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The third generation of Indians in Britain

Cultural identity and cultural change

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for my parents who have always supported me

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The cover picture was taken by the author at the “Harrow Jammin”, a youth meeting organized by East London Pandava Sena team of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON).

Abstract

In den letzten Jahrzehnten haben sich Großbritanniens Minoritäten zunehmend in einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft etabliert. Insbesondere die indisch-hinduistischen Gruppen haben dabei ihre soziale und ökonomische Situation größtenteils verbessert. So wächst nunmehr die dritte Generation von Indern in Großbritannien heran. Im Gegensatz zu den vorhergehenden Generationen der indischen Diaspora wachsen diese Kinder in einer etablierten ethnischen Gemeinschaft auf, die es gelernt hat ihre Religion, Tradition und Kultur in der fremden Umgebung zu erhalten. Gleichzeitig sind sie teil der multikulturellen britischen Gesellschaft.

Ausgehend von der Diskussion der Literatur über die zweite Generation in immigrierten ethnischen Gemeinschaften, deren Jugendliche oft unter den kulturellen Gegensätzen, Rassismus und Diskriminierung litten und daher verschiedene Aspekte ihrer Herkunftskultur ablehnten, geht diese Arbeit von der These aus, dass sich der Verlust der Herkunftskultur in der dritten Generation verstärkt. Diese Annahme folgt gängigen Theorien über den Zusammenhang zwischen Generation und Integration. Dabei wird weiterhin angenommen, dass sich die Präferenz der westlichen Kultur auch auf die persönliche, ethnische und kulturelle Identität der Jugendlichen auswirkt, was zu einer Abkehr von traditionellen Bindungen führt.

Hinleitend auf diese These werden zunächst verschiedene theoretische Konzepte diskutiert, die für das Verständnis der diasporischen Situation, in der britisch-indische Jugendliche aufwachsen, unumgänglich sind. Als eine der Größten umspannt die indische Diaspora die Welt. Dies bedeutet, dass Familien vielfältige Verknüpfungen zu indischen Gemeinden in verschiedenen Ländern unterhalten. Insbesondere aber die Verbindung nach Indien spielt eine herausragende Rolle, als dass der Subkontinent in vielen Familien als abstrakte Heimatreferenz erhalten bleibt, die besonders von der ersten Generation konserviert wird. Während die Großeltern stark an der indischen Kultur und hinduistischen Religion festhalten, bewirkte bereits die zweite Generation einen kulturellen Wandel. Dabei wurden verschiedene kulturelle Werte der ethnischen Gemeinde in Frage gestellt und modifiziert. Weiterhin trieb die zweite Generation die Integration in die britische Gesellschaft voran, indem sie die Abhängigkeit von einem ethnischen Netzwerk aufgab.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit wird von einem hybriden und nicht-statischen Kulturbegriff ausgegangen. Diese Definition trifft auch für das Identitäts- und Ethnizitätsverständnis zu, von denen in dem vorliegenden Text ausgegangen wird. Aufgrund von Migration, Kulturkontakt und der Multilokalität der Diaspora sind diasporische und postdiasporische Identitäten und Kulturen geprägt von Hybridität, Heterogenität, Fragmentierung und Flexibilität. Besonders in den jüngeren Generationen kommt es abhängig von verschiedenen sozialen und strukturellen Faktoren zu kulturellem Wandel und Vermischung, wobei neue Ethnizitäten und Identitäten entstehen.

Im zweiten und dritten Teil wird die These des Verlustes der Herkunftskultur auf Grundlage empirischer Forschungsergebnisse widerlegt. Dafür wurden indisch-stämmige Jugendliche in London untersucht. Etwa die Hälfte der Jugendlichen ist an eine *sampradaya*, eine hinduistische Sekte, gebunden. Dies ermöglicht einen Vergleich zwischen nicht religiös-gebundenen Jugendlichen und solchen die über eine *sampradaya* in eine ethnische und / oder religiöse Gemeinde eingebunden sind. Die Analyse der auf qualitativer und quantitativer Sozialforschung basierenden Ergebnisse kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Jugendlichen ein sehr großes Interesse an ihrer Herkunftskultur und deren Erhalt in der Diaspora haben. Sie fühlen sich als Inder und sind stolz auf ihre kulturelle Differenz. Darin unterscheiden sie sich von der zweiten Generation. Im Gegensatz zur Generation ihrer Großeltern, basiert die indische Identität der dritten Generation jedoch nicht auf nostalgischen Erinnerungen. Sie betonen und bestätigen ihre postdiasporische Andersheit in einer westlich multikulturellen Gesellschaft. Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung gehen dabei über die These von Hansens Theorie über die Wiederentdeckung der Herkunftskultur in der dritten Generation hinaus. Durch den Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Gruppen wird deutlich, dass es im Rahmen der Ausdifferenzierung postmoderner und postkolonialer Gesellschaften auch zu einer Ausdifferenzierung der ethnischen Gruppe kommt. Die indische Herkunft und Kultur spielt daher nicht für jeden jungen British Inder die gleiche Rolle.

Content

For me I feel very privileged to have come from […] this family background. […] Being in the UK you think it'd be hard, you know, to keep hold of your cultural values but when you've got places like this temple, it's just so much easier to keep in touch with […] your religion, your culture. There is so many opportunities for us youngsters and that's why I really feel privileged. […] Particularly in a society like we live, the way in which we live in, it's great. […] And for me religion and culture are important; and it's nice that you can go about your normal life […] yet still be in touch with the religion and you know the culture that we have. So yeah, I feel really privileged. (Ranjitham)

The third generation of Indians in Britain is growing up in a multicultural society, which has developed in a long and difficult process full of conflict and confrontation. Britain's modern multicultural society offers a home to many ethnically different communities under the umbrella of western civilization and equal rights. Thus, living in a multicultural society implies for young British Indians[1] to inherit two cultures: the western English and the eastern Indian culture. Cultures and communities are ever-changing human constructions; so that in each generation experiences and relations are different. Particularly, in the context of diaspora concepts of culture, community, ethnicity and identity are questioned. In an ethnic minority cultural norms and values, religion and language are solely passed on to the next generation by the family and the community. At the same time the majority white Anglo-Saxon culture and its discourses dominate all public aspects of life and communications. Of course, both cultures and discourses inspire one another. Complex exchanges, adaptations and rejections take place. They are influenced by the people who live in these cultures as well as by social developments and politics. Each generation is subject to different social conditions which affect its opinions and views and hence its relations to other cultures and communities.

Migrant communities often adhere strongly to their heritage culture setting up native structures in their new environment. Growing up in both cultures the second generation of the diaspora feels more at home in the "culture of arrival" than their parents do. They often feel more attached to this culture than to the structures and beliefs of their ethnic community. Consequently, in the second generation certain aspects of the culture of origin may already be lost. There has been only little research on the third generation of immigrated communities. There are tendencies of ethnic revival in the third generation involving an increased interest and a rediscovery of the cultural heritage. However, it is generally expected that personal remoteness to the culture of origin increases with generation as the personal attachment and understanding of the heritage culture decreases.

Thus, it is assumed that the exercise of cultural habits and their understanding decrease in the second and third generation due to acculturation processes to the British society. Hence, the third generation of Indians in Britain is likely to loose cultural affiliation to their Indian origins. One expects that the longer an ethnic minority[2] lives in a culturally alien milieu the more it looses its particularities: its norms and values, habits and beliefs (Schnell 1990: 64-65). It is unlikely that the third generation retains a lot of cultural particularity and knowledge because even their parent's have already lost full understanding and practice of

cultural and religious matters. Although the young British Indians keep a certain affiliation to their ethnic group, retention of Indian culture does not happen naturally. They may enjoy certain aspects of their heritage culture, which are often trivial and superficial, but they reject central aspects and core values of Indian culture. Further, loosing awareness for the boundaries that divide the Indian ethnic subgroups[3], religious, caste and regional identities seem to fade. Rather, young British Indians unite under a British pan-subcontinental identity. The third generation is further expected to face less conflict than their parents. Not only do they grow up in a bi-cultural setting, their parents also tend to be more understanding and generous, as they know what it means to grow up between or with two cultures.

The following chapters will argue this thesis on the basis of a theoretical discussion and empirical research conducted among British Indian teenagers in London. A lot of literature has been published on the problems and difficulties of the second generation of Indians in Britain. However, although some communities are already growing into the fourth generation hardly anything has been written on the third generation, yet. The leading theories on the third generation of immigrated communities have been produced during the 1930s in the United States of America. They will be discussed at the end of the first part. Further, theories of diaspora, ethnicity, ethnic identity and culture have been applied. The works of the following authors about the Indian community in Britain have been particularly helpful: Paul A. Singh Ghuman, Marie Gillespie, Ghazala Bhatti, Anjoom Mukadam and Sharmina Mawani, Mary Stopes-Roe and Raymond Cochrane, Steven Vertovec, as well as Pnina Werbner. Most of them are treating the second generation of Indians in Britain. On the basis of their findings the thesis could be derived.

Especially, Paul A. Singh Ghuman inspired my empirical research. Using a scale similar to his acculturation scale and qualitative interviewing, 62 British Indian teenagers gave information about their views and feelings concerning both cultures. The survey was conducted in spring 2008 in Greater London. It is based on two sample groups which were compared. One group of teenager is closely affiliated to a Hindu religious sect and the other contrasting sample was approached through the Brent Youth Service. They take part in the Duke of Edinburgh Award.

Following, an overview over the Indian community in Britain, the theoretical discussion of a number of relevant topics like ethnicity, identity and culture will provide a deeper understanding of the correspondences between generation, ethnicity, culture and identity

central to this work. In the second part the findings of the research will be contrasted with the assumptions and compared to the situation of the second generation.

1. The Indian Community in Great Britain: theoretical approaches

1.1 The Indian Communities in Britain

Indians constitute the largest non-white ethnic population in Britain (Anwar 1998: 19, National Statistics 2005: 1). They are far from united and homogeneous but consist of many subethnic communities which in their selves are not homogeneous (Werbner 1997: 1). These overlap and their boundaries are fluent although the communities are generally divided along religious, sectarian, regional, linguistic and class lines. Nevertheless, there are cultural aspects people from the Indian subcontinent share. For example, the orientation on the community rather than on the individual is often mentioned. However, the differences are very important especially to South Asians themselves because they are often related to social hierarchies on the subcontinent and in the diaspora (Bhatti 1999: 119). Furthermore, diversity in the Indian diaspora is not only synchronic but there is also a diachronic diversification meaning the cultural differences between the generations which in the course of time are bound to grow (Shukla 2003: 213, 247). Indians in Britain further separate themselves along lines of taste and cultural preferences. These new differentiations cross traditional ethnic and religious divisions (Werbner 1997: 1). Insofar it is necessary to stick to plurals in this matter.

It is important to keep in mind that the different South Asian communities have got different histories and thus have been subject to different pressures and circumstances. They have faced different conditions under which they have settled in Britain thus having had different opportunities. The socio-economic situation will not be the focus of this paper; although its importance for the daily experiences of people has to be kept in mind (Bhatti 1999: 231). This work will focus on Indian Hindus including Sri Lankan Tamils, East African Indians and Gujaratis. The groups in focus have settled successfully in Britain belonging to an increasingly affluent middle class.

The economic situation of Indians in Britain appears to be better than of other ethnic groups because the percentage of Indians in the professional category is slightly higher than that of whites and the number of manual workers decreased. The reason for that is the great

importance Indians attach to education. They stay longer in education than others and thus are increasingly better qualified. (Anwar 1998: 26-27, 29, 31) Today Indians and white Britons share about the same percentage of people without any qualifications. And Indians are less likely to be unemployed then any other non-white ethnic group. This situation is even likely to improve as Indian youngsters are doing better in school than almost all other ethnic groups in Britain (Appendix 4). (National Statistics 8-10, Anwar 1998: 190) For this reason some people speak of the 'Indian success story'. However, it has to be kept in mind that there is a great polarization among Indians (Robinson 1990: 109). While some families are extremely successful, others remain in poor housing conditions and unstable economic conditions and he poverty rate among Indians is twice as high as that of whites. The high proportion of professionals not only accounts to the Indian doctors in the National Health Service but rather to the high rate of self-employment that characterizes the Indian communities. (Anwar 1998: 26, Modood 1997: 345) Still, in general improvement is obvious and will continue with growing qualification and less racial discrimination (Modood 1997: 347-348).

Statistically the Indian groups are younger than the white population. However, in comparison with other South Asian communities such as Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, there is a higher and growing number of elders within the Indian community. The reason for this is that Indians were among the first who migrated to Britain in larger numbers. Further, the immigration of East African Indians in the 1960s and 70s included elder persons as whole families fled the changing conditions in postcolonial Africa (Anwar 1998: 23). The age composition of the Indian communities is important to keep in mind because elders preserve the tradition. Children in the Indian community grow up in traditional family units as divorce and single parenthood are still very rare (Anwar 1998: 25).

1.2 The Indian diaspora

The Indian communities in Britain are part of the Indian diaspora. The term diaspora has become common in the last time although its definitions are widely debated and the underlying theoretical concepts have changed over the past decade. In the diaspora a religious or ethnically defined group has been deterritorialized from its place or land of origin and has become transnational as a consequence of a collective migration. Although the diaspora may be a long-term state or even permanent, the sentiment of dislocation and

separation often remains.[4] The diaspora disrupts the temporal and spatial units of analysis of the western world because migration and settlement diversifies the West and deconstructs old binaries of centre and periphery. People, cultures and economics become transnational and characterized by diversity, hybridity and difference. The definition of diaspora which is applied here rejects the notion of scattered communities who attach their identity solely to their country of origin. (Hall 2003: 119, Lavie 1996: 1-2, 14, Brah 1996: 193, 179, Vertovec 2000: 141)

"The" Indian diaspora does not really exist. The Indian communities all over the world are very different from each other. They do not only face different living conditions but they also have different histories.

> The divergent memories of the social groups, as well as their contingencies in separate geographies, divide and connect, and create altogether different meanings for the Indian diaspora (Shukla 2003: 215).

Some communities like in South Africa exist for more than hundred years while others are only a few years old as in the Arab Emirates. So, if we include all the Indian communities in the umbrella of the diaspora, this must be a fissured, continually negotiated, ever changing construct whose borders are continuous (Shukla 2003: 216). Still, there are strong links and networks between the various Indian communities which span the world and shape lives and identities (Vertovec 2000: 142-143). Especially, using new means of communication and travel, the diasporic communities maintain a strong coherence. Families keep connections to kin all over the world via mail, the internet and travelling. These ties generate a sense of diasporic awareness, which includes the common identification with the Indian subcontinent and its cultures and which unites the various communities creating solidarity (Vertovec 2000: 144, Gillespie 1995: 6-7).

Diasporas are further characterized by a "double consciousness" or an "awareness of multi-locality" which Gilroy describes as "being simultaneously here and there". "Multi-locality" is for many Indians not only in the mind but also has practical implications when Indians travel to the subcontinent for pilgrimage, sightseeing or family gatherings (Vertovec 2000: 147, 149). Living somewhere else Indians in the diaspora feel attached to their country of origin while at the same time their lives are lived in a foreign context to which they have adapted to varying degrees. Consequently, the diasporic individuals are "translated men" according to Salman Rushdie or "cosmopolitical" according to Rapport (Rapport 2006: 181); Cosmopolitanism and translatedness shape diasporic communities. Though "it is normally

supposed that something always gets lost in translation; I cling to the notion that something can also be gained." (Rushdie 1991: 17) In this context Vertovec quotes Clifford:

> Experience of loss, marginality, and exile […] are often reinforced by systematic exploitation and blocked achievement. This constitutive suffering coexists with the skills for survival: strength in adaptive distinction, discrepant cosmopolitanism, and stubborn vision of renewal. Diaspory consciousness lives loss and hope as a defining tension (Vertovec 2000: 147).

