want to "become like English girls by going out with boys and getting into trouble". She thought that the arranged marriage had several advantages:

I'm going to get married in the traditional way. It's best for Indian girls because we are not brought up to go out with boys. I don't want to go out with boys like the English. They get into trouble. Their parents don't care about them whereas our parents do care. I trust my parents, they know me best. They will make a good match. Love marriages they end in divorce don't they? These English, their marriages don't last very long - the children suffer when the marriage goes wrong. It's good to have an arranged marriage. (Why?) Because like, say if something goes wrong in the marriage, then our parents will help us. But if you have a love marriage you will be by yourself. That's why I think our way is best. Our parents give us a lot of help - presents, money, furniture and jewellery. I want to get married to a Sikh and then have children and then teach them about Sikh ways.

In addition to declaring her support for the above traditions, Ms A did not display any interest in going out with friends unchaperoned, and in going to discos, youth clubs and pubs. Although she spent her free time at home and within the Sikh community and was always supervised by members of the family, she said that she was "happy" with her socially restricted lifestyle. In discussing this area of her life, she repeatedly drew unfavourable comparisons with her white peers whom she perceived as being "too free" and having parents who, unlike Sikh parents, did not care for them:

I'm satisfied, I won't grumble. In a way I like my life better than the English. My parents are strict. But that's OK because I don't want to go out by myself at night. I don't care about going to places where the English go - pubs, discos. It's not right for Indian girls to be seen in these places. English girls are too free, that's why they get into trouble. I mean how many Indian girls of 15 get pregnant? None. Because our parents are strict, they care about us. English parents don't seem to care all that much. I'll stick to being Sikh. I think it's better than the English because our parents put us on the right track.

ii) Unwilling Traditionalists: As Table 10.3 shows, 14 per cent of my respondents were classified as Unwilling Traditionalists. In contrast to the Willing Traditionalists they said that they conformed unwillingly to a clear majority of Sikh traditions. Ms B represents this type of conformist. She was 18 years of age and was born in Leicester. Her family was from the Ramgharia caste and her father was an electrical engineer by profession. Her mother worked as a "dinner lady" in a local primary school. When interviewed, Ms B was studying for 'A' Level examinations

and hoped to enter medical school that autumn. She had long, braided hair and when I interviewed her in her own home, she was wearing a Salwar Kameeze.

In striking contrast to Ms A, Ms B was not at all happy to adhere to most Sikh traditions. For example, she told me that she would like to have her hair cut short and styled in a fashionable manner, but was prevented from doing so by her parents and other (older) relatives. She also said that she only agreed to wear the Kara and to carry the Kangha in deference to parental wishes. She added that she did not eat beef in deference to her parents, but that she willingly refrained from drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes for health reasons. During the course of the interview she stressed that she "did not believe in the Sikh religion". She told me that she only went to the temple, to please her parents and was highly critical of some adult Sikhs who attended the gurdwara frequently. For example, she said:

I don't really believe in the Sikh religion. My Mum and Dad try to take us to the temple, but they don't persuade me. I don't feel a Sikh at all. I mean I do believe in God but I'm more inclined towards Christianity. I've heard the Holy Book being read but I don't really understand it. I don't agree with the rules ... like, for instance, boys have to wear a turban and both boys and girls not being able to cut their hair. I don't believe in this. I have long hair but only because Mum and Dad won't allow me to cut it. I would like to have a new hairstyle but all my relatives would criticize my parents. I do go to the temple but only to please my parents. Then there's the Five Ks. I only keep three of them and it's to please my parents. But I think that many Sikhs don't keep the Five Ks and that's why it doesn't make such an impact on us kids. Because, I mean that on the whole, most grown ups go to the temple in order to be better than others. I mean everyone wants to be on the committee, they want to compete with each other. They are hypocrites. God says, you should love your neighbour and be equal, whereas they go in order to compete with each other.

Ms B was also rather critical of the Granthees (teachers) who had tried to instruct her about Sikhism:

I've tried to learn about Sikhism but I've learned nothing. I find Sikhism so confused, even people in the temple don't know what they are talking about. Our Granthee, twists everything. We used to question him to learn more about the religion but I got fed up as he twisted everything and we never learned a thing. I mean, we asked: "Why shouldn't we cut our hair?" And he said that we shouldn't cut something natural. OK this sounds OK. But then he said that hair is alive. Well hair isn't alive, is it? Then someone asked him, "Why do we cut our nails?" And he cannot answer that.

Ms B also said that she unwillingly maintained other traditions including those relating to the eating of beef and to the wearing of skirts. With regard to the eating of beef she said:

I don't know whether eating beef is against the religion. I think that it's not religious, it's just tradition. But what Indian people do is to put everything into religion. They think that if they put everything into religion, it will stay there. They say that the cow is holy and that's why we shouldn't eat beef. I don't believe this. Meat is nutritious, it's food. They wouldn't be starving in India if they ate beef. My mum wouldn't dream of cooking beef at home. I don't get the opportunity to eat it because I don't go to restaurants by myself. I take sandwiches to college and I've never tried to eat beef in school.

Ms B was also highly critical of Sikh prescriptions on clothing:

They say that not showing the legs is part of our religion. I don't believe this. I think again, it's just part of Indian tradition. In India people had a different idea of what is modest. I think Indians are more strict about modesty than the English. My mum and dad don't allow me to wear skirts because of showing the legs. I think this is silly. I think that we should be allowed to wear skirts because they need not be too short ... I mean, we live in this country, we should try to dress like everyone else. I'm allowed to wear English trousers - cords and jeans but not skirts. Some Sikh parents do allow their daughters to wear skirts. Sometimes you have to wear skirts - like if you have a job in the bank, you have to wear a dress or skirt. I think that in the future, things will be different. The next generation won't stand for it.

Whilst Ms B said that she conformed to most religious traditions unwillingly, her greatest unhappiness stemmed from the restrictions she faced in her social and recreational life. She told me that she was strictly supervised by her parents and she complained bitterly about not being allowed to go out with her friends, especially in the evenings. She also contrasted her own restrictions with the comparative "freedom" enjoyed by her younger brother. She said:

I get bored staying at home all the time. All I do during my free-time, apart from my studies, is watching television, listening to music, helping my Mum with the cooking and knitting. I'm like an old lady - staying at home and knitting! I wish my parents would let me go out sometimes. After all I'm older now, I'm 18. But they still treat me as if I'm a little girl. If I want to go out, I can't just say "I'm going out". I have to say: "Can I go out, please may I go out?" - a sort of 6 week long drag. And then the answer comes "No". It gets me mad because I've got so much work to do with my studies - I need good grades to study medicine. I don't want to go out every night. But once in a while when I do want to go out, it makes me mad and unhappy because they never allow me. Like, last year, I wanted to go to Goose Fair with my friends. I tried to go and I didn't even get there. I got told off even before I got there. I went to my cousins and there was a phone call from my parents and I had to come home. It's because I'm a girl. Indians give their sons plenty of freedom. My brother who is younger than me is allowed out in the evenings. They allow him but I'm not allowed. I feel very hurt that they don't seem to trust me ... I would like to go out sometimes with my friends. I would like to go with them for a meal or even to the discos. I've never been to a disco or a pub. I'd like to go there to see what it's like. I wouldn't drink alcohol because it's bad for the health, but I would like to meet my friends there.

Ms B said that she accepted such restrictions only because she did not wish her parents to suffer by giving other Sikhs the opportunity of gossiping about her. She displayed a similar level of unwilling adherence with respect to boyfriends and the arranged marriage. Ms B recalled that even when she was much younger (in primary school) her mother had instructed her to "avoid boys" - something which she had found rather difficult to do in a co-educational establishment. She added that although she would like to have a boyfriend and marry someone of her own choice, she did not have a boyfriend because she realized that she would ultimately have to "bow down" to her parents' wishes

and agree to have an arranged marriage. She hoped that a future career in medicine would compensate for her lack of "freedom" in choosing a spouse:

When I first came to this sixth form college I was extremely shy. You see, my Mum had always told me to keep away from boys, to avoid them. Even when I was very little in primary school, she drilled it into my head. I do talk to boys at college, you can't help it, can you? But they are only friends, they are not special boyfriends. My Mum is shocked, she thinks that I've become really bad - just because I talk to boys. I would like to have a boyfriend but I know that it wouldn't work. There would be a lot of hassle. If he's English, a lot of people would get hurt. Even if he's Sikh, it wouldn't be easy because he would have to be from the same caste and the same type of family. So I don't even try. I know that in the end, when I finish my medical studies, my parents will find a husband for me. I know they will do their best to find someone who is well educated with good prospects. I won't be terribly happy about it but I wouldn't refuse because you can't hurt them. I know I'm not free but as long as I have my career as a doctor, I don't mind about the marriage. My career will tide me over.

iii) Semi-willing Traditionalists are those respondents who displayed an equal mixture of willing and unwilling conformity. As Table 10.3 shows, only 8 per cent of my subjects were placed in this particular category. Ms C was one of this minority. She was 17 and had arrived from India when she was 3 years old. She was a Jat by caste, her father was a taxi driver in Nottingham and her mother worked as a part-time machinist. Ms C was, at the time of the interview, a clerical worker in an insurance company. She was engaged to be married to a man in the Punjab. She had long unbraided hair and when interviewed, at her home, was wearing a tee-shirt and blue jeans.

Ms C said that she considered herself to be a Sikh by religion and that she practised her religion by following the majority of rules willingly. For example, she told me that she willingly maintained Kesh and Kara (long hair and a bangle) and that she had no wish to eat beef, drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes. She said that she attended the temple frequently and performed puja (prayer) out of personal conviction. She also informed me that she tried to be better informed about Sikhism by studying Punjabi at the gurdwara and by reading books on the Sikh religion. In addition to conforming willingly to these religious traditions, Ms C said that she willingly maintained other cultural norms. For instance, she told me that although she was permitted to wear "English" clothes including skirts and jeans, she also liked to wear Punjabi dress and saris, and did so especially when attending temple services or when visiting relatives. Ms C also exhibited a strong commitment to preserving the Punjabi language. The following quotations illustrate her willing adherence to some of the above mentioned traditions:

I do practise my religion. I suppose that I am a Sikh when it comes to religion, although I have English attitudes towards other things, like I don't agree with the arranged marriage. But, in my religion, I'm a Sikh. I believe in God, I do the puja, not because anyone forces me, but because I want to. I go to the temple and I try to teach myself about Sikhism... I do lots of Sikh things. Like, I wear the Kara because it's part of Sikhism. I have long hair, that's part of religion. I believe in it. I don't eat meat. I don't like alcohol. I think it's bad if Indian women drink and smoke. (Why?) Well, you get shocked if you see an Indian lady who smokes and drinks. It's not natural. My Aunt from Canada, she smokes and drinks. I was very shocked when I saw her. They are more westernized than us.

I try my best to keep my religion. I keep most rules. There are some which my parents don't ask me to do. (For example?) Well, I don't carry the comb and the sword. People here don't keep all the rules. But I do wear the Salwar Kameeze and sometimes the sari. I'm allowed to wear skirts and jeans, anything within reason. But I enjoy wearing our traditional dress too. I dress in Indian clothes if I go to an Indian function and I wear a skirt or dress to an English one.

Yes I speak Punjabi, usually with my parents and older relatives. I don't speak it well but I get by... I'd like to keep our language. It's important because the children have to communicate with the older generation. But it's also nice to have your own language. I don't want it to die, I'll teach my kids Punjabi, definitely.

Whist Ms C said that she was happy to conform to the above traditions, her adherence to other socio-cultural norms gave her far less satisfaction. The areas which caused her the greatest unhappiness were those relating to: the arranged marriage; going out with boyfriends; the joint household and social and recreational restrictions.

Ms C said that she was engaged to her sister's brother-in-law in India. She told me that her parents had chosen him and that she had been sent to India to meet him and to give her consent. She added that she had agreed to become engaged but was not at all happy with the arrangement. She would have preferred to have a "love" marriage, especially as she had already had a secret relationship with an English man. She informed me that since her engagement, her parents supervised her very strictly. She was not permitted to go out in the evenings unchaperoned and expressed her dissatisfaction at her restricted social and recreational life. For example, she said:

I'm not very happy. I think of life and why I'm living the way I am, what I get out of life, and I don't get much out of life. I just do things to please other people, there's no satisfaction in life. So that depresses me. If I could I would just like to go out with my friends, have a pleasant evening. But all I do is to go to an Indian function, in an Indian community where I'm safe. I would like to go to the English community. I would like to be trusted, they've always got doubts about me. I haven't tried to explain to them. I've seen how my sister and brother have tried to explain to them (parents) how they feel. I've seen my sister cry. It doesn't do any good, they stick to their point of view. So I think that there isn't any point, it only brings conflicts, nobody wins. So, I never bother, I just sit and listen to my records, I know I won't get nowhere.

...Other Sikh girls try to explain to their parents that they are not doing anything wrong by going to discos and that. But the rest of Indian society look at it as being wrong. You can give your parents a bad name, that's what they are afraid of. People gossip a lot you know. They say that if a girl goes out, especially with a boy, that she can't be a typical Indian girl, she can't be very good. This disgraces your family. Girls have to be careful, if they go out, they have to do it without anyone knowing about it. But I'm not allowed to go out at night.

I don't think that the arranged marriage is very good. Yet I can't get out of it, that's the awful thing (because of my parents). I can't hurt them by refusing. I went to India and got engaged. So I just conform to their rules because I can't go against my parents. There would be a lot of gossiping, they would get a bad name. I'll be their ideal daughter, but inside of me, I'm completely different. I'm afraid that we won't hit it off, you know what I mean? Then you have to live for the rest of your life with someone you don't like. Love marriages are the best. I've been in love and I know what it's like. But I won't have the opportunity of having a love marriage...

Ms C contrasted the restrictions she faced with the comparative "freedom" enjoyed by her white peers. However, whilst she expressed an interest in going out with her friends and in having

boyfriends, she stressed that she did not want to imitate her white peers completely by being "too free":

White girls are lucky. They have a lot of freedom. They can go out with boys and they are allowed to go out every evening. But I think that they are too free. They don't know when to stop and that's why they get into trouble, pregnant. I'd like some of their freedom but not all of it. I mean, I want to have boyfriends and I would like to go to discos but, I wouldn't get into trouble. You know, Indian girls are brought up strictly that's why Indian girls don't become sluts.

iv. Modernists: In complete contrast to the Willing, Unwilling and Semi-willing Traditionalists, Modernists are those respondents who said that their families had allowed them to abandon a clear majority of Sikh traditions. As Table 10.3 shows, a substantial minority of 20 per cent of my respondents were placed in this particular category of non-conformity. Ms D was one such Modernist. She was 19 years of age and had arrived in Britain from India when she was 2 years of age. Her family were Jats, her father was a dentist and her mother was a housewife. Ms D was a university student and was reading law. She had short hair and when I interviewed her in her own home, she was wearing a sweater and cord trousers.

Ms D informed me that neither she nor her parents were "strict, religious Sikhs". She said that although they were Sikhs by ancestry, they did not observe most of the religious requirements because they were not "too dedicated". For example, she told me that she had never been expected to maintain any of the Five Ks, including Kesh (long hair):

My own family has never been religious. Other people, for instance, my Uncle and my cousins, are always going to the gurdwara. But my parents have never been that dedicated. None of us have taken Amrit. If you take Amrit, then you are obliged to follow all the rules strictly. My Mum and Dad have encouraged us to be good people rather than good, religious Sikhs. I mean, I think that I'm a good person because I have certain standards - certain ethics. I don't do anyone any harm, for example. I want justice for everybody, that sort of thing. Now with Sikh rules, well, for example, I have short hair - that's going against the religion. But, in view of the fact that I have not had Amrit, I find it completely acceptable. My parents have never asked me to wear the Kara. We hardly ever go to the temple, once in a blue moon for weddings and festivals. But not regularly ... I am a Sikh, but a non-religious one. I'm a Sikh by ancestry and by association but not a practising one.

Ms D also said that her family did not abstain from eating beef and that she did drink wine and sherry at home. She added, however, that she willingly refrained from smoking cigarettes for health reasons. She said:

We eat everything at home. I'm greedy! I like to eat all sorts of food, Indian, English, Italian, Greek. We do eat beef. I don't know for sure whether Sikhs are not supposed to eat beef. The cow is a sacred animal according to Hindus, but I don't think that the Gurus actually instructed Sikhs not to eat beef. It's just that it is an Indian tradition. My parents have never told me that I should avoid it. My Mum sometimes cooks it and I've eaten it in restaurants and at friends' houses.

Yes, I do drink some alcohol. My parents don't mind - my dad offers it to me sometimes! We might have sherry or some wine with the meal. I don't drink too much! I think that it's harmless if you take it in small doses. (Are Sikhs allowed to drink alcohol?) This is something which puzzles me. I think that the Gurus said that you are allowed to drink. I think that Guru Gobind said that getting drunk is bad but not the actual act of drinking a little alcohol.

Smoking cigarettes ... well, I don't. Quite simply because I don't think it's healthy. Not because of religious reasons or because I am a woman, but because cigarettes are bad for everyone - men, women, children, young babies - everyone can get cancer.

In addition to not conforming to the above religious traditions, Ms D said that she never wore the Salwar Kameeze and she only spoke Punjabi in the presence of older relatives who could not speak English:

Do I wear the Salwar? No, I don't, I've never done so. My parents think that we should dress in English clothes because we live here. I know that there are some Sikh parents who are extremely strict with their daughters. They don't allow them to wear skirts because they don't want their girls to reveal their legs. Well, my parents have never held these attitudes. I wear skirts, dresses, shorts, jeans. I think it's mainly uneducated Sikhs who don't allow skirts. I'm lucky my parents are educated.

I do speak Punjabi but I'm not very fluent in it. That's because I don't get a lot of practice. My parents speak good English and I usually speak English with them. It's only when older relatives come over to visit us. That's when I speak Punjabi and even then, I mix English words into Punjabi sentences. My parents just laugh, they don't insist on us speaking good Punjabi. They think that English is more important for us because it's the lingua franca, isn't it. We need it if we want to get on in this country.

Ms D said that she had very few restrictions with regard to her social and recreational life. She told me that she was permitted to go out with her friends in the evenings but had to be back before midnight. She added that she went to discos, pubs, parties, restaurants and cinemas with her parents' consent. She said that she was aware that other Sikh girls of her age were

severely restricted and she expressed her satisfaction at having "liberal" parents who did not insist on similar restrictions:

I am allowed to do the things I want to do. I'm alright, I feel very sorry for those Indian girls who are not allowed out. I think they should be allowed. I think that Sikh girls whose parents are very strict, well, the parents are usually less educated. They are not even allowed to make friends with people outside the community. My parents are liberal, they don't mind me going out with my friends as long as I tell them where I'm going and what time I'll be home. I don't stay out after midnight

When questioned about boyfriends, the arranged marriage and the joint household, Ms D informed me that her parents had told her that she would be allowed to have a boyfriend and a "love" marriage provided that the man in question was a Sikh. She added that although she had many friends she did not have a boyfriend because she had not yet met a Sikh man who she "fancied" and also because she gave her studies top priority:

My parents are quite prepared to accept the fact that young people in England prefer love marriages. They have already told me that I should choose my own husband, but he has to be a Sikh from our own caste. My Dad says that he doesn't really like the way that arranged marriages are failing in this country. He says that it's too big a responsibility for him to find us husbands we might not get on with. So I'm going to choose a Sikh man and then present him to my father. He won't refuse. We have Sikhs in the family who have married for love - and they are happy. But the spouse has to be a Sikh because my parents don't believe in mixed marriages and neither do I. (Why?) There's too much conflict. If he's white, apart from cultural differences, the Indian partner will never be accepted by white people and the English partner won't be accepted by the Indians. So it's best for everyone to marry your own kind. (Have you got a boyfriend?)... No, I haven't got a boyfriend, not yet, but I'm looking. I haven't found the ideal Sikh husband, but I'm also too busy with my studies. I'll get my degree first.

Finally, with regard to the joint household she said:

I don't think that all Sikhs live with their parents-in-law. There are some that do, obviously. My parents used to live with my uncle before I was born but they've had their own house ever since I started school. I won't live with my in-laws because I think that most young couples want a certain amount of freedom and privacy. I don't think that my parents would try to ask me to do something which they don't do. It's not logical. The man I marry will earn enough money to have his own house. I wouldn't want to share with a lot of relatives.

v) Rebels are those who said that they had abandoned a clear majority of Sikh traditions without parental consent. As Table 10.3 shows, only a very small minority of 6 per cent of my respondents were placed in this particular category of non-conformity. Ms E was one such respondent. She was 17 and had been born in Nottingham. She was a Ramgharia, her father was a coach-driver and her mother worked as a part-time machinist. Ms E was, at the time of the interview, training to be a nurse. She had short hair and when interviewed at home, was wearing her (nurses) uniform.

From the very start of the interview, Ms E stressed that she did not consider herself to be a "typical, proper Indian woman". When asked to elaborate, she said that she hardly maintained any of the traditions and that she did not always obey her parents:

I don't consider myself as a typical Indian woman. I do respect my parents, but I don't obey them all the time. They asked me to have long hair and to wear the Kara, but I refused. I wanted to have a nice hairstyle, I don't believe that Sikh girls shouldn't cut their hair. I don't wear the Kara because I don't believe in the Sikh religion. My parents can't force me. I stick-up for myself. Like, I don't do many of the Sikhism things. I don't go to the temple, I don't like eating Indian food - I eat beef. I don't believe the cow is holy. I do drink some alcohol. I don't dress up like Indian women, you know, in the Salwar. I wear skirts. My parents don't like me to wear skirts. We fight about it but I said that if they don't let me do what I want, I'll leave home. I don't speak Punjabi very well: I don't think Punjabi is as important as English.

In addition to abandoning these traditions without her parents' consent, Ms E said that she had gone against her parents wishes by choosing a career in nursing:

I'm not a proper Indian woman because I haven't done what my parents asked. They didn't want me to do nursing. (Why?) They said that it was dirty. But I think that the real reason was because I have to work with men and I look after men patients. They don't approve. But I had many arguments about it. I told them that I will leave home if they didn't let me. In the end my Dad agreed. But he's not happy. It's just a job, I don't want to do any other type of work.

Ms E also informed me that she disobeyed her parents by going out with her friends in the evenings to discos, parties and pubs and by having a boyfriend, albeit secretly.

I do go out in the evenings. I don't tell lies about going out. I tell them that I'm going out, to a disco or a party or wherever. They don't like it, but they can't stop me. I have to stick up for myself otherwise I'll never have a life of my own. I want to become a nurse and lead an independent life. But I don't tell my parents about my boyfriend. I think they might suspect, but they don't know for sure. He is English, very blonde, very good looking. We have to be careful, we meet secretly. We go to the pub or to the disco. But I get a bit nervous just in case my big brother finds out. If he finds out, my parents might try to pack me back to the village in India. I don't know what I'll do, perhaps I'll leave home.

Ms E added that she was "definitely not going to have an arranged marriage" or live in a joint household. She added that she intended to finish her studies, find a nursing job and then set herself up in her own house:

I don't want to get married, well, not for a long, long time. First, I want to be a nurse, then I want a job and a house. Marriage will come later, with someone I love. I don't care whether he is a Sikh, a Hindu or English. But I'm definitely not going to accept an arranged marriage, I'll run away.

Ms E held negatives attitudes towards the traditional form of marriage:

My sister had an arranged marriage but now she is separated from her husband. My parents still believe in arranged marriages, but I don't. They don't work in England. Love marriages are best because you are with someone you love very much. I don't think that people are all that happy in arranged marriages. My Aunt and Uncle are not happy. A woman's got nothing left if the marriage goes wrong. Everyone blames the woman. But I think that often it's the man's fault. Indian men have too much freedom and Indian women have too little. I'm not going to accept this. Especially in the marriage, there should be some equality. I'll have a love marriage with someone who loves and respects me.

vi) Willing Dualists are those who displayed a duality of Willing Conformity and Established Non-Conformity in equal proportions. In other words, they told me that they were permitted to abandon certain traditions whilst also maintaining others willingly. As Table 10.3 shows, only 8 per cent of my subjects were classified as Willing Dualists and Ms F was one such respondent. She was aged 18 and had arrived from India at the age of 4. She was a Jat by caste, her father was a schoolteacher in Nottingham and her mother stayed at home. Ms F attended a sixth form college and was taking 'A' level examinations. She hoped to study economics and accountancy at University. She had long braided hair and when I interviewed her at home, she was dressed in a sweater and jeans.

Ms F's answers to my questions suggested that she maintained a substantial number of the religious traditions willingly. For instance, she had long hair (Kesh), she said that she wore the Kara (bangle) and carried the comb out of personal conviction. She added, however, that her parents did not expect her to maintain the two remaining Ks. In addition, she told me that she did not wish to smoke but that she did eat beef and was allowed to drink "a little" wine, sherry and cider at home. She also said that she went to the temple frequently and was an active member of the youth wing at the gurdwara:

A Sikh should have the 5 Ks. A true Sikh is someone who is baptised and then he or she must follow the 5 Ks strictly. You can be baptised when you are over fourteen. I haven't taken Amrit because I'm not sure whether I can be strong enough. But I do keep some of the rules. Basically, I have long hair, because it's part of Sikhism. It gives us an identity as Sikhs. I wear this Kara and I carry the comb because I'm a Sikh, nobody forces me. My Dad has taught us about our religion and I'm happy to follow these rules. But my Dad doesn't ask us to wear Kaccha or carry the Kirpan because in this country nobody does... We do eat beef at home, although I do believe that the cow is important because in India, it does a lot of work for human beings... No, I don't believe that Sikhs are not allowed to drink alcohol.

My parents allow us to drink a little at home for special days - weddings or birthdays. I don't drink in pubs. When I go to a pub I always have non-alcoholic drinks.

I don't smoke and I don't want to. Apart from being bad for the health it's going against the religion. I think it's horrible for Indian women to smoke. You get rather horrified if you see an Indian woman who smokes. That's the way we are brought up.

I go to the temple on Sundays and whenever I like. I go to pray, to listen to the readings from the Granth. People also go to be sociable. We try and go every week. On Saturdays there is a youth club. My Dad and some of us have organised it. We try to teach our age group to play the harmonica and tabla, so that we can sing and that. We also teach the younger ones more about the religion. I go to temple on Sundays, this is the normal day for temple. Everyone goes there. When we were younger we used to just talk to friends, but now we listen to the prayers. Sometimes there are visitors, special preachers. Like last week I went every evening because of this.

When she was questioned about the clothes she wore, Ms F told me that her parents encouraged her to dress according to the situation:

My Dad says that since we live in this country we should keep some of its customs as well as our own. So I dress for the occasion. When I go to the temple, to an Indian function, or when I'm at home, I'll wear the Salwar Kameeze or Sari. When I go to college I wear cords or jeans. If I go to an English party I'll wear a dress or a skirt. My parents don't restrict me. I'm allowed to wear anything - obviously, it has to be modest - not too low-cut or see-through!

