

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN
THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE HOST
SOCIETY WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE
TO ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

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P R E F A C E

The following story is told about the immigration of the Parsees from Iran to Gujarat some seven centuries ago.

The Parsees persecuted in their own land because of their religious beliefs came one day to the port of Sanjān in Gujarat. Their leader sent a petition to the local Raja seeking permission to reside. Instead of answering immediately, the Raja sent him a glass of water filled to the brim. The leader of the Parsees added some sugar to the water and sent it back. The Raja was pleased when he tasted the water and found it with sugar. He knew, the Parsees would mix with his subjects as sugar does with water. They will become 'one with the people'.

The Parsees have long become one with the Gujaratis. Seven centuries later today, they have no association with Iran. They have become Gujaratis in many ways. Yet they have preserved their religion, culture and their social identity. In their contact with the others, they act as a caste. They have achieved peace through voluntary segregation. Both the Gujaratis and the Parsees recognise this. They both tell the story as a triumph of integration.

This then is the ideal form of integration, The Gujarati immigrants in the United Kingdom desire. The

present thesis is about the ways and means through which they achieve it.

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A B S T R A C T

As the title indicates, the subject-matter of this thesis is the social relations between the Indian immigrants and the host society in the United Kingdom. The Indian immigrants in the United Kingdom which are a part of the social category 'Indians in the United Kingdom' have formed themselves into linguistic-regional communities based on the immigrants' origins in India.

This community is the largest group within which all-immigrant relationships are confined. In other words it is a sociological isolate not always consciously recognised by the immigrants themselves. The immigrants identify themselves emotionally with a smaller sub-group viz. the village-kin group. This is composed of the immigrants who see each other as relatives or as members of their village of origin in India. The closest co-operation in the extra-familial activities exist within this group.

The nature and extent of an immigrant's participation or his voluntary exclusion from the activities in which the immigrant enters into relationship with the host society can be fruitfully co-related to his membership of this twin groupings i.e. the Indian community or the village-kin group.

In a number of situations of contact with the host society, an individual immigrant uses his membership of the group to derive some positive advantage. The thesis is then concerned with the manner and the situations in which this is done.

In the first chapter I have given an account of the field-work and the sociological issues involved in the thesis. In the second chapter I identify the Indian immigrants, through socio-cultural facts which are useful in the latter analysis and also give an account of the structural features of the Indian community.

In the third chapter, I describe the settlement of Indians in the United Kingdom and also deal with problems concerning housing, overcrowding and so on. In the next chapter, which is of special importance, deals with work-situation, in which almost all immigrants come into contact with members of the host society. The first part deals with the participation of immigrants in the economic activities of the host society; the second part deals with the exclusive economic activities of the immigrants. The fifth chapter deals with mixed marriages and sex relationships between the immigrants and the members of the host society. The sixth chapter deals with immigrant leadership and the associations through which it functions. The last chapter deals with the conclusions.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

1. The field-work
 - (a) The Time
 - (b) The Place
 - (c) The Rapport
 - (d) The Problem of Objectivity
2. Methods of field-work
3. Sociological Issues

Chapter I

1. The field-work:

(a) The Time

The present field-work is in continuation of the one I did for an M.A. thesis, spending intermittently nearly fourteen months in the field from June 1957 until August 1959. My contact with the immigrants is even older and dates to October 1955 when I first arrived in the United Kingdom. The initial contacts I made were of a 'social' character. But I realised the possibilities of research among the immigrants soon after. Since then, I have maintained and developed new contacts throughout the period of my research as opportunities arose. The visits I made to the field are too numerous to be accounted for, but the longest lasted from October 1959 to January 1961. Some other longer visits coincided with the summer holidays in the University. Apart from this I paid numerous brief visits usually for specific reasons. On the other hand, I broke the longer stays by returning periodically to London. For example, I paid about a dozen visits to London during my longest stay in the field.

The actual physical movements have helped me to distinguish theoretical considerations from fact-gathering.

However, being so near to my field, it was well-nigh impossible to get away completely for long from the field-situation, even when in London. Hence, I maintained constant contact through the informants' visits to London, letters and so on.

(b) The Place:

I did most of my fieldwork in and around the city of Birmingham (i.e. in the industrial conurbation comprising of the city of Birmingham and parts of Staffordshire, particularly the towns of Wolverhampton, Walsall, Wednesbury, Darlaston and Dudley where, I believe, a substantial number of the Indian (and certainly the Gujarati) population resides. Besides this, I visited occasionally other towns such as Huddersfield, Leeds, Preston, Bradford and Coventry, which are other centres of concentration for the Indian population. The material I present here is therefore not confined to any geographical territory but is drawn from all the parts of the United Kingdom.

In making a conscious choice for such a procedure in doing field-work I have relied on the fact that the unity of the immigrant community is structure-functional rather than territorial. The immigrants do not use territorial proximity as a basic principle of organisation. In other words, the immigrants living in a certain town or an area do not see

themselves as belonging together because of the fact of residence. Much more than this, the immigrants living in the whole of the United Kingdom also do not see themselves as one group.¹ It is, therefore, only as a convenient unit of study that I take the whole of the United Kingdom as a territorial unit. This does not mean that actual territorial proximity does not affect the organisation of the immigrants. Far from it.

The variations in the territorial surroundings affect the immigrants in many ways. To give but one example, the attitudes and behaviour of the members of the host society vary from one town or area to another, often depending upon the nature and extent of contact they have had with the immigrants.² The Immigrants' own attitudes and behaviour are in turn governed by this. Where, therefore, territorial factors become sociologically significant, I have pointed them out.

(c) The Rapport:

A number of fortuitous circumstances made the problem

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1. The fact is that the Indian immigrants have formed themselves into a number of communities, see page 65 .
 2. e.g. Dr. Banton described Leith as the least hostile to the coloured people of the six areas he discusses. Yet it is most hostile to Indians, see M. Banton White and Coloured, Jonathon Cape, London, 1960, p. 200.

of establishing rapport an easy one for me. Foremost among these is the fact that I am an Indian (a Gujarati) and know the languages spoken by all the immigrant groups. Secondly, the social character of my initial contacts helped to avoid a great deal of apprehension, let alone suspicion and distrust, which all anthropologists incur when they first enter the field. My initial acquaintances, who themselves turned out to be good informants, were in some sense guarantors of my honest intentions in all my subsequent contacts, especially when it became necessary for me to ask awkward questions.

The internal organisation of the Indian communities, being what it is, it became possible for me to belong to it at least in some sense and also make myself accepted. I made extensive use of this situation. Thus, I not only widened my circle of informants through those already acquired, but also visited immigrant houses in company of my informants during holidays, participated in social occasions and so on. On the other hand, I always introduced myself as a 'student', an identification far enough, I hope, to enable me to preserve an objective position even during active participation.

I participated perhaps more actively than is usual for a social anthropologist, in the life of the community. One form of participation obviously meant living in immigrant

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households; another was going to pubs with them. I even went on a touring holiday of England with them. One form of participation, however, is perhaps less justified. In this I accepted the role of a social worker, which was assigned to me by some of my informants. This included among other things, a certain amount of interpreting, when an informant was incapable of communicating with the members of the host society. But it also included some sort of advising, usually on such questions as buying houses, bringing over wives and children, finding jobs and so on. On rare occasions, it included arbitrating in the quarrels that arose among the immigrants.

I realised the conflicts of accommodating the twin roles of a social worker and an anthropologist soon enough. The informants often detailed information only to suit their immediate need, calling upon me to function as a social worker. Whereas, I was interested as an anthropologist in some other or fuller kind of information.

Partial identification through participant observation is a difficult task for an anthropologist. When participation is forced upon him (as in my case), by historical circumstances, the attempt should not be towards increasing participation but resisting it if an objective understanding is to be achieved.

Another difficulty in summing two roles in my person was a subjective one. Often enough I was faced with a choice of one to the exclusion of the other. Thus e.g. as a social worker, I was sometimes tempted to 'preach' or show a way out of some general difficulty, guide discussions on colour bar and other subjects on 'right lines', or point to the consequences of a particular set of actions or attitudes, thereby modifying my own understanding as well as the independence of my informants.

There are no clear-cut answers to these problems. The only thing to do under the circumstances is to remember the pitfalls and attempt to avoid them.

(d) The Problem of objectivity:

How far I succeeded in preserving an objective attitude so necessary for observation in other respects, is very difficult to say. What I tried to do, however, was to play the role as it was expected of me, thus avoiding serious disturbance to the functioning of the community through my own attitudes and behaviour. In actual practice, this task was not so difficult as it looks to an outsider. The problems of alternative behaviour arose only intermittently and even then, only a few immigrants were directly involved. My position as a student-immigrant was not a new one to the immigrants, since there are many who are like that and who perform tasks similar to mine.

So far as I was concerned, the problem of observation and objectivity was a person alone. The difficulties involved were the physical proximity of my field and my emotional identification with the immigrants. They confront all anthropologists who choose to study their own society. The temptation for total submersion of one's role as an anthropologist is too great, since the rewards to be had by succumbing to it are very desirable in terms of authority, prestige, power and status. The observations that follow, if one succumbs to it, look similar to a lawyer's brief, sometimes arguing, at other times defending the points of view, using interpretation, and explanation of facts which suit one's own side.

In addition to the temptation there is the difficulty of observing the familiar, the near facts which may be vital to the understanding of a problem. The tendency will be to disregard the 'trivial' and look for complex explanations.

Another difficulty, due to my identity as an Indian, arose in my contacts with the members of the host society. To them I was an Indian, a foreigner and a coloured person talking to them about an awkward issue. This made it much more difficult for my white informants to react naturally to me. It would not be an exaggeration to say that in almost all cases, their reaction was modified by my social visibility.

Obviously, I could do little to prevent this. However, I adopted a practice of isolating myself verbally from the Indian immigrant group (the subject matter of conversations) indicating at the same time my sympathies with it. I also pointed out to them, when necessary, that I was primarily an anthropologist and welcomed frankness, however unpleasant. Sometimes this worked, especially with the diffident but mildly hostile informants. Those strongly hostile accepted readily my invitation to 'frankness' and paid ready tribute that nothing they said was meant personally for me. A number of them, however, refused to talk to me on grounds which I could not ascertain. I am very much conscious that my social visibility has severely limited my field of research among the members of the host society. I hope that I have compensated for the drawback by borrowing wisely from the researches of others and by suitably defining the problems I attempt to answer.

There are no premeditated remedies for every difficulty and disability that arises during field-work. I believe that a proper understanding of the factors involved can go a long way to help. Where a disability cannot be overcome, the solution comes about in two ways, firstly by refining the method of observation so that it takes account of the disability, secondly by re-formulating the inquiry

thereby limiting it to situations where the disability does not arise. Often there is little choice in a field-work situation and when the difficulties do occur, the field-worker's temperament and capacities are called into play.

2. Methods of field-work:

A variety of methods are available to a social anthropologist or a sociologist who works in a literate society. Thus an anthropologist working in a literate society may, for example (1) collect personal documents such as letters, life histories, (2) use set questionnaires, (3) use structured and unstructured interviews (4) collect case-studies (5) make use of recorded history such as court records, newspaper accounts, records of social agencies and finally (6) engage in participant-observation. The main techniques I have used are those of (1) collection of case--studies and (2) participant-observation. To a lesser extent, I have made use of unstructured interviews and also recorded history. I shall deal first with the problems involved in the use of case-studies.

The fuller implications of the use of case-studies in anthropology are presented by Prof. Gluckman, whom I shall quote at some length. According to him there are three main ways in which they are used. Describing the first way, which he calls the method of apt illustration, Prof. Gluckman writes,

"we made a large number of observations on how our subject actually behaved, we collected genealogies and censuses listened to cases and quarrels, obtained a commentary on all these incidents, collected texts from informants about customs and rituals and discovered their answers 'to cases stated'. Out of this vast mass of data we analysed a general outline of the culture or the social system we then used the apt and appropriate case to illustrate specific customs, principles or organisation, social relationships, etc. Each case was selected for its appropriateness at a particular point in the argument and cases coming close together in the argument may be derived from different actions or words of quite different groups or individuals. There was no regularly established connection with the series of incidents, in cases cited at different points in analysis, though when incidents affecting same persons at different points were used, careful anthropologists made cross-references."¹

Of the second way of using case-studies, he writes,

"Anthropologists also used 'cases' in a slightly different way. They sometimes described a case first and then extracted the general rule of custom or social relationship from it. Clearly the more complex the case, the more could be extracted from it We called this complex events, social situations to exhibit the morphology of the social structure. But it was the social₂ morphology that we use aiming to present."²

Of the third way, Prof. Gluckman writes,

"I consider that the most fruitful use of cases consists in taking a series of specific incidents

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1. "Ethnographical data in British Social Anthropology", Prof. M. Gluckman in The Sociological Review, Vol. 9-I, New Series, March 1961. University College of North Staffordshire, Keele, pp. 7-8.
 2. Prof. M. Gluckman, op.cit. pp. 8-9.

affecting the same persons or groups through a long period of time and showing how these incidents, these cases are related to the development and change of social relations among these persons and groups Where this method has been applied to monographs using the method of apt illustration, quite a different picture of social system emerges - a more complex,¹ less rigid and less highly inter-connected picture.¹"

Of the last method, which he calls 'the extended case method', he writes,

"Many difficult problems inevitably arise from this use of the extended case method.... Indeed I do not yet see clear cut answers to problems such as the reliability of data on the past collected from interested parties, data which will have to be used since the anthropologists' period in the field is limited in time..... since the method is fruitful these problems must be faced and overcome, and not cited to obstruct the development of the method. I can touch briefly on the problem of typicality of a society or the area of social life selected for analysis in this way. In the first place, the use of extended case does not do away with the need for the outline of social morphology on which Malinowski insisted and this may have to be illustrated by apt examples. But here, the increasing use of statistice, in the more refined form by anthropologists provides an important safeguard."²

Further,

".... if we are going to penetrate more deeply into the actual process by which persons and groups live together with a social system under a culture we have to employ a series of connected cases. I believe that this will greatly alter

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1. Prof. M. Gluckman op.cit pp. 13-14.
 2. Prof. M. Gluckman op.cit pp. 10-11.

our views of working of some institutions and deepen our understanding of the significance of all custom it will bring to the monographic analysis, some of the penetration which Freud brought to the study of human personality and some of the depth which we may find in the novel but not in the scientific analysis."¹

Finally, he writes,

"we are, I believe, going into a much less tidy era of research with the concept of society and structure and culture very much under critical examination. As we appreciate more fully that culture is in fact to some extent a hotch-potch and that customs and values are independent of one another, discrepant, conflicting, contradicting, we shall have to evolve concepts to deal with social life which are less rigid and which can cope with lack of interdependence as well as the existence of interdependence with the haphazard as well as the systematic."²

In summing up the quotations, I make the following points. There are three methods in which case studies can be used viz. (1) to illustrate the morphology of the society, (2) to derive a general rule of custom or social relationships and (3) to study the development and change in social relations and processes involved. The picture emerging as a result of use of the case-study method may not be complete or highly inter-connected but will be nonetheless meaningful. Lastly the picture created by case-studies must

1. Prof. M. Gluckman, op.cit. pp. 13-14.

2. Prof. M. Gluckman, op.cit. pp. 13-14.

be supplemented by details gathered through use of other suitable techniques such as statistics in more refined form than has been done so far.

In a complimentary article to the one quoted from above, Prof. Eggan writes,

"If we are to concentrate our attention on fewer people over a longer period of time, the sampling problem becomes important, since the question of how typical the group is of the larger society becomes crucial. Gluckman recognises this problem and thinks that it may partly be solved by the use of statistics but the essence of method is in the co-operation required for intensive study and this can seldom be achieved with cases selected at random." 1

Eggan thus doubts not the efficacy but the possibility of the extensive use of (at least) the extended case method, even when a random sample is achieved.

The problem of using statistics in conjunction with the case study method is a difficult one in my case. Defending my lack of use of statistics, in my previous research, I wrote,

"Even under normal circumstances, statistics are a laborious and costly affair. Where, however, (as in this case) the individuals are dispersed amidst a vast population and over a large territory and when they are so highly mobile, collection of statistical data is an extremely difficult if not an impossible task.

1. F. Eggan in The Sociological Review Vol. 9-1 (New Series) March 1961. University College of North Staffordshire, Keele, p.17 .

I did not have time or money to do this. I believe, however, that I have compensated for the lack of statistical material through the method adopted. I have chosen first a pocket of migrant individuals in the West Midlands, fair in size, where they have settled for a comparatively long period. Secondly I have chosen my cases from all parts of the United Kingdom."¹

I would repeat the same defence here.

It would be very useful, as Prof. Gluckman has suggested above, to give details on the statistical incidence of the rule of custom or social relation analysed and presented through a case so as to indicate its typicality. Failing that, however, other methods must be used to compensate for it. In my case, I have attempted this through defining the position of an individual, (who may be the subject matter of a case-study) in relation to a number of social groups and categories. Thus, instead of dealing with the Indian immigrants as a social group, I have chosen to emphasise the three linguistic-regional communities to which the Indians belong. Although the Indians are dispersed over a wide area in the host society, every Indian immigrant gets his diacritical marks, cultural preferences and value system from

1. R. Desai, Social Organisation of the Indian Migrant Labour in the United Kingdom, with special reference to the Midlands, unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of London, London 1960, p.3.

the regional culture-society in India, of which his group is but an extension. It is by emphasizing the group and categorical affiliation of the individual that I hope to indicate the typicality of a case-study.

On the other hand, I do realise, of course, that the members of the host society take into account but rarely (and even then not consistently in all their relationships) the internal grouping existing among the immigrants. They assign new identifications, to suit their immediate needs, to the immigrants and deal with them accordingly. In so far as I deal with these identifications, I am on safer ground, since more than one study has dealt with the host society and of social relations with the various groups of which Indians form a part and for which statistics are available.¹

The following example will make my argument clear. The Sikhs before immigrating wear the turban and long hair, as enjoined by their religion. The turban and long hair also serve as diacritical marks in India. On coming, however, to the United Kingdom, most Sikhs remove both these. Now, ideally, it would be useful to know the number of Sikhs who

1. These studies are cited later. See e.g. Dr. Banton's study on the attitudes of the host society titled White and Coloured.

actually do give up the turban and long hair and a statistical break-down of the 'reasons' why they do it. On the other hand, it is possible to ascertain the functions of the wearing of the turban and long hair in relation to (1) the host society (2) the Sikh community (3) the Sikh temple group and so on. The functions will no doubt appear at times as reasons, the full range of which can be listed without venturing into statistics. The depth achieved through functional co-relations ~~thus achieved~~ will be independent of statistical considerations.

A statistical analysis, alongside a sociological, is a very useful means of checking the accuracy of the latter. But a full-fledged statistical analysis must constitute a different study altogether, based perhaps on a prior determination of 'factors involved' in order to make it fruitful.

Sometimes, it is that the nature of facts collected ~~which~~ makes it difficult to ascertain their statistical incidence. Thus, for example, when I discuss the various grocery businesses, I must treat each of them as a unique case, one different from the other, yet having the same underlying functions. In order to find variations in the functions or their efficacy, from one case to another, I may vary the sizes of businesses. But it will not be important for me to ascertain the number of businesses.

On the other hand, I have attempted to make statements of a numerical nature, wherever possible, especially in the presentation of the demographic data. What I have refrained from is a full length statistical analysis (which must be left to an expert) or a substantiation of my thesis through statistics which involved weighing of factors involved (which would have allowed me to stress only those factors which were measurable).

I realise that the method of making numerical statements, without drawing conclusions from them, is not without dangers. The temptation to draw statistical conclusions from numerical statements and thereby support one's analysis is great, but it should be resisted all the more. I hope I have done so.

Participant-Observation is both a technique in field-work and a method. As a technique, it involves for the field-worker a certain degree of emphatic involvement as well as active participation. The roles that the field-worker assumes are recognised to varying extents by the group he is studying and his observations must take this into account.

As a method participant-observation has many advantages. Firstly it enables the field-worker to observe for himself

the behaviour which is acted out and draw from it his own conclusions. It is the society in 'action' and hence the observations made are likely to be far more detailed (than e.g. through a questionnaire or a structured interview) limited only by the field-worker's own capacity to observe through participation. The understanding achieved will involve an insight into 'the ritual logic' which is present in the society under study, which it is otherwise difficult to gain.

On the other hand, the quality of most of the data gathered is doubtful. It is empathic at best, impressionistic at worst. But this can be remedied by simultaneous use of other methods.

To recapitulate then, I have spent a considerable time in the field and have made use of a great number of informants. I have observed the society from a much nearer social distance (because of my special position) than is usual for an anthropologist. This has enabled me to present case studies in far greater detail and perhaps with added authenticity. Much of what I present in the thesis is gained out of empathic understanding on the one hand and objective interpretation on the other. Lastly, statistical correlations of the factors involved have been left out purposely, to a later date and to an expert. ✓

3. The Sociological Issues.

At the outset I must make it clear that this thesis does not study race relations between the Indian immigrants and the English in the usual sense of the term. If the term 'race relations' is strictly defined, I may have to maintain that it does not study race relations at all. Generally speaking, most other studies of race relations are concerned with the behaviour and more so the attitudes of the individuals belonging to the two racial entities involved in the relationship. These studies pay greater attention to those situations in which the contact and conflict occurs most, than they do to others, and normally deal with these situations statistically to measure the incidence of the patterns of contact and conflict. Sometimes, they isolate and measure causes and factors which bring about or hinder assimilation, integration, acculturation and so on. Sometimes, they isolate stereotypes which the members of the two racial groups hold of each other. Sometimes, they measure the relevance of racial attitudes to patterns of stratification, marriage and so on.

In my study, I attempt none of these. If questioned on this point, my answer would be that my interest lies in another direction and that my formulation

of the study takes into account an important sociological fact concerning Indian migrants all over the world, which has often been noticed but not utilised in any sociological analysis of the study of social relations between the Indians and the other ethnic groups. This is the fact that the Indian immigrants have formed themselves into immigrant communities wherever they have gone, whether it be in the countries where they are politically, economically or socially dominant or not. In fact they have brought about changes in the erstwhile homogeneous indigenous societies to turn them into plural societies. These Indian communities overseas are being increasingly studied and the structural and functional aspects of the internal organisations are in an increasing measure known to sociologists and social anthropologists. But as yet there is no study which has in more than a cursory measure studied those social devices through which the Indian communities achieve exclusion in some and participation in other activities which take place within the wider collectivity (i.e. the one composed of the immigrant community and the host society). It is my intention then to study in this thesis this problem of finding the patterns of exclusion and participation which the Indian community in the United Kingdom has achieved. Before I elaborate this, however, it will be useful to

clear some of the purely sociological issues at first.

One of the questions which faces a social anthropologist is, how far can he study the individual as distinct from the society. Describing the relationship between the action patterns which are the subject matter of an anthropology and the relevance of the individual to it, the late Professor Nadel writes:

"Action patterns are realised by individuals; groupings and relationships exist through individuals. Yet if the action pattern is conceived of as standardised, regular and recurrent, it is also independent of the concrete living individual.....At every step of our inquiry, then we observe individuals; yet step by step our analysis also leads us away from the individual to something else."¹

This something else he defines as 'a person' which

"is more than individual; it is the individual with certain recognised or institutionalised tasks and relationships and is all the individuals who act in that way. The person is

1. This and the following quotations are taken from S.F.Nadel. Foundations of social Anthropology. The Free Press Glencoe, Illinois, U.S.A., 1951, pp. 91-97.

also less than the individual; for an individual may be several persons and out of his physical and mental qualities only some will enter into the ways of acting which define the person."

"In large and complex societies the persons are much more numerous, more diffuse and ill-defined. They are also less well and less directly known. An individual may only have a theoretical knowledge from reading or from heresay of many 'persons' existing within the group, and if he attempted to model himself on them, he would do so with such uncertain knowledge.....To the individual as well as to the observer, the precise connotation of a person may here seem elusive, so that all save a small core of behaviour patterns have to be described instead to the individuality. Social change would further blur the picture of existing persons, since it may create new ones, as yet of vague outline".

This then is the problem. One of the central facts about the Indian immigrants in the United Kingdom is that the immigration is very recent, (i.e., only about

ten years or so). Under the circumstances, the task of observing a community through patterns of behaviours, persons, roles and sub-grouping is very difficult. Timelessness presents verification through history. But this added authentication is not absolutely necessary. That the community (i.e. a group with a majority of its relationships bounded within) exists, I have no doubt. Some of its structural aspects I describe in the next chapter. What is not so clear, however, are the persons which become discernible from the action-patterns in which the immigrants individuals and the members of the host society participate. In fact the action-patterns themselves are so often isolated incidents that it cannot be said with certainty whether they are 'typical' and 'repetitive' or not. Under the circumstances, there is very little choice but to present the observed material as it is in greater detail than would be necessary in ordinary circumstances and then point to possible 'persons' quasi-roles and roles.

But there is another way to systematise and abstract from the observed material also. Through the study of the internal structure of the immigrant community. I have acquired some knowledge of the internal roles, groupings and institutions. In the absence of clear persons, therefore, it is possible to examine the relevance

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of these sociological facts to the actual action and thus add to our knowledge of the 'external' persons.

To return to the main point, I may ask how far this last method of abstraction can contribute towards the main purpose of this thesis which is to examine the patterns of exclusion and participation of the immigrants in the wider collectivity. It does so greatly indeed. I can for example point to the fact that only particular groups and not others are relevant in a given action-pattern. In other words, I may say that a given action is affected by the fact that the individual immigrant who is involved in the action is a member of certain existing group. The emphasis on the individual, if such a course is taken, is a help rather than a hindrance.

There is another limitation which I impose on myself at the start. My interest is confined mainly to the immigrants whether as individuals, persons or groups. I am not so concerned with the members of the host society. I have therefore not analysed those aspects of the relationships which deal with the members of the host society or others. I have described them in minimum possible space where I felt such a description facilitated my analysis.

To sum up then, the main purpose of this thesis is to study how the exclusion and participation by the immigrants in the activities of the wider collectivity is arranged. Secondly I ask how the immigrant communal organisation which has achieved exclusion completely, also operates in the marginal activities. (i.e. in situations where complete exclusion is not achieved). Thirdly, the thesis is also concerned with the roles and new groupings which come about as a result of in-group activity.

I must make clear certain usages in this thesis which are otherwise likely to mislead. I have sometimes used the term "the immigrants" to denote Indian immigrants. This was inevitable because too frequent but consistent use of Indian immigrants would have appeared pedantic. Where the term immigrants denotes any immigrant category, the meaning is usually clear from the context. Secondly, I have used the terms "Indian immigrants" and "the Indian community" in different senses. The first denotes the social category, the second denotes a social group. Although the personnel in both cases is the same, the group (Indian community) is such that all the relationships of the Indian immigrants in the United Kingdom are not bounded by it. Hence where such latter type of actions are the subject of

analysis, the terms Indian immigrant is used. Only where the 'communal' aspects of the Indian immigrants are relevant is the other term used.

Chapter II

I. The Identification of the Indian Immigrant.

1. Indian migration overseas.
2. Recent immigration into the United Kingdom
 - (a) Numbers
 - (b) The economic motivation.
3. The history of Indian Immigration and the size of the Indian population in the United Kingdom.
4. Indian immigrants - definition.
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 - (a) Age
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6. Social Visibility
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II. The Indian Community.

1. Regions of Origin in India.
2. Religion and Caste
3. The Village-kin group.

1. Indian migration overseas:

The United Kingdom is the most recent of the countries to which the Indians have migrated during the last one and a quarter centuries. Since 1874^{when} since the first Indians landed in Fiji¹ Indians have migrated to all the territories under British rule and many more. The story of these migrations is uniform. In all cases, the immigrants came from rural areas and belonged to agricultural and craftsmen castes. In the host country they worked as agricultural labourers, craftsmen, unskilled workers and petty traders. The migrations were voluntary, but sometimes, particularly in the last century and the early part of this one, the governments of expanding colonies made arrangements to recruit cheap labour in India, the demand for which arose after the abolition of slavery. The early recruitment was confined to specific regions in India presumably due to the limitations imposed by the lack of facilities, such as an absence of means of communication then in existence. The East India Company confined its recruitment to areas under its own influence. Even in subsequent voluntary migrations, due to the regional character of the all-India society, migration has been confined to specific regions in India, viz., some parts of Bengal, Bihar, Gujarat, Punjab and Tamil~~and~~.

One of the results of this confinement is that the migrants have retained the unity given them by their regional culture, language and kinship ties, which they carried with them from India. A striking proof of this is in the fact that the Indian communities overseas are found organised to this day, on the recognition of the regional culture and language rather than on an all-India basis. To go further, I also suggest that the regional character of migrations made it easier for the migrants to transplant Indian culture and values by forming themselves into voluntarily exclusive communities and at the same time retain contacts with India wherever economic conditions and means of communication permitted them. I shall deal with this later; suffice it to say that overseas migration had become so much a part of the Indian scene that as early as 1896, the Government of India passed a law governing the recruitment of labour from India.

2. Recent immigration into the United Kingdom:-

(a) Numbers

The present wave of immigration into the United Kingdom started immediately after the end of the second World War. The economic expansion taking place in the United Kingdom and the resulting shortage of labour attracted immigrant workers from all over Europe, as well as many parts of the British commonwealth. The following table gives the number of the European immigrants who entered the country from the end of

the second World War until 1953.

TABLE I ¹

Number of European immigrants in the United Kingdom
and their countries of Origin - Years 1946 - 1953.

Country of Origin	Estimated Net immigration	
	Total Number	%
Baltic or Finnish	21,700	4.9
German	49,200	11.2
Irish	146,000	33.2
Italian	28,900	6.5
Polish	120,400	27.4
Others	73,000	16.8
Total	439,000	100

By 1953, immigration from European countries had ceased to be important. Those who came after 1953 were mainly Italians. But their number was quite small compared to that of the earlier arrivals from the other countries. Towards the end of 1956, the Hungarians arrived in some number as a result of a political uprising in their own country. A great many of them, however, did not settle down but migrated again to other countries. At the moment the only steady immigrants from

(1) W.D. ~~Bodie~~ and others, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, Unesco, Paris, 1959, p. 30.

Europe are the young girls who come to the United Kingdom for short periods to learn English and who pay for their stay through domestic work.

Although the coloured immigrants from the British commonwealth and colonies started coming during and soon after the Second World War their number was very small until 1953. Thus, e.g. Dr. Ruth Glass states that, there were approximately 20,000 West Indians by 1953 of whom 15,307 appeared on the Census 1951. But in 1954 alone an estimated 10,000 arrived from the West Indies. By 1959, they were the largest single group of immigrants numbering some 126,000¹. Others to arrive were the West Africans and Arabs who added to their own number already present in the docklands of Liverpool and Cardiff since the thirties. Their total number by 1960 was estimated by Dr. Wood to be less than 25,000.²

(b) The economic motivation.

It is fairly easy to conclude that from 1946 onwards, the immigration into the United Kingdom, from whatever country of origin, is related to the favourable economic conditions prevailing in the United Kingdom as compared to those found in the various countries of origin. This is true also of the

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1. Ruth Glass, *Newcomers*, George Allen & Unwin for Centre for Urban Studies, London, 1960, pp. 4-5.
 2. Wood "The immigration" in *Coloured Immigrants in Britain*, J.A.G. Griffiths & others, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, London, 1960, p.3.

immigration from Europe, although in some cases - in the case of Polish or Hungarian refugees, for example - it was motivated by political conditions in the countries of origin. To quote,

"A considerable part at least of the International movement of labour between north-western and southern Europe must be considered as a natural flow of labour from areas₁ of under-employment to areas of labour shortage."¹

and also,

"..... with the exception of one year - 1952 - the number of unskilled vacancies in the country" (i.e. the United Kingdom) "exceeded the number of unemployed. In the circumstances, the Government sought to remedy the situation through recruitment of foreign workers. by 1952, nearly 130,000 foreign workers entered employment under official schemes, while the number of individual permits issued by the British Ministry of Labour every year since 1949 from countries other than Ireland and₂ British Commonwealth has remained constant at 35,000."²

Whether the individual immigrants are motivated by economic reasons is very difficult to decide. The immigrants themselves advance a number of "reasons" and causes other than economic ones, which can hardly be taken at their face value, especially when the economic motive is not generally approved by the host society. Whenever the immigrants are attacked for being motivated by the desire for economic gain, they adopt two

1. W.D. Bowrie and others 1959, op.cit. p. 31.

2. J. Zubrzycki, Across the frontiers of Europe in W.D. Bowrie and others, 1959 op.cit. p. 164.

alternative defences. On the one hand they argue that they make a valuable and desirable contribution to the country's economy; on the other hand they say that their primary motives or reasons in immigrating were of a non-economic kind and they came to the United Kingdom, to escape persecution in their homeland, as a result of a misfortune or a disaster, because of their love of the host country and its institutions or in order to acquire education (a laudable motive in the eyes of the host society) and so on. Thus the Hungarians and the Polish immigrants readily refer to persecution in their own countries, the West Indians point to the political, cultural and affective ties to the host society and the West Africans refer to their desire to acquire education, as the prime motives for their action. While there is no denying the obvious truth contained in such statements, they do not invalidate the empirical conclusion, that it is only the favourable economic conditions that facilitated the immigrants' settlement in the host society.

What generally happens, whenever imputation of economic motives is used to express the hostility against an immigrant group, is that it develops a unified complex of motives in defence which are acceptable to the host society. Such a complex usually becomes the common property of the group, the subject of hostility and any individual belonging to such a group defends himself from the hostility by using the arguments

which derive from it. The individual then discounts his personal motives if they are disapproved by the host society, as being of little consequence.

The immigration from India and Pakistan is frankly economically motivated. In so far, however, as hostility is directed to them the Indians too have developed a complex of arguments to ~~defend~~ ^{justify} ~~themselves~~ ^{immigration}. Thus, the immigrants often argue that without the Indo-Pakistani doctors, the National Health Service would break-down. Another argument most often advanced, is that the host society had economically exploited their homeland (India or Pakistan) so much and ^{for} so long that the ~~host~~ society had no moral right to protest about a small number of immigrants coming to earn an honest living. A third argument is that the Indo-Pakistanis (like all the coloured immigrants) got only those jobs which the Englishman did not want and so it was the Indo-Pakistanis who were being exploited. (This argument usually gives an example of the Indo-Pakistani foundry-workers who do strenuous work under unusually high temperatures.) A very exceptional argument I came across was from a Pakistani who came presumably from the Indian occupied part of Kashmir. He was given a council flat along with the English residents of a street when the houses in it were demolished. The English co-tenants of the estate objected to his moving along with them and the issue received wide publicity in the local and national press. Among other things, the Pakistani stated that he was made a refugee as a result

of the occupation of Kashmir by India. Whatever the truth, the argument was calculated to exploit the fact that 'persecution in the homeland' is an 'approved' motive in the thinking of the host society.

The following points, however, should be noted in relation to the motives of the Indians in coming to the United Kingdom. Almost all the Indian immigrants in the United Kingdom come from the two traditional areas of immigration. In these areas - Punjab and Gujarat - emigration is highly approved and it does not involve any severance of ties with the society in India. Secondly, there is no other country which allows the Indians to enter freely for the purpose of earning a living. Almost all the countries, including those in the British commonwealth, have either closed their doors for the Indians by now completely, or have allowed a quota which is negligible in comparison with the number of those who desire to emigrate. Thirdly, as I have shown earlier, there is a great pressure on land in Gujarat (and Punjab) and consequent forced unemployment ¹.

3. History of Indian immigration and size of Indian population in the United Kingdom.

The Indians are no strangers to the United Kingdom.

1. R.H. Desai op.cit. 1960 pp. 37-42.

Almost from the beginning of India's contact with the English, Indians have come to the United Kingdom in increasing numbers, mainly as sailors, students, professionals, businessmen and as politicians, usually to return after their mission was accomplished. Some of them did settle down but their number was never very large. Mr. Kondapi wrote in 1949, "There are 5,000 Indians who have been for a fairly lengthy period in the United Kingdom. They have entered a number of leading professions. A large number is in the medical profession - no less than 1,000 are practicing throughout Britain. About 200 are in London."¹

The current migration of the Indians to the United Kingdom cannot be said to have begun before the end of the second World War. No doubt, the Indian population of seamen formed a part of the coloured colonies in the nineteen-thirties which grew up in ports. But their number was small compared to other coloured immigrants, then in the country. During the War, a number of seamen came ashore in search of jobs in the factories and some Indians were sent by the Government of India to acquire skills and help in the War efforts. Some who came as students, particularly doctors, stayed over as a result of War. Their number, as Mr. Kondapi maintains, was very small compared to that of present immigrants. To take

(1) C. Kondapi, *Indians Overseas, 1838-1949*, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, 1949, p. 360.

an example, the city of Birmingham had an estimated population of 100 in 1939 which included 20 doctors and students. By 1945, however, the population increased to about 1,000, the addition consisting mainly of seamen who moved inwards from the ports. In 1953 the estimate of the Indo-Pakistani population was 2,000 in the city.¹ In 1955, Dr. Banton wrote that there were about a thousand Indians and Pakistanis in the Gorbals area of Glasgow^{also} mainly operating as pedlars.²

The Indian (and Pakistani) immigration became numerically significant only after 1952 at the tail end of the European influx, although the immigrants coming after 1949 were no longer seamen who drifted ashore but were those whose primary aim was economic gain. At one period, many an immigrant from East Pakistan took jobs as seamen to circumvent their government's refusal to issue a passport to them.

Since 1952, immigration from India and Pakistan has been continuous. The peak reached in 1954-55, when the Government of India introduced new regulations for issuing passports, which required a stricter check on the prospective immigrants than before. Again in 1958, presumably at the instance of the British Government, the passport offices, hitherto managed by regional authorities, were centralised at New Delhi and

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1. Wood, The immigrants in the towns in "Coloured Immigrants in Britain" J.A.G. Griffiths and others, Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations, London, 1960, p. 38.
 2. Banton, "Coloured Quarter", Jonathan Cape, London, p. 73.

prospective male immigrants from the areas of migration were positively discouraged. Since 1960 when the irregular practices in evading passport regulations were discovered, it has become extremely difficult, if not impossible, for an uneducated, unskilled person to obtain a passport and an endorsement to come to the United Kingdom. The majority of immigrants for the last two years have been the wives, children and other dependents of the immigrants who are already in the United Kingdom.

The difficulties of estimating immigrant populations in the United Kingdom are well-recognised. Unlike the West Indian government, the Indian and Pakistani Governments have issued no figures of immigrants from their country coming to the United Kingdom. The British Government too does not have any record of persons from these countries who enter the United Kingdom. Moreover, the estimates by the British sources often consider the Indians and the Pakistanis as a single ethnic group; consequently they make little difference between the two. All estimates are speculative, though some of them are based on records of the shipping companies sailing out of the ports in India and Pakistan. Sometimes records of local authorities such as licensing authorities and employment exchanges are used in order to arrive at the estimates of local populations. But these are often unreliable for building up a national estimate. It is my experience that a significant number of Indians do not register at employment

exchanges when they lose jobs but make use of the internal network of the Village-kin relationships in order to find a new job. As I shall show later the spatial mobility is continuous even during periods of full employment.

Another factor which is an hindrance to making a correct estimate is the definition of an immigrant which I ^{have} adopted, ~~earlier~~. According to it, there is some migration to and from one category of Indians to another. Any estimates by British sources do not take this internal differentiation, which is important in this thesis, into account. In the circumstances, all estimates and numerical statements about the Indians (or Indo-Pakistanis) have mere illustrative value.

It is possible, however, to find a pattern in the immigrant population which may help to make an estimate. The total Indian immigrant population can be divided into three categories. The first one consists of the older population of seamen, most of whom came before 1949 and from areas which are now in Pakistan. They still live in ports such as Bristol, Cardiff, Liverpool, Glasgow and in the east end of London. The number of those who came before the War does not exceed 500. A majority of them by now have only tenuous ties with the society in India. They usually live with non-Indian women and in the coloured settlements in the ports. They do not have any contact with the new immigrants. The seamen coming after 1949 are immigrants within my definition, but as they come from Pakistan

(although they may board a ship from Bombay or Calcutta). I am not concerned with them. The second category consists of Indian pedlars who are mainly Sikhs. Their number is between 3,000 and 4,000 counting their dependents, i.e. wives and children. There are some of the earliest immigrants among them and some have been in Britain for twenty years and more. A number of these early immigrants have amassed considerable money but still continue their ties with the society in India and are a part of the immigrant community. They act as wholesalers to the new pedlars and operate from London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow where their sources of supply are located. A few of them have also turned to other wholesale businesses, such as that of Indian grocery or spare-parts machinery, the former in Liverpool, the latter in London. The Indian pedlars appear to be the most visible and disliked group in Scotland. Apart from Dr. Banton's statement quoted earlier, Dr. Wood writes that of 271 pedlar's certificates issued in Glasgow in 1957 ninety per cent of them were given to coloured men. According to him, in 1958, 400 licenses in Birmingham and 60 in Liverpool were also issued to Indians and Pakistanis.¹ Their number increases very slowly, as an immigrant can enter peddling business only if he belongs

1. Donald Wood, op.cit. 1960, p. 27.

to the village kin-group of the wholesaler or if he^{is} prepared to put a large sum of money. It increased to some extent in 1958 when economic recession and forced idleness induced some of the immigrants to take to peddling.

The remaining category is the largest. These are the immigrants who work and live in industrial towns, and in large concentrations in the east end and other parts of London, in Southall, in the Birmingham Connurbation,¹ in Bradford, Coventry, Liverpool and Gravesend. (Glasgow seems to have more pedlars.)

I give below the table which compares some of the estimates given by the British sources.

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1. By the term Birmingham Connurbation, I wish to indicate the industrial area in and around the City of Birmingham, particularly the towns of Walsall, Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Darlaston, Dudley, Bilston and the borough of Smethwick, where most Indians live and where I did my fieldwork.

TABLE 2
Estimates of Indian and Pakistani
Population in the United Kingdom

No.	Date of Estimate	Estimated Population	Source
1.	1955	10,700	Whitaker's Almanac 1956.
2.	1957 (During the period 1955-57)	17,300 Indians	Indian Parliament
3.	Dec. 1958	55,000	Home office announced in Parliament
4.	Feb. 1960	Between 70,000 and 100,000	Donald Wood
5.	1960	50,000	Dr. A.H. Richmond
6.	1st. Jan. 1959	35,000 Pakistanis 15,000 Indians	Dr. Banton

Apart from this the British Government announced in the House of Commons that the total net inward movement from India in the first ten months of 1961 was 18,300, that from Pakistan was 19,280 and the net inward movement from India during 1958

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1. Whitaker's Almanac, 1956, p. 572.
 2. Quoted in Times, London, 30th Oct. 1959.
 3. House of Commons, Hansard, Col. 1580-81, 5th Dec. 1958.
 4. Donald Wood, op.cit. 1960, p. 13.
 5. A.H. Richmond, The Colour Problem, Penguin books ltd., London, revised edition, 1961, p. 233.
 6. Michael Banton, op.cit. 1959, p. 159.

was 6,200.¹ In the same debate a member quoted an Indian Embassy communique giving the number of Indian passports and endorsements issued for the United Kingdom for the period January to June, 1960 as 10,167 that for January to June, 1961 as 12,277.² The increase was accounted for by the Indian embassy in the following words, "Asked what accounted for the increase in the issue of passports, the Parliamentary Secretary replied that the families of those who had found jobs in the United Kingdom wanted to join them and this fact accounted for the increase."³

My own estimate, which is made from internal sources, is that there are 40,000 Indians alone at present. In this connection it is interesting to recall the remark made by Dr. Wood that 'Indian and Pakistani officials in this country as well as leaders of local communities believe there are many more of their countrymen than this' (i.e. the official figure of 55,000).⁴ A more correct figure will be available only when the results of the 1961 census are published. In the meantime, I must repeat that all estimates, including my own, have only illustrative value.

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1. House of Commons Hansard, Col.1183, 5th Dec. 1961.
 2. House of Commons Hansard, Col.1200, 5th Dec. 1961.
 3. Quoted in House of Commons Hansard, Col. 1200, 5th Dec. 1961.
 4. Donald Wood op.cit. 1960 p. 13.