Part of this hope is the abstract idea to return to the homeland. This desire is uphold particularly by older British Indians. The idea of return goes back to the beginnings of the Indian migration to Britain. After the Second World War worker's migration was driven by the idea to gain wealth and success before returning to India. However, the actual decision was repeatedly postponed for private or economical reasons or because of social affiliations to the community in Britain. Often political and economical instability on the Indian subcontinent added to these. Consequently, return became a myth. The "myth of return"[5] has not only symbolic power and offers emotional support in times of uncertainty but also creates social solidarity (Bhatti 1999: 7-8, 24, Rapport 2006: 180). It also encourages people to uphold relationships and connections to the homeland. Hence, people have ambiguous feelings and "divided loyalties" concerning the notion of home because families also have strong ties in Britain as most of them have been living here for twenty years and more (Vertovec 2000: 143). In contrast, loyalty to India as place of origin is based on affection and nostalgia, particularly among parents and grandparents. Their memories often consist primarily of childhood reminiscences. These ideas of home are passed on to the next generations, which may repeat such sentiments even though they have never been to India. In that way, home itself becomes a myth. (Bhatti 1999: 24, 31-32, Rapport 2006: 180) Such double loyalties are possible and do not hinder integration[6] into the British society. On the contrary, the security that the orientation on the Indian subcontinent offers helps people to feel self-conscious and makes them more open to integration (Korte 1990: 157). They do not fear cultural loss and are thus able to allow cultural mixture. I will come back to this matter in the next chapter.

Diaspora consciousness and hybridity are expressions of resistance to assimilation, discrimination and fixed categories. In the diaspora Indian communities are often in a minority position; thus, they are forced to justify their beliefs and practices. One can no longer just be Indian but has to cultivate Indianness[7]. This provokes a consideration of the

own culture and religion and its role in the public space. The minorities make themselves visible with the effect that the minority position and the need of explanation lead to a heightened cultural and religious awareness. Therefore, diaspora reinforces faith and leads to "a redefinition of boundaries through the manipulation of symbols and the expansion of their cultural contextualization so as to include as many Asian Indians as possible under a single religious identity." (Radhakrishnan 1996: 207, Vertovec 2000: 150-152) However, in this process of construction of "imaginary communities" binaries to an "other" are constructed in order to define and constitute oneself. Thus, regional or religious differences become "central reference points for the establishment of segmentary identities and social networks." (Brah 1996: 184, Vertovec 2000: 89)

Furthermore, the reactions of the "host society" have a great influence on the diasporic awareness and on processes of community formation. Negative reactions towards a community's culture often result in retreat from the public space into a defensive identity (Gillespie 1995: 18). In general, diasporic awareness and the need for redefinition lead to a discourse on authenticity[8] within the diasporic community in order to protect and maintain its space, history and culture (Radhakrishnan 1996: 210). Thus, complex processes of inclusions and exclusion take place in the diaspora and the formation of diasporic communities.

Identities are constructed and reconstructed on the basis of such memories and narratives. Thus, they are neither pre-given nor fixed. The individual narrative becomes part of the collective memory though merging into it. In this way a collective "we", an "imaginary community" is constructed. Thus, a common history and narrative is crucial for the diaspora and the individual diasporic communities. The common memory has to be maintained over generations. If this is not provided, identifications with the homeland and its culture may dissolve. Home and the story of migration however are central points of identification because they are the content of the group-constituting narrative which helps to maintain a sense of distinctiveness and to preserve and regenerate distinctive identities.

Diasporic identities are local and global at the same time as they include the identification with worldwide and local communities. As a conscious identification this may even bridge the local and the global. Thus, the diaspora today becomes a critique of discourses of fixed origins. (Rapport 2006: 180, Brah 1996: 183-184, 196-197) In the aftermath of migration identities, experiences and histories are dislocated, decentred and distributed across the globe (Chambers 1994: 52, 67-68). In the constant "multi-locality" and "double

consciousness" of social relations in the diaspora identities are multiple, fluid and constantly transforming. Stuart Hall underlines hybridity, heterogeneity and diversity as defining characteristics of diasporic identities. Especially, among the younger generations whose socialization takes place across cultural spaces hybridity is constituent. (Hall 2003: 119-120, Vertovec 2000: 154) Diasporic identities are more than hyphenated identities which maintain the binaries of migration from one place to another. Thus, identity is fragmented "articulat[ing] minority constituencies across disjunctive and differential social positions [so that] political subjectivity as a multi-dimensional, conflictual form of identification […] is mobilized and able to build coalitions." In that Homi Bhabha's third space evolves. (Lavie 1996: 16)

Concerning the third generation of Indians in Britain it is questioned in how far it is legitimate to speak of a diaspora situation. Though the diaspora certainly influences the lives of these young people, Mukadam and Rex criticize the use of the term. They argue that applying the idea of diaspora to the subsequent generations, reinforces difference and negates the full participation and acceptance of them in the British society. It denies them the choice of homeland jeopardizing their full integration into the British society. The author follows Safran's definition of diaspora, which focuses on the idea of a common homeland and the prospect of return (Mukadam 2006: 108-109, Tsagarousianou 2004: 54-55). But, the affiliation with the homeland and the idea of return may be more abstract. The concept of diaspora is flexible: it may include multiple or new homes. Thus, diaspora also describes a cultural affiliation different from that of the majority which stems from a history of migration. Diasporic experiences may be very divers depending on numerous aspects and conditions (Tsagarousianou 2004: 55-56). Following Clifford the diaspora is a fluid and dynamic condition which still determines the lives of young Indians in Britain. Nevertheless, the concept of "post-diasporic" individuals which Mukadam proposes for the subsequent generations of the Indian diaspora is helpful because it avoids juggling with definitions. "Post-diasporic" individuals have not participated in migration and consider their country of birth as their home. They feel to be equal citizen and do not aim to move to their country of origin. They are loyal and active citizens in their country of birth although they appreciate their ancestral culture. Thus, they create new hybrid cultures and identities (Mukadam 2006: 109-110).

1.3 Culture and cultural change

In the diaspora children are only socialized into their religion and culture outside the school in their family or community. Culture and *habitus*[9] are transmitted in the domestic sphere whereby women play an important role ((Bhatti 1999: 2, Afshar 1989: 265). For that reason woman are often seen as the preservers of culture and cultural values (Vertovec 2000: 93). However, in Britain where this transmission is not supported by the wider society parents often neither have the knowledge nor the time to impart minority culture systematically. Temples and communities have set up special classes but these have not been very successful in teaching the young generations (Ghuman 1995: 62-63).

> We are afraid we may lose all our identity and culture. It is getting less and less. Over the years it would just be brown colour and nothing else. That is the danger… I lost a lot. […] I regret now that I didn't learn about my language and culture. When I was young I used to say I want to be westernised. […] I was rebellious as all teenagers are. But now I wish I had learnt more about this or that (Ghuman 1995: 63).

This second generation Asian school teacher articulates a phenomenon which is ever present for minority cultures: The fear of loosing parts or even the whole culture. This concern is typical for culturally different communities in a diaspora or exile position. In general, Asians have been keen to preserve their authenticity, culture and cultural identity by maintaining their religions, family patterns, customs and languages (Anwar 1998: 99, Stopes-Roe 1991: 157, Modood 1997: 356).

In some cases diasporic communities tend to be stricter in preserving cultural values than people in the homeland. Especially, in India's urban centres customs and traditions are changing fast. Gillespie finds that sometimes elder Indians in Britain tend to be more conservative than their relatives in India. (Stopes-Roe 1991: 183, Gillespie 1995: 80) By focusing on authenticity and fundamentals, ethnic groups try to avoid and conceal hybridity and mixture. This move comes from the community itself but is also caused by domination through the majority culture. Thus, on the one hand authenticity functions as a protection, but on the other hand there is the risk of creating essentialisms and fundamentalisms. (Lavie 1996: 11-12 Radhakrishnan 1996: 210-211) It invariably entwines with nationalist myths in the creation of an "imagined community" thus silencing alternative discourses (Chambers 1994: 74).

Cultural difference is important for personal and cultural identification and belonging and community. Here particularly the social and cultural meanings attached to that difference are significant. They depend on the various communities and on those who attribute and construct such differences (Brah 1996: 234,235). The South Asian cultures have been perceived to be quite different from western cultural systems. Thus, in the diaspora the retention of cultural values and their expressions has not always been without conflicts for the society and the individual. Western and eastern cultures clash in some basic orientations. For example, eastern cultures have a rather collective orientation while western cultures focus on the individual. Furthermore, models of cultural difference find differences in the definition of social hierarchies, gender roles, coping styles etc. These cultural differences result in disparities in behaviour. However, although such differences are empirically observable, they remain to be simplistic and such models run the risk of stereotyping. They are often based on static definitions of culture, which will not be applied in this paper (Ghuman 1994: 14, Gillert 2000: 20-23, Phinney 1987: 202-206).

In today's postmodern and globalised world culture must no longer be understood as a closed static system. If cultures were perceived as monolithic entities, cultural clash is an obvious consequence – keeping in mind these differences which determine people's understandings and views (Gillespie 1995: 206). But, there are more influences on cultures, communities and individuals which cannot be pressed into binary oppositions. Worldwide flows of cultural objects, images and meanings also have an impact on cultures; they challenge established national and cultural boundaries and identities. People are forced to appropriate, integrate or contest these influences. Thus, in our time of globalisation tendencies of homogenization are matched by simultaneous tendencies of diversification, fragmentation and pluralisation (Gillespie 1995: 3-4). Accordingly, I stick to the perception that culture is a process under constant modification. As a system of signifying practices and beliefs the process of culture is permanently influenced by regional and world-wide social and political developments (Ghuman 1995: 64, Brah 1996: 234). Gillespie even speaks of a tautology when stating that culture always changes (Gillespie 1995: 4). Thus, no culture is ever pure and hybridity is a basic characteristic of culture. This of course contradicts the essentialist idea of native and homogeneous national cultures[10] (Bronfen 1997: 17). Especially, in the diaspora where cultures live together sharing territory and society syncretic, creolized and translated cultural forms evolve. (Vertovec 2000: 153-154). In

particular, Indian cultures have been subject to numerous cultural influences over the centuries (Brah1996: 41).

When cultures meet their cultural habits and activities also meet. However, this encounter must not include a mutual exchange which becomes obvious when thinking about colonial relations. The amount of interaction is dependent on the regulations and norms in charge. In the United Kingdom cultural mixture is evident and inevitable as the various cultural communities live in close contact. Cultural minorities are automatically exposed to habits and beliefs of the majority or dominant group; and they will pick up some habits, norms and values, at the latest in the following generations (Stopes Roe 1991: 147, Allen 1971: 165, Ghuman 1994: 135). Furthermore, certain adaptations have to be made in order to cope and to take part in public life. In order to succeed in the "country of arrival" people have to adapt linguistically and civically, they have to adapt to institutions such as the educational system and to employment patterns. (Ghuman 1994: 135, Anwar 1998: 99) If customs conflict with norms and values of the majority, they often have to be changed. But also without reasons of conflict practices and customs like festivals are appropriated and transformed. In this process reinterpretation takes place around a core of well established values and morals because these provide the individual and the community with emotional and psychological security (Gillespie 1995: 106, Ghuman 1994: 211). The necessary degree of adaption and the potential for cultural mixture depend on the structures, norms and demands of the majority culture and society as well as on those of the diasporic culture and community:

First, it depends on the meanings cultural habits and customs have for the community. Some customs like style of dress are changed more easily than others like marital regulations. This has to do with whether "cultural traits are intrinsic to the core of ethnic culture [or whether] cultural traits [are] marginal or extrinsic to it" (like dress) (Stopes-Roe 1991: 148). These categories however are not exclusive; some customs may have intrinsic and extrinsic meaning if external markers are based on an implicit meaning which may have a religious inscription, for example (Stopes-Roe 1991: 148, Gillespie 1995: 25).

Second, cultural change and adaption is dependent on the amount of contact to individuals of other cultures. Here, the individual's willingness to contact as well as the majority's openness towards the new-coming is important. There needs to be a general readiness to engage with the other and alacrity to make divergent cultural experiences on both sides. As Gillespie points out, this form of cosmopolitanism is the necessary state of mind (Gillespie 1995: 21). Only in such a friendly and open atmosphere contacts are able to increase so that

customs will change (Stopes-Roe 1991:125). For the generations who already grew up in the diaspora it is easier to realize interethnic and intercultural relationships because they possess the necessary competences and resources though socialization and education in the country (Esser 1990: 95).

Third, the diasporic awareness, which has been mentioned above, and the strength of connections towards home and its culture and communities have a great influence on cultural identity and cultural change. In that context transnational media and communication influence cultural identities and their articulations because "transnational microelectrism" enables communities to uphold strong connections to the homeland and to communities around the world (Vertovec 2000: 155-156). In contrast, the consumption of national media is part of the participation in national life and culture. Thus, on the one hand media offers access to mainstream British national culture and on the other hand allows Indians to keep connected to their cultures and communities. Gillespie shows how South Asians participate in Christmas through the media where rituals, symbols and customs are represented. Further, viewing and understanding British news is valued as a prerequisite for functioning as a British citizen (Gillespie 1995: 101-104, 112).

Young British Indians and their parents selectively adapt and adopt a range of customs and practices in a process called acculturation (Ghuman 1999: 66). Being aware of the differences between the cultures they make individual choices rather than automatically adhering to one tradition. In most cases they try to find a position acceptable to both communities (Lyon 1997: 2). In this process the Indian communities constantly create and recreate their systems of cultural meanings (Gillespie 1995: 106, Warrier 1994: 211). Particularly, the younger generations of the Indian diaspora favour a certain degree of acculturation. Having been socialized in two cultures, the young generations have more chances to situate themselves in both communities because they have learnt to deal with various frames of reference. They also have more interethnic and intercultural competences. Thus, they can switch codes easily (Vertovec 2000: 154, Gillespie 1995: 25, Esser 1990: 87). Acculturation is evident in their choice of clothes, entertainment and friendships. But they also retain constituting aspects of their Indian culture like religion, values and morals. Further, they are interested in their culture and religion and show willingness to learn more about it (Ghuman 1994: 137, 71, Anwar 1998: 192). However, this does not mean that under the influence of conflicting values and beliefs British Indian youngsters do not question Indian as well as western positions. They compare and contrast the cultural and social forms

represented to them. (Gillespie 1995: 206) For example, young people discern the benefits which western ideals such as personal freedom and judgement could have in comparison to their community's collective outlook (Stopes-Roe 1991: 66).

Analysing second generation Gujarati Muslims, Mukadam categorizes the youngsters in five "acculturation types" depending on their cultural orientation: On the extremes of the continuum are those who completely prefer English culture or Indian culture. Those who show a certain degree of mixture are called "symbolic desi" if they prefer western culture but show an affinity to Indian culture and "symbolic western" if they prefer Indian culture but show an interest for western culture. In the middle are those who do not show any clear preferences. It is particularly interesting that all of Mukadam's respondents adhere to Indian culture in some way with nobody in the first category. Thus, there seems to be a "glass ceiling" to acculturation. With a very small percentage on the other extreme of the continuum almost all teenagers mix cultures (Mukadam 2006: 119-120).

As a consequence of this bicultural outlook young British Indians inevitably create new cultural identities, which will be of great interest in the course of this work. Thus, those concepts represented by denominations like "half-way" or "in-between", which are based on the idea of two clashing, incompatible cultures, need to be replaced. These constructs have been based on essentialist notions of culture and must be substituted by views which encompass the fluidities and complexities of the young generations (Ghuman 1994: 12, 140, Gillespie 1995: 206, Mukadam 2006: 122) Traditional ethnic divisions are dissolved under the influence of transnational and globalized cultures of consumption, of which young British Indians want to be part. Especially, advertisement addresses adolescents as part of an international market constructing and satisfying needs. For instance, Coca Cola advertisements are associated with interethnic freedom and socializing. The adolescents which Gillespie observed rejected drinks that particularly addressed British Indians (Gillespie 1996: 178).

The cultural mixtures of the young generations, here often Bhangra[11] is given as an example, create self-conscious, postcolonial spaces in which they affirm difference and hybridity. They offer British Indian youngsters a proper lifestyle beyond black and white cultural expressions including parental traditions as well as urban English experiences in "remarkable cultural crossovers, 'borrowings' and convergences." (Gillespie 1995: 46, 7) These hybrid cultures constitute a form of resistance to ascribed meanings by western cultures (Lavie 1996: 7).