Ms F also told me that she was allowed to go out with her friends in the evenings unchaperoned. She said that she went to the sports centre to play squash and badminton, and to discos, pubs, restaurants, cinemas and parties. However, although she was permitted to do this, she was instructed by her father not to become "too friendly" with boys. She said that she agreed with her father because she was not interested in having boyfriends and because she wanted to have a traditional marriage:

I'm very happy because I'm allowed to do most things. I can go out in the evenings and I go out with my friends and have a good time. But my Dad has hinted several times - he says "if you go to a party, make sure you stick with the girls. Don't pick one boy. Don't get serious about boys." I agree with this idea. What we say is, if you like a boy, it's not going to get you anywhere. Especially if he's English, you think "is it really worthwhile?" Because you are going to make a lot of people unhappy, including yourself. If I had a boyfriend, I don't think I could deceive my Dad. He seems to know when we are telling lies. He doesn't want us to get into trouble. If there is a story in the paper about an Indian girl in trouble, he makes sure we read it, to make it sink in.

Ms F told me that she had no objections to an arranged marriage provided that she was allowed to meet the prospective bridegroom and permitted to refuse him. Indeed, she held negative views on the "love" marriage:

I prefer an arranged marriage to a love marriage because love marriages don't last, do they? They end in divorce. Most of the arranged marriages I know, work well. My cousin got married four years ago. They saw each other before the engagement and after the engagement. But if you don't see each other before the wedding, I don't know whether it works. I want to meet the man first. If you don't like him you don't have to marry him. You can do this until the right one comes along. A lot of love marriages don't work. In a way it's good to have our type of marriage because you get a lot of help from the family. Our Dad and our uncles will make sure we have lots of presents and jewellery. Dowry isn't allowed these days but we will have husbands with good prospects. I have a future to look forward to. That's why, I wouldn't want to go against my family. Even if you fall in love, is it worth it? I mean, to give up your family for just one man?

Finally, whilst accepting the arranged marriage for herself, Ms F did not think that she would be happy to live in a joint household:

I'll have an arranged marriage but I wouldn't want to live with my mother-in-law. I think that a lot of problems can arise, quarrels about noise and the sort of food you want to eat and how to raise the children. I'd like my own home. I think that young Indian couples are becoming like the English in this respect. They don't want to live with the family after marriage. I don't think that my Dad would arrange a marriage with someone who doesn't want the same things as me. We will talk about it and come to an understanding.

vii) Rebellious Dualists are those who displayed a duality of Willing Conformity and Breakaway Non-Conformity in equal or almost equal proportions. In other words, they said that they willingly maintained some traditions whilst also disobeying their parents by abandoning other Sikh norms. As Table 10.3 shows, only a very small minority of 5 per cent of my respondents were thus classified. Ms G represents this minority. She was 19 and had

been born in London. She was a Ramgharia, her father owned an import/export business and her mother worked as a part-time packer in a factory. Ms G was employed as a laboratory technician. She had long unbraided hair and when interviewed, at the International Community Centre, was wearing a sweater and skirt.

Ms G's replies to my questions suggested that her Willing Conformity related largely to religious traditions and her Breakaway Non-Conformity related largely to socio-cultural norms including the arranged marriage; going out with boyfriends and social and recreational restrictions. For instance, she said that she willingly maintained three of the Five Ks (Kesh, Kara and Kangha) and that she willingly refrained from eating beef, drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes. She also said that she attended the temple frequently and tried to learn about Sikhism. She said:

I do keep my religion, although I'm not too religious. I believe in the Gurus and in the Granth (Holy Book). I keep some of the rules, the ones my parents have taught me. Like, I have long hair. I don't want to cut it because it's part of our religion. I like long hair anyway. I don't eat beef, I don't like meat and it's one of the Sikh rules. I wear the Kara. My parents don't force me, I wear it because I'm a Sikh. I try my best to keep some rules but I don't wear the shorts (Kaccha) because here in England nobody bothers about it.

I tried drinking alcohol once. I didn't like it. Anyway, Indian women are not supposed to drink alcohol. I don't want to drink, it's dangerous, you can become addicted to it.

Do I smoke cigarettes? Definitely not. I'll never smoke, it's filthy, disgusting. You can get ill if you smoke. It's not nice for Indian girls to smoke. We are brought up not to expect a woman to do that.

I go to the temple on Sundays with my parents. I don't understand everything that goes on, because my Punjabi is bad. But I understand basically. Recently, I've been trying to understand my religion. I've been reading books on Sikhism and I'm trying to improve the language.

Whilst Ms G said that she willingly adhered to these religious traditions, she also informed me that she had abandoned some of the socio-cultural traditions without parental consent. For example, she said that she sometimes wore skirts even though her parents did not approve:

Indian girls are not supposed to show their legs. I think this is stupid. I mean, what's wrong with skirts? My Dad doesn't want me to wear them. He says that boys will start!! (laughs). I do wear skirts but I wear them to work and when I go out with my English friends. At home, I wear trousers or the Salwar Kameeze. Just to please my parents.

Ms G also told me that she went against her parents' wishes by going out in the evenings to discos, pubs and parties with her friends. In addition, she said that she had a boyfriend and that she conducted her friendship with him covertly. She added that she was "definitely not going to have an arranged marriage":

My parents don't want me to go out at night. But I insist upon it. We have some arguments but in the end they accept it. They don't like it but they can't stop me. I have my own money from my job and so I can go out with my friends. But I always tell my parents where I'm going and I never stay out all night. I always come home by midnight. I think my parents are worried because Indian people gossip a lot. But I don't care about other people. They can't force me to do what I don't want. Like, I'm never going to have an arranged marriage. I want to marry someone I love. I have a boyfriend but I don't know if I want to marry him. I am still deciding. He's a Sikh too, but my parents don't know about him. I don't know what their reaction would be like. They might agree because he is Sikh. If I really want, I can leave home. But I'm not sure what I want. One thing is sure, I won't accept an arranged marriage.

As Table 10.3 shows, these seven categories - Willing Traditionalists, Unwilling Traditionalists, Semi Willing Traditionalists, Modernists, Rebels, Willing Dualists and Rebellious Dualists - account for 90 per cent of my respondents. The remaining 10 per cent of my subjects were placed in the 'Other' category since they were far from consistent and tended to display various combinations of the different types of conformity and non-conformity.

In this sub-section, I set out to examine whether there were any respondents who were largely conformist or largely non-conformist. It would appear that 51 per cent of the Sikh girls in my study were largely conformists (i.e. Willing Traditionalists, Unwilling Traditionalists and Semi Willing Traditionalists). In contrast a further 26 per cent of my respondents were largely non-conformist (i.e. Modernists and Rebels). The remaining 23 per cent of my subjects (i.e. Dualists and Others) displayed varying mixtures of

conformity and non-conformity.

In the next section, I examine whether these categories of conformity and non-conformity to traditions can be associated with caste and socio-economic distinctions amongst my Sikh respondents in Nottingham.

Table 10.4 Caste distinctions relating to profiles of conformity and non-conformity

Profiles of conformity & non-conformity	Bhatras	Ramgharias	Jats	Aluwalias	All
Willing Traditionalists	15 71%	5 18%	9 18%	1 33.3%	30 29%
Unwilling Traditionalists	4 19%	3 11%	7 14%	1 33.3%	15 14%
Semi, Willing Traditionalists	2 10%	2 7%	3 6%	1 33.3%	8 8%
Modernists	0 00%	7 25%	13 26%	0 00%	20 20%
Rebels	0 0%	2 7%	4 8%	0 0%	6 6%
Willing Dualists	0 0%	3 11%	5 10%	0 0%	8 8%
Rebellious Dualists	0 0%	2 7%	3 6%	0 0%	5 5%
Others	0 0%	4 14%	6 12%	0 0%	10 10%
Column Total	21 20	28 28	50 49	3 3	102 100%

Chi Square = 35.54 with 21 Degrees of Freedom

Probability of this distribution by chance is approx. .02.

10.3 INTRA-ETHNIC COMPARISONS

10.3.1 Caste Distinctions

As discussed in Chapters One and Two of this thesis, other studies conducted on Sikhs in Britain have indicated that members of the Bhatra caste tended to be more orthodox religiously and more inclined not to abandon or modify their socio-cultural traditions than Sikhs from the Jat and Ramgharia castes. In addition, Bhatra women were less likely to continue their education and take up employment outside the home (Hindbalraj Singh, 1977; Helweg, 1979; Ghuman, 1979 and Nesbitt, 1980).

Were Bhatra girls in my study more likely to be "Willing Traditionalists" and less likely to be "Modernists" and "Rebels" than their Jat and Ramgharia peers? Unfortunately, since the number of respondents in my study was limited (50 Jats, 28 Ramgharias, 21 Bhatras and 3 Aluwalias) and, in view of the fact that the Jats far outnumbered the other castes, any distinctions between them must be drawn tentatively.

As Table 10.4 shows, 71 per cent of my Bhatra subjects were found to be "Willing Traditionalists". A further 19 per cent of them were "Unwilling Traditionalists" and the remaining 10 per cent were "Semi Willing Traditionalists". There were no "Modernists", "Rebels", "Willing " or "Rebellious Dualists" amongst the Bhatra girls. Thus, these findings would suggest that all the Bhatra females were largely conformist and that a substantial majority of

them maintained most Sikh traditions willingly.

In contrast to the Bhatras, only 18 per cent of my Ramgharia respondents were classified as "Willing Traditionalists". A further 11 per cent were found to be "Unwilling Traditionalists" (a percentage which is slightly lower than that of the Bhatras) and another 7 per cent were "Semi Willing Traditionalists" - a figure which is not too dissimilar from that of the Bhatra girls. However, in marked contrast to the Bhatra respondents, none of whom were Modernists, Rebels or Dualists, 25 per cent of my Ramgharia subjects were categorised as "Modernists", and a further 7 per cent were found to be largely rebellious. Again, in marked contrast with the Bhatras, 11 per cent of my Ramgharia respondents were classified as "Willing Dualists" and another 7 per cent as "Rebellious Dualists". The remaining 14 per cent were placed in the "Other" category. These findings suggest that the Bhatra respondents did appear to differ from the Ramgharias. Whilst all my Bhatra respondents can be said to have been largely conformist (i.e. when the Willing Traditionalists are combined with the Unwilling and Semi Willing Traditionalists), only 36 per cent of my Ramgharia subjects can be said to have been the same. Furthermore, in contrast to the Bhatras, 32 per cent of the Ramgharias can be said to have been largely non-conformist (i.e. the Modernists and the Rebels) and the remaining 32 per cent held a "middle" position.

As Table 10.4 also shows, 18 per cent of the Jat respondents were found to be "Willing Traditionalists" - a figure that is identical

to that of the Ramgharias but one which is very different from that of the Bhatras. A further 14 per cent of the Jats were categorised as "Unwilling Traditionalists" - a percentage which is slightly lower than that of the Bhatras and another small minority of 6 per cent were found to be "Semi Willing Traditionalists" - a figure which is also slightly lower than the Bhatras.

Like the Ramgharias, my Jat respondents appeared to differ from the Bhatra girls in relation to all the remaining profiles of conformity and non-conformity. Whilst there were no "Modernists", "Rebels" and "Dualists" amongst my Bhatra subjects, 26 per cent of the Jats were categorised as "Modernists", a further minority of 8 per cent were classified as "Rebels" and another 10 per cent and 6 per cent were placed in the Willing and Rebellious Dualists categories respectively. Thus it would seem that the Bhatra girls in my enquiry differed from their Jat peers in their patterns of conformity and non-conformity. Whilst all the Bhatras in my study can be said to have been largely conformist (whether willingly or unwillingly) a far smaller number of Jats (i.e. 38 per cent) can be said to have been the same. Furthermore, whilst none of the Bhatras can be said to have been largely non-conformist, 34 per cent of my Jat respondents would appear to have been largely non-conformist (i.e. the Modernists and the Rebels).

The above findings would suggest that my Bhatra respondents did appear to differ from their Jat and Ramgharia peers. For example, whilst 71 per cent of the Bhatra females were "Willing

Traditionalists" in so far as they said that they willingly maintained a clear majority of Sikh traditions, only 18 per cent of the Jats and Ramgharias were also placed in this particular category of conformity. In addition, whilst 25 per cent and 26 per cent of the Ramgharias and Jats respectively were "Modernists" - in so far as they said that they had not been required by their parents to maintain a clear majority of Sikh traditions, there were no "Modernists" amongst the Bhatras. Furthermore, although a minority of Jats and Ramgharias (8 per cent and 7 per cent respectively) were "Rebels" in so far as they said that they had disobeyed their parents by failing to conform to a clear majority of Sikh traditions, none of my Bhatra respondents were similarly classified.

Thus it would appear that not only were the Bhatras more likely than the Ramgharias and Jats to maintain most Sikh traditions, they were also more likely to do so willingly. In other words, it can be tentatively said that in contrast to the Jats and Ramgharias, the Bhatras were more likely to be Willing Traditionalists and, conversely, less likely to be Modernists, Rebels and Dualists. This would suggest that members of the Bhatra caste in my enquiry did differ from my Jat and Ramgharia subjects in their orientation towards the maintenance of Sikh traditions. This conclusion is offered rather cautiously given the small numbers involved. However, when a Chi Square test was administered, caste differences were found to be significant beyond the .02 level.

Table 10.5 Distinctions between respondents from professional/managerial and non professional/non-managerial backgrounds

Profiles of conformity and Non-Conformity	Prof/Man	Non Prof/Non-Man	All
Willing Traditionalists	1 6%	29 34%	30 29%
Unwilling Traditionalists	0 0%	15 18%	15 14%
Semi Willing Traditionalists	2 13%	6 7%	8 8%
Modernists	8 50%	12 14%	20 20%
Rebels	0 0%	6 7%	6 6%
Willing Dualists	3 19%	5 6%	8 8%
Rebellious Dualists	1 6%	4 4%	5 5%
Others	1 6%	9 9%	10 10%
Total No. of Respondents	16 16%	86 84%	102 100%

Chi Square = 18.89 with 7 Degrees of Freedom
Probability of this distribution by chance is beyond .01

10.3.2 Distinctions Between Respondents from Professional/Managerial and Non-Professional/Non-Managerial Backgrounds

As already discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, prior to the start of my research enquiry, and indeed even during and after its completion in 1980, there was a dearth of research studies on second generation 'middle class' Asians in Britain. In my own enquiry, only 16 per cent of my respondents were from professional and managerial backgrounds. Although this figure is small, I think that it is still worthwhile drawing comparisons between this minority and their predominantly 'working class' peers, in view of the scarcity of other research material on 'middle class' children of Asian origin.

Did my 'middle class' subjects differ from their 'working class' peers in their patterns of conformity and non-conformity? Table 10.5 shows that whilst only one 'middle class' girl (or 6 per cent of 16 respondents) was found to be a "Willing Traditionalist", a far higher percentage of "working class respondents" (34 per cent) were similarly categorised. In addition, whilst 18 per cent of the 'working class' girls were classified as "Unwilling Traditionalists", none of my 'middle class' respondents were placed in this particular category of conformity.

Table 10.5 also shows that 13 per cent of the 'middle class' girls (i.e. 2 respondents) and 7 per cent of the 'working class' females were "Semi Willing Traditionalists" i.e. those who said that they willingly conformed to half the traditions and unwilling maintained the remaining half. Furthermore, whilst 50 per cent of

my professional/managerial respondents (i.e. 8 girls) were "Modernists" in so far as they said that their parents had allowed them to abandon most Sikh traditions, 14 per cent of their 'working class' peers were placed in this particular category of non-conformity. Table 10.5 also shows that although only 7 per cent of the 'working class' respondents were classified as "Rebels" in so far as they said that they had disobeyed their parents by abandoning most Sikh traditions, there were no "Rebels" amongst my 'middle class' subjects. In addition, 19 per cent of the 'middle class' girls (i.e. 3 respondents) as opposed to 6 per cent of the 'working class' females were found to be "Willing Dualists" - i.e. those who tended to combine Willing Conformity and Established Non-Conformity in equal or almost equal proportions. Finally, Table 10.5 shows that a small minority of 6 per cent of the 'middle class' (i.e. only one girl) and a similarly small minority of their 'working class' peers were categorised as "Rebellious Dualists" - i.e. those respondents who displayed combinations of Willing Conformity and Breakaway Non-Conformity in equal or almost equal proportions.

These findings suggest that some distinctions can be drawn between my 'middle class' and 'working class' respondents. For instance, whilst 59 per cent of the 'working class' girls can be said to have been largely conformist (whether willingly or unwillingly) only 19 per cent of their 'middle class' peers can be said to have maintained most Sikh traditions. Conversely, whilst 50 per cent of my 'middle class' girls were found to be largely non-

conformist, a smaller percentage of their 'working class' peers (21 per cent) can be said to have abandoned most Sikh traditions. Furthermore, whilst 25 per cent of the 'middle class' girls would appear to have taken a "middle road" by maintaining and abandoning Sikhs traditions in equal or almost equal proportions, only 10 per cent of the 'working class' girls appeared to have done the same. Thus it can be tentatively asserted that respondents from professional/managerial backgrounds were less likely than the 'working class' respondents to maintain most Sikh traditions and, were conversely, more likely than their 'working class' peers to abandon most of their traditions with parental consent. In view of the fact that only 16 per cent of my respondents were from a 'middle class' background, the above distinctions are offered cautiously. However, when a Chi Square test was administered these differences were found to be significant at the .01 level.

One additional question remains to be answered in this section on intra-ethnic comparisons. Are the above differences between my 'middle' and 'working' class respondents merely a manifestation of caste distinctions? In other words, are these differences more likely to be due to caste rather than to the socio-economic backgrounds of my respondents.

Table 10.6 Distinctions between 'middle' and 'working' class respondents from the Jat, Ramgharia and Aluwalia castes*

Profiles of Conformity and Non-Conformity	Prof/Man.	Non Prof/ Non-Man.	All
Willing Traditionalists	0 0%	15 22%	15 19%
Unwilling Traditionalists	0 0%	11 16%	11 14%
Semi Willing Traditionalists	1 7%	5 8%	6 7%
Modernists	8 57%	12 18%	20 25%
Rebels	0 0%	6 9%	6 7%
Willing Dualists	3 22%	5 8%	8 10%
Rebellious Dualists	1 7%	4 6%	5 6%
Others	1 7%	9 13%	10 12%
Total No. of Respondents	14 17%	67 83%	81 100%

Chi Square = 16.59 with 7 Degrees of Freedom
Probability of this distribution by chance is approx. .02

* ALL BHATRAS EXCLUDED

I have already (tentatively) concluded that my Bhatra respondents, as a whole, tended to differ substantially from their peers from other castes. Did these distinctions apply to the 'middle classes'? In other words, did 'middle class' Bhatras differ from Jat and Ramgharia girls of the same socio-economic background? Unfortunately, I am unable to make any realistic or conclusive comparisons because only two of my Bhatra respondents were from a professional/managerial background. Of the remaining 'middle class' females, eight were Jats and six were Ramgharias. The only "Willing Traditionalist" amongst my professional/managerial respondents was a girl from the Bhatra caste. The other Bhatra girl was found to be a "Semi Willing Traditionalist". It might appear, from these very limited examples, that 'middle class' Bhatras were more likely than other girls from similar socio-economic backgrounds to be largely conformist, thus suggesting (again tentatively) that caste was more significant than socio-economic status.

In Table 10.6, I exclude all my Bhatra respondents and examine whether there were any distinctions due to socio-economic status amongst the girls from the Jat, Ramgharia and Aluwalia castes. As Table 10.6 shows, whilst 22 per cent of the 'working class' respondents were classified as "Willing Traditionalists" and a further 16 per cent were found to be "Unwilling Traditionalists", none of my 'middle class' subjects were placed in either of these categories of conformity. Furthermore, whilst 57 per cent of the 'middle class girls classified as "Modernists", a much smaller percentage of their 'working class' peers (18 per cent) were

similarly categorised. Furthermore, although only a small minority of the 'working class' girls (9 per cent) were found to be "Rebels", there were no Rebels amongst the 'middle class' girls. Table 10.6 also shows that 22 per cent of the 'middle class' females (3 girls) were found to be "Willing Dualists" in contrast to 8 per cent of their other peers. Thus, it would appear that when the Bhatras are excluded, 'middle class' respondents did seem to differ from their 'working class' peers in relation to their patterns of conformity and non-conformity. For instance, a total of 46 per cent of the girls from non-professional/non-managerial backgrounds were found to be largely conformist (Willing, Unwilling and Semi Willing Traditionalists). In contrast, only one 'middle class' respondent (7 per cent) was categorised as being largely conformist. Furthermore, 57 per cent of the professional/managerial respondents were found to be largely non-conformist and, moreover all these girls were "Modernists". In contrast, a total of 27 per cent of the 'working class' girls were largely non-conformist (Modernists - 18 per cent and Rebels - 9 per cent). Finally, 36 per cent of the 'middle class' females were neither largely conformist nor largely non-conformist and a slightly smaller percentage of the 'working class' girls (27 per cent) were similarly classified. These conclusions are offered extremely cautiously given the small numbers involved. However, when a Chi square test was administered, socio-economic differences were found to be significant at the .02 level.

10.4 A SUMMARY OF CHAPTER TEN

In this chapter I have summarised my findings on my respondents' religious and socio-cultural traditions and have, in addition, considered the extent to which their ethnicity can be said to be of a 'situational' character. I concluded that firstly, Punjabi Sikh norms and values were far from totally abandoned by a majority of second generation Sikh females and secondly, that the concept of 'situational ethnicity' was only partially applicable to my findings.

In this chapter, I also examined the extent to which my Sikh respondents could be said to have been largely conformist or largely non-conformist. I concluded that 51 per cent of them could be described as being largely conformist (whether willingly or unwillingly) and a further 26 per cent could be said to have been largely non-conformist. The remaining 23 per cent of my respondents were found to be neither largely conformist nor largely non-conformist.

In examining the above I was also able to classify my respondents into eight distinct categories. Thus, I found that 29 per cent of my subjects could be described as "Willing Traditionalists" in so far as they said that they willingly maintained most Sikh traditions. Another 14 per cent of my respondents were described as "Unwilling Traditionalists" since they said that they only conformed to most Sikh traditions in deference to their parents or, if married, to their husbands and/or parents-in-laws. A

further minority of 8 per cent were categorised as "Semi Willing Traditionalists", in so far as they said that they willingly adhered to half the traditions whilst unwillingly maintaining the rest. I also contended that 20 per cent of my respondents were "Modernists" because they said that they had been permitted to abandon most Sikh traditions. In contrast, another 6 per cent of my respondents were categorised as "Rebels", in so far as they said that they had disobeyed their parents by not preserving most Sikh traditions. A further 8 per cent were found to be "Willing Dualists" because they tended to combine Willing and Established Non-Conformity - i.e. although they said that they willingly maintained some traditions, they also said that they had been allowed by their parents or, if married, by their husbands and/or in-laws, to abandon other traditions. Likewise, another minority of 5 per cent of my respondents were categorised as "Rebellious Dualists" because they tended to combine Willing Conformity and Breakaway Non-Conformity - i.e. although they said that they willingly conformed to some traditions, they also said that they had abandoned an equal or almost equal number of other traditions without parental consent. The final 10 per cent of my respondents were placed in the "Other" category since they did not display any consistent pattern.

Finally, in this chapter, I examined whether these different patterns and types of conformity and non-conformity could be associated with intra-ethnic distinctions within the Sikh community in Nottingham, particularly that of caste and socio-

economic status. My findings suggested that the Bhatras did appear to differ from the Jats and Ramgharias. All my Bhatra respondents were found to be largely conformist and, moreover, a majority of them were classified as "Willing Traditionalists". I tentatively concluded that the Bhatras in my study were more likely than their Jat and Ramgharia peers to adhere to Sikh traditions willingly and, conversely, less likely than them to either conform to them unwillingly or to abandon them with or without parental consent. My findings also suggested that with regard to my non-Bhatra subjects, my 'middle class' respondents did differ from the 'working class' girls in their orientation towards the maintenance of Sikh traditions. Given the small numbers involved, I concluded, rather cautiously, that my 'middle class' respondents were more likely than their 'working class' peers to abandon most or, at least some of their traditions with parental permission. Conversely, they were less likely than the others to conform to most Sikh traditions.

Having examined my respondents' adherence to religious and other cultural traditions, I now wish to speculate on the future of Sikh traditions by examining whether members of the second generation in my study expected their children - i.e. the future third generation - to maintain their Sikh heritage.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

POTENTIAL CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE THIRD GENERATION

11.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I wish to speculate on the future of Sikh traditions in the future third generation. In the preceding chapters, I have noted that some traditions have been abandoned by some Sikh females with the consent/approval of their parents. I have called this type of non-conformity 'Established Non-conformity' in contrast to 'Breakaway Non-Conformity' where traditions were abandoned without parental consent/approval. My central question is: Is the incidence of Established Non-Conformity likely to increase in the future third generation? I should also like to speculate on the extent to which my respondents might differentiate between their sons and daughters regarding the maintenance or abandonment of specific religious and cultural norms. In doing this, I will be drawing on the questions I put to my respondents in relation to the following variables:

- (a) maintaining Kesh (long hair);
- (b) wearing the Kara (bangle);
- (c) wearing the turban;
- (d) drinking alcohol;
- (e) smoking cigarettes;

- (f) preserving the Punjabi language;
- (g) wearing the Salwar Kameeze (tunic and trousers) and skirts
- (h) maintaining the arranged marriage;
- (i) going to discos and
- (j) going to pubs.

In view of the fact that the vast majority of my respondents were still unmarried and, therefore had not been obliged to give any consideration to the wishes of husbands and parents-in-law, the 'findings' presented in this chapter must be interpreted with caution. Furthermore, any conclusions derived from my respondents' replies can only be tentatively drawn since expressed attitudes regarding hypothetical situations might not be translated into action in real circumstances. In this chapter, my findings on my married respondents are not presented separately since only two of the five married females in my study had children.

11.2 MAINTAINING KESH (LONG HAIR)

In order to be able to speculate on the future of this particular Sikh tradition, I asked all my single respondents and the childless married women: "If you have children, do you think that you will want your sons and daughters to have long hair?"

Married respondents with children were asked: "Does/do your son(s) and daughter(s) have long hair?" If the children were

very young, i.e. babies, these respondents were asked: "Will you want them to have long hair?"

Table 11.1 Maintaining Kesh in the Third Generation
(All Respondents)

Responses	%
No, both genders	62
Yes, both genders	10
Yes for daughters but not for sons	20
Don't know	8
N = 102	100

As Table 11.1 indicates, 62 per cent of my respondents said that they would not want their daughters and sons to have long hair whilst only 10 per cent of my subjects said that they would want their daughters and sons to preserve Kesh. A further 20 per cent of my respondents informed me that they would like their daughters to have long hair although their sons would not be obliged to observe this particular tradition. The remaining 8 per cent were unable to express an opinion.