4. Indian Immigrants - definition:

Not all the Indians who arrive in the United Kingdom or even those who stay for long periods fall within the scope of this study. Almost all Indians who come to the United Kingdom can be readily categorised as visitors, students, qualified medical practitioners who come for further study, technical trainees, businessmen, officials of the High Commission of India, and those who come here to work usually as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers in order to pay for their stay and also make a saving. It is this last category of Indians which I define as immigrants. The immigrants differ from the others in a number of ways. Whereas the others are motivated in such a way that their stay, even when prolonged, is not likely to turn them into permanent residents of the United Kingdom, the latter acquire a degree of permanence much more readily.¹ Another factor which distinguishes the immigrants from the rest is the fact that only they, of all the Indians, have constituted themselves into communities. The rest behave as social categories (though sometimes they display characteristics of a social group by forming an association).

It is true that all the Indians share a number of problems

1. e.g. the immigrants buy a house more readily than others.

of adjustment to a new environment, such as that of finding accommodation, facing colour prejudice and discrimination in inter-personal relationships, but only the immigrants respond to them through the formation of an involute social system which is not unlike the one found in the villages of India and to some extent based on the same principles.

The immigrants are isolated from others through their membership of a community, which can be extended to only those who come from the same regions in India as the immigrants and who adjust their behaviour suitably. Sometimes this is easy as in the case of the Punjabi and Gujarati students and businessmen of whom only a verbal identification is required. More commonly, however, the membership is closed to all outsiders Indians or others, since the community has its roots in the regional society in India. The immigrant individual on the other hand can easily relinquish his membership in various ways and may even be forced by others to do so.

The chief advantage of recognising the presence of the Indian community (of which a number are present) for the purpose of this study is that it enables me to view the Indian immigrants as a homogenous social group. Consequently I am enabled to examine the issues of social relations between the members of the host society and the immigrants at the group level. In other words a greater degree of coherence and sophistication are achieved by emphasising the involuteness and

the homogeneity of the immigrant communities. Numerically the immigrants far outnumber the rest of the categories put together and hence nothing significant is neglected by leaving out the social categories from this study altogether. I shall deal with those structural features which are relevant to this study in the next ^{part of this} chapter. For the present I turn to some of the demographic facts which are as important.

5. Demographic facts

(a) Age

Dr. Wood found that ninety per cent of Indians and Pakistanis in Birmingham were between 20 and 50 years of age.¹ In my own inquiry among two hundred and seventy four Gujaratis, I found only one male and one female of over 50 years of age. In contrast there were 31 children among them all under the age of 15 years.

The reason is that it is usually the junior members of the extended family in India whose labour on the family land or business is superfluous, who came to the United Kingdom. This junior member is the young son or the brother who is unemployed or badly employed in India, who is financed by the family to migrate to the United Kingdom. Once there, he sends for his wife and children in due time. Sometimes he

1. Donald Wood op.cit. 1960 p. 39.

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sponsors the other elder members of his family (e.g. father or brothers). The totally dependent members (either due to old age or infirmity) come to the United Kingdom rarely, usually when the rest of the family is already in the United Kingdom and there is no one to look after them in India. Some older people are deterred from coming to the United Kingdom because of the breaking of the rules of ritual purity that it would involve.

The trend is for the persons in their earlier years to come to the United Kingdom. The spread in the ages of present immigrants is most likely, due to the fact that the immigration itself is now more than fifteen years old and so the early immigrants have added as many years to their own ages.

(b) Sex and Marriage.

The early immigrants were usually males. But after 1955 and 1958 when the passport regulations imposed by the Government of India were tightened up, an increasing number of immigrants have been women and children who came to join their husbands. In some cases, prospective brides chosen by the parents of the immigrant have come to the United Kingdom to get married. In fact it is not unreasonable to assume that the preponderance of males found in the early years of all economic migrations, is being reduced increasingly in the case of Indians with the passing of the time. This is particularly so after 1958 from which year onwards male adult Indians have found much more difficult, if not impossible, to obtain a

passport from the Government of India for the purpose of migration.

Most immigrants (Gujaratis and Punjabis) are married before they come. Although during the early years of migration they prefer to live alone by themselves, later on, when they reconcile themselves to an indefinite stay in the United Kingdom and when they have enough savings (usually to buy a house in order to provide accommodation) they bring over their nuclear family (wife and young children) to live with them.

Women migrate only as dependents of a male immigrant. They may be wives, brides, widowed mothers and sometimes an unmarried sister. This is in accordance with and follows from the fact that within the Society in Gujarat and Punjab, women are under the tutelage of the head of the extended family in which they live. It is impossible for an unattached woman therefore to find a place in her own right within the immigrant community;

The following table gives the break-down of the Gujarati immigrant groups in the Birmingham conurbation and in Bradford.

TABLE 3

1. Break-down of Gujarati population, sex-wise

Population				
Place	Men	Women	Children	Total
Birmingham Connurbation	191	52	31	274
Bradford	207	47	63	317

I have no figures for the Punjabi group. But they do not, I think, differ very much in this respect from the Gujaratis.

There are no joint families in the sociological sense, in the United Kingdom as there are in Gujarat and Punjab. But immigrants very often live jointly in hostels, house-groups and so on.¹

(c) Education

Almost all Gujarati males are literate. Most of them have had high school education and some also went to university colleges in the district town in Gujarat. I found that among 191 males, all of whom had high school education, there were 16 who had spent from one to four years at the university. But of these only 4 had their education at Bombay, i.e. outside their region.

Compared to the Gujaratis, the degree of education among the Indian Punjabis is definitely lower. Although I have no comparative figures, I believe that there are fewer among them than among the Gujaratis, who went to a University. The same is true of those who went to a high school. Whereas there are no illiterates among the Gujaratis, I did not come across one in my five years contact with them. There are definitely some, though very few, among the Punjabis. The Pakistani

1. For a discussion on joint living see R.H. Desai op.cit. 1960, pp. 168-184.

groups with which I am not concerned in this thesis, have many more illiterates and fewer university-educated than do the Indians.

The women in all cases are less educated as a group. Though almost all Gujarati women are literate, only a handful have been to the university. In my examination of a group of 52 women, only two had been to a university and only one was totally illiterate. This description is more true of the Punjabi women. Like Punjabi men there are more illiterates among the Punjabi women. But this is difficult to confirm. Whatever the state of affairs, the issue of education among immigrant women is only of a curiosity value, as very few women work outside the house or come into contact with members of the host society in any other way. Even when they do come into contact, they usually employ their husbands or other immigrant relatives as interpreters.

Education, and particularly university education in India, is synonymous with the possession of a knowledge of English. All university-educated have had some experience of writing and reading English, but very little of speaking it. Hence almost all immigrants need a severe adjustment in their knowledge of English before they are able to communicate with the English. This adjustment in the case of those who are not well-educated, consists of a meagre vocabulary, few phrases, little grammar and a sing-song accent. At best they achieve bare mutual

intelligibility in everyday situations. At worst, they are compelled to use another Indian as an interpreter. Those who have had university education do speak English, but their vocabulary and powers of expression are very much limited. They too need adjustment in the form of learning local accents and forms of linguistic behaviour which are unknown to them before. The linguistic adjustment is so difficult that only in exceptional cases, the immigrants achieve a good knowledge of English. Even fewer succeed in giving up the sing-song accent identified with the Indians for so long.

The immigrant women do not need to learn English because they are invariably escorted by male immigrants (usually their husband or other relative) in all non-kinship contacts as is prescribed by the norms of sexual behaviour. On the other hand, where the women do have some knowledge of English, it provides them with an impetus to work outside the home in a factory.

The younger children, who receive education in the United Kingdom, become bilingual, speaking either Punjabi or Gujarati at home and English outside it. Many a time they act as interpreters for their parents. They acquire local accents from their school mates rather than from their fathers, even when the latter speak English. It is fascinating to discover how much the young children's language and accent are steeped in local colour. Compared with them, the teenage children who have had some schooling in India before they came

here find it as difficult as their parents to learn English. To sum up, it will be true to say that the shift is towards a general English-speaking population, although this is balanced continually by the influx of new immigrants.

In the value-system of the immigrants, literacy and education give prestige to their possessor. A university education does this even more so. A compliance by the university-educated, particularly if he has recently left his studies, to the group norms is less exactly demanded than it would be from others. It is generally accepted that the university-educated have a wider horizon and therefore they will have more 'progressive' (i.e. different) views from those of the majority. They have therefore a greater chance of assuming leadership than the others.

The immigrants who know English possess a distinct advantage over others who do not know it, in their relationships with the host society. In fact this scarce possession has created the special role of the intermediary in the relationships between the immigrants and the host society. This role functions in many situations, and I shall deal with it later on.

6. Social Visibility:

There are a number of diacritical marks which distinguish the Indian immigrants from the others. These are important in so far as they furnish the Indian immigrants with their social visibility. They are also important to

distinguish one linguistic regional group from the other. I shall examine some of them below.

(a) Physical characteristics

The Indians in the United Kingdom are Caucasian in racial type and are distinguishable usually by their skin-colour from immigrant West Indians, Africans, Europeans and the members of the host society. The skin-colour of the Indian immigrants varies from pale white to dark brown in some cases. The Punjabis are nearer in skin-colour and physical features to the members of the host society than others. They often have a fair skin, tall stature and good physique. The Gujaratis, the Eastern Bengali and the Kashmiri have a smaller stature, darker skin and a weaker physique compared to that of the English. A number of Punjabis and Gujaratis, however, are barely distinguishable from Europeans. They can (and sometimes do) pass themselves easily as Southern Europeans. After a long stay in the United Kingdom, the Indians tend to lighten their skin-colour to a certain extent. Especially the children, who have not experienced the strong Indian sun, tend to be lighter-skinned than their parents.

(b) Dress

Dress is another diacritical mark which distinguishes the Indian immigrants from the members of the host society. The male immigrants who usually wear Indian clothing before immigration adopt English clothing before coming to the United

Kingdom. The Sikhs, however, retain their turban, full beard, long hair on head, and the not so obvious iron bracelet on their hand, which are the distinctive marks enjoined by their religion. There are, however, a large number of Sikhs who have removed these marks either immediately before or after coming to the United Kingdom. There are also some Muslims, particularly from East Bengal, who retain their fur cap as a distinguishing mark. The women from all the groups retain their dress. Most of them wear a Saree, a few from Punjab wear the more exotic (to the English eye) silk pyjama, long shirt and a veil. They also use different cosmetics, scents, and have a conception of beauty different from that of the host society. The children on coming to the United Kingdom adopt the United Kingdom style of dress.

Very few women adopt English clothing. They do so mainly to find a job. Even then, they retain Indian clothing on all social occasions within the immigrant group. Likewise, the Sikhs too remove their diacritical marks in order to get particular jobs. In both these cases, the cultural change is a very important one and is indicative of social change, thus many Indian women do not take up a job, because it is conditional upon accepting English clothing. Likewise, the Sikhs always complain that they are discriminated against by the host society because of their religious diacritical marks. That the Sikhs have recognised the necessity of changing their dress can be seen from the example of one of their temples,

which has expressly ruled that its membership and offices are not conditional upon the person having long hair (i.e. turban, beard, and so on).

(c) Names

The immigrants have names and surnames very much distinct from those of the host society. Each of the immigrant groups has a distinct set of names and surnames which distinguishes it from the other groups. The Gujaratis of the agricultural caste who are most numerous among the group have Patel as their surname in almost all cases. Likewise the Anavil Brahmans (also Gujaratis) have Desai or Naik. Those of the artisan castes have a surname denoting their traditional occupation. The Sikhs do not always have a surname but use instead the latter portion of their name. As the Sikhs follow a religious injunction in choosing their name, the latter half is invariably Singh. The Punjabi Hindus (Brahmans and others) also have surnames which distinguishes them from others. The Muslims from all the three regions have distinctive names and surnames, which distinguishes them from each other.

The importance of names as a diacritical mark lies in the fact that the immigrants retain their internal cleavages based on language, region, caste and religion through it. They also retain symbolically their ties with the society in India through it. The English names are associated with practice of Christianity and they carry an identification not desired by

the immigrants. It is because of this that even those children born in the United Kingdom are given Indian names.

(d) Food

Food habits are perhaps the most distinctive of Indian features after skin-colour, and is in some cases more objectionable to the host society than skin-colour. In their daily cooking, the immigrants use the spices which give those exotic smells identified all over the world with 'curry'. The Indian cooking is elaborate and requires a great variety of grains, spices, herbs and vegetables usually absent in the United Kingdom. There are few items of food common both to the Indians and to the members of the host society. Even among the immigrants, groups differ in their food habits. Thus the Gujarati and Punjabi Hindus and some Sikhs are vegetarians in India. Those who eat meat among the Hindus and Sikhs avoid beef. The Muslims avoid pork. Only the Eastern Bengali eat fish. The Sikhs avoid smoking because of a religious injunction. All the immigrants traditionally sit on ground and eat food with their fingers.

The change in food habits has also cultural and social significance. Among the Gujarati and the Punjabi who are traditionally vegetarians, the practice has lost much of its social significance since most males in the United Kingdom eat some kind of meat. The practice is alive only among their women.

(e) Importance of diacritical marks.

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These diacritical marks are important. On the one hand, they tend to make the immigrants visible to the host society. On the other hand they tend to emphasise cultural identity with the regional society in India. Moreover, they also help to emphasise to the immigrants themselves their membership of their linguistic-regional group. The continuation of such marks is not necessarily enforced. However, any abandonment, unless it can be effectively related to a goal approved by the immigrant group, is discouraged. How the abandonment of a specific cultural mark does in fact come about is too complex a process to discuss here. It can be said, however, that when cultural change is decreed by social needs, the individuals tend to invent and also accept immediate justifications for change, however flimsy or tenuous these may be. I shall discuss this later. For the moment it is sufficient to point out that the diacritical marks contribute to the distinctive identity of the Indian Group. These marks in themselves carry a variety of social implications and these latter are the legitimate interest of this thesis.

II. The Indian Community

1. Regions of Origin in India: The Indo-Pakistani immigrants do not come from all over the Indian sub-continent but from four distinct regions. These are (1) the Jullender and Hoshiarpur districts of Punjab in India (2) the central and southern parts of Gujarat in India, particularly the district of Surat and

Charottar (3) the Punjabi-speaking areas in West Pakistan and the Mirpur district of Kashmir now occupied by Pakistan and (4) The Sylhet district in East Pakistan. After 1960, however, some of the Gujarati have come from east and Central Africa, where also they went initially as immigrants.

There are the rural areas which have unbroken traditions of migration outside India going back to the last century, when the British held colonies and territories needing Indian labour.¹ The Punjabi Indians (particularly the Sikhs) went as soldiers in the British army, as policemen, traders, craftsmen and labourers. The Gujaratis usually went as professionals, traders, clerks, craftsmen and sometimes as labourers. The Pakistanis on the other hand, went all over the world as seamen in the British and Indian merchant navy. Unlike the Indians, they usually returned home at the end of their working life. The only exceptions are those who settled in the docklands of Cardiff and Liverpool during the nineteen-thirties.

Language

Linguistically the immigrants fall into three categories. The immigrants from the Punjab in India and West Pakistan speak Punjabi; those from the Mirpur district speak a Kashmiri

1. A.C. Mayer, A report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver, working paper, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of British Columbia, Canada, 1959, p.1.

dialect which is similar to Punjabi. Those from Gujarat speak Gujarati and those from East Pakistan speak Eastern Bengali. There is no mutual intelligibility among these three linguistic categories and hardly any immigrant can speak any except his own language. The immigrants usually speak the rural dialect of the locality from which they come, with its particular accents and usages. The Indo-Pakistanis, therefore, use a form of Hindi-Urdu as a lingua-franca whenever they wish to communicate across the barrier. This Hindi-Urdu is, however, different from the one normally used in north India in that it is submerged in the accents and usages of the language of its speakers. Thus an East Bengali speaker who is furthest away linguistically from the Hindi-Urdu can communicate only the crudest necessities in the lingua-franca since his speech will contain more Bengali. The same is true of the Gujarati and the Kashmiri. Only the Punjabi speakers from India and Pakistan can communicate freely with each other. They are also fortunate in that their language is nearest to the lingua-franca. Those who had some education, however, find it easier than others to cross the linguistic barrier.

Amongst their own linguistic group, the immigrants invariably use their own language in their inter-personal relationship and in the conduct of their group activities.

2. Religion and Caste

Among the Gujarati, a majority are Hindus and only a few are Muslims. Among the Punjabis from India likewise, a great majority are Sikhs and only a few are Hindus usually from upper and middle castes. All Pakistanis are, on the other hand, Muslims. The Muslims from Gujarat, East Pakistan and West Pakistan do not identify themselves with each other organisationally (e.g. they do not have a common mosque). The Hindus also do not have an organisation which cuts across the linguistic-regional barrier. The Sikhs come from one region only and speak only Punjabi.

Most immigrants have an agricultural background. A great majority of them in fact belong to an agricultural caste. The rest are usually craftsmen who depend for their livelihood on the agricultural castes. Among the Gujarati and the Punjabi immigrants, however, there is a small number of Brahmans with rural origins but who may sometimes come from district towns within the regions. The linguistic-regional barrier operates just as strongly at the caste level as at the level of religion. The castes operate within the linguistic-regional group as a factor of grouping. The rules of inter-dining do not however apply in the United Kingdom. The Punjabi Sikhs and Hindus thus do not refuse to inter-dine with Muslims in the U.K. as they would in the village of their origin. The individual immigrants on the other hand retain their caste-affiliation in

terms of their relationship with India. Thus their kin-group in the United Kingdom is composed solely of their caste-fellows. The caste, sometimes, also operates in the forming of associations. Thus, members of a caste sometimes form a savings club or a social club and refuse its membership to outsiders. This, however, is not frequent and does not always meet with approval from all the caste-members.

Nominally there are no castes among the Sikhs and the Muslims. Yet they too retain their internal cleavages except for inter-dinings. In relation to Hindus or Sikhs within their linguistic group they ^{Muslims} behave as castes. An immigrant's caste-affiliation does not seem to have any restrictive effect on the choice of occupation in the United Kingdom. Thus, e.g. Brahman and Kunbi or a carpenter do work side by side in a factory. On the other hand craftsmen sometimes continue their traditional occupation as an additional source of income. When they do this, they usually operate among the linguistic-regional or at the most Indo-Pakistani immigrant group. Thus e.g. there are some barbers, carpenters, goldsmiths and tailors who have a clientèle composed of other Indians. The only exceptions are the ~~Brahmans~~, both from Gujarat and Punjab who are the ones who have given up their priestly functions for some generations in India. Hence they do not act as priests.

The hierarchical system of caste which stratifies the village-society in India does not operate in the United Kingdom. This may be due to the fact that there is not a sufficient

number of castes in the United Kingdom. It may also be due to the fact that economically immigrants of one caste do not depend on the other. They all depend on the host society. The diacritical marks of the caste, however, are present and are used in the inter-personal conflict to gain an advantage. Thus ~~on the one hand~~ firstly a Brahman does not get the same respect from others in the United Kingdom as he would get in India. On the other hand he may use his superior position in the caste-hierarchy in India to be elected to an association in preference to a rival of low caste. Likewise, members of the numerically dominant agricultural caste in every linguistic-regional community, support each other in the group activities which involve the whole community.

The comensal rules prohibiting inter-dining between two castes do not operate in the United Kingdom and even the Muslims (who fall outside the Hindu caste hierarchy, so that even an untouchable may not accept food from them), are not excluded from inter-dining. Generally speaking, the situations in which caste may function are rare in the United Kingdom. To that extent the linguistic-regional group, i.e. the Gujarati (and the Punjabi) operate as a unified community, i.e. as one caste group.

Caste, on the other hand, is very much alive among the immigrants in their relationship with the society in India. However, long the immigrant may be away from the village-caste

group in Gujarat (or Punjab)¹, he does not lose his membership of it except by overtly breaking one of its vital rules, such as marrying outside the caste, religion or region. Even so, he may not be formally outcasted as long as he does not force the village-kin group to act against him by some further act. For example, a marriage with an English girl will immediately result in outcasting if the man is in India; but it may not do so, if the man is in the United Kingdom, as long as he does not force the village-caste group to recognise the union by taking his wife or children to India, by refusing to accept punishment imposed by caste or some such act. A liaison outside marriage is even less damaging, although the person would certainly be outcasted if he were in India.

The immigrants retain their membership of the joint family (and through it of the caste society) in India. They contract marriage through it in India without actually visiting there, they leave their wives and children with it when they arrive in the United Kingdom, send money to it and help it in other ways and gain prestige in the larger village-caste group through it.

1. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer only to Gujarat henceforth. Unless I point out otherwise, the observations apply to the Punjabi immigrants also. When the Punjabi are referred to specifically, the observations do not apply to the Gujarati.

3. The Village-kin Group:

In absence of an effective caste-system, it is the village-kin group which forms the basis of organisation in the United Kingdom. The immigration as stated above has been limited to specific regions in India. It is not surprising, therefore, that an immigrant usually finds many of his village and caste fellows and relatives in the United Kingdom. An immigrant on arrival finds accommodation with a relative or a fellow-villager, and then onwards finds himself participating in all the activities of the group.

There are many situations and inter-personal activities in which the village-kin group finds expression. Thus an immigrant is usually sponsored by his fellow-villager or more often by a relative. He also gets help from them in finding a job, or accommodation on arrival. When he buys a house, they are the persons who give him loans. His best friends are more likely to be in this group. More often the house-group within which he lives day-by-day is also his village-kin group.

Friendships sometimes do grow up between those from different linguistic groups, when they can communicate through either English or Hindi-Urdu. Such friendships, however, lack the impetus to develop which is found in the village-caste context.

A Gujarati immigrant prefers to live in the same houses and towns as and in proximity to other Gujaratis. When he is not in the same house, his neighbourhood participation is

restricted to other Gujarati houses. The same is true of a Punjabi.

Thus at home, in his leisure hours as well as in work-situation, a Gujarati finds himself in the company of other Gujaratis. It would be true to say that in a very large measure the sense of belonging together does not extend beyond the linguistic-regional group.

Inter-actionally it is the village-kin~~g~~ group which unites immigrants all over the United Kingdom into a linguistic-regional community. An immigrant's village-kin group may spread over a number of towns all over the United Kingdom. He keeps in touch with them by visits during holidays. It is not unusual for an immigrant to travel several hundred miles during a week's holiday and visit as many of his friends and relatives as possible. I found a good example of this in a journey I made by car with one of my informants. We set out from Birmingham, visited ten different immigrant houses in the Midlands in six different towns, three houses in Yorkshire in three different towns and a house in London, all in a week's time. Wherever we went we found food, accommodation and a welcome. It is during these visits that an immigrant creates new friendships outside his village-kin group, but within the community. In looking for a job also an immigrant moves from one town to another in rapid succession and will get help in finding a job, food and accommodation wherever he has fellow-villagers and relatives.

There are a number of situations in which the immigrant behaves in his relationships with the host society, in terms of his membership of the village-kin group. What these situations are, how does the immigrant behave, what are the factors which determine his behaviour and what cognisance the group takes of the individual member, are some of the questions I will answer in the succeeding pages. It is sufficient to maintain here that the functions of the village-kin group are not confined to the situations occurring within the community only.

I must emphasise, at the cost of repetition, that it is the linguistic-regional factors that define the boundaries of the community. Thus, the culture and the value-system which an immigrant brings along with him from India are common to this group which is larger than the village-kin group. The cultural and other types of associations that the immigrants form also cover the linguistic-regional group, whatever their claims may be. More often they do not make claims to include other Indians or Indian immigrants. There is in fact no association which crosses the linguistic-regional barriers.¹

1. Some of these associations have local character, whereas others claim an all-Britain membership. But we shall deal with them in detail later.

A seeming exception to this are the film societies which show Indian and Pakistani films which have sometimes Indians and Pakistanis from all linguistic-groups as its members. But these societies do not achieve more than bringing the Indo-Pakistanis into physical proximity for a few hours. Its organisers belong to one group only. I shall deal with them later. Here it is sufficient to note that they do not detract from the solidarity of the community.

A word need be said about the similarity of social organisation in India with that of the internal organisation found among the immigrants in the United Kingdom. The regional socio-cultural wholes which constitute isolable social systems in India are also the largest units found here. The all-India immigrant society is found only by implication. Moreover, kinship (which is subsumed under caste) and village group, which underlie the organisation of the society in India, also operate in the United Kingdom in a similar way.

On the other hand, the kinship and village ties in the United Kingdom are but a portion of the larger network functioning in India. Hence to that extent groups find themselves functioning not as groups existing in the United Kingdom within the immigrant community but as extensions of the groups found in India. Thus an immigrant's recognition of a relative or a fellow-villager for whatever purposes can be explained not only

in terms of immigrant community, but also in terms of the society in India, where the immigrant retains (and reinforces by his behaviour in the United Kingdom) his membership of his family, lineage, caste, village or region. Viewed in these terms, the immigrant situation is one more field in which the Indian pattern of society operated.

To sum up the, it is all the Gujaratis or all the Punjabis who constitute the Gujarati or Punjabi community. The Muslims within the Gujarati community behave as a caste. The same is true of the Pakistanis, The East Bengali Muslims do not identify themselves with the Punjabi and the Azad Kashmiri. The three groups from Pakistan are completely isolated from one another. If anything, the Punjabi Muslims from Pakistan enter into inter-personal relationships more easily with the Punjabi-speaking Sikhs and Hindus from India than they do with the East Bengalis.

These linguistic-regional groups are reinforced by cultural and other phenomena brought over from India, which are distinctive for each group. It is these which discourage a desire in the individual for closer contact with another person from a different group.

Of the various Indo-Pakistani communities, I am concerned only with two Indian communities, i.e. the Gujarati and the Punjabi, the latter mainly comprising of Sikhs. Of the 40,000 Indian immigrants, approximately 8,000 are Gujaratis. The

rest are Punjabis and a negligible few others, who do not belong to any community. The last are the student immigrants, who cannot identify themselves with any community for one reason or another. In the subsequent chapters I shall pay exclusive attention to Indian immigrants, particularly to the Gujaratis, with whom I have had greatest and longest contact. Where the Punjabis provide a contrast or an addition in facts, I shall mention them also. Generally speaking however, all sociological conclusions apply equally to both Gujaratis and Punjabis.

Chapter III

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE INDIAN IMMIGRANTS

1. General
2. The settlement in the Birmingham conurbation.
 - (a) General
 - (b) Localities
 - (c) Clustering of houses
 - (d) The types of houses
3. The problem of housing.
4. (a) The inhabitants of the Indian house
 - (b) The relationship between the immigrants and others in the house
 - (c) The relationship between the immigrants and others in the neighbourhood.
5. (a) The problem of overcrowding
 - case III 1. Overcrowding: phases in a house
 - (b) Spatial mobility of the immigrants and overcrowding
 - case III 2. Spatial mobility - from one town to another
 - case III 3. " " " " " "
 - case III 4. " " and formation of a house group
 - case III 5. " " avoided
 - case III 6. " " from town to a farm.
 - case III 7 " " and ownership of a house.
6. Summary and Conclusions.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE INDIAN IMMIGRANTS1. General

There is a sizable amount of sociological writings on the behaviour and attitudes of the members of the host society on the issue of the housing of coloured immigrants. It is impossible to refer to these here even briefly. The general outlines of the issue as it is seen by the members of the host society are very clear. Firstly, the members of the host society see the problem of housing coloured immigrants (Indians among them) as tied up with the other problems of the immigrants' existence within the host society. One such correlation (perhaps the most important one from the sociological point of view) is with the low status of the coloured persons within the British social hierarchy. The coloured persons (except those who mix with the English at the highest social strata, with whom I am not concerned in this study) have an inferior status symbolised in their skin-colour and hence by living with them in the same house or even in the same locality, The members of the host society lower their own position within the British social hierarchy. Secondly, the members of the host society recognise the scarcity value of suitable housing prevailing in the industrial towns

General - cont'd.

and cities, and therefore view the coloured immigrants as competing with members of their own group in obtaining housing. Such competition, a majority of the members of the host society consider to be unfair. Since they are the dominant group who also have initially an effective control over all housing, the immigrants' pattern of settlement is dictated by them to some extent. Lastly, the members of the host society also recognise the cultural differences between themselves and the coloured immigrants as relevant to living together in the same house or locality, and expect at least a certain minimum of cultural adjustment before they modify their own attitudes and behaviour towards the immigrants. The examples of this last are the stereotypes such as 'the West Indians are noisy and have all-night orgiastic parties' or that 'they do not conform to the sexual mores of the English and hence cannot be trusted in a "respectable" house or locality', or that 'Indians smell continuously of curry'. Apart from this there are a number of other minor factors which also affect the attitudes and the behaviour of the host society, and I shall deal with them in due course.

My first task obviously is to examine the settlement pattern of the Indian immigrants, i.e. where and how they live. Secondly I must also point

General - cont'd.

to the relevant factors arising from the behaviour and the attitudes of the immigrants themselves which bring about such a pattern. Only after that I shall view the problem of the housing of immigrants as a part of the general problem of housing in the industrial towns and cities in the United Kingdom, and thereby isolate the special factors, if any, which affect the immigrants. Lastly, I shall deal with overcrowded living, which is the specific charge universally made against the Indian (and Pakistani) immigrants. It should be noted that I set before myself two goals in this chapter. Firstly, I hope to set out the facts of the housing of the Indian immigrants as I found them, and the underlying factors which bring about the present situation. Secondly I hope to point out the special relevance of the communal existence of the Indian immigrants to the present state of their housing.

The 40,000 Indian immigrants are dispersed over a large number of towns and cities in the United Kingdom. It is not possible for me to deal with each of these towns separately. I shall therefore deal mainly with the Birmingham conurbation, wherein a sizeable population of Indian immigrants live. The other comparable immigrant settlements to the one in the Birmingham conurbation are in Coventry, Southall, near London, South Shields and Gravesend. From a superficial visit

General - cont'd.

to these areas, I have had no reason to believe that the essential conclusions drawn from the study of the Birmingham area do not apply to these areas also.

The living pattern in London, however, varies obviously from that in other towns to a certain extent. In London, most Punjabi immigrants live in the East End where they also work in factories. The houses in which they live in the East End are by and large, old dilapidated properties in the still uncleared slums. The streets in which the Indians live are often occupied by other coloured peoples, particularly the West Indians, but also by seamen from all parts of the world. The few English who still live in these streets are not those of the historically rooted local neighbourhoods described by Drs. Wilmott and Young in their study on Bethnal Green, but those who have been for some reason or the other (usually because of poverty) outcast from the local community. {1} They are the ones who did not move out and by implication socially upwards. The Gujarati immigrants, unlike the Punjabis, live in houses scattered in Hampstead, Kilburn and South Kensington. Some live on the North-eastern part of the North Circular Road in the vicinity of the factories in which they work. The Gujarati immigrants usually live in all-Gujarati houses.

{1} Peter Wilmott and Michael Young. "Family and Kinship in London". London 1957.

General - cont'd.

Some of them live in houses which also accommodate Indian students. These houses are usually, though not invariably (as is the case in the Midlands) owned by fellow-immigrants. Where this is not the case, the house usually provides furnished bed-sitters (or other accommodation) largely for coloured people. These houses and the landladies are not unlike those which have been constantly referred to by Dr. A.T. Carey in his study of the housing problems of colonial students.^{1} The main reason for the immigrants living in these houses owned by non-Indians is obvious. House-buying in London involves a greater capital expenditure of which the immigrants are not capable. As I shall show later on, the economic advantages of owning a house in London (apart from those in the East End where they are low-priced) are not as great as in the other towns and cities, and therefore do not attract enough capital. Inside the houses owned by the immigrants in London, however, the living pattern is the same as that found in the houses in the rest of the United Kingdom. That inside the other houses, of course, conforms to the demands made by non-Indian landlords, particularly in respect of overcrowding. Apart from these, in matters such as the inter-personal relationships, the lack of privacy

{1} A.T.Carey "The Colonial Students".
Secker and Warburg, London 1956.

General - cont'd.

for the individual and so on, these houses do not differ from those others which are owned by the Indian immigrants.

II. The Settlement in the Birmingham Connurbation

(a) General

The Birmingham connurbation where I did most of my field work has an estimated population of 7,000 Indians. Of these, approximately seventy per cent are males - almost all between 20 and 50 years of age. The aged, if at all, come to the United Kingdom only as dependent relatives of an immigrant who has no one in India to look after the aged. This, however, happens very seldom. Moreover, the aged males and females both have a religious aversion to incurring ritual impurity through living abroad, and a fear of dying away from the village homeland.

(b) The localities

There is no one area of concentration to be found in the case of Indians, partly because of their own small numbers, and the size of the total population. However there is a tendency, for reasons which I shall examine later, for Indians to live in certain areas of Birmingham, along with other coloured workers.

Since most Indians live in houses owned by them (only a negligible number live in non-Indian houses) it is easier to write about houses than about

II. The Settlement in the Birmingham Connurbation - cont'd.

(b) The localities - cont'd.

immigrant individuals. The following is an estimate of houses owned by the Indians found in the connurbation.

TABLE 4

Estimated No. of Indian immigrant houses
in Birmingham connurbation

Name of Town	Approx. No. of Houses
Wolverhampton	300
Birmingham	150
West Bromwich	50
Smethwick	50
Wednesbury	45
Walsall	60
Bilston	30
Darlaston	30
Others	70
Total	785

*How many
Africans,
Indians,
Sudanese,
Pakistanis etc.*

The immigrants' houses are usually situated in the poorer localities of the towns. Most coloured immigrants come to live in the same localities, and these can be easily identified. They are Aston, Sparkbrook, Sparkhill, Handsworth, Small Heath, Adderley Park, Washbrook Heath, Rotton Park and Edgbaston. It is becoming increasingly common to find that a few streets in each of these areas have become 'coloured' streets. In such streets the coloured houses are in a majority, though 'white' houses are not absent.

II. The Settlement in the Birmingham Connurbation - cont'd.

(b) The localities - cont'd.

There is no uniform spread of coloured immigrants over these districts, but only a tendency for the various groups of immigrants to gravitate to specific areas. Thus, for example, Handsworth has a large West Indian population. The Pakistanis are found in Balsall Heath, Aston, Small Heath and Sparkbrook. The Sikhs are mainly found in Aston, Balsall Heath and Small Heath; the Gujaratis in Aston and Edgbaston.

In the other towns in the connurbation, the immigrants also stay in poorer localities which surround the shopping centres of these towns. The concentration and therefore physical visibility is greater in these towns than elsewhere. The Gujaratis are settled around a few factories in Wednesbury, Walsall and Darlaston. In Wolverhampton, Birmingham and West Bromwich, where they also work on the transport, they are relatively more dispersed. The Sikhs likewise are most thickly populated in Smethwick where they work in iron foundries and where they have founded a Sikh temple (GURUDWARA).

(c) Clustering of houses

The following table gives the geographical clustering of the immigrant houses in the Birmingham connurbation. The rest of the houses are dispersed.

II. The Settlement in the Birmingham Connurbation - cont'd.

(c) Clustering of houses - cont'd.

Table 5

Geographical Clustering: Houses in the Same Street

Total number of houses: 104

Town	No. of clusters with				
	3 houses	4 houses	5 houses	7 houses	9 houses
Wolverhampton	3	5	2	-	1
Birmingham	3	2	-	-	-
Smethwick	1	1	2	-	-
West Bromwich	1	-	1	-	-
Walsall	1	1	-	-	-
Wednesbury	1	-	-	1	-
Darlaston	1	1	-	-	-
Total	11	10	5	1	1

(Note: When the houses are on arterial or other roads which are very long, I have taken into account the actual proximity of the houses).

It is clear that a majority of Indians live fairly dispersed in all the towns. However the territorial dispersal is even greater when related to the linguistic-regional divisions within the immigrant group. In the two largest clusters there are the Sikh as well as Gujarati houses, and it would not be useful to take them as units for the purpose of analysing co-activity since the avoidance of contact is based not on geographical but linguistic-regional considerations.

II. The Settlement in the Birmingham Conurbation - cont'd.

(c) Clustering of houses - cont'd.

On the other hand, it would also be as difficult to determine the visibility of the Indians solely from this. It is well recognised that members of the host society do not usually make a distinction between the Indians and Pakistanis unless they have been in close inter-personal contact with them. Hence the visibility of Indians is also affected by the number of Pakistani houses in the street. The problem becomes far more complicated when one takes into account the fact that a number of West Indians live in the same areas, and even in the same houses.

On the whole, however, it would be true to maintain that the geographical dispersal of the Indians contributes in some measure to lessening their social visibility. In so far as the internal organisation is concerned, the geographical dispersal is offset by the immigrants' practice of visiting, on Sundays and holidays, members of their own linguistic group.

When, however, the houses of one linguistic group are geographically clustered, its effect on the immigrant community's organisation is very much marked. I found an unusual case of clustering in Bradford where fifty Gujarati houses were situated

II. The Settlement in the Birmingham Connurbation - cont'd.

(c) Clustering of houses - cont'd.

in an area with less than 10 minutes walking distance from any two houses. The actual clustering was as follows :-

Table 6

Clustering of Gujarati houses in Bradford

Dispersed 1 house	No. of clusters with					Total
	2 houses	3 houses	4 houses	5 houses	6 houses	
8	2	3	3	1	2	50

It is sufficient to note here that such clustering has a great effect not only on the face-to-face relationships among the immigrants, but also on the cultural and social organisation of the immigrants within the cluster. Thus the Bradford immigrants were able to support a cultural association, a Gujarati library with 500 books of fiction, magazines and newspapers from India, and a club. I discuss these activities later.

(d) The types of houses

The houses occupied by the Indian immigrants are almost invariably small and large bye-law terrace houses, with their front entrances opening on to

II. The Settlement in the Birmingham Connurbation - cont'd.

(d) The types of houses - cont'd.

the pavements.⁽¹⁾ The small houses usually have back-yards with toilets situated in them. The large bye-law terrace houses (with Tunnel backs) which are also common have a small patch of garden in front and a small garden at the back. This type of house, built from 1840 to 1914 for the middle class, with servants' living room, back room attic and cellar, is found in large numbers in Small Heath and Aston. The larger house of this type is found in Balsall Heath and Edgbaston areas where the immigrants live. There are also some back-to-back houses in Birmingham, but they are mainly found in the other towns in the connurbation. It would not be an exaggeration to maintain that almost the entire 'coloured' population in the connurbation lives in these types of houses.

(1) cf. 'The Home and Social Status' D. Chapman, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., New York 1955. Plates 8, 9 and 10 for illustrations of the houses.

III. The Problem of Housing

The problem of housing should be seen against the background of the total shortage of housing in the conurbation.

In the mid-year 1958 ⁽¹⁾ the City of Birmingham with its area of 79.92 square miles, had a population of 1,095,000 housed in 308,817 flats and dwelling houses, of which 80,661 were erected by the City Council. The city has a steadily increasing list of applicants who want accommodation in Council housing. The position of Council housing is as follows :-

Table 7

Applications to the Corporation for Accommodation
and the No. of Families Rehoused

Year as on 31st Dec.	No. of applicants added during the year	Total No. of applicants	No. of families rehoused
1955	7,207	63,932	5,544
1956	7,008	63,536	5,515
1957	8,335	67,316	5,904
1958	8,601	70,881	6,035

The allocation of Council owned accommodation is made in two ways. There are some special criteria which enable an applicant to obtain priority over the ordinary applicants on the waiting list. Some of

(1) This and other figures are taken from Birmingham Abstract of Statistics. Birmingham City Corporation Birmingham 1961.

III. The Problem of Housing - cont'd.

these cover demolition under re-development schemes or due to dangerous structure, special health problems, requisitioning by Council, Services, and emergency housing for the homeless. In 1958 only 2,006 applicants were rehoused from the ordinary waiting list. Most of the rehousing was done under the Central Redevelopment Area Scheme which the Council carries out for clearance of slums. Of the 9,604 houses demolished between 1945 and 1958, 7,582 houses were in the Central Development Area. The City Council's major effort at rehousing the population lies in the Central Development Area, where 24,670 of the 29,763 houses were found unfit, and for which a purchase order was issued. It is clear from all these facts that the immigrants have to rely on private accommodation.

IV.(a) The Inhabitants of the Indian House

This they do through the seven hundred odd houses which they own in the Birmingham conurbation. The Gujarati and the Sikhs I have shown are usually isolated from each other in the matter of housing. Each ~~one~~ lives in the house owned by a member of his own group. The Indian houses on the other hand provide accommodation for a number of outsiders, the West Indian, the Irish, the English and the Pakistanis among them. Most English come to live in Indian-owned houses through unforeseen circumstances. Sometimes the English resident is the

IV. (a) The Inhabitants of the Indian House - cont'd.

co-owner of the house, who sells part of his property to an Indian, reserving part possession for himself. Sometimes an English owner who sells the house to an Indian leaves an English tenant behind him. But such cases are rare, because to the immigrants the houses are an economic proposition as well as ^{accommodation} for their kin-village group and family. Hence they do not buy houses with encumbrances which would reduce the economic advantages of the house. The English tenants usually leave soon after the immigrants move in. Only the Irish, the West Indians and the Pakistanis, who are all immigrants, willingly accept accommodation in Indian houses. They are in the same position as the Indian immigrants, and therefore suffer ~~more~~ acutely from the shortage. Among the Punjabi group the differentiation between a Pakistani Punjabi or a Kashmiri and an Indian Punjabi is less marked. This reflects itself in the housing pattern also. Many of the former live in Indian houses. The Indians do the same. Only the Bengalis isolate themselves from others. Most Irish men and women who live in Indian houses are new immigrants who have come over by themselves. Once settled, they tend to move to the 'Irish' localities in the towns. But the West Indians are so numerous, and the houses owned by them so few, that some of them must find

co-owners of the house, who sell part of the property to an Indian, reserving part possession for himself. Sometimes an English owner who sells the house to an Indian leaves an English tenant behind him. But such cases are rare, because the Indian owner does not see the economic proposition as well as for their kin-village group and family. Hence they do not buy houses with encumbrances which would reduce the economic advantage of the house. The English tenants usually leave soon after the house is sold. Only the Irish, the West Indians and the Jamaicans who are all immigrants, willingly accept accommodation in Indian houses. They are in the same position as the Indian tenants, and therefore suffer more acute economic difficulties. The Punjabi group has the closest relation between a Punjabi owner of a house and an Indian tenant as is marked. This relation is itself in the housing pattern also. Many of the former live in Indian houses. The Indians in the town are mostly Irish and Jamaicans themselves from other parts of the West Indies who live in Indian houses and not immigrants who have come over to the island. They are not related to the town to move to the 'Irish' localities in the town. But the West Indians also do not move, and a house owned by them as a rule goes to their kin and

16.8
344
300/400

IV. (a) The Inhabitants of the Indian House - cont'd.

accommodation in Indian houses. They are also the group against whom there is the greatest amount of discrimination in housing. In the survey carried out by the Health Department officials of the West Bromwich County Borough, 45 of the total 72 houses owned by coloured persons belonged to the Indo-Pakistanis, when there were 333 Indo-Pakistanis in the town against 505 West Indians⁽¹⁾ Many Indo-Pakistani houses had West Indian lodgers. According to my estimate, nearly a thousand West Indians in the Birmingham conurbation live in Indo-Pakistani houses, a majority of them in Pakistani houses.

As illustrations, I give below the data about residents in fifty (i.e. all) Gujarati-owned houses in ~~one individual~~ town. The total number of residents in these houses was 344, of which 225 were men, 50 women and 69 children. Of these only 27 were non-Gujaratis; 10 of them were West Indians, 9 were whites, 7 were Pakistanis and one was an Indian Punjabi. The 27 non-Gujarati lived with the Gujaratis in 8 of the 50 houses: the rest of the houses were occupied by the Gujaratis only.

(1) An enquiry into the housing, health and welfare of immigrant coloured persons in a Midland County Borough in the Medical Officer, London, March 1957 pp. 121-126.