Hence, Asian popular cultures present spaces for the formally marginalized and disenfranchised. Lavie comments:

> Hybrids often subversively appropriate and creolize master codes, decentering, destabilizing, and carnivalizing dominant forms through "strategic inflections" and reaccentuations." […] [S]yncretizations and hybridizations undermine the oppositional logic undergirging ideologies of nations and cultures (Lavie 1996: 9).

In providing new platforms Asian popular cultures, often centred on Bhangra, give the young generations an alternative space for the articulation of culture. Their parents and grandparents set up spaces for cultural expression based on religious, regional or caste affiliations. In contrast, South Asian popular cultures enable communication and cooperation across these traditional religious and regional divisions and allow a creative reproduction of community. New cultures and cultural identities are expected to unite British South Asians under a pan-South Asian culture. Contrary to this move towards homogenization the opportunities and spaces for cultural articulation result in a growing diversification, as the British South Asian youth split into communities of taste following cultural preferences, similar to the Mukadam's categorization. Nevertheless, these new communities of taste cut across traditional boundaries of region, religion and language. This is typical for postmodern and postindustrial societies with their extreme social diversification. (Werbner 1997: 1-2, 6, 18)

Furthermore, Bhangra and in general South Asian popular culture involve an affirmation of Indianness. The young generation self-consciously articulates Indianness beyond traditional definitions of Indian culture thus rebelling against the norms and divisions of their parents and the white majority. (Shukla 2003: 228-229, 231)

1.4 Ethnicity and ethnic groups

From the discussions above it has become clear that the old assumption that people in the diaspora live between two cultures suffering confusion and conflict cannot be supported. In contrast to models of integration and assimilation, which see people in marginal positions, the idea of a bicultural resolution in which the two cultures are synthesized has become increasingly influential. (Rosenthal 1987: 169-170) Nevertheless, ethnicity continues to be a topic in the streets, media and the academy. Obviously there are boundaries and counter-developments to cultural mixture. Despite hybridity the subjective ethnic or cultural identification does not necessarily embrace this mixture. Hutnyk criticizes that hybridity

creates an illusion of mixture and equality, and Schnell underlines that culture, ethnicity and identity must be separated critically (Hutnyk 1997: 8, Schnell 1990: 45).

Being a much debated political and cultural construction, ethnicity is a social category into which one is born and of which one is part because of shared experiences, characteristics and common social practices. These are ascribed, meaning that the individual cannot freely decide on his ethnicity, and function to differentiate outsiders and insiders. Ethnicity is grounded on an idea of community based on any combination of race[12], religion, culture, language, ideology, class, heritage, history and myth as a constructed version of a common past. Through the group's belief in common heritage ethnic divisions from the subcontinent continue in the diaspora. The different ethnic groups have divergent interpretations of their history. These are group-constituting. Thus, ethnic groups and communities offer a range of meanings to the individual: a sense of belonging, loyalty to place, a shared background and values, shared social and geographic boundaries and distinctiveness. On the basis of these meanings ethnicity also influences social and personal identities as ethnic identity. (Hutnyk 1997: 9) However, ethnicity and ethnic identity must be separated because they do not necessarily coincide (Schnell 1990: 45). Further, ethnicity and its meanings are usually highly ambiguous and often mythical. Neither ethnicity nor ethnic identity is fixed; like culture they are flexible and constantly changing. (Hutnyk 1997: 9, Brah 1996: 175 Gillespie 1995: 164) They appropriate to social, economical and political circumstances and contexts. Further, "ethnicity is positional, involving multiple possible identities":

> This is important to people as individuals and groups, because it is a way of imagined peoplehood that conveniently ignores almost everything that makes them 'individuals' or 'people' – by asserting a boundary they also assert uniqueness. The form this uniqueness takes then becomes contextually dependent and historically generated. Neither, the meaning or the collectivities it encompasses remain fixed and constant; each is derived both from the relation between a set and its subsets. (Lyon 1997: 11)

Hence, it is possible to belong to different ethnicities or ethnic sub-groups at the same time (Lyon 1997: 11).

Generally, pan-South Asian or even pan-Asian ethnicities do not exist. The internal differences are too great and such groups appear to be rather artificial. Nevertheless, Asians or rather South Asians may unite against a common "other". This has been the case in the 1980s when under the influence of British nationalism and racism Asians even identified

with blacks (Lyon 1997: 10-11). In general, ethnicity rather focuses on boundaries than on cultural aspects. These boundaries need to be constructed because cultural differences are usually not very obvious. In this "process […] one group seeks to distinguish itself and mark its own distinctiveness from another" by using various criteria (Brah 1996: 237). Constructions and criteria depend on the current social, economical and political conditions and are translated into "cultural narratives". The exclusion of others, who do not share the same characteristics, feelings and experiences, defines ethnicity. Therefore, "ethnicity is understood as a mode of narrativising the everyday life world in and through processes of boundary formation." (Brah 1996: 238, 241) There is a strong consciousness of membership which ensures group cohesion and re-establishes and redefines group boundaries (Rosenthal 1987: 159-160).

Nowadays, despite – or because of – cultural mixture, ethnicity has become politically and economically important. In an increasingly divers world ethnicity provides a sense of belonging and collective (Lyon 1997: 11). Some authors also point to the strength of ethnic identities referring to the rise in ethnic conflicts in the 21st century showing that ethnicity has a great potential for mobilization. Worldwide ethnic networks on the one hand are powerful forces of social, economical and psychological support but on the other are potent agents for controlling and directing the activities of individuals. Though cutting the individual's freedom of choice, this has stabilizing effects for the community (Lyon 1997: 10, Stopes-Roe 1991: 134).

In the light of cultural mixture and hybridity discussed above "new ethnicities" develop which include at least two cultures, languages and identities (Gillespie 1995: 19). This is particularly important for the younger generations of the Indian diaspora to whom the diasporic community does not play such an important role and who do not share the same "sense of solidarity and belonging" as the generation of migration. As every ethnic group has its own frame of reference and its own communicational conventions, the young people inherit those of two or more ethnic groups. In daily interaction with each other they redefine their ethnicities, drawing on influences and narratives from both backgrounds and defining their identity, past and future on the basis of contact to different ethnic groups (Gillespie 1995: 165, 205, Heller 1987: 184, Abramson 1979: 9-10).)

Finally, it is important to keep in mind that neither ethnic groups nor ethnic subgroups are homogeneous. Gender, race and class influence the experiences of young people and their parents in Britain as well as their identities (Brah 1997: 129).

1.5 Identity

Culture, ethnicity and identity are closely related theoretical concepts which interact and influence one another. However, they do not necessarily coincide nor demand or cause each other. Further, it is helpful to distinguish between personal and social identities. While the individual's identification is designated as personal identity, ethnic, cultural, national and class identity are collective identifications held by groups. Of course, personal and collective identities are not independent from one another. The individual's identity contains a social identity, meaning the knowledge to belong to a certain group, as well as the value the group membership has to the individual (Tajfel 1982: 102). Thus, speaking of identity we are faced with complex interrelated processes. While identity, like ethnicity, is influenced by numerous factors, it also affects the views and reactions of the individual to its surrounding social world and shapes these factors. For reasons of clarity I will however try to consider personal and collective identity individually.

In contrast to the migrated generation, which is firmly rooted in the ethnicity and culture of their place of origin, the following generations who inherit at least two cultures are not so sure of their identity (Ghuman 1994: 22). Their identity is influenced by their relation to and experiences with the various communities that surround them as well as by their individual attitudes and feelings. Further, values and preferences concerning culture, religion, social contacts, and cultural habits are important (Stopes-Roe 1991: 156). In the construction and definition of identities the media and consumption also play an important role in shaping images and opinions (Gillespie 1995: 10). When talking about identity and ethnicity it is important to keep in mind that these affiliations have an influence on behaviour and action. Nevertheless, strong identification with the ethnic group must not automatically imply that a person also participates in the distinctive cultural practices of the group, as we shall see later (Modood 1997: 355).

1.5.1 Collective identities

Despite – or because of – globalization life is still shaped by national, regional and local traditions and affiliations. Cultural, historical, economical, social and political experiences influence the self-definition of groups and their identification (Bausinger 1999: 11-12). Like ethnicities identities are located in symbolic spaces and times. They are also connected to "invented traditions" and constructed narratives. (Gillespie 1995: 16) Defined through the ethnic group, ethnic identity is developed following the experience of difference. It is

constructed in two processes: either through “problematization”, when behaviour perceived as normal suddenly becomes an option, or through “reconstruction”, when specific ethnic patterns of behaviour must be acquired in order to build boundaries. “Problematization” generally leads to growing identification and classification as ethnic. This process takes place in the first generation when immigrants become aware of their difference for the first time. In the following generations “reconstruction” is more important. “Reconstruction” requires the ability to refer to existing habits and ethnic markers. The young generations acquire these markers and habits thereby reproducing and reconstructing ethnicity and ethnic identity. (Schnell 1990: 51-54)

As described in the previous chapter, ethnic identity like any collective identity follows the idea of a common group membership based on shared feelings and understandings, the so-called “imagined community”[13] (Rosenthal 1987: 159, Bronfen 1997: 2).

> It is the subjective identification with an ethnic group, assimilating into one’s self-concept ethnic characteristics and feelings of belonging that leads to the development of a social identity based on ethnic group membership (Rosenthal 1987: 159).

Ethnic identity offers young people a sense of belonging and roots through group-specific knowledge, belief and experience. However, this does not mean that ethnic identity is fixed. Rather, it is reinvented and reinterpreted in each generation, thus being dynamic and responsive to social or political circumstances. (Gillespie 1995: 9, Rosenthal 1987: 160) Therefore, ethnic identities change in the diaspora.

Radhakrishnan shows how ethnic identity of Indians in the USA has been modified over time. In the beginning, Indians tried to assimilate, hiding their distinct ethnicity until in the light of economic betterment they started to redefine and reassert their ethnicity. Later American national identity was more and more incorporated into the ethnic identity until it has become hyphenated. But this means that both identities do not have the same power and status so that one part of the hyphen is subordinated to the other. (Radhakrishnan 1996: 204-205, 211)

The same process took place in Britain: The Indian communities feel attached to the British state. Their members are British citizen, take part in national events and identify with political and civic life in Britain. However, this exhibits universality and assimilation into equality as well as difference, meaning the right to be different and the recognition of this difference by the majority. In contrast to Radhakrishnan research in Britain shows that the

Indian minorities have a strong sense of citizenship while at the same time feeling proud of their difference. (Mukadam 2006: 113-114, 116) This may be the consequence of different ideas of multiculturalism[14] in Britain and the United States.

In general however, collective identities are more durable than individual identities. Still, they undergo constant transformations as they are subject to the course of history and politics. They also lack origin and essence but exist in permanent positioning (Hall 2003: 112-113). The strength of ethnic identities depends on the degree of institutionalization of ethnic structures and the ethnic community's ability to serve the needs of its members (Rosenthal 1987: 167, 168). The contents of ethnic identities are often designated by powerful minorities within the ethnic group or by outside forces, thereby trying to gain or maintain control over people (Bausinger 1999: 17, Jalan 1997: 111). Ethnic groups' differences in power and structures of domination and privilege further influence ethnic identities (Werbner 1997: 6). Hereby, several inter-group and intra-group processes play a role.

In this context, meanings and values are attached to social identities. The meaning ethnic group membership has in a society influences the individual's social position and opportunities. A positively perceived ethnic identity leads to a consolidation of that ethnicity. Therefore, people may attempt to change their identification if an ethnic identity provokes negative connotations. They may try to identify with other groups or to compare themselves favourably to other ethnicities (Rosenthal 1987: 167). Also, negative images may lead to a closure and strengthening of ethnic identity, which can be currently observed among some Muslim groups in the West as an answer to anti-Muslim sentiments. Here negative meanings get new connotations and interpretations within the ethnic group against an "other". The reason for this is that every social and ethnic group needs to create and maintain a positively valued social identity[15] (Ghuman 1999: 44). Thus, the individual only has a limited amount of choice concerning his or her ethic identity (Bronfen 1997: 3-4). Particularly in the diaspora situation, identity is an amalgam of ascribed features and chosen components (Mukadam 2006: 105).

Next to ethnic and cultural identity there are a growing number of alternative sources of collective and individual identification shaped by diasporic communities, global networks and the media. In today's world young British Indians are not only faced with the two cultures they live in but also with many alternative and sub-cultural lifestyles, including the increasing importance of identifications through consumption. (Gillespie 1995: 12, 14) In this context, Stuart Hall argues that:

> The more social life becomes mediated by the global marketing of styles, places and images, by international travel, and by globally networked media images and communication systems, the more *identities* become detached – disembedded – from specific times, places, histories and traditions and appear 'free-floating'. (Hall 1992: 303)

However, Gillespie points to the limits of these "free-floating" identities. Globalisation is an uneven and complex process in which several opposing tendencies occur simultaneously. Pluralisation and differentiation result in a revival of ethnic identities and identity politics. Hence, Gillespie found that diaspora as well as cosmopolitanism are the important aspects of the youngsters' identity. Other authors hold the same view. Bausiger confirms that despite the chance to open oneself and "step out in the world" people adhere to local and regional identifications. In particular, in the diaspora the place of home receives special attention and consideration. Thus, as indicated in the previous chapters, greater mobility and spatial freedom reinforce and redefine cultural and emotional boundaries (Gillespie 1995: 17, 2, Bausinger 1999: 13-14). These boundaries constitute the basis for many of the current conflicts. Especially in Britain the revival of ethnic belonging and identity is driving the process of devolution ever further (Gillespie 1995: 17). This contradicts the thesis of global homogenization though media and commerce which is said to contest national identities.

In summary, globalisation and postmodernity does not lead to a common identification of humanity but offers more and more possibilities and positions (Gillespie 1995: 18). These create social identities which are increasingly marked by fragmentation, multiplicity, plurality and indeterminacy. (Gillespie 1995: 12, 14) Stuart Hall argues that globalization has three possible consequences on cultural identity: erosion, strengthening or the emergence of new identities and ethnicities. In the light of global postmodernism, traditional and established identities and meanings break down (Gillespie 1995: 17). Consequently, the amount of choices grows which is represented not only by the communities the individual has contact with but also by the transnational and national media and commerce. This is plenty for individuals who cannot make sense of all the different influences. Also, ready-made identity labels do not always allow a happy and successful solution for identity. Thus, individuals are faced with difficult dilemmas over identity. (Gillespie 1995: 205-206, Kroger 1989: 40)

1.5.2 Personal and individual identity

In the past many researchers have focused on identity crisis in the context of diasporic and bicultural lives. Therefore, terms like “in-between” or “half-way” became prominent to describe the second generation of British Indians, who appeared to be uncertain where to belong (Ghuman 1994: 22). Such crisis comes from a number of contrasting experiences: First, young Indians in Britain consider themselves as British for being a British citizen and for having been brought up on the British Isles. However, they have not always been accepted as being British. Here experiences of racism and discrimination play an important role as it is impossible to identify with a hostile group. Second, they are part of two very different cultures having strong affiliations to both. But, they feel that they are neither like their English peers nor like their parents, so that they do not have any role models. (Bhatti 1999: 238, Gardener 1994: 159, Ghuman 1995: 61-62) Third, British Indian youngsters cannot identify with their country of origin like their parents because they feel strange or have not even been there. Fourth, many have undergone phases of rejection and retention of heritage culture. On the one hand they underline their western English way of life and on the other they have deep interest in their heritage culture. (Ghuman 1995: 61-62) Fifth, it is impossible to abandon ones culture and ethnicity completely, as considered above. It is inherited as part of ones *habitus* and cannot be extinguished.[16]

> What we have inherited – as culture, as history, as language, as tradition, as sense of identity – is not destroyed but taken apart, opened up to questioning, rewriting and re-routing. (Chambers 1994: 24)

This already insinuates that the thesis of identity crisis is debated. Ghuman argues for example that it is true that many kids have a period in which they reject their Indian culture. Bhatti describes that younger children go through a phase during which they feel ashamed of their parent’s culture and of being different. Thus, rather than a crisis one should consider a phrase in adolescent development (Ghuman 1995: 63, Bhatti 1999: 107-108). I support that view believing that the self-image depends on the child’s social and economic backgrounds. Children who grow up in an area where the majority is Indian are less likely to develop negative feelings about their heritage because they lack the feeling of being different. (Ghuman 1995: 63) Further, such feelings depend on the prejudices and values connected to a certain ethnicity in a society. This shows that not even the experience of culture clash must necessarily result in conflict. According to Avtar Brah cultural interaction and fusion are more likely (Brah 1996: 41).