Sixty-two per cent of my respondents were asked why they said that they would not want their children to have long hair. Thirty-nine per cent of these girls replied that since they

themselves did not keep this tradition they would not expect their children to do so. A further 33 per cent said that they would not want their children to have long hair because they themselves did not wish to maintain Kesh and only did so reluctantly. The remaining 28 per cent of these respondents said that their children would be able to "choose for themselves"/"make up their own minds" with regard to having long hair. Furthermore, 67 per cent of this 28 per cent pointed to some of the difficulties encountered in the wider society by Sikh males who did observe Kesh. According to these girls, Sikh boys with long hair were often teased by their white and West Indian peers especially during swimming sessions. Thus, for a variety of reasons, 62 per cent of my respondents said that they would not want their children to maintain Kesh. The following quotations are representative of the responses given by these girls:

There are lots of people in my family who don't have long hair. We are not strict. I don't have long hair, so I don't think that my children will be forced to have long hair. I don't mind if they have short hair.

I don't believe in long hair. But I can't have my hair styled because my Mum and Dad wouldn't allow me to. I don't keep any of the other traditions but they won't allow me to cut my hair. I'm going through it now, so when I have children, I'll know what it is like. I won't stop them if they want to have short hair. It will be their freedom.

I don't think that my children will have long hair because they will be more English than me. I don't think that we will be able to force them to have long hair. I want to give my kids more choice. We will talk about it and if they still want to have short hairstyles, I won't stand in their way. It will be up to them. I don't think that it will be too important.

I think that in the future things are going to be very different. Our kids will be different just as we are different from our parents. We will be more tolerant towards our children. You know, I don't want to lay down the law, sort of thing. If they want to cut their hair, I won't pick an argument with them. If they want to have long hair, that is OK too. I have to do what I'm told but I'll give my children more choice. I think that it's difficult for boys to have long hair. Like in school, especially in the swimming pool, Sikh boys with long hair have to wear caps. Other children laugh at them and they get teased. It's hard for them to cope, especially when they are very young. They can get hurt.

In contrast to the above respondents, only 10 per cent of the girls I studied said that they would want their sons and daughters to have long hair. When asked for their reasons, 80 per cent of this minority replied quite simply that they wished to maintain the Sikh religion. The remaining 20 per cent were unable to say why they wanted their children to have uncut hair. Whilst this minority said that they would want both genders to maintain Kesh, a further 20 per cent of my respondents informed me that they would only want their daughters to have long hair. I asked these girls: "Why would you want your daughters to have long hair and why wouldn't you want your sons to have long hair?"

Fifty per cent of them replied that although they would like both their sons and daughters to have long hair in order to preserve their religion, they realized that it was not always easy for Sikh males to do so in England. According to these girls, Sikh boys who maintained Kesh were often teased by their white and West Indian peers. For this reason, they would not expect their sons to have uncut hair. A further 35 per cent (of 20 per cent)

told me that they would not want their daughters to have their hair cut short because they thought that long hair was "more attractive", but that they would not expect their sons to have long hair because they thought that short hair was more appropriate for males. The remaining 15 per cent (of 20 per cent) said that they would not want their sons to have long hair because their own fathers had short hair. However, they would want their daughters to maintain Kesh because they thought that females should try to preserve Sikh culture. The following quotations represent some of the replies of the above 20 per cent of my respondents:

I want long hair for my daughters but I wouldn't want my sons to have long hair. Because with boys it's really difficult in England. In school, well, they can get bullied and teased by other children. You know, kids can be very cruel, very rude. They pick on kids who are different. So, if a Sikh boy has long hair and wears a turban, they can have a hard time in school. So, I won't force my sons - even though I would like it if they had long hair. Because, it's our religion, our tradition. Now, my daughters, they will keep the tradition. It's easier for girls to have long hair.

I like long hair for girls. It looks nicer. It's more attractive than short hair. A woman's beauty is in her long hair. But men can't have long hair. It doesn't look proper for them. It's neater if it's short. I don't want my sons to look untidy.

None of my family wear turbans. My Dad doesn't. He doesn't have long hair. So, my sons won't keep this custom. With my daughters, it will be different because girls are always expected to keep the religion, aren't they?

To summarise, it would seem that if Sikh girls had their way, a majority of them (62 per cent) would not want their sons and

daughters to observe Kesh. A minority of 20 per cent would only expect their female offspring to do so and a further small minority of 10 per cent would expect both their sons and daughters to have long hair. Thus, these findings would suggest that there might be some intergenerational changes (between the second and third generations) in relation to this particular Sikh tradition. To recall, 75 per cent of my respondents had long hair and 25 per cent had short hair. In contrast, 62 per cent of my subjects said that they would not want their sons and daughters to maintain Kesh. Furthermore, these findings would suggest (tentatively) that the incidence of Established Non-conformity is likely to increase in the future since, whilst only 18 per cent of my Sikh respondents said that their parents allowed them to have short hair, a far higher percentage (62 per cent) said that they would allow their daughters to abandon Kesh. Conversely, whilst 54 per cent said that they themselves willingly observed Kesh, (i.e. an example of Willing Conformity) a much smaller percentage (30 per cent) told me that they would expect their daughters to do so. One can cautiously conclude from this that this particular Sikh tradition might be less strictly observed in the future.

11.3 WEARING THE KARA (BANGLE)

In order to be able to speculate on the future of the Kara, all my single and childless married respondents were asked: "If you have children, will you want them to wear the Kara?" The two other married respondents were asked: "Does/do your son(s) and

daughter(s) wear the Kara?" If the children were very young, they were asked: "Will you want them to do so?"

Table 11.2 Maintaining the Kara in the Third Generation
(All respondents)

Responses	%
No, both genders	36
Yes, both genders	54
Yes for daughters, No for sons	0
Don't Know	10
N = 102	100

As Table 11.2 indicates, 54 per cent of my respondents said that they would want their children of both sexes to wear the Kara. These females were asked: "Why will you want your children to wear the Kara?" Their responses revealed that 91 per cent of them believed that by adhering to this tradition their future offspring would be helping to preserve the Sikh religion. For example:

I'll want them to wear it because it's part of our religion. I want our religion to continue.

I will want my sons and daughters to be Sikhs. That means they will have to keep our traditions, like having long hair and wearing the Kara, not eating beef and not smoking. I don't want them to become like the English. They must keep the religion.

It's a matter of identity, really. If you teach them about the Kara - about Sikhism, then they will know who they are. I don't want them to forget our ways, our religion and our culture.

I think that it won't be difficult for them to wear the Kara in this country. It's not too obvious, you can wear it discreetly. Now with long hair, it's more difficult especially for boys. But I think that I'll want my sons and my daughters to wear the Kara because it's the one tradition that won't be difficult. We shouldn't lose our religion.

In contrast to the above respondents, however, 36 per cent of my subjects said that they would not want their children to wear the Kara. When asked for their reasons, 54 per cent of them replied that since they had not been obliged by their parents to observe this tradition, they would not want their children to do so either. A further 22 per cent said that they would not expect their children to wear the Kara because they "did not believe in it" and only wore it because they did not wish to disobey their parents. Another 21 per cent of these respondents told me that their children would not be obliged to wear the Kara because they too "did not believe in it" and had, moreover, disobeyed their parents by abandoning it. The remaining minority of 2 per cent were unable to explain their reasons for not wanting their children to maintain the Kara. The following quotations illustrate some of the answers given by the above 36 per cent of my respondents:

I won't want my kids to wear the Kara because my family doesn't. I've never been asked to wear it. We are not strict about religion. So, unless I marry into a strict family, then I won't ask my kids to wear it.

I don't think it's necessary. I don't believe in it. I think it's just decoration. My parents force me to wear it. I do it to please them but I won't force my children. It will be up to them.

No, I won't because I've given it up. I don't wear it and my parents aren't happy. But, I don't agree with the Kara, I don't believe in it. I don't believe that wearing a Kara makes you a better Sikh. You can still be a Sikh without it.

In summary, 54 per cent of my respondents said that they would want their children to wear the Kara but 36 per cent said that they would not want their offspring to maintain this particular tradition. Thus, it would appear that although this tradition might still be maintained, there might also be some intergenerational change. This is because 73 per cent of my respondents told me that they wore the Kara in contrast to a smaller percentage (54 per cent) who said that they would expect their children to do so. Furthermore, these findings suggest that the incidence of Established Non-conformity might increase slightly to the extent that 36 per cent of my respondents informed me that they would permit their children to abandon the Kara as opposed to only 20 per cent who said that their parents allowed them to do so. One can therefore tentatively conclude that although this particular religious tradition might still survive in the future, it might be maintained by smaller numbers of Sikh girls than at present.

11.4 WEARING THE TURBAN (SONS ONLY)

In order to be able to speculate on the future of the turban, my single and (childless) married respondents were asked: "If you have sons, will you want them to wear the turban?" The married females with sons were asked: "Does/do your son(s) wear the turban?" If the children were very young, they were asked: "Will you want them to do so when they are older?"

Table 11.3 Wearing the Turban in the Third Generation
(All Respondents)

Responses	%
No	66
Yes	14
Don't Know	20
N = 102	100

As Table 11.3 shows, 66 per cent of my respondents said that they would not want their sons to wear the turban, whilst only 14 per cent of my subjects told me that they would want their sons to maintain this particular Sikh tradition. The remaining 20 per cent, on the other hand, were unable to answer my question.

Sixty-six per cent of my respondents were then asked: "Why don't you want your sons to wear the turban?" Forty-two per cent of them replied that since most male members of their own families did not wear the turban, they would not expect their sons to do so. A further 32 per cent of these respondents said that they wished to give their sons "freedom" i.e. that it would be "up to them to choose". Sixty per cent of this 32 per cent also referred to some of the difficulties encountered by turbaned Sikhs in England including the increased chances of facing discrimination when looking for work. The remaining 22 per cent (of 67 per cent of all respondents) told me that although they would like their sons to preserve this tradition they thought that it would not be easy to oblige them to do so because they expected members of the future generation to be "more English" than themselves. In addition, these females also pointed to some of the difficulties that they believed turbaned Sikhs encountered in the wider society. The following quotations are representative of the responses of the above 66 per cent of my respondents:

I don't think that I will want my sons to wear turbans. My Dad doesn't because we are not too strict about religion. A few of my uncles still wear turbans but it depends on the individual. If someone wants to take amrit and be a strict Sikh, then he will have to wear the turban. But, in my family, it's not like that, because we are not strict. If I marry someone who is a proper Sikh with the turban and all - then it might be different.

No, my sons can choose for themselves. I don't want to force them to do anything that they don't like. It will be up to them.

I think that it isn't easy for men to wear turbans in this society. You know, Sikh boys who have long hair and turbans get teased in school and when they start to look for work, I think it's more difficult for them. Because white people might not give a job to someone wearing a turban. I think that in the future we won't be able to force our sons to wear turbans because they are going to be very English.

I would like my sons to wear turbans and to keep the religion. But it might not be possible in this society. There's a lot of discrimination because of the colour thing and, if a Sikh wears a turban, he's going to face even more discrimination. So, I won't ask my sons to wear turbans because I know how this society works. I don't know what's going to happen in the future - our children will probably be more English than Indian.

Unlike the above majority, only 14 per cent of my respondents said that they would want their sons to wear turbans. When asked for their reason, 72 per cent of this minority indicated that they wished to preserve their religion and separate identity. A further 14 per cent said that they thought "turbans looked nice" whilst the remaining 14 per cent were unable to explain why they wanted their sons to wear turbans.

I want my daughters to have long hair and I want my sons to wear turbans. I don't want them to forget our ways. It's no use if they become like English people. English people don't care about their children whereas our parents do care. My children will know who they are, I don't allow them to forget, I'll teach them to be Sikhs.

It's a question of identity really. If my son wears a turban he will know that he is a Sikh. He will learn that our religion is different and he will then understand that we are different from the English. I want my religion to continue.

I think that Sikh men who wear turbans are better looking than them others. I like turbans, they are nice.

My findings would suggest (tentatively) that the turban might not have a secure future since 66 per cent of my respondents said that they would not want their sons to maintain this tradition. Furthermore, many of these females thought that it was not easy for men to wear turbans in England due to negative reactions from the native majority. A substantial minority of 20 per cent of my respondents said that they did not know whether they would want their sons to preserve this custom whilst only 14 per cent of my Sikh subjects were certain that they would want their sons to do so.

11.5 DRINKING ALCOHOL

I asked my single and childless married respondents: "If you have children, will you allow your sons and daughters to drink alcohol?" Married respondents with children were asked: "When your son(s) and daughter(s) are older, will you allow them to drink alcohol?"

Table 11.4 Drinking Alcohol in the Third Generation
(All respondents)

Responses	%
No both genders	40
No for daughters but yes for sons	20
Yes both genders	30
Don't Know	10
N = 102	100

As Table 11.4 demonstrates, 40 per cent of my respondents told me that they would not permit their sons and daughters to drink alcohol but a further 30 per cent said that they would allow both to do so. Another 20 per cent, however, said that they would only permit their sons to drink alcohol. The remaining 10 per cent were unable to offer me an answer.

Forty per cent of my respondents were then asked: "Why won't you allow your children to drink alcohol?" Seventy-five per cent of these girls replied that "drinking was unhealthy", a further 15 per cent said that "Sikhs were not allowed to drink alcohol" and the remaining 5 per cent were unable to explain why they would not allow their children to drink alcohol. For example:

I think that it's terrible. You can get critical if you drink. It's unhealthy. I don't want them to become alcoholics.

I don't want my kids to drink alcohol. I'll tell them they mustn't drink. Because it's very unhealthy. You can get very sick. I'll tell them to stop it if they drink.

I won't allow my sons and daughters because it's our religion. We are not allowed to drink. I don't want my religion to go down the drain, sort of thing.

Those respondents who said that they would allow their sons but not their daughters to drink were asked: "Why won't you allow your daughters to drink alcohol and why will you allow your sons to do so?" Sixty per cent of the 20 respondents in this group said that they thought it was "unnatural" and/or "shocking" for an Indian female to drink alcohol but that it was "normal" for Indian men to do so. For example:

No, not my daughters. Well, you get shocked when you see an Indian woman who drinks and smokes. It's unnatural for girls, whereas you accept it when men drink. I was shocked when I saw my Aunt from Canada. She was drinking and smoking. I almost fainted. They are more westernized than us. Now, with my daughters, I would not want them to drink, it's not right for Indian girls.

The remaining 40 per cent of these 20 respondents said that Sikh men could not be prevented from drinking alcohol because they had "more freedom" than women and for this reason, they thought that they would not be able to stop their sons from drinking alcohol, if they so desired. For example:

I wouldn't want my sons and daughters to drink alcohol but with men, well, you can't stop them, can you? Men have more freedom, they can go out, whereas Indian girls have to stay at home. So, I'll do the same with my daughters, they will keep our ways because we expect women to keep the culture. But men have a lot of freedom. Women are restricted, but that's the way it will continue.

Unlike the above respondents, 30 per cent of my subjects said that they would allow their sons and daughters to drink alcohol. When asked why they would do this, 50 per cent of them replied that they would allow their children to "drink a little" because they themselves did so:

I can't stop them because I drink sometimes. I'll allow them to drink a little, not too much though. I don't think it's bad for you, not if it's only a little. They can drink if it's somebody's birthday or at Christmas.

A further 34 per cent said that they would allow their children to drink alcohol because they did not think that they would be able to prevent them from doing so since they expected their children to be "more English" than themselves:

It's going to be difficult to tell our children not to do this or that. Because, well, they are going to be different, they are going to be even more English than us. I'll explain to them, that drinking alcohol isn't healthy and that we are not supposed to drink it but then, it will be up to them to decide what they want to do. I won't force them.

The remaining 16 per cent (of 30 per cent of my respondents) were unable to say why they would allow their children to drink alcohol. To summarise, 40 per cent of my respondents said that

they would not permit their sons and daughters to drink alcohol but a further 30 per cent told me that they would allow them to do so. Another 20 per cent said that they would expect their daughters but not their sons to keep this particular rule whilst the remaining 10 per cent were unable to answer my question. These findings suggest that there might not be any potential change between the second and third generations with regard to the drinking of alcohol. To recall, 60 per cent of my respondents informed me that they did not drink alcohol under any circumstance. When questioned about their future offspring, a similar percentage (60 per cent) told me that they would not allow their daughters to drink alcohol under any circumstance. These findings also suggest that the incidence of Established Non-conformity might remain constant to the extent that 30 per cent said that they were allowed to drink alcohol and the same percentage of females said that they would permit their daughters to do so. Thus, it would appear that the rule which forbids Sikhs from drinking alcohol might still be adhered to in the future, especially in relation to women, since most of my respondents stated that they would not permit their daughters to drink alcohol.

11.6 SMOKING CIGARETTES

In order to be able to speculate on the extent to which my respondents might allow their children to smoke cigarettes all my single subjects and the childless married women were asked: "If you have children, will you allow your sons and daughters to

smoke cigarettes?" The two married females with children were asked: "When your son(s) and daughter(s) are older will you allow them to smoke cigarettes?"

Table 11.5 Smoking Cigarettes in the Third Generation
(All Respondents)

Responses	%
No, both genders	90
No for daughters but yes for sons	6
Yes, both genders	0
Don't know	4
N = 102	100

As indicated in Table 11.5, 90 per cent of my respondents informed me that they would not permit their sons and daughters to smoke cigarettes, whilst none of my subjects said that they would allow their children to do so. Furthermore, only 6 per cent of the Sikh girls in my study said that they would allow their sons but not their daughters to smoke cigarettes. The remaining 4 per cent were unable to answer my question.

Ninety per cent of my respondents were then asked: "Why won't you allow your sons and daughters to smoke cigarettes?" Their responses revealed that 47 per cent of these girls believed that

smoking cigarettes was "unhealthy". A further 22 per cent also thought that smoking cigarettes was a health hazard but, in addition, they believed that it was "unladylike" for Indian women to smoke cigarettes. Another 21 per cent of this vast majority informed me that they would not allow their children to smoke cigarettes because Sikhs were not permitted to do so and also because they considered smoking to be "unhealthy" and/or "filthy". The remaining 10 per cent (of 90 per cent) were unable to say why they would not allow their sons and daughters to smoke cigarettes. The following quotations represent some of the answers given by the vast majority of my respondents:

I won't allow them - my sons too - to smoke cigarettes. It's filthy, it's unhealthy. It can make you ill. It's bad for you. I'll tell my kids that they shouldn't smoke. As long as they live in my house, they won't be allowed to do that.

I think that it's not good to smoke. You know Sikh men do smoke, they break the rules. We are not supposed to smoke, it's our religion. But the men don't care. I won't allow my sons and daughters. I want them to keep the religion. But smoking isn't good for you, is it? It can make you cough and you can get very ill.

Smoking cigarettes is unladylike. No, I wouldn't like my daughters to smoke. I would be very upset, my culture going down the drain. Smoking is bad for the health. I won't allow my kids to smoke. My sons too because it's bad.

The small minority of my respondents who said that they would allow their sons to smoke cigarettes were then asked: "Why will you allow your sons to smoke and why won't you allow your daughters?" Eighty per cent of the 6 females in this group told

me that they would not be able to prevent their sons from smoking because "men had more freedom than women". The remaining 20 per cent of this small minority said that they would differentiate between their sons and daughters in relation to smoking cigarettes because they thought that it was "not natural" for Indian women to smoke cigarettes. For example:

I don't think it's natural for Indian women. You don't expect them to smoke. Men smoke but women don't.

I won't be able to stop my sons because men can do whatever they like in our society. Women can't. So, my daughters won't smoke but my sons will probably smoke. I don't know for sure what will happen when our children are growing up.

The above findings would suggest that if my respondents had their way, the rules which prohibit Sikhs from smoking tobacco might still be adhered to in the next generation since the vast majority said that they would not allow their sons and daughters to smoke cigarettes. This would suggest that, in this instance, there could be substantial continuity between the second and third generations, to the extent that all my respondents said that they willingly refrained from smoking cigarettes and the vast majority of them also stated that they would not want their children to smoke. Conversely, Established Non-Conformity was clearly absent in the second generation and, moreover, seemed likely to remain so in the future third generation.

11.7 PRESERVING THE PUNJABI LANGUAGE

In order to be able to speculate on the future of the Punjabi language in relation to the next generation, I asked my single and childless married respondents: "If you have children, will you teach them to speak Punjabi?" My married respondents with children were asked: "Do you speak to your children in Punjabi?"

Table 11.6 Preserving Punjabi in the Third Generation
(All respondents)

Responses	%
Yes	96
No	0
Don't Know	4
N = 102	100

As Table 11.6 shows, 96 per cent of my respondents said that they would teach their children to speak Punjabi, whilst none of my subjects said that they would not do so. A small minority of the 4 per cent were unable to offer me an answer. I asked 96 per cent of my respondents: "Why will you teach them to speak Punjabi?" Their responses revealed that they wished to do this for a variety of reasons. Fifty-three per cent of this vast majority said that they would teach their children to speak Punjabi because it would enable them to communicate with their grandparents and other older

members of the Sikh community whose command of the English language was poor or non-existent. A further 27 per cent of these girls also cited this reason but, in addition, said that they wished to teach their children Punjabi because they wanted to maintain their culture and identity. Another 10 per cent of this vast majority told me that they would teach their children to speak their mother tongue because if they did not do so, their offspring would not be able to understand the religious services and would therefore be more likely to forget their religion. A further 5 per cent of 96 per cent of my respondents informed me that they wished to preserve their language in case they returned to India, whilst the remaining 5 per cent were unable to explain why they wished to teach their children Punjabi. The following quotations are representative of the responses of 96 per cent of my subjects.

Yes, I'll teach my kids to speak it because my Mum, especially, doesn't speak English very well. So, if my children don't speak our language they won't be able to talk to her. My grandparents too, they don't speak English at all. I wouldn't want my children to breakaway from the family, they will have to speak Indian because there will be a complete gap between the old people and the children. That's when the problems start.

I think that it is a very good idea to teach the children Punjabi. Because it's very important for us to keep our culture. We should know who we are, we must teach our children not to forget who we are. If you teach them about Sikh ways and if you teach them to speak Indian, then they won't be confused. They will know what we are - we are Indians, we mustn't give up our culture. At home, my older relatives don't know how to speak English. If I don't teach my kids to speak Punjabi, they will blame me - they will say that because I didn't teach them, they can't communicate with their grandparents and uncles and aunts.

I'll make sure that they can speak and understand Punjabi because it's no use if they don't. For a start, they won't understand what's going on at the temple. All the services are in our language. If children can't understand the language then they are going to lose interest in our religion. I don't want them to forget our religion, I want it to continue.

In India, in the villages nobody speaks English. So, if we have to go back to live in India we will have to speak Indian.

Thus, it would appear that the Punjabi language might have a secure future since the vast majority of my respondents said they intended to speak it with their children. These findings would suggest that, in this instance, there might be substantial continuity between the generations to the extent that all my respondents said that they spoke their mother tongue and the vast majority also told me that they wished to teach it to their children. In addition, it would seem that Established Non-Conformity was completely irrelevant in this particular area, since none of my respondents said that their parents allowed them to totally abandon their mother tongue and the vast majority stated that they would teach it to their offspring.

11.8 WEARING THE SALWAR KAMEEZE AND SKIRTS (DAUGHTERS ONLY)

I asked my single and childless married respondents: "If you have children, will you want your daughters to wear the Salwar Kameeze?" The other married women were asked: "Will you want your daughter(s) to wear the Salwar Kameeze?"

Table 11.7 Maintaining the Salwar Kameeze in the Third Generation
(All respondents)

Responses	%
Yes	52
No	38
Don't Know	10
N = 102	100

As Table 11.7 indicates, 52 per cent of my respondents responded that they would want their daughters to wear this form of dress but 38 per cent said that they would not want their daughters to do so. The remaining 10 per cent of my subjects did not offer me an opinion. I asked 52 per cent of my respondents: "Why will you want them to wear the Kameeze?" Forty-nine per cent of these respondents said that they considered the Kameeze to be the most appropriate mode of dress when attending the temple and other Sikh functions:

I'll allow them to wear skirts when they go to school and when they go to an English function. But, I think that when they go to the gurdwara, or if they go to an Indian wedding, then, I think it's better to wear the Salwar Kameeze or even a Sari. It's more suitable for Indian things. My Dad says that we should dress according to the situation. If it's English, then a skirt or dress but if it's Indian, then Salwar or Sari. I'll do the same with my kids. We live in both cultures so we can dress in both types of clothing.

A further 20 per cent (of 52 per cent of my respondents) said that they would want their daughters to wear the Salwar Kameeze because they did not wish to provoke gossip amongst (especially) older members of the Sikh community:

I think that I will ask my daughters to wear the Kameeze especially when we go to the temple or when we visit our older relatives. Because, well, you know how our Indian people can gossip. If the girls wear skirts all the time, then the old ladies will say that they are spoilt - they have become too English.

Another 16 per cent (of 52 per cent) said that they would want their daughters to wear traditional clothing because they wanted to preserve their culture and because they did not want their daughters to "become like the English":

I don't want my daughters to become like the English. Especially, if it's a girl, it's no use becoming English. English girls go out and get into trouble. I want my daughters to be Sikhs, to stay at home and learn about our ways. I want them to keep our culture.

Finally, 10 per cent of the 52 per cent told me that they would want their daughters to maintain their traditional dress simply because it was "attractive"/"pretty", whilst the remaining 5 per cent were unable to say why they would like their daughters to wear the Kameeze.

In contrast to the above, 38 per cent of my respondents informed me that they would not want their daughters to wear the Salwar Kameeze. When asked for their reasons, fifty-one per cent replied

that since they themselves had not been asked by their parents to wear the Kameeze they would not expect their own daughters to do so. A further 26 per cent said that they "did not like" it whilst another 21 per cent said that they would not be able to "force"/"make" their daughters wear traditional dress because they would be "more English than Indian". The remaining 2 per cent did not know why they did not want their daughters to wear the Kameeze. For example:

I don't know what will happen in the future, you can't be sure. I think that we won't be able to force our kids to wear the Kameeze because they are going to be more English than Indian.

I don't like it, it's not fashionable. I prefer dresses, jeans and skirts. I won't force my daughters because I don't like it myself.

Seeing that I've never been asked by my parents to wear the Kameeze, I don't see how I can expect my own daughters to wear it. If they want to, they can wear it.

In summary, 52 per cent of the girls in my study said that they would want their daughters to sometimes wear traditional dress but a further 38 per cent told me that they would not want their daughters to do so under any circumstance. The remaining 10 per cent were unable to offer me an opinion. One can tentatively conclude from these findings that there might be some intergenerational change in the future with regard to the traditional form of clothing, to the extent that 70 per cent of my respondents said that they did wear the Salwar Kameeze whilst a smaller percentage (52 per cent) told me that they would want

their daughters to do so. Furthermore, these findings also suggest that the incidence of Established Non-Conformity might increase (albeit slightly) as 20 per cent of my subjects said that their parents did not expect them to wear the Salwar Kameeze in contrast to 36 per cent who said that they would allow their daughters to abandon the traditional form of clothing. Thus, to conclude (cautiously) it would appear that the Salwar Kameeze might still be maintained in the future to the extent that just over half of my respondents said that they would want their daughters to wear it. However, the number of girls maintaining it in the future might be slightly reduced (by 18 per cent) when compared with members of the second generation.