IV. (a) The Inhabitants of the Indian House - cont'd.Table 8House-wise Break-down of non-Gujarati Residents
in Gujarati-owned Houses in Bradford

No. of House	Total No.of Residents	No.of Non-Gujarati Residents				Remarks
		Whites	W.Inds.	Pak.	Ind.Punjabi	
1st	6	4	-	2	-	The whites are a family of husband, wife and 2 children. The Pakistanis are related to each other. The owner lives in another town.
2nd	6	2	-	2	-	All non-Gujarati residents are males
3rd	10	3	-	-	-	The whites are a family of husband, wife & child
4th	16	-	-	3	-	All Pakistanis are males and related to each other
5th	8	-	5	-	-	The W.Indians are a family of husband, wife and 3 children.
6th	6	-	4	-	-	All W.Indians are males and not related.
7th	3	-	1	-	-	The W.Indian is a male
8th	5	-	-	-	1	The Indian Punjabi is a male.
Total	60	9	10	7	1	

IV. The Inhabitants of the Indian House - cont'd.

(b) The relationships between the Indian immigrants and others in the house

The relationship between the Indian immigrants and the others within the house, and within the neighbourhood, is characteristically that of avoidance. The non-Indian neighbours and fellow-tenants and the Indian immigrants are isolated from each other. They have separate parties, invite different friends from their own respective groups, and have their own kind of entertainment. Inside the house there are conventions regarding the use of common facilities by the groups. The women cook, wash and clean in places reserved for themselves, or at separate fixed times. A great formality is observed in the day-to-day behaviour. The Indians do not share food, borrow money, have common household goods with non-Indians as they do with one another amongst their own group. The women of the two groups also do not mix at gossip or seek each other's help in household chores, but this is partly due to the Indian women's inability to communicate with the non-Indian women in English. There is also a greater separation when men and the women belonging to different groups live in the same house. This is due to the fact that Indians regard any relationship with unrelated women as

IV. The Inhabitants of the Indian House - cont'd.

(b) The relationships between the Indian immigrants and others in the house - cont'd.

potentially sexual. The result is that there is an overt friendliness between the Indians and the non-Indians which is characteristic of avoidance and which makes it difficult to pick quarrels readily. Once the quarrel starts, however, it is more likely to be violent than if it were within the Indian immigrant group. The conventions through which a conflict can be conducted, legitimately and without violence, between two Indians, the resultant factions and the settlement of quarrel through arbitration, are not available in the event of a quarrel between the Indians and non-Indians. The Indian immigrants, in the case of a quarrel with an outsider, do not seek the intervention of the English Law Courts, but instead seek, initially, the backing of the village-kin group. As in India, in the United Kingdom also, they regard the intervention by the police, the Law Courts or the welfare officers as extraneous (i.e. not provided for by the mores of the immigrant community) and therefore resent it. Once the intervention occurs, in what they regard as a feud or a factional dispute however, the immigrants seek arbitration (i.e. justice) from the intervening authorities, just as they would do from an internal leader.

IV. The Inhabitants of the Indian House - cont'd.

(b) The relationships between the Indian immigrants and others in the house - cont'd.

There are very few cases therefore, in which the Indians invoke the legal or political machinery of the host society to seek redress. Initially they attempt to obtain redress through the backing of the village-kin group.

The conflict occurs only when there is a serious or continued departure from the rule of avoidance. A serious quarrel, for example, sometimes ending in violence occurs when a member from either group approaches a woman of the other group. This occurs especially when the woman is a white girl friend, companion, or a wife of one of the residents. Being 'white' she is seen by the offending member as not an intrinsic member of the group, but only attached to it, and therefore 'open' to approach. The occurrence of such cases is rare, especially when there are women present from both groups. The kin-friend group existing within the house also provides for constant watch (and social control as such behaviour is disapproved by the migrant ^{community} ~~society~~, apart from the conflict it may generate within the other group).

A more frequent infringement of the rule of avoidance comes from the landlord who insists on his right of entering the rooms of his West Indian

IV. The Inhabitants of the Indian House - cont'd.

(b) The relationships between the Indian immigrants and others in the house - cont'd.

or other tenants at all times. The non-Indian immigrant views his room as his private domain, and resents entry except for minimum legitimate purposes. The landlord, on the other hand, claims his superior title to the house. There are several bones of contention here. The landlord justifies his entry on suspicion that the tenant uses clandestinely electricity to heat rooms, tampers with gas metres, or does not keep the rooms clean enough. The landlord makes these allegations against a tenant, either justifiably or to get him out of the house, the latter especially when the tenant has some legal right by which he cannot be forced to leave.

As I stated earlier, the dispute ends in violence, or in legal action or in both.

(c) Relationships between the immigrants and others in the neighbourhood

The relations between the Indians and the non-Indian neighbours are to a great extent negative. This is obviously due to the pattern of the English neighbourhood behaviour, of which the immigrants are totally ignorant. But it is also due to the fact that the immigrants themselves

IV. The Inhabitants of the Indian House - cont'd.

(c) Relationships between the immigrants and others in the neighbourhood - cont'd.

desire exclusion. The localities in which the immigrants live, rarely have common neighbourhood activities at the group level in which they can participate. Hence the relationship if at all must be established at the inter-personal level. The male immigrants sometimes develop a friendship with neighbours at the local public house. But it does not extend outside the pub. ✓ The children of the immigrants also enter into relationships with non-Indian children in the school or the neighbourhood. But this also does not extend to parents. One explanation of this lack of relationships with neighbours lies in the presence of intensive inter-personal relationships that the immigrants themselves have with one another, particularly within the village-kin group, and after that within the linguistic-regional group. The immigrants lack of ability to communicate in English is also an important factor. A lack of common cultural interests and the absence of a desire on either group's part to take an interest in the permissible activities of the others is the third factor. The Indian immigrants extend their recognition as neighbours only to those who belong to their own linguistic-regional group. They ignore the rest.

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding

The question of overcrowding in the houses occupied by the immigrants has been perhaps the one most frequently discussed. While there is no statutory overcrowding, living conditions differ very widely in immigrant houses from those in English houses, even in comparable areas. In 1958 in the Birmingham conurbation I found that there was an average of 2.4 persons per bedroom in the 38 houses I visited. Apart from bedrooms, only 20 of the 38 houses had reception rooms and 3 had dining rooms as well. However, all the houses had kitchens which were used as living-cum-reception rooms. Of the 38 houses, only 7 had running hot water, 36 houses had W.Cs. outside the house; only 5 had them inside. On the other hand, all the 20 houses with reception rooms had coal or gas fires in those rooms, and all the bedrooms had fires in them. The West Indians, especially those with their families, who live in Indian houses, do not live better than Indians. On the contrary, they feel the overcrowding more strongly since they mostly do their cooking in their own room. Most West Indians who have bed-sitting rooms in Indian houses confine themselves there whenever at home.

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

The use to which the Indian immigrants put their houses is different. As in India, even here, it is common for the Indians to share bedrooms. The ethos of the Indian joint family system does not provide for privacy except for the husband and wife. If at ~~all~~ ^{anything} it disapproves of privacy since 'members of a family should have nothing to hide from each other'. The residents of a house receive their guests in the communal living room or kitchen. Occasionally a resident receives his guests in his bedroom. In the most overcrowded houses residents may sometimes share a double bed at night or, still more rarely use a bed in shifts.

I must however, point out that most Indian residents of a house are related to each other by close ties of kinship, residence in the same village in India or close friendships with a family-basis in India. Thus two brothers, cousins, caste-fellows, fellow-villagers or school friends do not find anything wrong in sharing a room, or even a bed. So far as the Indians are concerned, there is no social disapproval attached to this. They see the sharing as a manifestation of the same ethos which disapproves of individual privacy. Moreover, in India as here, recognition of sex operates so as to divide the groups from each other in all social

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

relationships. The fraternal solidarity which results from this fact, makes it easier for the single males to share their life inside the house with others. Even the wife and husband are reserved in their behaviour throughout the day, and act somewhat formally in the presence of a third party.

Recently, however, with the ever-increasing flow of the nuclear families of immigrants, overcrowding has taken a different form. Instead of the fraternal males sharing a bedroom, it is the nuclear family unit which shares it. The kitchen space, enough for single males who did their simple cooking, is no longer so for women who are used to very large kitchens in India. The prohibition on the slightest sexual behaviour, physical or verbal, in front of children necessitates separate accommodation for children of the age of understanding. As a result, single male individuals move out when the families come in. Thus, although the particular houses may perhaps have fewer residents, other houses have a greater number of individuals to accommodate. The main reason for overcrowding in all male bedrooms is the arrival of families. At the same time it has become more difficult to buy houses. The reasons for this are

V. (a) The problem of overcrowding - cont'd.

discussed later on.

Likewise, overcrowding also becomes serious when there is a sudden flow of immigrants from India, as happened in 1960-61. An estimate of 18,300 Indian immigrants was given in Parliament for the first ten months of 1961.⁽¹⁾ Then ^{the} Indian houses became reception centres for the new immigrants, who then spread out in search of jobs.

A similar situation arises when the Indian immigrants move from one town to another, when they become redundant, or when they are offered better-paid jobs. In the town in which they arrive, a sudden demand for housing grows while the houses in the other town become vacant. This happened, for example, in Bradford in 1958 when the recession hit the Indians and Pakistanis and their coloured tenants. A great many Indians went to towns in the Midlands and left large stone-houses almost vacant with less than 1 person per bedroom. The following history of a not untypical Indian immigrant house will illustrate some of the issues involved in overcrowding.

(1) House of Commons - Hansard Col.1183 5th Dec. 1961.

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

Case III 1. Overcrowding: phases in a house

A Gujarati bought a house in the winter of 1956 in partnership with his nephew. (I shall refer to them as uncle and nephew henceforth). Over and above the mortgage obtained from the Building Society, they had obtained £700 towards the deposit and cost of furnishing, from friends and relatives as 'help'. They moved in along with three of the friends who had helped towards the buying. Other tenants were a student known to them, a West Indian with his common law wife, an Irish woman, her husband and a child and the woman's unmarried sister who came from Ireland soon after, and a Punjabi. The uncle and nephew both worked as bus conductors and hence chose their tenants from among their work-mates. Thus the West Indian, the Irishwoman and her West Indian husband and the Punjabi were all bus conductors and drivers working at the same garage. The Punjabi, also a bus conductor, was a friend of one of the friends who helped to buy the house.

The house is a large bye-law terrace house in a quiet and good area just off a working class district. At the time of buying there was one Indian-owned, one West-Indian owned, and several Irish-owned houses in a street with about sixty houses.

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

Case III 1. Overcrowding: phases in a house

There was also a Jewish landlady who took Asians but not African students as lodgers. By 1958 there was one more Indian-owned house as well as at least two more Irish-owned houses to my knowledge. Since then no new coloured immigrants have moved into the street.

The house has two rooms on the ground floor, 4 rooms (including a box room) on the first floor and two rooms on the second floor used as bedrooms. Apart from this there is a kitchen and a dining room on the ground floor. There are two toilets in the house. The one on the first floor, separated from the bath was used by all. The one on the ground floor, but outside, was used occasionally by the three persons living on the ground floor. The bathroom was used for taking water for cooking and drinking by those on the first floor. It was also used by the women for washing. But everyone made use of Public Baths which are at some 10 minutes walking distance.

The Irish family occupied the rooms on the second floor, and the West Indian couple a room on the first floor. They both had double gas-rings inside the rooms, and double beds. The Indians, with the

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

Case III 1 Overcrowding: phases in a house
exception of the Punjabi, used the kitchen and dining room on the ground floor. The Punjabi mixed with the others freely, but used a gas ring in his own room for cooking.

There were in all 12 adults and 1 child occupying 8 rooms, all bed-sitters, and only one family.

In 1958 there was a dispute between the uncle and nephew, at the end of which the uncle took over the house as sole owner. The nephew went back to India to get married. The student and one of the helper-friends moved out later on because of a minor argument. The student migrated to London where he took a job; the helper-friend also moved to another town in the Midlands. Later he also bought a house and called his wife from India. The Punjabi also moved to a Punjabi house.

In 1959 the West Indian couple, who had left of their own accord, were replaced by another West Indian driver and his wife from the uncle's garage. But this West Indian had also lived in the same house as the uncle before he had moved in to the present one. The student and the helper-friend were replaced by two students who

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

CASE III 1. Overcrowding: phases in a house
were brought in by the first student. The uncle brought over his wife and 2 daughters. The Irishwoman had another child. There were then 14 adults, three of them women, and 4 children.

In 1960 the West Indian couple bought their own house and were replaced by another West Indian driver couple. The two helper-friends moved also after a minor argument. But no one moved in except a relative of the uncle who had recently arrived from India and who lived 'free'. The young daughters of the uncle now aged six and eight slept in the box room. The uncle's wife and the Irishwoman each had a daughter. There were then 12 adults and six children.

In 1961 the two Gujarati immigrants were introduced by one of the students. The three students and one of the others moved out one after the other, two of them buying houses. The West Indian couple also bought a house and were replaced by another pair of West Indian conductors, this time two friends. Another Gujarati immigrant with his wife and a child then came. There were 10 adults and 7 children all under eight. The two immigrants soon brought over their wives along with their two daughters

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

Case III 1. Overcrowding: phases in a house
also under eight years of age. There were then
12 adults and 9 children, five families in all.

After the summer of 1961, one of the immigrants
with his wife and daughter moved into a house he
bought, making the total 11 adults and 8 children,
four families in all. The owner now occupied the
two rooms on the ground floor and also the box room,
dining room and kitchen. The rest of the families
lived in bed-sitting rooms with gas rings. One of
the Gujarati families, 2 adults 1 child, was about
to leave when I last visited the house.

The uncle had a prolonged illness (tuberculosis)
in 1958-59 when he spent more than a year in hospital.
As a result he only received enough money to support
his wife and children. The badly-needed income
from the house went to pay the debts he had contracted
towards the buying of the house. By 1961, however,
he had repaid most of the debts, but nevertheless
needed the rent to maintain his increased family.

The Gujaratis paid an average weekly rent of £1.
per adult all through the period. The West Indians
started with £2.10.0 (for two adults) and came down
with each change by five shillings. They pay £1.15.0
at present. The Irish family paid £3.10.0 for two

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

Case III 1. Overcrowding: phases in a house
rooms throughout the period. In between changes the owner lost a couple of weeks' rent each time. At the end of four years the owner had recovered some £1,000 on an investment of £2,300 of which £1,200 was borrowed from the Building Society or friends. The rent collected came to approximately £1,950, of which £950 went towards recurrent expenses, major repairs, loss of rent, schedule 'A' tax and mortgage interest. A part of the profits during the first eighteen months went to the nephew.

Comment

The character of the house changed gradually from that of a dormitory to that of a multiple family house. The change was probably delayed because of the illness suffered by the owner.

The owner gradually came to occupy a larger space for himself and his family. Almost all the tenants who moved out did so because they themselves had bought houses. Only the Irish woman did not do so.

All the non-Gujarati tenants were previously known to the owner in work situations and were not strangers; a fact which is often overlooked or unknown when exploitation by the Indian landlords is discussed.

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.

Case III 1. Overcrowding: phases in a house

The non-Gujarati tenants were charged a little more than the Gujarati tenants. On the other hand, the Gujarati tenants were all either friends or relatives and were bound by obligations to help. In the above case, they did in fact help in terms of money as well as by looking after the family of the owner during his illness. In the case of the Gujarati tenants, the owner of the house received added prestige in the immigrant community as compensation for the lower rent he charged them.

Moreover, there was, so to speak, cultural compensation. Whereas the Gujarati group behaved as a cultural and social group, interacting all the time, participation by the non-Gujaratis was limited to their roles as tenants. Only the children formed an inter-acting group when they played together.

Lastly, as the new immigrants came from India, the over-crowding became more serious until the time when they were able to move to other houses.

The following are the six phases in the history of the house when the number of occupants changed:-

For Table 9/see over

V. (a) The Problem of Overcrowding - cont'd.Case III 1. Overcrowding: phases in a houseTable 9Overcrowding in a House at Different PeriodsYears 1956 - 61

Phase	No. of Occupants			Persons per Room *.
	Adult	Children	Families	
1st	12	1	8	1.56
2nd	14	4	8	2.00
3rd	12	6	6	1.87
4th	10	7	7	1.70
5th	12	9	5	2.06
6th	11	8	4	1.87
Average:				1.84

*. Since all children were under the age of eight, they have been reckoned one half-person.

V. (b) Spatial Mobility of the Immigrants
and Over-crowding

Related to the problem of over-crowding is that of dispersal of the immigrants. I have already dealt with the clustering of houses in a locality. I shall therefore concern myself here with finding out how dispersal is achieved at the level of towns.

I have already stated that the Indians live in and move from one city to another, mainly in search of jobs, when they become redundant, or when other towns have jobs with more money to offer. The choice of a town immediately on arrival is governed by the presence of the sponsor. The new immigrant usually goes to live with his sponsor. If he does not succeed in finding a job, he moves after a time to other towns where he has relatives or friends which is usually 'free' till the time he gets a job. The factors bringing about dispersal can be best understood by some of the cases which I give below.

Case III 2. Spatial Mobility - from one town
to another.

O----- came to Birmingham in 1960 to live with his sponsor, a distant paternal uncle. He stayed in Birmingham for more than two months looking for a job. When he did not succeed in finding one, he moved successively to three different towns staying with three different relatives until he found a job in a town in Yorkshire.

V. (b) Spatial Mobility of the Immigrants and Over-crowding
- cont'd.

Case III 3. Spatial Mobility - from one town to another

R---- and L---- were two brothers, one living in London, the other in Huddersfield. They stayed apart for 18 months, keeping contact with each other only through correspondence and visits during holidays. L----, however, found that there were vacancies in his own factory for jobs which would suit his brother and which did not involve financial loss. He wrote a letter to R---- who left London and went to Huddersfield.

Case III 4. Spatial mobility and formation of a House Group

Q----- living in Walsall learnt from a Punjabi Muslim acquaintance that migrants were readily taken on as bus conductors in Huddersfield. As a result Q---- and his close friend A-----, who did not like their present strenuous jobs, moved to Huddersfield. They obtained jobs as bus conductors within two weeks. Three other friends soon followed them.

In the Spring of 1956 when they first moved to Huddersfield, there were very few Gujarati migrants. Even the other Indo-Pakistanis were few in number. They all lived in a Bengali Pakistani's house, paying the exorbitant rent of £3. a week for 'shared' beds. They soon bought a house with joint savings,

V. (b) Spatial Mobility of the Immigrants and Over-crowding
- cont'd.

Case III 4. Spatial mobility and formation of a
house group - cont'd.

especially as a number of other Gujaratis were coming to Huddersfield in search of work. The day they moved in to the new house, three more immigrants from the Midlands joined them, two of whom were 'friends' of Q-in the U.K; the third had met him in Bombay a few days before Q--- left for the United Kingdom.

Next to join them was K---- a Brahman from Bombay who was referred to Q--- by the father of one of the residents. K---- had migrated with very little money and was soon in difficulty as he did not get work soon enough. On receiving a letter from him Q---- went to London, paid off a debt of £40 K----- had incurred, and took him to Huddersfield. K---- on board the ship had made acquaintance with two other immigrants, one a Gujarati Brahman, the other a Maratha. The Gujarati Brahman heard from K---- that he had found a job and hence joined him.

The Maratha had initially gone to Manchester in search of work, but failed to find it and got into difficulties. When he wrote to K---, Q---- paid his debts too and brought him over to Huddersfield. Everyone had obtained a job in

V. (b) Spatial Mobility of the Immigrants and Over-crowding
- cont'd.

Case III 4. Spatial mobility and formation of a
house group - cont'd.

Huddersfield either in factories or as bus conductors. Within less than six months fourteen immigrants had moved into Huddersfield.

By 1958, after prolonged disputes, the group had broken up into factions. But between them they owned three houses. By 1959 there was yet another house. Early in 1961 when I last visited Q----, there were five Gujarati houses which could be traced to Q's arrival in Huddersfield, although almost all the first arrivals except Q had gone away during that period, either to India or in search of jobs in other towns in England.

Case III 5 Spatial Mobility Avoided

During the recession in 1958 a Punjabi immigrant went to Cannock from Wolverhampton and obtained a job in a factory, which involved one hour's journey for him. Other immigrants, Gujaratis and Punjabi, followed him soon after. They all commuted from Wolverhampton, till one of them bought a house in Cannock. Some of the immigrants moved with him, but others stayed behind. One of the commuters, some time later, bought a 13 seater motor-van and started carrying the commuters on both the journeys

V. (b) Spatial Mobility of the Immigrants and Over-crowding
- cont'd.

Case III 5 Spatial Mobility Avoided - cont'd.

to and from work on all the shifts worked by the Indians. This stopped a number of Indians from moving into Cannock.

Case III 6 Spatial Mobility from Town to a Farm

During the recession in 1956, one of the educated immigrants saw an advertisement in a local newspaper inserted by a farmer near Evesham who wanted farm labourers. He 'helped' one of his redundant friends to apply for the job. The farmer took him on. Soon after a number of Gujaratis followed. When the recession passed off, those who knew English, or had some experience of factory work before, went back to the industrial towns; others stayed on. When I visited the farm there were only two or three Gujaratis out of a dozen or more workers. The others were Bengali Muslims who did not know English. (✓) The workers from one linguistic group were replaced by those from another. But the farm remained 'open' to the Indo-Pakistanis. ✓

Case III 7 Spatial Mobility and Ownership of a House

G---- and his wife worked and lived in Coventry where they owned a house. A brother-in-law of G---- found a well-paid and light job for the latter in Wolverhampton. He invited G--- to come to Wolverhampton. G--- accepted the job and came alone to

V. (b) Spatial Mobility of the Immigrants and Over-crowding
- cont'd.

Case III 7 Spatial Mobility and Ownership of a House
- cont'd.

Wolverhampton, leaving his wife to look after the house and her job in Coventry. He made week-end trips home to his wife. Only after a year or so did he bring her over to Wolverhampton.

As can be seen from the last case, owning a house, or having a family, does not necessarily prevent individual mobility. What often happens, however, is that the house or the partnership share in it is sold to another immigrant on moving. There are no immediate problems in moving after a job for the male immigrant, even if he is married. As happens in most cases, the immigrant resides in company of his friend-kin group who look after his family during his absence. If he finds a place to live in in the new town, he moves his family immediately. If not, he does so as soon as he can find accommodation.

The movements of individuals (and their nuclear families) are continuous, but numerically not significant except in the times of rise in unemployment in the towns of their normal residence. It is not possible to give figures for any substantial spatial movement of the immigrants as a whole, but a

V. (b) Spatial Mobility of the Immigrants and Over-crowding
- cont'd.

Case-III 7 Spatial Mobility and Ownership of a House
- cont'd.

sizeable number of Gujarati immigrants (as many as two hundred, or 10% of the Gujarati population) moved to industrial towns in Yorkshire for the first time from the Midlands, during the peak periods of unemployment in 1958.

Another aspect of the spatial movements is that the immigrants find themselves in what may be described as 'a frontier situation' whenever a town is opened to them in terms of jobs. The immigrants faced the frontier situation in two ways. They either went to towns where they had no relatives or friends, or they went to towns where there were no Indians at that time. In the first case the immigrant usually looked for immigrants from his own or other linguistic groups from Indo-Pakistan, for work as well as accommodation. Only in the second case did he look to the members of the host society. Most towns were, however, opened by the immigrants only gradually, in the same manner as the frontiers are usually opened. Thus immigrants, on failing to find jobs in their own town, usually looked for one only in towns nearby, from where they could commute, if need be, till they found a job and (later) accommodation.

V. (b) Spatial Mobility of the Immigrants and Over-crowding
- cont'd.

Case III 7 Spatial Mobility and Ownership of a
House - cont'd.

The centres of first habitation by the immigrant were understandably the international ports like Cardiff, Liverpool, Glasgow and London. The frontier situation in its strict sense has long disappeared.

There are still a great many areas where the Indian immigrants have not settled. But it must be remembered that the immigrants achieve dispersion only as a by-product of their hunt for jobs. As long as the present centres of their habitation provide enough jobs for them, there may be continuous spatial movements but no real dispersion. The frontier situation can arise again only if the present centres reach employment satiation (or to a lesser extent housing saturation) for immigrants. But this is unlikely to happen in view of the dispersion already achieved, and the relatively small total number of immigrants present.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

At this point it will be useful to summarise the facts and draw some conclusions.

At the beginning of the immigration, during the period from 1946 to 1952, the Indian immigrants lived mainly in the international ports. Later, with the arrival of an increasing number of immigrants, they gradually moved into the inland industrial towns. At the present time, the Indian immigrants live mainly in groups, in a small number of industrial towns, perhaps fifteen or even less.

The spatial mobility of the Indian immigrants is restricted ordinarily to these towns only. Thus the immigrants move from one town to another where members of their own linguistic group, or still more, their fellow-villagers or relatives are already present. With them the immigrants find accomodation (sometimes without having to pay for it) and help in seeking a suitable job. Only when, these towns do not provide any more jobs or that there are better paid jobs elsewhere or accomodation that the immigrants move in search of jobs and accomodation to the towns where there were no immigrants till then. Since, the number of Indian immigrants is relatively small in comparison to the size of accomodation and jobs available in the towns in which they are already present, the movement to new towns occurs usually during

VI. Summary and Conclusions

periods of temporary rises in unemployment in these towns. When the immigrants move to what are hitherto new towns to them, only a few immigrants need to serve as spearheads for their own linguistic group. Once these pioneers have settled, the rest of the immigrants follow them in search of jobs and accomodation.

Initially also, it is the availability of accomodation and job, which draws an immigrant to a particular town to find these, an immigrant, on arrival in the United Kingdom, goes to his sponsor, fellow-villager or relative whose duty it is to provide him with accomodation and help in finding a job. The new immigrant may move from one town to another, from one village-kin group to another in quick succession, till he finds with its help a job. Everywhere he finds temporary accomodation, usually without having to pay for it. /

Although the movement of immigrants between one town and another is continuous, no real dispersion of the immigrants, is achieved. This is because on the one hand the immigrants prefer to (and actually do) live within their own linguistic group and being so small in number in comparison to the host society, they do not feel the pressure in terms of availability of accomodation and jobs.

Whatever pressure there is in the form of the scarcity of accomodation (with which only, I am concerned here), is in

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general applicable both to the members of the host societies and to the immigrants, Indians and others. The Indian immigrants, who do not qualify for various reasons, for public help in finding accomodation, find accomodation for themselves through buying large houses usually in bad condition, in the slum areas (where the houses are not already in such areas, they are in those areas which are fast becoming so) of the industrial towns.

The immigrants live often in overcrowded conditions, usually because^{of} the general scarcity of living accomodation in the industrial towns. But it is also because, they prefer to (and actually do) live in houses owned by fellow-immigrants from their own linguistic groups rather than live in English houses. The preference is obviously a result of social and cultural compensations that the immigrants obtain out of each others company. But it is also because of the economic factors involved in house-buying and renting (which I have discussed elsewhere). It would be true to say that the Indian immigrants find ready and cheap accomodation (because of the mutual obligation to help) within the houses owned by the members of their own group, provided they accept overcrowding. The Indian immigrants, however, do not suffer from the same social consequences as those suffered by the members of the host society. The pattern of their living,

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which is communal as in India make it so. Also the ethos of joint family living in India, which they emulate in the United Kingdom conditions them to live with a relative lack of privacy (the desire for the latter is actively disapproved in an individual for it is considered anti-social). Lastly, the overcrowding is also considered by them as resulting from the obligation to help which they as tenants has towards the Indian immigrant landlord. Thus, more tenants there are, the easier it is for the landlord to recover his investment in the house.

Overcrowding in houses is also related to spatial movements of Indian immigrants. When, in times of a rise in unemployment in a town, the immigrants move to another town; the total housing accomodation available to the immigrants being relatively constant, there is temporary overcrowding in the towns where there are jobs available to the immigrants, till the time when the Indian immigrants buy enough new houses to accomodate themselves or till the influx is stopped, diverted to other towns or even reversed. Till this is done, there is relatively less overcrowding in the towns from which the Indian immigrants are moving elsewhere. ✓

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The houses owned by the Indian immigrants also provide accomodation for the immigrants from other countries, usually the West Indians and the Irish. There is no marked difference between the Pakistani and Indian patterns of living. Inside a house, the Pakistani and Indians (both of whom when found living in a house are usually Punjabis) live as a single group. The West Indian, the Irish and the English who find themselves in the Indian owned houses fortuitously, inter-act with the Indians residents as 'outsiders'. The Indians in a house, behave as a group vis-a-vis the others and also interact with each other in terms of the membership of a group. The others do not have a group identity within the house except with their own nuclear family.

Lastly the inter-relations between the Indian immigrants and others, whether in the same house or in the neighbourhood are characterised by avoidance. Where the contact between the members of two groups does occur, it is minimal and is confined to one situation only (e.g. as in pub or at school between children of the two groups). According to an Indian immigrant the locality or neighbourhood is defined by the presence of other Indian immigrants from one's own linguistic group.

Before I turn to another topic, I repeat that I have

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not dealt with the economic aspects of house buying and renting accomodation, a part of the latter to the West Indians and others. This I shall deal with in the next chapter together with the other issues arrising out of the economic activities of the immigrants.

Chapter IV

THE ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

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2. Employment in factory and service jobs

(a) The types of jobs

(b) The methods of finding a job:

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(c) Difficulties in finding employment: opposition from the host society.

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Case IV. 18

4. Conclusions.

II The Economic Exclusion.

1. General.
2. The economic reality.

(a) Indian Grocery business

Case IV. 19

Case IV. 20

Case IV. 21

(b) Film Societies

Case IV. 22

Case IV. 23

Case IV. 24

(c) Other businesses

Case IV. 25

Case IV. 26

(d) House-buying and letting

1. THE ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION:

1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I propose to examine participation by the Indian immigrants in the economic organisation of the host society. Such participation which brings about integration is inevitable because the host society is both politically and economically dominant and because the Indian immigrants are economically motivated. My interest, however, is not only in the question of to what extent do the Indians participate but also what form does the integration take. There are two possible forms. The first is 'assimilation' in which the Indian immigrants come to share the attitudes, behaviour and values of the social group within the host society with which they identify themselves. The second one is 'accommodation' in which the immigrants accept the types of relationships available to them and act on them to some degree of conformity but do not share the bulk of attitudes and values which go with the host society. The 'assimilative' participation extends far beyond the economic sphere or work-situation: the 'accommodative' participation tends to be restricted to it.

The participation by the Indian immigrants means their (a) taking factory and service jobs, (b) running retail

shops in clothing, hosiery and textiles or peddling in them.

2 EMPLOYMENT IN FACTORY AND SERVICE JOBS:

(a) The types of jobs

The Indian immigrants are identified with the 'working-class' through their choice of jobs. The following table shows the types of factory and services jobs in which I found one hundred Indians in the Midlands in December 1960.

TABLE 10

Showing types of jobs held by Indian Immigrants

Type of job	No. of Indians	Remarks
Manual labourer in factory	47	Unskilled & dirty work
Assembly line workers	5	" but clean "
Bus conductors	13	Semi-skilled " "
Machine operators	2	" " dirty "
Postal workers	12	" " clean "
Clerk, counter salesman	11	" " " "
Apprenticed workers	2	Skilled dirty "
Bus drivers	2	" clean "
Laboratory chemists	2	" " "
Self-employed	4	Not in factory or service job
TOTAL	100	

The jobs as manual labourer, included such jobs as sweeping the floor, carrying heavy loads or moving them on a trolly, stacking and removing packed goods and so on. The assembly line work involved the repetitive job of removing the product from the running belt. It did not involve wearing overalls. I have described a bus-conductor's job as semi-skilled because it involves simple educational test and what is more important knowledge of English. The machine operators' jobs were also repetitive but involved independent handling of a lathe, turner, grinder and so on at a fair speed, since the payment was made on piece-work. The postal workers included, postmen, post-collectors, and sorters. It also involved an educational test and good knowledge of English. Although it involved wearing a uniform I have considered it clean because the immigrants consider it so. The same is also true of jobs as the bus-conductors and drivers, which also involve wearing of uniforms. The clerks' jobs involve routine work but require knowledge of English. This was also the case with the one counter-salesman in a departmental store. One of the apprenticed workers was in a shoe factory, the other in a television factory. In both cases, apprenticeship involved learning the manufacturing processes as a whole. The bus-drivers were all promoted

from the bus-conductors. Thus they knew English, had appeared in an educational test and also learned bus-driving. The two laboratory chemists were graduates in chemistry from India. Their duties involved repetitive testing of the manufactured products or raw materials for their quality, a task usually done by non-university educated but skilled and experienced English workers in their factories. The last category is self explanatory.

I must point out that the list is only illustrative and has no statistical value. Nevertheless, to classify the results, 65 immigrants were employed in unskilled jobs, 25 in semi-skilled and 6 in skilled jobs. 51 were in dirty jobs and 49 in clean ones. 68 worked in factories and 28 were in service jobs. Only 11 were white-collar workers, though all except the salesman also worked in factories.

The table was designed to illustrate the variety of the types of jobs done by the Indian immigrants, hence it included a greater proportion of those who knew English and therefore were most capable of taking jobs other than those of a manual labourer. In reality, an over-whelming majority do unskilled, dirty work in factories.

(b) The methods of finding a job:

One of the obvious ways the immigrants find a job is through the employment exchanges. The immigrant on arrival

or on losing a job registers at the employment exchange as a candidate for any unskilled job. During the period of rise in unemployment the exchanges are of little help to most immigrants and an immigrant may have to wait several weeks or even months before he may get a job. The employment exchanges would also send the immigrants to those employers who have agreed to accept 'coloured' labour in general or Indians in particular, although sometimes an exchange official may take an initiative in persuading a particular employer to take on Indian or coloured workers.

Another way of getting a job is that of applying for it through a leader-spokesman¹, i.e. The Welfare Officers, the Assistant Commissioner for the High Commission of India, the social workers, the Almoners at hospitals and churchmen. None of these persons consider it their primary duty to find employment for an immigrant but will only do so when it forms a part of some general problem which interests them. The following illustration will make this clear:

CASE IV.1

Jawan Singh and his brother used to work in a local government department. The brother died and so Jawan Singh had to leave his job and go to India. When he returned, he

¹ For explanation of the term see p. 314

tried for his old job unsuccessfully. He approached the Assistant Commissioner who then wrote to a local firm which took Indian workers, and also to a Welfare Officer, requesting them to find a job for Jawan Singh. He got a job.

Comment: The Assistant Commissioner, sought to alleviate the suffering caused by the death of the brother and the resultant economic hardships through loss of job and travel to and from India. Ordinarily he would have directed the immigrant to the employment exchange.

The third and sociologically the most important method of finding a job is through the use of the village-kin and other internal relationships. On arrival in the United Kingdom or on losing a job, an immigrant makes use of the institution of help¹ in order to get a job. If sponsored, which is usually the case, the newcomer is helped in his search for a job not only by his sponsor but also the latter's relatives and friends. Apart from this his own relatives and friends help him find a job. Those who help are usually dispersed over a number of towns and hence the newcomer may move from one town to another in quick succession before he finds a job. Usually, he finds a job in the first town he arrives in.

¹ cf R. Desai ~~E.H.~~ op.cit. 1960 pp 201-7

CASE: IV.2.

Tara Singh came to the country during a period of mild recession in employment in the Midlands. He came directly from a university in India but without taking a degree. He spoke some English. His sponsor, a bus-conductor in Birmingham, tried to obtain a job for him with his employers. Tara Singh failed the test. Others who stayed in the house also inquired in their respective work-places but without any result. In the meantime, a friend of Tara Singh's brother visited Tara Singh's sponsor during his holidays. On learning that Tara Singh was without a job, he volunteered to 'help'. He took Tara Singh to his home in Wolverhampton and the two of them spent the time of his holiday visiting factories, looking for a job. Tara Singh's helper knew as a result of his own experience and that of his friends and relatives which factories did or did not employ Indians and thus saved both time and effort by visiting only the right places. He also spread a word among his group that Tara Singh was looking for a job. When this proved unsuccessful, Tara Singh moved with another person, this time a relative, and continued the search. This time he obtained employment as an unskilled factory worker in another town.

There are several points to be noted: Tara Singh's

initial spatial mobility, his willingness to accept any kind of employment and the functioning of the institution of 'help' being among them. The acceptance of the obligation to 'help' on all sides, symbolises the immediate recruitment of the newcomer to the immigrant community.

If the function of finding jobs for newcomers (and others, in the same way) integrates the newcomer immediately and reinforces the immigrant community, it has different effects on the community's relationship with the host society. Firstly, the immigrants forego the choice, if any, of finding the type of job to which they may be best suited and instead take up only those types of jobs and in those factories where there are other Indians. Tara Singh was university educated and would presumably prefer a job involving some skill, knowledge of English or less physical exertion. However, he did not wait for such a job. If he had, his less educated relatives and others would have typed him as 'choosey' 'a show-off' and even lazy.

One of the consequences of finding a job through the internal ties is that when unemployment is only local or confined to one of the industries in which the Indian immigrants are employed, the internal ties go a long way in finding jobs for the unemployed immigrants. Thus in

1956, when there was a local slump in the Midlands, a large number of immigrants moved to Yorkshire, even before the peak period of unemployment was reached. In a number of cases I examined, it was found that the immigrants did not realise the coming unemployment in the Midlands but had left the area in order to obtain jobs with overtime. Some of them were already working shorter hours when they left the Midlands. The move was reversed in 1958, when there was a slump in the Yorkshire, particularly in Bradford. A majority of Indians, mainly the Gujarati, moved back to the Midlands or to Preston. At the end of 1958, there were not more than fifty families, all of them house-owners, left in Bradford. The large stone houses, once over-crowded, in Bradford came to be inhabited only by their owners.

Sometimes the employers understand the function of the internal ties in finding jobs and strengthen the ties by recognising someone among their immigrant workers as their leader. Such a man may be already a leader in the context of village-kin ties. Or he may have been recognised by the foreman or the management for his ability to understand English, to act as an instrument of communication between the immigrant workers and the management or the foreman. Such recognition in fact gives rise to a new

role, that of a middleman, which can be performed by the immigrants. There are numerous ways in which this is done and the functions of the role may vary from simple interpretation of communications from both sides on the factory floor to the assumption of the role of a recruiting agent.

CASE: IV.3.

One such case of recognition of the middleman was in a glass factory in the Midlands, which employed Indian immigrants. The factory's demand for workers was always sudden and for very short periods. In order to fulfill contracts, they would need their present staff to work continuous and long hours of overtime and also need to recruit new workers for very short periods. They found it convenient to fulfill this need through their Indian middleman. The Indian middleman lived only a short distance from the factory, hence, immediately the need arose, the management contacted the middleman. He would then go round among his Indian co-workers inducing them to work overtime and sometimes recruited further workers for short periods from his own village-kin group. The factory did not recruit any coloured workers without consulting him. It also paid him for his services through enhanced wages and accorded him the privileges of a foreman over the immigrant workers.

The middleman also gained in prestige among the

immigrant community but especially among his village-kin group to whom he was a great help. He already possessed a superior position vis-a-vis his Indian co-workers in terms of village-kin relationships and hence the added authority through the new role served only to strengthen his earlier position.

CASE: IV. 4.

In another factory, a bakery, the middleman was the only person among the immigrants who knew English. He had learnt it through his English wife, who did not work in the same place. The management used him as an interpreter whenever the need arose and thus sought to utilise the immigrant workers individually on a wide variety of jobs instead of using them as a gang. The middleman was given a small extra payment but nothing more though obviously he enjoyed some privileges unofficially. When I visited the factory, it was the middleman who conducted me around with the permission of the management. He knew all the processes involved in manufacture, which other immigrants did not and was on friendly terms with the production manager, a young university-educated man.

The middleman, however, was the only one who was not satisfied with his role. He thought it was unfair of the management not to designate him as a foreman at least for

the immigrant workers and pay him accordingly. He had been trying for it for some time and knowingly sought to use a charge of discrimination as an argument. The management, however, had very few immigrant workers to justify a foreman; even those who were there were distributed in various jobs. Also, whenever there was any misunderstanding or trouble, the management used one of their account clerks, also an immigrant, as their interpreter. The immigrant co-workers regarded the obvious attempts of the middleman to enhance his authority over them with mild hostility and some of them thought that he might try to exploit them.

CASE: IV.5.

The third case is when the middleman was unofficially recognised by some foremen in a factory where the recruitment of new workers was done only through their approval. Here the middleman sought to exploit his connection with the recruiting foremen by accepting money against a promise of jobs from immigrants with whom he had no direct ties.

As the prospective job-seekers saw it, they were promised a job with plenty of overtime in return for a cash payment. Their immediate contact was a man known to them and working in the same factory. Ostensibly he worked in terms of village-kin ties to find a job but needed money to hand it over to the middleman or the foreman.

The prospective job-seekers would pay the money in advance and get the job. The amount of cash varied with the availability of jobs in the area and also the wages of the prospective job. It varied from £10 during a period of relative abundance of jobs to £80 during a period of unemployment.

This practice was discovered through the complaints of the disgruntled immigrants at least in two factories to my knowledge. The immigrants, however, could not go beyond pointing to some central middleman who had sought to exploit the village-kin obligations to his own advantage. In both the factories, there were extensive inquiries both by the management and representatives of the trade unions. But the charges against the foremen could not be proved, in absence of concrete evidence. The problem of providing accurate evidence became more difficult as the factors based on internal issues were also mobilised against the middleman. The issue died down with little action on the part of the management or the trade union, but as a result of the inquiry the practice of offering money ceased for the time-being.

Comment:

The immigrants had two aims in front of them when they complained of the practice of offering money. The first was to stop the middleman from replacing the

obligation to help with his new role. The second was to stop the excessive cash payments needed before the job. The practice initially started with 'pleasing the foreman' usually by giving him a bottle of alcohol as a mark of respect for his authority. Even when the cash payment was not excessive, the job-seekers did not mind it so much. Only when it became excessive and threatened the obligation to 'help' was the complaint made. The factions also played a part in favour of maintaining the internal organisation. The immigrants succeeded in both the aims.

(c) Difficulties in finding employment: opposition from the host society.

The discrimination based on 'colour' is one among the difficulties that the Indian immigrants face in finding jobs. In this connection, the observations of Dr. Banton, although a little dated, on the attitudes of the members of the host society in allowing immigrants to take up jobs are the best yet. According to Dr. Banton, "a 71% majority preferred 'coloured colonials' to 'European' immigrants such as the Poles or the Italians. An equal majority would allow the coloured people provided there was 'plenty of work about' to come to the United Kingdom. Some others added that there should be sufficient houses as well, before the immigrants are allowed to come in."

In response to a question intended to find out whether the respondents were aware of the national differences between "West Indians, Pakistanis or others" (i.e. coloured immigrants), a small minority of 18% thought "favourably of West Indians' or the Jamaicans' ability to settle in". Only the Sikh peddlars, an occupational group of Indians, were disliked in Leith, the most tolerant group of respondents in Dr. Banton's survey. In two questions which directly concerned working along with a coloured person Dr. Banton¹ received the following responses.

"Question XII. What do you think most people feel about working with a coloured person?"

"Question XIII. What do you feel yourself about working with a coloured person?"

TABLE 11.

Showing responses to questions

Response	In the case of	
	Self	Others
	%	%
Would dislike it	6	19
Would be midly against it	17	39
Depend on circumstances		
Would not mind	71	23
Don't know and others	6	19
	100	100

1. M. Banton, White and Coloured. Jonathan Cape, London, 1959 pp. 201-2.

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Commenting on this Dr. Banton writes, "It is worth noting that although a great majority thought they would not mind, they did not think so in the case of others."

The point to be noted from the above results is that the members of the host society recognise that the question of immigration itself is closely associated with the question of permitting them to work. There is no specific reference to the Indians so far as working with them is concerned, but it seems that the West Indians would be preferred as immigrants (therefore also as a co-worker), other things being equal. There is a specific dislike against Sikh peddlars, but that may be due to their occupation rather than their identity.