More factors influence individual identities. For example gender, class and religious affiliation play a role. Also the "myth of return" has consequences for the youth's identity. Children who grow up with this myth are less likely to identify with Britain then children whose families do not consider returning to India (Stopes-Roe 1991: 183). This seems to contradict my earlier argument that the "myth of return" does not hinder integration. Following Esser's model of integration, which breaks integration into several aspects, a personal identity based on the homeland and a successful social, political and economical integration do not exclude one another. This has also become obvious with the perpetrators of the 7 / 7 London attacks who were socially, economically and politically "exceptionally well integrated" (Suleaman).

Further, if one understands identity as changing and flexible, like ethnicity and culture, the thesis of crisis cannot be supported. Identity is plural and should be considered as a process adapting to the historical and social circumstances. (Brah 1996: 195, Gillespie 1995: 141, Bausinger 1999: 13) In this I follow Erikson[17] who perceives identity as a constant construction and a series of social identities, meaning changing self-definitions in different social contexts. (Rosenthal 1987: 158-159, Kroger 1989: 14, 19) Ethnic identification is expected to take the same path (Ghuman 1999: 56-57). Identity conflicts are perceived as natural during adolescence;[18] when young people are faced with the task of synthesizing and transcending earlier identifications with the biological and psychological processes of adolescence in order to meet society's expectations (Rosenthal 1987: 158-159, Kroger 1989: 14, 19).

In the diaspora identities are plural and shifting as they are determined by double awareness as a spatially defined community, by difference as well as by competing claims and messages. (Gillespie 1995: 16-17, Rosenthal 1987: 158-159) Thus, usually the individual unites several identities which change and adjust according to situation. They are under constant negotiation (Brah 1996: 142, 195). Bausinger supports such an active approach to identity arguing that in complex and plural societies people are able to manage their identities (Bausinger 1999: 13). They act following what Chela Sandoval calls "differential" or "tactical subjectivity". This means that people act from the most efficient identity and position depending on the situation (Lavie 1996 5). Thus, the second generation of British Indians may support the English football team on one day and the Indian cricket team on another. As I have already pointed out above, such combinations of local and global orientations are a vital aspect for diasporic identities. Consequently, diasporic identity

formations challenge the idea of a continuous, uninterrupted, unchanging and homogeneous British identity.[19] (Brah 1996: 195, Gillespie 1995: 17) I have already described diasporic identities as shifting and syncretised modes of self-definition. Young people select self-consciously from different the facets of identity and culture they live with (Vertovec 200: 154, Lavie 1996: 17).

In order to solve the dilemmas indicated above, individuals employ different ways. Most youngsters adopt hyphenated identities balancing the different positions with which they are faced. Others focus on religious or regional identities while few identify completely with one or the other culture. Almost all researchers find that most young British Indians successfully create bicultural identities. Identifying themselves as British, they see their European country of birth as their home despite racism and discrimination (Ghuman 1999: 69, Ghuman 1994: 68, Stopes-Roe 1991: 171). This however does not imply that they just overtake national identities. Rather, they hold ambivalent attitudes to perceived notions of ethnic, national or religious identity (Gillespie 1995: 110). Feeling closely attached and being proud of their origin, British Indian youngsters learn to "maneuver between the diverse facets of their identity." (Mukadam 2006 122) Thus, nationality and ethnicity coexist comfortably for them. They have flexible and multiple identities which they tactically use according to situation (Lyon 1997: 5, 2, 6).

The cultural differences shaping the lives and identities of young British Indians are perceived clearly by the young people. However, they are described as matter of facts and are not perceived as fundamental. Consequently, Stopes-Roe finds that there is no feeling of cultural clash or confusion implied ((Stopes-Roe 1991: 174). Rather, young Indians in Britain experiment with the identifications offered to them. For instance, Gillespie shows how television programmes are used in order to test and negotiate these identities (Gillespie 1995: 25). The newly evolving hybrid identity constructions, which some authors like Lavie call "third time-space" referring to Homi Bhabha's concept of the "third space," can become collective identities when they are shared with others. Such identities refuse closure because of their openness and fluidity (Lavie 1996: 17). However, as this concept remains to be quite theoretical, I avoid this terminology. The problem is that the young people continue to be bound in social structures which are not always open and tolerant. The different identities must be accepted by the wider society in order to function and survive. (Bausinger 1999: 18-19) Hence, the lack of tolerance makes it hard for the young Indians to develop their own identity constructions and through that accommodate to their bicultural surroundings.

Therefore, hybrid or bicultural identifications are not easy for all groups: Gardener argues on the example of Bengalis[20] that those who are excluded from the British society attach great importance to their roots and cultural heritage. They identify with India or Bangladesh although they, and sometimes their parents as well, have never been there (Gardener 1994: 159, Nesbitt 1994: 136). In this context, the refusal of western English culture appears to be a safety measure. It functions as a protection against the rejection from other groups for reasons of colour, religion, customs or traditions (Stopes-Roe 1991: 172, 173).

There are also differences in accepting bicultural identities within the religious groups. Ghuman finds that Hindu children are much more willing to adapt bicultural identities than Sikh or Muslim youngsters (Ghuman 1994: 122). It is assumed that there are also differences in the various Hindu religious groups and sects; some are more liberal towards change and more open towards foreign influences than others. This is examined in more detail in the second part. Religion appears to be important for identification. It is often a distinctive factor and thus becomes a "cornerstone of ethnic identity". (Gillespie 1995: 30)

Ghuman found that young British Indians rather tie their identity to religion then to region of origin or skin colour. This also accounts for adolescents who do not practice their religion. Because they feel like strangers in their country of origin, they cannot identify with the region or society (Ghuman 1994: 31-32, 68-69, Ghuman 1999: 72). Consequently, regional affiliations loose their significance while religion becomes the defining factor of difference. Other authors observed that the adolescents tie their identity to the ethnic, local and diasporic communities they belong to, in addition to the identification with the British state and culture (Gillespie 1995: 164). Indians retain a strong sense of ethnic identity feeling closely affiliated to their ethnic and religious group as well as to the British state[21] (Modood 1997: 292, 329). Being very aware of the differences between the ethnic subgroups, British Indian youngsters do not identify as Asian or British Indian. However, this does not mean that these terms are not used by the adolescents. They use them in certain contexts, for example in order to designate school populations (Hutnyk 1997: 6-7). Nevertheless, they feel that these labels are imposed by whites on the basis on skin colour (Ghuman 1999: 72). In the same way they also deny the category "black" although the shifting nature of identity would enable British Indians to identify themselves as black. They may do and have done so when facing racism. People only identify with a pan-ethnic category for a special purpose, like the construction of a community of response to racism. Therefore, pan-ethnic categories tend to be unstable as only the purpose binds the group. (Brah 1997: 129, Shukla 2003: 218,

Lyon 1997: 7-8) Nowadays, Indians indentify rather with "particularistic conceptions of cultural difference" than concentrating on a common opposition to white dominance. Gilroy refers to a "retreat from racial solidarity" (Hutnyk 1997: 11-12).

1.6 Generations of diaspora

In this paper I use the term "generation" in an open manner. There is a third generation of Indians in Britain, whose grandparents have migrated and whose parents have already been born in Britain. However, in London the majority of British Indian teenagers actually belongs to the second generation. Their parents were born in India, East Africa or Sri Lanka and moved to Britain in the 1970s or 1980s. Still, it is appropriate to use the term "third generation" in this context. Following Karl Mannheim's definition, I recognize generation as a social movement under the influence of historical events and circumstances. As a social group a generation unites on the basis of shared characteristics, experiences, interests and consciousness. These are influenced by the social and historical situation in which people grow up and live. Hence, generation is formed through the interaction of cohort and age with the existence of generational consciousness, "an identity of responses [to the existing social and historical situation]." (Shukla 2003: 214, Majce 2002: 185-186) Thus the time span which differentiates generations is flexible and subjective. In the context of a diasporic situation the term generation is often used in order to refer to the shifting relations to the homeland, nationality, integration and acculturation (Shukla 215-216).

The generation of teenagers subject to this study differs from the previous generations of Indian youngsters in Britain, like those who went to school during the 1980s or 1990s. Although most of the interviewed children's parents were not born in Britain their situation was rather one of a third generation. The situation in which British Indian youngsters grow up today is different from the one twenty years ago. Therefore, they make different experiences than the previous generations. They are provided with an existing subculture which the generations before set up (Archdeacon 1990: 45-46). Racism and discrimination is no longer an obvious daily experience. Instead, new forms of xenophobia exist like the growing anti-Muslim sentiments (Mukadam 2006: 111). Further, today young British Indians face very different circumstances at British schools than twenty years before. An increasing number of British Asian teachers, a revised curriculum and an increasing concentration of Indian teenagers in some schools cause different conditions than previously. Parents have no language difficulties, get involved in all aspects of the English life and are open to change

and compromise. Most of the parents grew up in Britain; they went to school or university here. Thus, they understand the pressures their children face. In addition, many families have significantly improved their economic condition so that they are able to provide their children with more possibilities and opportunities. Also the cultural and community centres as well as the temples have profited from that. They have developed a professional structure and organization and have finally adapted to the needs of younger people adjusting for example thematically to life in Britain and offering prayer and books in English. In summary, young British Indians today grow up in a different social context which is consequently denominated as third generation. Despite the open usage of the term generation it is possible to apply generation theories in this paper.

1.6.1 The second Generation: "Caught between two cultures."[22]

The second generation – those British Indians who grew up between the 1970s and 1980s – lived in and with two different worlds. According to Marcus Lee Hansen, the only historian who has systematically considered the relationship between generation, integration and identity, the conflicts and the difficulties that result from being different make the adolescents try to break away from their difference, to forget their background and to "overcome foreignness." Consequently, the second generation is not interested in their country and culture of origin; the indifference also includes the stories and feelings of their parents (Hansen 1938: 7, 10). Hansen is writing about European immigrants to the United States of America. Though generally comparable, the situation for Indian teenagers in Britain in the second half of the 20th century has been different. They cannot ignore their difference for reasons of skin-colour and cultural disparity.

Thus, the second generation of British Indians struggled with the two different worlds in which they lived and often neither parents nor teacher saw and understood these difficulties (Bhatti 1999: 1). Here the different value systems constitute a big problem:

> We teach girls to be independent and critical thinkers, but at home they are taught the virtues of collective responsibility and unquestioning respect to the elders in the family … naturally this creates tension in the youngsters (Ghuman 1994: 86).

Under the influence of British culture and belief adolescents demanded more freedom for themselves than is usual and typical in Indian culture resulting in increased tensions in families (Stopes-Roe 1991: 41). These problems are further influenced by deteriorated family structures. As a consequence of migration the upper levels of the family hierarchy were

missing because grandparents had remained in India. This is decisive for changing customs and identities because the continuity of family and tradition is broken and the youngsters only had scarce resources for the establishment and confirmation of traditional patterns (Stopes-Roe 1999: 59). This situation does not however account to all British Indian teenagers. East African Indians migrated in whole family units and many parents took their parents to Britain in order to live with or care for them.

Having been born in Britain the second generation in contrast to their parents, did not have strong ties neither to India nor to relatives there. Their relations to the homeland were mediated through their parent's memory (Stopes-Roe 1991: 131, Brah 1996: 194). The youngsters also had fewer connections to their ethnic community relying not so much on the social support of the group. Second generation Indians were not in close contact with their ethnic community and showed little confidence in their community leaders. They neither felt understood nor supported by Indian organizations, and their facilities did not meet the interests of the young people (Stopes-Roe 1991: 135, Commission for Racial Equality 1978: 49-50). In addition, adolescents showed an ambiguous relation towards traditions, morals and customs based on a general confusion. This is described vividly by Carey:

> The young girl merely looked sceptical, and said that Indian society wasn't so marvellous and anyway all that was left of her parents' culture were sheds and patches of tradition – the food, her mother's sari, and the picture of the elephant-headed god Ganesha in the kitchen. Her parents were stuck for words, but their daughter had a point: she could not believe in the parents' religion because no one had explained why she should believe. […] The tradition was not accessible: it was locked in a pious adult world which had little or no meaning for one who was precariously placed between two cultures. (Carey 1987: 92)

The alienation from and criticism of the own ethnic group is a "critical move" because it involves diminishing reliance on the ethnic group towards a stronger orientation on the majority society (Stopes-Roe 1991: 135). However, integration into the British society posed quite substantial problems such as language difficulties (Bhatti 1999: 103-104). Because parents only had limited knowledge of English, their children had to translate when dealing with the school or officials. Thereby, children gained power and responsibility and got into roles and positions not adequate for a young person (Bhatti 1999: 108).

As a consequence of all these difficulties, young British Indians in the second generation often had negative feelings concerning their ethnic background (Bhatti 1999: 106). They

were unsure of their personal and social identities because they felt situated between two communities. At the same time they were subject to conflicting pressures: they were expected to integrate into the British society while maintaining their separate identity (Ghuman 1994: 12, Allen 166: 1971). Therefore, it would have been important for the youngsters to be recognized and treated equally by the English society (Gillespie 1995: 5). On the contrary, they faced discrimination and racism, which reached its heights during the 1970s and 1980s. Especially in schools Indian teenagers often suffered discrimination and racist attacks: A young British Indian tells:

> It was going on and on between us for days, in math, in English then in PE Kevin beat me with a hockey stick on my legs during the games lesson. I told him to stop it. After the lesson I asked him why he did it. He said he'd do it again. So my mate and I hit him. Williams and Hicks [teachers] annexed me and my mate all day. They said they will expel me if I'm caught again! Nobody asked him why he hit me with the hockey stick! These are good racist teachers … huh, and they knew! (Bhatti 1999: 190)

Despite all these difficulties, many young British Indians coped by keeping the two spheres, school and home, separated, alienating themselves from their parents and families (Bhatti 1999: 48, 128, 108, 156). And, with time parents adapted and changed gradually. Families learnt that they had to negotiate in order to avoid generational conflict. Thus, many families found a middle way. Nevertheless, parents attempt to hand down Indian values and norms for the fear of loosing cultural habits and traditions, described above (Bhatti 1999: 72, Ghuman 1991: 130). Such anxieties are not unjustified as Ghuman shows in his study on British Indian teachers. Many of these second-generation teachers regret that they did not take an interest and therefore lost aspects of their cultural heritage (Ghuman 1995: 63).

Nevertheless, young British Indians also showed commitment to retain aspects of their culture like religion. While favouring flexibility and mixing, they showed ambivalent feelings concerning various cultural aspects like gender roles. (Ghuman 1994: 210, 70-71, Ghuman 1991: 122) However, the results from Ghuman's acculturation scale indicate that the teenagers generally hold a more favourable attitude towards English culture than to Indian traditions and customs. This appears to be the natural consequence from weakened ties to the homeland and to the ethnic community (Ghuman 1991: 125).

In general, authors like Rosenthal argue the view of "in-betweeness" and identity conflict, which indeed is a very radical view (Rosenthal 1987: 174-175). Nevertheless, the conflicts

and contradictions have been reality for the second generation; and the individual suffered personal disturbance and alienation. This is obvious not only in the great amount of research on that topic but also by the treatment of this topic in literature, film and the arts. From the position as outsider of both communities the second generation is further able to question the norms and life of their ethnic community as well as of the white majority. In that way they have been more aware of racism and discrimination (Ghuman 1995: 90-91). Concerning religion young Indians in the diaspora create their own interpretation and consciously take their own decisions (Vertovec 2000: 155).