I asked my single and childless married respondents: "if you have daughters will you allow them to wear (knee-length) skirts?"

Married women with children were asked: "When your daughter(s) is/are older will you allow her/them to wear (knee-length) skirts?" Ninety-two per cent of my respondents answered "Yes" and only a further 4 per cent replied negatively. The remaining small minority of 4 per cent were unable to answer my question. The vast majority were then asked: "Why will you allow your daughters to wear skirts?" Their responses revealed that these girls had a variety of reasons. Fifty-eight per cent of them thought that one should dress for the occasion:

My daughters will be able to wear anything. I'll allow them to wear skirts, jeans, dresses and shorts. They should dress according to the function. I mean, if it's an English function, they should wear English clothes. If it's for school, then the school uniform. If it's an English party, then a dress or skirt. If it's Indian, then Sari or Salwar. I won't restrict my daughters, it will be a different society. They'll have free choices.

A further 25 per cent (of 92 per cent) said that they would allow their daughters to wear skirts because they thought that Indian girls should be unrestricted in this respect:

No, my daughters will not be restricted. I don't believe in it. There's nothing wrong in wearing skirts. Our parents don't allow me because they don't want me to show my legs. But, I don't believe in this custom. Indian girls should be given more freedom. My daughters will wear everything.

Another 12 per cent (of 92 per cent) said that they would permit their daughters to wear skirts because quite simply, their children would be anglicized:

My kids will be even more English than us. We won't be able to tell them not to do this or that. They will wear skirts, if that's what they want.

The final minority of 5 per cent (of 92 per cent) were unable to explain why they would allow their daughters to wear skirts.

I asked the very small minority of girls who said that they would not permit their daughters to wear skirts: "Why won't you allow them to wear skirts?" All four females replied that they wished to "keep" their culture and that consequently, they did not want

their daughters to become "too English".

The above findings would tentatively suggest that the tradition which prevents most Sikh females from wearing skirts is likely to be almost completely abandoned in the future. Furthermore, it can be cautiously predicted that the incidence of Established Non-Conformity is likely to increase substantially in so far as only 28 per cent of my respondents said that they were allowed by their parents to wear skirts whilst a much higher percentage of my subjects (92 per cent) told me that they would permit their daughters to do so.

11.9 MAINTAINING THE ARRANGED MARRIAGE

In order to enable me to speculate on the future of the arranged marriage, I asked my single and childless married respondents: "If you have children, will you want your sons and daughters to have an arranged marriage?" The other two married women were asked: "When your son(s) and daughter(s) are older, will you want them to have an arranged marriage?"

Table 11.8 Arranged Marriages in the Third Generation
(All respondents)

Responses	%
Yes, both genders	32
No, both genders	57
Don't Know	11
N = 102	100

As Table 11.8 shows, 57 per cent of my respondents said that they would not want their children to marry in the traditional manner but 32 per cent said that they would want their offspring to do so. The remaining 11 per cent said that they did not know what they would do in the future. I asked 57 per cent of my respondents: "Why won't you want your children to have an arranged marriage?" Fifty-two per cent of these girls simply stated that "love marriages were the best". A further 29 per cent told me that they would prefer their children to have a "love marriage" because they wished to give them the "freedom" to marry a partner of their choice. Another 14 per cent said that they would not be able to prevent their children from marrying someone of their own choice because members of the future generation would be "more English" than themselves. Finally, a minority of 5 per cent were unable to explain why they would not want their children to maintain the arranged marriage.

I don't want my kids to have an arranged marriage because I think that love marriages are the best. That's it. When you marry in the arranged way you might not get on with the person whereas when you marry for love, it's better because you love the person and you want to be with him very much.

I'll give my children their own choice because I know what it's like to do whatever I'm told. I'll give them freedom. They can marry their own choice, they will be lucky. Me, I have to do what my parents tell me.

No, I won't even try to force my sons and daughters to have an arranged marriage because they are going to be very different from us, they will be more English. I don't think that they will accept arranged marriages like we do. We listen to our parents but I don't think that our kids will do the same. Anyway, I think that they should be able to choose for themselves.

In contrast to the above 57 per cent, a further 32 per cent of my respondents told me that they would want their children to marry in the traditional manner. I asked these girls: "Why will you want your children to have an arranged marriage?" Their replies revealed that 70 per cent of them believed that arranged marriages were "more successful" than love marriages. In addition, these females thought that traditional marriages were more likely to succeed because the couple usually received support from the family:

I'll encourage my kids to believe in the arranged marriage because I think that arranged marriages are more successful than love marriages. There's a lot of divorce amongst love marriages. But when you have an arranged marriage, you get a lot of help from your parents. Everyone wants you to be happy, so they make sure that you will have money, jewellery and furniture. I'll want my kids to have a happy future and I think that the best way for them will be an arranged marriage. It's the best.

A further 15 per cent (of 32 per cent) said that they would want their children to marry in the traditional way because they wished to ensure that their children did not "become like the English". In other words, they wished to preserve their culture and identity:

Yes, they will have to have an arranged marriage. I don't want my kids to forget our ways, I want them to keep the culture. They will know who we are. I'll want them to remain Sikhs, I don't want them to become like the English - running away and that.

Another 12 per cent (of 32 per cent) said that they wished to maintain the arranged marriage with regard to their offspring because they did not think that members of the older generation would allow their children to have love marriages:

I think that they will have the arranged marriage because it's not going to die out that easily. Our parents and grandparents will probably be still alive and they won't allow the kids to have love marriages. No, I think that it will continue for another generation, at least. Maybe, when we are old and our parents are no longer alive, then, maybe, Indians will no longer have arranged marriages.

To summarise, 57 per cent of my respondents said that they would not want their children to maintain the arranged marriage in contrast to 32 per cent who said that they would want their offspring to do so. A minority of 11 per cent were unable to answer my question. These findings would suggest that there might be substantial intergenerational change in the future, since 92 per cent of my respondents told me that they expected to have an

arranged marriage (or, if married, had already done so), whilst only 32 per cent of my subjects said that they would expect their children to marry in the traditional way. Furthermore, my findings suggest that there might be an increase in the incidence of Established Non-conformity to the extent that 57 per cent of my Sikh subjects said that they would allow their children to abandon the 'arranged' marriage by having a 'love' marriage, whilst only 4 per cent of my respondents said that they would be permitted by their parents to abandon this particular custom. Thus, one can tentatively conclude that if my respondents have their way, a substantial majority of members of the third generation will not be required to maintain the arranged marriage.

11.10 GOING TO DISCOS

In order to be able to speculate on the extent to which my respondents might restrict their children socially, I asked my single and childless married subjects: "If you have children, will you allow your sons and daughters to go to discos in town?" The two married females with children were asked: "When your son(s) and daughter(s) grow up will you allow them to go to discos?"

Table 11.9 Going to Discos in The Third Generation
(All respondents)

Responses	%
Yes, both sexes	75
Yes for son(s) but no for daughter'(s)	10
No, both sexes	7
Don't Know	8
N = 102	100

As indicated in Table 11.9, 75 per cent of my respondents replied that they would allow their sons and daughters to go to discos, in contrast to only 7 per cent of their peers who said that they would not allow their offspring to do so. Furthermore, only 10 per cent of the girls I interviewed said that they would permit their sons but not their daughters to go to discos whilst a small minority of 8 per cent were unable to answer my question.

I asked 75 per cent of my respondents: "Why will you allow your sons and daughters to go to discos?" Forty-two per cent of these girls said that they wanted their children to "enjoy themselves" and for this reason, they would "allow them out":

Yes, I'll allow my kids to go to discos because I think that they should have some freedom to go out and have a good time. I want them to enjoy themselves. I don't want them to stay at home all the time. I'll allow them to go out with their friends. But, I'll want to know where they want to go to and they must come home before 12 o'clock. I'll allow them out but there will be some restrictions.

I'll allow them to go out even to discos. I have to stay at home in the evenings and I know how boring that is. So, I won't stop my children if they want to go to discos. But I won't let them go mad, I'll tell them that they can't do that every night. But I'll allow them sometimes because I want them to enjoy their lives.

A further 39 per cent (of 75 per cent) told me that they would allow their children to go to discos because they themselves did so. In addition, they too wanted their offspring to "go out and enjoy themselves", albeit with some restrictions:

I'll let them go to discos because seeing that I go to discos, I know what it's like and I won't stop my kids. I think that I'll let them go out with their friends because you can't keep them at home all the time. They will get bored at home. No, I'll want them to enjoy themselves but I'll have some rules too. I'll want to know which friends they want to go out with, where they are going and what time they'll come home. You can't let them do whatever they wish.

A further 16 per cent (of 75 per cent) said that they would allow their children to go to discos because they expected their offspring to be "more English" than themselves and, for this reason, they did not think that they would be able to prevent them from going to discos:

Yes, I think that my kids will go to discos. You know, they are going to be very different, more English than Indian, even more English than us. We listen to our parents but I doubt very much if our kids are going to do that. So, I think that we won't be able to stop them. They will go out with their friends if they want to. But I think that they should have some freedom, I don't think that we can make them stay at home. It's going to be different.

The remaining 3 per cent (of 75 per cent) were unable to say why they would permit their sons and daughters to go to discos.

In contrast to the above 75 per cent of my respondents, a further 10 per cent said that they would not allow their daughters to go to discos, although they would not stop their sons from going to such social venues. These girls were asked: "Why won't you allow your daughters and why will you allow your sons to go to discos?" Eighty per cent of this minority told me that they would not be able to prevent their sons from going to discos because Indian men usually had "more freedom than Indian women". In addition, they thought that their daughters should not go to such places because they did not want them to become "like the English":

No, I definitely won't allow my daughters to go to discos and that because I don't want her to become too English. I don't want her to go bad, you know, running away, going out with boys and becoming like English girls. But my sons, they will go out because men can do everything. We can't stop the men, they go out. But with daughters, it's different because people keep an eye on them.

The remaining 20 per cent of this small minority were unable to explain why they would allow their sons but not their daughters to go to discos. Finally, as indicated in Table 11.9 only a very

small minority of my respondents said that they would not allow either their sons or daughters to go to discos. These 7 girls were asked: "Why will you not allow your sons and daughters to go to discos?" All 7 replied that they did not want their children to become "too English", i.e. they wished to preserve their culture. Furthermore, 40 per cent of them told me that they did not want to treat their sons and daughters differently:

I won't allow them to go to discos because I want my children - my sons too - to keep our traditions. I wouldn't want them to become too English, you know, with no respect for the old people, running away and going out all night. No, I don't want my children to forget our ways completely. But, I want to be the same with my sons and daughters. What I mean is I don't want to give my sons all the freedom whilst my daughters stay at home. You know, Indian boys are spoiled. Our parents let them go out and they can do what they please. Now with my sons, I'm going to treat them just like my daughters. If my daughters don't go to discos, I won't allow my sons either.

These findings would suggest that if my respondents had their way, a substantial majority would permit their sons and daughters to go to discos whilst only a very small minority would not allow them to do so. Furthermore, only a small minority would discriminate between their sons and daughters by allowing the former but not the latter to go to discos. Thus, with regard to discos, social restrictions relating to Sikh females might not be adhered to in the future. These findings suggest that substantial intergenerational change might occur in the future, since 70 per cent of my respondents said that they did not go to discos as opposed to only 17 per cent who told me that they would not allow their daughters to do so. Furthermore, it would seem that there

might be a substantial increase in the existence of Established Non-Conformity, for, whilst only 24 per cent of my respondents said that their parents allowed them to go to discos, a far higher percentage (75 per cent) said that they would permit their sons and daughters to do so.

11.11 GOING TO PUBS

In order to enable me to speculate on the extent to which members of the third generation might be socially restricted, my single and childless married respondents were asked: "If you have children, will you allow your sons and daughters to go to pubs?" The other two married women were asked: "When your children grow up, will you allow your son(s) and daughter(s) to go to pubs?"

Table 11.10 Going to Pubs in the Third Generation
(All respondents)

Responses	%
Yes, both genders	35
Yes for sons but no for daughters	25
No, both genders	30
Don't know	10
N = 102	100

As Table 11.10 indicates, 35 per cent of my respondents replied that they would allow their sons as well as their daughters to go to pubs but a further 30 per cent said that they would not allow either their sons or daughters to do so. Furthermore, 25 per cent of my subjects responded that they would allow their sons but not their daughters to frequent pubs. Finally, a minority of 10 per cent were only able to offer me a "don't know" reply.

I asked 35 per cent of my respondents: "Why will you allow your sons and daughters to go to pubs?" Forty-two per cent of them replied that they would allow their children to do so because they themselves went to pubs. A further 28 per cent of these respondents said that they would allow their children to go to pubs because they did not think that they should be "kept at home all the time" and because they wished their children to "enjoy themselves". Another 16 per cent (of 35 per cent) told me that they did not think that they would be able to prevent their offspring from going to pubs because they would be "more English than Indian". Finally, 16 per cent of these respondents said that they would allow their daughters as well as their sons to go to pubs because they wished to treat both genders "the same".

I'll allow them to go to pubs because you can't keep kids locked up at home all the time. They need to go out with their friends. I'll allow them because I go to pubs and I know about them, what they are like. You go there for a social thing - to meet your friends. I want my kids to enjoy themselves, they shouldn't be bored.

Yes, I don't mind if they go to pubs because I'll know where they are and they will have to come home before midnight. I want my kids to have some freedom. I'm not allowed to go out and I know what that's like.

I don't think that my kids will listen to me even if I asked them not to go. So, I'll allow them because if you don't allow them they will go secretly. I think our kids are going to be very English and we won't be able to stop them from going to pubs.

Yes, I'll allow them - both my sons and daughters too because you can't treat them differently, it must be the same. Indian boys have more freedom than girls. I don't think it's fair - we girls have to stay at home but the boys can do whatever they want. Now, with my children, I'm going to be the same with my daughters and sons. If my sons go to pubs, I'll allow my daughters too.

In contrast to the above 35 per cent of my subjects, a further 25 per cent said that they would allow their sons but not their daughters to go to pubs. I asked them: "Why won't you allow your daughters and why will you allow your sons to go to pubs?" Forty per cent of the 25 girls said that they would not be able to prevent their sons from going to pubs because Indian men had more freedom than women. A further 40 per cent told me that they believed that Indian girls should not go to pubs because it "was not right" for them to be seen in such places and because they did not want their daughters to "become like English girls". The remaining 20 per cent (of 25 females) said that they would not permit their daughters to go to pubs because they would not wish to incur community gossip.

I won't allow my daughters but I'll allow my sons because you can't stop the men. They have freedom but Indian girls have to stay at home.

I don't want my daughters to go to pubs because it's not right for Indian girls. You sort of feel funny if you see an Indian woman coming out of a pub. Men go to pubs women don't, that's our culture. I want my culture to continue. They mustn't become too much like English girls.

If a girl goes to a pub there's a lot of gossip in the community. Everyone gossips, especially the older people. They will say that my daughter is bad, too English. Nobody will want to marry her. So, I'll make sure she understands the consequences.

Whilst the above 25 per cent said that they would allow their sons to go to pubs, another 30 per cent of my respondents told me that they would not allow either their sons or daughters to do so. I asked these girls: "Why won't you allow your sons and daughters to go to pubs?" Fifty-per cent of them responded that they did not want their children to drink alcohol whilst a further 27 per cent said that they wished to maintain Sikh customs. Another 20 per cent (of 30 per cent) told me that they would not allow their sons and daughters to go to pubs because they disapproved of alcohol and, moreover wished to treat both sexes equally. Finally, a small minority of 3 per cent were unable to explain why they would not permit their sons and daughters to go to pubs.

No, they won't be allowed to go to pubs because I don't want them to drink alcohol - it's bad for the health. If you allow them to go to pubs you only encourage them to drink.

No, definitely not. I won't allow my sons and daughters to go to pubs because Sikhs are not supposed to drink alcohol and I want to keep our traditions. They musn't become too English.

No, I wouldn't like it if my sons and daughters went to pubs. I don't like drinks, it can get you critical. I don't believe in allowing the men but not the women. I'll make the same rules for my sons and also my daughters. Equality and all, that's it.

To summarise, 35 per cent of my respondents said that they would allow their sons and daughters to go to pubs but a further 30 per cent said that they would not allow both genders to do so. Another 25 per cent said that they would only permit their sons to go to pubs and the remaining 10 per cent were not able to answer my question. These findings suggest that there might be very little intergenerational change, to the extent that 29 per cent of my respondents said that they did go to pubs whilst a slightly higher percentage (35 per cent) of my subjects said that they would permit their daughters to do so. In addition, one can tentatively predict that the incidence of Established Non-conformity might increase in the future in so far as 35 per cent of my respondents told me that they would allow their daughters to go to pubs in contrast to only 4 per cent who said that they went to pubs with parental consent. However, despite these possible changes, it would appear that Sikh norms which prevent females from going to pubs will probably still prevail in the future in so far as a majority of my respondents (55 per cent) said that their daughters would not be allowed to go to pubs. These findings can indeed be contrasted with those on discos. Whilst 75 per cent of my respondents said that they would allow their daughters to go to discos, only 35 per cent of my subjects said that they would permit their daughters to go to pubs.

11.12 A SUMMARY OF CHAPTER ELEVEN

In this chapter, I have endeavoured to speculate on the future of specific Sikh traditions and on the extent to which there might be an increase in the existence of Established Non-Conformity. I have also speculated on the extent to which my respondents might discriminate between their sons and daughters.

I have cautiously suggested that there is likely to be change and continuity in the next generation. If second generation Sikh girls have their own way, changes may occur, to varying degrees, especially with regard to long hair, the bangle, clothing norms, the arranged marriage and social and recreational activities. Indeed, these were areas in which the responses suggested that there would be an increase in the level of Established Non-Conformity. In other words, respondents who said that they were permitted by their parents to abandon these traditions were outnumbered by those who said that they would allow their future offspring to do so. Thus, it is possible to predict, albeit tentatively, that fewer members of the third generation (as compared with my respondents) will be expected, at least by their mothers, to maintain Sikh norms relating to long hair, the bangle, the arranged marriage, clothing norms and social and recreational pursuits. On the other hand, my findings have also suggested that there might be some continuity between the generations, particularly with regard to smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol and speaking Punjabi.

The results of my enquiry on the extent to which my respondents might discriminate between their sons and daughters indicate that, in relation to the variables studied, a majority of my Sikh subjects intended to be even-handed with both genders. However, some girls admitted that they would differentiate between their sons and daughters. Thus, a substantial minority of 25 per cent of my respondents said that they would permit their sons but not their daughters to go to pubs. Furthermore, 20 per cent of the girls I interviewed said that their daughters (but not their sons) would not be allowed to drink alcohol nor would they be permitted to cut their hair. A small minority of 10 per cent and 6 per cent informed me that they would not allow their daughters to go to discos and smoke cigarettes respectively. The opinions expressed by these females can be said to demonstrate their expressed commitment to traditional norms which demand different behavioural patterns from males and females.

In the preceding seven chapters, I have presented my findings on my respondents' religious and other cultural traditions. It is now time to examine their friendship patterns, their perceptions of racial prejudice and discrimination and their self-defined identities.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SOCIAL INTERACTION: FRIENDSHIPS WITH SOUTH ASIAN, INDIGENEOUS AND WEST INDIAN FEMALE PEERS

12.1 INTRODUCTION

In his perspective on assimilation, Gordon put forward the hypothesis that an incoming immigrant group can be said to have attained 'social structural assimilation' when the majority of its members have entered the social cliques, clubs and institutions of the dominant society at the primary group level of relationships (Gordon, 1964). Gordon tested this hypotheses in the United States. He concluded that 'social structural assimilation' on a large scale had not yet occurred and that its opposite - 'social pluralism' was one of the main features of American society.

In Britain, the above hypothesis was tested by Thompson and by Taylor in their examinations of the friendship patterns and peer group relationships of Punjabi males. The results of both enquiries indicated that the vast majority of their respondents were not 'social structurally assimilated' since they tended to interact predominantly with Punjabi and/or other South Asians rather than with native Britons (Thompson, 1970; Taylor, 1976). Similar findings have been reported in subsequent research on second generation South Asians in Britain (for example, Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Singh 1977; C. Ballard, 1979; Kannan, 1978;

Brah, 1979; Kalra, 1980). For instance, Ballard and Ballard have employed the term 'social encapsulation' to characterise their findings that second generation Sikhs in Leeds tended to interact predominantly with other South Asians at the primary group level of relationships. In my own research, I examined the friendship patterns of my respondents and sought confirmation of previous studies.

12.2 GIRLFRIENDS

(a) Single Respondents (97 girls)

In order to examine the friendship patterns of my own respondents, I asked the single girls: "Do you have any

- (a) Sikh girlfriends?
- (b) White girlfriends?
- (c) West Indian girlfriends?
- (d) Pakistani Muslim girlfriends?
- (e) Indian girlfriends who are not Sikh?"

Table 12.1 Girlfriends (Single Respondents)

Response	Sikh %	White %	W.Indian %	Pak.Muslim %	Other Indian %
YES	100	96	69	34	73
NO	0	4	31	66	27
	100	100	100	100	100
N = 97					

As Table 12.1 shows, all my single respondents said that they had Sikh girlfriends. Ninety-six per cent also replied that they had girlfriends from the indigenous population, in contrast to only 4 per cent of the unmarried subjects who reported that they did not have any white girlfriends. Those respondents who said that they did have white girlfriends were then asked: "Do your parents approve of you making friends with white girls?" Seventy-two per cent of these respondents informed me that they thought that their parents had no objections but a further 18 per cent said that their parents did not approve of their friendships with indigenous females. The remaining 10 per cent responded that they did not know whether their parents approved or disapproved of their white girlfriends. Those girls who had told me that they thought that their parents did not approve of their friendships with white females were then asked: "Why do you think your parents don't like you to make friends with white girls?" There were only 17 girls in this category. Their responses to

this question indicated that these respondents thought that their parents believed that indigeneous females were likely to "lead them astray" towards lower standards of morality. For example:

My mum thinks that the English are bad. I think it's because she sees what they do on television and she thinks that's bad ... well, like kissing and doing other things. She says that I shouldn't go out with my friend Diane because she's English. She says that if she finds out that I'm going with her, she will hit me. She doesn't find out because I see my friend at school.

Ever since my big sister ran away from home, they don't like us making friends with English girls. They think that they are a bad influence. They think that I will want to be like the English. They think that I will want to have boyfriends and go out at night. I have English friends but I don't take them home. As soon as my parents find out that I want to go out with an English friend - that's it - they don't allow me out. They think that English girls will spoil me and I will get into trouble. They don't want me to get pregnant. They think that English girls get into trouble and they don't want me to do the same thing.

These Sikh girls appeared to have disregarded their parents' wishes in this respect and, like the vast majority of their single peers in my study, were far from socially isolated from indigeneous females. In contrast to the vast majority of my single respondents, however, 4 per cent of the unmarried girls said that they did not have any white girlfriends. They were asked: "Is there any particular reason why you don't have a white girlfriend? If yes, may I ask what it is?" There were only 3 girls in this category, one of whom replied that she did not have any particular reason for not having a white girlfriend. The other two respondents informed me that they "did not have much in common" with "English" girls and that their parents discouraged

them from making friends with indigeneous females. For instance:

I've never got mixed up with English girls. I'm quite happy to have Indian friends. English girls have different ideas, they like to go to discos, they drink alcohol and they have boyfriends. I don't do any of those things. We have nothing in common. I can talk to my Indian friends about Indian films, clothes, school, people and we gossip.

English girls don't speak our language. Also, my parents have told me that they prefer me to make friends with Indians. They wouldn't be too happy if I had English friends. Why? Because they think that they are a bad influence. My Dad wouldn't allow me to go out or even bring an English friend home. They are scared that I might run away and become like the English.

As indicated in Table 12.1 when my single respondents were asked whether they had West Indian girlfriends, 69 per cent of them answered affirmatively but 31 per cent replied negatively. The latter were then asked: "Is there any particular reason why you do not have a West Indian girlfriend? If yes, may I know what it is?" Fifty-one per cent of the 30 girls in this category informed me that they did not have any particular reason for not having West Indian girlfriends. A further 12 per cent said that they "did not know" any West Indian girls and the remaining 38 per cent told me that they had been discouraged by their parents from making friends with West Indians because they thought that the latter would be a "bad influence". For example:

My Dad doesn't like Jamaicans at all. When I was at primary school I used to have some coloured friends. My Dad said that they were bad company, you know, they get you into trouble. He doesn't want us to mix with Jamaicans because he thinks that they will corrupt us. I stopped being friendly with them after I left primary school.

My parents wouldn't like me to be friends with coloureds. Jamaicans are very wild. They drink and they have parties. The girls get pregnant. My parents think that they will be a bad influence. We don't have much in common with coloureds.

Unlike these members of the second generation, however, 69 per cent of my single respondents said that they did have West Indian girlfriends. I asked them: "Do your parents approve of you making friends with West Indian girls?" Twenty-eight per cent replied in the affirmative, a further 24 per cent said that they "did not know" whilst 48 per cent said that their parents did not approve of them making friends with West Indians. Over half the girls in this sub-category added spontaneously that they maintained such relationships covertly. For example:

My parents don't know about my West Indian friends. I think that if they knew, they wouldn't like it. Why? Oh, because they have got these funny ideas about West Indians. They think that they will corrupt me - about boyfriends and going out a lot. Obviously I know that this is completely wrong. They would argue with me if I told them that I had West Indian friends.

My parents would rather I have Indian friends. I think that if I made friends with coloureds or Pakis, my Dad would get very worried. My Dad, he is a businessman. A lot of his customers are coloured. It's partly that he considers West Indians to be lower than us. If I wanted to bring a West Indian girlfriend home, he would want to know about her family - what her Dad does etc. It can influence him. Whereas, if it is a Sikh girl, even if she lived in the most decrepid area, he wouldn't mind. I have coloured friends but I don't tell my parents.

Thus, 69 per cent of my single respondents said that they did have West Indian girlfriends but 23 per cent of these respondents also

said that they did so covertly since they thought that their parents would not have approved of their making friends with girls of Afro-Caribbean origin. In contrast 31 per cent of the unmarried girls I interviewed said that they did not have any friends from this ethnic background and 38 per cent of these respondents also informed me that their parents had discouraged them from making friends with girls of West Indian origin.

As Table 12.1 shows, when all my single respondents were asked whether they had any Pakistani (Muslim) girlfriends, only 34 per cent of them replied in the affirmative whilst 66 per cent said that they did not have such a friend. The latter were then asked: "Is there any particular reason why you don't have a Pakistani Muslim friend? If yes, may I ask what it is?" Thirty-one per cent (of 66 per cent) simply stated that their parents did not permit them to make friends with Pakistani Muslims. For example:

My Dad, he doesn't like Pakis. I don't know why. He says that you can't trust them.