A situation comparable to the present immigration, occurred in the early post-war years when the United Kingdom was faced with the acceptance of 150,000 Poles, who had arrived in the country during and after the second world war and had decided not to return to their country, and also some 100,000 European Voluntary Workers¹. The Unesco Report² states that "the initial opposition to admission of Poles and E.V.W's was not based solely on economic and political motives but also had 'religious and social content'". "Poles, predominantly Roman Catholics,

¹W.D. Brodie and others. The Cultural Integration of Immigrants. Unesco Paris 1959. p.176.
²ibid.

were said in some part of Scotland to be Papist spies. All over the country they were portrayed, with some success, as a race of Casanovas who menaced the integrity of the British womanhood¹."

It is clear that the issue of work for the immigrants is not purely economic but social as well. Secondly, the issue, is not seen by the host society in isolation, but in terms of the problems that confront them. The immigrants are thought of as either causing new problems or adding to the old ones. Such problems are (apart from that of 'plenty of work about' to accommodate the immigrants as well), sufficiency of housing, The immigrants' attitudes to British women, the religious loyalties of the immigrants and political identification of the immigrants with the United Kingdom.

To sum up then, we may take it that the problem of work for the immigrants is closely associated with the wider problem of immigration as such. From the point of view of the host society, the opposition to immigration rests on an evaluation of the socio-cultural differences in general existing between the immigrants and the host society. The skin-colour is only one of such differences

¹ ibid. p. 170.

which may be offset by 'political identification' and 'ability to settle in' as in the case of West Indians.

So far as the Indians are concerned, there are no specific attitudes to be discerned from the above inquiries. Although they must be treated as 'immigrants' as well as 'coloured' in the measurement of attitudes. To apply the same criteria of evaluation, which are applied to other immigrants, the Indians differ in their religion from the host society. While it is difficult to generalise, it may be said that the Indian immigrants generally keep away from having even remotely sexual relationships with the members of the host society. In terms of preferences for marriage of the host society where skin colour is most relevant, they form a part of the coloured group. The marriage with coloured persons is generally disapproved, but the Indians, among the coloured are preferable to the West Indians. In terms of political identification they are perhaps preferable to the European aliens (in law at least they are so, till now) but rank after the coloured colonials from the West Indies.

But apart from all these, it must be noted that an overwhelming majority of the members of the host society are not opposed to working with 'coloured' immigrants, Indians among them. Hence from the immigrants' point of

view there are sufficient members of the host society who do not oppose their finding jobs in the United Kingdom or working with them.

In practice, however, objections are sometimes raised by 'white' workers who are actually confronted with working along with a 'coloured' worker. The following case is an example.

CASE: IV.6

A dispute arose regarding the employment of a coloured person for the first time in the ambulance service run by the Local Council in Birmingham between them and the two hundred ambulance workers as a group. The incident was reported at length in the local newspapers.

The incident set off with a reported refusal by the ambulance workers to work along with a 'coloured' worker (a West Indian) who was employed in the ambulance services for the first time. The ambulance sub-committee of the Local Council, on hearing this, agreed to meet a deputation to discuss general problems "if more coloured people were employed in the ambulance service". The divisional organiser of the trade union concerned; (who was not an ambulance worker) defended the white workers by stating "they (the workers) have not said that they do not want coloured people. We are going to have a discussion, that is all.

There is a coloured employee in the service and I have no report of any untoward incident. But incidents can occur in what is an extremely personal service. The situation is a little different from say, the public transport". The union official said his personal opinion was that "if a man was capable of doing a job then he was eligible to be engaged. Not everyone held that view. There were some people in Birmingham with a colour prejudice as anywhere else. It is to avoid incidents with people of this kind that we need to discuss the question".

A councillor on the Committee responsible said the following, "They have asked us to meet them to discuss the employment of coloured people in the ambulance service. I do not know what the deputation wants and it is no good guessing. But the decision of the council some time ago was that no discrimination should be made by a corporation department in the employment of labour so long as people were suitable for posts for which they applied". He also pointed out that many hospitals were staffed with coloured nurses and doctors.

A few days after the ambulance branch of the union concerned met and a statement issued by an anonymous spokesman stated that "members are of the opinion that coloured workers are not suitable for the intimate service

with which they are concerned". The anonymous spokesman also said that they would stop voluntary overtime.

A second councillor responsible for the service said that he would not allow "the ambulance service to suffer because of the failure to recruit a sufficient number of white workers". "He was not prepared to discuss this issue and would not be dissuaded by threats of overtime ban, strike or any other action. There would be no compromise on the question. He would not permit the colour question to rear its ugly head in the city once."

The divisional organiser of the union said that he wanted to know whether the opinions expressed were those of the majority, and what lay behind the resolution, also why the spokesman remained anonymous.

A day after this, it was reported that the overtime ban ended. The divisional organiser stated that there was never a question of ambulance men and women refusing to work with coloured men.

The second councillor said, "The idea of a colour bar is outrageous. If any one objects to working with coloured workers because of their colour I am happy that they should leave the service tomorrow. The city council's attitude was quite clear, no discrimination. If this is observed by the union, there is no difference between us".

The incident directly involved the issue of discrimination based on 'colour'.

The attitude of white workers concerned in the dispute remained ambiguous throughout in public except their reported statement that they did not approve of coloured people in the service and that they would ban overtime. They also sought to associate the nature of their service with the unsuitability of the coloured people.

The trade union official on the other hand sought to minimise the issue of 'colour bar' (prejudice-discrimination) to consideration of some Birmingham people's aversion to coloured persons. He also referred to the intimate nature of the service.

The councillors on the other hand viewed the dispute entirely in terms of colour and sought to discredit the workers as obviously prejudiced.

In my opinion the dispute referred not so much to the one coloured person already employed but to the general policy of employing more coloured people. The white workers sought to keep up a high demand for labour by keeping coloured workers out. It was to them an industrial dispute and hence they took industrial action. The 'social' interpretation (of discrimination based on 'colour prejudice')

of the incident prevailed in the public controversy and as a result the issue was abandoned by the workers.

Often underlying such disputes, are considerations of purely 'industrial' nature. There exists a desire among workers to limit the supply of labour even at the highest point of demand. Also there is an apprehension that coloured labour is plentiful and will more than meet the demand.

It seems fair to assume that opposition would arise in the case of all immigrants, white or coloured. In the above case the workers were more concerned with the 'industrial' consequences of competition. They sought to reinforce their opposition through the added weight of the colour-prejudice which they imputed to the people at large. They also sought to minimise the element of prejudice by imputing it to the third party, the unidentifiable "patients".

That discrimination based on 'industrial' grounds sets off discrimination based on colour is very clear if we look at the employment of coloured persons during the periods of general recession. It is a fact that during these periods of high rate of unemployment the coloured workers suffer more than the others. Of the 7,500 odd unskilled labourers on unemployment lists in the Birmingham area in 1958 approximately 2,500 were coloured of which

there were 1,500 Pakistanis and about 250 Indians. As we can see, the proportion of coloured workers among the unemployed compares extremely badly with others, if we take into account the relationship between their total number and the total number of workers in the area. There were similar reports from Bradford, where there was a large number of Pakistanis.

(~~11~~^d) The attitude of trade unions:

The attitude of the trade unions as a pressure group in making it difficult for all immigrants to find a job ~~are~~^{is} well-known. The Unesco report states that "the attitude of organised labour has been influenced in many cases by fear that immigrants would deprive national workers of their jobs or endanger their living standards by accepting lower rates of pay or less favourable working conditions¹". In the 1946 and 1947 conferences of the Trade Union Congress and during the fuel crisis in 1947, the Poles and the E.V.W's were branded 'fascists' 'reactionaries', 'collaborating E.V.W's and 'enemy Italians and Austrians'.¹

The attitude of organised labour began to change quite early as a result of a pledge given by the Ministry of Labour that no Government department (which employed most of the foreign labour) would use foreign labour as a

¹ W.D. Borrie and others 1959, p. 1671.

group in an industrial dispute. By 1949 most trade unions accepted these immigrants as members.

The trade unions do not see the Indian immigrants as an entity separate from the other immigrants from the Commonwealth. At the national level, the trade union policy has been that of accepting them as members once they are in industry. They have also at national level never publicly approved quota restrictions, or the control on immigration.

The Birmingham Trades Council, for example, started a special inquiry in 1961 with a view to extending recruitment among coloured workers. The local trade union branches which reflect more correctly the opinion of its members, have sometimes opposed the entry of the coloured members to their industry, or more particularly their factory. Dr. Banton gives two instances of such action, when the Transport and General Workers Unions local branches in Wolverhampton in 1955¹ and in Sheffield in 1956 opposed the entry of more coloured workers into their own transport services. In both cases, the unions had come to an agreement on a quota of coloured workers to be employed with the employers. When, however, the employers disregarded this, the local branches took industrial action. In both cases, the protest fizzled out. In a third instance, in Coventry,

¹ Dr. Banton 1959. p.163-4.

The Transport and General Workers Union's local branch held out for five years, from 1955 when the dispute first started to 1961 when the first coloured worked, a West Indian was appointed a bus-driver in the Local Transport service. Another similar dispute occurred also in transport services in West Bromwich in 1954 when an Indian for the first time was involved.

I have come across several accounts of agreements existing between local trade union representatives and the employers either to restrict the employment of coloured workers to a certain number or to prohibit it altogether or to release the coloured workers first during a recession. Not all of these are true and, as it is to be expected, they multiply during the periods of recession. It is difficult, however, to find out the truth in each case, as the parties are understandably secretive about the matter.

The local trade union representatives and also the members, in justifying these agreements, emphasise the potential weakening of their bargaining power, restraint in wages through an increase in the supply of labour and apprehension about recession as the factors in their consideration. Whereas the Indians (or other coloured workers) emphasise the discrimination based on colour, which the agreements involve.

The publicity of an incident of refusal of a job as a result of an agreement or on account of 'colour' has proved a sufficient remedy to the situation till now. As Dr. Banton has noted in the case of the transport workers in Wolverhampton¹ public opinion as expressed in press is often sympathetic to the workers. Nevertheless, the attitude of the trade unions at the national level prevails in the end. The incident comes into light often through the employers taking a positive action in engaging a coloured worker.

Where the agreement exists with the approval of the employees, there is very little the individual immigrant can do. Sometimes, however, on being sacked on the 'last in - first out' principle, he complains to one of the leader-spokesman group and asks him to intervene on his behalf, as in the following case.

CASE: IV.7

Ramlal complained to the Assistant Commissioner during the 1958 recession that he lost his job along with a hundred others who were non-British subjects, Indians and European aliens, from his factory. In seeking to draw concern from the Assistant Commissioner of the High Commissioner of India, he wrote, "This partial policy had badly affected

¹ Banton 1959. p. 164.

the morale of Indian workers, now working in the factory. This policy might tempt the Indians to change their citizenship in order to keep their employment". The Assistant Commissioner sought a clarification of the charge through the Welfare Officer, who was told by an official of the factory that "only 70 persons were redundant and some had left of their own accord. These the company hoped to reinstate and hence their pension records were kept open. The firm operated a system of merits for redundancy and 'length of service' was considered, other things being equal".

The firm denied that the Indians were sacked on any but the grounds of low standards of work and length of service. It agreed that it had an agreement with the Union that aliens would go first in the case of redundancy but this did not apply to the Indians and Pakistanis. The Assistant Commissioner advised Ramlal to join the trade union in case he had not done so before and seek their help.

Comment:

It is clear from the case that the individual has little redress except through wide publicity in the host society.

(~~100~~) Hindrances from the Immigrants:

Elsewhere in this chapter I have discussed the method

of finding a job through an internal network of relationships arising from a lack of knowledge of English and a lack of requisite skills or general education. I have also discussed the status considerations within the society in India and ritual taboo as factors affecting taking a job.

One more factor, however, which adds to the difficulty of an immigrant is his social visibility brought about by his cultural preferences for dress and so on. This can best be understood by the following examples:

CASE: IV.8

At a factory which had stopped employing any more Indians and Pakistanis, I was told that the work involved working in gangs of two and more in close physical proximity. The English workers had refused to work with the Indians and Pakistanis because they could not bear the smell of garlic which the latter ate. The management thought it better to isolate their existing Indo-Pakistani workers and stop recruiting more rather than tell them to stop eating garlic. ✓

CASE: IV.9

Jarnal Singh complained to the High Commissioner in a letter that he had applied to the post office for a job in the staff branch. But the Post Master refused, saying

that 'as he could not wear their official head-gear his application cannot be considered". Jarnal Singh pointed out the turban was enjoined by his religion as the only suitable wear and which also was accepted in the Army in lieu of other headgear. He also wrote, "I do not want to take any hasty step without consulting our High Commission". Jarnal Singh was accepted by the Post Office.

The authority approached in this case by the immigrant is the High Commission which is in loco parentis in the eyes of the immigrant and hence must intervene in what is to him obviously an unjust refusal. The immigrant also cited the example of the Army, presumably a more rigid association than the Post Office. He also referred to the religious sanction for retaining the turban. The immigrant also said that he desired 'to effect a change without drawing undue attention'. Thus he was prepared to wait and hence 'accommodate'. In this case, a cultural modification was insisted on by the host society as a pre-condition to participation. This was rejected by the immigrant. He protested in two ways. He sought to show that such a demand was so excessively strong that even the Army (the symbol of discipline, strength, uniformity, etc.) did not seek to impose it. Secondly, he sought to appeal to the concept of freedom to practise religious

belief. Both the appeals are directed not to the High Commission (who are well aware of the meaning of the turbans as a diacritical mark) but were supplied to him as arguments which the High Commission should forward in its intercession with the Post Office on behalf of the immigrant. In appealing to the High Commission, he was also accepting the fact that the High Commission in its local representative had sufficient acceptance and strength for its views to be seriously considered.

CASE: IV.10

In contrast to this is the case of a Local Authority's refusal to give jobs to Sikhs in their transport services because of their turban. The insistence on cultural modification is the same as in the previous case. However, here a totally new authority interceded on behalf of the immigrant, viz. the Press. The arguments used were the same, i.e. (1) even the army did not insist on it and (2) it was their religion. Considerable publicity was given to the case in the local and national press, which in itself was an embarrassment for the Authority irrespective of the pros and cons of the issue.

In the last two cases the High Commission and the Press both acted as institutions in the host society which

the immigrant could use in order to defeat the pre-condition of cultural modification imposed on him. The conflict was conducted within the host society and between two norms of the same society i.e. uniformity of headgear in the job on one hand and freedom of religious practice on the other. Although many immigrants were affected by such a ban, the immigrant community did not itself take corporate public action against the host society.

Such objections against the turban, which is seen as "a diacritical mark" by members of the host society, are very common and its removal is very often made a pre-condition of employment. The objections, by those who make them, are justified on 'aesthetic' 'health' and such other grounds. Through my talks with a number of English informants I have found that the turban (and beard that always goes with it) is the mark of a stranger, constant co-operation with whom is not necessary. I am referring here to the concept of archetypal stranger used by Michael Banton. The stranger may exist within the society but need not be included in it.

A similar objection is raised to another diacritical mark, viz. the saree in relation to manual work usually at a factory. Here, however, the aesthetic value of the

saree is invariably recognised¹ (it is invariably likened to the evening dress, by the objectors) and a new factor, apart from strangeness, also comes: the incongruity of wearing an evening dress at work. Customary behaviour is thus seen to be actively disregarded by the immigrant. As a result, very rarely does a woman wearing a saree get a job at a factory. Or, if she does, she does not find immediate acceptance by her co-workers.

In so far as the immigrants are concerned the importance of the issue lies in the cultural symbol's capacity to hinder active participation, that is, to get a job and not in the social disapproval which is accorded to it. In fact it is found that the saree often finds a partial approval in another context (at a dance, for example,). The result is that where a large number of immigrants have found that the turban and the saree are insurmountable hindrances to finding jobs, they have given them up to that extent. An increasing number of Sikhs are found without turban and beard and at times, a prospective immigrant may remove his beard and turban aboard the ship en route to the United Kingdom. I was told by a reliable informant that as many as seven out of ten coming after 1958 removed their beard and turban before taking up their first job.

Rejection of the saree on the other hand is not permanent but tends to be confined to work.

(e) Grouping of immigrants in work situations:

The table given at the beginning of this chapter illustrates the variety of jobs taken by the immigrants. However, as a result of finding employment through the internal network of relationships, the immigrants find themselves in a limited number of trades and industries in a few factories. It is not uncommon to find in the Midlands and indeed elsewhere some of the large factories employing from 80 to 300 Indian immigrants, whereas a great number in the same area do not employ any Indian immigrants at all. It would be true to say that an overwhelming majority of Sikhs (and other Punjabi) working in the factories in the Midlands (perhaps as many as 90% of them) work in iron foundries as moulders, case-makers, grinders, dressers, press-workers and general labourers. The rest are in motor and allied industries in which they work as general labourers. A majority of the Sikhs in Southall near London also work in foundries. The Gujaratis on the other hand work in a variety of light and heavy metal {and other industries but not foundries} in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs as turners, grinders on assembly

line, and as general labourers. The university-educated Indians, both Punjabi and Gujarati work as bus-conductors, bus-drivers, postal workers and clerks.

The inducements of offering the jobs to the immigrants are much the same to the firms in any particular industry in the same area. Hence once a particular firm finds it useful to use Indian labour, its rivals also do so usually for much the same reasons. Thus, the presence of Indians (and Pakistani) workers in foundries is sometimes explained by the management by the fact that they, being used to a warm climate in India, are more willing to work in excessive heat than the English workers. The Indians see in it the economic gains that they can obtain, although the work is very strenuous. It is relevant to point to the fact that the well-known charge that the coloured immigrants obtain only those jobs which are not wanted by the English is also laid by the 'colour-conscious' Indians. This is true in the case of the University-educated Indian immigrants who do not find jobs commensurate with their knowledge or mental capacity. It is also true in the case of certain coveted industries, where the English workers fear the loss of their special privileges and arrange restrictive agreements with the managements prohibiting the employment of

coloured immigrants. But it is also true that job-seeking through the internal network results in a severe limitation of an even spread of Indian workers in a large number of factories and industries.

One of the effects of such grouping is that it makes the immigrants greatly visible in work-situations. They behave as a small cohesive group and hence do not need to make many adjustments which they would feel called upon to make if they were not in a group. Much of the behaviour at work-situations is based on this fact that both the Indian and English workers find themselves in two mutually exclusive groups and act therefore in terms of their membership of the group. In such a case, the participation by the Indian immigrant workers in the informal organisation of the factory and the inter-personal relationships outside the group become more difficult, if not impossible. Once both the groups develop stereotypes of each other the departure from them becomes almost impossible. When it occurs, it brings about disturbances in normal relationships.

In practice, the presence of the group is demonstrated in many ways. The Indian workers avoid in many factories the common canteens and bring with them lunch which they eat in a group in a specific place which is then avoided

by English workers, at least for the duration of the lunch. Any other behaviour is considered a departure from the norm. In other factories, the Indians from the same or even spatially remote departments share the same tables in a canteen to the exclusion of others. They share the informal contacts of the work-situation, the gossip, the difficulties and achievements only within their own group, reserving them for when they can foregather, and they work more or less silently during the period in between. Even more than this, they participate, if at all, only passively in the outings, Christmas celebrations and the petty chance games, raffles and betting on 'pools' and horse racing which contribute so much to the informal organisation of the factory. They participate in the informal organisation, paradoxically, as a matter of form or to appear as if they are behaving correctly in the eyes of the English. Even in the formal organisation, their part is usually minimal.. Where the immigrants do not speak English or work in a gang, their communications are with the middleman only. Since the middleman himself is a member of the group, his behaviour is circumscribed by the norms of the group.

The inter-personal relationship in such a situation is that of avoidance. An atmosphere of cordiality in so

far as and in the manners in which the norms of the group in a particular factory permit it, is maintained. The code of behaviour is strictly followed. In some factories the code may demand a silence on any issue of colour prejudice and discrimination, however topical it may be, for inter-group harmony. In other factories, an express dissociation from such ideas is the correct norm. Any but the most formal relationship with members of the other sex is prohibited by the group norms on both sides.

Such a situation is not, however, universal. Apart from a few factories, it does not exist in the transport services, where the conductor or the driver counter-part of an Indian is usually a non-Indian. This is also true of the postal workers, where there is a rotation of jobs and shifts and a certain amount of team-work. This is also true of work-places where there are not enough Indians to form a group. ✓

Such situations result in genuine informal contact and are based on inter-personal likes and dislikes. The contact, sometimes resulting in conflict, is nevertheless genuine. A discussion, and even partisanship over colour discrimination and prejudice is not necessarily avoided. So is a relationship with members of the other sex. The immigrant is expected to participate more fully in the

informal organisation, and he is usually invited sympathetically to take part, unless he breaks some English norm of behaviour very much at the start. If he does so, or even at a later stage violates a serious norm, the English workers behave as a group and isolate him as they would perhaps another offender, English or otherwise.

We shall now see in the following case, some actual instances of behaviour and the issues involved therein.

CASE: IV.11

The first case concerns inter-group behaviour between the English and the immigrants. In a factory where there were a large number of Sikh employees, there were chronic complaints of workers' lavatories being dirtied by ill-use by the Indian immigrants. The management at first did not do anything. When the issue reached a head, however, the management built for its immigrants some new lavatories. The Indians were, of course, allowed to use the common lavatories if they liked it. They, however, used only the reserved ones. At the end of a month's use the management showed to the spokesman of the English workers that new lavatories used by the immigrants were less dirty in comparison to those in common use. The spokesmen were satisfied, the new practice of reserving the lavatories for Indians was discontinued and there were no more complaints.

Comment:

Throughout the incident, no accusations were made against any specific individuals, but directed against the immigrants in general. The Indians too responded as a group by confining themselves to the use of reserved lavatories, in order to demonstrate their own cleanliness.

CASE: IV.12

The second case also occurred in a large factory which employed about three hundred Indians. One day during an argument with one of the Indian workers, a responsible member of the management made disparaging remarks about 'blacks', calling the Indians involved in the argument as such. A version of the incident passed round the whole factory and by lunch time the Indian workers came out in protest against the remarks. The management was obviously afraid of the 'ugly' publicity and also loss of work. They immediately called in the trade union representatives in the factory, one of whom was an Indian, and a member of the Indian Workers' Association. What transpired at their meeting was kept a secret from me. But the Indians were given to understand that the incident was a regrettable misunderstanding and would not be repeated. The Indian trade unionist, who was one

of the narrators of the incident to me, sought to give it the form of an industrial action for a wage claim and played down the original charge of discrimination. He holds strong left political views and was interested in seeing in this 'a sign of the rise of political consciousness among the workers'. At one stage, the Indians also sought the support of the white workers who, my narrators claimed, were quite sympathetic. My left-wing narrator saw in this 'the solidarity of the working classes'. The whole incident lasted only a few hours and did not receive any publicity in the press.

CASE: IV. 13

The third incident also concerned an Indian who was addressed as 'a blackie' this time by an English work-mate, who also made some disparaging remarks about him. It is not very certain whether the English work-mate did so maliciously or in order to tease, but he did it without any apparent provocation by the Indian. The Indian took offence immediately and challenged the English work-mate to fight it out. The English worker was obviously frightened at the turn of events. When the incident occurred, he was working on a crane high up and the Indian was working on the ground. He spent his lunch period without coming down from the crane. The English and other Indian workers

sought to pacify the anger of the aggrieved Indian but in vain. The Indians appealed saying that a fight would damage the Indians' peaceful image and they would incur bad publicity. The English workers sought to pacify the Indian through pointing to their own unprejudiced behaviour towards him in the past. The English worker imprisoned on the crane also regretted it but it proved to be of little use since the Indian persisted in fighting it out. The matter eventually went to the personnel manager who persuaded the Indian to give up his intention. The Indian was obviously physically a very strong man and hence his challenge was taken very seriously by everyone.

Comment:

Apart from the affront to his pride which he sought to avenge through a fight, the Indian obviously saw the English workers as a group. He therefore refused to listen to the other English workers, who sought to protect one of their own members, through their collective assurances. Before he could accept these the Indian needed the independent authority of the personnel manager, who acted both as witness to his vindication and also provided an indirect guarantee that the incident would not be repeated. The other Indians saw themselves as a group and sought to restrain one of their members from breaking the norm of behaviour which demanded peaceful relations with English workers.

The incident became an item of gossip for some time among the local Indians. The action of the Indian involved was generally approved in retrospect, although I am not sure, if the same attitude would have persisted had there been a fight attended by publicity.

(4) The Evaluation of jobs.

(1) In the host society:

In terms of occupational ranking, the jobs taken up by the Indian immigrants fall uniformly at the lower end of the scale. I have stated before that a majority of immigrants are employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs involving manual labour. Even those jobs which I have described as skilled, because they require knowledge of English, general education or specialised knowledge, are in terms of ranking little better than others. They all involve wearing of uniforms. The uniformity is illustrated by the fact that even among the English workers, transition from one type of job to another and vice-versa is quite common. It is well-known that the wages of the bus-conductors and drivers in the public transport services is invariably below those of comparable jobs in industry. Moreover, the rates of pay in the public transport services are lower in other towns and cities than in London. The same is true of the postal workers.

There are very few clerical workers among the Indian workers. Even these jobs are low-paid. The salary of the eleven clerks mentioned in the table ranged from £10 to £11 per week in December 1961, in some cases after two and three years of work, which is less than the wages of the bus-conductor or the postal worker.

The Indian immigrants occupationally fall within the 'working class' in terms of the English social classes. But even within it, they fall at the lower end of the scale.

(12) Among the immigrants:

There are many reasons why the Indian immigrants prefer one job to another. The size of wages is obviously one of them. However, what makes it so significant in the case of the Indian immigrants is that it is closely related to the extreme need for cash¹ which I showed existed at least during the early years of immigration. Hence it is the total receipts of cash rather than wages which is the criterion of preference for a job. This difference is clearly understood by the immigrants who use it in preferring a job.

This means that the immigrants prefer jobs where there

¹ cf. R. Desai. R.H. 1960. pp. 61-63

are additional earnings through working overtime to jobs where this is better initial payment but no overtime. Such preference is apparent in the case of jobs in the post office and in transport services which are lower paid than in industry but where there are better opportunities for working overtime. The same is the case of jobs in foundries.

The preference for jobs with 'plenty of overtime' as an informant put it, is so marked that it is no longer a question of an individuals choice. As an informant put it jokingly, "I never let go my overtime work even if there are visitors who have come to see me. You see, they can come again, but the overtime once lost will not". It has assumed the form of a 'value', a norm of behaviour. Thus, overtime is considered a part of the normal work and shirking from it is attributed to laziness. An immigrant working all the overtime available, is considered reliable, diligent, oriented towards India and the immigrant community, in short a good man. His prestige is high in the community and in India, and he can get a loan for buying a house.

The second criterion is the prestige attached to white-collar clerical jobs. The immigrants carry this preference for white-collar jobs to those involving manual

work from India, where menial tasks are traditionally associated with low castes in the rural (and to a great extent urban) areas. Manual labour in factories and jobs involving wearing of uniforms lower the prestige of the immigrants belonging to the high castes. In a dispute between the immigrants of low caste on one side and high caste on the other, those of the low castes often assert their equality through pointing out that manual work exposes the futility of the high caste claims.

In fact, it is usually the immigrants of high caste, who, also because they are university-educated, take up clerical jobs although their need for cash is no less strong than that of others. Accepting manual jobs with high pay in their case involves abandoning the values they brought from India, lowering of status within their caste in India and the caste-hierarchy in the immigrant community and a loss of self-respect in some cases.✓

The academic education an immigrant has had in India, is also a criterion in taking up a job. The type of manual jobs the immigrants get do not require any academic qualification, or any but knowledge of routine conversational English, which can be acquired by experience. Hence there is a conflict between the academic education and manual labour. The academic education, especially university

education, which many immigrants have, exempts its possessors from manual labour in India. In the United Kingdom, of course, this is not recognised in jobs that are open to them. Hence many university-educated immigrants who come directly from the universities, or who were clerks, primary and secondary school teachers and so on compromise themselves in their own evaluation and those of others by taking manual jobs. Recently, however, with the opening of jobs to them in the transport services, and more so in the Post Office, they can differentiate themselves from others since these jobs require a test of general education and knowledge of English. Although these jobs are undifferentiated from the point of view of the host society, they are not so from the point of view of the immigrant community.

The dilemma to which the taking up of clerical jobs gives rise is the same in the case of the educated as of the high caste immigrants. Their status is lowered both in India as in the immigrant community.

The criterion of the status in India and in the host society also influences the immigrants' preference for jobs. The individual's status in India depends on one hand on his caste-affiliation and on his educational and economic achievements on the other. In so far as caste has occupational affiliations, certain occupations which

are open to men of lower caste are prohibited to those of the high caste. When the Indians emigrate, it is recognised generally that most of them will take up occupations which would not normally be permitted to them within the regional society of India. However, where the occupation involves a serious ritual impurity in terms of caste and religion, it is prohibited to the immigrant, thus, a Brahman or in fact any immigrant may not take up a job with a butcher since it would involve handling beef or pork (latter is prohibited to Muslims). The Muslims have their own shops but do not handle pork. For the same reason, there are almost no restaurants run by Hindus or Sikhs.

On the other hand, the immigrants from the craftsmen castes, who more than others follow their caste-occupation in India, prefer their caste-occupation in the United Kingdom. Thus, the tailor and the carpenter prefer their own occupation to others. To some of them, however, their caste-occupation provides an extra source of income. Thus, there are spare time barbers, tailors, goldsmiths, and carpenters who cater for the immigrant community during weekends and in the evenings.

Lastly, the university-educated immigrants also take into account their status within the status-system of the

host society when taking a job. Many a time, the prime consideration in taking up a clerical job, is the desire to get away from being typed as a 'coloured labourer'.

The conflicts which arise because of the considerations I have stated above are very real and very much affect integration into the host society as well as the immigrant community. How it does so can best be understood by examining actual instances, some of which I give below:

CASE: IV.14.

Kasnu is a high-caste science graduate who comes from a village and has studied at Bombay. He was a secondary school teacher before coming here. He arrived ostensibly to study metallurgy but also to work, as he had little money to support himself throughout the course of his studies. Initially he took up an ill-paid job as a laboratory chemist in a private firm. In the house where he lived, however, there were a number of immigrants who, working as bus-conductors, earned much more money (two and three times on average). The temptation was great and he took to bus-conducting. In the new job he worked harder, but made little use of his intellectual capacities and scientific knowledge. Throughout the period of his work, he retained the conflicting desires to study metallurgy and go back to india on the one hand

and to make money and settle down in the United Kingdom.

He also applied to become a 'postman and a sorter' because the job involved working inside (not in public, as was the case with bus-conducting) and the money earned would be the same as he made through bus-conducting. But he fell short of the physical requirements.

After a while, he applied for the post of a laboratory chemist advertised in a newspaper, with an internationally reputed firm. He was accepted. The new job involved the use of scientific training and little manual labour. It paid him less money than at his previous job, but he was satisfied since the difference was not great and was offset by the prestige he gained within the immigrant group. The type of work he does involves only a very small portion of the scientific training he acquired as a result of his study, but he is reconciled to it.

His desire to study continues, but his interests have changed from metallurgy (related to going back to India) to pure mathematics, which he thinks has greater possibilities for him in England. He intends to study part-time in the evenings. He is reconciled to staying here indefinitely, has bought a house which he shares with two university students.

CASE: IV.15.

Artar Singh is a commerce graduate also from a village and was a clerk in a district town in India. He was married and had two children when he came here seven years ago. After a number of factory jobs, he took up bus-conducting chiefly to escape manual labour and also to earn extra money through working overtime. He also retained his desire to acquire an educational qualification and go back. After four years, when he saved enough money, he took time off from bus-conducting and studied for a year at the local technical college and acquired a certificate from a professional body in commerce. It was little use to him here. However, a friend found him a job with one of the High Commissions as a clerk. It did not pay him as much as his previous job. He took it up nonetheless, because it gave him prestige within the immigrant group and involved no manual labour. He brought over his wife and children and has bought a house. His liking for education (which has not helped him very much to find a good occupation or high status) is now directed towards his children, to whom he wants to give the best education possible.

CASE: IV.16

A variation of the above is the attempt by Govindlal

who is a science graduate who was politically active during his student days at the university and also took up employment with a trade union in India. He became a member of the trade union on coming here, took up postal lessons organised by the Workers' Education Association and attended a summer school. He wished to go to a university to study in the humanities but could not afford it. He wished to apply for the scholarship awarded by the trade unions, which is the only one he is entitled to. He is well-read and would stand a chance in the competition. But he was informed that the trade union scholarships were awarded only to those who had had no previous experience at a university.

He said apropos this, " The only persons who can benefit from the university education here are those who have had experience of university education in India, since the standards of education here are so high. The trade unions on the one hand talk of the need for spread of trade unionism in developing countries. But here I am, with a desire to forego the security that I have at present in a job. Yet I am refused because of a rule. As the rule stands, no Indian (immigrant) can ever make use of the facility and we must wait till the next generation of Indians who will have no education at a university

and still be able to benefit from it. But then they would have no interest in India". He is probably right in his assertion that (generally speaking) only the university educated from India can benefit from further higher education here. This is supported by the fact that most university graduates from India coming here as students are persuaded to take up First degrees here or undergo intensive schooling before going on to higher studies.

The cases of university graduates taking up manual labour are too numerous to be ignored. The dilemma they face is three-fold. On one side is the desire to acquire more knowledge and go back to India, on the other to acquire a job suited to their know-how and norms of status in the United Kingdom. Thirdly they desire to make money 'to get away from it all'. Usually they do not have the opportunities to do the first two. The third is perhaps the easiest of all, since their knowledge of English, greater acceptance of English cultural symbols resulting from university education make them easily acceptable for a job and among their workmates. Most use their knowledge of English to obtain jobs in the Post Office and in bus-conducting, where such knowledge is essential. They work longer hours to make money and feel "cheated" in coming here and are not reconciled until the time when the money

is sufficient to buy a house and bring over their wives and children.

3 Conclusions:

A number of conclusion can be drawn from this. Perhaps a fruitful way is to see in these cases a process of adjustment at a personal level. The stages are well-marked. Initially there is a desire to study, work in order to pay for it and then to go back to India. However, the work they obtain here is not what they expected and conflicts with their taboos of status (manual labour carries the lowest social status with it and does not go even temporarily with university education). In such a case, the immigrant may take either low paid clerical jobs, (which are harder to find and were rare a few years back) or take up manual labour which brings money. For those who do take up manual work, there is a sense of commitment about it. As one of them said "If you are forced to earn money at the cost of your status, likes and ambitions, you might as well make the best of it. Hence, I work as much overtime as I can so that if I have nothing else, at least I will have money". The final stage is when with enough money they buy a house and bring over the wives and children.

Almost all graduates, even those who know the working conditions of immigrants prior to coming here undergo the process of adjustment. This is especially so as time passes and new jobs more in conformity with the immigrants' norms of status are being opened to them. Their acceptance into such jobs is still rare and even then the jobs offered to them are very much lower than those offered to the university graduates of this country.

Another cause of dissatisfaction arises from the knowledge that they can never use the training they acquired through academic studies and there is a lurking fear in cases which one described "If I go on like this I will forget everything".

Yet another factor involved here and which has been pointed out before¹ is the fact that the standards of training may be different and a period of adjustment may be desirable before the immigrant can acquire new skills and training. In the cases above, however, such adjustment depends entirely on chance especially as there is little general recognition among the employers that the immigrants may be useful for anything except manual labour. Also since the immigration is economically motivated, the prime aim of earning money obstructs the process of adjustment.

¹W. Borrie & others: Cultural integration of immigrants. Unesco 1959. p. 109

The host society is reluctant to recognise the internal differentiation in immigrant status, skills, and aims and ambitions. This may be a result of ignorance or an assessment of the immigrants in general, a large number of whom can do little but manual unskilled work at least in the beginning. Yet the result is that 'successful' adjustment can occur only through chance or through a drastic adjustment in the immigrants world-view. This often does not take place, or even, where it does, the duration of adjustments is characterised by deep dissatisfaction. The period may last from three to five years and even more depending on the amount of money the immigrant can save. The latter in its term depends upon immigrants' liabilities to his joint family in India. Where they are so heavy that a long period of earning money is necessary and if the immigrant realises the fact, he may desire to sever his ties with India and seek acceptance within the host society. This, however, he must obtain only in the social sphere, usually through inter-personal relationships, i.e. friendships and sexual alliances. I have described elsewhere a case of such an attempt, which resulted in a liaison, marriage following pregnancy, and divorce.

(g) Jobs and Racial Discriminations:

Much of the discussion centring on 'racial discrimination' among the educated immigrants centres around this

lack of opportunity for social mobility upwards. As one of them said, "It is not that they will not give you the job you ask for that pinches but that will refuse it you on the grounds that you have far too many qualifications. They will at times sincerely apologise for it, but it comes from pity." Or as another said, "They will do everything for you but give you that job."

With a wider world-view and a greater variety of interest than their work-mates and also fellow-immigrants, they find it easier to make friendships within the host society, accept greater cultural modifications and tend to have a greater affinity to the "middle-class liberalism" to which they aspire even when in India. They read nationally respected newspapers, dismiss much of 'colour-bar' news as sensational and cheap, live in 'better' houses, and adjust themselves more easily than others.

On the other hand, their non-acceptance through the denial of social mobility upwards results in a continued emotional link with the larger society in India.

This, however, is not always the case. When it is so the non-adjustment which is continuous and may become permanent may take varied forms.

The following case illustrates only one of such forms.

CASE: IV.17

Mohan is from a village and of a low caste which is in the process of successful sanskritisation. It has taken up agriculture instead of domestic work for women and agricultural labour for men. The caste has a low social and religious ranking in India since it was connected with agricultural serfdom (and the slave-trade, as the legends show), but modern education is widespread and a large number of the educated members go into teaching in government owned primary and secondary schools.

Mohan has had two years of education at a provincial university and came here interrupting his studies. He was sponsored by his brother who has not been to a university. Mohan took up successive factory jobs and eventually landed in the Post Office as a "postman-sorter".

He is married but has no desire to bring his wife here. When in London, he used to stay with his brother who owns a house and has his family here.

But Mohan is a lonely wolf. He likes reading, photography and travelling. Very often on weekdays he goes out on 'cheap fare' trips and has seen most of Britain.

Mohan had vague notions about socialism which he picked up during his stay at the university. On coming here, however, he has developed a keen interest in it.

He subscribes to the Russian political and popular journals, (though not the high-brow~~x~~ ones), gets occasional pamphlets published by Russian and other sources, and has a great admiration for Mr. Kruschev. He admires the industrial and cultural achievements of the Russians and listens assiduously to Indian and Russian broadcasts. He may be described as Russophile.

He is not a communist or a party member and uses no "communist" jargon in arguments. On being questioned, he said that he was more concerned about economic and social advancement (of India) rather than a political revolution. He believes, though, that the political change must come after Nehru.

On the question of Racial ~~d~~iscrimination he has stronger views than other educated immigrants. He firmly believes that underlying all discriminatory action against the immigrants there is invariably racial prejudice.

As a result, he has virtually no personal contacts with fellow-workers. He once said, "I never talk to them first, even if they start it I am polite and friendly. But that is all. I am not interested in a society which accepts inferiority on the grounds of birth or skin-colour". He is equally vehemently against the caste-system in India, but is slightly reticent about his low-caste origin. He

follows all the news items of colour-bar with interest and effort. But seldom initiates a discussion on it. He is quiet, polite and difficult to draw into a conversation even after numerous contacts, even in his relationship with fellow-immigrants and other Indians. I asked why he accepts his present inferior position (to him it is so) instead of going back to India where he belongs, he said, "I will go back to India. But I want to have enough money so that I can study agricultural technology here. It does not matter if I do not have a degree in it. I have land, and I can make use of my knowledge on it." That is why I do not bring my wife over here as others do."

Mohan has a dual compensation for the rejection of participation that he has encountered: he sees himself as a temporary immigrant and refuses to have any involvement with the ^{host} ~~receiving~~ society. He is liked and even respected by fellow-immigrants but has very few friends even among them. His liking for Russia is obviously a compensation for his rejection of society in which he exists. Emotionally, he is oriented towards India. Mohan is a silent protestor.

3 RETAIL SHOPS AND PEDDLING BUSINESSES:

In a previous chapter, I have already mentioned that peddling in textiles, and items of clothing is one of the

earliest occupations that the immigrants took up in the United Kingdom. In fact, peddling is even earlier than the present immigration. It started in the 'thirties when a few dozen Sikhs started it mainly in Liverpool and Glasgow and later on spread it in northern Scotland. The immigrant coming immediately after the war, found it more profitable to peddle than to seek jobs in the factory.

In the Midlands, peddling started in 1947 when a few of the peddlars moved from Liverpool to Birmingham. At first they moved from door-to-door selling cheap hosiery, cardigans, pullovers, cotton dresses and shirts. But by 1950, they came to sell their goods on the pavements in the main shopping area of the city. They became so numerous that there was a general outcry against their nuisance and demands were made to banish them from the pavements or to take away their licenses. The local authorities, however, provided a vacant market where they were all found shops. Today there are fifty shops in the market which are all occupied by Indo-Pakistani peddlars, all of them Punjabis. \

Over the years, the peddling and retail business in clothing has been built into a trade run mainly by the Indians. With the general boom in production after the war, the Indian immigrants found the clothing business an

expanding one. Some of the peddlars gave up retail selling and started wholesale and manufacturing businesses in the East End of London. They bought their raw material from the Indian importing businesses who were the chief importers of cheap cotton goods and textiles (and India was the main source of supply until 1952). They started tailoring factories of their own or had their tailoring done through the existing factories, some of them run by Jews. Later they added synthetic fibres to their raw material when the import from India was more or less stopped. By 1960, there were between 25 and 30 wholesale establishments run by the Indians in the East End of London.

These establishments supply goods to the bulk of peddlars who still operate in Scotland and the main cities of England and Wales. As in other activities, the village-kin ties operate in peddling also. The wholesale establishments sell their goods on credits extending to a month or more, to their regular customers. The others pay in cash. The prices are not fixed but depend on the strength of the village-kin and business ties and also on the quantity of the goods. The buyers from the establishments in London in their turn operate as wholesalers for the peddlars in their own area. Here, however, the peddlars and the wholesalers are all related by kinship ties to each others.

Sometimes they operate as a joint business. A new immigrant, if he is a relative, finds it easy to become a peddler. The only expenses he needs are for taking out a license and for moving around. He is sometimes maintained by the sponsor till he learns his trade. The peddling business is a closed one for outsiders as well as for Indians unless the latter have relatives already engaged in it. Whereas the outsiders and the Indians who are not relatives, need a certain amount of capital and also have to learn the trade by themselves, those who enter it through relatives do not need either. There are approximately 500 Indian immigrants engaged in peddling businesses, directly or otherwise.

As regards a description of the actual conduct of business, an illustration would best serve the purpose.

CASE: IV. 18

Singh came to the United Kingdom in 1952 sponsored by a relative. He worked for sometime in a factory but later on through a relative he took to peddling. In the beginning he moved on foot and by public transport with a suitcase full of wares in his hand. He now uses a 10 cwt. Bedford motor-van to carry his good around.

Singh lives in the East End of London and does his business in all parts of the East End as well as the

localities where there are a large number of West Indians. He sells his goods to the West Indians mainly but also to the poor English, Irish and fellow Indians. He moves around selling from door-to-door four days in a week which includes the weekend. The rest of the time he spends in other work. (He runs a film society).

He sells his goods on credit and his terms are very easy. For example, he may charge only five shillings in down payment and the rest to be paid by instalment of a half-crown each week for an item he sells for two pounds. He charges no interest and does not quarrel with his customers, even when he cannot collect his debts, although where he thinks it will be effective, he quietly uses threats of 'making a scene' or of violence. He has never put it in practice.

Of his business practice he says, "I charge a customer from 50% to 100% more on my cost price depending on his reliability. Then if he is not a reliable one, I take as big a deposit as possible. So if he does not pay me his last instalments properly, I do not bother very much, because I do not make a loss on the transaction. But most of my customers are 'regular'. I know them and they know me, hence the trouble does not arise. I do not charge them as much." Singh's salesmanship is very simple. Once he has made a customer, he goes to his house every week to

collect the instalment, and every time he displays his wares to them. For this reason he prefers to prolong the instalments of the new customers as much as possible. He shows no temper if the occasional instalments are missed, but shows his goodwill by offering to sell more. His customers are mostly women, but on weekends he finds that the family as a whole buys his goods. He greets them and talks to them familiarly in their own language and idiom, which he has learnt from long experience. Where there are children, he is particularly friendly with them.