1.6.2 The third Generation: theories and expectations

Systematic research and theoretical approaches on the third generation in diasporic communities are scarce. The reason for that probably lies in the longer time span under consideration. Further, in European countries the bigger immigrated ethnic communities are only now growing into the third generation. The only theories on the correlation between integration and generation have been made in the 1920th and 1930th in the USA[23] (Esser 1990: 73-74). The prevailing approach to the topic has been the "three-generation-assimilation-cycle" which describes that the first generation only adapts to the society but remains closely connected to the ethnic community. The second generation then has to go through the "clash of cultures" for being socialized in both communities as I have outlined above. As a consequence of cultural mixture in the second generation the third generation gives up its heritage culture. They assimilate to the majority culture and society; only relicts of their heritage culture remain. These relicts are restricted to the private sphere (Esser 1990: 74).

However, based on the observation that ethnicity and ethnic identity often resist change and assimilation, there has been a lot of criticism concerning this approach. Marcus Lee Hansen's essay "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant" has become particularly influential. He argues that the third generation withstands the loss of culture and identity leading to re-segmentation (Esser 1990: 74-75). Hansen writes from the perspective of the immigration to the USA at the beginning of the 20th century, when the majority came from Ireland, Scotland or other European countries. His examples also refer to these communities. But a number of sociological studies on Jewish immigrants in the USA in the 1950s seem to disprove his theory. Also his arguments do not convince and seem to be largely based on personal experience (Weber 1991: 324, 322, 325). In postmodern Britain the situation is different, so

that it must be doubted that Hansen's theory is still at stake. As I have already pointed out above cultural differences are greater between eastern and western cultures than between American and European cultures. The differences in values and norms are more enduring. In addition, there are the differences in skin colour. In the past, the tendencies of ethnic revival which Hansen describes could be observed among a number of ethnic communities. However, according to Esser these are often short, politicized reactions against the disturbing realities of modern universalistic urban life. Hence, the situation and conditions in which an ethnic minority lives play an important role. Discrimination and inequality often strengthen ethnic networks and communities as a mode of protection. This of course reinforces ethnic segmentation irrespective of generation and integration. If however the majority offers equal chances to every individual, ethnic differentiation will gradually disappear towards individualization (Esser 1990: 75). This is happening in London today, where ethnic mixture and antidiscrimination politics provide British Indian teenagers with equal chances. Generally, thanks to continuous campaigning and Race Relations legislation, discrimination has decreased significantly against British Indians.[24] Hence, the third generation of British Indian Hindus in London is not excluded from the white majority which offers them more chances to identify with the western society (Gillespie 1995: 127).

It is true that the third generation does not suffer as many problems and difficulties as the second generation. Over a period of about fifty years, the ethnic communities and families have adapted to the British society. Parents, who themselves have experienced the conflicts and struggles connected with living between two cultures, are expected to be more understanding and supporting (Bhatti 1999: 240). They give their offspring more freedom not being as strict as their parents have been (Stopes-Roe 1991: 67, Commission of Racial Equality 1978: 37-38). Furthermore, parents understand British structures and institutions and do not face any language difficulties. Hence, the gap between the ethnic community and the English society is not as big anymore because mixture has already taken place in the second generation. In summary, this saves the third generation the hardships the second generation has suffered (Ghuman 1995: 30-34).

Although the third generation may take some interest in their culture of origin, its cultural instruction is expected to become very difficult. We have seen that the parents of the second generation already lacked proper understanding of their culture, tradition and religion. How can the second generation hand down values and customs which they do not understand themselves? Of course, grandparents remain to be the agents for cultural

instruction and retention of heritage; but the question arises in how far grandchildren and grandparents are able to communicate. Their reference systems are increasingly disparate and they are separated by a growing language barrier.

According to Afshar, one of the few scholars who have conducted research about the third generation in Britain, heritage language knowledge is limited in the third generation. Although parents and grandparents try to teach the community language, children do not learn it properly; they speak English (Afshar 1989: 264-265, Stopes-Roe 1991: 153). Further, community-run language courses are unpopular and many parents do not sufficiently encourage heritage-language learning. For a long time courses have been rudimentary because it was believed that minority-language learning hinders skills in English (Ghuman 1994: 107, 141-142, Ghuman 1995: 37, 39). Consequently, already in the second generation community-language skills ceased. These deficits increase in the third generation despite the will to teach children (Ghuman 1995: 39-40). The loss of language is expected to have implications for the ethnic identity and culture because language is important for full participation in the ethnic community (Ghuman 1995: 41, Anwar 1998: 130, Rosenthal 1987: 163-164, Heller 1987: 181, 184).

Interethnic relations and mixture increase in the third generation. The third generation grows up under different premises than the generation before because their parents are already bicultural. Hence, loyalties, affections and obligations are mixed from the start. (Stopes-Roe 1991: 77) While the second generation only got into contact with other ethnicities in school, the third generation grows up in a generally mixed surrounding. Parents often have white friends and colleagues. Thus, children in the third generation have increased chances to ethnic mixture. These contacts also depend on the willingness to intermingle of the majority and other ethnic groups, which has significantly increased in London. Hence, without the experience of cultural conflict the third generation fuses cultures while being completely integrated into the British society. (Mukadam 2006: 107, 110)

As a consequence of all these developments the impression evolves that the third generation of British Indian Hindus in London shows only limited understanding and knowledge of their culture of origin. They are assimilated to a British way of live though taking part in Indian customs and cultural habits within the family and community. Although having some knowledge about Indian values, norms and tradition, they are more in favour of English cultural orientations. The young people are loosing central aspects of their heritage

culture. What remains of Indian ethnicity and culture in the third generation are bits and pieces that can be incorporated into their western way of life. As they remain to be part of their ethnic community through family, religion and neighbourhood they create new ethnicities which include a fusion of Indian cultural elements with western cultural orientations and a modern urban way of life. Consequently, they do not affiliate themselves to regional, linguistic or caste identities which do not have any meaning to them. Rather, they unite under a pan-subcontinental ethnic identity.

I will discuss the findings of my study among young British Indians in London in the following chapters. In contrast to this hypothesis the investigation revealed that the third generation of Indians in Britain does adhere to their culture of origin and ethnic identity more strongly than expected. Therefore, Hansen's theory on cultural reorientation in the third generation, which is considered in detail at the end of this paper, can rather be affirmed than theories of cultural assimilation.

2. The third Generation of Indians in London: a case study

2.1 The Sample

The study was conducted in London and consists of two major samples. One group, twenty-five respondents, are affiliated to *sampradayas* (guru-led Hindu movements), fifteen of them belonged to the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) and ten to the Sai Baba Movement. The other group of teenagers, namely twenty respondents, take part in the Duke of Edinburgh Award programme at the Brent youth service.[25] Another eight youngsters were interviewed at length. Sampling as such was helpful because it allows comparing young British Indians who are strongly affiliated to a religious group with others who are not. This offers a wider and balanced perspective on the British Indian youth. However, it was not proved whether teenagers of the Brent sample are affiliated to a particular sect (Appendix 5).

Northwest London, particularly the borough of Brent including Wembley and Willesden, was chosen as the main place for the research (most youngsters of the ISKCON sample also live in the area or in Harrow). Despite its huge Indian community and despite being a centre of Indian life in Britain, it is an ethnically very divers borough.[26] After Leicester Brent is the second-highest concentration of Indians in Britain (Anwar 1998, 21). Unlike Southall which is majority Punjabi Sikh, Brent's Indians are from diverse backgrounds. Nevertheless, East

African Hindus originating from Gujarat constitute the majority of Brent's Indian population (Storkey 1996: 211). Consisting mainly of semi-detached and terraced houses, Brent is an area in which people are comparatively well-off; the majority belongs to the middle-class. The study focused on children growing up in a middle-class ethnically mixed environment because it was expected that they do not suffer from structural discrimination through factors of class or place; and thus are more open towards British culture. The cosmopolitan background and the lack of structural discrimination allow the youngsters to choose their cultural outlook, orientation and identity. The borough of Merton, including Wimbledon, Merton and Morden (where the Sai Baba Centre is located) and Brent can be structurally compared. However, Wimbledon and its neighbouring boroughs towards the southwest are less ethnically mixed as Brent.

The sample consisted of 21 male and 32 female respondents for the questionnaires. 76% were between 13 and 18 years old. The respondent's parents originated from East Africa, India and Sri Lanka. In contrast, most grandparents originated from the Indian subcontinent, which reflects the movements of the Indian diaspora in the 20th century. Concerning the social background of the respondents the sample confirms "the Indian success story." About half of the parents work in professional, managerial or technical occupations which often demand a degree and are generally well-paid. One third works in manual or non-manual skilled jobs. Only few parents are employed in unskilled or partly skilled positions (Appendix 5.4). Interestingly, only few mothers stay at home. Still, women tend to do social jobs working in education, the National Health Service or care.

However, one has to be careful with these results. Indians are very concerned about status; some answers to questions on professions may be embellished. Many answers like manager or businessmen neither tell us what the father manages, how much money he earns nor how many and what kind of skills are required. Probably, many teenagers do not exactly know their parent's profession. It is also unclear whether the parent actually works in that profession. A mother may be a doctor or an accountant but actually stay at home in order to care for the family. Nevertheless, the results give us a general overview over the family's social position. One can derive that almost all families are settled in Britain working in good positions. British Indian Hindus have generally been successful in the British school system (National Statistics). Most importantly the data confirms that the teenagers who took part in the survey are not marginalized. Nearly all of the respondents were Hindu, apart from two Muslims, one Jain and one Buddhist.[27]

In addition to the 54 questionnaires four longer interviews were conducted with three girls and five boys. Two interviews were conducted in the Sai Baba Centre in Merton, one in the ISKCON's Radha Krishna temple in central London and one in a Brent Gujarati Community Centre, namely the Dudden Hill Community Centre.

Pradeep,[28] who was interviewed at ISKCON's Radha Krishna temple, was at 22 one of the eldest in the survey. His mother grew up in Britain though born in Delhi. His father is American but the marriage failed. He is now living with a white British stepfather. The family is of Hindu Vaisnava tradition. Originating from a high social background, they have become quite affluent through being highly qualified and fulfilling leading positions in Information Technologies.

Being a graduate student as well, Ranjitham is also 22 years old. Her parents as well as her grandparents originate from Sri Lanka. However, her mother was born in Malaysia, where her grandparents still live. Her father being an engineer and her mother a nurse, the family can afford to send both children to a public school and to university. She was interviewed as part of the Sai Baba sample at the Sai Baba Centre in Merton.

Veeran and Ravanan are affiliated to the Sai Baba movement as well. Both are 15 years old and their families originate from Sri Lanka. Their parents are in the professional category and both attend public schools. Like Ranjitham's parents their parents have come to Britain for studying.

In the second group interview two girls, Sheela and Madayanti, and two boys, Rajesh and Vikram have been questioned at the Dudden Hill Community Centre in Brent. They all take part in Gujarati language classes which the centre runs. Both girls are 14 and the boys 13 and 16 years old. All of them originate from Gujarat, but parts of Sheela's and Rajesh's family have come from East Africa. Living in Brent their parents work in skilled, managerial or technical positions.

Apart from Sheela, whose grandparents have passed away and Ranjitham, whose grandparents live in Malaysia, all interviewed teenagers see their grandparents on a regular basis if not every day.

2.1.1 The Sampradayas

Within Hinduism a great number of sects and religious movements exist. The International Society for Krishna Consciousness, the Swaminarayan and the Sathya Sai Baba Movement are probably best known. Although they differ considerably in their philosophy and history,

they all have more precise and defined structures and teachings than traditional Hinduism. Therefore they have a stronger stand in the diaspora (Nesbitt 2007: 51). Encouraging their members to regularly take part in congregational activities, they build communities and offer a social space which does not exist as such in traditional Hinduism with its rather individual worship. However, this social aspect of religion strengthens ethnicity and cultural identity. Most sects publish their own materials and books and run some kind of educational programme. Both ISKCON and Sathya Sai Baba offer publications and educational courses in English. They also have a special youth organization. These things are important in the diaspora as they offer guidance, understanding, meaning and a stronger sense of identification for young British Indians. Consequently, *sampradayas* attract more and more young Hindus in Britain. (Nesbitt 2007: 68, Carey 1987: 83-84, Lyon 1997: 5)

ISKCON and the Pandava Senas

The Hare Krishna movement is generally ethnically mixed as a consequence of its history, which started in the West. Its particular beliefs cannot be explained in the scope of this work. However, it is important to notice that the devotional concentration on Lord Krishna and on the worship of the founder of the movement Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada involve a strict ritual order and discipline as well as a strong focus on study and self-improvement (Nesbitt 53). Operating world-wide, the movement is highly organized. Its publications are translated in many languages, and connections are not only held to India but to all other places in the world. Hence, ISKCON is influential in Hinduism, particularly in the West. The London temple as well as the Bhaktivedanta Manor north of London is visited by pilgrims from all over the world. This and the missionary activities of the movement explain its great openness towards others. Worship mainly takes place in a congregational manner and the temples offer a wide range of community services and activities. For this reason as well as because of its universalism and its attempts to relate Hinduism to a modern life, ISKCON attracts more and more Indians in the diaspora (Carey 1987: 83-84). The movement is particularly successful among the more affluent and privileged of the British Indian population (Carey 1987: 82). Especially East African Indians have been drawn towards the movement. They are accustomed to regular worship at the temple and did not find other facilities in British towns. (Carey 1987: 86-89)

The Pandava Sena, ISKCON's youth organization, was created in 1994 by a group of young Hindus. Their aim was to make Hinduism and Krishna Consciousness interesting for young people.

> Pandava Sena realised the need for a spiritual revolution in the youth. Spiritual values, teachings and practices were in short supply, and where they did exist they were irrelevant or simply just too boring for a younger generation. The Pandava Sena began organising and creating festivals, retreats, music, dramas, discussions, presentations, debates etc to carry a simple and relevant message to the youth (ISKCON Pandava Sena).

The Pandava Senas share this history with other Hindu youth groups, which are often sect related. They are all committed to the practice of religion and to the maintenance of cultural heritage. Shukla argues that they thereby satisfy an exclusive and nationalist understanding of Indian identity (Shukla 2003: 233). Certainly, Hindu youth groups offer identifications with Indian culture apart from copying their parents and provide a self-confident affirmation of Hinduism. ISKCON's scriptures, activities and preachings give a moral and religious orientation to the young people shaping social and personal identities. This shows that "sectarian commitment and socialization may prove to be a powerful instrument in the process of identity management for future generations of Hindus in Britain." (Carey 1987: 93)

On the example of ISKCON's Pandava Sena one can see that a creative redefinition of religion and ethnicity has taken place among the Hindu youth. They are connecting and merging religious tradition with cultural elements of a western youth culture. In this way ISKCON attracts more and more young British Indians. Not all parents and community leaders are in favour of this development. Firstly, some families fear that children favour religious life to academic and economic success. Further, the movement has been criticized for its Krishna-centric view, which could lead to fanaticism. (Carey 1987: 97-98)

Sathya Sai Baba, the Bal Vikas and the Youth Wring at the Sai Mandir Wimbledon

Most of what has been said about ISKCON and Pandava Sena also applies for Sathya Sai Baba although the movement is theologically fundamentally different. In contrast to ISKCON Sathya Sai Baba maintains the worship of a living guru (Nesbitt 2007: 54). Despite being a Hindu sect, all other religions are valued and elements are included. The sect also has a great focus on congregational worship. Further, it focuses on education and study running a

highly organized educational programme. In the Bal Vikas[29], also called Sai Spiritual Education (SSE), children receive a nine-year programme of religious and moral instruction in English. According to Mr. Rajasingam, chairperson of the South London region of the Sri Sathya Sai Service Organisation UK, about 200 children aged 5 to 16 are taught in the Merton Sai Centre. They also take part in the various activities and services of the centre, as do the young people who are part of the Youth Wring. (Sai Mandir, Sri Sathya Sai Service Organisation UK [65], Sai Youth UK [66])

Having completed the SSE classes, young people aged 16 to 35 continue to meet for study, worship or service. The Youth Wring of the Sathya Sai Movement is much more structured and hierarchical than the Pandava Senas (Sai Mandir, Sri Sathya Sai Service Organisation UK, Sai Youth UK). In general, Sathya Sai Baba has a strong system of authority derived from its founder and administered through a number of trusts (Taylor 1987: 119). Like ISKCON the movement focuses on group devotion and solidarity and members are expected to participate regularly in devotional activities and community services (Taylor 1987: 127-128). The adherence to Sai Baba, who claims to be the incarnation of the universal godhead, and the emotional form of worship have lead many academics to leave the movement (Taylor 1987: 130-131).