My Mum and Dad like my Indian friends but I doubt if my Dad would allow a Paki in the house. He wouldn't allow them into the house. He wouldn't mind English friends coming but not Pakis.

A further 30 per cent (of 66 per cent) said that they did not have Pakistani Muslim friends because of parental disapproval and also because of the lasting effects of historical antagonisms between Muslims and Sikhs. For example:

My parents are not too keen on Pakistanis. It goes back to the old days. Muslims and Sikhs used to be enemies. I've often said that it doesn't matter nowadays whether you are Gujerati, Paki or whatever. You are a human being. One day, I had a discussion with my Dad. He said "Pakistanis are different". My children will be able to make friends with Pakistanis and bring them home.

Well, with Muslims we don't mix at all. We just avoid them because Sikhs and Muslims don't agree. It goes back to our parents' time and maybe before. So we don't really have a chance to make friends. Our parents would not allow us to be friends with Muslims.

A further 23 per cent (of 66 per cent) placed the blame firmly on Pakistani Muslims themselves. According to these girls, Pakistanis did not wish to make friends with Sikhs and were, moreover, critical of the Sikh religion:

I would like to make friends but they don't want to make friends with us. They say, "they are Indian", or "they are Sikhs". I don't agree with this because we are the same colour, the same type of people, we are all Asians. They put you down. They criticise our religion and they start arguments.

I would like to be more friendly with Muslims. I think that when they start talking about religion, that's when we argue. The Muslims say that it was the Sikhs who started trouble in the old days. So, the arguments start. If a Muslim boy wants to go out with an Indian girl, the Indian boys get really angry because if an Indian boy even looked at a Pakistani girl (not that they do!) they start acting really protective.

Finally, 16 per cent (of 66 per cent) said that they did not have any particular reason for not having a Pakistani Muslim girlfriend.

Unlike the above respondents, however, 34 per cent of all my single respondents said that they did have girlfriends of Pakistani Muslim origin. They were asked: "Do your parents approve of you making friends with Pakistani Muslim girls?" Twenty-six per cent of these respondents said that their parents did approve, a further 15 per cent were unsure about their parents' attitudes but 59 per cent replied that their parents did not approve of such friendships. Despite parental objections, however, 75 per cent (of 59 per cent) said that they did not try to "hide" such relationships from their parents. The remaining 25 per cent (of 59 per cent) however, said that they maintained such friendships covertly due to parental disapproval.

Thus, 34 per cent of my unmarried respondents said that they did have Pakistani Muslim girlfriends but 59 per cent of these females also informed me that they maintained them despite parental disapproval. In contrast, 66 per cent of my unmarried respondents said that they did not have any girlfriends of Pakistani Muslim origin. The majority of these respondents cited parental objections and historical antagonism between Muslims and Sikhs as the main factors which were responsible for this state of affairs.

My single respondents were also asked: "Do you have any Indian girlfriends who are not Sikhs?" As Table 12.1 shows, 73 per cent replied "yes" whilst 27 per cent said that they did not have such friends. The former were then asked: "Do your parents approve of you making friends with Indian girls who are not Sikhs?" Ninety-two per cent responded that their parents did approve but the

remaining 8 per cent were unable to answer this question. Those respondents who had informed me that they did not have any non-Sikh Indian friends were then asked: "Is there any particular reason why you don't have a non-Sikh Indian girlfriend?" If yes, may I ask what it is?" Sixty per cent (of 27 per cent) said that they did not have any particular reason for not having such a friend, a further 30 per cent said that they "did not know any non-Sikh Indians" and the remaining 10 per cent replied that they "did not know" why they did not have such a friend.

To summarise, whilst all my single respondents said that they had Sikh girlfriends 96 per cent of them also said that they had made friends with indigenous females. In addition, 69 per cent of my unmarried respondents informed me that they did have West Indian girlfriends. Furthermore, 73 per cent of the single girls in my study said that they were friendly with non-Sikh Indian females. In contrast, only 34 per cent of my single respondents said that they had girlfriends of Pakistani Muslim origin.

The above findings would suggest that these members of the second generation were far from 'socially encapsulated' since most of them said that they were friendly with non-Sikhs. It would appear, however, that my respondents were least likely to make friends with Pakistani Muslim girls and the reasons which they gave for not having such friends would suggest that feelings of antipathy towards Muslims had been transmitted from the first generation to these members of the second generation.

(b) Married Respondents (5 females)

I asked my married respondents: "Do you have any:

- (a) Sikh girlfriends?
- (b) White girlfriends?
- (c) West Indian girlfriends?
- (d) Pakistani Muslim girlfriends?
- (e) Indian girlfriends who are not Sikhs?"

Table 12.2 Girlfriends (Married Respondents)

Response	Sikh %	White %	W.Indian %	Pak.Muslim %	O. Indian %
YES	100	80	60	20	80
NO	0	20	40	80	20
	N = 5				

As Table 12.2 indicates, all the married females said that they had Sikh girlfriends. Furthermore, 80 per cent of these respondents informed me that they had "English" girlfriends. I then asked them: "Does your husband approve of you making friends with white girls?" All four females answered in the affirmative. Only one of my married respondents said that she did not have any white girlfriends. She was asked: "Is there any particular reason why you don't have a white girlfriend? If yes, may I ask what it

is?" In reply, she said that she did not have the opportunity to make friends with indigenous females because she was housebound.

As indicated in Table 12.2 60 per cent of my married respondents told me that they had West Indian girlfriends. I asked them: "Does your husband approve?" All three females said that their husbands did not object. In contrast, 40 per cent of my married females said that they did not have West Indian girlfriends. I asked both respondents: "Is there any particular reason why you don't have a West Indian girlfriend? If yes, may I ask what it is?" One of the respondents said that she did not have much in common with "coloureds" and that, moreover, she would not have been allowed by her husband, her parents and her in-laws to become friendly with Afro-Caribbeans. The other respondent was unable to answer the question.

When my married respondents were asked whether they had Pakistani Muslim girlfriends, only one of them answered in the affirmative. I asked this girl: "Does your husband approve?" She replied that her husband "was not too happy" but that he did not try to prevent her from maintaining her friendship with the Pakistani girl in question. Four of my married respondents, however, said that they did not have girlfriends of Pakistani Muslim origin. I then asked them: "Is there any particular reason why you don't have a Pakistani Muslim girlfriend. If yes, may I ask what it is?" Their replies were very similar to those given by my single respondents. They responded that Muslims and Sikhs "did not get on well" and that they were "old enemies". In addition, they said

that neither their parents nor their parents-in-law would approve of any friendship with a Muslim.

This rejection of Pakistani Muslims did not appear to apply to non-Sikh Indians. When they were asked: "Do you have any Indian girlfriends who are not Sikhs?" Four out of five of my married respondents said that they did have a non-Sikh Indian girlfriend. I asked these females: "Does your husband approve?" All four replied that their husbands had no objections to such friendships. Only one of my married subjects said that she did not have a non-Sikh girlfriend. When I asked her: "Is there any particular reason why you don't have an Indian girlfriend who is not a Sikh?" she said that she did not have any particular reason.

To summarise, it would appear that my married subjects were far from 'socially encapsulated' since most of them said that they had white, West Indian and non-Sikh Indian girlfriends. They were therefore similar to their single peers in my study. Once again, my findings revealed that Pakistani Muslims fared less favourably than white, West Indian and (other) Indian females.

12.3 BEST GIRLFRIENDS

In order to examine whether my respondents were 'socially encapsulated' with respect to their 'best' girlfriends, I asked them: "Do you have any best girlfriend(s)?" Ninety-six per cent of all my respondents admitted to having (a) best girlfriend(s)

but 4 per cent replied in the negative. The former were then asked: "Is she/are they Sikh/s, white, West Indian/s or what?"

Table 12.3 Best Girlfriends (Married and Single Respondents).

Composition	%	%
Sikhs only	10)	43% Asians only
Sikhs and other Indians*	25)	
Sikhs, other Indians and Pak.Muslims	8)	
Sikhs, other Indians and white girls*	22)	41% Asians and Non-Asians
Sikhs, white girls and West Indians	12)	
Sikhs, white girls, other Indians and Pak. Muslims	7)	
Indigeneous females only	10)	16% Non-Asians only
West Indians only	6)	
N = 98	100	

* excludes Pakistani Muslims

As indicated in Table 12.3 above, only 10 per cent of my respondents informed me that their 'best' girlfriends were fellow Sikhs. A further 25 per cent of my subjects said that they had Sikh and 'other' Indian best friends and another 8 per cent told me that their 'best' friends were of Sikh, 'other' Indian and Pakistani Muslim origin. Thus, a total of 43 per cent of my respondents said that all their 'best' girlfriends were of South Asian origin. However, only a small proportion of these girls said that their 'best' girlfriends were of Pakistani origin.

In contrast to the above 43 per cent, however, a further 41 per cent of my married and single respondents said that they had Asian and non-Asian 'best' friends. Once more, however, only a small proportion of these girls said that they had a Muslim as a 'best' girlfriend. The remaining 16 per cent of my subjects told me that they only had non-Asian 'best' friends, that is, their friends were either West Indians or indigeneous females.

My findings on the ethnic composition of my respondents' 'best' girlfriends would suggest that 43 per cent of these members of the second generation were 'socially encapsulated' to the extent that their 'best' girlfriends were drawn from the South Asian population. These females therefore differed from the remaining 57 per cent of my subjects who were far from 'socially encapsulated' since they did not tend to interact exclusively with other Sikhs and South Asians.

12.4 A SUMMARY OF CHAPTER TWELVE

In this chapter, I have examined the friendship patterns of my respondents in order to examine whether these members of the second generation were 'socially encapsulated' at the primary group level of relationships. My findings would suggest that this expectation was not entirely met especially with respect to their 'ordinary' friendships since a substantial majority of my subjects said that they mixed with Sikhs and 'other' Indians as well as with indigeneous and West Indian females. Pakistani Muslims were the exception, however, as the majority of my respondents informed

me that they tended not to befriend them.

The results of my enquiry on the ethnic composition of my respondents' 'best' girlfriends, however, were not as clear-cut as my findings on their 'ordinary' friendships. This was because although most girls, i.e. 57 per cent of my subjects said that they did have non-Asians as 'best' friends, 43 per cent admitted to having only Asians as 'best' friends. Thus, the latter - a substantial minority - can be described as being 'socially encapsulated' in this particular respect. These findings do not entirely confirm those of other research studies on second generation South Asians (e.g. Thompson, 1970; Taylor, 1976; Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Brah, 1979; Kalra, 1980). Whilst these scholars reported that most of their subjects tended to interact exclusively with other Asians, my own findings indicate that most of the Sikh girls whom I interviewed were far from 'encapsulated' in their friendships with other girls.

My enquiry on their friendship patterns also reveal that the majority of my respondents held negative attitudes towards Pakistani Muslims. Despite their shared Asian ancestry, Pakistani Muslims were perceived by the majority of my subjects as members of an 'out-group' with whom Sikhs did not make friends. This finding is of special interest for two reasons. First, because it suggests that perceptions of historical antagonism between Muslims and Sikhs have been successfully transmitted to these members of the second generation and second, because such a finding has not,

to my knowledge, been reported in other studies on young Asians in Britain. Having examined my respondents' friendship patterns, I now turn to an examination of their perceptions of racial prejudice and discrimination.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

In this chapter, I examine my respondents' perceptions of racial prejudice and discrimination, firstly, in relation to members of the New Commonwealth population in general and, secondly, with regard to their own personal experience.

All 102 respondents were asked: "Do you think that most white people want non-white people (i.e. Asians and West Indians) to live in this country?" Only 19 per cent of my subjects responded in the affirmative whilst a further 73 per cent replied that, in their opinion, most white natives did not "really want" Asians and West Indians to live in Britain. The remaining 8 per cent were unable to offer an opinion. The majority who had answered my question negatively were then asked: "Why do you think that most white people do not want non-white people to live here?" Forty-five per cent (of 73 per cent) referred exclusively to colour prejudice:

It's because of the colour thing. They don't like coloured people.

They are colour prejudiced. They are not happy that we are living in this country. It's colour. That's it.

There's a lot of prejudice because they don't like coloured people. I don't like all this prejudice.

A further 30 per cent (of 73 per cent) also referred to colour prejudice but unlike their peers above, they endeavoured to explain such prejudice in terms of Britain's imperial past.

Most white people, well, they think that we are inferior. They look down on coloured people including Indians. They think that they are superior because they ruled in India. When they were in India they had everything - servants and lots of riches. That's why they think that we are lower than them.

They (the English) don't really want us here. They would prefer to send us all back. They are very prejudiced. They think that they are superior - sort of - that coloured people are not as intelligent and advanced. That's because of history. You know, when they had the Empire they were the bosses in India, Africa and the West Indies - nearly the whole world. This makes them feel superior to us, very, very proud.

They think that we are backward. They laugh at our customs - like they say that the arranged marriage is stupid. They don't respect us. They are colour prejudiced because they think that Indians, Jamaicans and Africans are backward. Like when they sing 'Rule Britannia', you know that they are saying that "we ruled the world, we are the best".

A further 15 per cent (of 73 per cent) thought that most white natives were opposed to the presence of "immigrants" because the latter "took their jobs." The remaining 10 per cent (of 73 per cent) said that they thought that although most "English people did not "really want" Asians and West Indians to live in this country due to racial prejudice, they were prepared to allow them in, provided that they were only employed in positions which white natives deemed unsuitable for themselves. For instance:

Most English people only tolerate our presence. They don't want us to stay forever, they will send us back one day. They don't want us to do well. They think that we should only do the dirty jobs in factories - jobs which they don't want to do. They are very prejudiced. They don't think we are equal.

It's because of colour. I think that most white people don't really want us to stay here. But they allow us to remain because they don't want to do the bad jobs. They think that we have to be lower than them and that we must do the dirty jobs. I think that they don't like it when Indians do well. We have good Indian students in this school and the white people get jealous. They don't want us to become doctors and dentists and other good jobs. They will send us back if we start to take the good jobs.

The above responses indicate that the majority of my respondents believed that most members of the indigeneous population were racially prejudiced and that they did not totally approve of the presence of New Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants in Britain. In contrast to these girls, however, 19 per cent of my respondents informed me that they thought most white people did want non-white people to live in this country. They were then asked: "Do you think that white people are quite happy about this?" Although 78 per cent of them responded affirmatively, 22 per cent were prepared to admit that, in their opinion, white natives might have reservations with regard to the "immigrant" presence. When asked to be more explicit, the four girls in this sub-category responded that the "English" did not want "too many immigrants" because of unemployment. Two of the girls also thought that most white natives were colour prejudiced and were consequently not "too happy" that "more and more immigrants" were entering the country.

All 102 respondents were also asked: "Do you think that most white people like or dislike non-white people in this country?" In response, 51 per cent of these members of the second generation said that most white members of society disliked "immigrants" but 17 per cent thought that they did like non-white people. A further 21 per cent of my respondents tried to discriminate by replying that "some English like us and some don't like us". The remaining 12 per cent were unable to offer an opinion.

Those respondents who thought that white natives disliked "immigrants" were asked: "Are there any exceptions?" All 52 girls admitted that there were exceptions and 80 per cent of them cited their own indigenous friends as examples. The other 20 per cent referred to their own friends as well as to their teachers, some of their neighbours and their parents' "English" friends. Furthermore, 65 per cent of the 52 girls mentioned the National Front spontaneously and, moreover, emphasised that their own white friends did not support it. The following quotations illustrate some of the views of these girls:

I think that most white people don't like coloured immigrants, including Indians. But these days they don't show their feelings, openly. But you do get some people calling you stupid names - like 'Paki' and that. I think it's because their parents tell them that we don't belong here. Are there any exceptions? Yes, obviously there are some. I have friends who are dead against the National Front. My English friends accept me because we have grown up together.

My own English friends are the exception. Also, there are some nice teachers and some of our neighbours are friendly. But mostly, I think that white people don't like coloured immigrants. They think that we are inferior. Lots of them support the National Front. But my friends don't like the National Front - so not everyone is the same.

The minority (i.e. 17 per cent of 102 respondents) who thought that most white members of society did like non-white people were asked: "Are there are exceptions?" Fifty-nine per cent of these females replied negatively and informed me that, in their opinion, there was no racial prejudice. For example:

I don't believe there is colour prejudice. I haven't had any experiences of it. You know, I find that people say: "Oh, they call me Paki" - but, nobody has ever called me anything. I've never found prejudice. I think it depends on how you treat other people. I treat everyone equal, so they treat me the same.

There isn't discrimination. I don't think there is any. If you are friendly with white people they will also be friendly with you. There's this Jamaican girl, I'm sure that she has a complex. She says "every time I go near an English person, I think they don't like me". I told her that she's got a complex.

Thirty per cent (of 17 per cent), however, admitted that there were some exceptions. When asked to elaborate, 3 out of the 5 girls in this sub-category cited male peers and neighbours. The remaining 2 referred to the National Front.

In order to examine whether the girls in my study thought that indigenous members of society differentiated between Sikhs and other South Asians in Britain, they were asked: "Do you think that white people like Sikhs better, the same or less than other

Asians?" None of my respondents thought that white natives preferred Sikhs to other Asians. Seventy-eight per cent of them replied that they did not know whether white people distinguished between Sikhs and other Asians. The final 28 per cent of my respondents thought that the "English did not know the difference" between Sikhs and other people of Asian origin.

In order to examine whether my respondents perceived that indigenous members of society differentiated between Asians and West Indians, I asked them: "Do you think that white people prefer Asians to West Indians?" Sixty-nine per cent of my respondents replied negatively but a further 25 per cent said that they thought that white people did prefer Asians to West Indians. The remaining 6 per cent of my respondents were unable to offer an opinion. The majority who had answered my question negatively were then asked: "Why do you not think that white people prefer Asians?" Sixty-four per cent (of 69 per cent) responded that, in their opinion, most white natives treated West Indians and Asians equally:

There's no difference. White people don't make a difference because of the colour. The colour is the same so they don't really treat Jamaicans and Asian differently.

They don't prefer Asians. What I mean is, they don't make a difference. They treat people the same. They look at the colour and they see that it's not white.

Whilst these girls thought that white natives did not differentiate between Afro-Caribbeans and Asians, another 36 per

cent (of 69 per cent) declared that, in their opinion, the "English" preferred West Indians to Asians. When asked to elaborate, 50 per cent of the 26 females in this sub-category replied that West Indians were preferred by the "English" because unlike Asians, they "mixed-in" with white natives and were, moreover, culturally similar to them. A further 31 per cent also expressed this view but, in addition, thought that members of the indigenous population tended to favour West Indians because, unlike the Asians, they did not have their own businesses. According to these girls, white natives were "jealous" of the Asians' success in this area and consequently preferred West Indians who tended not to do as well in the business world. The remaining 19 per cent of the 26 girls in this sub-category were unable to explain why they thought that white people preferred West Indians to Asians.

Unlike the above respondents, 25 per cent of the 102 girls in my study said that they believed that white natives preferred Asians to West Indians. When asked for their reasons for their opinions, 80 per cent of them replied that Asians were preferred because they were "hardworking", "not lazy like coloureds" and because they ran their own businesses. The remaining 20 per cent thought that West Indians were less favoured by white people because they were "noisy" and "wild" - characteristics which contrasted with the good behaviour of Asians.

When the above findings are reordered they reveal that 43 per cent of my 102 respondents did not think that white natives differentiated between West Indians and Asians. In contrast, a further 25 per cent of my subjects thought that the "English" preferred the Asians whilst another 26 per cent believed that West Indians were more acceptable to the "English" than people of Asian origin. The remaining 6 per cent of my respondents did not express an opinion.

In order to ascertain whether my respondents were aware of the existence of racial discrimination in relation to employment, they were asked: "Do you think that Asians in this country have the same chances of getting jobs as white people with the same qualifications?" Eighty per cent of my 102 respondents replied negatively whilst only 14 per cent replied positively. The rest were unable to answer my question. The vast majority who had responded negatively were then asked: "Why do you think that they don't have the same chance?" Sixty per cent (of 80 per cent) referred exclusively to racial discrimination:

There's a lot of discrimination. They don't usually give an Indian first chance because they want to give the job to their own.

I think that a white person is bound to get the job because they don't think that this is our country. They don't like to give the job to an Indian because English people might get angry.

Racial discrimination - pure and simple. If a white person goes for a job and an Asian person also goes for the same job it's a safe bet that the English will get it.

A further 31 per cent also cited racial discrimination but, in addition, endeavoured to link it with unemployment:

I think that it is more difficult for an Asian to get work because there is a lot of unemployment and it's going to get worse. When there's unemployment, the English are going to give the jobs to their own kind. They won't give an Indian work. It's discrimination but you can't stop it.

The remaining 9 per cent (of the 80 per cent) informed me that they thought that Asians had to have better qualifications than white natives in order to compete for employment due to racial discrimination. These girls also believed that Asians had fewer chances of obtaining "good jobs" despite their educational qualifications because indigenous members of society expected Asians and other non-white people to undertake menial and "dirty work". For example:

I think that it's more difficult for an Indian than an English person because there's discrimination. If an Indian wants to get a good job then he must have very good qualifications than a white person for the same job. If it's a dirty job then he doesn't have to have qualifications because English people expect Indians to do worse jobs.

In contrast to the vast majority of my respondents who believed that Asians did not have the same chances as white natives in finding employment, a minority of 14 per cent declared that they did have the same chances. I asked these girls: "Why do you think this?" Ninety per cent of them replied that jobs were scarce and that, moreover, they did not think that there was any

racial discrimination in England:

I think it's the same. Why? Because jobs are hard to find. It's difficult for everyone. I don't believe there is discrimination.

The remaining 10 per cent of this minority were unable to explain their view that native Britons and Asians had the same chances with regard to employment.

Having examined my respondents' perceptions of racial prejudice and discrimination in relation to non-white people in general, I now turn to their own personal experiences. All 102 respondents were asked: "Have you ever had any unpleasant experiences with white people?"

Eighty-six per cent of my subjects replied affirmatively whilst only 10 per cent denied that they had ever had any experiences which were unpleasant. A very small minority of 4 per cent were unable to answer my question. The vast majority who had responded in the affirmative were then asked: "Could you tell me what happened?"

Their responses to this open-ended question indicate that all these respondents had, at some stage in their lives, been subjected to verbal harassment from some members of the white majority. This included "name-calling", for example, "Paki", "Black Bastard", "Nig-Nog" and "Asian swine". Verbal abuse also consisted of taunts such as "why don't you go back to your own

country, Paki?" and "get out of this country Paki scum/bastard". Furthermore, 35 per cent (of the 86 per cent) informed me that they had been "teased" by some white natives when they dressed in the Salwar Kameeze (traditional dress). A further 40 per cent (of 86 per cent) stated that the "English" sometimes criticised their parental culture, particularly the arranged marriage, whilst another 15 per cent of these females told me that some white natives had "made fun" of Indian cuisine. A small minority of 4 per cent informed me that some of their teachers did not appear to like Indians and these respondents complained that their teachers did not give them much encouragement. Finally, only one of my respondents told me that she had been a victim of a racial attack in which she had been assaulted by a gang of white girls whilst waiting for a bus. The quotes which follow represent some of the answers which were given to me by 86 per cent of my respondents:

When we first started school it was really bad. People called us horrible names and that because we looked and dressed different. Nowadays, they still call us names like "Paki" and "curry".

Some white people are very rude. They say stupid things like: "Have you seen chips?" and "Why don't you go back to your country Paki?" They call us bad names like "Paki bastard and scum".

There's a lot of prejudice. They laugh at our culture and at our temples. Some white people say that the arranged marriage is stupid. They think that our food smells too much. They say things like: "Smelly curry". I've heard some people call me terrible names. They use swear words. For example, "Paki bitch, Paki bastard, Nignog swine".

Yes, I've had some unpleasant experiences, not too many though. Mostly, it's when some English people call you stupid names - "Paki". I've been asked why I'm in this country. I've told them that I was born here and they get surprised. They think that we should not live here. Some Indians have been beaten up by the National Front but I've been lucky - I've not been attacked.

Yes, I've had a bad experience. These white girls, they beat me up. It wasn't far from my house. I was waiting for the bus. I saw a gang of girls coming towards me. I thought that they were going to wait for the bus. All of a sudden, they all stood round me and began to push me and call me a "Paki". They asked me why I didn't go back to my own country? Two of the girls had a clothes hanger - it was one of those wire ones, quite sharp. They began to hit me with this wire - on my head. I tried to protect myself by putting my arms over my head. I was scared. The other two girls kicked my legs and I tried to kick them too. I think that I was lucky because the bus arrived and they ran off. (Did you go to the Police?) No, I went home and my Mum put some medicine on my cuts. (Why didn't you go to the Police?) I didn't know the girls, I didn't know where they lived.

The above findings reveal that the vast majority of my respondents had experienced some hostility from the indigenous population. The majority, however, had been mainly exposed to verbal harassment and only one of my respondents reported that she had been physically assaulted due to her racial origins. It is interesting to note that my respondents did not tend to refer to discrimination relating to employment. This is probably due to the fact that 65 per cent of them were still in full-time education and had consequently not commenced their search for work. I now turn my attention to this particular area of racial discrimination.

Twenty-four females in my study were employed and another 3 were seeking work when the interviews were conducted. I asked these girls: "Have you ever been discriminated against when looking for a job because of your Asian origins?" Only 10 per cent of these respondents replied that they had not experienced any discrimination when seeking employment. Whilst 26 per cent were unable to answer my question, 64 per cent of the 27 females informed me that although they thought that they had been the victims of discrimination, they were not "too sure" because it was not easy to prove that discrimination had taken place. For example:

Yes, I think that it has happened to me but I'm not sure, not absolutely certain. Like when you go for a job. You know, when I telephone, they can't tell from my voice that I'm Indian. But, when I give them my name, they say "Oh" and you feel that they don't want an Indian. I think they prefer to give the job to one of their own. But you can never be sure. Sometimes when they are nice with you and then you don't get the job, you don't know for sure whether it's because you are Indian.

Yes, I think so. But it's difficult to prove, to be sure. I have good qualifications - better than my English friends. But they all got jobs before me. It took me much longer. But you can't prove that it's because I'm Indian.

I asked the 66 females who were still in full-time education: "Do you think that you will face discrimination when you start to look for work?" Only 8 per cent of these respondents said that they did not anticipate discrimination whilst 48 per cent informed me that they did expect to face racial discrimination. The remaining 46 per cent felt unable to express an opinion.

My findings on my respondents' personal experiences indicate that the vast majority had been subjected to some white hostility - albeit of a verbal nature. Since most of my respondents were still in full-time education they had not yet experienced the effects of racial discrimination in relation to employment. Nevertheless, nearly half those in full-time education said that they expected to face racial discrimination in their future working lives. Moreover, most of their working peers in my study suspected that they had been discriminated against but were unable to provide evidence to prove their suspicions.