Over eight years, Singh has built a very good business. His list of clients has over 400 names and he sells over £200 worth of goods every week.

4 CONCLUSIONS:

The unity of work-situations described in this chapter lies in the fact that through them, a majority of immigrants participate in the economic organisation of the host society. Such participation is inevitable because (i) the immigrants come to the United Kingdom with no economic resources, (ii) the immigrants are economically motivated and (iii) the host society is economically and politically dominant. More specifically, as I have mentioned before, the aim of the individual immigrant is not so much to integrate and settle down as to earn 'cash' money. Hence the immigrants

participate in the activities only with that aim in front of them.

The economic participation is important in another respect also. In the case of Indians, the cultural preferences of their society of origin and those of the host society differ vastly from each other. In such a case total participation demands varied and extensive culture change on the part of immigrants who are sometimes neither willing nor capable of making the change. Instead, they accept cultural changes which are the minimum condition for participation. In order to sustain other cultural values they need a social organisation as well as economic (material) resources. Such a participation is then 'accommodative' and limited.

On a more concrete level, I showed that the participation means taking up jobs in which working under and with the members of the host society is involved. In seeking these jobs, the immigrants utilise the internal relationships which are available to them. In their interpersonal behaviour also they extend their village-kin group to the factory and behave in terms of their group membership rather than as individuals. Consequently, they force to some extent their English co-workers also to act as a group. On the other hand, because of their cultural

preferences and the notion of 'colour' (also a cultural phenomenon) the English workers refuse to treat the immigrants as individuals and either limit or prohibit altogether participation by the immigrants.

The members of the host society welcome, ~~or~~ reject or delimit participation by the immigrants depending on the several roles which they occupy vis-a-vis the latter. These are the roles of employer, fellow-worker, and Trade Union worker, at the local and national level. In a purely economic sense, these roles view the immigrants as 'labour' in a scarce market. Hence, the employers welcome the immigrants. The workers, or at least a part of them, reject immigrants as reducing the scarcity value of labour. But on a different level, these roles take into account social considerations also. Here the presumption is that the immigrants once they arrive are entitled to work as much as any other member of the society. The immigrants are then rejected because they are thought of as incapable of carrying out the functions of a worker. This incapacity as we have seen is due to lack of skill, lack of adequate knowledge of English, incapacity or unwillingness on their part to assimilate in the social life of the work-group. Any or all of these incapacities may be real in individual cases. But they are also presumed in the notion of 'colour'.

Thus when the incapacity seen because of colour, is total, the immigrants are rejected. Where it is partial, they are allowed to participate to that extent. In practice the Indian immigrants are subsumed under the larger group viz. 'the coloured workers', which is the category visible in the economic organisation. It is this category which is discriminated against: the Indians suffer it only as a member of this category.

In so far as status goes along with occupation in the host society, the Indians are at the lower end of the scale. In terms of English social classes, they are grouped into the working class.

The Indian immigrants on the other hand view their participation as limited to the economic sphere only. In the social contacts (and even sometimes in work-situations) they assert their membership of the village-kin group and behave accordingly, and thus cut themselves off from the host society.

II

The Economic Exclusion.

I. General

In the earlier part of this chapter, I presented the economic aspects of the inter-relations between the immigrant community and the host society. In other words, the socio-economic facts that I dealt with therein were always about inter-personal relationships between Indian immigrant individuals in general and the members of the host society. This is in keeping with the aims of this thesis and ordinarily I ought to have stopped there.

However, I propose to go a little further, for the reasons I give below.

The economic aspects of a modern industrial society appear to some social scientists comprehensive and fundamental enough to be able to 'explain' the social, ritual and political aspects. Where this is so, the implicit argument is that it is the economic factors which motivate the social, ritual and political acts of an individual.¹

1. This statement is analogous to the one which maintains that kinship relationships are of a fundamental nature in most primitive and peasant societies.

Whatever its truth, the argument shows the importance of economic facts in the understanding of a modern industrial society; and the host society in the United Kingdom is such a society.

A second reason is that the Indian immigrant individuals are primarily economically motivated. Hence it is proper that I should consider this fact as an important factor in understanding the immigrant individual's behaviour and the structure of the immigrant community. I should therefore deal with the economic structure more fully.

A third reason is that where the immigrant individuals enter into inter-personal relationships, they do so usually in factories and in transport services, and in quasi-roles and roles where they are in a formally inferior position in relation to those with whom they act. Within the "~~class~~ system" of the host society the immigrants fall within the working class, i.e., the lowest class. As members of the coloured groups their position vis-à-vis any member of the host society is inferior. For all these reasons their status aspirations need to be satisfied through intra-group differentiation. Therefore, internal economic differences provide (as I shall show later) a basis

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for stratification within the community.

Lastly, the cultural differences that exist between the immigrants and the members of the host society are such that some cultural activities cannot be pursued by the members of the host society. Sometimes the immigrants prohibit participation; at others the host society prohibit it. When these activities involve economic considerations they fall within what I have described earlier as internal organisation. Yet they are important because the exclusion of the members of the host society from participation into economic activities is a by-product of the more fundamental cultural and value differences. So long as these economic activities benefit some immigrant individuals they will seek to continue them.

2. The economic reality.

In economic organisation, as in other fields, reality in the case of immigrants may be profitably conceived of as consisting of 1) co-activities among the immigrants which constitutes a group. i.e., the immigrant community or its sub-group, 2) co-activity among the members of the host society which constitute a group i.e., the host or its sub-group, 3) inter-relation between the immigrant community and the host society and 4) co-activity among the

economic links with India?

see p. 253

immigrants and the members of the host society which constitutes a wider collectivity than the host society. Where the first three conceptions of reality are heuristically useful the total situation can be described as segregative, where the fourth one prevails the situation can be described as integrative. Although these terms are purely descriptive they can be used with some success in analysis. Thus for example, a particular activity-complex, an institution, a group can be labelled as either segregated or integrated.¹

In the first part of this chapter I described integrated activities. In this part, I shall describe segregated activities which are carried on by the immigrants. These are a) Indian grocery retail businesses, b) running film societies, ~~c) boarding and lodging businesses for Indians~~ and ~~d)~~ other businesses and ~~e)~~ house-buying and letting.

a) Indian grocery businesses

The Indian grocery business is divided into a number of wholesale and retail businesses.

At the level of wholesalers the grocery business is distributed among large English and Indian Trading Companies

1. Compare the following statement, "There is no general agreement as to exactly what is compassed by a separate economy but it can be defined as consisting of a world of business owned and operated exclusively by negroes making or selling products or services, more or less exclusively for negroes." Also, "This separate economy...thrives within a very limited area where the social mores and prejudices actually prove encouraging. Again, "Integration into general economy has not always been and need not necessarily be at the expense of separate economy." Kinzer, and Sagarin, "The Negro in American Business." Greenburg, New York, 1950, pp. 47 and 148.

who have little contacts with the immigrant individuals except through the retail grocers. It is seldom that the retail grocer obtains his goods directly from India. Most wholesalers are in London, and a few are in Liverpool. They supply goods to the retailers on either cash or a short term credit but the economic transactions do not bring about a further social relationships. Hence, any immigrant can approach them easily and obtain standard terms easily. Many wholesalers lie outside the perview of the immigrant community, hence I shall not discuss them. A few of them, however, are immigrant retailers who have expanded their retail businesses into wholesale ones through the well known economic processes of vertical integration.¹

Before I leave this topic two points may be noted.

1) The wholesale business links the activities around the grocery business with the total economy of the host society and 2) it is not possible for an individual to undertake wholesale trade, exclusively on the strength of his membership of the immigrant community. Unlike the retail business it demands not only large capital but also

1. E.A.G. Robinson "The structure of Competitive Industry". Cambridge. Economic Handbooks, 1956 (revised edition) pp. 109-110.

a different kind of managerial skill, knowledge and contacts. The individual immigrant may achieve these gradually through experience but the process requires substantial socio-cultural adjustments. In effect he ceases to be an immigrant and becomes a member of the Indian business category in the United Kingdom.

The first Indian grocery business started in 1928-1929 in London, much earlier than the beginning of the present immigration. The early Indian grocers supplied Indian students, business and professional men, Indian officials of the High Commission of India and a few Englishmen. The first Gujarati grocer started business in Birmingham in 1949. The total number of businesses vary in size and number from time to time. In 1961 there were six Gujarati grocery businesses in Birmingham.

geog. distinction

The Gujarati Grocer sells Indian spices, grains such as cereals, pulses, rice, wheat flour, special vegetables, cooked foods, dried goods, edible oils, kitchen utensils special to the Gujarati household, in fact everything which is found in a Gujarati grocer shop in Gujarat.

The selling consists of a weekly round of distribution of goods to various clients mainly Gujarati who are within the area of operation. The Gujarati grocer or

his assistant travel on Friday evenings and whole days on Saturdays and Sundays (days most convenient to factory-worker clients) delivering goods from a motor-van. The goods are packaged in convenient quantities. There is little bargaining and the bills are paid at the client's convenience. The credit of a client may extend to a week, a month or even months. No Gujarati is refused goods for want of immediate payment. The client stands in a kind of Jajmani relationship¹ with the Grocer where the former is the Jujman and the latter the servant.

The Grocer's normal week consists of a trip to London early in the week for buying and taking delivery of the goods from the wholesalers, both English and Indian. The trip lasts a day or two and the rest of the days are spent in weighing and packaging goods, accounting and attending the shop if any. Friday evening and the weekend are spent in distribution.

Although the Grocery business is owned by the man, it is a family enterprise. The wife and the children (even school-going ones) help in the business by attending to the shop, cleaning grain, cooking food for sale, weighing and packaging. Women do not go out on distributing rounds. The Grocery business may be and generally is a partnership business. The reasons are that it requires labour of

1. For a description of Jajmani relationship see O. Lewis, Village Life in Northern India, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, U.S.A. 1958, pp. 55-58.

several hands, and capital contributed by several persons.

The client-grocer relationship is a permanent one and either party needs to justify his action to the other when breaking off the relationship. When the client breaks it off, he needs to justify his creating a new relationship to another grocer in terms of non-economic reasons. Thus he may, for example, claim that the new grocer is related to him by nearer ties of kinship, village, caste or friendship etc. Often a client starts the new relationship without the knowledge of the first grocer and breaks the first one off gradually, buying less and less goods each time.

Since the start of first Gujarati Grocery business, in every case clients have been socially attached to their grocers. New immigrants start the relationship with a grocer in terms of ties of kinship, village, caste and friendship etc. Where he has no preferences based on these, he affiliates to the grocer who supplies the rest of the house. Since new clients are rare, an immigrant starting a business must recruit clients from the existing market. Since this can be done only on the basis of other existing social ties, not everyone with enough capital and experience can become a grocer. Mostly men with capital and skill come into a partnership with those who already have extensive social connections.

The economic character of the client-grocer relationship however, does play an important part in the relationship. This lies in the forms of social control which are exercised. Thus, the grocer must not 'rob' the clients. It is not the amount of profit that the grocer makes, which decides the question of robbing, but rather the competitor's prices. Since there is no bargaining and the economic character of the relationship is covered under a kind of Jajmani relationship, the question of high prices cannot be directly discussed. For both the persons, it is 'a matter of conscience'. On the other hand, a grocer who consistently robs his client may lose his clientèle.

Whilst higher charges are a breach of relationship, delivery of bad goods is not necessarily so. The grocer can claim that he received bad goods from the wholesaler without his knowledge. It is then the collective responsibility of the grocer and clients to use the goods somehow (i.e. the clients must consume it) and thus 'help' the grocer out of difficulties. Oft repeated this excuse may also affect the grocer-client relationship.

Selling or delivering goods is a social act, very much like visiting. In every house, the grocer or his assistant spends from ten to sixty minutes or even more,

enquiring about the health of the client and his family, news from India, exchanging gossip, and delivering messages. He is offered the Gujarati hospitality due to a visitor, i.e., a meal at the proper time or tea. The grocer as a 'servant' must recognise the social status of the client within the Gujarati community and must behave accordingly. Where a caste distinction exists between the client and grocer, it must be observed.

The superior position of Jajman within the traditional Jajmani system, to that of the servant, (except in the case of the Brahmin), is also recognised here. Thus the grocer is socially inferior to the clients. When the former, however, has a superior status otherwise, (e.g. the grocer may belong to a higher caste, or have had higher education) a situation may arise in which the client insists on Jajmani relationship whereas the grocer insists on the economic relationship devoid of excessive social contempt. Within the economic organisation the client-grocer relationship is segregative. Since money in the form of profit passes from the client to the grocer, the grocer occupies a higher social status within the immigrant community. Since the grocer is also independent of the host society and helps maintain a vital cultural preference (i.e. Indian food), he has a social status

Example

higher than that of the factory worker.

To conclude, the grocer-client relationship is comparable to 1) Jajaman-Kamin relationships existing in India, and 2) the retailer-customer relationship existing within the host society.

A primary qualification of a retail grocer is his membership of the immigrant community, since it is the obligations of mutual help which form the basis of client-grocer relationship without which a grocery business is not possible. The various aspects of grocery businesses will become clear from the following two cases.

Case IV.19. A successful grocery business

R. started a grocery business by buying an old house in an industrial area in 1952, well away from the district where most immigrants are clustered.¹ His initial investment included £300 for the house, £70 for a second hand motor van and the actual cost of goods (approximately £200) which he bought from London. In the nine years that have gone by R. has expanded his business partly into a wholesale one. He has two shops, three delivery vans and a motor car and he maintains large stocks of goods worth three

1. For a full account of R.'s grocery business and other enterprises see R.H.Desai, 1960 pp. 261-276.

to five thousand pounds. Whereas in the beginning R. employed only members of his extended family in the business he now employs seven persons (two of them English, the ex-owners of the second shop he bought). R's average gross receipts from retail sales are £270 per week. R. in his capacity as a wholesaler supplies goods to a number of other retail grocers in and outside the Birmingham conurbation.

R's employees include an ex-grocer who closed down, a Punjabi manual worker to do the heavy chores, the English couple who once owned the shop bought by R. but are now his managers, and three immigrants who deliver goods to clients. R's mother and wife who always helped in his business now act mainly as supervisors and accountants. R. himself looks after the finances and the wholesale buying and selling. During the early years when the business was an extended family enterprise, every member, male and female, contributed equally in terms of labour. Whereas the master-servant situation did not exist in the family situation, it now exists, at least in relation to those employees who are not the members of his village-kin group. It exists more formally in the case of the English employees than in the case of the fellow immigrant employees. The

number of R's clients varies from three to four hundred. His delivery area included at one time or other almost all the Gujarati houses in the Birmingham conurbation. In 1961 there were five other competing businesses in the area not unlike R's business. Only two of these are run in a partnership. The estimated Gujarati population in the area is not more than fifteen hundred. Hence I can fairly say that R's or any other grocer's business cannot expand in terms of clientele except at the cost of other businesses. The latter is, however, very unlikely because the client-grocer relationship, which is a sine qua non of a successful business, arise out of pre-existing village-kin relationships. On the other hand any new enterprise which can make use of fore-existing relationships can to that extent reduce the clientele of the existing grocers. The rise of new businesses is a continuous process, but I argue that R's business which is the most successful one in the Birmingham conurbation has reached its optimum size within nine years.

The failure of a grocery business is best illustrated through another case, that of G.

Case IV.20. A Grocery business which
failed.

G. started a grocery business in Nuneaton as a part-time enterprise. He bought a van with 10 cwt. capacity on H.P. terms and bought £200 worth of goods from wholesalers. He bought no shop, but used a part of his large and empty house to stock goods. He worked night-shift in a factory for five days and delivered goods at week-ends. At the peak of his business he covered about 100 households mainly in Coventry and Nuneaton. However, he could not expand further, mainly because a part of his relations resided within the Birmingham-West-Midland area which he found uneconomic to cover. He folded up his business and joined R.'s business. The reasons for his failure in his own words, were "It was difficult to deliver at all the places where they would buy from me. I did not have time enough to go around". There may be other reasons too. But what concerns us here is the fact that customers cannot be found on a territorial basis. The economic aspects of the cost of distribution may conflict with the recruitment of clients.

Case IV.21. A one man grocery-business.

This business in London was started by K. who worked

full-time in a factory. Initially he spent approximately fifty pounds all-in buying goods in minimum wholesale quantities (roughly 28 to 112lbs. units of usual retail sale). K. took the delivery of goods in person and transported them by underground wherever possible. He used the larder of his kitchen and bed-sitting room flat as a store-room, hence invested no additional capital for a store-room or shop. He also made delivery rounds on foot and underground mainly within north-west London and thus avoided the capital expenses of a van. His clientele was restricted both by the factors governing recruitment of customers cited above and also territorially. His income out of the business may be termed mainly as wages rather than profit, since his capital investment was too meagre to yield an interest. K. as an entrepreneur also minimised the risk-taking by taking in boarders simultaneously and hence was not left with undisposable goods on hand. Later K. gave up his factory job but retained his other two sources of income. He sold goods worth £30 a week but did not expand the business mainly because he could not recruit more clients. Since the profit margins were so low, the business earned no goodwill payment. When for other reasons K. closed it. The clients turned to other grocers.

I have already mentioned the two of the factors determining the size of and success of a grocery business. But there are some more also. It is obvious that the demand for Indian grocery falls but remains stable so long as the community does not change numerically. This is, however, only partially true. During the initial period at least, the demand was increased through importing an ever-increasing variety of items for consumption. The choice of items offered for consumption was not random but purported to recreate faithfully and gradually the whole Gujarati activity-complex centering around food. It is possible to range these items in a historical sequence of import which would then have a bearing on the marginal satisfactions that each item gives to the immigrant individual. This in turn may form the datum for the immigrant values. However, such an approach is more complex and has for us only a curiosity value. It is sufficient to realise that in so far as the immigrant individual retains orientation towards India in terms of food and eating habits, the demand for Indian grocery will expand in terms of a greater variety of items coming into the market. Not all these items were novel when the grocer first supplied them to the immigrants in the United Kingdom. Some of them such as cooking utensils and plates usually

came as personal possessions of the individual and were not objects of economic exchange as such. The grocer in such cases only ~~int~~roduced the economic factor, thus turning such items into commodities.

Immigration of women (and to a lesser extent children) resulted in an expansion of demand for grocery in a proportion greater than their numerical strength. The presence of women resulted in households more elaborate materially than the earlier hostels of male immigrants. Recreation of the Gujarati household became more possible and more accurate.

A microscopic analysis of the nature and quantity of the commodities sold by an Indian grocer would reveal its relationship to the normative system of the immigrant community, especially its orientation towards India. It is enough for me however to show here that such a relationship does exist. But I shall return to this point later.

Indian grocery business on any appreciable scale involves capital. This can be raised initially through loans, partnerships or bringing it over from India. The last method of raising capital is no longer available, since the government of India does not permit it. The loan of capital from a member of the village-kin group or a

partnership capital involves a number of restrictions on the business. But whereas the partnership capital involves the partner in the risk, taking the loan capital does not involve the lender in it. Both of them are obtained on the basis of village-kin ties. In return the partner gets a share in the profits and works for the business; the lender gets a tacit promise of monetary help. The return of his loan is guaranteed by the village-kin ties in India. The partnership also has village-kin connotations, but so far as the capital is concerned the relationship is more of purely economic nature.

I have already discussed the use of the labour of the family of the grocer and his partners. As Case IV indicates mainly Indian labour is used in the business. The insistence on its use is only partially attributable to cultural factors (such as the employee's ability to deal with the clients in their own language). The factor of wages is also of importance in the Indian enterprise. The factors determining wages between Indian employer and employees are different from those existing within the host society.

The members of the family are not paid any wages separately. Where however, a partnership exists, the apportionment of income takes into account the services rendered by these members.

There is no 'open' recruitment or market for hired Indian labour. The hiring is a result of pre-existing ties and hence wages bear relationship not to any specific measurement of work but to the tie and the expectations under it in general. The wage-rate and labour-conditions within the host society are only one of many factors. Thus, wages paid by a grocer do approximate to the wages for the alternative work that the particular employee would have obtained otherwise. In times of a demand for Indian labour in the host society, the employee may be better paid by an Indian grocer than at others during the periods of relative unemployment, the wages would be low.

Analogously, payment for part-time work is related itself to over time wages that the employee would otherwise make.

Where the employee has been specifically sponsored from India by the grocer in order to employ him in the business, the wages may be off-set against the expenses of sponsoring. The act of sponsoring itself, which is advantageous to the employee (it is difficult, if not impossible for an immigrant to come to the United Kingdom except by being sponsored by someone in the U.K.) almost invariably result in low wages. When the employee is a sponsored person, part-payment for these wages are sometimes made in India.

Sometimes a debt is 'worked off'. Under such conditions, although a monetary rate is usually agreed upon, it works in favour of the employer.

On the other hand, an employee may accept low wages in order to set up eventually a separate business or at least a partnership. In such a case, a part of the wages consists of the chance of acquiring skill and experience, goodwill of clients and a knowledge of the tricks of the trade. The grocer does not necessarily disapprove of a separate business as it may not operate with the same clients.

To repeat, the employment of labour and payment of wages are thus not solely economic problems. Nor do they bear any resemblance to the analagous systems which prevail in the host society. In so far as the relationship is seen in terms of total social ties existing between the employer and employee, the social structure of the Immigrant Community is reinforced by the employer-employee relationship. Such a tie, reinforced by the sentiment of help tends to work in favour of the employer. An obvious example of this is in fixing the hours of work. In a grocery business, there are no fixed hours of work and at week-ends work usually extends from morning to night. Also as the employer-employee tie is initiated usually by the former he

would not normally do so. Where the balance of social ties is against him lest he is at a monetary disadvantage. As such, the employer-employee relationship is often found where the previous relationship is of a dominant-servient type, the employer of course, being dominant. The employer-employee tie is then basically the same as obtains in the host society, though governed by different considerations.

Concept of cost and profit: In economic theory, profit strictly speaking constitutes an income from entrepreneurship. There are two functions of entrepreneurship: management and risk-taking. J.A.Shumpeter also adds a third one: innovation, whether in products, productive techniques or organisational arrangement. In Shumpeter's view, "early capitalist development depended upon innovators who broke loose from conventional processes and ideas of economic propriety."¹ Although with the organisation of the modern corporation, this concept of the entrepreneur has become obsolescent, it is nevertheless useful in the present analysis since in many ways the Indian grocer is an entrepreneur. He fulfills all the functions of the entre-

1. W.E.Moore. Economy and Society, Doubleday and Co.Inc., New York. 1955, pp. 38-39.

preneur: that is, he is a manager, risk-taker and innovator. He not only fulfills a demand for Indian grocery, but is largely responsible for expanding demands by importing an ever-increasing variety of items from India, by bringing within an economic framework items not previously the object of economic exchange (~~see p. —~~), and, finally, by organising client-grocer relationship on the basis of previous ties. The functions of management (a type of labour) and of risk-taking are present as in every entrepreneurial undertaking though the institutional framework of the immigrant community tends to minimise risk-taking by imposing a collective social responsibility on the client-grocer group too its continuance.

The concept of profit is also connected with the concept of cost. In so far as the grocer is a distributor and not a producer, the costs are a product of the efforts of the producer who precedes the distributor. Whatever these are, I am not directly concerned since the producer lies outside the subject-matter of my thesis, which is the immigrant community. Profits in this sense should mean the excess of total monetary receipts and benefits over the costs. A part of the grocer's costs are a result of his own activity and it is this cost with which I shall concern myself. It is inevitable that I should cover some

ground once again in so doing.

Unlike an economist the grocer does not differentiate between income and net profits.¹ The excess of income over the capital is so high that running a grocery business has become economically very attractive to the immigrants.

Before I turn to another topic, I must point to two relationships which are affected by the presence of Indian grocery businesses. The first one is the relationship of the partners. Partnership ties are a constant source of friction whether or not the pre-existing ties are those of equality. Partnership is usually a result of different requirements being fulfilled by each of the two partners. Thus functionally, the two men are different from each other, inter-dependent and in some ways equal. It happens therefore, that the dominant-servient relationship is in conflict with the new relationship based on equality and mutual interdependence. Where on the other hand, ties of equality already exist, inter-personal conflict results from the mutually exclusive interest in the same enterprise.

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1. To repeat, in reckoning monetary benefits, the grocer does not take into account the market value of his own labour and that of his family. The criteria of wage fixing are partly social and so defy economic measurement. His borrowed capital does not bear interest. He measures monetary benefits against his entrepreneurship.

To give one example, the partner investing capital may seek to develop a clientele, or the working partner may seek to acquire capital with a view to starting an independent business. The special skill and knowledge of the trade, propensity to take risks or capacity for innovation also render complete equality in the relationship unlikely.

The second relationship is that between the husband and wife. If the generally true but not entirely authenticated statement about the inferior position of the non-earning wife in India *vis-a-vis* her husband is accepted, the husband-wife relationship in the case of the grocer and his wife is at variance with the position in India. As in India, the wife, although economically productive, is not paid cash wages and hence has no independent means of income. On the other hand her economic contribution to the family income though not measured is considerable. This and the constant companionship in work-situations with her husband gives her an equality in relationship with her husband unknown in India.

A summing up at this point will be helpful. I dealt with the grocery business as an economic institution. I have pointed out its cultural significance. I have outlined the roles of the grocer, the clients, ^{the} partner and

the roles of the members of the family in the grocery business and showed that none of these cannot be fulfilled by the member of the host society. In so far as the economic aspects of the businesses are concerned, I have shown how they too are affected by the social-relationships existing within the immigrant community. The important point about grocery and indeed all segregated economic activities is that money tends to remain within the immigrant group. In fact, it passes from a large number of immigrants to a relatively few persons. This wealth enhances social status within the immigrant community. The grocer and other entrepreneurs form a different economic and occupational category. It is only a matter of time before they constitute a different class or what is more likely they (in this generation or the next) may opt out from the immigrant community and belong to the category of Indian businessmen in the United Kingdom. Since the mores of the immigrant community demand social equality from all immigrants, whether rich or poor, and since the grocers must stand as a Kamin (servant) relationship to his clients, opting out would involve giving up the grocery business.

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(b) Film Societies

I shall now turn to second of the segregative economic activities, namely, the film societies. It is in many ways different from the grocery business.

In several towns in the Midlands and in almost all the towns in the United Kingdom, where the Indo-Pakistanis reside in sufficient numbers, local cinemas shows Indian and Pakistani films at weekends and holidays in the afternoon and evening. These shows are run and managed in the name of film societies which are sometimes private business, and sometimes cultural associations.

Formally film societies are voluntary associations registered compulsorily under law as friendly societies. This enables them to obtain exemption from import duties and entertainment tax, provided the exhibition of films is restricted to the members and their guests. All Indians or Pakistanis fall into one of these categories.

A number of films are imported in the United Kingdom by wholesale distributors who rent the films to various film societies for exhibition. The rent varies from £25 to £50 per day. A film is exhibited in several towns in rotation.

The distributors of the films are not immigrants but are Indian businessmen who have business contacts in India. They sell exhibition rights to immigrant entrepreneurs who

run the film society. Unlike the grocery business, immigrant entrepreneurs do not have distribution businesses.

The management of the film society involves continuous and active contact with the host society, i.e. with local tax and licensing authorities, government departments, cinema theatre managers, police and so forth. Apart from business acumen it requires special skills, such as knowledge of the law, of the English language, ability to correspond in English, knowledge of accounting and of committee procedures.

The formal structure of a film society is very much the same as that of many cultural associations existing in the host society. The membership is on payment of fees and is accompanied by a right to vote. The executive body is chosen annually in a democratic manner and in conformity with the law. Meetings are held and correct procedures are followed. A respectable leader of local or national standing is chosen as a patron. He may be Indian or Englishman. Alternatively he may be a respectable immigrant.

Film societies more often are private businesses, inspite of the legal impediments. A privately owned film society cannot obtain tax exemption and other benefits if it does not register as a friendly society. Hence old film societies have a formal structure of a democratically organised and managed friendly society.

I shall differentiate the privately owned film society from the rest by referring to it as "private film society" and the others as "public film society". I give below the case-history of a public film society and through it point to economic and social factors affecting the existence of a film society.

Case IV 22 A public film society

The Eastern Film Society was founded in January 1956 in Darlaston in the West Midlands conurbation where there are about 10,000 Indo-Pakistani immigrants. The founder members and its first executive were Punjabi speaking sikhs from Jullunder district in India. All the founder members knew each other at the start of the society.

In May 1956, the members of the executive contacted the local cinema manager Mr. Taff who is also a member of the Rotary Club. Mr. Taff hired out his theatre on Sunday afternoons to the Society. In April 1957, Mr. Taff joined the society as a treasurer. As the informative pamphlet issued by the society states, Mr. Taff joined the society because "the complications of entertainments duty, record-keeping, local bye-laws and all the other complexities that are associated with an effort of this sort were very trying for us as we had no experience in this field. Most of us were factory workers with little time to devote to the Society".

During the year 22nd April 1957 to 21st April 1958 the Society had 163 paid members. It put on 31 film shows making a balance of £305. 11. 1. The balance from January 1956 to April 1957 was £142. 18. 4. the theatre has a capacity of about 1400 persons. The society's most popular film show was attended by 1443 persons, its least popular by 272 persons.

The society hires film from the India film Society in London which apart from showing films in London also rents its films to provincial film societies. The society was charged a uniform rate of £30 per film and for theatre hire £27 approx. per show. The other major expenses were publicity of the film which is done through printed leaflets sent to about 500 addresses for every show in advance. The society obtained an exemption of the entertainments tax which came to £204. 7. 10. This combined with the £81.10.0. collected as membership fees constitute the major portion (£281. 17. 10.) of the balance of £305. 11. 1. shown by the society.

One of the society's aims is to foster education in English and it donates £86.19.6. to the Commonwealth Centre. (This was closed down in 1960 for lack of adequate patronage by Indo-Pakistanis towards the cost of several Indian newspapers, in Punjabi, Urdu, English and Gujarati). It also donated £100 to the West Bromwich Education dept. 'for equip-

ment for Indian and Pakistani children's classes, and bought linguaphone records in English and Hindustani for £33. 12. 0.

J. who was the founder member and secretary in 1957-58 began the society in the Civil hall at Wolverhampton. The society ran three performances in 1956-57 at another local theatre before contacting Mr. Taff. The chief obstacle was their difficulties with customs duties licencing, and other statutory requirements. In Mr. Taff's words, the executive, "did try to keep the books". However there was "overspending on expense". "I arranged exemptions, reorganised book-keeping and financing". The only item the customs objected to was £8 approx. spent on volleyball equipment bought by the Eastern Sport Society, a part of the Eastern Film Society.

When I met Mr. Taff, he had had three years of experience with the Eastern Film Society. Describing the 1960 Annual General meeting he said that there were about 100 members present. The meeting was organised on the lines of an "orthodox English meeting" with an agenda and other proceedings properly followed fully supervised by Mr. Taff who was an active participant. All the officials were elected un-animously. On being asked about differences Mr. Taff observed between this and an average English meeting, he made several points. "The President was not firm and adamant in the

conduct of the meeting as an English president would be. The President is a nice fellow but an Englishman, though nice, would have dealt more firmly with hecklers." He also commented on the "volubility" especially the tendency of one of the members to "repeat endlessly" in order to impose his opinion and his refusal to accept a majority opinion. This member also broke into Urdu at times whereas all the proceedings were conducted in English and minutes were kept by Mr. Taff.

There were no factions within the group according to Mr. Taff. However, the behaviour of the voluble member showed at least a rivalry for leadership. The only controversy centred around the question of the amount of hire charged for the films.

Mr. Taff is not only a treasurer of the Film Society but is the major active figure behind it. He is a respected local figure, has had long experience of film-showing as a commercial venture, has extensive contact within the local English community and the commercial film world. As a liaison officer, he eased the way of operating for the society. By lending the Society his association, he obtained tax-exemptions and perhaps made the society more respectable in its dealings with the bureaucracy and local authority.

He also utilised his professional knowledge and contacts

in the English Society for the benefit of the Film Society. When the film society decided to run another film show at Birmingham, the theatre was obtained through Mr. Taff's efforts. He also contacted the India Film Society (an Indian organisation) and obtained better terms of hire from them.

Mr. Taff has built up a reputation among the local councillors and the local bureaucracy as having a close relationship with the local Indian communities and is consulted by them at times in the latter's dealings with the Indians.

Much of the credit for running the Eastern film society on sound economic lines goes to Mr. Taff. However, it must be remembered that he put it as a condition prior to associating himself with the society that he should be given the charge of finances. Mr. Taff works as an honorary treasurer. As a result, in the society's dealings with the English community, he has relegated the Indian members of the executive to a passive and subordinate position. The result is that he has been accepted as one of the spokesman for the Indian community and the Indian leaders (his executive) have to deal mainly through him. This is patent from his evaluation of his two associates. The Secretary, J. (Mr. Taff said) contributed to the discussions through suggestions regarding

"the types of films that are required" for showing. On the otherhand the President, "talks to the audiences and drafts circulars to the members" thus providing useful liasion with the host society at the Indian end. The functional success of such an arrangement is obvious. However, the fact remains that the contact between the host society and the Indian community is minimised. The members of the Indian community avoid direct contact and use Mr. Taff as a broker. Mr. Taff is viewed in the English institutional framework as a leader-interpreter for the Indian community.

It must also be emphasised that the identification (or association) of Mr. Taff with the Indian community is only nominal. This can be seen from the nature of social activities that he actively supported. In his own words, "they (the executive) were not for social welfare, I persuaded them to do it".

Mr. Taff has changed his attitudes greatly in his contact with Indians. When he took charge he had little but building up finances, in mind. He now 'appreciates the Indian mind far more than before.' Colour bar, he says 'is nothing more than misunderstanding.' It can be resolved out through education. The language should provide the common link so that the problems can be solved by discussions between ordinary people. Social contacts, (presumably he was referring to

get-togethers organised by associations, churches, newspapers and political activity) according to him are of little use. "Absence of knowledge about Indians results in the Englishmen seeing only unEnglish things."

Mr. Taff's attempt (a donation of £86) at introducing the Indians to the Commonwealth Centre failed and his contribution to the West Bromwich Corporations education department was represented by a rival Indian group as a differential treatment of in forcing Indians to pay for their education.

Case IV23-A private film society

It is very difficult to obtain any data about private film societies, since they are involved in unlawful activities. Hence, I will describe an attempt to establish such a film society in Birmingham Connurbation in 1960. It was made by entrepreneur D. As a preliminary to the starting of the society, he had tried to obtain films from one of the public film societies which also acted as distributors for some of the popular Indian films. The society refused.

O. then solicited the support of the representative of the High Commission of India in Birmingham, in obtaining films from the London Society. He complained that the London Society purposely supplied films to the public society in Birmingham. This was unfair and this (public film society) "shows films against us and both the societies are loosing

money". If we get the films from the London society we will use them in very good ways. Our cinema is in the centre of the city and many English people see our films." He also argued that in the absence of Indian films, he was forced to use Pakistani films. The representative of High Commission referred him to the Public Film Society and his attempt naturally failed.

There are, however, continual attempts to start private film societies. The main requisite for starting a society are the renting of a cinema theatre, permission from licensing authorities, obtaining exemption from entertainment tax (for which the tax authorities have to be satisfied that the profits will be utilised for the educational purposes or for charity), and obtaining films. Since public film societies in London and some of the distributors are not inclined to supply films to the private societies, the private societies find it difficult to continue long.

Yet private film societies do exist in all towns at some time or the other. During the short period of their existence they make a good profit for their owners.

The economics of a private film society are the same as those of a public film society. Sometimes they make a greater profit. In 1961 there were four film societies in the Birmingham conurbation. One of the public societies showed

films in three towns and had plans to monopolise the exhibition of Indian films in the whole of the area. Sometimes two public film societies come into conflict with each other, for they compete for clientele. The following is the history of such a conflict.

Case IV 24. Competition between two public film societies

In April 1959 A. B. and C. two Punjabis and one Gujaratis founded "The Indian Society of Great Britain". A. was a businessman and an enterpreneur, B. the president of the "Indian Workers Association", in one of the small towns and C. the Gujarati was a factory worker. Each had prestige within the respective local community and would have found support from other village-kin groups. A. the most active of the three founders, sent a petition signed by fourteen Gujaratis to the representative of the High Commission of India, seeking his support for the new film society. This support would have helped them to obtain a license, a cinema theatre and tax exemption without much difficulty. The petition emphasised the fact that the Eastern film society (another public society) did not show good films. The representative of the high commission recommended the new society favourably to the town clerk for the issue of license. The Eastern film society soon got to know about the efforts

of the new society to start a new economically competitive activity and sought to stop it. A. came to know of this and challenged the Eastern film societies activities through the local English newspaper. A. challenged the value of the Eastern Societies educational work for coloured children. He was reported to have said vis-a-vis, the Eastern film Societies attempt to conduct special educational classes for coloured children, "This is discriminating between the coloured and white children. We find there are equal opportunities for the education for coloured children in this country alongside white children."

The Eastern film society persuaded the representative of the High Commission to abandon the cause of the new society with the argument that even without competition the^{ir} profits were small and were used for welfare and educational work. Publicly the Eastern film society answered A's charges by a photograph showing the Indian women's English class, the educational work it supported. The representative of the High Commission withdrew his support and the new society was stillborn.

Later B. moved to Birmingham and joined the executive Committee of the Indian Workers' Association. A. and C. did participate in the controversy after their attempt failed.

There exists a rivalry between the Eastern film society and the Indian Workers' Association. Film showing is recognised as an important source of revenue and the film society is considered important by the Indian Workers' Association as an association which provides for rival channels of leadership. Recently when the government of India announced some measures providing for a legal status for the immigrants who had forged passports or none at all, both associations charged each other with usurping the credit for making successful representations to the Government of India on behalf of the immigrants. In fact, the leaders of the Indian Workers' Association had pursued the matter for years. But the film society got in first with distributing leaflets in Punjabi and Urdu explaining the new measures.

To sum up, film societies bring together in a cultural context Indians and Pakistanis from various immigrant communities. However, the organisers and the majority of members in the public film societies are drawn from one community only. The private film societies are individual ventures and its organisers are drawn from a close village-kin group. Being a business enterprise it does not encourage participation by members except as audiences.

A second but an equally important point is that although the formal structure of the film societies do not confine them to the immigrant community, nevertheless they reflect in their executive body, linguistic and regional isolation. The executive body consists of the members of a few village-kin groups who see the status-giving capacities of participation within the film society only in terms of their own immigrant community.

Lastly, the economic benefits of a public film society do not go to the executive members. Far fewer people are, therefore, interested. Also the village-kin group does not actively participate in the film societies as a group. Unlike a grocery business the immigrant audiences or the members of the film society do not find themselves bound by traditional ties to make it a success.

(c) Other businesses

There are a number of ways in which immigrant individuals use their membership of the immigrant communities in order to derive economic benefits. Perhaps this is best illustrated by the following cases.

Case IV²⁵ Transport business

F. found a job in Cannock during a period of recession in Wolverhampton where he lived. He obtained jobs for some

members of his village-kin group also. F. and his kin group were Punjabis. A few Gujaratis also came to hear of the factory in Cannock through a Punjabi and obtained jobs there. In a short time ~~there~~ were more than fifty persons working in Cannock and living in Wolverhampton a few miles away. F. realised that it was inconvenient and expensive for the immigrants to travel daily to and from work. He bought a passenger van and carried the immigrants to and from work for a small charge. The immigrants saved substantially in fares and time. F. operated on all shifts carrying passengers to and fro and made as much as £35 a week. F. left factory work.

Case IV 26. Transport business

H.. owns a car which he uses during his leisure time. However, he hires out his services and car to drive people to and from London. The immigrants need his services whenever they come to London to receive their relatives coming from India. On the day of hire H. remains absent from the factory. He charges £5. There are a number of immigrants who do this. In some cases they charge as much as ten pounds.

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(d) House-buying and letting

I have already given the major facts about the economics of buying a house and renting accommodation. In the case III. 1, which is not an untypical one, the joint owners, the uncle and nephew, who bought the house, had the following accounts.

Their total expenditure of £2,300 was made up of £1,700 for the lease of 42 years on an eight-room house, £100 for the legal expenses and £500 for furnishing the house. The last included a television for £96, an item of luxury bought by the nephew. Of these £1,200 in all were borrowed, £1,000 from a building society towards the mortgage and £200 the village-kin group. The uncle borrowed almost immediately afterwards £250 from the other members of his village-kin group in order to bring over his wife and children. The owners' own savings invested in the house were £1,100. They owed £1,200 towards the house, but in all £1,450 of which £1,000 was to be repaid in the instalments of £10 approx. a month over a period of ten years. The rest were personal loans of sums varying between £20 and £100 to be returned as soon as possible. These personal loans carried no interest; instead the borrowers created a special obligation to their lenders to help them with counter-loans to the best of their ability

at a later date when required. The uncle and nephew jointly earned between £27 and £32 a week of which they saved £25. This was well-known to the lenders and hence their credit was considered very sound.

Over four years the owners (the nephew parted with the uncle in 1958 in order to return to India to get married) recovered £1,950 in rent of which £1,000 was the net profit. The three rooms continually occupied by the West Indian and the Irish earned in the beginning total £1 more a week than did the others occupied by the Gujaratis. On the other hand the occupiers were all friends and relatives, some of whom had helped the owner with loans. They also looked after his wife and children during his prolonged illness and stay in hospital. The non-Gujarati tenants were given greater consideration in terms of smaller facilities. The Gujaratis were expected to consider the house 'as their own' hence help in minor repairs, papering, cleaning and so on, which they did.

The houses owned by the immigrants vary in prices from year to year as they have been going up steadily for the past few years. Hence it is very difficult to ascertain even an average amount of profit. It is certain, however, that no one incurs a loss on the investment. The immigrant owner in house-buying also is an entrepreneur rather than an

investor or a consumer. He finds a major portion of his actual investment (from one-half to two-thirds of it) from the Building societies and his village-kin group. The last, however, also act as guarantors in the enterprise, since they provide ready tenants. With only a third of the total investment or even less when there are partners, the immigrant does not need capital as much as he needs the capacity and willingness to undertake the risk and the liability. In the above case the owner in fact paid up his debts within four years out of his profits.

The renting aspect is very much present when an immigrant buys a house. This is confirmed by the fact that all the immigrants I questioned and the estate agents I interviewed said that the former showed an invariable preference for large by-law houses in the poorer localities of the towns, preferably free-hold so that they do not carry restrictive clauses on owner-occupation, use of house and so on.

3. Conclusions:

The facts underlying all segregated economic activities ~~concern~~ the cultural and social needs of the immigrants. These needs are usually such that they can not be fulfilled through participation in the existing activities of the host society. Hence the immigrants themselves organise their satisfaction. Sometimes, however, the needs are determined by purely economic and not social or cultural factors. In such cases the needs are so specific that the host society may not be able to fulfill it. In that case also the immigrants organise segregated economic activities. The transport business is a case in point.

A second fact of some importance is that the segregated economic activities consist mainly of businesses although in most cases the element of services is very present. Since there is a certain amount of easy borrowing of capital and the labour is provided by the immigrant (and his family as in the grocery business), the two other requisites are the possession of skill needed and the entrepreneurship, i.e., the willingness to accept a monetary responsibility. The skill consists of in most cases, a knowledge of English and of the functioning of the host society. The grocery business is an exception to this as there it is the size of the village-kin group and prestige within the community which are needed.

A third point to be noted about the segregated economic

activities is their ultimate economic dependence on the non-segregated activities. The money flows within the community only through the integrated activities. The segregated activity only redistributes it. This fact is well recognised by the immigrants in that they look at the grocer-client relationship in jajmani terms.

I shall deal with the main problem of exclusion and participation of the immigrants from the activities of the host society in the last chapter. For the moment I turn to the question of mixed marriage and sex relations.

Chapter V

Mixed marriage and sex relations.