2.1.2 Brent youth and the Duke of Edinburgh Award

All twenty respondents (11 boys and 9 girls) of the Brent sample take part in the Duke of Edinburgh Award. The sample mirrors the ethnic composition of the north-west London borough. According to Peter Smith from the Brent Youth Service, some of the young people take part in temple activities though not all of them. Economically most of them are from a well-off background living in the more affluent north of Brent.

The Duke of Edinburgh Award is a UK-wide voluntary programme of personal development and self-improvement for adolescents. It was created in 1956 and aims to build self-confidence and self-reliance. Further, "[i]t fosters self-discipline, enterprise and perseverance." The adolescents are encouraged to help in the community, broaden their skills and engaging in physical recreation. Expeditions into the British country-side are a vital part of the programme. (Homepage of the Duke of Edinburgh Award) According to Peter Smith, who is responsible for the award at the Brent Youth Service, the programme appeals particularly to British Indians because they consider it to be a good and legitimate leisure

activity. As the programme is character and soft-skill building, participants are welcomed by educators and employers.

2.2 Methodology

The research was based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. I believe that both approaches are compatible (Gillespie 1995: 52). While qualitative data offers a detailed picture, quantitative data proves in how far the views of the interviewed teenagers are shared by a wider group of people. Still, questionnaires only provide limited information. They do not give explanations because answers are predefined. Thus, complex and ambiguous feelings cannot be expressed in such narrow categories. Therefore, it was important to accompany the questionnaires with qualitative research (Bhatti 1999: 11). In the interviews complex feelings could be explored and sensitive issues like identity, arranged marriages, racism and race relations could be touched (Ghuman 1994: 47).

The quantitative research was conducted using scales and a short background questionnaire (Appendices 1 and 2). Scaling was inspired by Ghuman's acculturation scale and Schnell's methodology. It offered to measure the opinions British Indians have on aspects of Indian and English culture and identity. Schnell describes ethnicity as consisting of three aspects: ethnic identity, specific ethnic behaviour and positive valuing of the own group. Of course, the perception of others also plays a role (Schnell 1990: 46). But this aspect had to be left out for reasons of time. Thus, the questionnaire asked for identity, opinions about behaviour, group and foreign values. On the basis of this information it was possible to derive conclusions about the behaviour of young British Indians. Following the German sociologist Max Weber, Schnell states a number of traditional "ethnicity indicators" such as religion, feeling of belonging, contacts to members of the own and other ethnic groups, language, and gender roles. All of these can be subsumed in a series of independent dimensions, namely cultural habits, self-identification, relationship to ethnic minority, desire for ethnic cohesion and perception of discrimination. Language may be considered as a further category (Schell 1990: 47-50).

I combined these dimensions with Ghuman's acculturation scale.[30] Being a Lickert-type scale, an acculturation index can be counted for each respondent.[31] Despite being highly standardized, experience with scales showed that they have a high reliability and validity. Further, the findings can be easily analysed and compared. (Ghuman 1991: 122, Anderson 1983: 252-255)

Qualitative data was assembled in semi-structured, problem-centred interviews which I taped (Appendix 3). These interviews have a narrative approach focusing on one topic. The respondent is expected to be a story-teller and on the basis of the stories identity and opinions are revealed following a process of interpretation (Hollway 2000: 31-32). This interview form was most appropriate both for the young respondents and the topics because it follows the principles of daily communication. There was a body of topics and questions scheduled as a skeleton of the interview, but digressions were welcomed and the young people were encouraged to tell what they felt interesting and important. These digressions often produce the most valuable information because in these moments the respondent forgets that he is interviewed. The interviewer is free to leave out or add questions depending on the situation and the respondent. Because interviewer and interviewee are at eye-level, the interview situation is relaxed. This was particularly important because the interviews included sensible topics such as experiences of racism, family and social relationships. Furthermore, such an interview design leaves space for rich and illustrative information. Reliability and honesty can be judged easily because the interviewer gets to know the respondent better than in a closed interview situation (Ghuman 1995: 7, Lamnek 1993: 63). However, semi-structured interviews cannot always be compared. As each interview situation was different, not all interviewees were asked the same questions. Further, the interviews and their analysis are time consuming; for this reason it was not possible to conduct more interviews within the framework of this study.
In addition, four interviews were conducted with community leaders and people working with Indian adolescents. These interviews were spontaneous and not taped. Last but not least, notes were taken on all observances in centres and temples, where I often spend whole days taking part in the proceedings.

2.3 Problems

In general, the questionnaires were filled out to my satisfaction. Interestingly, some youngsters complained about certain formulations like “whites” and “blacks”. These were considered as racist by two boys in the Sai Baba sample and also by some youngsters in the Brent sample. Further, boys in the Sai Baba sample commented that they were not Indian but Sri Lankan. The questionnaires were originally designed for British Indian youngsters. Despite, these complaints about formulations almost all youngsters completed the questionnaires earnestly and interested. I could not prevent them from discussing the topics

while filling in the scale. This may have influenced some answers. Still, most gave their own opinions although their friend might have written something else.

In the background questionnaires several questions provoked confusions. I have already mentioned the difficulties with the question on parent's occupations, which aimed to gain information about the social class of the adolescents. Also, the questions on parent's origins were posed wrongly. So, they did not give the intended information. Instead of asking for the place of birth, I should have asked where the parents grew up. Apart from three fathers and one mother none of the parents were born on Britain. However, from the interviews, the conversations with teenagers outside recorded research and observations in the temples and centres, I found that most parents were educated in Britain. They had come to Europe sometime in their childhood or adolescence.

The interviews posed a number of difficulties and problems. First, semi-structured interviews demand a high degree of confidence between the interviewer and the interviewee. This confidence could not completely build because I was only for a short time at the temples and centres (Ghuman 1991: 8). For this reason the interviews only contained few personal questions. If personal questions were necessary, they were put in the third person. None of the respondents was pressured to respond to any question. However, while girls were open and talkative, there remained to be a barrier with younger boys who probably could not completely confide in me for being a foreign, white and female researcher.

Being a foreigner in the ethnic community, may have limited my access to people and information and may have restricted my facilities in understanding and interpreting the data. However, being an outsider, I was neutral. I could keep a critical distance to my respondents and their answers because I relied on the literature and my knowledge (Gillespie 1995: 70). In general, people were very welcoming and enjoyed to explain me rituals, customs and meanings. However, it has to be kept in mind that questions may have been answered differently, if the interviewer was Indian. For instance, all interviewees explained to me traditions and customs when asked on arranged marriages. However, this produced valuable data because it showed whether the youngsters understood their customs and values. Their explanations also reflected their opinions and views.

2.4 The findings

2.4.1 Retention of Indian culture and Hindu religion

"…it's my native thing so yeah for me I wanna keep carry on the tradition." (Ravanan)

All respondents were very proud about their cultural heritage. As quoted in the introduction to this paper, Ranjitham particularly enjoyed her background. Similar answers were given by all respondents. They consider their cultural heritage as normal and enjoy the enrichment through biculturalism. Of the eight interviewed teenagers nobody rejected his or her culture of origin which confirms Mukadam's observation of the "glass-ceiling" (Mukadam 2006: 119-120). Instead, all are willing to carry their cultural heritage on. In the questionnaires almost all respondents confirmed that they should keep their Indian customs and traditions apart from a very small group which was undecided (Appendix 6.1).

Some teenagers felt more attached to their religion and cultural background than others. For each respondent an acculturation score could be derived from the questionnaires. The scores of the majority of the respondents oscillated between 10 and -10 with an average of 2.7. This shows that the answers given by the teenagers were equilibrated between acculturation and retention of Indianness. Only few teenagers scored higher than ten: Three girls from the ISKCON sample reached scores between -15 and -17 and one teenager in the Sathya Sai Baba sample scored -17. In contrast, three teenagers in the Brent sample were particularly receptive to acculturation: two of them scored 15 points – a fourteen year-old Muslim girl and an eighteen year old girl, the only respondent who put "none" for religion.

This already hints to the differences in acculturation score averages between the samples. Young British Indians in the Brent sample are more positive towards cultural change than those affiliated to *sampradayas.* The Brent sample reached an average of 3.25 while Sathya Sai Baba sample's average amounted to -5.1. The ISKCON sample appeared to be even keener to retain Indian heritage holding an average of -6.26. This shows that the affiliation to a religious movement influences attitudes towards cultural change among young British Indians. This result is not surprising in the light of the community building and educating effects of belonging to a Hindu sect.[32]

The interviews illustrated and confirmed this relation. Pradeep is most interested in his cultural heritage and religion. As a Hare Krishna devotee he plans to move to India after having finished his studies in a few months. For this reason and in order to be more involved

with India, he has even become an Oversea Citizen of India. His understanding of Indian culture is based on a very good knowledge of the ancient Vedic culture and the ancient texts from ISKCON's publications. He explains:

> I think at first […] I didn't feel a great deal of attachment or affinity to [my Indian origin]. But I think about the age of fifteen or sixteen I really started to take more of an interest. […] I mean just maturing for one thing, but also there was a bit of encouragement from my grandfather's side, and when I really started to read about the spiritual literature […] it just blew my mind, you know. And so from that point on, it like more and more inculcated into my kind of everyday life. So yeah I feel a great deal of attachment to it ... (Pradeep)

Throughout the whole interview Pradeep proved his knowledge about the ancient Indian philosophy and theology. His Indianness is based in his spiritual life being very strict and fundamental in his views. Consequently, his opinions are rather traditional rejecting several aspects of western English life, and he is very critical about the English society. I will consider his comments in detail later. Being the son of an Irish American father and a British Indian mother who ran away from home, he did not grow up in a traditional background although the family has been attached to the Hare Krishna Movement. Only later Pradeep started to take an interest in his Indian heritage. The same developments were indicated in other interviews as well so that it can be derived that people in the third generation turn more traditional and take a greater interest in their culture of origin the older they are. Ranjitham describes this as a process of learning when talking about some of her fellow Indian students who come from stricter family backgrounds:

> …they come to university […] and they'd come in with the miniskirts tight […], tight tops and you [...] really have to think: "Why would you do that?" […] And it is just the fact that they think what they are doing is normal. […] I think you've got to learn from your mistakes as well and I think a lot of girls do and you find that by the end of the university that they mature and you see them […] acting appropriately. (Ranjitham)

Ranjitham confirms Buddhdev Pandya from the Confederation of Indian Organisations (UK) who also found this phenomenon: when maturing, young people turn towards more traditional forms of behaviour. On the one hand, this seems to be a normal process: Young people going into their twenties pass the "phrase of revolution" against parents and their norms and rules. On the other hand, this correlation contradicts the view that cultural

conflicts and pressures grow when children reach a marriageable age. Such pressures are expected to lead to a rejection of home values; however, none of my interviewees expressed such conflicts and pressures.

Pradeep's late interest in his Indian heritage was triggered by his grandparents. They play a very important role in his life, and he has a close relationship to them. In contrast, the relation to his mother is conflicting. A strong relation and regular contact to grandparents has an important influence on the youngster's willingness to retain his cultural origin (Appendix 6.1). In general, grandparents act as a conserving influence in the family. Psychological research about the role of grandparents confirmed that contact to grandparents establishes security and belonging. Grandparents introduce the young generation into the family history which helps the adolescent to create biographical awareness (Tyszkowa 1991: 50, 62). In my context, being first generation, grandparents often live according to Indian customs and traditions and maintain a strong connection to India. Thus, they act as examples of Indian lifestyle, tradition and language for the adolescent.

In order to identify the willingness to carry Indian culture and tradition on and to find out in how far the adolescents retain Indian cultural aspects, several indicators have been set up. These will be considered in detail in the following paragraphs.

Language

The research confirmed the further loss of the heritage language despite the willingness to learn, improve and retain ones Asian tongue. Most teenagers (65%) mentioned that they speak two languages at home. However, from the interviews it became clear that this does not say anything about the teenager's language skills. Rather, most teenagers do not speak their heritage language fluently although they grow up bilingually. About one third of the respondents speak only English at home (Appendix 5.6). These figures were confirmed by the interviewed teenagers. They pick up bits of their heritage language at home and they understand their community language quite well. However, they are critical about their oral skills. Groups of young Indians in temples and on the streets of Brent always spoke English with one another. Apart from the girls and boys at the Dudden Hill Centre, of whom some were about to take their GCSEs in Gujarati[33], "… reading and writing is pretty much out of the question." (Pradeep) Nevertheless, the interviewees showed a strong will to improve their heritage language (Appendix 6.2).

> … It's our mother tongue. So that's why I feel it's important that you should know your mother tongue. (Sheela)

> I actually speak English at home. […] One of my biggest regrets in life is not having learnt my mother tongue in fluent, I can speak it but its very (laughter) very, very broken. […] I'd love to be given the opportunity to learn, if I had the chance I definitely, definitely, without doubt, I'd take the opportunity to learn. (Ranjitham)

> I think it's important. […] I tried to learn my mother tongue except I had a bad teacher and then I ended up, I didn't end up learning it properly but I mean I plan to do it in the future […]and at least be able to speak it. (Ravanan)

However, apart from Pradeep, who plans to learn Hindi in India, and the four teenagers interviewed at the Dudden Hill Centre, no one appears to have proper plans. In the questionnaires nearly 60% have nothing against speaking English with family members although using one's Asian tongue with parents and relatives would help to improve community-language skills. Only few teenagers I spoke to take a language course. There is a number of community centres that run language classes like the Dudden Hill Centre but none of the teenagers I spoke to had community-language classes in school although heritage-language teaching was introduced to the curriculum twenty years ago (Ghuman 1994: 108). This adds to the undervaluing of community languages especially prevalent among Indians, which is one reason for the bad language abilities of the British Indian youngsters. Parents consider other school subjects and the European languages taught traditionally in English schools to be more important for their children's career (MacLeod 2005). Thus, often not enough time remains for heritage-language courses.

Further, the communities do not encourage the use of their Asian language which has already been criticized by other authors (Ghuman 1994: 123). In almost all the temples I visited announcements and proceedings took place in English and apart from the elderly almost everyone spoke English fluently.[34] Surely, in using the English language, communities and congregations have reacted to the decreasing language skills of the younger generations. However, the consequence is that English has become the predominant language for British Indian teenagers in all aspects of their life. Consequently, my findings confirm Afshar's results of heritage-language loss in the third generation.

It is generally assumed that the knowledge and use of language affects the ethnic and cultural identity. Language is considered to be a constituting factor of culture and ethnicity (Ghuman 1995: 40-41, Anwar: 130, 136, Heller 1987: 187). Its knowledge determines belonging or non-belonging to an ethnic or cultural community because a common language involves a common code. Language skills clearly differentiate people and mark insiders and outsiders to an ethnic group or subgroup. Thus, community language skills enable the individual interact with the community and to create a sense of belonging (Heller 1987: 181, 183-184).

In the light of this one could derive that the young people's belonging to the ethnic community erodes. However, the analysis of the interviews, questionnaires and observations found that this erosion does not take place as I prove in the following paragraphs. The adolescents do not only hold a positive attitude towards their culture of origin but have a close connection their ethnicity and community. Culture, ethnicity and community are detached from language and continue to exist in English. None of the respondents found any problem or conflict in that. Religious plays at the Sai Baba Centre are acted out in English, prayers are read in English and all temple and community proceedings are held in English or bilingual. Despite the lack of language ability the youngsters feel very attached to their ethnic community, about which I will talk in detail when engaging with identity. Thus, solidarity and social coherence are not dependent on a common language different to the outside.