My final question in this chapter relates to my respondents' perceptions of future relationships between indigenous Britons and people of Asian origin. All 102 respondents were asked: "Do you think that in the future when your own children are growing up, white people and Asians will get on better or worse, or will things remain the same?" Fifty-six per cent of these members of the second generation thought that the relationship with the "English" would improve but 22 per cent believed that the relationship would worsen. A further 15 per cent said that it would remain the same and the remaining minority of 7 per cent were unable to express an opinion.

Girls who were optimistic were asked: "Why do you think that things will get better?" Their responses revealed that 61 per cent of the 57 females in this category thought that the relationship between white natives and Asians would improve

because members of the next generation would become more Anglicized - i.e. "more English". A further 26 per cent of the 57 girls thought that the relationship would improve because future generations of indigenous Britons would become accustomed to the presence of Asian people. The remaining 13 per cent were unable to explain why they thought that "things would improve".

Unlike the above females, 22 per cent of my Sikh respondents were pessimistic in that they thought that the relationship between white people and Asians would worsen. They were asked: "Why do you think that things will get worse?" All 23 females replied that they thought that the scarcity of jobs would increase white hostility towards Asians. Furthermore, 40 per cent of them informed me that the situation would worsen if "too many immigrants kept on coming into the country".

In contrast to these respondents, 15 per cent of their peers in my study informed me that the relationship between members of the indigenous population and Asians would "remain the same". When asked to elaborate, 73 per cent of the 15 females in this category said that they thought that most members of the indigenous population would continue to be colour prejudiced. The rest of the girls in this category were unable to explain why they thought that "things would remain the same".

In this chapter I have examined my respondents' perceptions of racial prejudice and discrimination, first, in relation to the

New Commonwealth population in general and, second, with regard to their own experience.

My findings reveal that although most of the Sikh girls were willing to admit that there were exceptions amongst the white population, the majority perceived that most white people were racially prejudiced. In addition, the majority of these members of the second generation thought that most white natives did not welcome the presence of Asians and West Indians in Britain. Furthermore, the results of my enquiry indicate that the vast majority of my respondents believed that Asians in general faced racial discrimination in their search for employment.

When they were questioned about their own personal experiences, the responses of my respondents reveal that the vast majority of them had been exposed to white hostility - albeit (mostly) of a verbal nature. Since most of my subjects were still studying at the time of the interviews, personal experience of discrimination with regard to employment was not referred to by these respondents. However, nearly half of the girls in full-time education said that they expected to face such discrimination in their future working lives. Moreover, my findings indicate that most of my working respondents did suspect that they had been discriminated against when seeking employment. Although the majority of my Sikh respondents revealed an awareness of racial prejudice and discrimination, over half of them were nevertheless, prepared to be optimistic with regard to the future relationship between white members of

society and people of Asian origin in Britain.

In their study of Sikhs in Leeds, Ballard and Ballard asserted that the experience of racial prejudice and discrimination had encouraged their respondents to maintain their parental culture and a distinctive ethnic identity (Ballard and Ballard, 1977, pp 46-47). In the following chapter I examine my respondents' identities (as defined by themselves) and I also explore the extent to which their identities seem to have been affected by their perceptions of racial prejudice and discrimination.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

ASPECTS OF IDENTITY

In this penultimate chapter, I examine my respondents' self-defined identities and explore the extent to which they believed that the indigeneous members of British society accepted or rejected them as being English.

All my respondents were asked: "Do you think that most white people consider you to be English?" Seventy-nine per cent of my 102 respondents replied that they did not think that most white natives accepted them as English whilst a further 15 per cent said that they thought that "some did and some did not". The remaining 6 per cent of my respondents were unable to offer an opinion.

Those respondents who had replied negatively were then asked: "Why do you think that they don't accept you as being English?" Sixty per cent (of 79 per cent) responded that such non-acceptance was due to their skin colour:

It's because the colour is there. I'm not white.

I think that most white people don't accept us, Indians. They think we can't be English. It's the colour.

I can't be English because I'm not white. I'm Indian.

A further 30 per cent (of 79 per cent) also believed that their 'colour' was to blame for their non-acceptance by the white majority but, in addition, they thought that their religion and culture were factors which also encouraged such rejection:

I don't think that white people accept us as English. It's because we have a different culture and then, there's our religion. But I also think that it's because of colour - I'm not white, am I?

Partly it's due to our background. You know, we are very different - our culture and our traditions are not the same. We have the arranged marriage. We have our temples.

White girls have a lot of freedom which we don't have. But I think that even if we gave up our traditions and became like the English, they wouldn't accept us as English. (Why?) Oh, because of the colour. I don't think that English people will accept Indians, even when we are born here.

The final 10 per cent (of 79 per cent) were unable to explain why they thought that most white members of society did not consider them to be English.

In contrast to the above 79 per cent of my respondents, 15 per cent of my subjects said that they thought that "some white people did accept them (as English) and some did not do so". When asked to be more explicit, 75 per cent of the 16 females in this category responded that they thought that although white people, in general, did not consider them to be English, their own indigenous friends did accept them (as English):

I'm regarded as being English by my English friends. For example, when I'm with them, I talk in English, eat English food and dress in English clothes. They don't look out and point out to me that I have a different skin. They think I'm English. I was born here. But I don't think that all white people accept me. Some don't obviously.

The remaining 25 per cent (of 16 girls) said that, in their opinion, "most old English people" were more likely than "most young people" to reject Indians:

My friends accept me as English. It's because we have grown up together, since primary school. I think that young English people accept us more than the older English.

These findings indicate that the vast majority of my respondents perceived that most indigenous members of society tended to view them as outsiders and, thus, denied them an English identity. Having examined my respondents' perceptions of an externally defined identity (that is, one which was defined for them by white natives) I now turn my attention to an examination of their own self-defined identities.

In order to examine whether their experience of growing up in England had encouraged my respondents to subscribe towards an English identity, I asked each girl: "Do you ever think of yourself as being English?"

Table 14.1 An English Identity (all respondents)

Response	%
Yes	20
No	76
Don't Know	4
N = 102	100

As Table 14.1 shows, 76 per cent of the Sikh girls in my study replied that they did not consider themselves English but a further 20 per cent said that they sometimes considered themselves to be English. A very small minority of 4 per cent of my subjects were unable to answer my question.

The majority who had informed me that they did not consider themselves English were then asked: "Do you have any particular reason for not thinking of yourself as being English? If yes, may I ask what it is?" All 78 respondents said that they did have their reasons for not wishing to describe themselves as English. Their responses revealed that 52 per cent of them considered themselves to be Indian rather than English because they had been born in India and had a distinctive culture and language. In addition, all the respondents in this sub-category stated that the colour of their skins served to distinguish them from members of the indigeneous (white) population. According to these

respondents, most white natives did not consider them to be English because of their skin colour and Indian ancestry. The following quotations illustrate some of the answers given by these subjects:

I'm Indian, I can't be English. I was born in India although I've lived in England all my life. But this doesn't make me English. I'm Indian because the blood is there, the culture is there and the colour is there. Even when children are born here, the white people will never accept us as English because the colour is still there. I read a report once which was about an Indian doctor who was born and educated in this country. He was scrubbing his hands before an operation. And one of the white doctors said to him: "Why are you washing your hands so hard? Are you trying to remove your colour? We know you are Indian, you will always be Indian to us." You read things like that and it does affect you.

India is my country, I was born there. I'm an Indian not English. We have our religion and our language. I mean, we speak two languages - English and Punjabi. My Mum and Dad are Indian and also all my other relatives. Even if we wanted to call ourselves English, white people would not want us to do that. Because we are not the same colour and because our families are from India.

A further 30 per cent of the 78 girls felt unable to subscribe towards an English identity despite the fact that they were born in England because of their Indian ancestry and also because they believed that their own lifestyles and cultural traditions were very different from those of their English i.e. white peers. In addition, all the girls in this sub-category thought that most white natives did not accept them as English. For example:

No, I'm not English although I was born here. Most English girls go out with boys, they wear make-up. We don't do half the things they do. I'm Indian. My Mum and Dad are Indian. We go to Sikh functions. We speak another language besides English. We have different customs. We have the arranged marriages. We have different food, different way of living. If you speak to other Indian girls, they say that we are Indian and you can't say you are English because they would argue it out. Even if we accepted ourselves as English I don't think that the English would accept us. I'll stick to Indian. The white people call us horrible names, the Indians don't call people of their own colour names. Even though we live in England, we don't see it as our real home. India is our country.

A further 12 per cent (of 78 respondents) told me that even though they had some English cultural traits they nevertheless did not "feel English":

I've got some English things like the dress, the language and I do go out. But I don't feel English. I feel Indian. Then they say, "you are English, you were born here". But I say, "that don't make me English".

You know in your heart that you are not English. Even if you are born here and you dress up as English - in skirts - you know you are Indian. Attitudes, I suppose, that's the main thing. Most of my attitudes are not completely English, the way I live is not really English.

I think that I act English, but I don't feel myself being English. I might act English on the outside but inside me I feel Indian.

Finally, the remaining 4 per cent (of 78 respondents) informed me that they did not consider themselves to be English because quite simply they thought that "to be Indian was the best".

These findings suggest that the vast majority of the above 78 respondents were not prepared to claim an English identity not only because of their Indian ancestry and distinctive cultural traditions but also because they perceived that members of the indigenous population did not tend to confer such an identity on them.

As Table 14.1 indicates, whilst 76 per cent of my respondents did not feel that they had an English identity, a further 20 per cent did consider themselves English. I asked these girls: "In what ways do you think of yourself as being English?" In answering this question, all 20 respondents spontaneously qualified their responses by saying that they tended to think of themselves "as Indian and English". Fifty-five per cent of these respondents explained that they "felt English" when they interacted with white natives especially when outside the Sikh community. In such situations, according to these girls, they were English because they spoke in the English language, they dressed liked their white peers and shared some cultural traits with them. They also "felt Indian", however, because they had a separate culture and an Indian ancestry:

Yes, I'm English sometimes. I eat English food, I speak English better than Indian, I wear English clothes, I watch English films. When I'm with English people I feel English. But when I'm home it's different. I wear Indian clothes, the house is full of Indians, we have Indian music, we eat Indian food, we laugh and joke in Punjabi, so everything is Indian. Then, the next day, it's back to work in an English office. Everything is different.

I live in two worlds. I'm English and Indian. I was born here. I feel English when I'm with white friends. I do English things with them - like I speak in English and I wear English clothes. But I'm also Indian. When you are with Indians you do Indian things. Then there is our religion and our marriage system, that's very different from the English. I can understand English people better than my parents and my aunts from India because I'm part English myself. Like some of my relatives say: "You're not being friendly with English people!" and I reply that there are some nice ones. My English friends say "how can you eat that?" and I tell them: it's quite nice, why don't you try it?" So I'm on both sides.

A further 36 per cent of the 20 girls informed me that they considered themselves to be English because they were born in England and also because they did not wish to observe some Indian traditions including the arranged marriage and the social restrictions which were imposed on unmarried girls. Nevertheless, they also "felt Indian" because of their parental background and separate cultural traditions:

I'm a mixture of both Indian and English. Living in an English community, just being Indian when I'm at home, having mostly English ideas and attitudes and just conforming to the Indian way of life when I've got to. I consider myself English because my ideas of life conflict with the Indian customs. Especially, marriage, having boyfriends and going out. I don't agree with the way girls have to stay at home and have to get married in the arranged way. I consider myself Indian because my life is not completely English. I do many Indian things. In my religion, I'm Indian. I do the puja not because I'm forced to but because I want to. So I am both, I'm English sometimes and Indian sometimes. My parents and grandparents are Indian. So, that makes me Indian too. The blood is there.

I'm brought up in this country, I was born here. So, I feel English. I don't like the Indian ways. I don't like the way in which we are made to stay at home. I don't like the arranged marriage. I speak English better than Indian and I dress like the English. I eat meat and I go out sometimes. I'm part English because I've lived here since I was born. When my parents were young, they were brought up in India with just the one culture. Whereas I was brought up with two cultures. I have some Indian ways too. My parents are not too strict, they allow me to go out sometimes but they won't allow me to cut my hair. I don't speak Punjabi very well but I get by. I'm a two-way person.

Finally, the remaining 9 per cent of the 20 females explained that they were Indian because their parents were of Indian origin and they were English because they had been born in England.

In summary, when asked whether they were English, 76 per cent of my respondents replied negatively and instead chose to describe themselves as Indian. A further 20 per cent were willing to admit to an English identity whilst also maintaining an Indian identity. Thus these findings suggest that the vast majority of second generation Sikh girls in my study had retained an Indian identity. This finding was indeed confirmed when all respondents were asked: "Do you think of yourself as being Indian?"

Table 14.2 An Indian Identity (All Respondents)

Response	%
Yes	98
No	0
Don't Know	2
N = 102	100

As Table 14.2 shows, 98 per cent of these members of the second generation said "yes" whilst none of my respondents denied being Indian. Thus it can be contended that the vast majority of my Sikh respondents had an Indian identity even though they had been educated entirely in England and despite the fact that 40 per cent of them had been born in this country. These findings confirm those of previous studies on young South Asians in Britain. For instance, Thompson (1970), Taylor (1976) and Ballard and Ballard (1977) contended that children of Indian origin in their studies retained a strong Indian identity.

My findings also indicate that my respondents maintained an Indian identity and overwhelmingly rejected an English one for different reasons. Forty per cent of them said that they were Indians because they had been born in India, they had a separate culture and language and because they believed that most white people did not accept them as English. A further 24 per cent of

my respondents told me that although they had been born in England they still considered themselves to be Indian instead of English because of their Indian ancestry and culture and because they believed that they were not accepted by most indigenous members of British society. A further 20 per cent of my subjects, on the other hand, did not refer to white rejection at all and, instead, explained that they considered themselves to be Indians simply because of their parental origins and cultural backgrounds. Another, 10 per cent of the girls in my study said that they were Indians because they "felt" Indian rather than English and a further minority of 3 per cent informed me that they retained such an identity because quite simply, "to be Indian was the best"

These explanations of why an Indian identity persisted are 'subjective' to the extent that they were given by my respondents themselves. In seeking additional sources of support for it, I sought to examine the extent to which the maintenance of an Indian identity might also be strengthened by my respondents' expectations of an eventual and permanent return to India.

Research studies conducted on first generation South Asians have contended that one of the factors which had discouraged these immigrants from totally abandoning their cultural traditions and distinct identities was their desire to return to their countries of origin. To test this hypothesis in relation to members of the second generation, I asked my respondents: "Do you think that you and your family will always live in England?"

Table 14.3 Perceptions of Permanent Settlement in England
(all Respondents)

Responses	%
Yes	22
No	64
Don't Know	14
N = 102	100

As Table 14.3 shows, only 22 per cent of my respondents expected to remain in England whilst 64 per cent said that they did not think that they would do so. The remaining 14 per cent were unable to offer an opinion. Thus most of my Sikh subjects believed that they were unlikely to settle permanently in England. I asked these girls: "Where do you think you will go to?"

Table 14.4 Countries named for future settlement
(by 65 respondents)

Countries	%
United States of America/Canada	55
India	23
Australia	10
Africa	4
Middle East	3
France	2
Don't Know	3
N = 65	100

As indicated in Table 14.4, 55 per cent of the 65 respondents in this category said that they thought that they and their families would emigrate to the United States and/or Canada. I asked these girls: "Why do you think that you will go to live there?" In reply, 56 per cent of the the 36 females said that they had been told by their fathers that these countries were "better than England" because they offered better opportunities, a higher standard of living and "no discrimination against Indians". For example:

My Dad says that we should go to America; or maybe Canada. He says that it is much better than England. My Dad says that it's better for us there because in America there's no discrimination against Indians. There's better opportunities there.

I don't like the discrimination here, you know. I think we will try to go to America. It's clean and there's a better standard of life there. My Dad says that in America everyone is equal, because everyone is originally an immigrant. There isn't any discrimination against Indians. Here in England, well at school, they call you "Paki, go back to your own country".

A further 34 per cent (of 36 per females) said that they would emigrate to America and/or Canada because some members of their families had already done so and also because they thought that Indians were not subjected to racial discrimination there:

I think that we will move to the States or Canada. We have our relatives in both countries and so it wouldn't be difficult to move. They would allow us to enter because we have our families there. It's a better life in America. There's a lot of money and more opportunities. My Dad says that Indians can do very well there. In England, the English get jealous of us, they don't want us to do well. But in America there's less discrimination.

Finally, 5 per cent (of 36 females) said that they expected to move to America because their families were planning to do so and another 5 per cent said that they hoped to settle in the States and/or Canada because they wished to marry Sikh men from those countries as they considered such men to be more "modern" and "westernized" than Sikh men in England.

Unlike the above respondents, 23 per cent of the 65 girls who did not expect to remain in England said that they thought that they would return to India. When asked why they thought that they would return to the subcontinent, 80 per cent of the 15 girls in this sub-category referred specifically to compulsory repatriation by a future British government:

Yes, we will probably all have to return to India someday. Well, the government will send us back. If more and more of us keep coming into this country, they will send us back.

I think that the government will turn us out and send us packing to India. Why? Well, I think it's because we are taking over. Indians are doing well. We are taking their jobs.

I think that we will all return to India because English people don't want us to stay here forever.

The remaining 20 per cent (of 15 girls) said that they expected to return to India eventually because their parents planned to do so.

As Table 14.4 indicates, 10 per cent (of 65 respondents) told me that they thought that they would emigrate to Australia. When asked for their reasons all of them said that they had been told by their fathers that Australia would offer them better opportunities and less discrimination. Finally, as indicated in Table 14.4, a small minority of 4 per cent, 3 per cent and 2 per cent of the 65 respondents said that they expected to emigrate to Africa, the Middle East and France respectively.

To summarise, only 22 per cent of my respondents thought that they would remain in England permanently whilst a further 64 per cent did not expect to do so. However, although most of my respondents believed that they would eventually leave this country, only a minority of these girls said that they expected to return to India. Instead, the majority of them said that they would probably emigrate to other countries, including the United States of America, Canada and Australia. These findings do not, therefore, indicate that all my subjects had been socialized by their parents into aspiring towards an eventual return to their country of origin. There is therefore very little evidence to support the view that, with respect to members of the second generation in my study, the maintenance of an Indian identity was in some part due to an intention to return to the subcontinent eventually. However, these findings did reveal that a substantial number of respondents hoped to escape from racial prejudice and discrimination in England by emigrating to other countries, especially the United States of America and Canada. I am unable to compare this particular finding with other research studies on members of the second generation since, to my knowledge, no other researcher has examined the extent to which young South Asians intend to remain permanently in Britain. However, the desire to emigrate to other 'developed' countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia was reported by Lawrence in his study on first generation immigrants in Nottingham (Lawrence, 1974). The vast majority of his Indian and Pakistani respondents said that they would have preferred to emigrate to other countries, particularly, the United States and Canada. Lawrence concluded

that only a small minority of first generation South Asians in his study came to Britain for positive reasons with the intention of settling here permanently.

Finally in this chapter, I examine the extent to which my respondents were prepared to describe themselves as 'Coloured' and 'Black'. To do this I asked them: "Do you ever think of yourself as being Coloured?" and "Do you ever think of yourself as being Black?"

Table 14.5 Coloured and Black Identities (All Respondents)

Responses	Coloured %	Black %
Yes	20	4
No	74	92
Don't Know	6	4
N = 102	100	100

As indicated in Table 14.5, only 20 per cent of my subjects replied that they considered themselves to be Coloured but 74 per cent were not prepared to apply such a description to themselves. A minority of 6 per cent felt unable to respond. The majority who had replied negatively were then asked: "Do you have any

particular reason for not thinking of yourself as coloured? If so, may I ask what it is?" Their replies to this question indicated that 80 per cent of the 75 females in this category tended to reserve this particular term for people of Afro-Caribbean and African descent. These respondents informed me that they did not consider themselves to be coloured largely because they were Indian. For example:

No, I'm Indian. I'm not the same as coloured people. They come from a different country - Jamaica I think. We are very different people. Our culture and religion is different.

No, I'm not coloured, I'm Indian. Coloured people, they don't speak our language, they have different ways of living. We are not alike. We are completely different. They don't believe in our temples and they don't dress up like us. They are more English.

Coloured people are usually darker skinned than Indians. They come from the West Indies or from Africa. They are very, very different from us. For a start, the coloured girls have much more freedom than us Indian girls. They don't have to stay at home and they don't have the arranged marriage.

A further 15 per cent (of 75 girls) explained that although they knew that they were "not white" and although they realized that most white people considered them to be coloured, they themselves did not wish to be described in such terms because they preferred to be identified as Indian. In addition, these respondents tended to use the term 'Coloured' to refer to people of West Indian descent:

I don't think of myself as being coloured because, well, I'm not coloured even though white people think that I am. This sounds complicated. What I mean is, I know that I'm not white, the colour is there. English people look at my skin and they see that it's not white. So, I'm coloured in their eyes. But, I don't feel coloured, I feel Indian. Because my culture is Indian and my family are Indian. I think that we shall always be Indian. Coloured people, well they are very different from us. We can be friends with them but we are still different people. Just because we all have dark skins doesn't mean that we are not different, doesn't it?

The remaining 5 per cent (of 75 respondents) were unable to say why they did not consider themselves to be Coloured.

In contrast to the above majority, 20 per cent of my subjects said that they did think of themselves as being Coloured. I asked these girls: "In what ways do you think of yourself as being Coloured?" All the respondents in this category referred exclusively to the colour of their skins:

Well I'm not white - am I?

Yes, I suppose I'm coloured. My colour is obvious. I'm not white.

Thus, the majority of these members of the second generation preferred to describe themselves as Indian rather than Coloured. Table 14.5 also shows that 92 per cent of my respondents were not prepared to describe themselves as 'Black'. Only 4 per cent admitted to doing so and a further 4 per cent were unable to answer my question. The vast majority who had informed me that they did not think of themselves as being Black were then asked:

"Do you have any particular reason for not thinking of yourself as being Black? If yes, may I ask what it is?" Once again, their responses to my question revealed that the vast majority of my respondents tended to use the term 'Black' to refer exclusively to people of Afro-Caribbean and/or African origin. Ninety per cent (of 92 per cent of my respondents) explained why they did not consider themselves to be Black by pointing to cultural and ancestral differences between themselves and "Coloured/Black people" from the West Indies and/or Africa. For instance:

No, I don't think I'm Black, I'm Indian. Because it's a question of culture. My culture is quite different from Jamaican and African culture. Our language is different, we have different ways. They don't wear the Salwar and they don't believe in our religion.

I'm not white but I'm not Black either. My parents are Indian and I'm Indian. We can't be Black because we don't come from the West Indies. I suppose it's also because our colour is lighter. Jamaicans are more English than us. They go out like the English and the dress up like white people. They have more freedom than Indian girls. We are very different.

A further 8 per cent (of 92 per cent) said that they did not wish to describe themselves as 'Black' because they "did not like" such a term. The remaining minority of 2 per cent (of 92 per cent) were unable to explain why they did not consider themselves to be Black.

These findings demonstrate that the vast majority of my respondents maintained a distinct identity vis-a-vis people of West Indian origin, despite the fact that they too had non-white skins. Members of the second generation in my study tended

instead to draw a sharp distinction between themselves (as Indians) and West Indians (as Coloureds and Blacks). Indeed, these perceptions of difference have already been revealed in Chapters Eight and Twelve of this thesis in relation to my respondents' views on inter-racial marriages and an examination of their friendship patterns. To recall, when asked whether they would be willing to marry a West Indian, 90 per cent of my respondents said that they would not be willing to do so whilst only 5 per cent of my subjects said that they would be prepared to marry someone of West Indian origin. When the vast majority were asked for their reasons for such rejection, the majority of these girls replied that West Indians were unacceptable as marriage partners largely because of cultural differences and a desire to maintain the Sikh religion and Punjabi culture. Perceptions of differences between themselves and West Indians were also revealed in my examination of my respondents' friendship patterns in Chapter Twelve. To recall, 31 per cent of my subjects informed me that they did not have a West Indian girlfriend and 41 per cent of these girls said that they were prevented from having such a friend largely because their parents disapproved of West Indian culture. Moreover, my findings indicate that even when Sikh girls did befriend girls of Afro-Caribbean origin some of them did so secretly since their parents would not have approved of such friendships.

Whilst my findings in Chapters Eight and Twelve demonstrate that my respondents tended to differentiate between themselves and

people of West Indian origin, they also reveal that my Sikh subjects also drew distinctions between themselves and Pakistani Muslims - despite the fact that they shared a common Asian ancestry with them. To recall, their responses to my questions on inter-marriage and friendships between Sikhs and Pakistani Muslims revealed that the majority of my respondents considered Pakistani Muslims to be members of an out-group whom they did not wish to marry or even befriend. Thus, it can be said that members of the second generation in my study did not only maintain a distinct identity vis-a-vis West Indians, they also sustained a distinct identity in relation to Pakistani Muslims.

In this chapter, I have examined the extent to which my respondents perceived that white natives either accepted or rejected them as being English. In addition, I examined the extent to which my subjects were willing to describe themselves as 'English', 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'Black'. The vast majority of my respondents thought that most indigenous members of society did not consider them to be English. Although a minority of my subjects subscribed to a dual identity i.e. English and Indian, the majority confined themselves to an Indian identity. This maintenance of an Indian identity was attributed to their ancestral origins and their separate cultural traditions as well as to their perceptions of racial prejudice and white rejection. In other words, the persistence of an Indian identity amongst second generation Sikh girls, can be attributed to internal factors (e.g. the success of primary socialization and their ancestral origins) as well as to external factors in the wider

society (e.g. racial prejudice and discrimination). These findings are similar to those reported in previous studies on young South Asians in Britain (for example, Thompson, 1970; Taylor, 1976 and Ballard and Ballard, 1977).

Furthermore, though my respondents "knew" that they were not white very few of them were prepared to use the terms 'Coloured' and 'Black' to refer to themselves. Instead, they preferred to be identified as 'Indian' and reserved such terms in relation to people of Afro-Caribbean and/or African origin. Thus, my subjects also maintained a distinct identity vis-a-vis the latter. Finally, my findings also indicate that second generation Sikh girls retained a separate identity in relation to Pakistani Muslims even though they too were of South Asian origin.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

15.1 MAINTAINING CULTURAL TRADITIONS: SITUATIONAL ETHNICITY AND BICULTURALISM

In discussing my theoretical framework in Chapter Two, I decided to employ two concepts - 'situational ethnicity' and 'bi-culturalism' - in my enquiry on the religious, socio-cultural and identificational lives of second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham. To recall, 'situational ethnicity' is based on the premise that the maintenance of a separate culture and identity by members of an ethnic minority depends on: a) the social situation in which they find themselves; b) their perceptions of the situation and c) their appraisals of the behavioural options which are open to them - given the opportunities and/or constraints which exist both inside and outside the ethnic community. In other words, whilst cultural traits and an ethnic identity might be maintained in some situations, they might be considered less relevant or indeed completely inappropriate in other contexts. Ethnicity is therefore flexible and variable.