1. Introduction.
2. Attitudes of the host society.
3. Factors governing the behaviour of immigrants
4. The behaviour of immigrants.
5. Some case-studies:

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Chapter V

Mixed marriage and sex relations.

1. Introduction.

There is hardly any need to define mixed marriage, but the term sex relations as I have used it needs some elaboration. Under it I include over and above the physical sexual relationship activities such as dancing and going out together. since these have sexual overtones within the value systems of the host society as well as the immigrant community.

The immigrants bring over their values from India. where village and kinship ties have formalised the behaviour of the members of one sex towards the other. There is a general segregation of sexes and whatever contact is permitted between men and women. at the inter personal level. occurs under well-defined situations and in terms of known roles. Not only the contact which occurs in contravention of these situations and roles but any contact occurring outside them is considered to be of a sexual nature and is therefore expressly discouraged.

It is, therefore, not suprising that the immigrants should consider initially contact with members of the other sex in the United Kingdom (mainly with women since most immigrants are men) sexual, as it occurs in new situations and outside their own village-kin group. How far do they modify this definition of sex relations and thereby create new situations. roles and types of contact which are permitted

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between the sexes is one of the questions I shall try to answer in this chapter, For the moment, I turn my attention to a summary of the attitudes of the host society towards sex relations and marriage with the immigrants.

2. The attitude of the host society:

It is important to consider the attitudes of the host society at large. in dealing with the problem of mixed marriages and sex relations, As a sociological fact. the former are co-related to integration. Dr. Elizabeth Colson expresses this negatively when she writes, "The surest indication of social segregation is the absence of inter-marriage., which prevents the appearance of members of different groups in the same familial structure."¹ As Dr. Colson points out, the integration occurs through the loss of their separate identity. which the two groups derive from mutual exclusion. What is more important here is that the members of the host society are conscious of this fact. Those who are in favour of the mixed marriage see in it a proof of integration. although they may realise that in every instance of mixed marriage integration of the immigrant individual does not occur. On the other hand, those who oppose it see in it an attempt on the part of the immigrant group to force integration on them. The particular instance of marriage is seen as the first of such instances which must follow if not opposed in time.

¹ Dr. Elizabeth Colson, "The Makah Indians", Manchester University Press. Manchester 1953. P, 111.

Of mixed marriage between the West Indian and a member of the host society Dr. Ruth Glass writes, "the idea of mixed marriage arouses the strongest segregationist tendencies among the members of the host society."¹ Dr. Durant, in a Gallup poll he took in September 1958, found that 71 p.c. of those who polled were biased against mixed marriage. He also found that there were none who could be put in the intermediate category of the "possibly biased", which indicates that the attitudes were sharply defined.² Dr. Banton also found that 39 p.c. of his informants assented to the proposition that "coloured men are welcome to live in the country if they did not marry English (or Scottish) girls".³

On the attitudes of the host society to a marriage between an Indian and its own members. Dr. Sheila Webster provides some answer. According to her. 28 p.c. of the Oxbridge university women and 12 p.c. of women studying at the teachers' training colleges would themselves marry Indians. while 47 p.c. of the former and 29 p.c. of the latter category of women would allow their brothers to marry an Indian woman.⁴

1 Dr. Ruth Glass. op cit, 1960, p. 125.

2 Dr. Durant as quoted in Dr. Glass op. cit. 1960, p. 258.

3 Dr. M. Banton op cit 1959, p. 203-4.

4 Dr. Sheila Webster as quoted in Dr. Banton, 1959, p. 89.

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There are many reasons why Dr. Webster's findings do not permit accurate conclusions. Some of these are advanced by Dr. Banton.¹ But there are other reasons also why Dr. Webster's findings cannot be applied in the case of Indian immigrants. One of the reasons, is that the women in Dr. Webster's sample are unlikely to be representative of the category of women who come into contact with the Indian immigrants. As she herself points it out, the women in the sample were neither confronted with the problem nor were likely to be so. The only generalization that can be made under the circumstances is that there is a strong disapproval among a section of the members of the host society of marriage with an Indian especially if he is a man.

When a mixed marriage does occur, there are two alternative consequences. Either the marriage is acceptable to those members of the host-society who come in contact with the persons involved in it, in which case integration takes place. Sometimes this happens only when the resulting family, group, especially the English partner to marriage, pays the price of acceptance in terms of a reduced social position. Alternatively the marriage is not acceptable and consequently the English partner is out-cast from the important primary groups such as the family, neighbourhood and friends.

As opposed to marriage, physical sexual relationships outside it (even when they take place between members of the host society) are disapproved of under the value-system of the host society. They are thought of as disturbing the existing social structure. Mixed

Mixed sex relations are, therefore, directed not so much against the identity of the group as the equilibrium of the social structure of the host society. A member of the host society may turn a blind eye towards the immigrants so long as they participate in the existing pattern of extra-marital sex relations. In this way, it is thought, he threatens neither the identity of the group nor the equilibrium of the social structure and the customary sanctions are sufficient to control his activity.

On the other hand, a member of the host society may resent the immigrant because the latter deprives him of having sex relations with his own women. If the immigrant is a coloured man, he is imputed with greater sexual powers and urges than the members of the host society possess, who thus see themselves at a disadvantage.

A member of the host society may also look upon his fellow-member having sexual relations with a coloured man as unnatural and abhorrent, because the coloured man is at a great social distance from his own group. In this attitude also, the dominant factor is the element of competition. Only the rejection of the occurrence is greater since the implicit endogamy is denied through it.

Turning to the actual situation, one finds that the resentment based on competition is stronger among men than women. The reason advanced by Dr. J. Henderson is that "there is a greater possibility of, white women associating with coloured men."¹

1 Griffiths J.A.G. and others. op. cit. 1960. Dr. Henderson, p. 71.

The results of inquiry into sex relations, made so far, are different from those concerning mixed marriage. In two contradictory propositions put forward to ascertain the attitudes of white informants on the sexual urges of the coloured people. Dr. Banton¹ obtained the following results.

TABLE 12
Showing attitudes of resentment

Proposition	Responses	
	Assenting	Contradictory
Coloured people have stronger sexual urges than white people	30p.c.	-
Coloured people do not have stronger sexual urges than white people.	9 p.c.	1 p.c.

It is very difficult from these results to draw any conclusions about the image of the coloured people as sexual partners. Dr. Banton's propositions emphasise the innate differences between the two groups and so, it is quite likely that to Dr. Banton's informants, the archetypal stranger was signified by the term "coloured people" rather than a category which included others such as Indians also. There is no data available on this point. In another place, however, Dr. Banton's observation is more illuminating. He writes that the "English men and women regard foreigners of the other sex as more exciting" from a totally different set of premises. His argument

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1 Dr. Banton, op. tit. 1959, p. 88.

"Social life is more sedate when people tacitly agree to tone down the sexual element: yet this arrangement is threatened when foreigners appear who do not play the game, but set out to attract the women and force the men to compete in what they had previously thought their private reserve. English men and women regard foreigners of other sex as more exciting than their own compatriots. As individuals they are less conscious of English inhibitions in the company of strangers and often choose foreigners - either when at home or abroad - as partners for their on extra-marital adventures."¹

Dr. Banton's observation is supported by the fact that even the Italians and Poles were widely accused at one time of being "Casanovas", attempting to destroy "the integrity of British women".²

There is no specific attitude research done on such activities as dancing or going out together. What can be said about them is that barring the sexual overtones it carries, dancing (especially ballroom dancing in public halls and places, with which I am mainly concerned) is a recognised form of entertainment which does not carry any disapproval: "going out together" with a member of the opposite sex is also an entertainment, but only a part of a pattern of behaviour in which the constancy of the partners turns the activity into a courtship which is expected to lead to marriage.

To sum up, there is greater disapproval of mixed marriages than there is of sex relations in general. So far as the host society at large is concerned, the latter are overlooked provided the immigrants participate in the existing patterns of behaviour and are subject to the customary sanctions. A specific proportion (30 p.c. as shown by Dr. Banton) however, resent all forms of sexual contact between the coloured immigrants (and possibly others whom they see as outsiders).

3 Factors governing the behaviour of immigrants

One important way in which the immigrants express their voluntary exclusion is through disapproval of mixed marriages and sex relations /with

1 Dr. Banton op. cit. 1958, p. 83.

2 W. J. Barrie, ~~W. J.~~ and others, op. cit. 1958. p. 170



with the members of the host society. As I have pointed out before the new immigrants see most contacts with white women in terms of their values acquired in India and therefore reject them as being sexual. These values are sustained by the organisation of the immigrant community in various ways, some of which I examine below.

I have mentioned before that the most important primary group in the activities of which the immigrant individual participates is the village kin group. The immigrant becomes a member of this group immediately on arrival and obtains a number of benefits out of his membership. The factors which determine the recruitment of an individual to a particular group originate entirely in India, and the recruitment on any other grounds does not take place. The village kin group, therefore, deters an individual member from contracting marriage outside the regional society in India and thereby prevents the appearance of the members of different groups within its own fold.

Another primary group in which an individual immigrant lives is the immigrant household. The norms which govern the behaviour here are those prevailing in the extended family household in India. Therefore an atmosphere of fraternity between men is coupled with strict formalisation of contact between men and women, in which sexual contact is permissible only between husband and wife. In order to ensure this (as in India) privacy between a man and woman is discouraged so much so that even the husband and wife practise an avoidance relationship in the presence of others. It is therefore impossible for an immigrant to develop contact with a white woman inside the household without engendering conflict.

An important fact about the village-kin group is that it functions in most social situations in which the immigrant finds himself. Thus whether at work or in leisure-time activities, whether inside the house or outside it, he finds himself surrounded by other immigrants. This not only provides the lack of privacy but also a constant supervision by the group. As a result, an immigrant can seldom make inter-personal contacts outside the group without the knowledge of its other members.

Among other factors which govern an immigrant's behaviour are his religious beliefs. If he is a Hindu or a Sikh, marriage is prohibited except with a co-religionist. To the Moslem, however, marriage with a Christian or a Jew is not prohibited. Extra-marital sex relations are prohibited in all cases. In the case of the Hindu and the Sikh immigrants, ritual purity is also a consideration, apart from general sanctions against marriage outside the religious group. They incur greater ritual impurity through sexual contact with an outsider.

The rules of caste endogamy also prohibit marriage not only with a member of another caste but even more so with an outsider. A man marrying outside the caste is usually outcast. He loses his social position within it and brings that of his ^{own} ~~xx~~ family-unit down. If they continue commensal or indeed any other social contact with him, thereafter, the family as a whole is outcast. Even if the outcast man's family renounces social ties with him, they may have to perform /social

social and ritual penances in order to retain their membership of the caste; they also may have to pay a fine.

The family in India, for this reason and many others, strongly disapproves of mixed marriage. As I shall show later, however, instead of rejecting the offending immigrant, the family and the close relatives endeavour to break up the marriage.

An important tie between the family in India and the immigrant is an economic one. The immigrant is financed out of joint family resources and the money that the joint family can borrow on the strength of its position. In turn the immigrant is expected to send his savings to repay the debt and also for use by the joint family in India. The individual immigrant's prestige depends to a large extent on how far he can successfully accomplish this. If he does so, the joint family's social position within the regional society goes up through an increase in economic resources at its disposal and also because of the immigrant's membership of it. One immediate advantage of this to the immigrant is that if he is unmarried, he can contract a marriage with a more desirable partner than otherwise would be available to him. In this he is dependant on the family in India, whose head arranges the marriage for him and in which he has little say. If he does marry with an outsider, he may lose his membership of his family as well as his share in the joint property.¹

1 Indian law provides that a man does not lose his share in the joint family property even if he is outcast or changes his religion. An outcast, however, will find little support in the society which would enable him to receive his share. The process of law on the other hand may prove too costly and wasteful to obtain a share.

Lastly, the effective ties of an immigrant with his family are strong enough in most cases to prevent his disgracing it by a mixed marriage.

One of the sanctions I have mentioned is outcasting the offender, who enters into a mixed marriage. This occurs not only in India but also in the United Kingdom. In the absence of the caste group, the immigrant is outcast from the immigrant community. There is no formal procedure for this in the United Kingdom as there is in India. What generally happens is that the immigrant and his alien wife find themselves unwelcome among the immigrants. Their marriage is not recognised in the same manner as a marriage between two immigrants would be and the couple find themselves in the embarrassing position of being taken as living in an illicit union. The verbal behaviour on the part of the immigrants resulting from this is sufficiently insulting to keep the offender away.

Much more than this, however, the immigrant may find that he is deprived of the advantages of the membership of the immigrant community. He may thus not be invited to take part in the various communal activities and may not get "help" as he would have been normally entitled to from other immigrants. His partners, in business or in the home, may lose confidence in him and demand separation. His debtors may want immediate return of loans they may make to him. In short, he would effectively forfeit all the benefits of membership of the immigrant community.

The process of outcasting from the immigrant community is gradual and usually starts with rumours and gossip when an immigrant begins to have a sex relationship outside the group. The sanctions applied vary according to the severity of the offence. Thus extra-marital sex relationships, though strongly verbally disapproved, may be

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tolerated if it does not lead to the birth of a child or if it is not permanent or is not likely to lead to marriage. Even in this, the efforts of the close relatives and friends may be to bring back the offender to the fold, whereas the behaviour of the host society may be directed towards the ultimate sanction of outcasting. In such circumstances, close relatives and friends may still retain ties with the offender and even his alien partner so long as they hope to succeed in bringing him back. In the last resort, however, they too must outcast him or be outcasted themselves.

One of the consequences of outcasting is that the immigrant is forced to accept drastic cultural changes in his surroundings. He can no longer visit his friends, see Indian films or even eat Indian food as often as he used to do. He must change from the cosy and reassuring surroundings of the immigrant household into the host society, where his position is definitely lower. He can integrate only through an acceptance of English culture, in personal behaviour, food, leisure-time activities and so on. He must also establish new inter-personal relationships, even in the work-situation among the members of the host society where he may not be welcome.

The behaviour of the immigrants

It is not surprising, therefore, that most immigrants conform to the norm about mixed marriages. Extra-marital sex relations, on the other hand, are much more common than mixed marriage, since they can be more easily broken off. They are also looked at with less severity since they do not threaten the identity of the immigrant group.

In practice there are few departures from the norm in both. In my five years of field work I have come to know of only seven instances of mixed marriages involving four Gujarati and three Punjabi immigrants.¹

1 Marriages and liaisons are more common among the Pakistanis, who are permitted by religion to contract such marriages and liaisons even if they have been married in Pakistan. There are various factors which bring about this situation, but I am not concerned with this.

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Of these, five occurred in the Midlands and two in London. The extra marital sex relations were much more common, but even among these there were hardly any permanent liaisons, (as there are among the West Indians and West Africans²). The reasons probably is that such liaisons are not customary in the society in India and do not replace marriage. The sexual liaisons are also as rare as marriage. In my contact with the Gujarati community I found only five more from 1956 to 1958 apart from those I have described in cases. Dancing too is rare and is usually accompanied by other deviant behaviour. Among the 38 households 274 persons, with whom I had close contacts, only 4 had learned to dance and attempted it for a while, but gave it up as soon as talks preparatory to his marriage started in India,

I give below some of the cases where mixed marriage or extra-marital sex relations have taken place. Some of these have been chosen to demonstrate what has been said above. Others I have analysed at length to point to the sociological facts involved. Yet others point to recurring situations in which the behaviour occurs.

Case V.1 A mixed marriage that succeeded

T, 30 years of age is a graduate from Bombay. He comes from a once rich but now completely impoverished family. Among close relatives. T. has only his widowed mother, for whom he is financially responsible. T had also studied law in India and had practised it for some time without success. Before coming to England he had had a clerical job.

T. came to the U.K. primarily to study, but also intended to pay for it through work. He obtained a job with an Indian business firm in London owned and staffed by the members of his caste in India. T's father was once a man of prestige and wealth. hence T did not find it difficult to get work. It is, however, clerical and was poorly paid for a long time compared with what he would have received with an English firm. T, however, had only one superior and the establish-
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establishment being small T had many privileges. He registered for an external course for which he could attend classes in the evening.

T's friends were mainly Indian, most of them educated immigrants, some of them students, A number of these he had known in India.

T is brown-skinned, well-dressed, well-mannered and speaks English fluently; his interests are varied and he can strike up acquaintances quite casually and easily. Hence he met a number of girls during his first two years whom he occasionally took out. During these meetings he conformed to the conventions of the host society. The occasions were mild and pleasant ones for him, except in the case of an English girl, with whom he was emotionally involved and wanted to marry her. The girl, however, refused him.

When I met him in 1958 T had resumed his earlier manner of existence. He had nominally kept on with his study, always hoping to take it seriously. In his studies he had little incentive because the diploma in international law which he hoped to get would not bring him any monetary benefits or enhance his status in India, much less in the U.K. Having got his first degree in law, he was less inclined to join another faculty. At his job, he could expect little advancement either in wages or position for a long time.

In 1959, however, on one of his usual "dates" he found himself waiting in the rain at the meeting place in the West End. He also noticed a girl in a similar position. He struck up a conversation and eventually they decided to spend the evening together. After that he met her several times and in the end proposed to her. She accepted and they were married in London in the presence of a few friends from both sides.

T's wife is only part-English and claims French, Spanish and even /Indian.

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Indian descent. She has a distant uncle who is married to an Indian woman. She has no relatives and used to stay alone in a boarding house when T met her. She was a primary school teacher at the time.

On marriage T and his wife moved to a furnished basement flat in a working-class locality. T asked for a rise in wages and got it and his wife continued to work at the school until the time she had her first child. T and his wife have pooled their resources. They both have few intimate friends, but a large circle of acquaintances, who have come to know both of them and accept them with the limited scope for advancement and meagre earnings they can live frugally. But they are well-adjusted.

Comment: The important fact to note is that both T and his wife had no immediate family group who would object to a mixed marriage. T did not inform his mother for some time after the marriage. He has, however, regularly sent small sums of money (about £5 a month) which is enough to maintain her. T, a poor man in a rich caste had little hope of finding a good match in India. Moreover, he had long passed the normal age of marriage within his caste. He also had no savings which he might have taken back with him to India. T had, in short, little interest and no ties in the regional-society or caste in India to retain its orientation towards it. T's only close relative is his mother to whom he is very much attached and even after marriage he continues to help her.

T's wife has no close relatives. She too had passed the average age of marriage when she met T. This may have influenced her judgement at least in the beginning.

None of T's or his wife's friends objected to the marriage. Immediately on marriage they established a neo-local residence. Apart from this, T was well-adjusted to the patterns of behaviour of the host society and hence found little difficulty in making adjustments on marriage.

CASE V.2

A series of temporary liaisons: a stereotype of behaviour.

* M, 29 years old is a Gujarati Brahman, who came to the U.K. ten years back. He is the only son of a postal clerk in a provincial town, who is fairly rich by local standards. Before migrating M had studied for two years (out of four) towards a university degree in the provincial town. He had also done clerical work for sometime, along with his studies.

* He is fairly tall and has a light brown skin and facial features which can pass him off as Mediterranean, especially among persons who do not come into frequent contact with Indians. He is of clean personal habits and wears expensive clothing which he buys from the higher-priced chain stores. He has an average of four suits anytime and is well-dressed even at work, where he did manual work at one time. So strongly does he attach importance to good clothes that he once said "I keep my working clothes apart from my leisure time clothes. Sometimes, when I do not have enough money to get my working clothes from the cleaners, I wear my better suit to work. But I would never dream of going out in the evening in my working clothes". By long experience, he speaks good English and can imitate the dialect of the Midlands and the idiom of the language used by his workmates.

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* He was invited by his uncle (his mother's mother's sister's son) to the United Kingdom, who gave M and his father to understand that M could study and at the same time earn his living. When M arrived, his sponsor (the uncle) let him know that it was difficult to be admitted to the university. He also suggested that M should take a job and contribute to common savings out of which M, at the end of two years, would be able to go to the university. M did this for two years and also helped his uncle run a boarding and lodging house. At the end of the period, he stopped paying his full wages to his uncle (which he did till then) but remained as a paying lodger in the uncle's house for two more years.

* About the time I came to know him, he was friendly with a German girl, whom he had met at a local foreign students' club. The girl had come to the United Kingdom to learn English but also worked as a domestic servant in an English family. M started going out with her and after sometime, they announced their engagement among their student friends. M bought a ring for her, gave her presents and spent money on her generally. During this period, M would talk to me for long hours about this girl and many others he had slept with after coming to the UK. It was apparent from his talks that he did not even vaguely contemplate marriage with this or any other girl. He also kept his friendship with the girl unknown to his relatives and the migrant group in general. He never

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invited the girl into his uncle's house where he lived at the time. After some time, however, he moved into another bed-sitter in an English house and also withdrew himself gradually from participating in the kin-group activities. He visited his relatives less frequently, occasionally to borrow small sums of money. He spent his leisure hours entirely with the girl or at the club among his non-immigrant friends. He had lost all interest in the immigrant community.

* One day he told me that he had quarrelled with the girl because she asked him to marry her saying that she was pregnant. At first he refused to believe her and thought that she was trying to force him into a marriage. He consulted his student-friends who advised him to break off the relationship with the girl immediately. He did so after a quarrel but patched it up within a week. After a while he quarrelled again with her imputing that the child did not belong to him. Eventually the girl left the U.K. and went home.

* At no time during his long talk about the problem did he consider marriage with the girl and thought of such suggestion as totally ridiculous and out of the question. Since then he has been friendly with a number of girls, mostly Continental, but also some English, some of whom he met at the students' club. He has never been serious with any of them.



* M's educational career has been a chequered one. After the first two years, he joined an evening course for a diploma in mechanical engineering, as he could not be admitted to a full-time university course. He could not attend this regularly and gave it up after half-hearted attempts. Since then he has taken up night classes, postal tuition and day-release courses often changing the Faculty of studies. To suit his studies he even obtained a transfer to a clerical job with lower wages but where he had one-day leave a week for the studies. He has not been successful so far. He blames his uncle now for duping him into coming to the U.K. for studies and maintains that he would have done better in India, which may be true.

His association with students and participation in their group activities, have changed his attitudes towards the immigrants completely. He is offended if identified with the immigrant group and has no friends within it. He scarcely mixes with his numerous relatives and when he does so it is with a formality previously absent. He includes a few Indian students (as distinct from immigrants) among his friends, but prefers in the absence of other Indians to describe himself as an Italian.

* Most of his leisure-time is spent at the club or with girls. He is resigned to the nominal continuation of his studies. He has petty debts and no savings. His soft and polite manners, good knowledge of spoken English and presentability gain him enough

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friends at the cosmopolitan club where dancing is the main activity. He smokes considerably and also drinks moderately though he cannot always afford to do so. For a long time, he has been unable to adjust his expenditure to his income, runs up small debts, and feels a constant shortage of money.

* His relationship with his parents in India is characterised by a subdued hostility because he holds them responsible for neglecting him. He writes home irregularly and at long intervals and refuses to return to India in spite of their repeated requests. After the episode of the girl, when I suggested a return to India, he replied "What good will it do to return. You know well that I can hardly hope to find a job. All my friends in India are now well settled. I have no qualifications (educational) to justify my stay till now. Moreover, I do not think that I will be able to adjust to the same sort of life". Then suddenly he started to talk about his parents. "It is really my father's fault. He should have known all this before sending me here on the word of my uncle. But then he never helped me much. During my college years (in India) I had to support myself through working, when all my colleagues were enjoying college years".

For the last two years, however, M talks about visiting India at least temporarily. He has a vague desire to settle down in India provided he can save his face (he and the other immigrants

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consider him a failure) and get a suitable job, but he is not sure that he can return if he fails to do this. He has few illusions about his position within the immigrant group, which has rejected him or within the ~~best~~^{host} society, where he can not be much else besides a perpetual student, always short of money.

M has successfully broken away from the immigrant group. At first the process may have been unconscious. but as time went on he consciously pursued it. A number of his actions suggest that he gradually lost interest in the group. His friendship with girls, his association with Indian students and foreigners, lack of savings, dancing, visiting clubs every evening and studying are acts which denote his attempts at integrating into the ~~best~~^{host} society. He no longer participates in the solidarity of the immigrant group as can be seen from his desire to pass off as an Italian. He has accepted over a long period, a different value-system signified by the priority he gives to leisure-time expenditure over savings. He looks down upon his fellow-immigrants. They on their part have rejected him and he has no friends who can help him in need. His relatives neither help him nor seek his support in their internal disputes. After the episode of the girl, his activities ceased to be a subject of gossip, due to a lack of interest in him. An oft repeated epitaph on his membership of the immigrant community is "He has been a failure". By immigrant standards, they are correct.

A number of points may be noted about M's sex behaviour.

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His relations with the girls outside the immigrant group consisting of dancing, going out together and physical sexual relationship were all inconsistent with his membership of the immigrant group. The process of alienation from the group, once started by M's activities, occurred at both ends. The immigrants' rejection lay in the fact that not even the relatives of M made more than a half-hearted attempt to stop his activities. M on his part, did not restrict himself only to the prohibited sex relations but also carried on other activities such as studying, mixing with non-immigrants, dressing differently and preferring to live in a non-immigrant house, thereby rejecting the ties with and the culture of the immigrants. Negatively he contributed to this by neglecting to visit his village-kin group, refusing to participate in disputes, failing to save money and so on. The sex behaviour was thus a part of the total behaviour which went against the behaviour pattern of the immigrant community. The sanctions applied by the immigrants against M are the reduced social position he now occupies, their refusal to help him monetarily or otherwise and his isolation from the members of the community. Even his relatives have given him up.

M on his part does not suffer unduly from this rejection. He has opted for membership of the local student group. His prestige among the Indian students varies with successive arrivals of new students year by year. They soon see, through the facade of

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perpetual studentship, M's real dilemma. M has not assimilated within the host society in that his problems. as he can see them are unique and arise partly because of his membership of the society in India. M after ten years of stay does not yet accept that he may stay in the U.K, permanently. He makes no plans about settling down, nor has he any means of doing so, since his demands are much higher than those of the other immigrants. One of the important reasons for continued ties with India, of course, is the emotional relationship with his family in India. But in addition to this is the fact that he stands to lose monetarily if he cuts off the ties with his family. As he is the only son, the inheritance he stands to lose is sizeable relative to the family's social status. Hence in terms of social security, he finds going back to India more attractive. The only reason he puts it off, is because he is afraid that his return without obtaining proper education or a good job will reduce his family's position. What he has only recently begun to realise is the fact that the longer he puts it off, the more difficult it will be for him to return at all, since the passing of time can only aggravate his dilemma.

It is interesting also to note that most of M's girl-friends have been from the Continent. They came to the U.K, to learn English but also worked as domestic servants. At least one of his English girl-friends was a nurse. The European girls' friendship

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with M is partly due to the fact that they too were immigrants.

The European girls who come to the U.K, to work as domestic servants and to learn English also function as a social group. Individual girls often sponsor their friends at home, finding them jobs with their own employers or their friends, giving them detailed instructions on various problems of immigrants and so on. Once in the U.K, they go to the same language schools and classes and often go to the same clubs and institutions such as the British Council centres for overseas students, methodist international clubs, cafes, and dance-halls to spend their leisure. In fact, they share a single pattern of behaviour. Apart from the obvious differences in personality and the strength of the ties with their family in Europe, the girls have few social sanctions against participation in the common pattern of behaviour. The pattern includes at one end, cultural activities and various sports, at the other it includes activities of a sexual nature, from dancing to temporary or permanent 'liaisons'. M and many others, foreign and English students, immigrants and others participate in this.

M's lapse from the immigrant behaviour vis-a-vis the German girl therefore was not an isolated incident, but a new pattern of

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behaviour, in which many persons participated. M's personal characteristics should, therefore, be co-related to the pattern.

From the point of view of "race relations", it is interesting to note that very few of the European girls, if at all, accept the racial attitudes prevalent within the English society in their relationship with the coloured persons, Indians in particular. This may be because of their European background, colour-bar is not an acute social problem. It may also be that being foreigners, they are also sufficiently removed from the English society not to be able to adopt its 'racial' pre-occupations.¹

1. Parts of this case marked with asterisk have also been used in my previous thesis, generally to draw different conclusions or to demonstrate other facts.

CASE V.3

A mixed marriage that failed

N, 29 years old, is also a Brahman and was unmarried when he came here. He came about the same time as M (see previous case) and was sponsored by the same person. He was also educated in provincial towns but did not go to the University. Unlike M, he comes from a large family of four brothers, widowed mother and several sisters. Two of his elder brothers are less educated and are chronically unemployed in India. The younger one is a student. N has little property in India. Moreover, the size of his family and the possible dowries he must pay for the marriages of his sisters, make his position unenviable. Both his elder brothers are still unmarried, so he, being the younger, had little chance of getting married.

N is of light brown skin, of medium height and can pass off as Mediterranean. He, however, does not speak as fluent English as M, though he can express himself fairly well in a limited number of situations. Like M, he too is of clean personal habits and dresses well. He dresses moderately at work but is just as careful as M about his leisure-time clothing.

For the first two years he lived in the same house as M with their sponsors. Unlike M he came to the U.K. to find work. He handed over his earnings to his sponsor for the first two years. After that he stopped doing so, but stayed on as a lodger for two more years. At about the same time as M he too went to live on his own.

I came to know him and M simultaneously. He then had an English girl friend from the neighbourhood. The street in which he lived is on the border of a good residential district, but is mostly occupied by working class people. N's girl-friend lived with the mother (the father did not live with the family), an elder sister and a brother.

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The sister later on married an American negro soldier in the U.K. Both the mother and the brother were occasionally unemployed and the girl, who was sixteen, at the time, was employed as a saleswoman in a bookshop. N visited the girl's family frequently and gave them presents from time to time. He also bought expensive clothing for the girl. In the beginning his kin-group disapproved of the association between him and the girl, but later on he took the girl on his visits to close relatives. He also went out with her frequently. During the period, he was very much welcomed at the girl's home, since he bought them expensive presents, including furniture.

About the same time as M quarrelled with his girl-friend, N's girl became pregnant. She gave up her job and N (for a time at least) paid the main portion of her family expenses. When pressed to marry the girl by the girl's mother and brother, he waivered and sought advice from his relatives (unlike M whose confidants were his student friends at the club). They advised him to desist from marriage but to pay for the maintenance of the child if there was a law suit. After a great deal of persuasion he agreed to this, went to live with his aunt and stopped seeing the girl. A month later, however, he vanished from his aunt's home where he was living and when he returned, he announced that he had married the girl during the interval and was living with the girl's mother. His wife gave birth to a child in due time and in the ensuing months he introduced his child and wife to the close relatives. He

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continued to stay at his mother-in-law's house for the next few months, but quarrelled with them one day and returned to his aunt. He then told his aunt that he had spent all his savings and the weekly earnings averaging £14 a week on his wife's family (where no-one had a steady job) and that the reason for the quarrel was that he had no money left. He had also tried to take his wife and child away from his mother-in-law and settle down separately, but had not succeeded. His relatives again sought to separate him from his wife and asked him to sue for a divorce. He, however, resisted their advice. After some time he was reconciled with his wife, but after a year of unhappy marriage he obtained a divorce. N now lives away from his ex-wife as well as his relatives.

N's relationship with his joint family is of importance to the understanding of his behaviour. During the first two years of his stay in the U.K. he sent part of his savings to his family in India to enable them to pay the debts he had incurred in coming here and also for the maintenance of the joint family of which he was the only wage-earner. He realised after a while that the money he sent to India would leave him no savings and also that there was no other source of income from which the expenses of the family would be met. The financial responsibilities of the family included not only their maintenance and educational expenses for the younger brother and sisters, but also that of the marriage of his sister. Thus the expenses against his income were considerable. He stopped sending money to his family regularly after the second year, but started to do so again from time to time after /the

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the estrangement from his wife. During one of the periods of estrangement, he told me "I care only about my younger brother whom I must give a good education and a good chance in life. My elder brothers and I have failed in making anything out of our lives, but if I can help my brother some day he will bring us up", (i.e, raise the economic and social status of the family).

There are a number of similarities between the cases of M and N. Both are Brahmans, fairly well educated and both have lived with their sponsors in identical conditions. They spent their first two years in an identical manner and started sex relations with the host society about the same time. The behaviour of the immigrant community towards them is the same. They have been rejected.

And yet their own responses to the situations they faced as a result of having sex relations with the members of the host society were different. M did not marry or entertain any idea of doing so at any time, because he had a stake in India in his father's property and family status within the caste, which are better than those of N. N, on the other hand, had little hope of marrying within the caste before his elder brothers did.¹ He realised after two years that it was impossible for him to satisfy the financial expectations of his family and still have enough money left to go to India for marriage. N, therefore, gained by renouncing the financial

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1. The custom provides that an elder brother marries before a younger.

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responsibility to his family in India and the family status.

Marriage in his case was an attempt to settle down by severing the ties with the society in India.

The failure of his marriage can be functionally related to a number of factors. But before doing so, I would like to point to some pertinent facts in the case. N's wife was a minor when she became pregnant. When N hesitated to marry her immediately her brother threatened him with legal consequences as a result. Secondly, N was a useful financial asset to his wife's family even before marriage. In fact that was one of the reasons why his wife's family was reluctant to let him get away without marriage or even afterwards to let him establish a separate household. Thirdly, the wife's family already had a coloured man in the family by marriage. Hence N's marriage did not involve any radical change in attitude. Lastly the social position of the family in the neighbourhood was not very high.

The first factor related to the failure of marriage is the internal solidarity of the family group of N. and his wife respectively, N's two aunts and the husband of one of them took an active interest in N's actions throughout the case. They constantly stressed the affective element in N's relationship with his family in India. They pointed to appealing letters from

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N's mother asking them to end the affair and 'save' her son from being 'lost' (to the family). They also pointed to the repercussions of his marriage on the status of the family within the caste, saying that his sisters would now be much more handicapped in finding suitable husbands. They promised him all kind of help, including financial before marriage, if there were legal consequences. One of the aunts actually kept N. for a month with her. Even after marriage, they, unlike other immigrants, did not reject N. immediately but continued in their efforts to wean him away from his wife. N. himself sought the advice of his aunts rather than his friends.

N's wife on her part was equally attached to her own mother. The mother-daughter tie, in the ^{host} ~~best~~ society the importance of which has already been described by other anthropologists,¹ played an important part. It can be said without much exaggeration that N, and his wife, during the courtship and the short time while the marriage lasted, were still members of their own natal families. They did not establish a neolocal unit after marriage, in spite of N's efforts during the brief period of reconciliation. He failed because his wife refused to be parted from her mother.

¹ cf. P. Wilmott and M. Young, *Family and Kinship in London* 1957, London, pp. 28-41

Much of the inter-personal tension between N and his wife could be attributed to N's misunderstanding of the role a mother plays in the host society during the early period of her daughter's marriage. Drs. Rosser and Harris¹ have pointed out that in a significant number of cases a daughter and her husband stay initially after marriage with her mother and that the latter continues to play an important part in settling her daughter down. In contrast to this, N understood the role of the mother-in-law in terms of the Indian social structure. He presumed that although they were living with her mother, his wife had at least symbolically broken her ties with her natal family on marriage. Accordingly, he sought to introduce his wife to his own close relatives. His mother-in-law, however, disapproved of this attempt. When N sought to establish a separate household, she refused on the ground that her daughter was too young to do so. N saw in this an unwarranted interference and an attempt to keep him the same inferior position which he was in before marriage. Whereas, before marriage, he willingly bought the girl and her family expensive presents, after marriage he saw in this an attempt on the part of the mother to exploit him financially. He tried to convince his young wife of his viewpoint but failed. His wife and her mother on their part could not see any reason in N's insistence for a neolocal home, his desire to introduce his wife to his close relatives and the immigrant community

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1 Drs. Rosser and Harris, unpublished paper, 1961.

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and his new interpretation of the financial contributions he was making to the family. His wife also saw greater security in staying on with her mother because of the continuous tensions between her and N present from the days of pregnancy onwards. It is difficult to impute motives, but the mother may have been reluctant to let N and her daughter live away, because of the financial loss it would involve.

Finally cultural incompatibility also played its part in N's case. N had lived prior to marriage in an immigrant household, in the company of his aunt, her relatives and other immigrants. He visited his village-kin group regularly and most of his friends were among the immigrants. He ate Indian food, except at work. He did not do much dancing unlike M, nor did he have any other hobbies in which he could interest his wife. He therefore lived tensely in his mother-in-law's English home, where he felt himself a member by recruitment. He saw himself in a role in which he was called upon to make drastic cultural revisions. He may have been able to make this under less pressing circumstances in a neolocal residence. If not, perhaps his wife would have been able to make concessions on her part. But as it happened, they did not have time enough to find out. The loyalty of N and his wife to their respective natal family engendered sufficient conflict to break up the marriage.

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Unlike M, N has not taken up any more liaisons, although he now lives with an Indian student friend who has a Swiss wife. He has severed his ties with the family in India to all effect and even sees his aunts but rarely. (One of them has left the Midlands, where he lives and he is not on good terms with the husband of the second one and so rarely visits her). He has reduced the contact with immigrants to a minimum. Last year, he quarrelled at work with his new foreman whom he charged with colour-prejudice. He had slapped the foreman and was therefore discharged from his job which he had held for more than seven years. Thereafter he remained without a job for more than six months although he is a skilled man, He has no savings left, and very little security. He has few intimate friends now. Like M, he too goes to clubs, but cannot adjust to them properly. He has exchanged the close-knit and warm company of immigrants for a rather lonely existence.

N's case cannot be a typical one, because of two facts. N's wife was very young at the time of marriage. Secondly it was her mother who played perhaps a very significant part in bringing about the break up of the marriage, while she herself did not actively seek to defend it.

On the other hand N behaved from the start of the case in a predictable manner, in terms of his cultural background, his membership of the family in India and through it the society in India (even when he rejected it) and of the immigrant community (who rejected him, after marriage).

CASE V.4.

A long-lasting liaison

P lived in a small town and worked as a bus conductor. He had learned to speak English with a local accent and managed his routine affairs well.

P lived in an immigrant house. Although young, he was married in India and had two children there. At his job he made an acquaintance with a local English girl, which ended up in the girl leaving her parents and coming to live with P in the immigrant house. P's English girl-friend adapted herself to the immigrants' ways well. She even learned to cook, and eat the Indian way. In turn, P and the other members of the house suited their behaviour to the needs of the girl. They paid extra attention to her needs for privacy and accepted her different ways of inter-personal behaviour. The immigrants were always polite and friendly to her in a way totally different from that customary for their own women. Yet they kept a social distance from her and always emphasized that their relationship was derived through P. Only the nearest relatives of P did not approve of the relationship between P and the English girl. The relationship lasted four years and the girl had two children in the meantime.

The trouble started when the relatives of P's wife in India sought to force a showdown with the poor P's parents.

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P's parents requested a number of immigrants, relatives or not, to persuade P to return to India immediately.

P resisted it for a long time. Towards the end however, P fell ill and stayed in bed for some months. As a result, he fell short of money and started having financial worries. He had little savings as he had supported two children and the English 'wife' out of his salary. At the end of his illness, he had none and the wife had no work. P succumbed to the constant pressure from the migrant relatives and friends and the parents from India and sought to resolve his troubles by returning to India. When his English wife came to know of it, she hid his passport and took away whatever little money he had left. This only made P more resolute in his plan.

One day, after he had allayed the fears of his wife, he left at the usual time for work wearing his uniform: but instead of going to work he caught a train to London and from there caught a boat to India. He posted his uniform back from London and along with it his resignation. His friends and relatives had arranged for his passage back home. They also kept it a secret from most of the immigrants. His English wife came to know about it after he had already left and hence could do little about it. The other immigrants living in the house and indeed the relatives and friends of P were very kind

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to her and helped her financially and otherwise afterwards. They sympathised with her lot. At the end of two months, finally convinced of her fate, she left the immigrant house and found a job for herself.

The immigrants I talked to were all sorry for her and they blamed P for the situation. Yet when asked, they approved of P's decision to leave her. "Didn't he have a wife and children already in India" they argued, "to whom his primary duty lay?" "And he should not have neglected his parents too for his selfish pleasures". "Also no-one should leave his own society for any reason whatsoever".

Comment

Both P and the immigrant friends who helped him to escape, viewed his alliance with the English girl as only temporary even when the children were born and so much time had passed. In their eyes, as indeed in the eyes of most other immigrants, his first marriage was the only legal one sanctioned by the society in India. He had accepted privileges and responsibilities not only towards his Indian wife and children but also towards his own parents, kin-group, the caste and the society at large. He could not escape these by forming a new alliance which would not be recognised in India even otherwise, since it sought to deny P's kin, caste, village and religious affiliations. P had sought to contravene the needs of the society by his action

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and hence could right the wrong only by going back and restoring the original situation. His moral responsibility to those in India was greater than that to his English wife, who had herself contravened the demands of her own society. P was certainly at fault in both cases but his greater duty lay in India and not in the United Kingdom.

Most of the immigrants did not recognise the claims of P's English wife since to them the husband-wife relationship existed only if it was sanctioned by the society in India. Any other liaison, however much based on mutual liking and love, was but an aberration.

The case demonstrates the structural links between the immigrant community and the society in India. The institution of marriage does not exist within the social organisation of the immigrant community but within the society in India and hence any social change must be approved not by the members of the immigrant community but by the family kin-group caste and the village society in India.

The kindness shown to the English wife in the immigrants' inter-personal relationship with her is in conformity with their view. In their eyes she was a victim not so much of a betrayal as of her ignorance of the strength and the demands of the society in India.

CASE V.5.Liaison with a neighbour: going out together.

C is a graduate from India and came in 1950 to study, but changed his mind and took up manual work.

C belongs to a high caste and is the only son of a well-off civil servant. He comes from an area where immigration is traditional. He came into the company of an immigrant friend who also belongs to the same caste. He did not need the money the job gave him since his father is both able and willing to maintain him during the period of his stay. He was influenced by two factors in taking up manual work. Firstly, he did not like the course of study for which he had obtained admission while still in India, because it would not offer him a secure job on his return to India. As he came in October, it was late for him to try and change to another course of study. Moreover, he did not even have guidance from anyone in his early days. Secondly, being in the company of immigrants and living in an immigrant house, he found it only natural to take up a job. He did so, resolving to start studying next year.

He is fair-skinned, even handsome and only 22 years of age. He can easily pass off as a Southern European. He came directly after getting his degree in a big city in India and has had therefore no experience of responsibility in any but the academic sphere. He is highly impressionable.

On coming here, he lived within the immigrant community finding friends and relatives among them. As usual, he visited them and they in turn visited him.

Sometime ago he moved into a house bought by his friend and started to live in the company of university students.

When in the new house (which is not in a "coloured area") he made acquaintance with a teenage girl who worked in a shop just opposite his house. Her mother (who owns the house) has lived for a long time in India and the girl (or the mother) is perhaps part-Indian. She does not object to her daughter going out with C and is indeed pleased about, because C is a mild, well-spoken and well-dressed youth.

When I met C last, however, he was not entirely happy. He made no direct reference to his relationship with the girl but said that he wanted to go back to India as soon as he had a "certificate" (i.e, some educational qualification) in hand. He ostensibly wanted my advice on what course of study he should take up which would be of use to him in India in regard to finding a good job. But he also made vague references to being "emotionally involved too deeply" and being "stuck up in this country". He also said that he did not care much about the money and was prepared to spend all he had saved after studies.

C, however, has not yet started his studies.

Comment

In C's case, the conflict lies in the new pattern of sexual
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behaviour he is learning, and his realisation that his participation will mean a severance of his family and social ties in India. He has realised that the girl and her approving mother both view the relationship in terms of the English social structure and expect it to culminate in marriage. On his part, however, he has realised that he stands to lose his family, caste and religious affiliation by such a marriage, for he would be disowned by all three. He is also worried by the loss of status his action would entail for the whole family and is also apprehensive lest his father should disinherit him. Yet he knows that he is susceptible to the English pattern of sexual relationship (the only one he knows and which is commensurate with his education) which insists on mutual love in such a relationship.