This questions the importance of language for culture and identity which has been stressed repeatedly in the literature. Language ceases to be a factor for ethnic identity. This shows that language and ethnic identity must not be linked. Rosenthal argues that the degree to which language contributes to ethnic identity may differ from culture to culture (Rosenthal 1987: 164). In that sense Indian culture has never been a language-centred culture as it has always been multilingual. Other factors like a shared religion, history and skin colour are more important for ethnicity and ethnic identity.

Religion

Religion plays an important part in Indian culture and remains to be very important for the respondents in the study. Especially the teenagers involved in *sampradayas* are religious (Appendix 6.3). Due to the particular youth activities and classes described above, religion significantly influences their lives. They are much more involved in religious activity then

those in the contrasting sample. In the Sai Baba Centre young people spend a lot of time practicing music and theatre and preparing exhibitions and services. All teenagers in the *sampradayas* want to learn more about their religion. Mr. Rajasingam, chairperson of the South London region of the Sri Sathya Sai Service Organisation UK, confirmed that the teenagers are very interested. Particularly, the older ones who have already completed the Bal Vika programme come regularly to discuss and explore religious contents and philosophies.

But, teenagers who are not affiliated to a *sampradaya* also take part in religious activities. Peter Smith also reported that many of the young people who take part in the Duke of Edinburgh Award join in activities in the temples. More than two thirds of the Brent respondents found it important to regularly take part in religious activities and to learn more about their religion (Appendix 6.3). Peter Smith and Buddhdev Pandya confirm that. They observe that the majority of British Indian teenagers stays vegetarian which means that they adhere to religious rules. Still, as Peter Smith mentioned, particularly among older boys drinking and smoking is increasing.

> Ravanan: … most […] Tamil parents bring up their kids not to smoke or drink or take drugs, so I mean I know one of my friends, he was smoking wheat and then when …
>
> Veeran: Yeah, that's …
>
> Ravanan: … his mum caught him she ended up crying […] and then she hasn't actually talked to him for like two weeks.
>
> Veeran: Yeah, that sort of thing doesn't happen. I mean I don't smoke or do any of this, if I did that'd be…
>
> Ravanan: Yeah, we don't. Yeah, yeah, […] it's almost…

In general, religious affiliation depends on the family and their degree of attachment to a certain temple or religious group. Parents and grandparents take their children and grandchildren to temples and encourage them to take part in religious activities. Several interviewees like Rajesh and Ranjitham reported to have been taken to the temple by their parents. There they incorporated religious customs, values and norms.

> … my parents, […] they like to get involved in the temple and for me at young age I was always brought to the temple […] and I was always made to […] partake in it. And, because I been brought up, I've grown up in that environment, now even in this age I don't, it almost feels weird not to go on to the temple on a certain day or

> […] for celebrations not to get involved. […] I can honestly say that the person I am today is really from getting involved, being around people who are likeminded as well. […] Some people may say: […] "With the traditional values, how can you integrate into society?" But I've really found that […] you learn so much from the people around you and it has definitely had a positive influence on me. (Ranjitham)

Here the 22 year-old points to an important correlation. The close affiliation to a temple and to a religious community offers a way of integration into an ethnic subgroup in which religious and traditional norms and customs are valued and encouraged though various temple activities. This creates a common identity because of shared experiences and the difference to others (Stopes-Roe 1991: 163). Further the feeling of belonging to a religious group sustains ethnicity and ethnic identity (Hutnyk 1997: 5). The difference between temple life and English everyday life is underlined by Ranjitham, who reflects about her younger years:

> I think for me also it was just because it is so different to the world. […] There are the days of the week, I'll be at school or be with friends of different backgrounds and to come to the temple and just see the things differently, it was just a different atmosphere. […] It was just so different and I enjoyed that as well. […] It's just that social, it's that buzz that you get from coming and that's what I enjoyed as well and that's what has really for me even at that stage I enjoy taking part. (Ranjitham)

Because religion offers guidance, security, meaning and a stronger sense of identification, religiousness leads to a closer affiliation to the Indian heritage and its values and norms. Thereby, religious affiliation reinforces ethnic pride and a reaffirmation of cultural roots (Ghuman 1999: 52, 71-72). In this context, Pradeep is a good example as he rediscovered his Indian heritage though religious affiliation. Also Veeran states:

> It's also like at festivals. It's also like a chance for our family to get together and also go back to our roots, like Thaipongal and New Year. They are like a time for the family to get together and also share our roots. (Veeran)

Religion and religious affiliation of young British Indians thus has a great effect on the retention of Indian values and norms. This has to do with the close connection between ethnicity and religion. Hindu religiousness is closely attached to an emphasis of history and origin, as well as on cultural and social distinctiveness (Abramson 1979: 6-7). For this reason many immigrants have become more religious in Britain as "the cultural awareness of Hindus has been sharpened in an alien cultural milieu". (Vertovec 2000: 107). Many authors

have stated that religiousness decreases in the second generation as a consequence of language difficulties with the religious texts, prayers and songs and a lack of English language publications and offers. Traditionally, systematic religious education is not part of Hinduism. Therefore, Hindus have had a lax attitude towards religious nurture, and youngsters were said to have little knowledge and understanding of religious rituals and philosophies (Dwyer 1994: 187-188, Ghuman 1994: 53-54, 144).

The results from the research showed that this has changed significantly. Though prayers and songs often remain in Sanskrit, the youngsters in the Sai Baba Centre as well as in the Pandava Senas know the texts and could also explain the meanings. The reasons for this change are a significant improvement in religious education and materials, of which the youngsters make use. Especially the teenagers of the *sampradaya* sample therefore showed great enthusiasm towards Hinduism. Interest in religion, a vital and constituting part of Indianness, is generally high (Appendix 6.3).

The Indian homeland

A visit to India is a "holiday [as] a mixture of fantasy and reality, an emotional uprooting and a re-rooting time", Bhatti states (Bhatti 1999: 125). Almost all of the interviewed youngsters have already visited India. My findings affirm that their memories and impressions are very positive and generally strengthen ethnic identity and affiliation to India and its cultures (Korte 1990: 256). The findings further confirm that visits to the subcontinent and contacts to relatives there result in an increased interest in news from India and its neighbouring countries (Gillespie1995: 115). Pradeep made the most vivid description:

> I was very small. When I first went, I was about eight, so in fact I loved, the first time I went, I absolutely loved it. I mean I got sick a couple of times but it was like mind-blowing coz it was my uncles wedding […] and it was most amaz…, it was puh. It was … it was unbelievable, especially coz, yeah the girl he was married to was [from] a very well-off background. So it was unlike anything I've ever seen in my life up until then. (Pradeep)

This very positive experience in childhood may have influenced his personal connection to India for the rest of his life. Despite having kin in India, he does not have a particularly close relationship to them. Nevertheless, his family owns a flat in New Delhi so that they "…sometimes just go off for like four days". His grandparents have a strong wish to return, to which he also adheres: "I'm very keen to go back, so they're waiting for me to finish. When

[my grandfather's] health gets a little bit better […] we're gonna go hopefully." Pradeep's longing to return, which is so real that it can no longer be described as a myth, confirms that the idea of return does not hinder integration into the British society (Stopes-Roe1991: 182). I have already mentioned that Pradeep's family is very well-off. He went to a renowned public school where he played Rugby. His mother lives a western way of life and he was brought up completely in English. Similar to religiousness the prospect of return offers security and orientation. Thus, cultural change and interethnic contacts become easier because there is no fear of loosing culture (Stopes-Roe: 183). However, despite being apparently well integrated into the British society, Pradeep has emotionally detached himself from Britain, its culture and society. He has turned towards religion and India. I will consider this matter in detail, later.

Apart from Pradeep none of the respondents wants to live in India. The pupils and students gave the same reasons for staying in England as the ones who took part in earlier surveys. First, they consider Britain to be their home because they have been brought up here and have never lived somewhere else (Ghuman 1994: 69, Stopes-Roe 1991: 167, 171) Thus, they do not feel accustomed to life on the subcontinent. Referring to corruption Ravanan states "I don't like the system" as the first reason not to live in India. Second, several interviewees gave very practical reasons for staying in the West such as social and personal security, standard of living and education. This has also been explored by other researchers (Stopes-Roe: 184). Ranjitham argues that she could not give up her "modern things"; this implies an image of India which is characterized by a certain backwardness.

All three interviewees in the Sai Baba Centre have been to India and Sri Lanka several times. Not having any relatives on the subcontinent, Ranjitham makes the journey "to see [her] guru":

> There was a world youth conference [at the Sai Centre in India] last July which I took part in. […] If I could I'd love to go to India more often. […] Whenever I can I try and go […]. The last three times I have gone, have been purely for pilgrimage basis and because of that I've just felt more calm, more relaxed, and you know that's the sort of lifestyle that I prefer to lead, but I definitely enjoy going to India whenever possible. Like the culture, it is a way of kind of touching on the roots really and it's nice there. I enjoy it so. (Ranjitham)

Also Ravanan's and Veeran's last visits to India had the purpose of seeing their guru. This also served as a as a substitute for going to Sri Lanka, their "homeland":

> I haven't been [to Sri Lanka] in like four years or something because of conflict. But yeah, we still go to India because its, if you go to the south, it's really similar to Sri Lanka. (Ravanan)

Particularly, the boys at the Sai Baba Centre were conscious of Sri Lankan nationality and felt a great attachment to the island. When filling out the questionnaires, some boys complained that the statements only mentioned "Indian" and some even corrected it every time. Thus, they are very proud and mindful of being Tamil. None of the girls made similar comments showing that boys are more politicized. Ravanan, who has kin in India as well as in Sri Lanka, revealed a better knowledge of both countries. In contrast, Veeran held unrealistic and idealizing views. His entire family lives in the West and is cut from Sri Lanka though political insecurity. Being scattered all over the western world his family exemplifies the notion of diasporic or transnational families. Veeran's idealized images probably repeated his family's longings for the homeland. His views often lack realistic judgement of the situation on the subcontinent. Hence, Veeran regarded Sri Lanka as a place where traditional values and morals were followed and where negative aspects of western cultures did not exist. Having more experience in the country, Ravanan knows that Veeran's diasporically romanticised picture of the island does not mirror reality. In contrast to his friend, he is more able to consider things critically. Consequently, the boys repeatedly started to argue about the retention of traditional values in Sri Lanka.

> Veeran: In Sri Lanka there aren't cigarettes. There're a lot of things…
>
> Ravanan: There are cigarettes. They smoke.
>
> Veeran: Well people don't smoke that much.
>
> Ravanan: They do!
>
> Veeran: They don't! I don't think they do but there're a lot of things in England that aren't in …

Veeran tries to prove the moral, spiritual and traditional pureness of the Sri Lankan population in contrast to a morally depraved England. Here, smoking and dating girls at pubs and clubs are considered to be harmful western habits. Ravanan tries to scatter these romantic notions but repeatedly gives up because Veeran is unwilling to reconsider his views.

> Veeran: In India you don't have girlfriends and boyfriends. If you go to Sri Lanka or India you don't find boys and girls in the street like in pubs or anything. There aren't pubs and there aren't boys and girls…

Ravanan: There are pubs!

Veeran: There are now but…

Veeran: …and you do find boys and girls…

Veeran: No, well…

Ravanan: What?! Oh… (He rolls his eyes)

Veeran: Now it's more westernized than ever before but if you go there, it's really not like here: […] like people don't get married by going out…

Nevertheless, both agree on the educating effects that visits to the subcontinent have.[35] All other interviewees also confirmed the "touching-on-the-roots" effect of a trip to India. Thus, regular visits to the subcontinent strengthen cultural affiliation, ethnic identity and religious belief. They provide explanations, orientation and understanding of one's heritage. This is also influenced by the fact that nobody in the study has negative memories of the subcontinent apart from minor troubles with mosquitoes and illnesses. There have been no accounts of cultural shock, which were described in the literature (Gardener 1994: 156). Hence, willingness to visit India and even to stay for a longer period of time was high. The idea to stay for a year has found a slight majority among the youngsters who filled out the questionnaire. But, again there are significant differences between the samples. The teenagers in the Sathya Sai Baba sample are most willing to spend time abroad. More than 60% agreed that they would like to spend a year on the subcontinent. Among the ISKCON sample more than half were unsure about such an idea. However, refusal to the idea is as low as among the Sai Baba youth. Among the Brent sample rejection is much higher. Still, a majority remains willing to spend a year in India. This indicates that interest in India is very high and teenagers would like to spend a longer period of time on the subcontinent (Appendix 6.4).

The particularly strong connection young people in the Sai Baba movement have to India can be explained though their special spiritual relation to the country. Sai Baba lives in southern India and families regularly pilgrimage there in order to see him. Children obviously enjoy these visits. Life in the *ashram* and youth programmes such as youth conferences give teenagers a real perspective for spending time there.

> Because I go and see my guru, most of the time I stay in the ashram, so there is no need for me to have no family or have friends. […] For me I find it quite convenient coz […] everything's provided… (Ranjitham)

To know and to have such provisions may play a role. Travels to India for reasons of pilgrimage are not as common in the Hare Krishna Movement. Although the movement also has important centres in India, well-known devotees travel the world visiting and lecturing at temples.

Furthermore, all youngsters in the Sai Baba sample were of Tamil origin; their parents and grandparents have come directly from Sri Lanka. Consequently, the memory of the home country is more vivid as we have seen with Ravanan and Veeran. In contrast, more than half of the adolescents in the ISKCON sample have their roots in East Africa. Therefore, memories of life in India are older and less vivid. However, as the close spiritual affiliation to India remains, many are undecided on the question. In contrast to the *sampradayas* the percentage of those who reject spending a longer period of time in India is much higher in the Brent sample. While rejection is lower than 10% among the *sampradaya* samples, it amounts to 35% in the Brent sample. Nevertheless, here a slight majority also favoured the idea to spend a year in India. Unfortunately, the sample was too small in order to confirm further factors that influence the willingness to spend more time in India. More research needs to be done on this matter. In general, however the results confirm Buddhdev Pandya's statement: "The attraction of India still remains."

Following, the teenagers have been asked in the questionnaire whether they would prefer to spend their holiday somewhere else. Surprisingly, the teenagers answered contrary to the question before. From the data presented so far one would expect that they would like to spend their holidays in India, but the majority would rather go somewhere else on holiday. For the Sai Baba sample agreement was particularly high. Here it is likely that they would favour Sri Lanka as their holiday destination. In the Brent sample 45% agree that they liked to spend their holiday elsewhere while 20% disagree. However, a great number of respondents ticked "undecided" indicating that the question is not very appropriate. They may feel that they cannot influence their family's decision about the holiday destination; or the teenagers may have never considered the choice. It has to be kept in mind that Indian families generally have a more authoritarian structure than western families. Here also divided loyalties may play a role. They cannot decide between India and traditional English holiday destinations like Spain and France. In summary, though uncertainties remain, it has become clear that the British Indians in the third generation have a strong interest in their homeland. The teenagers feel very attached to their country of origin, up to adhering to idealizations and romantisations of diasporic nostalgia. Visits to India or Sri Lanka have a

strong influence on the youngster's identity as they learn about their heritage culture, way of life and religion in its original place, where Indian cultures are not in a minority position and do not have to adapt to a predominating culture. Thus, visiting India makes them discover their roots, which has a stabilizing influence on identification with one's subcontinental ethnicity and one's ethnic identity.