Whilst 'situational ethnicity' pertains to the survival of an ethnic group's culture and identity, 'bi-culturalism' relates to the extent to which members of the second generation internalize and identify with more than one set of socio-cultural norms and values. In Chapter Two, I argued that primary socialization into

the parental culture and secondary socialization into norms and values of British society had provided members of the second generation with access to different and sometimes contradictory socio-cultural resources. I predicted that my respondents would be 'bi-cultural' in so far as I expected them to use these resources in a flexible and selective manner, in response to the requirements of specific contexts.

My findings indicate that although some religious and socio-cultural traditions were abandoned by a substantial minority of my respondents, most traditions continued to be maintained by a majority of my subjects. For example, with regard to religious traits, Kesh (long hair); Kara (bangle) and Kangha (comb) were maintained by a clear majority of my respondents. In addition, a substantial majority of these members of the second generation said that they did not drink alcohol under any circumstance and all of them also said that they did not smoke cigarettes. Furthermore, a majority of my respondents either told me that they never ate beef or that they only ate it when there was no alternative. The vast majority of my subjects also said that they celebrated Baisakhi and Divali and only a very small minority of Sikh girls said that they never ever went to the gurdwara (temple). Finally, in relation to religious traditions, a substantial majority of my respondents retained the name 'Kaur' (Princess) although most of them only did so as a middle-name.

With regard to linguistic and other socio-cultural norms, my findings indicate that they too continued to be well supported. For instance, all second generation Sikh girls were able to speak their mother tongue and a majority of them continued to wear traditional Punjabi dress. Furthermore, the vast majority of my single respondents said that they expected to have an 'arranged' marriage and, moreover, all the married respondents had been married in this way. With regard to their social and recreational lives, the results of my enquiry suggest that a substantial majority of my respondents were largely restricted in so far as they tended to spend their free-time at home or within the Sikh community. These girls said that they were not permitted to go out with boys and that they were not allowed to go to pubs, discos, parties and youth clubs.

How did 'situational ethnicity' and 'bi-culturalism' relate to these findings on the religious and socio-cultural lives of Sikh girls?

15.1.1 Ethnicity: Situational or Non-Situational?

In my view, although situational ethnicity did occur, its existence was not as prominent or widespread as expected. This conclusion is based on my findings which demonstrate that ethnicity can be either situational and flexible or consistent and rigid. In other words, not all respondents chose to confine traditional norms to specific contexts or maintain them largely in response to the requirements and constraints of particular

situations. Instead, these Sikh girls said that they willingly adhered to such traditions "all the time", i.e. whatever the context and whatever the constraints, largely because they themselves wished to preserve their socio-cultural heritage. Examples of such willing general conformity (as opposed to selective conformity) include those relating to the maintenance of two of the Five Ks - Kesh (long hair, 54 per cent of my respondents) and Kara (bangle, 49 per cent). Other examples are 60 per cent of my respondents who said that they did not wish to drink alcohol under any circumstance; 30 per cent of my subjects who said that they were happy to refrain from eating beef in any situation; all my respondents who said that they had no desire to smoke cigarettes; 29 per cent of my subjects who said that they were not at all interested in wearing "English" skirts or dresses and 34 per cent of my respondents who said that they neither wished to go out with boys nor abandon the arranged marriage. Thus, in so far as these girls maintained the above traditions in all situations and, moreover, justified their conformity in terms of personal conviction, it can be said that they demonstrated a consistent and rigid approach to ethnicity as opposed to a situational one. Situational ethnicity therefore does not apply to this type of conformity.

There are other examples in my findings which do not appear to be directly relevant to situational ethnicity. I refer to the incidence of established non-conformity, that is, when traditional norms and values have been totally abandoned with parental consent. Examples of such non-conformity include the abandonment

of traditions relating to; Kesh (18 per cent); Kara (20 per cent); Kangha (40 per cent); Kirpan (98 per cent); Kaccha (100 per cent); alcohol (30 per cent); the Salwar Kameeze (20 per cent) and skirts (28 per cent).

Furthermore, 29 per cent of my respondents said that they were permitted to go out in the evenings unchaperoned, another 24 per cent said that they were allowed to go to discos. However, only 4 per cent of my respondents said that their parents allowed them to go to pubs and another minority of 3 per cent said that they were permitted to go out with boyfriends. A similar number of respondents (4 per cent) said that they would be permitted by their parents to have a 'love' marriage. Since these respondents said that they had never been expected to maintain these particular cultural characteristics, they did not need to resort to a 'situational' approach to conformity.

Having examined the extent to which situational ethnicity did not occur, I now consider the extent to which it did do so in my study.

In my view, 'situational ethnicity' was pertinent in two respects. First, I would argue that it can indeed be applied to those respondents who tended to maintain their traditions predominantly within the Sikh community. When they were outside its confines, they no longer adhered to traditional norms and values. For example, 27 per cent of my respondents said that

they only wore the Kara (bangle) at home, in the temple and when attending other functions in the Sikh community. The vast majority of these girls said that they wore the Kara selectively because of the constraints they had encountered in the wider society. For instance, according to these respondents, some school authorities did not permit their pupils to wear jewellery on school premises and, consequently, Sikhs in such establishments were discouraged from wearing the Kara. Thus, in this example, the girls' perceptions of the constraints they faced in the wider society (external factors) and their perceptions of the requirements of the Sikh religion (internal factors) had resulted in a situational approach to conformity in so far as the Kara was confined to relevant and specific situations. Other (religious) examples of such adherence relates to the Kangha(comb), alcohol and beef. My findings indicate that 53 per cent of my subjects said that they carried the Kangha only when it was relevant to do so. A minority of 10 per cent of my subjects said that they did drink alcohol in pubs but that they never did so when at home i.e. in the presence of their parents and other (older) members of the Sikh community. In relation to beef, 38 per cent of second generation girls said that although they did not eat it at home, they did do so when away from home. Almost half of these respondents, however, said that it was not always easy to avoid eating beef outside the Sikh community and consequently, they were not always able to refrain from eating it. Thus, in so far as these respondents maintained these religious characteristics selectively i.e. largely within the confines of the Sikh community, it can be argued that their

conformity was essentially 'situational'.

'Situational ethnicity' also occurred in relation to linguistic and other socio-cultural norms and values. My findings indicate that second generation Sikh females tended to speak Punjabi predominantly with their parents and other older Sikhs. When interacting with siblings and (Sikh) friends, my respondents usually spoke in the English language although they were also able to communicate with one another in their mother tongue if they perceived it necessary or relevant to do so. Thus, whilst the mother tongue continued to survive in Nottingham, members of the second generation in my enquiry can be said to have demonstrated a 'situational' response to linguistic choices.

This type of selective conformity was also evident in the clothing norms of the majority of my respondents. Sixty per cent of the girls in my study said that they tended to wear the Salwar Kameeze (tunic and trousers) only within the confines of the Sikh community. When outside the community, these respondents wore "English" clothing including jeans, cord trousers and skirts. The vast majority of these girls thought that it was not all easy for Sikh women to wear traditional dress in the wider society. According to these respondents, Sikh females were rarely permitted to wear the Salwar Kameeze in schools or at work and, in addition, those who did wear traditional dress were sometimes "teased" by some white members of society. The skirt presented a problem to most of my respondents since, on the one hand, their

parents and other older Sikhs objected to this particular item of clothing because it did not meet with Punjabi notions of modesty - and, on the other hand, school authorities and personnel managers did not always allow females to wear trousers. Most of my respondents compromised by wearing skirts selectively, that is, in relevant and specific situations.

Other examples of selective adherence to traditions occurred with respect to going out with boyfriends and my respondents' free-time activities. My findings indicate that a substantial minority of my subjects said that they only adhered to social and recreational restrictions when they were at home and within the Sikh community. When unsupervised by their parents and/or other older Sikhs, these girls took the opportunity to break such restrictions. Thus, for example, 29 per cent of second generation girls said that they went out with boyfriends albeit covertly. Another 20 per cent said that they secretly disobeyed their parents by going to pubs and 6 per cent said that they went to discos without parental consent. Thus, in so far as these females only adhered to these Punjabi traditions when supervised, I would argue that they displayed a 'situational' approach to conformity.

So far, I have contented that 'situational ethnicity' relates to those respondents who maintained their traditions largely within but not outside the Sikh community. I would also argue, however, that this represents only one aspect of 'situational ethnicity'. The other (aspect) relates to those respondents who, due to the

constraints in their circumstances, unwillingly maintained religious and socio-cultural traditions "all the time" and in all contexts (i.e. Unwilling General Conformity). In other words, although their conformity was not selective, it was nevertheless 'situational' to the extent that these girls only adhered to traditional norms because of the circumstances in which they found themselves. For instance, some of my respondents did not have the opportunity to abandon their traditions or even maintain them selectively because they were strictly supervised by their parents and, in addition, were usually totally dependent on them. For example, four respondents who did not eat beef said that they unwillingly adhere to this tradition because they never ever had the opportunity to eat a meal outside the Sikh community. These girls said that they always ate with their families and since beef was never on the menu at home, they did not eat it. They also said that they would like to have a meal in a restaurant but that they did not do so because they did not have the money and also because they would not have been allowed by their parents to go out unchaperoned. Thus, this minority of second generation Sikh girls can be said to have behaved 'situationally' in so far as they maintained this particular trait largely because of the circumstances in which they found themselves. Another example relates to the social and recreational activities of 52 per cent of my respondents. These girls said that they unwillingly accepted the restrictions which were imposed on them not only because they did not wish to harm the family reputation but also because they would not have had the opportunity to go out alone

since they were strictly supervised, especially in the evenings. Thus, although these respondents were unhappy with their restricted social and recreational lives, they felt unable to remedy this particular problem largely because of the constraints in their situation. Similar reasons were given by 38 per cent of my respondents for not going out with boys. In other words, these females said that they unwillingly obeyed their parents in conforming to this particular Punjabi norm not only because they did not wish to harm the family 'izzat' (honour) but also because they would not have had the opportunity to have boyfriends in so far as they were nearly always accompanied by their parents and/or other relatives. These examples can be said to represent a 'situational' approach to conformity to the extent that Punjabi traditions continued to be maintained largely in response to particular circumstances.

To summarise, I have contended that 'situational ethnicity' is pertinent to my enquiry in two respects. First, it relates to those members of the second generation who conformed to the demands of the parental culture in a flexible manner - i.e. they maintained their traditions predominantly in relevant and specific situations. Second, it also relates to those respondents who, due to particular constraints in their circumstances, unwillingly adhered to traditional norms in all contexts. However, I have also argued that situational ethnicity has its limitations in so far as ethnicity amongst my respondents was not always or even necessarily of a flexible and situational character. Nevertheless, I consider it to be a valuable concept

in so far as it provides a framework with which to examine a strategy which enables some second generation Sikhs to preserve an ethnic culture in British society.

15.1.2 Biculturalism and the influence of British norms and values

Although my findings indicate that the Sikh religion and Punjabi culture continue to be maintained in Nottingham, this does not necessarily imply that members of the second generation were totally encapsulated within their traditional culture. Indeed, I would argue that my findings also indicate that all my respondents were bi-lingual and a substantial majority of them were also bi-cultural. In other words, these members of the second generation had access to more than one set of cultural resources which they used selectively.

I have already contended that my Sikh subjects were able to speak Punjabi and English, and that, moreover, they tended to switch linguistic codes whenever relevant or necessary. Furthermore, when I interviewed these girls, I noted that they spoke English with a local (Nottingham) accent.

Besides being able to speak two languages, the majority of my respondents can be said to be 'bi-cultural' with regard to: the clothes they wore, the food they ate; the festivals they celebrated; the music they listened to and the films they watched. Apart from a very small minority of 10 per cent of my

respondents who said that they were not permitted to wear anything else but the Salwar Kameeze and a substantial minority of 30 per cent of my subjects who told me that they never wore Punjabi dress, a majority of my respondents (60 per cent) said that they dressed selectively - i.e. either in "English" clothes or in traditional Punjabi costume.

When they were questioned about the food they ate, only a very small minority of 8 per cent of my respondents said that they only ate Indian food. The vast majority (92 per cent) said that they ate Indian and "English" food. When questioned about the sorts of "English" dishes they ate, the majority of these respondents (70 per cent) listed a variety of items including: fish and chips; baked beans on toast; burgers and chips; pizzas; sausages; roast chicken; shepherd's pie and salads. The remaining 30 per cent (of 92 per cent) said that they usually ate "English" food which did not contain beef - for example, fish and chips, salads, pizzas, baked potatoes, chips, baked beans and omelettes. Thus, these findings would suggest that the vast majority of second generation Sikh girls in my study were bi-cultural with regard to their dietary norms in so far as they were not restricted to Indian cuisine.

Another example of bi-culturalism relates to the celebration of Baisakhi, Divali and Christmas. A clear majority of my subjects (80 per cent) said that they celebrated their own festivals as well as Christmas. However, most of these respondents said that they did not have turkey on Christmas Day. Instead, they usually

ate a "special Indian meal" with their families and enjoyed Indian sweets as well as mince pies and Christmas pudding for dessert!

The vast majority of second generation Sikh girls in my study can be said to be bi-cultural with regard to their musical tastes and the films they watched. When they were questioned about these particular areas of their lives, 87 per cent of my respondents told me that they listened to "English" and Indian music and another vast majority (95 per cent) said that they watched films from India as well as British and American films.

Another example of bi-culturalism relates to the social and recreational lives of a substantial minority of 29 per cent of my respondents. In contrast to the majority of their peers in my study, these girls said that they spent their leisure time within the Sikh community as well as outside it. For instance, in addition to attending social functions within the Sikh community, helping their parents to entertain visitors and accompanying their families on social visits to relatives and friends, these respondents also went out with their friends to venues in the wider society including discos, pubs and parties.

The examples which I have given demonstrate the extent to which my respondents were affected by their exposure to British society. As indicated above, they were partially acculturated in so far as some cultural traits of the wider society had indeed

been adopted at a behavioural level. However, although the respondents in these examples had adopted these traits, they had not done so at the expense of their own cultural traditions. This is of special interest because it indicates that despite the presence of some acculturation, 'cultural assimilation' (i.e. when immigrants and their descendants totally abandon their traditions in favour of the socio-cultural norms and values of the dominant society) had not yet been achieved.

Whilst these findings indicate that some cultural norms of British society were internalized at a behavioural level, my study also indicates that other norms and values of the dominant society were internalized but not translated into actual behaviour by a majority of my respondents. In other words, these girls said that they continued to maintain some of their traditions even though they would have preferred to replace them with alternative norms of British society. In this respect, acculturation had only occurred at an attitudinal level.

This particular form of acculturation into the norms and values of the dominant society was especially evident with regard to the arranged marriage, going out with boys, the 'joint' household and social and recreational activities. A clear majority of my respondents said that although they would like to go out with boyfriends and have a 'love' marriage, they would unwillingly accept an 'arranged' marriage. The vast majority of my respondents also expressed a preference for a nuclear household and a majority of my subjects said that they would like to have

more "freedom" in their social and recreational lives. In discussing these areas, these members of the second generation revealed that they had internalized values which were very different from Punjabi ones. For example, they believed that couples should be emotionally involved with each other before the marriage ceremony and that choosing a spouse should be a private and personal matter. This view is very different from the values which are normally associated with the traditional arranged marriage. In such a marriage, the decision to choose a particular partner is one that is usually taken by the parents and other members of the family after consultation with the couple concerned. In addition, even in a 'liberal arranged marriage' i.e. when the couples are allowed to get better acquainted, the emotional involvement of the partners ("falling in love") is not usually considered important or necessary.

Another example concerns their views on the 'joint' family household. In explaining why they preferred to live in a nuclear household, the vast majority of my respondents said that they wanted "privacy", "independence" and "freedom". Furthermore, the majority of these girls repeatedly used words such as "my own" and "my house". Thus, I would argue that the vast majority of second generation Sikh girls had internalised values which conflict with those that are normally associated with the ideal of the "joint" family household.

Yet another example of the way in which a majority of my respondents had internalized values which conflicted with those of their parental traditions, relates to their views on the restrictions they faced in their social and recreational lives. In discussing this area of their lives, most of my subjects said that they wanted "more freedom". In addition, they contrasted their own restrictions with what they perceived to be the comparative "freedom" which Sikh males enjoyed. They thought that Sikh parents were "unfair" to discriminate between their sons and daughters. In expressing these views, these respondents were raising questions about the different standards of behaviour which are required from men and women in Sikh society.

In summary, although most Punjabi Sikh traditions were maintained by a majority of my respondents, second generation Sikh girls in my study were far from totally encapsulated in their own cultural traditions. A substantial majority were 'bi-cultural' in some areas of their lives, in so far as they had internalised the norms and values of the parental culture as well as those of the wider society. However, whilst some cultural traits of British society had indeed been adopted by these respondents at a behavioural level, other norms of British society had only been internalized at an attitudinal level. Despite some degree of acculturation, however, 'cultural assimilation' had not yet been achieved, since my respondents had not totally replaced Punjabi Sikh norms and values with British ones.

15.1.3 Types of Conformity and Non-Conformity and Intra-ethnic Distinctions

The results of my enquiry also demonstrate how important it is, when studying cultural persistence amongst female members of the second generation, to take into consideration: their perceptions of parental expectations (or, if married, their husbands' and/or in-laws'); the extent to which they believed that they met such expectations and whether they did so willingly or unwillingly. This approach led me to distinguish between different types of conformity and non-conformity in relation to each religious and socio-cultural variable in my study. Thus I contended that Willing Conformity can be said to exist when cultural traits are willingly maintained in accordance with parental expectations (or, if married,) those of their husbands and/or in-laws). Such conformity can be said to be General when the tradition is adhered to in all situations or Selective when it is maintained only in specific situations (Willing General Conformity and Willing Selective Conformity respectively). I found that although Willing Conformity occurred in relation to the vast majority of variables, it occurred more strongly with regard to religious traditions, clothing norms and the preservation of the mother tongue and less strongly in relation to social and recreational restrictions, the arranged marriage, going out with boyfriends and the preservation of the "joint" household.

I also argued that Unwilling Conformity can be said to exist when traditions are unwillingly maintained in deference to parental wishes (or, if married, to those of their husbands and/or in-

laws). Unwilling Conformity can be General or Selective (i.e. Unwilling General Conformity and Unwilling Selective Conformity respectively). I concluded that Unwilling Conformity had occurred more strongly with regard to the arranged marriage, going out with boyfriends, and social and recreational restrictions and less strongly with regard to the maintenance of most religious traditions, clothing norms and the mother tongue.

In striking contrast to these types of conformity, I was also able to distinguish between different types of non-conformity. Thus, I contended that Established Non-Conformity can be said to exist when Sikh girls are not expected by their parents (or, if married, by husbands and/or in-laws) to maintain traditional norms and values. I concluded that Established Non-Conformity existed, to varying degrees, in relation to the vast majority of variables. However, although a substantial minority of my respondents were permitted to abandon a majority of religious traditions, clothing norms and even most of the social and recreational restrictions, all respondents were expected to speak Punjabi and only a very small minority of them were allowed to go out with boyfriends and to have a "love" marriage instead of an "arranged" one.

I also argued that there is another type of non-adherence to the parental culture - Breakaway Non-Conformity. This occurs when Sikh girls disobey their parents (or husbands and/or in-laws) by abandoning traditional norms and values. Such disobedience can be overt (thus leading to overt intergenerational conflict) or

covert (thus avoiding or containing such conflict). I concluded that although Breakaway Non-Conformity occurred in most areas, fairly substantial levels of it were only to be found in relation to three areas - going out with boyfriends, going to pubs and eating beef. In other words, a substantial minority of my respondents said that they disobeyed their parents by going out with boyfriends, going to pubs and eating beef. However, since most of these respondents said that they had broken these traditions secretly, and since most of the other variables had been abandoned in this way by a very small minority of Sikh girls, there appeared to have been potential for very little actual overt intergenerational conflict between my respondents and their parents.

Having examined the different types of conformity and non-conformity in relation to each variable, I turned my attention away from the variables and focused instead on each individual respondent in order to identify those subjects who were largely conformist and those who were largely non-conformist. In drawing up each profile, I recorded the number of times each girl had maintained traditions - either generally or selectively and either willingly or unwillingly. I also recorded the number of times she had abandoned them - either with or without parental consent. Girls who had maintained a clear majority of traditional norms and values were classified as Conformists and, conversely, those who had abandoned a clear majority were classified as Non-Conformists.

The results of this exercise suggested that 51 per cent of my respondents were Conformists and a further 26 per cent were Non-Conformists. The remaining 23 per cent of my respondents, however, were placed in neither of these two categories since they were found to be neither largely Conformist nor largely Non-Conformist.

Furthermore, I was able to divide these three categories into additional sub-categories. Thus, the Conformists were re-classified as: Willing Traditionalists; Unwilling Traditionalists and Semi Willing Traditionalists. The Non-Conformists were subdivided into: Modernists and Rebels and the remaining respondents were re-classified as: Willing Dualists; Rebellious Dualists and Others.

Willing Traditionalists are respondents who said that they willingly maintained a clear majority of traditional norms and values. Twenty-nine per cent of my respondents were placed in this sub-category of conformity. These girls can be said to have demonstrated a positive orientation towards the maintenance of their culture. In addition, since they did not appear to disagree with their parents, there was no basis for intergenerational conflict.

Unwilling Traditionalists on the other hand, were those respondents who said that they unwillingly maintained a clear

majority of their cultural norms. Fourteen per cent of my subjects were placed in this sub-category of conformity. Unlike the Willing Traditionalists, these members of the second generation did not demonstrate a positive orientation towards the maintenance of traditions. However, although they did not wish to preserve such traditions, they did not resort to outright rebellion at a behavioural level but chose instead to reject them only at an attitudinal level. By unwillingly conforming to a clear majority of religious and socio-cultural norms and values, these respondents avoided open conflict with their parents.

Semi Willing Traditionalists are those girls who said that they willingly maintained at least half of their traditions whilst adhering to the rest only in deference to the wishes of parents (or, if married of husbands and/or in-laws). Only 8 per cent of my respondents were placed in this particular sub-category of conformity. These girls were only partially interested in preserving their cultural heritage. It can also be said that as they had not abandoned the traditions which they would have preferred not to maintain, they too avoided open intergenerational conflict with their parents.

Modernists are those respondents who said that they were permitted to abandon a clear majority of traditional norms and values. Twenty per cent of my respondents were placed in this sub-category of non-conformity. This particular sub-category is of special interest because it suggests that some Sikhs do not expect females to maintain most traditional norms and values.

Thus, even though this substantial minority of respondents did not adhere to most religious and socio-cultural traditions, this did not seem to involve any conflict because of the 'liberal' stance of their parents.

Rebels on the other hand, did provoke intergenerational conflict by abandoning a clear majority of traditional norms and values in defiance of parental wishes. However, only 6 per cent of my respondents were classified as Rebels.

Willing Dualists are those respondents who said that they had been allowed to abandon at least half of the traditional norms and values but that they had also willingly maintained the remaining traditions. Only 8 per cent of my subjects were placed in this sub-category. These girls would seem to have been only partially interested in maintaining the Sikh religion and Punjabi socio-culture. Furthermore, since they appeared to agree with their parents, their stance too was unlikely to involve them in any conflict with their parents.

Rebellious Dualists are those respondents who said that they willingly maintained at least half their traditions. However, they also said that they had abandoned most of the remaining traditions in defiance of their parents' expectations. Only 5 per cent of my subjects were classified as Rebellious Dualists. Thus, although this minority demonstrated a positive orientation towards some traditions they also appear to have provoked some

overt intergenerational conflict with their parents by refusing to adhere to other customs.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the above categorizations is that amongst my respondents there was very little potential for direct intergenerational conflict with parents. Only a small minority of my respondents (11 per cent) were substantially or even fairly rebellious (i.e. Rebels and Rebellious Dualists respectively). In striking contrast to these girls, Willing Traditionalists, Modernists and Willing Dualists - a total of 57 per cent of my subjects - did not appear to have any major disagreements with their parents and, indeed, believed that they had largely fulfilled their parental expectations. Unwilling Traditionalists (14 per cent), on the other hand, did not share their parents' views on the importance of maintaining their culture. However, since they did not overtly challenge this view by refusing to adhere to most traditions, they too were unlikely to be involved in open conflict with their parents. Such conflict was also avoided by a further minority of 8 per cent (i.e. Semi Willing Traditionalists) in so far as they unwillingly adhered to at least half of the religious and socio-cultural variables in my study. Thus, a clear majority of second generation Sikh girls in my enquiry did not appear to be involved in overt intergenerational conflict with parents even though some traditions had been abandoned by a substantial minority of them.

In Chapter Ten I also examined whether these categories of a conformity and non-conformity could be associated with intra-

ethnic distinctions within the Sikh community in Nottingham, particularly those of caste and socio-economic status. I concluded, rather tentatively, that respondents from the Bhatra caste did appear to differ from the Jats and Ramgharias in their orientation towards the Sikh religion and Punjabi culture. The Bhatras appeared to have been more orthodox than their peers from other castes. Not only were they more likely than the Jats and Ramgharias to maintain a clear majority of religious and socio-cultural traditions, they were also more likely to do so willingly. In other words, in contrast to the Jats and Ramgharias, the Bhatras were more likely to be classified as Willing Traditionalists and, conversely, less likely to be categorised as Modernists, Rebels or Dualists. I would cautiously conclude from this that firstly, fewer Bhatra parents were prepared to allow their daughters to abandon their cultural heritage than parents from other castes. Secondly, I would conclude that the Bhatra girls in my study seemed to have received a more orthodox upbringing and that moreover, they seemed to have been more fully socialized into traditional norms and values than their peers from the Jat and Ramgharia castes.

When I tested the categories of conformity and non-conformity for socio-economic differences, I concluded (very tentatively) that there did appear to be distinctions between 'working class' and 'middle class' respondents. 'Middle class' girls were more likely to be Modernists and Dualists and less likely than their 'working class' peers to be Willing Traditionalists, Unwilling

Traditionalists, Semi Willing Traditionalists and Rebels. In other words, they were more likely to abandon most or, at least some of the traditions with parental consent. Conversely, they were less likely to conform to most traditions. I concluded rather cautiously, that my 'middle class' respondents seem to have received a more 'liberal' upbringing than 'working class' girls.

15.2 SOCIAL INTERACTION: SOCIAL STRUCTURAL PLURALISM

In Chapter Twelve, I examined my respondents' friendship patterns in order to ascertain whether 'social structural pluralism' prevailed, that is, whether my respondents tended to interact exclusively with Sikhs and/or other Asians at the primary group level of relationships. I sought confirmation of other research studies which indicated that young Asians were 'socially encapsulated' in so far as they tended to make friends largely with other Asians.