CASE V.6

"Dancing": attitudes of the host society and the immigrants

In June 1958 a part time student and an apprentice draughtsman, a Bengali immigrant, with his white landlady went to a dance at the local dance hall run by a private firm. The dance hall had been newly opened, and was described by a local newspaper as "the new luxury ballroom". The attendant at the door stopped them going in. He was willing to let the white landlady in but not G. He was reported as saying "Sorry coloured people are not allowed". G. immediately tried to see the manager, but did not succeed, so he and his partner both returned home. After this G. complained to the Town Clerk and the Mayor of the local council about the incident. They both replied that they were very sorry indeed but could do nothing about it. The Town Clerk, however, passed the information to the justices of the Court.

The incident received wide publicity in the local and national press within a week; the question of the colour bar at the dance hall (as it was commonly described) was taken up by several M.P.s, local councillors and some public bodies all of whom opposed it. When it was known that the application for the renewal of licence for the dance hall was to come up before the justices, the local Labour M.P. Mr. Baird and some others decided to oppose the application under the existing law. The licence, however, was granted. Mr. Baird, in a statement to the press, said 'The magistrates have made their decision and it is the law. But it only shows the need for parliamentary action to

make colour-bar illegal. The Labour Party is pledged to introduce an anti-colour bar bill during its next term of power". The management of the dance-hall issued a statement and reiterated their policy. The statement to the press said: "It is going to remain so and an Indian or a West Indian would be refused admission, although personally we have nothing against them". "A woman would not want a coloured person to tap her on the shoulder during an 'excuse me' dance. The business has to be put first". "We would consider changing our policy in a few years' time if there was less prejudice against coloured people". A later statement, also to the Press, said:-

"Dealing with the problem in general we would say that before anyone condemns us, they should ask themselves whether they are sincere. Do they really practise what they preach? They could ask themselves what they would do if on calling at the dance-hall to collect a teen-age daughter, she could be seen dancing with a coloured man, employed, if you like, as a labourer. We must acknowledge that there is colour prejudice and we must do what we can to overcome it. When it is overcome, the coloured people will be welcome at the dance-hall. It is simply a matter of economics; the fact is that people don't want them. People have said to us, "We have

to work with them, some of us have to live next to them: we want to get away from them sometime". We are not going to have our business ruined, by some of the types we have in Wolverhampton. So the colour bar at Scalo remains".

The only other formal action, apart from the opposition to the grant of licence, was taken by the Musicians' Union, which ordered its members not to accept engagements at the dance-hall.

One of the leader-spokesmen for the Indian immigrants, assessing the situation privately, said:

"Feeling in the coloured section of Wolverhampton is quite high. They have much resented the open operation of the colour-bar against them in a public place. Unless the feelings calm down, any further deterioration in the controversy may lead to disastrous effects as it may have repercussions on the employment of coloured people in the area".

The incident closed quietly after eight months, when the dance-hall property reverted to the owner as a result of the financial difficulties in which the management was involved. The new manager on behalf of the owners, made a public statement dropping the colour-bar.

The Indian immigrants I talked to after the incident, did not think that there was any great feeling of either indignation or a desire for spontaneous unity among them arising from the incident. The incident however had received wide publicity among the immigrants and it became a topic of gossip. though

scarcely of rumours. In talking to me the immigrants usually deprecated the discrimination in general, but they considered the privilege of dancing to be of doubtful value. Some saw the incident as a deterrent to those immigrants who would otherwise seek to indulge in dancing. They considered the incident a disguised blessing. Others, although they did not approve of dancing, sought to justify its usefulness for the West Indians. The impression I received was that there was no collective militancy among the Indians at the time of the incident. As individuals also, the immigrants were indifferent towards the outcome.

Comment The management used a multifold argument to justify its behaviour. Firstly, it imputed colour-prejudice to the members of the host society at large and also to its potential clients. Secondly it expressly pointed twice to the sexual nature of the dancing, reasoning that a white woman would not like coloured strangers to dance with them and that parents of young daughters would disapprove of finding their daughter in the arms of a coloured person. Thirdly, it emphasized the status-image of the coloured persons as 'a labourer' or 'some

* of the types that we have in Wolverhampton'. Lastly it used the economic argument by claiming that admitting coloured persons

*The image of the coloured person as the disapproved stranger was referred to by the mention of the 'excuse me' dance (a dance where a previous introduction of the partners to each other is not necessary)

to their dance-hall would entail a financial loss in business. The incident was a test case. In the controversy the personal facts about Gupta and the circumstances in which he and his white partner were refused became of secondary importance. The leader-spokesman's statement about the excitement among the immigrants referred to all the coloured persons and certainly it was more true of the West Indians than of Indians, although it was one of the latter that was the recipient of discrimination. Lastly the Labour M.P. sought to identify one of the attitudes as that of his party, thus moving away further from the issue of the actual incident.

The true nature of the 'racial' situation can be seen from the fact that it is not the dancing as such but the participation of the coloured persons in it which is disapproved of in the ~~best~~ ^{host} society. The disapproval came to be expressed only after an actual attempt by one of the coloured persons. It was expressed by the spokesmen, the management, who had the power to make a decision on behalf of the local community. It was only afterwards that the leaders and the other interested persons and groups were invited to define and express their attitudes.

It is also worth noting that the racial situation existed within the organisational framework of the host society. The Indian immigrants, including Gupta, reacted to the discrimination only as individuals and not as a group, although everyone else saw them as a group (or better still, a part of the larger coloured category). Gupta did not seek to mobilise the

immigrants or his village-kin group but made use of the devices available to him in the organisation of the host society. The institutions involved in the resolution of the controversy belonged all to the host society, e.g. the English Press, the law-courts and the Parliament, and the local government. The chief participants were also non-immigrants since Gupta after stating his case once did not need to do much further.

Lastly, the immigrant community as a whole responded to the controversy in terms of expression of emotions, rather than by organising an opposition to discrimination or by turning dancing into an internal communal activity, thus culturally amending its behaviour. Even at the individual level, the immigrants' attitudes concerned themselves with the maintenance of an equal status with the members of the host society. Their conflicting attitudes arose from the fact that although all of them approved the assertion of equality which a resolution of controversy in their favour would bring about, dancing to many of them was socially disapproved of and was likely to bring about assimilation and acculturation both of which ^{are} condemned on "a priori" grounds.

Finally, I must add that the incident was an accident which drew the attention of a large number of persons in the host society to the issue of discrimination. Often such incidents do not attract great attention from the members of the host society and thereby help bring out the attitudes into the open. The following case is an example of this.

CASE V.7.

Dancing: Intervention by the Leader-spokesmen.

A past-time student immigrant wrote to the High Commission of India that he was refused admission because of a colour-bar in a dance-hall at Sheffield. A representative of the High Commissioner of India went and saw the local police officer who handled the cases of Indians and overseas people in the city. According to the police officer, for some time some overseas people, Arabs and Somalis in particular, had been the cause of trouble in the local dance-hall. They had been going there without partners and "were playing rough with the unaccompanied girls" in the dance hall. A number of persons had been turned out of the dancehall for misbehaviour individually. But as this was repeated frequently, the management of the dance-hall had decided not to admit any coloured people unless they were accompanied by a partner. The student-immigrant's incident had occurred just after this decision, when he went without a partner. The police officer also said that between the complaint and the inquiry, the situation had settled down. To quote him, "the coloured people are going to the ballroom, of course, accompanied by partners and they have not found any discrimination."

After his meeting with the police officer, the representative of the High Commission of India interviewed a number of Indian and West Indian immigrants, chosen at random and confirmed the police

officer's last statement. He also attempted to interview the student-immigrant but could not do so.

Comment: This case brings into relief the fortuitous circumstances, which helped to create a major incident in the previous case. An important fact in this case is the absence of publicity which was deliberately avoided by all concerned. The recipient of discrimination sought the help of the representative of the High Commission of India, a leader-spokesman. The latter in turn sought contact with another leader-spokesman in order to collect information and also to resolve the conflict.

In contrast to the facts of the previous case, the rationalisation of the act of discrimination was attempted not by any reference to the colour-prejudice existing within the host society, but to the collective experiences of immigrants' behaviour previously acquired in a given situation. On the other hand, the element of discrimination contained in this and the previous case was identical, since in both the cases, the management of the dance-hall refused to see the immigrant as an individual but saw him only as a part of the amorphous group known as "the coloured". In the previous case, the assimilability of the immigrant was totally derived, in the second one it was made conditional.

The practice of limiting the entry of coloured persons to a dancing hall only if they have their own partners is very common

and is widely practised by a company which holds a chain of dance-halls all over the country. According to them, the limitation is a useful instrument in stopping the trouble. According to them the trouble starts usually when the white girls display differential behaviour at a dance towards a coloured person for whatever reason. The coloured persons then demonstrate their solidarity by participating in the trouble, sometimes fighting, as a group. It was, therefore, necessary to bar the group and not the individuals, at least for a while.

CASE V.8

Visits to a prostitute - A gang

M was the leader of a gang of young immigrants in London. He possessed all the qualifications necessary for leadership. He knew some English, had stayed the longest in London compared to other members of the gang, and he was also its oldest and most experienced member. The members of the gang met each other severally from time to time but occasionally all would get together.

On such occasions, M would hire a taxi, go to Hyde Park and bring back (before 1957) one or two prostitutes with him to the house where they had met. The members of the gang would have sex relations with the prostitute each in turn and everybody would pay his share of the cost of the adventure, to M. At the end of the affair M would hire a taxi and leave the girls back on their beat. The whole affair would start and end quietly and with absolute secrecy. Very few immigrants, if any, knew of the practice, though of course many knew of the gang.

I came to know of the practice through a member of the gang when it was gradually breaking up. A few members by then had moved to various towns in the Midlands but sometimes came up to London in order to meet again. The gang broke up because of two reasons. Firstly the members spread out over various towns and secondly some of them who were married brought over their wives.

The other activities included playing cards, visiting

fair-grounds in summer, visiting each other, and occasional dining together. The gang was, however, short-lived and lasted only a year or so.

All the members of the gang, except M, were between 20 and 24 years of age. M was 27.

As far as I know M did not use his privileged position as the leader of the gang for gain or any other purpose. The members of the gang came from different castes and villages. They kept their activities a secret from the community lest they should be censured.

Comment

The formation of a gang is a new structural feature in the U.K, which is generally absent in the caste-village society in India. The reasons for its absence in the village in India are obvious. It is on one hand the extended family-kinship and caste-group which demands allegiance from a young individual. These ties cut across village solidarity and hence prevent very close association between persons of different castes in a village. On the other hand caste or sub-caste are so spread out over the territory that actual face-to-face relationships, so necessary a feature of the gang, become impossible. Even when the members of the same caste live in large numbers in one village, so that a sufficient number of youths are found, the existence of other kinship ties make the formation of the gang impossible. The main feature of a gang is that leadership is achieved and not ascribed: so are other positions. This cannot take place when such leadership is incompatible with the status ascribed in terms of caste or kinship

ties. As a result the conflict is too great for a gang to exist even within the caste.

For the same reasons as those given for the formation of a gang, communal sex activity also becomes impossible. Within the village, strict caste divisions must be followed by everyone, except perhaps the dominant caste, which may enjoy some privileges, in relation to low servient castes. Within the sub-caste communal sex relations are impossible since everyone in the caste-universe is either an actual relative or an affine or potentially so and therefore must be treated as such.

Also, as I have stated in the case of K (Case V.10), sexual behaviour must be avoided in all relationships with members of the other sex in public. This is so much so that even a husband and wife should maintain social distance and avoid sex talk when in the presence of a third person.¹

In the United Kingdom, however, the gang possessed homogeneity in terms of sex, age and interests. The caste and village ties were, therefore, suspended temporarily and in a limited sense within the gang, in order to satisfy the sexual and friendship needs. It is because of this temporary suspension that the gang preserved its secrecy about the activity. Both the formation of the gang as well as the sex motif in public

1. Caste and Kinship in Central India. Dr. A.C. Mayer, University of California Press, Berkley and Los Angeles, U.S.A. 1960, p. 214

(especially the latter) were in conflict with caste-village structure in India; hence their secrecy and short life.

CASE V.9.

Visits to a prostitute: caste-group.

A case similar to that of the gang, is that of three friends who belong to the same caste. However, they all belong to different villages in India and are not related to each other in any way; nor is there any likelihood of their becoming related in future.

Two of the friends lived in a town in different immigrant houses amidst their caste and village fellows. But the third one lived in a town an hour's ride on a bus from the others. He lived in his own house with only an Irishman as a tenant. Two of them were unmarried and a third one estranged from his wife.

At week-ends, perhaps once in two months or even more sporadically, the two friends would go and visit the third one. He would then go and fetch a prostitute he knew. The affair over, the friends would spend the day in each other's company and at night the visitors would return home.

The three kept complete secrecy about the whole affair. Later on one of the friends got married and dropped out of the special visits, but retained the friendship. Sometime after, however, a fourth friend of one of the two who remained in the group arrived from India and joined the group. A brother of one of the friends who also arrived from India and came to know of the activity kept away from it.

Comment:

The group is too small to be described as a gang. The existence of caste ties, similarity in age and sex and absence of

any potential or actual kinship or village ties made it possible for the friends to communalise the satisfaction of sexual needs. The relationships were highly inter-personal and contained in this case very little of kinship-village group in which they lived in the United Kingdom. Naturally they kept it a secret from the family in India.

The refusal of the brother to participate in the common activity is to be noted since brothers cannot share sexual relationship with the same woman because of the norms of fraternal relationship in India. On the other hand, the brother who did not participate, though disapproving the activity verbally, could take little action since he arrived later than the other in the United Kingdom and hence in a sense occupied a junior position. Incidentally, he also earned less and has had less savings.

CASE V.10

Concomitants of Changing Sex Behaviour

K is a double graduate and an ex-teacher from India. He came initially as a student but after a year's study he took up manual work in a factory. At the same time, he continued to study for a professional examination, reading for it in his spare time at the local public library. He qualified as a cost accountant.

K is a Brahman by caste. He is the son of a widow and his mother had a hard time financially maintaining and educating K and his brother T and marrying off a daughter. But K was a good student and studied successfully in spite of the hardships so common to the high caste urban families with no regular income. K's brother is also a graduate.

After about a year, K brought over T his elder brother, ostensibly for further studies. But T did not attempt to study at all; instead he took a manual job which required knowledge of English and some education.

Both K and T used to live in an immigrant house. Recently, however, they have bought a house in a 'coloured' street. Their tenants are also students who have turned immigrants.

K and T are the only members of their sub-caste who are here. The bulk of the members of their sub-caste reside in an area where there is no tradition of immigration. As a result, the money saved in the United Kingdom and the prestige of studying

abroad has greatly enhanced the status of the family within the sub-caste in India.

K is unmarried and due to enhanced status has now an opportunity of marrying in a family socially higher than his own in his sub-caste. T is already married.

K feels the anomaly inherent in his possession of a high degree of education and the manual nature of the job he is doing, especially as his particular skill is in great demand in the United Kingdom. He has tried at times to get a job commensurate with his skill but failed mainly because his claim to that particular skill is unusual coming from an immigrant. Whenever he has tried he is offered at best a clerical job. Also he has little time in which to try for a better job because his present one involves long and hard hours of work. Another reason why he does not try so often is that he would stand to lose in terms of money at least initially if he took up a different job. His brother T who is married, has experienced no student life and is less unhappy. He is primarily interested in the savings he can make although he too tried to get a better job. T constantly discourages his brother from sacrificing monetary gain to 'false prestige' which the latter would get from a white collar job.

K looks towards the society in India by way of the compensation for the absence of position in the United Kingdom to which his educational achievements entitle him. He constantly refers to his proposed visit to India, when he intends to get

married to a girl of his own sub-caste, the one approved by his mother. He does not wish to come back to the United Kingdom but wants to settle down in a big city in India where he would get a good job. He knows the difficulties of getting a highly-paid job for a foreign-returned Indian, but tends to minimise them. He has prolonged his stay because of his unfinished studies and the pressure brought by his brother T who has in mind the monetary loss K's departure would entail.

K is 28 years of age and, as far as I know, celibate. In India, his attitude and behaviour to women not related to him were characterised by a maintenance of social distance and even avoidance. In conformity with the conventions of provincial urban surroundings in which he lived, the women he knew were all family friends, and hence the sexual motifs in the relationships were strictly avoided. K has maintained much of his attitude towards women even after four years in the United Kingdom. In his student days, he firmly disapproved of the behaviour of his Indian friends who 'ran after girls'. In fact, he was opposed to any but those types of contacts which would be approved in India. He saw 'dancing' as a corruptive and an un-Indian activity. He himself avoided all contact with women.

Imperceptibly, however, K is changing. He talks more frequently to the various girls he meets in the library whereas in the beginning he avoided them even to the point of rudeness. Unlike before, he even talks to the waitresses in the cafe where he

usually takes his afternoon tea. He has invited a particular girl for tea at times, even offered to take her out and has given her presents on occasion. Yet he still maintains a strict social distance from all of them, and has never tried to be deliberately alone with or kissed any one of them. He does not oppose dancing on the same grounds or with the same vehemence any more. Yet he himself would not go to a dance. There is still a strict avoidance of sex motif in his conversation with women.

Comment:

The clue to K's behaviour lies in the fact that he is a Brahman and has been brought up in a lower-middle class, urban provincial surroundings. His arrival in the United Kingdom for further studies was a goal approved by the sub-caste neighbourhood group in which he lived. When he took up manual work at first, he saw no conflict between that and his educational achievements, because in his own eyes he was taking up the former to pay for the latter. The conflict came into being only when he realised that he was likely to stay indefinitely in the United Kingdom. He tried to resolve it by getting a job commensurate with his skill but failed.

In his alternative attempt to resolve the conflict by leaving the country, he has failed due to the pressure exerted by his elder brothers. By himself he is prepared to sustain the monetary loss but cannot afford to break with his brother as it would damage the hard-won status in his sub-caste.

The significance of his changed behaviour and attitude lies in

the fact that he has for the first time acknowledged the possibility of 'social' relationships with the female members of the host society. As yet his responses to and conception of an inter-personal relationship between man and woman are the same he had in India. But in these, he is open to change as long as he does not resolve the conflict which he experiences.

In my opinion, he can continue his Indian standards of behaviour and non-involvement in social relationships with members of the host society only if he either gets a job and can re-define his social position vis-a-vis the immigrant group and his caste-neighbourhood in India or returns to India. If this does not happen, he will most likely seek to have a greater social and indeed sexual relationship with members of the host society.

Conclusions:

I have already mentioned before that the mixed marriages are few in number. I have also shown that there is a certain degree of hostility to mixed marriage from the host society as well as the immigrant community. Structurally, there is no provision for a mixed couple within the immigrant community: they are outcasted. Nevertheless, mixed marriages do occur, however rarely. What, then, are the concomitant factors to such a marriage? Is it possible for example to forecast that a particular liaison will result in a marriage? Or how long a marriage will last? Meagre as the data I have given above is, I shall try to answer these questions.

A point I have not stressed so far, is that all the immigrants involved in the cases above, apart from some of the members of the gang visiting the prostitutes had a knowledge of English. This is hardly surprising, since any sustained inter-personal relationship is not possible otherwise. What is more important is that a knowledge of English involves in most cases some university education on the part of the immigrants. Where this is not the case, the knowledge is usually acquired as a result of long stay in the United Kingdom. In both cases, there is a degree of understanding of the behaviour patterns of the host society. It is this understanding which brings about the possibility of mixed marriage and sex relationships. In other words, the individual immigrant is faced with two alternative patterns of sex behaviour, the one he is already practising, the other which grows out of his understanding of the host society. The main factor of this new pattern of

behaviour which the immigrant distinguishes is the intimacy and the constancy of the contact between the participants in a marriage or a lasting sex relationship. In so far as the immigrants are concerned, this is a new definition of the roles of the husband and wife. That this attracts the individual immigrant can be said from the dilemma 'C' faced (cf. Case Y.5).

Another point is the degree of cultural change necessary to bring about the situation where a mixed relationship is possible and can be sustained. I have already stressed elsewhere that the culture of the immigrant community follows closely that of the culture of the regional societies in India, from which the immigrants come. This is very different from the culture of the host society both in terms of its patterns and the paraphernalia. An individual immigrant, therefore, must make important changes in his enjoyment of the culture of the immigrants, and instead participate in the culture of the host society. An immigrant who attempts this will most likely cease to be a vegetarian (if he is one), or start eating forbidden foods (such as pork or beef), acquire a taste for English foods, go to see English films, read English newspapers, wear better clothes, learn dancing, visit English cafes and restaurants where persons of his age-group gather together and so on. In the process of acquiring these new cultural habits, he will also come into close and constant contact with members of the host society. What actual degree of cultural change is necessary to bring

about a situation where contact becomes possible is very difficult to say, since it varies from one case to another and generally depends on the personalities of the individuals involved. What can be said is that the physical situations in which an immigrant can come into contact with a member of the opposite sex, from the host society are quite numerous. Such contacts occur during travel, at work, in the neighbourhood and in leisure time activities. The cultural change in the immigrant makes him visible to the members of the host society as a potential participant in their internal activity.

The cultural change in the individual immigrant also limits the degree to which actual participation is possible. Thus the members of the host society may see the cultural change as insufficient as in the case V.7 where rough behaviour towards women at dancing was the cause of discrimination. Sometimes the cultural change itself is resented as 'uppishness' and may be incompatible with the 'colourdness' or such other social characteristics of the immigrant. In this case too, the social visibility which the cultural change has brought about may work against the occurrence of actual contact.

The third factor governing the sex relationships of the immigrant is his social position within the immigrant community and the regional society in India. I have shown through contrasting the cases V.1, V.2 and V.3 that the economically onerous

family ties and the low social status of N coupled with the impossibility of raising either of them made him decide to marry the girl he made pregnant. On the other hand, M who stood to lose his comfortable position in India, did not consider marriage with any of the girls he came into contact with. In fact, he took enough care not to enter into lasting liaisons, after his first encounter with the problem of pregnancy. In short a man who is already married compatibly in India or who can see a chance of contracting a good marriage within the society in India and with a social position satisfactory to him is hardly likely to jeopardise it by contracting marriage or sex relationships with members of the host society. If he does contract a relationship, it is most likely quite temporary and very much clandestine from his own group. The closeness of the relationships within the gang and the intra-caste friendships ensured secrecy in cases V. 8 and V. 9 rather than publicising the affair. The social position within the immigrant community on the other hand affects the immigrant community in a different way. The presence of a closely-knit village-kin group prevents the immigrant from having sex relationship with the women of the host society. Where it occurs, however, the village-kin group prevents the social sanctions of outcasting being immediately carried out. Instead, the relatives and friends bring constant and even prolonged pressure on the immigrant to break off the relationship. It weakens social control only in so far as it acts as a barrier to outcasting. On the other hand, it

exerts an extreme and often effective pressure to bring back the deviating immigrant.

The overall strength of these factors in bringing about instances of contact is negligible. University education, knowledge of English and the understanding of new patterns of behaviour does not necessarily lead to sexual relationships but only to increased possibilities of all kinds of contacts. Thus a person otherwise indisposed towards sex relationship may develop other kinds of contacts with the host society. He may have closer and friendlier inter-personal contact with his workmates. He may get into the habit of going to the pub with his English friends. He may learn to participate in the sports and such other leisure-time activities. He may join evening classes for further study.

The cultural change brought about till now does not affect the overwhelming majority of the immigrants enough to bring about possibilities of social change in the organisation of the immigrant community. There is no process yet which can be called 'anglicisation'. Whatever change occurs is as yet only minimally dependent upon the personality and the social position of the individual. Structurally speaking, the change which brings about sex relationship and mixed marriage is not institutionalised, though a pattern of behaviour which can be related to social factors can be discerned.

In the cases described as well as in the other instances I came

across examples of mixed marriage in which the relationship initially started as a sexual liaison. In terms of patterns of behaviour, this is different from the one approved by the host society, viz. that of transforming initial non-sexual behaviour into a courtship, with going out together and later on proposing a marriage. In all the cases of mixed marriage I know, there were none of these stages. From the immigrants' point of view, these relationships had a sexual content from the start. In fact they resulted in physical sexual contact very soon. The issue of marriage, in all the cases, arose only as a consequence of actual or feared pregnancy and was viewed as such by all the immigrants.

Under the circumstances, I disregard considerations arising out of personality, such as mutual affection, compatibility and so on, although they are important from a social psychological point of view. Bearing this in mind, one may suggest that the success of a mixed marriage depends on the degree of cultural adaptation an immigrant can acquire. As I have shown in case V4, the adaptation on the part of the other partner does not bring about her acceptance within the immigrant community, much less the society in India. The maximum which a cultural adaptation on the part of the non-Indian partner can do is to add to the inter-personal compatibility of the couple. It may also enhance mutual affection. Where such adaptation is not made, the marriage is fraught with inter-personal conflict and does not last long. The case of V3 is an example

of this, where the immigrant could not adapt to the strange role of a wife's mother successfully.

Out-casting, on the other hand, negatively adds to the strength of the marriage. An immigrant who is finally outcasted finds it very difficult to go back within the fold of the immigrant community. He has little chance of being accepted in India, since his action is considered a proof of the failure of the main aim of immigration, (i.e. earning 'cash'). It is not surprising, therefore, that outcasting should exercise a pressure in favour of the immigrant continuing his new relationship.

Chapter VI

LEADERSHIP AND ASSOCIATIONS.

1. General

2. The immigrant Leader-spokesmen

(a) The intermediary

3. Segregated associations

Case VI. 1. A cultural association that succeeded.

Case VI. 2. A cultural association that failed.

(a) Cultural associations

(b) Religious association

Case VI. 3. A Sikh temple

4. Political association

Case VI. 4. The Indian Worker's Association of
Great Britain.

5. The non-immigrant Leader-spokesmen.

6. Conclusions.

CHAPTER VI

Leadership and Associations

General

In an earlier chapter I maintained that the internal organisation and the value system of the immigrant community work towards a minimization of the immigrants' relationships with the members of the host society. Because of this and also because most immigrants do not know English or are not familiar with the complexities of the host society, they have to depend on others in their dealings with the members of the host society. The members of the host society on their part do not readily enter into a relationship with the immigrants. Whatever its causes, this situation has given rise to a number of definable roles in which a relationship with the immigrants is permissible. These roles are specialised in such a way that the initial relationship does not provide a basis for further relations.

I may say therefore that within the immigrant community and the host society, there are specialised roles which regulate inter-relations between the two groups. The persons who occupy these roles are leaders of their own group in its relations with the other and appear as spokesmen for their group to the

other. I shall refer to them generally as leader-spokesmen but distinguish those who lead and speak on behalf of the immigrants as the immigrant leader-spokesmen from those leader-spokesmen who do the same for the host society.

1 The immigrant leader-spokesmen:

(a) The intermediary

The first category among these consists of the leaders who exercise their authority over other immigrants on an interpersonal level. They function chiefly as intermediaries who help to bring about relationships which are either difficult or impossible without them.

One type of such leader acts within the work-situation. I have stated elsewhere that the immigrants do not readily find jobs in factories. When an immigrant therefore establishes a relationship with a foreman or a personnel manager in a factory so that he is able to obtain jobs for his fellow-immigrants, his capacity to do so becomes organisationally important. There is a general obligation on all immigrants under which they must help each other: this includes help in finding a job. An immigrant therefore transmits news of vacancies, gives tips to others on how to behave at the interview, accompanies them in job-hunting and also sometimes recommends a fellow-immigrant to the foreman or personnel

manager for a job. He may not do the last, however, except for his fellow-villager or a relative.

An immigrant is under a specific obligation to help his village-kin group. If he finds a job for any member of this group, he will obtain prestige not only within the group but also with the community for being able to discharge successfully his obligations to the group, which are recognised by the community. But he must not help in return for a monetary benefit, or else he is accused of damaging the solidarity of the group by introducing monetary relationships which are incompatible with the rest of the relationships. If therefore, he finds a job for his fellow-villager or a relative, his prestige within the community and the village-kin group will also depend on whether or not he takes a fee from the immigrant who obtains the job.

On the other hand an immigrant who finds a job for other immigrants outside the village-kin group need not do so without a monetary benefit. If he does not charge a fee for getting a job from others, he will obtain a greater prestige as a 'good man'. But he will still command some prestige for being in possession of an important and scarce power of finding jobs for others, even if he charges a fee. Most intermediaries who find jobs charge a fee which varies from one to several weeks'

wages. The actual amount varies from ten to eighty pounds depending upon several factors such as the desirability of the job to the immigrant paying it, the scarcity of job, the cash returns it will bring to the immigrant and the number of persons who share the fee.

In factories where a large number of jobs become periodically available to the immigrants, sometimes a chain of intermediaries is organised where only the first intermediary is known to the immigrant applying for a job. If he is a fellow-villager or a relative of the applicant, he may not himself charge his share of the fee but pass the rest to the other intermediaries. Sometimes an intermediary may claim it but does not actually do so.

The last intermediary at the end of the chain has usually a relationship with a non-immigrant (i.e. English) foreman who for a fixed sum of money or for gifts (e.g. bottles of whisky) recommends each applicant for a job. In two of the cases which came to my notice, the charges against the foremen for accepting money were investigated confidentially by the management and also trade unions but not proved because of insufficient evidence. It may be true that in these cases the foremen concerned did not accept fees in any form. Nevertheless there is a great deal of truth in the general allegations of such nature.

The intermediary emerges in most instances as a result of friendly relationships existing between the foreman and the intermediary who works under him. It is usually the immigrant who takes the initiative. He may either deliberately cultivate friendship with the foreman for the purpose or may use an already existing friendship. He may also suggest the scheme directly to a foreman or he may gradually introduce the latter by doing him a number of favours. Sometimes more than one foreman in a single factory ~~are~~ involved in this. But usually there is only one such chain of relationships in a factory.

In contrast to this, I have mentioned the case (see page 41), where an immigrant intermediary for supplying labour has been recognised by the personnel management. In such a case, the intermediary derives monetary benefit from the employers in the form of higher wages. He also has greater authority over prospective employees among the immigrants and a greater prestige. On the other hand, it is difficult for such an intermediary to charge a fee from immigrants for a job. In his case it is easier for the complaint to be given credence, his position as a supplier of labour is known to the management. His losses in the form of wages are greater. Such a man also finds it more difficult to evade the general obligation to help by claiming that the fee or even a portion of it passes to the non-immigrant

foreman or personnel manager.

Another such intermediary exists because of the difficulties the immigrants experience in buying a house. These are many. There is in most towns where immigrants live a general shortage of residential houses, particularly the large, old freehold houses that the immigrants prefer so that they may live among fellow-immigrants or village-kin group and also earn a profit by renting furnished accomodation. Even where such houses are available, the estate agent who is entrusted with the sale may not sell it to a particular immigrant because he finds the immigrant unsuitable for the locality. Sometimes the immigrant does not have enough knowledge of the language or the processes (e.g. obtaining a mortgage) involved in a purchase to be able to negotiate it. In such a case he finds the help of a more experienced fellow-immigrant.

Here again the intermediary, if he is a fellow-villager or a relative of the prospective buyer does not charge him a fee. Some intermediaries however, pursue this as a source of additional income. They acquire a continuing business relationship with estate agents who deal mostly with the type of property in demand by the immigrants. They also acquire expert knowledge of the economics of house-buying and the processes involved in it. As a result, they create a potential

clientèle among the immigrants known to them, who take their help whenever the need arises. The intermediaries charge the immigrant buyer a fee from £50 to £100 on a house, usually without the knowledge of the estate agent.

Sometimes when the intermediary is under a kinship or village obligation to help and this help is claimed by the immigrant seeking his help but disputed by him, he 'avoids trouble' with his fellow-immigrant by asking the estate agent to include his fee in the price of the house without the knowledge of the buyer. This of course happens on rare occasions only; even so the estate agents disapprove of this almost invariably. In one case, the estate agent who belonged to a reputable firm told me that he refused to negotiate with an intermediary in such cases even if he stood to lose business. He said that the practice of including commission for an intermediary would be unprofessional. More often however, an intermediary buys houses in quick succession usually with cash and resells them at a greater profit to other immigrants.

There are a variety of situations apart from the ones described above, in which the role of intermediary comes into operation. One such situation is when the immigrant leader of a gang finds prostitutes for the gang, (see case V.8). In such a situation, however, the obligations of the inter-

Example?

mediary are present not because of his membership of the village-kin group but that of the gang. Yet another is when the immigrants go on a holiday, which they usually do in a group. Then also, the informal leader of the group is not the one who commands respect and leadership in village-kinship terms but the one who is entitled to deal with members of the host society.

The chief characteristics of the type of leaders is that they are in possession of special capabilities, knowledge of the English language and an understanding of the processes of the host society which are not available to other immigrants. Sometimes they come to occupy a special position within the host society because of it. Only they can act as intermediaries because they are members of the immigrant community and hence subject to social control by the community. The intermediaries work for enhanced prestige but also for monetary gain. Although all intermediaries gain some prestige because of their special capabilities, there is a conflict between the monetary gain on one hand and prestige on the other. Since the rule is that monetary gain from a member of the village-kin group is prohibited the intermediary breaking this rule ~~loses~~ rather than gains prestige. But there is another way in which he may ~~lose~~ prestige. There is a conflict of interests between the

Example?

intermediary and the immigrant who seeks his help. Hence, where the relationship between them is not sharply defined, an immigrant may claim his right to seek help under village-kin ties whereas the intermediary may deny the existence of such a relationship with the immigrant. Since, a majority of immigrants are clients rather than intermediaries, such a dispute diminishes his prestige. Lastly, as I have shown anyone relying for monetary gain on fellow-immigrants stands in the relationship of a Kamin to them. The intermediaries who do so, therefore lower their status to that extent. This, however, is balanced by the prestige which the possession of money brings.

There is another type of conflict between the role of the intermediary and those roles which are based on recognition of kinship and village ties. The conflict occurs when the intermediary is an individual who is socially inferior in the village-kin group to the person seeking his help. In such cases, he gives the required help, but does not necessarily get the compensation through enhanced respect which he commands particularly from all those whom he has helped. This is because the beneficiaries consider the help obtained as their due but do not desire to compromise their socially superior position. In practice, this happens very often because it is the younger immigrants who are more qualified to act as inter-

Example?

mediaries and in fact do so.

(b) Segregative associations

The second type of leader-spokesman works within the various associations which the immigrants have formed. The associations fall within two broad types, (i) those which seek to provide the cultural activities of the regional society in India and (ii) those which seek to deal with the problems arising out of the new relationship with the host society. The first are concerned mainly with the immigrants only and operate as a part of the internal structure of the immigrant community. They exist in order to make a number of cultural activities possible. The second type of association is primarily political in that it seeks to represent the immigrant community as unit in its relations with the host society and obtain what it understands as a just and equitable treatment for immigrants from the members of the host society. The first type of association, which I shall call internal includes cultural associations (i.e. clubs), film societies and religious associations such as e.g. The Sikh Temples (Gurudwaras). It will be easier to understand the purposes of these associations and the functions of their leadership through the case-histories of some of them, which I give below.

Case VI. 1A Cultural Association that succeeded

A typical example of the cultural association is the Bharatiya Mandala started in October 1959 in Bradford. The name literally means the Indian Association although all its members are Gujaratis living in and around Bradford. It was established largely through the efforts of T, a student-immigrant who was a high school teacher in Gujarat and who came to the United Kingdom primarily to take a degree in education.

T. and his friends sought initially to celebrate the festival of Diwali (the most important festival in the Gujarati calender) by arranging a cultural programme and inviting all the Gujaratis in the area to attend. Soon the efforts turned towards the organisation of a permanent cultural association. Among the aims of the association its organisers envisaged the provision of a library with Gujarati books, periodicals and newspapers (the latter to keep in touch with the regional society), a recreational club where the local Gujarati families, especially women (who do not usually have any contact outside their husband's and own village-kin group) would meet each other comparatively freely and where Gujarati pastimes might be available, and finally an educational centre for children who

would learn to read and write Gujarati (the children only speak Gujarati) and for adults, classes in English. They did not envisage any political aims.

T. and his friends approached the local Gujarati grocer who also an important man within his own village-kin group and persuaded him to preside over both the celebrations and the convention. At the first meeting there were Gujarati dances, singing and refreshments. The celebrations were a success and T. put forward his proposals for the cultural association successfully to an audience of 60 adult earning Gujaratis.

T. and his friends were elected to the executive committee and the grocer became the association's first president. The meeting and celebrations were held in a private house. T. made an appeal for donations, pointing out the needs of the associations for books, furniture, sports-goods and musical instruments. In response the association received £47 in cash, promises of 75 chairs, several years' subscriptions to various periodicals and newspapers, and promises to pay for books. It was decided that the benefits of the association should go to all Gujaratis, members or not. There was a subscription fee of 6d a week to be collected by the Gujarati landlords from their Gujarati tenants. Later on,

they changed this to thirty shillings a year but still retained the landlords as ex-officio collectors.

The meeting and the celebration were a personal success for T. and his friends. All the measures proposed by him were accepted unanimously, as they would be (or not at all) in Gujarat. After a short time he presented before the association a plan for buying permanent premises. He had found property for sale for £575 freehold which once housed a Polish club and was in the neighbourhood of the immigrants. He suggested that a few persons might advance loans to the association for the purpose and that they would be repaid out of the receipts in instalments. Once again his proposal was accepted. The association bought the house with the help of 12 donors including the grocer. Since the property was large, some of the immigrants offered to rent the extra space as living accommodation¹ and thus to cover the recurrent expenses incurred in running the property and also to look after it generally. The association thus did not have to rely on the collection of fees for keeping it going.

When I visited the association in the spring of 1960, its assets were the house (on which the loans had been repaid)

1. This was a generous offer on their part since the persons who did so could easily afford to buy their own houses to live in and also to make a profit.

£47 in cash, 62 of the 75 promised chairs, contributed by 11 donors. Tables, curtains, bookcases, photographs of the Indian political leaders, a violin, Indian drums and so on were all given piecemeal by various donors. The cash funds were used mainly to import books and sports goods from India. The library contained 270 Gujarati books (mainly fiction) and 13 Gujarati periodicals (some of which were bought on life subscriptions) all donated. There were no English newspapers though for a time T. subscribed for an Indian national daily newspaper in English. The only English periodicals which found acceptance were a pictorial weekly and an Indian film weekly, also primarily pictorial. The library was widely used. For example there were 2876 records of borrowing books between 22.2.59 and 21.2.60 from the total Gujarati population of about 350 adults in Bradford. The recreation and the reading rooms were flooded with persons, when I visited the club during an Easter holiday. By the summer of 1960 there were more than 500 books in the library and the association was seeking to extend its book-lending facilities to the Gujaratis in the Midlands.

A point to be noted about the case is that the association very closely followed from its inception the pattern of similar cultural village or caste associations in Gujarat. The unanimity in all decisions, the important part played by the

grocer as donor and general beneficiary of the association and the efforts of T. are all points of similarity. In its aims, too, it was essentially as it would have ^{been} in Gujarat. T's efforts to stimulate interest in English through newspapers and classes failed singularly, although the informants I questioned stressed verbally the necessity of understanding the English language and ways of behaviour. There were no Gujarati classes either, because there were no children of proper age who could be taught Gujarati. Another point of note is the way in which the association received monetary backing. Most donations were made at open general meetings or were widely publicised by the executive committee. Hence they were a source of prestige for the donors, within the community. Also donations ^{were} in kind which seem to have a greater prestige value continued all through the history of the association. Other payments, apart from the voluntary subscriptions, were made ad hoc. As far as possible, the organisers sought to free the association from its dependence on receipts of subscriptions and make it self-paying. Also the benefits of the association were extended to all Gujaratis in the area, members or not. This emphasises the unity of the linguistic regional community. Lastly the grocer and to a lesser extent other businessmen helped the association more than

the rest of the members in order to gain prestige but also good will for the business and to emphasise the unity of the community in which they had a greater stake than others. For the same reasons, landlords willingly undertook to collect the membership fees from their tenants.

Case VI 2.

A Cultural Association that failed

In contrast to the case above is that of the Indian Society of Great Britain of Birmingham. This failed. In name an all-Indian body, its first meeting was attended almost exclusively by Gujaratis, although it was presided over by the local representative of the High Commission of India. It was initially organised by a student-immigrant who worked in the High Commission. The association which paid great attention to formal democratic processes, found for its president a Gujarati medical practitioner who had lived in Birmingham for more than 25 years. His connections with the community were tenuous and consisted mainly of fifty or so Gujarati patients registered with him under the National Health Services.

The association started initially with the effort of the student-organiser but was soon adopted as a bone of contention by the existing factions, one of which was led by the prominent grocer. The leader of the other faction was also a

businessman but he had no economic interests conflicting with the grocer and the doctor who is primarily a non-immigrant was chosen to preside over the association solely because of this qualification. The grocer's faction took great interest in the formal democratic processes mainly to point out shortcomings in the proper functioning of the society.

The select committee which was appointed to draft the constitution, included the grocer and another member of his faction, in order to achieve unanimity. But the grocer used this position to wreck the association. He simultaneously attempted to start a Gujarati co-operative society but failed.¹

The members of the select committee sought to unite the Gujarati community in the Midlands, which is dispersed over several towns, through a series of formal local sub-committees for each area. After prolonged wrangles a constitution defining the exact relationship between local and central bodies was adopted. The constitution also fixed the membership fees at ten shillings a year. To quote the constitution about its aims,

"The object of the body is to unite the Indian community in the area. The body will help in

1. R.H. Desai 1960 see pp. 302-5.

bringing them together and thus creating a well organised social and cultural front. The body will also voice their difficulties and try to secure better amenities of life. It will be one of the objects of the body to fight discrimination against Indians in any field whatsoever. The body will be prepared to help Indians in whatever way possible and to undertake any activities in the interest of the community."

In reality the association had no immediate programme, of activities. Its first meeting was organised primarily to publicise the opening of the offices of the High Commission of India in Birmingham whose task it was to supervise and deal with the immigrants in the area. It was killed at its very inception by the opposing faction. The formal rigidity of the constitution, the association's vague and generalised aims, its concern with the relationship with the host society and absence of unanimity were the symptoms of the schisms within the local community. The outsiders, the President and the representative of the High Commissioner of India were also brought in to lend support to the organising faction.

Apart from the factions, the point to be noted is the

vagueness of the aims of the association which were designed to suit the attitudes of the two outsiders rather than the immigrants. Most immigrants I questioned failed to display any interest in the declared aims of the association. The very few who became members did so out of village-kin and factional loyalties.

The points of contrast between the Bradford and the Birmingham association are that there was a basic unity and unanimity in the former and an absence of it in the latter. These conditions were prior to the association and existed independently of it. Secondly, the Bradford association's aims were intelligible to the immigrants and the association came into being to fulfill a real need of the individual immigrants in the area. The Birmingham association by comparison seemed to the immigrants distant and concerned with problems of the community rather than the individual. Also unlike the Bradford association it did nothing to secure immediate participation by its members.

The points of similarity between the two associations include the fact that the organiser in both cases were student-immigrants. Secondly although both the association claimed all-India interests, in fact they did not go beyond the linguistic-regional boundaries of the community. (In fact, as I shall show

no association has successfully crossed the linguistic-regional boundary).

In the above examples, the criterion of recruitment was sometimes the membership of the regional community, at others it was the membership of the all-Indian category in the United Kingdom. A second criterion, if not always expressed, was the membership of the territorial immigrant all-India or linguistic-regional community. There are other associations, however, in which the membership is limited to still smaller groups. These are associations which are congruent with the caste-group in the United Kingdom. Others limit themselves to the village group. Yet others are confined to one particular religious group. These are the groups the affiliation of the individual to which is derived from the ties which he brings over from India. Therefore, to the extent to which the associations are congruent with the pattern of grouping within the regional societies in India the communities retain their exclusiveness (for the criteria of recruitment are ascribed i.e. those brought over by an individual from India) and also their likeness to the regional societies in India.

(c) Cultural Associations

The cultural associations proliferate easily in the United Kingdom. The purpose of the associations is to reproduce

the leisure-time activities in the United Kingdom similar to those which existed in the regional societies in India so that the immigrants may participate in them. Sociologically, they are an institutional mechanism whose function is to provide the immigrant community a set of leisure-time activities which are an alternative to those existing in the host society. To the extent therefore the immigrants participate in these activities under the associations, they exclude and are excluded from the leisure-time activities of the host society. Consequently the greater the number and the success of associations in engaging the time of the immigrants the more exclusive the immigrant communities become. In fact the proliferation of associations even when the rate of their mortality is very high itself symbolises the voluntary exclusion of the immigrant communities.

Not only in their aims but also in the manner in which they come into existence, operate and die, the associations follow a pattern which is similar to the one in India. What these activities are, how these associations operate, who are the persons who participate in them, what roles do they create and what is their historical pattern are the questions that can best be answered by the case-histories of some of these associations. I therefore ^{above} gave ~~below~~ two such case-histories which, broadly speaking, can be regarded as typical.

2. Religious Associations

It has been possible for the Indo-Pakistanis to bring into being the ~~the~~ religious institutions wherever they have settled in the United Kingdom as nucleated communities and where they are able to bear their economic burdens. Thus the Muslims have their mosques organised on linguistic-regional basis (although there is no religious injunction behind such a limitation) and the Sikhs have their temples (Gurudwara). Only the Hindus who are Gujarati and Punjabis do not have their temples. This is due to several reasons. Firstly the elaborate rituals which would follow the presence of a temple are forbidden by custom on foreign soil.¹ Secondly worship at the temple as an aspect of religion is on the decline among the Westernised Hindus in Gujarat as well as the Punjab. Thirdly much of the religion as practised by the immigrant has a basis in the village-caste society in India to which he belongs. Therefore, only the village-kin group is the effective group around which religious organisation must be evolved. This group is so small that it cannot bear the economic responsibilities of keeping a temple. Fourthly even at the regional and all-

1. In Gujarat, there is still a general religious injunction against travelling across the sea since it involves abandonment of the rules of ritual purity particularly that concerning commensality. A hundred years ago, travel abroad entailed outcasting of the person, especially if he were a Brahman. Even now, in a number of castes where there is no tradition of migration, it is necessary for a person to perform expiatory rituals to the caste on his return.

India level Hindu religious life is based on myriads of personal beliefs of a philosophical nature which need not find its expression in worship at the temple. As a result the Hindu immigrants usually delegate their ritual duties to the other members of their families who are still in India. This is so much true that even the marriage and funerary rites are carried out by delegation in India with nothing but a token ceremony done in the United Kingdom.

By contrast Sikhism (I am concerned here only with Sikh associations since the few Indian Muslims do not have any mosque) is a religion of ritual simplicity. The Sikhs follow the religious teachings of their ten teachers (Gurus) whose ethical and spiritual sayings were gathered by the last Guru, Gobind Singh in a book (Granth). The book is kept in the temple and is read by a number of persons from the congregation (Sangat) in rotation serially at intervals or continually. Sometimes a special keeper (Granthi) is appointed who looks after the temple and also reads the book. Other activities at the meetings include singing prayers by the congregation in unison or by a member as a solo and offering of food (Bhog) to the deity (of which there is no representation in the temple) which is then distributed to those present. The prayer-meetings in the United Kingdom are held on Sundays throughout the day: each

meeting lasts from three to four hours. The annual festivals include particularly the birthdays of the first and last of the Gurus when a twenty-four hour service takes place. There is a greater attendance and more elaborate food-offering. At the meetings there is a segregation of sexes; the women sit on the left and the men on the right facing the canopy under which the book is kept.

Traditionally, the Sikh temple is also the centre of communal activities, social as well as political, the latter especially when the Sikhs are a minority in the territory in which they live.¹ Hence much of the corporate political and social activity centres around the Sikh temple. The Sikh temple in fact is an association that serves to express the solidarity of the community to the non-Sikhs around them and also one through which the Sikhs organise a great portion of their internal social activities. It is this associational character of the Sikh temple in which I am interested.

There are a number of Sikh temples in the United Kingdom, the most notable of them being the one in London which was

1. The Sikhs are a minority in India. Even in Punjab where most Sikhs live, there are few regions where they are in the majority. Even there, they are called upon to enter into relationship with the non-Sikhs around them. Outside India, this is more so, because unlike in India there are no traditions which regulate the relationships of the Sikhs with others.

established in the twenties. There are two temples in the Birmingham conurbation. I shall illustrate the functioning of the temple through the case-history of one of them.

Case VII. 3

A Sikh temple.

Guru Nanak Gurudwara was started in 1957 in a school hall in Smethwick which has an estimated population of 1,000 Sikhs. The prayer meetings were held for two hours each Sunday in the hall. They were organised by a core of about 15 members who held respect in their own village-kin group and the regional community. At the start of the Gurudwara, they formed themselves into a management committee on the lines of those which exist in India and decided to raise funds to buy a permanent building to house the temple. By the middle of 1959 they had collected £3,000 towards the building fund. They started looking for suitable buildings such as large private houses and cinema halls. Eventually they decided on a disused Congregational church which was for sale for £11,600. It was expected to cost in all £15,000 approximately to turn it into a Gurudwara. The management committee launched an appeal in November 1959 for the funds and the Gurudwara was opened in July 1960. The leading part in the collection of funds and other activities was taken by the

founder members all of whom were re-elected to the new Gurudwara management committee.

The opening of the temple was widely publicised in the local press. At the actual ceremony the Mayor, high officials of the borough council, the local M.P. who belongs to the Labour Party, the Chief of Police, the Welfare Officer for the Coloured People and the representative of the High Commission of India, were present. They all welcomed the temple, but emphasised its character as a social and educational centre for the immigrants. There were no notable protests from the members of the host society either through press or other media. The only exception was a denunciation by a churchman from another town for turning a church into a place of worship for non-Christians. This protest was published in some local papers.

The constitution of the temple follows closely the model provided by the temples in India. It is open to all Sikhs as a place of worship and social activities, although the membership which gives a right in the management of the temple is subject to a fee of £1 annually or £20 for life-time. An estimated 80⁰/₀ of Sikhs in the locality are members of the temple. The objects of the temple include provision of a place of worship and club activities and also instruction for

Sikh children in Gurumukhi; (the written form of Punjabi used by Sikhs) and in Sikh religion.

The prayer meetings on Sundays are attended by upwards of 500 Sikhs. The management is, however, strictly in the hands of the core which forms the executive committee. As yet (i.e. Aug. '61) there are no rival factions which compete for positions on the executive. This may be due to the fact that the temple as a seat of prestige is still a new factor. It is also due to the fact that a minority of Sikhs who do not openly discourage temple activities, see it as a seat of orthodoxy and hence do not participate in it. There are, however, factions in other temples which compete for a position on the executive committee. The bone of contention is prestige which one gains through it and the main support by rivals is derived from their own village-kin group. The fact that the members of the temple anticipate such factional disputes is seen from the severe provisions made in the constitution for dealing with them. The constitution provides that the power to expel or punish a member or terminate the services of a member of the managing committee rests only with the general voter (i.e. Sangat) and that any wrongful accusation, (i.e. one not supported by a majority of members) will entail a fine of £50 and a public apology.

A minority of Sikhs, however, who have formed the local branch of the Indian Workers' Association, already compete with the temple for spokesmanship on behalf of the community vis-à-vis the host society. It is true that the constitution of the Gurudwara does not provide for external political activities of any sort, nevertheless the temple commands strong religious and emotional loyalty from its members. It is an expression of solidarity of the community as well as the village-kin group which lies underneath its formation. In so far as it provides satisfactorily for the functioning of social relationships within it, it reduces the need for its members to look outwards.

There are a variety of functions that the internal associations fulfill. As I wrote above, the criteria of recruitment to such associations depend on the recognition of social ties which form an integral part of the immigrant community. In so far as these ties are articulated through associational activities, the structure of the immigrant community (i.e. groups and sub-groups) is reinforced. Secondly, the associations promote and maintain the cultural and moral values which the immigrants bring with them from India. These values and the activities through which they are expressed sometimes differ from those which are found in the host society. In so far as this is so, the values and

activities also preserve the separate identity of the immigrant community. Thirdly, the associations provide the actual situations of inter-action confined to the immigrant individuals. The association-forming and association-destroying activities themselves are situations of inter-action. In such circumstances, the individuals participate in associational activities not only to express their personality but also to satisfy their status-needs and so on. Fourthly, the actual activities under these associations, are time-consuming (as all activities are). They are therefore an alternative to participation in the activities of the host society. The more the immigrants participate in the associations, the more do they abstain from activities in the host society. This point becomes more important if it is remembered that the associations consume leisure-time. The immigrants are not forced to come into direct inter-personal contact with the members of the host society as they are during work-time. Hence, voluntary participation or exclusion of inter-action with the members of the host society during these periods is more significant than at other times. The rise of internal associations itself is therefore indicative of voluntary exclusion by the immigrants of the host society. Lastly, the associations represent the conscious exclusion of

the members of the host society in a specific activity-complex. As a result they embody and reinforce the social visibility of the members of the host society in the eyes of the immigrants. In simpler words, the associations express in actual practice, the immigrants' conceptions of 'we' and 'they.'

4. Political Association

A third type of association is the one which I prefer to describe as a political association. It differs from others in one of its expressed purposes in that it is the only type which professes to regulate the relationships between the Indian Immigrants and the host society. To what extent this type of association does actually affect this relationship or the rest of the social organisation of the Indian immigrant communities can best be seen from the following case-history of one association.

Case VI.

The Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain.

The Indian Workers Association was formed in the nineteen-thirties by a few Sikhs and others, mainly from the business, student and professional categories of Indians. Its objects were to further India's attempt 'to achieve independence to promote social and cultural activities and to foster greater understanding between the Indian and the British people.' It was confined in activities and membership to London. I am not concerned with its early history, (when there were very few Indian immigrants) but can safely say that its organisers sought, like those of many other similar Indian associations in the United Kingdom at the time, keep alive the political

interest in Indian affairs, to develop and continue contact with politicians of the Pro-India lobby in the Parliament and in the national political parties, felicitate the Indian political leaders in London and patronise Indian social and cultural activities. The organisation, did not have any contact or membership among the Indian Moslem seamen who at the time formed the bulk of the Indian working population in the United Kingdom. Among its working members were mainly the Sikhs and some Hindu pedlars and petty businessmen all from Punjab. The association in terms of activities had no continuous existence, although it published at one time a monthly magazine and also collected £1000 for Mr. Nehru's refugee relief fund in India.

By 1956, however, a number of cultural and social associations (of the type previously described) had come into being in various Indian immigrant settlements all over the United Kingdom. Some of them, carried the name 'the Indian Workers Association'. The name signified a long existence and hence carried some prestige. In reality, these associations were 'social clubs' whose membership and leadership was mainly confined to the economically and numerically prosperous village-kin groups. One of the main objects of these leaders (who were leaders of the village-kin groups and who were also

intermediaries) was to legalise the position of those immigrants who had entered the country with forged or no passports. This was the main problem which faced the immigrants who came between 1955 and 1957. Apart from their cultural activities, they sought to obtain recognition from the High Commission of India as a body which represented the Indian immigrants in the United Kingdom. The High Commission of India at the time took no special interest in the problems of the immigrants. It sought no direct contact either with immigrants or its village-kin-group leaders. But it sent few of its officials on tours of the immigrant settlements periodically. The officials operated mainly at the bureaucratic level. They kept in touch with local municipal officials, personnel managers of firms which employed Indians in large numbers, police officials, chief of hospitals and locally prominent non-immigrant Indian leaders (described later). The high Commission discouraged political association among the immigrants fearing it would make the immigrants more visible to the host society and thereby enhance the latter's hostility to the Indians. The High Commission also did nothing to help those who had illegally left India. These immigrants often experienced real distress. They could not return to India. Often they could not take up a job, buy a house or

enter into contract where the proof of their nationality was demanded. Sometimes, they could not even establish their identity.

The immigrant leaders had sought in vain to obtain new passports from the High Commission for these persons. In July 1957, few of these leaders met Mr. Nehru who advised them to organise the immigrants into a central body and also promised to investigate the problem of who were involved in passport irregularities. The High Commission officials after this meeting helped monetarily and otherwise the leaders to organise the village-kin-group leaders. In September 1958, the centralised Indian Workers Association was formed.

The new Indian Workers Association had among its aims and object the following.

- (i) to safeguard and improve their conditions of life and work.
- (ii) to seek co-operation of the Indian High Commission in the U.K. towards the fulfillment of its aims and objects.
- (iii) to promote co-operation and unity with the Trade Union and Labour movement in Great Britain.
- (iv) to fight against all forms of discrimination based on race, colour, creed or sex, for equal human rights and social and economic opportunities,

and to co-operate with other organisations for the same.

- (v) To keep its members in particular, and people in Great Britain generally, informed of political, economic and social developments in India.
- (vi) To undertake social, welfare and cultural activities towards the fulfilment of the above aims and objects."

As their immediate objectives the Association sought to obtain Indian or British passports and nationality for those whose position was irregular. The Government of India in 1960 decided to issue passports to those with forged ones in return for the information, which would enable them to prosecute the passport agents in India.¹ As their second objective they seek to remove the immigrant enterprisers from the film-society businesses and to monopolise film-showing and use it as a source of revenue. Although they do have their own film societies in some localities, they have failed in this.

1. Many immigrants did in fact supply the information in exchange for a passport. Very few of them, if at all, supplied information which was likely to incriminate any fellow immigrant from the community in the United Kingdom or the village-caste group in India.

The association and its leaders desire to extend its membership to all immigrants, the Punjabi, the Gujarati and others. In this, they have failed as yet and the association still operates among the Punjabis only.

The Birmingham branch of the association was opened soon after 1958 by the leading members of one village-kin group. They sought to persuade in most cases vainly the immigrants from other village-kin groups to participate in the association as members. But did not succeed. The association, however, received some recognition among the Punjabi immigrants when the Government of India decided to issue the passports to those who had none and also regularised the provisions for bringing over an immigrants' wife and dependents to the United Kingdom. The rival associations, especially a film society who has a large membership also claimed the credit for it. The immigrants saw no immediate return in joining the association and the drive for recruiting members failed.

The leaders of the association claim a membership of 500 of the 7,000 immigrants in Birmingham. This figure seems to me to be exaggerated. Even otherwise it hardly indicates the extent of active participation by the members. In fact, the association is very much like the cultural

associations. Although its membership extends to several village-kin groups, it is restricted to the regional community. Its leaders can be divided into three categories, (i) those who hold prestige and position within their village-kin group and through it within the Punjabi community (ii) entrepreneurs who enter into segregative economic activities such as running a grocery business, a film society or wholesale dealing in clothing. (iii) the university educated immigrants who had participated in the towns and cities in Punjab in the Indian national politics. Most members of the third group had left wing political views in India and in the United Kingdom and some of them were members of the political parties of the left in India. In the central executive committee of the association there were five members who belonged to the first category, five who belonged to the second category and the rest nine who belonged to the third category. In the Birmingham committee there were four who belonged to the first two categories and there were three who belonged to the last category.

The association is not representative of the immigrants in the democratic sense of the term. However, its views and solutions imply the problems as they are seen

by the individual immigrants. One such occasion arose in Birmingham in connection with an incident which happened¹ at a factory which employs Indian immigrants in numbers sufficient to affect its production. The leadership of the Indian workers during the incident was assumed by one of the office-bearers of the association who belonged to the third category whose special position as an intermediary immigrant leader was recognised by the management. On the successful end of the incident, this leader claimed among the Punjabi workers in Birmingham that the outcome favourable to the immigrants was due to his position as the office-bearer of the association. This helped him temporarily to recruit members for the association. On the other hand, his success in persuading the immigrants to resume work was recognised by the trade union officials and the management and resulted in firmer and greater acceptance by them of him as an immigrant/^{leader-}spokesman.

1. For a description of the incident see p. 169

5. The non-immigrant leader-spokesmen:

Unlike the political leaders, the non-immigrant leader-spokesmen do not belong to the immigrant community nor do they derive initial support from it for their leadership. They function as leader-spokesmen for the Indian immigrants because of their position within the host society. Such persons include the representatives of the High commission of India in Birmingham and other areas of the concentration of Indian immigrants, the welfare officers appointed by the public bodies to look after the welfare of Indian and other coloured immigrants, a few Indian doctors who inter-act with the immigrants in a non-professional capacity and few social workers who are interested in the Indian community. Besides the persons in this category there are other members of the host society also who inter-act with the Indians. But they usually have single-interest relationships in their professional capacity with the individual immigrants. They do not have a relationship with the immigrant group as a whole. Hence even when their decisions affect the immigrants they cannot be correctly described as either 'speaking' for or leading the immigrant group. They are the estate agent, the personnel manager, the foreman, the police officer, the doctor and so on. They do not perform the role of the leader-spokesmen.

The conception of the role of the leader-spokesmen is analogous to that of a social worker within the host society. It is natural, therefore, that in the performance of their role, they help any immigrant who may

seek their help. They help by finding jobs (as I have shown above) in the case of the representative of the High commission of India) or during illness, physical fights, litigation and at crucial point of an immigrant's contact with the members of the host society. Sometimes, they preside over the immigrant's internal associations and arbitrate in their internal quarrels. At others they take it upon themselves to represent the immigrant group to the host society. Thus, e.g., I found Mr. Taff who initially joined the society as a treasurer become more and more involved in the affairs of the film society so that not only did he become the virtual manager but also a social worker to many immigrants.

There exists a close co-operation among the non-immigrant leader-spokesmen group who often consult each other in the solution of actual problems brought to them by the immigrants. In so far as this co-operation exists the immigrant needs to seek the help of any one of the non-immigrant leader in his problems. There also exists some co-operation between the non-immigrant leader-spokesmen and the other members of the host society who enter into single-interest relationships in their professional capacity with the immigrants. Thus an estate agent, a personnel manager of a factory or a police officer often seeks intervention by the non-immigrant leader-spokesmen in a dispute which involves an immigrant.

leader-spokesmen

Such co-operation may vary from simple task of interpretation to active arbitration in the dispute. In so far as the non-immigrant leader-spokesman does this, he represents the Indian immigrants to the host society.

But the real importance of the non-immigrant leader-spokesmen lies in the fact that through their role they avoid the Indian immigrants from having a direct and normal relationship with the members of the host society. Also it lies in the fact that their role carries with it the power to influence the immigrants in general. Although the power operates in relation to the immigrants mainly through persuasion, the ultimate sanction behind it is in the political dominance of the host society.

Lastly, the existence and a continuation of this role is based on the fact that the immigrants voluntarily or through their incapacity for articulation exclude themselves from entering into a direct relationship with the members of the host society.

6. Conclusions:

I have attempted to show above, that the pattern of exclusion and participation exists even in the roles of leadership and association. Accordingly there are some roles of leadership which function exclusively within the host society. The basic qualification for these roles is the same as that in other in-group roles viz., identification with the immigrant community. The in-group associations were also based on this criterion.

As against this the roles which involved participation demanded a knowledge of English and of the functioning of the host society. The importance of these roles and of the solitary association lies in the fact that their existence obviates the necessity of participation by the immigrants at large in a number of activities of the host society from which they may voluntarily abstain.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusions.

1. The immigrant community.
2. The nature and extent of participation by the immigrants in out-group activities.
3. Structural aspects of immigrant-host relationship.
 - (a) Inter-personal relationships.
 - (b) Roles.
 - (c) Institutions.
 - (d) Groups.
4. Integration.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusions.

In the course of this thesis I have described some of the definitive features of the total behaviour of the Indian immigrants which ultimately affect their position within the society in the United Kingdom.

1. The Immigrant Community

One such feature is the existence of the linguistic-regional communities which can ultimately be traced to the predisposition of the immigrants towards the culture of the societies of their origin in India. This 'Indian' (or rather the Gujarati and the Punjabi) culture consists not only of language, clothing and food but also of associations, institutions, value-system and the groupings, all of which have been transplanted in the United Kingdom with some success. The social and cultural satisfactions which an individual derives from participation makes it desirable to him to conform to the patterns of behaviour which reinforce the existence of the communities.

There are various functions that the communities perform. The most relevant of all is that as their members, the immigrants have voluntarily and consciously isolated

themselves from the host society. The result is that all the other members of the wider collectivity in the United Kingdom (i.e. the members of the host society, other^{non-}Indian immigrants and the non-immigrant Indians) achieve social visibility and difference in the reckoning of the Indian immigrants through the absence of their non-membership of the communities. Apart from this fundamental isolation, however, the social distance at which the Indian immigrants place these other groups from themselves depends on a number of other factors such as cultural proximity, affective ties^{and} each group's relative position within the hierarchy of the host society. But with this I am only indirectly concerned. The more relevant question is, what do the communities achieve in terms of co-operation and the absence of it (through a positive denial) between the Indian immigrants and the members of the host society. I have answered this to some extent in the previous pages.)

To summarise, the bare facts, the Indian immigrants live in the houses owned by fellow-members of the community. Their conception of locality or neighbourhood does not extend to 'outsiders' who live in physical proximity with them. In the economic sphere also, certain segregative activities function so as to limit participation in them to the members of the community. Likewise the patterns of behaviour con-

not entirely see p. 84

cerning sex and marriage are also such that the immigrants exclude themselves from co-operation with the members of the host society. Lastly, the nature of leadership and associations also require social and cultural qualifications which can only be possessed by the members of the community.

This is, however, not a complete picture. The communities also function so as to influence those situations in which co-operation exists. Most important of such situations is the work-situation. The presence of the community, affects the behaviour of the immigrant individual in two main activities. The first is his attempt to secure a job in the factories (and in other economic associations) which are dominated politically and economically ^{by} the host society. In his attempts to find a job, the individual makes an extensive and varied use of the communal organisation. The second activity consists of the inter-personal behaviour an immigrant individual enters into with a non-Indian co-worker. In this activity, he is affected by the presence of the communal group (or sub-group) which exercises the social control over him so as to obtain his conformity to the approved patterns of behaviour at the inter-personal level. More than this, the presence of the community in the United Kingdom itself, whether ~~actual~~ fellow-members are present in an actual situation

or not, is sufficient to achieve conformity of behaviour from all its members.

2. The nature and extent of participation by the immigrants in out-group activities.

The next question to be answered is, in what activities does the participation between the Indian immigrants and the host society occur. Obviously the immigrants are so few and so dispersed over the United Kingdom, that they cannot possibly isolate themselves completely from the members of the host society. Moreover, their economic motivation coupled with the fact that it is the host society which is economically and politically dominant make it incumbent upon them to participate in the activities controlled by the host society. The most important among such activities obviously are the economic activities. If it is true that the immigrants are driven by a necessity to earn 'cash' it must come from the activities in which it passes from the members of the host society to the former. Since the Indian immigrants do not have either cash or other economic resources except their labours, all segregative economic activities must ultimately depend on cash earned by the total category of Indian immigrants.

Good point

Within the host society, however, the economic value of the immigrants' labour is governed by such economic factors

as its demand, total labour supply and requirements of technical skill. But it is also governed by social and psychological factors such as the prejudice against the immigrants in general and against coloured immigrants in particular, the position of the immigrants within the hierarchy of the host society, the immigrants' ability to be accepted at an inter-personal level by fellow-workers and so on. All these affect the comparatively 'purer' economic criteria of evaluation. Since it is the host society which is dominant both economically and politically, it is the members of the host society (those who are in the positions of decision-making) who determine in what economic activities and in what capacities will the immigrants participate. Since the members of the host society by and large conceive of 'coloured' or at least the Indian immigrants as a homogeneous category (and not as separate individuals), the economic evaluation of ~~whose~~^{their} labour is so low that the immigrants, whatever their actual qualifications, are forced to participate as unskilled workers. In reality, however, in terms of qualifications the Indian immigrants are not a homogeneous category. As I have shown above many of them are capable of doing other work for which there is some demand. A few cases do exist where the qualifications of an individual

immigrant are recognised and his labour is suitably realised and paid for in terms of money, power and status. More commonly, the image of the Indian immigrant worker (or indeed all coloured workers) as 'the unskilled labourer' is very much alive.

Sometimes even when it is known that an individual immigrant possesses the requisites which would enable a member of the host society to obtain a measure of money, power and status, he may not be allowed to obtain it. This happens for example when an immigrant acquires skill or shows capacity for leadership. Sometimes, they may be used by the management and yet the immigrant may not be allowed to obtain the power and status (and even money in some cases) which ordinarily go with it. Thus no immigrant may become a foreman in a factory or indeed obtain any position in which he formally has the power over his fellow 'white' workers. Only rarely he may ~~be~~ become a foreman over his fellow-workers from his own ethnic group. The considerations here are of a purely social (as opposed to economic) nature. The criterion of 'colour' is ~~so~~ decisive in initially determining the status, which is so low that money and power over the whites ~~are~~ not commensurate with it. No other criteria of status are allowed to apply.

Another way in which participation in economic activities is determined by the host society, is through exclusion of the immigrants from participation altogether, as through regulating the number of immigrants who may participate. The latter happens at the factory and at the industrial and the national level. The group immediately involved may decide to exclude and regulate the number of participants. Such a group may be represented by the management, ~~or the~~ workers in a factory or a local trade union. At national level, there is as yet no exclusion of immigrants but the proposed Immigration Control Bill 1961 will have the effect of controlling the size of immigrant labour by restraining immigration as such.

In social activities, the political and economic dominance of the host society is not so apparent in the case of the Indian immigrants. This is because the immigrants are voluntarily exclusive in their social activities. For example, they marry within their caste-group in India and employ various sanctions against anyone who breaks the rule. The organisation of the immigrant community contains mechanisms of social control which deal with recalcitrant individuals and sometimes bring them back to conformity. Even so, perhaps because the Indians are classed under the

category 'coloured' and because the host society~~ies~~ does not have the same pattern of behaviour as the Indian immigrants, the host society penalizes by loss of respect anyone of its members ignoring the segregation of coloured and white in marriage and sex behaviour. Here, the status determined by 'colour' is so low, that even prostitutes (whose own status is very low) may avoid association with coloured persons for fear of further lowering their status. So far as the Indian immigrants are concerned, however, the question of marriage is likely to involve leaving the immigrant community and being outcasted from the society in India. The first may be staved off by the village-kin group of the immigrant involved, in the hope that the sanctions in the form of economic and affective loss through severance of ties with the family, caste and society in India may be sufficient for an immigrant to turn back to conformity. More often the staving off takes place when a mixed marriage is anticipated. More commonly, the religious prohibition and the social sanctions are sufficient to ensure conformity.

The mixed sex behaviour is less rigidly prohibited to the immigrant by the immigrant community. Although the basic pattern of behaviour is that of complete exclusion and is governed by the same religious prohibition and social sanctions,

the latter are not as strong here as in the case of mixed marriage. They are also less frequently invoked. As in the case of dancing; or too frequent and 'familiar' inter-personal relationship with any 'non-immigrant woman' the only sanction is the reduction of prestige, which may result in actual economic and social disadvantages.

It may be maintained that the sanctions employed by the Indian community and the society in India against the deviating immigrant are not sufficient in all cases. In so far as this is true, an alternative pattern of behaviour may exist and the individual may have a choice of behaviour. I refer here to the possibility that an immigrant may find his ties with the joint family, caste and family in India and with the immigrant community in the United Kingdom economically or socially onerous. For example, he may realise that the savings he sends to his joint family are not enough to pay off family debts which keep on increasing or that he has no chance of contracting a satisfactory marriage in India or he may be dissatisfied with his marital life and cannot obtain a divorce. Obviously these factors are common enough, but not yet sufficiently intense to give rise to an alternative pattern of behaviour. With the coming of the new generation bred and educated in the United Kingdom, it is not unreasonable

to assume that at least a few immigrants will find the alternative of deviation from the present norm more suitable than contracting an arranged marriage with a wife who does not know English. If the Indian immigrant communities in other parts of the world are a guide, the alternative of mixed marriage and sex relations will still be of marginal importance. Most of the immigrants will retain their caste-affiliation in the next generation also for the purpose of marriage. But this is only a guess. Many factors, changes in the structure of society in India, availability of channels of communication with India, the status of the immigrant in the United Kingdom and so on, will affect the total pattern of behaviour.

3. Structural aspects of immigrant-host relationship.

(a) Inter-personal relationships.

There are a number of facts about inter-personal relationships which can be inferred from the data presented in the thesis. One of such facts is that the inter-personal relationships as they are at the moment are in the nature of single-interest relationships. The examples of these are the relationship between the estate agent and the immigrant buyer, between the foreman or the personnel manager and the immigrant worker, between the immigrant and non-immigrant co-workers, between the Indian immigrant landlord and a non-Indian tenant, between the tradesmen and the immigrant customers. As against this there is the relationship between the Indian husband and the 'white' wife or paramour which is understandably multi-stranded.

The main reason for the prevalence of single-interest relationships in the immigrant-host relationship is due to the political and economic dominance of the host society, which is itself organised on single-interest relationships and isolated roles.

Unlike the host society however, the immigrant community is an involute system i.e., it has many-stranded relationships and combinative roles. These roles derive their substance from the regional society in India which also is an involute system. Therefore, when the

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the migrant man for his reasons
wants to extend the relationship

immigrants enter into a relationship with a member of the host society their interpretation of it is somewhat different from that given to it by the member of the host society. Whereas the immigrant tends to understand the relationship in its full range of interests and complementary roles, the member of the host society tends to circumscribe it to the single-interest which brings about the relationship. The immigrant therefore, cannot obtain social and psychological satisfaction out of such relationship. When he finds that the complementary roles which he has taken for granted are not performed by his English counterpart, he feels cheated out of such relationship. This is true of 'friendship'. But it is also true of the tradesmen-customer relationship. The immigrant soon finds out that he cannot obtain out of a continued relationship with an English tradesman the petty considerations which are due to him according to his own interpretation of relationship. He is therefore, forced to give up his interpretation in favour of the interpretation put forth by his English counterpart.

There is, however, another aspect to single-interest relationship. The criteria of 'colour' which signifies low social status and the cultural differences between the immigrant and his English counterpart, prohibit an extension of the initial single-interest relationship even where it is permissible. In other words, the member of the host society may deliberately refrain from having a full relationship for the fear of the loss of his own status through

not clear

association with the immigrant. Or he may not enter into a full relationship because of the cultural incompatibility between himself and the immigrant.

To sum up, most inter-personal relationships between the immigrants and the members of the host society as they are at present are single-interest relationships. The immigrants who do not initially know of the host society's interpretation of the inter-personal relationships and roles are called upon to accomodate through acceptance of such interpretations. Under the circumstances two alternative courses are open to them. They may either give up their own interpretations of relationships and accept the new ones; or they may persist in dual interpretations as at present. It is quite possible that a total acceptance of single-interest relationship in outgroup activities may affect the roles and relationships existing within the immigrant community. To the extent that this will happen the immigrant community will loose its identity which is based not only on its personnel but also on its essential organisational differences with the host society. The immigrants will achieve integration with the host society in the permissible single-interest and other relationships and pluralism and symetrical organisation where their participation is rejected.

(b) Roles

Much of the foregoing comments apply equally to the roles.

It is necessary, however, to deal with all the roles which the immigrants are called upon to fulfill and not only those which directly concern the immigrant -host relationship. The first type of such roles are those exclusive roles which fall under the organisation of the immigrant community. These are the roles of the grocer and the client, the fellow-villager, the relative, the house owner, the tenant, the intermediary and his client, the customer and the servicemen, the tradesmen and so on. As I have stated above, the roles are combinative, thus the landlord is often a debtor, a relative, a co-worker and so on. Underlying these seperable roles is the summated role of the relative or the fellow-villager. It is this role which is the basis of the immigrant community. The role of the intermediary or that of the leader, however, are not confined to village-kin group although they derive their initial strength from it. The same is true of the role of the grocer who expands his activities to cover the whole linguistic-regional community and others as well.

The importance of these roles lie in their capacity to provide not only the cultural but also social satisfactions to those who perform them. I am referring here to the prestige within the immigrant community which is gained through indulging in the in-group activity.

There is another point also which makes these roles important

in the consideration of the immigrant-host relationship. The immigrant who performs these roles continuously subscribes to the solidarity of the immigrant community. It is therefore, that ~~the~~ he voluntarily excludes himself from those other roles which are outside the organisation of the community and which are incompatible with his own roles. Also the time he may consume in performing some of these roles will prevent him from performing some others which cannot be performed simultaneously.

The second type of roles are the ones which deal directly with the immigrant -host relationship. These are created when an immigrant inter-acts with the non-immigrants. As I showed above most interrelationships between the immigrants and the members of the host society are single-interest relationships and hence they need not be formulated into roles. Some relationships, however, are in the nature of roles(i.e., a series of rights and obligations). Such a role is that of the intermediary whose position is recognised by the management of the factory. In such a case, the immigrant does not remain only a worker, but also acts as an unofficial foreman, recruiting agent and so forth. He also establishes closer inter-personal ties with his ~~immediate~~ superiors, obtains from them ~~greater~~ consideration and often some respect. In short, he develops rights and obligations over and above those he has as a worker. The political leader-spokesman also finds himself in a similar position. Sometimes, though not often,

these relationships materialise into a multi-stranded friendship which go beyond these roles.

A third type of role is created when a member of the host society or a non-immigrant Indian participates in what is essentially in-group activity. The case of Mr. Taff, the treasurer and the virtual manager of the public film society is a good example of this. There are others also, such as the High commissioner of India, the Indian doctors, the social workers and the welfare officers. I have subsumed the activities of these persons into the role of the non-immigrant leader-spokesmen. The important point to note here is that initially the relationship is such that the immigrants can benefit from the non-immigrants. In the majority of relationships cited above, the immigrant community as a whole benefits through the performance of the role. The persons who perform the roles stand in loco parentis to the immigrants. On a different level, the role of the leader-spokesmen has a function in the host society also. Within the host society, the leader-spokesmen represent the immigrants who are themselves inarticulate.

The fourth type of role is the one in which the immigrant seeks to represent his fellow immigrants. This is the role of the political leader. The political leader professes to speak on behalf of all the immigrants. There are a number of educated immigrants who are articulate in this manner. But most of their relationship

and 'speaking' is limited to the inter-personal level. The only exception are the leaders who are organised under the Indian Worker's Association. In their attempt to achieve credence and acceptance within the host society, the leaders organised themselves into a political association and invested it with the paraphernalia of a democracy. Yet the association is little more than its leaders. They speak on behalf of the Indian immigrants and represent them. But internally each leader derives support from his own village-kin group and at best the Punjabi community.

The next type of roles is the one in which the immigrant enters into frequent relationships with the members of the host society. All immigrants enter into a certain amount of inter-personal relationship with members of the host society. But these are mainly single-stranded relationships and are usually limited to single situations. Thus, ~~the~~ the immigrants meet their English co-workers in factory every day and yet ^{the} initial relationship does not undergo significant change. Some persons, however, enter continuously into such relationships and are therefore, susceptible to change. Such persons are the intermediaries. An immigrant becomes an intermediary because he understands the functioning of the host society and can communicate with the members of the host society in English. These are the two basic requirements of an intermediary. It is therefore quite common for an immigrant to inter-act as an intermediary in several situations. Thus,

Thus, e.g., an immigrant who finds jobs for other immigrants is also a house-broker and so on. In so far, however, the intermediary needs the continued membership of the immigrant community for the successful performance of his roles, he retains his allegiance to it and resists change. It is to be expected that individuals when they have amassed enough savings (which is one of the rewards of intermediary) may elect to change by giving up their role.

The last role is that of the deviators from the sex norms of the immigrants community. In fact deviation from the sex-norms is symptomatic of total dissociation from the immigrant community which comes about gradually. The behaviour of the deviator is different towards the members of the community and the host society from that of any other immigrants. He rejects the rights and obligations towards one group and accepts those of the other.

It is clear that the more educated young immigrants have an alternative choice in the roles of the intermediary, the political leader and the deviator. The rest, because of the lack of requisite qualifications (such as knowledge of English), do not assume these roles also. The first two roles obviously accord prestige, the last one perhaps brings in the negative benefit of repudiation of onerous relationships.

One last point may be noted about these roles. Although I have called them so, the total relationships must take into account the counter-roles also in order to discern the total pattern of

behaviour. Thus, for example, the behaviour of the foreman, the estate agent, the employment officer and so on are also important in order to understand the role of the intermediary. The same is true of the political leader, the beneficiary and the deviator.

(c) Institutions:

The political association is the only institution the immigrants have produced in their effort to achieve relationships at the group level with the non-immigrants. As I have observed, it has democratic form with which the leaders hope to acquire acceptance in the host society. Yet in practice it is no more than a further situation in which the internal groups of the immigrant community may operate.

Are there any other institutions which effect the inter-personal relationship between the immigrant and the host society ? There are many. But one example is sufficient. The factory is such an institution. Within the formal organisation of a factory the immigrants participate usually as unskilled labourers. This occupation places them at the lowest strata in the social hierarchy of the host society.

(d) Groups:

Lastly, there are a number of groups which come into existence among the immigrants as a result of participation. The first among such a group is the group at the factory. Sometimes

in its personnel this group cuts accross several village-kin groups and helps strengthen the network which constitutes the immigrant community. At other times, it is synonymous with the village-kin group.

Apart from this there are a number of groups which function in the internal organisation as well as in the inter-relations with the host society. A few examples of these groups (or rather sub-groups of the immigrant community) are the residents of a house, the village-kin group and the gang.

4. Integration:

Finally I may ask, to what extent the Indian immigrants are and will be integrated with the host society. In the modern industrial society of the kind which exists in the United Kingdom, complete social cultural and physical isolation by any group is not possible. Moreover, as I showed, the economic motivation and the condition of virtual penury in which the immigrants arrive make it incumbent upon them to participate in the economic organisation of the host society to some extent. Even those persons who indulge in the economically exclusive activities must ultimately depend on economic participation by fellow-immigrants and hence must tolerate it.

In such conditions economic absorption of the immigrants is to some extent inevitable. What is then meant by integration ?

There is no satisfactory definition of integration and it is not necessary for me to attempt here to find one. It is sufficient to note that the term refers to a compatible and relatively peaceful existence of an immigrant or an ethnic group or groups within the wider society. At the same time it also refers to the existence of cultural and social identification by the immigrant or the ethnic group with the host society in some spheres and of differentiation in others. The identification and tolerance needed for integration are achieved through two processes viz., assimilation and accommodation. The first process leads to identification, the second leads to a tolerance of differences. A satisfactory economic absorption of the immigrants within the host society facilitates integration.

Turning to the Indian immigrants one finds ~~one finds~~ that a satisfactory employment is the most crucial fact in their economic absorption. To the immigrants coming as they do from areas of chronic unemployment, the initial security is provided by the demand for labour, the availability of social services and the internal method of obtaining employment.

The immigrants on arrival have a legal right to choose what employment they may wish. But they also find that they are very much circumscribed in their choice through a lack of technical skill, a minimum knowledge of English and the attitudes of the trade unions, employers and the workers which are sometimes

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hostile. Later they find that they cannot be occupationally mobile as much as they may desire. Some immigrants find the barrier to occupational mobility in their inability to communicate and to acquire requisite skills. The others, especially the university educated, may find it in the attitudes of the employers fellow-workers, sometimes the trade unions and of the host society at large. This inability to move away from the unskilled work which the immigrants accept initially has a far reaching effect on the integration. The individual immigrants on finding that they cannot move occupationally upwards either retain a strong cultural orientation towards India or they experiences a state of anomie.

The work-situation is also important in another way. It is in the factory that the immigrants comes into that type of continuous contact with the members of the host society which affects his sense of security. Therefore, it is the attitude of the employers, the trade unions and his fellow-worker which affects his judgements. As I have shown, the contact with the workers is sometimes hostile but is usually characterised by avoidance and nominal participation. The trade unions at the national level, insist on complete equality for the immigrants in wages, conditions of work and employment. At the local level, however, their attitudes to employment varies considerably and is sometimes hostile to the immigrants. The attitude of the employers is less

important than those of the workers and the trade unions, mainly because of two factors. Firstly, the immigrants are so few that they can always find enough employers to get work from them. Secondly, they avoid ascertaining the attitudes of the whole group of employers since they tend to look for jobs more through the village-kin group with those employers whose attitudes are already manifest.

Lastly, the immigrants compensate their lack of skill and inability to communicate through accepting unskilled jobs. Since these jobs are the lowest in the occupational hierarchy, their adjustment to it places them at the lowest rung of the occupational hierarchy. In so far as this occurs uniformly in the case of all immigrants, they do not achieve the equality which would normally result from a greater spread of occupations. Here of course the presence of non-immigrant Indians in the United Kingdom who are indeed spread out in a variety of occupation, is of very little help in correcting the uniformly low status of the immigrants. Firstly, the immigrants do not identify themselves with the non-immigrant Indian elite and secondly, a complete isolation prevails between the two groups.

Turning to the issue of integration one finds that the process of accommodation operates much more strongly in the case of Indians. A number of factors present, impede assimilation. The first among these, is the presence of sponsoring or chain immigration

and of the grouping of immigrants into a few houses, localities and towns. Immediately on arrival the immigrant finds himself within his own linguistic-regional group which is capable of satisfying his needs for employment, accomodation and leisure-time activities. Hence, he does not feel called upon to make any adjustments at all. In contrast with all this, which affords him economic security, is the host society which offers him an open labour market and hostile attitudes of the host society in respect of accomodation and cultural participation. Small wonder then that once the immigrant achieves a reasonable security of employment through his membership of the immigrant community, he should refuse to assimilate.

Another factor which impedes assimilation is the nature and extent of cultural adjustments that he is called upon to make. The most important difference the immigrant has with his host, is in the sphere of religion. He cannot make a religious assimilation without relinquishing his contact with the society in India and the immigrant community. Also because of this religious differences with the host society, he may not marry within it, ~~also~~. However, apart from this ultimate injunctions against assimilation, the religious beliefs have undergone some changes even within the short period that the immigrants have been in the United Kingdom. Thus, rules of ritual purity, inter-dining, and dietary injunctions do not operate in the United Kingdom. Also much of the ritual

including that involved in marriage is performed by proxy in India.

In the leisure-time activities, the immigrants have tended to achieve the same isolation that they have in other spheres, through associations, clubs, film-societies, visiting and so on. Only a few immigrants participate in non-immigrant activities, such as dancing. This is also because the neighbourhoods in which the immigrants live, do not offer corporate cultural activity.

As against this there are a number of initial and rather deceptive cultural changes that the immigrants have made in their behaviour. These refer to dress, diet and spending habits. Although these are only nominal at the moment, it is not unreasonable to assume that in due time and perhaps in the next generation they will serve as an important link in a greater assimilation.

A final factor which impedes assimilation but facilitates accommodation is the presence of ^{the} immigrant community. I have already dealt with the functions of this group at the start of this chapter. Hence I shall confine myself now to the possibilities of its disappearance. One of the factors which contributes to the solidarity of the group is the absence of the knowledge of English on the part of many immigrants. Once this is remedied, which will happen inevitably in the second generation, the immigrants will

rely much less than they do now on each other to fulfill their needs of communication. The knowledge of English will also bring about a greater understanding and appreciation of the 'English way of life' . On the other hand, the acquisition of English or the loss of Gujrati and Punjabi will not necessarily result in the disappearance of the group which is essentially based on kinship and village ties.

A second factor which may affect the functioning of the immigrant community is the greater dispersal of the immigrants over the United Kingdom. When this is achieved it may be difficult for immigrants to have as many face-to-face relationships as they have at present. Consequently this will make changes in their leisure-time habits. It will not , for example, be possible for them to run the associations, film societies and so on.

A third factor which affects the immigrant community is the stoppage of immigration . This has already come about to some extent. A stoppage of male immigrants will mean that the chain immigration will not any more embellish the group with any more units. Since the continued immigration is now at an end, the actual ties with India are bound to weaken to some extent. To the extent that this will happen, the immigrants will be less inclined to resist the social and cultural changes that will come about through other factors.

The last factor which affects the continuation of the group is the amount of hostility which the members of the host society may show towards the immigrants. Any increase in this, which itself depends on many factors, will certainly be a cohesive factor and a decrease in it will almost as certainly wean away the educated immigrants from the immigrant community into a greater participation and through it, integration.

Whether the immigrant community will ever disappear altogether or whether the Indian immigrants will achieve total integration through assimilation are both teleological questions. There is hardly any answer to them. Of greater interest is the particular pattern of integration which the immigrants have achieved in the United Kingdom, which I have presented here.

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