My own enquiry demonstrates the need to distinguish between 'best' friends and 'ordinary' or general friendships. My findings suggest that my respondents were far from socially isolated in their 'ordinary' friendships with girls outside the Sikh community. The vast majority of my subjects (97 per cent) said that they made friends with white girls; 69 per cent said that they had West Indian girlfriends and 76 per cent said that they made friends with non-Sikh Indians. Pakistani Muslims were the exception, however, as most girls (66 per cent) said that

they tended not to make friends with them. Despite such isolation from Pakistani Muslims, a clear majority of second generation Sikh females were far from totally encapsulated within the Sikh community in relation to their 'ordinary' friendships with (Non-Sikh) Indians, white girls and West Indians.

When my respondents were questioned about their 'best' girlfriends, however, a different pattern emerged. In contrast to their 'ordinary' friendships, a substantial minority (43 per cent) were found to be socially encapsulated in so far as they said that their 'best' girlfriends were only Sikh and/or other Indians. The remaining 57 per cent, however, were not socially isolated since they said that they did have non-Asian 'best' friends. Thus, my findings indicate that while 'social structural pluralism' partially existed with regard to my respondents 'best' friends it was even less prominent in relation to their 'ordinary' friendships outside the Sikh community.

These findings do not entirely confirm those of other research studies on second generation South Asians. (e.g. Thompson, 1970; Taylor, 1976; Ballard and Ballard, 1977; Brah, 1979 and Kalra, 1980). Whilst these scholars reported that the vast majority of their subjects tended to interact exclusively with other Asians, my own findings suggest that second generation Sikh girls in Nottingham were very far from completely isolated from non-Indians with respect to their friendship patterns.

My enquiry on their friendship patterns also reveals that despite a shared Asian ancestry, Pakistani Muslims were perceived by the majority of my respondents as members of an 'out-group' with whom Sikhs did not make friends. This finding is of special interest because it would suggest that perceptions of historical antagonism between Muslims and Sikhs have been _ transmitted to these members of the second generation.

Thus my findings suggest that 'social structural pluralism' was limited with regard to friendship patterns (but much less so than in earlier studies). However, it was more prominent with regard to other aspects of my respondents' social and recreational lives. To recall, my findings in Chapter Nine indicated that a clear majority of the girls in my study spent their spare time largely at home and within the Sikh community. Since they were not allowed to go to social venues in the wider society e.g. discos, pubs and youth clubs - it can be said that they were socially isolated from indigeneous members of British society. Another example relates to my findings on marriage and endogamy. The vast majority of my single respondents said that they expected to marry Sikh men through the arranged marriage and, indeed, all my married subjects had done so. Thus, the maintenance of endogamous marriages can be said to represent yet another example of social encapsulation or 'social structural pluralism' at the primary group level of relationships.

15.3 MAINTAINING A DISTINCTIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY

My study also indicates that second generation Sikh girls maintained a distinctive ethnicity, that is, a 'sense of difference' vis-a-vis white members of society. Their ethnicity manifested itself throughout all aspects of my enquiry. When they were questioned about the religious and socio-cultural aspects of their lives, my respondents consistently contrasted their own lives with those of the indigenous population whom they tended to refer to interchangeably as "the English" and "white people". For instance, the vast majority of my subjects believed that, unlike themselves, "the English" were allowed such "freedoms" as: having their hair cut in the latest styles; wearing any type of clothing they wished; choosing their spouses themselves; going out whenever and wherever they wished and being allowed to have boyfriends or girlfriends. White females, in particular, were perceived as free-agents who, unlike themselves, could do virtually anything they desired. Whilst wanting some of these "freedoms" however, the majority of my respondents said that they did not wish to emulate their white peers totally by being "too free".

A substantial majority of them also thought that English parents gave their children "too much freedom" and, in contrast to Sikh parents, did not seem to discipline their offspring nor care sufficiently for them. Such perceptions served to heighten a sense of difference between 'us' (Sikhs) and 'them' (the English) and were sometimes used by a substantial majority to assert a positive ethnic identity. For instance, in Chapter Five, one of

the reasons which most respondents gave for preferring to be reborn as Sikhs, was that white parents were less caring and less supportive towards their children than Sikh parents. Thus, in this example, my respondents' unfavourable perceptions of family life amongst white natives served to heighten the difference between themselves and the latter and, in doing so, enhanced the value of their own ethnic group.

My respondents' perceptions of cultural differences between themselves and white people suggests that they not only maintained a separate ethnic identity vis-a-vis the latter but that they also did not think of themselves as English. This was indeed confirmed when I asked them whether they considered themselves to be English. Only a minority of my subjects told me that they considered themselves to be English and Indian - depending upon the situation in which they found themselves. In contrast, a substantial majority declined to describe themselves as English under any circumstance and, instead, limited themselves to an expression of an Indian identity.

In my view, the rejection of an English identity and, conversely, the maintenance of an Indian one, can be attributed in part to internal factors such as the success of primary socialization into the parental culture and identity, and a deeply felt allegiance to their ancestral origins. This position can also, however, be attributed in part to external factors, particularly to racial prejudice and discrimination in the wider society and

to my respondents' perceptions of white rejection and hostility.

My findings on their perceptions and experiences of white hostility and rejection, reveals that the vast majority of my respondents believed that people of Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin in Britain were subjected to racial prejudice and discrimination. In addition, a substantial majority of these members of the second generation clearly experienced a sense of rejection in so far as they thought that most white natives did not consider them to be English and did not fully accept the presence of non-white people in Britain. Moreover, most of my subjects expressed a desire to emigrate to other countries, particularly the United States of America and Canada, where they hoped to find a more tolerant and favourable racial climate.

My enquiry also reveals that in addition to maintaining a distinctive identity in relation to members of the indigeneous population, my respondents also maintained a separate identity vis-a-vis people of Afro-Caribbean origin. The vast majority of my subjects thought that West Indians were culturally different to themselves and, in addition, were of a different "race". Whilst most respondents said that they had West Indian (girl)friends, the vast majority of my subjects said that they would not be prepared to marry an Afro-Caribbean husband. My respondents' ethnicity - or a 'sense of difference' - vis-a-vis West Indians was again apparent when they were asked whether they considered themselves to be Black or Coloured. The vast majority totally declined to do so and, instead, reserved such labels for

people of African or Afro-Caribbean descent. Thus, there was no evidence to suggest that members of the second generation in my study had developed a 'Black' identity which encompasses other non-white and non-South Asian people of African and Afro-Caribbean origin.

My respondents' perceptions of other South Asians, however, were more complex than their perceptions of West Indians. My findings suggest that, in some situations, they displayed a 'Pan-Asian' identity which encompassed Sikhs, other Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, but, that in other situations, they maintained a distinctive identity vis-a-vis (non-Sikh) Asians. A 'pan-Asian' identity was especially evident when I questioned them about their experiences of racial prejudice and discrimination in Britain. The vast majority of my respondents believed that South Asians in general faced hostility and rejection in the wider society and that being a Sikh, as distinct from being a Gujarati or a Pakistani Muslim, made no difference to a person's chances of escaping racial prejudice and discrimination. In other words, the vast majority thought that the majority of white natives did not differentiate between Sikhs and other South Asians. Thus, in this respect, my respondents were expressing a 'pan-Asian' ethnicity - an identity which appeared to have been developed largely in response to external constraints in the wider society.

My findings also indicate, however, that in other situations, second generation Sikh girls did maintain a distinctive identity

vis-a-vis other South Asians, particularly with regard to Pakistanis. A substantial majority of my respondents held negative attitudes towards the latter. Pakistanis were perceived to be members of an 'out-group' whom Sikhs did not marry or even befriend. The feelings of antipathy which the vast majority expressed towards Pakistanis can be said to have marked the boundaries between 'us' (i.e. Sikhs) and 'them' (Pakistanis) and, by doing so, reinforced a distinctive identity vis-a-vis the latter amongst second generation Sikh females in my study. When I examined my respondents' perceptions of other (Non-Sikh) Indians, I found that their attitudes towards the latter were far more positive than their feelings towards Pakistanis. The vast majority of my respondents thought that Non-Sikh Indians - for example Gujaratis and other Hindus - were "not too different" from themselves in terms of a common (Indian) ancestry and in relation to some cultural traits. In addition, they thought that it was easier for Sikhs to make friends with other Indians than with Pakistanis. However, whilst the boundaries between my Sikh respondents and other Non-Sikh Indians were flexible in relation to friendship patterns, they were far more rigidly drawn with regard to marriage and endogamy. A substantial majority of my respondents said that they would not be prepared to marry a non-Sikh Indian, thereby expressing a commitment towards maintaining their own ethnic group and a distinctive identity.

15.4 OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

In my view, the results of my enquiry have led to six major conclusions concerning the expressed attitudes and reported behaviour of my respondents.

First, Punjabi Sikh traditions continued to be an integral part of the lives of the majority of second generation Sikh females. Although a fairly substantial minority of my respondents said that they did not adhere to most of the religious and cultural traits which were examined in my study, a majority of my subjects said that they did maintain most traditional norms and values. To recall, whilst 26 per cent of my respondents were classified as being 'largely non-Conformist', a further 51 per cent were categorised as being 'largely Conformist' and the remaining 23 per cent were found to be at least partially conformist.

I was also able to distinguish between different types of adherence and abandonment. Thus I argued that conformity can be either willing or unwilling and either general (i.e. all the time, in all situations) or selective (i.e. flexible in response to each situation). Non-conformity, on the other hand, can be either of a Breakaway character (i.e. when traditions are broken either overtly or covertly in defiance of parental wishes) or of an Established character (i.e. when parents allow their offspring to totally abandon traditional norms and values).

My second major conclusion is that despite some non-conformity amongst a substantial minority of second generation girls, most of their behaviour was not of a kind that would bring them into direct conflict with their parents. Most non-conformists had abandoned traditional norms and values with parental consent. Furthermore, only a very small minority of my respondents were overtly rebellious and most of those who had abandoned traditional norms and values without parental consent had done so covertly, thereby avoiding overt conflict. The prospect for direct conflict was also avoided by those members of the second generation who chose to maintain their traditions despite doing so unwillingly.

My third major conclusion is that intra-ethnic distinctions must be taken into consideration when studying members of the second generation. I cautiously concluded that Bhatra females were more orthodox than respondents from other castes. Middle class Jats and Ramgharias, on the other hand, appeared to be less conformist than working class girls from these castes and, moreover, were more likely to be Modernists or Willing Dualists (i.e. girls whose parents permitted them to abandon a clear majority or at least half of their traditions).

My fourth major conclusion is that although the Sikh religion and Punjabi culture continued to survive in Nottingham, second generation Sikh girls were neither totally encapsulated within their traditional culture nor completely unaffected by their exposure to the norms and values of British society. The majority of my respondents had adopted some cultural traits of

the wider society at a behavioural level whilst also maintaining their own traditions. Other norms and values of British society, however, had only been internalized at an attitudinal level by a majority of second generation Sikh girls and had not yet been translated by them into actual behaviour.

My fifth major conclusion is that there were different degrees of social structural pluralism (or social encapsulation) amongst my Sikh respondents. Social structural pluralism occurred most prominently in relation to my respondents' preference for endogamous marriages, less prominently with regard to their social and recreational activities and least strongly in relation to the ethnic backgrounds of their (girl)friends.

My sixth major conclusion is that a substantial majority of my respondents totally rejected an English identity, in contrast to a minority who were prepared to describe themselves as English and Indian. In addition, the vast majority of second generation Sikh girls (including the non-conformists) maintained a distinctive ethnic identity not only in relation to white natives and West Indians, but, also, with respect to other South Asians in England.

Finally, I need to summarise my conclusions as to why the majority of second generation girls have not abandoned their cultural heritage and distinctive ethnic identity. In my view, their ethnicity can be attributed to several factors, some of

which are internal to the Sikh community and others external to it.

One of the internal factors relates to the "success" of the first generation in establishing a cohesive community and effective social networks. The cohesiveness of the Sikh community enables its members to socialize the young into its religious and socio-cultural norms and values and, furthermore, helps to ensure that they continue to conform to them. Members of the second generation are initially socialized by their parents and relatives and this process of socialization continues to take place in Sikh institutions, such as the temples, and within the community through social interaction with other Sikhs. The existence of social networks in Nottingham also enables Sikh parents to exert some control over their offspring when the latter are not directly supervised by them. Such control is largely effected through the collection and circulation of information about members of the community. Thus, factual information or, often, sheer gossip, is spread through social networks and is an effective way of discouraging non-conformity. In my enquiry, the vast majority of Sikh girls perceived that reports of deviant behaviour amongst the young were quickly transmitted to parents by other (older) members of the community. In addition, they perceived that such "gossip" would have an adverse effect on the reputation of the family concerned.

In my view, the effectiveness of this particular mode of social control over second generation females is facilitated by the

existence of four additional factors. The first relates to the strength of the affective tie which binds the girls to their parents. The emotional bond, established and nurtured during early childhood, can act as an influential deterrent against deviating from traditional norms. In my study, the majority of Sikh females expressed feelings of love, loyalty and obligation towards their parents. The importance of the parent-daughter tie was especially evident with regard to those respondents who said that they unwillingly adhered to traditional norms and values largely because they did not wish to hurt their parents by bringing dishonour to their families.

The second factor relates to the extent to which members of the second generation identified their own personal interests with those of the family. This is well illustrated by their views on the arranged marriage. The vast majority of my respondents perceived that acts of rebellion on their part would not only harm the family reputation but would also, as a consequence, have a detrimental effect on their future marital chances since access to a Sikh spouse continued to be controlled by members of the first generation. Thus, I would argue that, in so far as my respondents wished to marry Sikhs, they had a vested interest in upholding the family reputation. Furthermore, the vast majority of these members of the second generation believed that they could expect to receive benefits from members of the family even after they were married. Rewards in the form of financial, social and emotional support were considered to be of special

importance since they perceived that these resources would not be easily accessible to them in the wider society. Thus, in so far as they perceived that conformity to the group's norms conferred benefits on its members, Sikh females had a vested interest in not alienating themselves from their families and the wider Sikh community.

The third additional factor relates to the girls' dependent status within their families and their subordinate position, as females, in Sikh society. The majority of my respondents were totally dependent on their parents since they were in full-time education and, apart from a small minority of students, still lived at home. Although a substantial minority of my respondents can be said to have been financially independent in so far as they were employed, they were nevertheless still under the supervision of their parents as they continued to live at home. That Sikh girls were expected to live with their parents prior to marriage was confirmed when my single respondents were asked: "Do you think you will be allowed to leave home before you get married?" Eighty-five per cent replied negatively and the remaining 15 per cent said that they would only be allowed to do so for educational reasons. The former were then asked: "Why won't you be allowed?" Fifty-two per cent said that they would not be permitted to leave home prior to their marriages because it was a cultural norm and because they thought that to break this particular tradition would generate gossip amongst other
1
Sikhs.

Another 40 per cent also referred to these internal constraints but, in addition, said that they thought that racial prejudice and discrimination in housing would be a major obstacle to a Sikh² girl who wished to leave the parental home before marriage.

That Sikh females are not usually permitted to leave home before they get married can be said to be a manifestation of the subordinate position of women in Sikh society. My enquiry indicates that second generation girls perceived that they were more restricted than their males peers and were often expected to conform to different behavioural norms vis-a-vis Sikh boys. Furthermore, my study indicates that although the vast majority of my respondents would be allowed to work, they perceived that, as females, their future roles lay largely within marriage and motherhood. Thus, to break with tradition by, for example, leaving the parental home prior to marriage, would have a detrimental effect on a girls's chances of making a "good" marriage and her future within the community. However, even if these internal obstacles to a Sikh girl's bid for independence did not exist, it is likely that the presence of external constraints - especially those of racial prejudice and discrimination - would deter her from seeking it.

It is the presence of just such white hostility which represents the fourth factor which, in my view, facilitates the social control of the young and discourages them from abandoning their socio-cultural traditions and ethnic identity when they have a

disposition to do so. The results of my study have indicated that the vast majority of my respondents have experienced a deep sense of rejection with respect to British society and that this has helped to reinforce their distinctive ethnic identity.

Furthermore, my enquiry reveals that family and community resources were considered to be of special importance to second generation girls since they perceived that alternative resources in the wider society would not be so easily available to them due to the presence of racial prejudice and discrimination.

To summarise, I have argued that internal and external factors have contributed towards the survival of a Punjabi Sikh ethnicity amongst second generation girls in Nottingham. Looking towards the future, I would tentatively predict that even if the internal factors become less significant, the persistence of external constraints outside the Sikh community is likely to ensure that future generations continue to maintain their own distinctive ethnicity.

Notes to Introduction

1. The term 'South Asian' is used as a wide category to include people who originate from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and East Africa. In no way does the use of this term deny the heterogeneity of the South Asian population in the United Kingdom.
2. A full discussion of the Sikh religion and Punjabi cultural norms and values is presented in Chapter Three.

Notes to Chapter One

1. A more detailed discussion of 'assimilation' theories is presented in Chapter Two.
2. A discussion of the 'joint' family and the value of 'izzat' is presented in Chapter Three.
3. A more detailed discussion of caste divisions amongst Sikhs is presented in Chapter Three.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. British studies have demonstrated that most West Indian and South Asian first generation immigrants came to Britain with the intention of earning good wages and of eventually returning to their countries of origin. Despite this common 'sojourner mentality' however, West Indians and South Asians differed in other respects, for example, in relation to their expectations of British acceptance. In the early years of immigration, most first generation West Indians did not expect to be rejected by white natives because they believed that they were coming to the 'Mother Country' whose culture they shared in many respects. It can be said, therefore, that most members of this generation had already identified with Britain and that they were prepared to at least attain Gordon's variables of 'cultural and structural assimilation'. In contrast to West Indians, most South Asians perceived the United Kingdom as an alien country whose culture they evaluated rather negatively. They expressed very little interest in aculturation, did not perceive of themselves as British and did not expect to interact socially with white natives (Patterson, 1965; Lawrence, 1974; Philpott, 1973).
2. Studies conducted on South Asians have indicated that Muslims from Pakistan and Bangladesh have been rather more reluctant to bring their women to this country than Sikhs from the Punjab, India. Moreover, once they have done so, they tend to be stricter with their females than, for instance, Sikhs

and Hindus. For example, studies have indicated that Muslim girls tend to be removed from school as soon as possible, whilst Sikhs are more likely than Muslims to permit their daughters to continue their education. Furthermore, fewer Muslim women of Pakistani origin are to be found in employment outside their own homes. (Saifullah Khan, 1974; Dahya, 1972-3, 1974; Jefferey, 1976; Chrishna, 1975; Sharpe, 1976).

In addition to the differences between the various ethnic Asian groups, there are also crucial distinctions within these groups. In the case of the Sikhs, for instance, there is evidence that those from the Bhatra caste tend to be more orthodox in their religious practices than members of the Jat and Ramgharia castes. Furthermore, the Bhatras tend to be stricter than the other castes in relation to their women. For example, Bhatra girls tend to leave school as soon as possible and are usually not allowed to find employment outside their homes. Jat and Ramgharia girls are, in contrast, usually encouraged to continue their education and are usually allowed to work before marriage (Helweg, 1979; Hindbalraj Singh, 1977; Nesbitt, 1980).

3. There are no published studies on this subject. This is based on my own observations.
4. In this respect, Watson was not justified in his criticisms

of Patterson, that is, that she had argued that Black immigrants - including Asians - would eventually become absorbed into the indigenous white working class (Watson, 1977, p. 11).

Notes to Chapter Three

1. There are several studies on the beliefs and practices of the Sikh religion and on its historical development. Readers are referred to the following (Bannerjee, 1971; Cole and Sambhi, 1978; Cunningham, 1960; Macauliffe, 1963; McLeod, 1968, 1976; Khushwant Singh, 1963, 1966; and Thomas, 1978).
2. The institution of 'varna' (caste) evolved during the Vedic period in Indian history (circa 1500-500 B.C.). There are four castes which are hierarchically ranked and whose membership is ascriptive. At the top are the Brahmins (priests) followed by the Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), the Vaishyas (traders and farmers) and, finally, the Sudras (artisans and service workers). The Harijans or 'Untouchables' including sweepers and leatherworkers are considered to be 'out-castes' and are ranked below all four castes.

The Hierarchical ranking of caste and the division of labour within the caste system receives religious sanction in ancient Hindu Law as expressed in the Laws of Manu upon which the political, economic and social organisation of Hindu society was based for approximately 2,000 years. According to the Laws of Manu, the Brahmins have the highest position because they were the first born and because they sprang from God's mouth. Their duty is largely to officiate as priests

and to teach the Vedas (The Holy Hindu Books).

According to the Laws of Manu, the Kshatriyas are second in rank because they sprang from God's arms and they are therefore obliged to protect the people. They must also bestow gifts on the Brahmins, offer sacrifices and study the Vedas.

The Vaishyas are placed in third position because, according to ancient Hindu Law, they sprang from God's thighs. They are directed to be agriculturalists and traders and are obliged to bestow gifts on the Brahmins and study the Vedas.

Finally, the Sudras are allocated the fourth position because it was believed that they were born from God's feet. They are expected to serve members of the other three castes and are not allowed to study the Vedas.

Within each caste are several 'jati' or sub-castes which are also hierarchically ranked and represent a specialized occupation. In addition, these sub-castes are usually endogamous groups, that is, they marry within their own sub-caste. In the Punjab, the Sikh religion attracted converts mainly from the high ranking Jat sub-caste (farmers and landowners). The Gurus, however, were from the Khattri sub-caste (merchants) and this sub-caste was ranked above the Jats. Other sub-castes amongst the Sikhs include, the middle-ranking Ramgharias (artisans), the lower ranking

Bhatras (peddlars) and Ahluwalias (distillers) and, finally, the 'untouchable' Sikhs - Mazhabis and Ramdasias.

For a more detailed discussion of the caste system in general readers are referred to: Dumont (1972); Mayer (1966); and Srinivas (1973).

For a detailed account of Sikh sub-castes see: Rose (1919, 1922).

3. The Vedas consist of four books which contain the sacred and ancient literature of Hinduism. These are the Rig-Veda, the Sama-Veda, the Yajur-Veda and the Atharva-Veda. To study the Vedas is to gain Vedic knowledge.

For a basic guide to Hinduism, readers are referred to: Sen (1970) and Hinnells and Sharpe (1972).

4. Baisakhi is a harvest festival which falls on 13th April. Instead of offering barley and grain to the Brahmin priests as the Hindus did, Guru Amar Das encouraged the Sikhs to pray and listen to Guru Nanak's teachings.

Diwali is a festival of light and deliverance which is celebrated between October and November. During the Diwali celebrations Hindus usually listened to stories about Hindu deities whereas Sikhs were usually told about the Gurus.

5. An English translation of the Holy Book has been written by Gopal Singh and Manmohan Singh (1962).
6. Although the turban has become a distinctive feature of Sikhism, it is also worn by Muslims and Hindus on the sub-continent. However, the Sikhs have their own styles of dressing the turban. For example, Jat Sikhs almost invariably impart a vertical or slightly receding appearance to the apex of their turbans whilst Khattri Sikhs tie it in the form of a projecting beak.

The turban also has a special social significance to Sikhs, so much so, that a bald-headed man would still wear a turban. This is illustrated when the head of a family dies. On this occasion, relatives present his successor with a length of turban which is tied in public so as to identify and legitimize his position as the new head of the family.

7. According to Indian law, the 'joint family' is a strictly technical term which refers to a corporate body of kinsmen, all of whom share rights in the ownership of property, irrespective of whether they live in the same household. Accordingly, a distinction is made between the 'joint family' and the 'joint household'. The former is defined in terms of the ownership of property by a corporate body of kinsmen and the latter refers to a man, his married sons and their children, all of whom live together and have a common

domestic arrangement. According to Indian law, members of a 'joint household' do not necessarily own property, although they may pool their incomes together and are linked together through a network of obligations and reciprocity. Thus, the Punjabi concept of the 'joint family' often corresponds more closely to the legal definition of the 'joint household'.

8. Since, to my knowledge, there are no official statistics on self-employed Indians in Nottingham, this list is based on my own observations, as well as, on my findings on my respondents' socio-economic status which was based on their fathers' occupations.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. I am indebted to Mr Eric Irons, the Education Adviser for Immigrant Education, and to Mr Bill Travers, the District Careers Officer in Nottingham.

Notes for Chapter Fifteen

1. The following quote represents this point of view:

No, we aren't allowed. It's our culture. Women can't be free, they can't live by themselves. Especially before you marry, well, a girl must be protected by her family. Because if she leaves home, people will gossip and nobody will want to marry her or her sisters. That's it, we can't be free. Even if a girl has a job, she has money, but she won't be allowed to be completely independent. She won't be allowed to leave home. Like the English, they can rent a flat with friends, but Indian girls - we only leave our parents when we get married.

2. The following quote represents this point of view:

English girls are expected by their parents to become independent when they finish school. Our parents are completely different because they don't want us to be independent. English girls can leave their parents, get jobs and share a flat or house with their friends - even boyfriends. But Indian girls can't do this because it is our cultural tradition. Our parents are strict because people will say that they haven't brought up their daughters to be proper Indians. People gossip a lot, as you know. The gossip would kill our parents. But also, I think that it would be very difficult for an Indian girl to survive outside the community. (What do you mean?) Well, like, if she leaves home, she has to find somewhere to live - a room or flat. It's not easy because of course it might be too expensive but also, because of the racial thing. I mean - there's a lot of discrimination, an English person won't want to rent to an Indian. So, it's best to stick to what we have - live at home with Mum and Dad, stick to our own people.

GLOSSARY

Ahluwalia	:	distiller sub-caste
Amrit	:	nectar given to Sikhs at the initiation ceremony
Amrit Pahul	:	initiation ceremony
Baisakhi	:	Sikh festival, spring harvest
Bhatra	:	pedlar sub-caste
Brahmins	:	priests
Chuni	:	veil/headscarf
Diwali	:	Hindu festival of light
Doab	:	the land between two rivers - Jullundur Doab, Punjab
Granthi	:	teacher/custodian of the temple
gurdwara	:	temple
Guru Granth Sahib	:	Holy Book of the Sikhs
Gurmukhi	:	the script in which the Holy Book is written
haumai	:	self-reliance
izzat	:	honour
Jat	:	peasant sub-caste
Kacha	:	underwear
Kameeze/kamiz	:	tunic covering the upper part of a woman's body
Kangha	:	comb
Kara	:	bangle
Karma	:	past actions
Kaur	:	Princess, name given to women
Kesh	:	uncut hair
Khalsa	:	Brotherhood of initiated Sikhs

Kirpan	:	sword
Kshatriya	:	warrior caste
Langar	:	free, common kitchens
maya	:	natural worldly temporal values
mukti	:	the path of liberation
nam simran	:	meditation
nirguna	:	without physical qualities
patit	:	lapsed Sikh
puja	:	prayers
Ramgharia	:	carpenter/artisan sub-caste
Rehat Maryada	:	A Guide to the Sikh
Robh	:	patronage
Sahj-dhari	:	uninitiated Sikhs
Salwar	:	trousers
samsara	:	rebirth
sewa	:	service to other Sikhs
Singh	:	Lion, name given to Sikh men
Sudra	:	fourth caste of Hindu society
zamindari	:	ownership of land

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