Caste

Caste awareness and caste identity are considered to be indicators of retention of Indian norms and values. Several authors have mentioned that caste does not function in Britain. Consequently, it was expected to decline and loose significance with generation. Theoretically, all teenagers have the same chances in the British society and school system. Further, through the process of migration and through adaption to the Britain society, the caste system got confused and has lost its function (Gillespie 1995: 32). However, Vertovec shows that although caste cannot govern social, economic and ritual relations in Britain anymore, caste awareness and identification still play a considerable role concerning social networks, marriages and status (Vertovec 2000: 92, 136). Castes and sub-castes have created caste associations and organizations in Britain which defend their interests. Some of these also have youth wrings (Ghuman 1994: 208-210). Further, some castes set up their own temples and community centres. Particularly, marriages are still arranged on the basis of caste in some families. Some castes show more caste awareness than others. Thus, in how far caste matters influence the lives and attitudes of teenagers, depends on the caste and sub-caste their families belong to. Earlier research indicates that caste awareness is maintained particularly in the lower and higher castes. Some castes of lower status maintain caste solidarity as a shield against abuse from higher castes and as a consequence of double exclusion: from the British majority and from the ethnic community for being *untouchable* (Nesbitt 1994: 127, 137-138). In contrast, higher castes try to maintain their social status and their influence over the Indian communities in Britain (Vertovec 2000: 136). This was proven by my study. Particularly, Ravanan and Pradeep explicitly described their high descent:

> I trace my family tree back lots of generations, so my great granddad's great grandmother was a queen of a certain kingdom in […] my homeland except when the English came and invaded, you know, we lost everything. (Ravanan)

While indicating his family's high status, Ravanan is criticizing English imperialism. Though a certain degree of exaggeration may be present here, the tracing-back of the genealogical

tree aims to prove pureness of caste and status. He obviously takes pride in his lineage as this is his first comment on the question of caste. Pradeep articulated similar views. Knowing that the caste system is viewed critically in the West and that the high castes are in the position to change the system, he first focuses on his family's commitment to social change before going into detail on their exclusiveness.

> …My family is very limber; […] they would never treat someone badly because of whatever caste he is. In fact, […] my grandmother's father was a great man within his village for pioneering better caste relations. I'm from a very high caste, from Rajput caste, which is a very high caste, but […] he was a pioneer for that. But even still, I mean my mother was the first person … – you can trace my family lineage back for at least two thousand years on record and that's even on paper, the *boli*[36] goes even further back. But my mother was the first person to have married not only outside of caste but also outside of country. […] My grandmother was a little bit unhappy and even though I am not even fully Rajput she'd still – if I got married – […] want me to marry Rajput (laughs) girl. So, in a way, caste system still does have an impact on me but in Britain it's not so much emphasized, you know, unless you are from a higher caste. If you are from a higher caste, you keep it. If you are from a lower caste, then everyone forgets. (laughs) (Pradeep)

The questionnaires also confirmed that caste awareness generally continues in the third generation. The youngsters know which caste they belong to. This may create a caste identity or consciousness, as with Pradeep and Ravanan. Again however, there were great differences between the samples. This time the differences illustrate that caste has a smaller significance in Sri Lanka (Appendix 6.5). Therefore, it does not have any implications for some youngsters, like for Ranjitham and Veeran. For others caste suddenly plays a role when it comes to marriage. Despite, showing a limited knowledge about caste, Sheela and Madayanti are aware that they are expected to marry within their caste. However, they do not consider caste-endogamous marriage for themselves:

> Interviewer: Do you know which caste you are?
>
> Madayanti: Yes, I think we are Kutchi.
>
> Sheela: Yeah there are a lot of different castes; you got Kutchis, Brahmins, Swaminarayan. […] Yes, I think I'm Kutchi.
>
> Interviewer: And does it matter to you […]?

Sheela: No, It matters to our parents coz when you get married […] some parents wish that you get married to your own caste, so that different castes do have different beliefs and stuff, as well.

Interviewer: Do you think that's important?

Sheela: Well, I don't feel that it's important but my parents do.

Sheela mixes up regional, caste and religious communities. This shows that she and her friend do not know the differences and categories that characterize ethnic subgroups in their area. In summary, all interviewees confirmed that caste does not have any significance in their lives. Many also rejected to marry on the basis of caste. Hence, cultural change can be expected here despite continuing caste awareness.

Gender roles and relations

Like the perceptions of social hierarchy gender roles and relations are different in Eastern cultures. In general, gender roles and relations are not as flexible as in western cultures. In the past, different perceptions of gender roles and relations have sparked conflict in families and communities. Further, this matter received increased interest in the media often creating false perceptions. Particularly, cases of violence for reasons of family honour have aroused public interest. Among Sikhs and Muslims the *izzat*, the family's respectability and pride, depends on the decent behaviour of women in public. (Gillespie 1995: 168, Stopes-Roe 1991: 75) How decent behaviour is defined, depends very much on the family and on the ethnic group. Hindus are generally not as restrictive as Sikhs or Muslims, though there are differences in families. The role of women and the relationship between the sexes is complex in Hinduism and in the Hindu society. There are a number of female goddesses and queens who fought in wars, became seers and philosophers and chose their own husbands[37]. They are much adored and act as role models for girls. Although, some of these ancient matriarchal elements have survived, many Hindu families discriminate girls in matters of dress, choice of friends and leisure activities. (Ghuman 1994: 18, 61, 114, 122, Jagannathan 2005: 60) In general, boys enjoy more freedom. Because girls are more protected than boys they have fewer opportunities to socialize (Ghuman 1991: 128, Gillespie 1995: 38).

As a consequence of social conditions in the diaspora, the situation of women has already changed. Many mothers work; this encourages changes in gender roles in the family and gives women more influence and power. As power relations are more flexible in the nuclear

family than in the extended family, the new housing conditions also influence their emancipation. (Gillespie 1995: 168, Warrier 1994: 204) Therefore, the situation of British Indian girls has become even more "ambivalent". Indian girls reach the same educational levels as boys but often do not get the same jobs. They are forced to decide between career and marriage. However, I cannot confirm that these ambivalences lead to disillusionment. (Bhatti 1999: 136-137) Still, it is true that boys and girls face similar contrasting expectations, images and pressures. Boys have to agree with elders in their community following their guidance. In school and western society however they are expected to make their own decisions and "to be cool and trendy". Girls are supposed to be good, decent and quiet in school and in their ethnic community. Among peers however they are also expected "to be fashionable and pretty". (Bhatti 1999: 149-151) Ranjitham states:

> I think being a girl is quite difficult […] because of the fact [that] parents were very strict, very stuck in their ways of … the traditional Indian girls have to be this way. And when you're having that at home […] and then at school you' re just in a society where you girls you're expected to wear make up, your hair has to be this way, you have to wear these particular types of clothes. And that sort of pressure that you're put under does make you one person when you're at school and another person when you are at home. (Ranjitham)

Exaggerating the experience of the second generation, the interviewees were asked what they thought of girls who acted "quite rude" in school by dressing up, smoking and having boyfriends while at home they played "all goody-goody". Ranjitham was the only respondent who understood this situation. As indicated above she knows the conflicting pressures of school and home. The girls at the Dudden Hill Centre agreed that such behaviour was "silly". But especially the boys could not see the girls' motives for such behaviour. Ranjitham has also suffered from the conflicting expectations of home and peers. Although she described her parents as very open-minded and underlined that they have always treated sister and brother equally, she feels more protected and controlled than her brother. She still hopes that she can move out soon while her younger brother could already leave home. However, she is not critical of that commenting that "…naturally being a girl [parents] will be a bit more concerned…" That illustrates Bhatti's results that girls do not want to argue with their parents. However, they would like to have more freedom. Consequently, Ghuman and Stopes-Roe found that girls are more positive about cultural change than boys, particularly concerning gender issues. (Bhatti 1999: 152, 164, Ghuman

1994: 42, Stopes-Roe 1991: 60) My research confirms these observations. However, the differences in attitudes on gender-related statements in the questionnaires are less striking than Ghuman describes (Appendix 6.6) (Ghuman 1991: 127).

This indicates that the boys are increasingly favouring cultural change in issues of gender roles and relations. The interviews supported that as there was uncertainty about how girls should be treated. The boys were aware of conflicting sets of customs and values in the cultures that shape their lives. Only Pradeep had a strong opinion on that matter holding traditional views on gender roles:

> I think that there should just be a different expectations of boys and girls generally, […] definitely I think girls should be kept in a little bit more or at least there should be a check on who and where they're associating with. But yeah […], not that I wanna rope them in, but I wouldn't really want my kids to drink and smoke and go to clubs even though I did it to an excess. [...] So ideally yeah I wouldn't be comfortable with my daughter going to that place or my son for that matter but especially my daughter, no. (Pradeep)

Never having experienced the conflicting pressures many Indian girls faced, he does not seem to understand his mother's troubles:

> But interestingly my uncles never had this problem but my mum did. So my mum always felt [oppressed] … well maybe because she is also a girl, so girls, they probably have a bit more … I mean boys, they have more freedom… (Pradeep)

As a consequence of her struggles his mother left Pradeep all the freedom he liked. Now, having changed his lifestyle and regretting his former assimilated behaviour, his views and opinions are greatly influenced by this conversion. He knows that his views contradict western understandings of equality. Therefore, he tries to relativise them in the beginning acknowledging equal treatment of boys and girls. Thus, he knowingly takes a traditional standpoint.

Veeran and Ravanan are less sure about the topic. They started explaining how gender roles and relations originally function in their heritage culture as if looking for orientation. They compare British and Tamil society trying to make sense of the differences in customs.

> Veeran: I know in the olden days people valued boys a lot more and that's mainly coz they educated the boys and the girls were housewives. […] But in this country it's not like that. Like sometimes my mum jokes if I was a girl maybe I'd do the washing up and like clean the room and stuff. […]

> Ravanan: It's not the same as in Sri Lanka here because in Sri Lanka the boys get the education the girls like cook and stuff. But here boys and girls go to school and they can both easily become doctors. […] So, you can't say the boys are gonna help the family while the girls are just gonna be housewives coz it's not the case here. They're both equal in education.

This shows that the ability to compare the cultures though education and integration in both contexts enables the teenagers to reflect on their cultures and eventually consider them both critically. However, not all interviewees were equally able to view the cultures critically. Grown up rather detached from his culture of origin, Pradeep now turns completely to Indianness after having discovered his roots. He is uncritical of Indian culture and can hardly positive aspects of western culture.

As both do not have sisters, their lack of personal experience on the matter of gender roles also ads to Ravanan's and Veeran's uncertainty. Further questioning on the topic again provoked arguments between the two boys whether girls need to be protected more than boys. Again Veeran tried to maintain a traditional view which he could not argue logically. Thus, they settled on a certain protectionism of girls in both cultures which has been confirmed by feminists and sociologists.

In summary, gender issues are conflicting and changing. Consequently, there is much uncertainty in the third generation. Although, the young people favour equal treatment of boys and girls, they are unsure about the freedoms of girls in society. Asked for the behaviour of girls, their answers differed significantly (Appendix 6.6). This shows that even the third generation of Indians in Britain cannot solve the conflicts involved in cultural contact and change. Particularly the boys, who do not suffer directly from cultural norms, are hardly able to decide between the different sets of values.

Courtship and marriage

Questions of courtship and marriage have received a lot of attention in the literature, media and the arts (Anwar 1998: 108). Marriage patterns are obvious indicators of cultural difference because they are an expression of different values and perceptions of family. Nevertheless, all authors have indicated changes and modifications in marriage customs (Ghuman 1994: 115). Adaptations have been made under the influence of western individualism. As a consequence of migration and western ways of life and education there is a greater independence of individuals from the family and looser kinship obligations in the

diaspora than there are traditionally (Ghuman 1994: 145). Traditionally, marriage is rather a union of families than an individual choice which contradicts the western idea of romantic marriage. Further, traditionally marriages are caste-endogamous, as I have described above (Ghuman 1994: 145, Anwar 1998: 106, Commission for Racial Equality 1978: 27).

In a joint-family system in which marriages are arranged by the family there is no need for self-sustainment, independence and individual decision-making (Stopes-Roe 1991: 29). Therefore, romantic courtship is actually not part of Indian culture. But attitudes are changing. In contrast to Bhatti, who finds that most girls are against relationships with boys[38], Ghuman quotes studies which state that one in five British Indian girls secretly dates boys (Gillespie 1995: 39, 172, Bhatti 1999: 166-167, Ghuman 1999: 46). This was confirmed by the present study as well as by Peter Smith from the Brent Youth Service. Most boys and girls did not see any problem with having romantic relationships. However, girls tended to be less certain about this than boys. While none of the male respondents ticked "undecided" and 91% of the boys agreed to the idea of courtship, only a slight majority of girls (53%) agreed to having boyfriend. 31% were undecided and 15% found that it is not acceptable to have boyfriends. Here the greater pressures on girls show. The increased protectionism towards girls particularly concerns the matter of courtship. Girls are expected to maintain their virginity and the family's honour as described above. One of the girls Gillespie interviewed describes the double standards girls often face:

> Amrita […] pointed out how these operate in brother-sister relationship, underlining how older brothers whose protective role is dictated by family norms, 'would not let their sisters date a boy, but they would conveniently forget that they are also dating someone else's sister.'[39] (Gillespie 1995: 174)

However, although girls demand changes towards gender equality, they keep a greater attachment to traditional values than boys. The differences in the answer patterns between boys and girls shows that still, in the third generation, girls continue to be more cautious in their relations with boys. On the one hand girls do not fully reject Indian traditions, but on the other hand they feel subjected to pressures from the community and the family. As a consequence of these conflicts girls often date boys secretly. Nevertheless, some parents have changed and adapted to western customs on the matter understanding their children's hardships. This is the case in Ranjitham's family. She explains:

> I don't think its bad thing [having a boyfriend]; I think the most important thing for me is that your parents know. That's what I did in my case, I told my parents from

> the beginning and it's made a huge difference. I mean a lot of my friends have had boyfriends and you know girlfriends and not told their parents because they're scared, which is natural because I guess some Tamil parents you know Asian parents are very strict, they say that you expect the whole arranged marriage thing. But in my case I was quite fortunate because my parents from […] a young age they'd always say to me: Look if you have a boyfriend, let us know. Don't be scared, don't be scared … (Ranjitham)

The trust and understanding her parents have in their daughter, is probably based in their years as students in British universities. They know that courting is part of student's live. Like in Ranjitham's family attitudes and customs are changing in other families, too. This is following adaptations made already in marriage patterns. The modifications in the arranged marriage system provoke that many teenagers are unsure on the topic. Noticing the changes they often do not know where to position themselves. Comparing data from the 1970s and 1980s, Anwar found that insecurity and ambiguity on topics like marriage and courtship increased (Ghuman 1994: 58-59, Anwar 1989: 108).

The results of my study on the topic of marriage were as expected. The youngsters voted towards cultural change. More than ten years after Ghuman's survey, young British Indians in London were in favour of changing customs (Ghuman 1994: 58-59). In my samples the majority of teenagers objected to the custom that marriages should be arranged by the family. However, 20% were undecided on the question indicating still a considerable ambiguity particularly among girls. This again illustrates that girls are most subjected to the contrasting pressures resulting from arranged marriages. Through passing more time with the family, they are generally more in touch with their culture of origin. But they are more open towards gender equality as considered in the previous chapter. Concerning marriage these attitudes collide leaving nearly 30% of the girls undecided. (Appendix 6.7)

Further, age influences the opinions towards arranged marriage; with growing age marriage comes closer. Consequently, older youngsters think about it more realistically. Interestingly, older adolescents, who are closer to the marriageable age, tend to conform more to their parent's and to community's conceptions of marriage. This has to do with growing maturity. In addition, the views and actions of youngsters close to the marriageable age, pose more conflicts then those of teenagers who still have some years to go. In order to avoid conflict, youngsters try to conform to their families' demands. However, there remains a certain disagreement with parents that results in favouring a middle way between tradition and

western individualism. At the same time uncertainty increases. Among the youngest age group only 10% were undecided while among those older than 18 indecision amounted to more than 30%. (Appendix 6.7)

We have repeatedly seen that the teenagers in the Brent sample are generally less traditional than those affiliated to *sampradayas*. This also shows in opinions on marriage patterns. Nobody in the Brent sample was unsure about this topic. While a minority voted in favour of arranged marriages, 85% rejected that marriages should be arranged by the family. Among the *sampradayas* a lower percentage (60%) voted against arranged marriages but there was hardly any disagreement. Consequently, insecurity was much higher (30%). These findings indicate that a closer contact to religion and the diasporic community can also lead to increased contradictions and divided loyalties. With stronger affiliation differing values collide even more. The young people affiliated to ISKCON and Sai Baba want to preserve their culture and belief, but do not want to give up western freedoms and individualism.

This contradiction also became displayed in the interviews. Apart from Pradeep, who even strongly objected to courtship although having had numerous girlfriends,[40] and Veeran, whose reliability is doubted in some instances, nobody wanted to have an arranged marriage. In general however, the interviewees were not completely against it but accepted an open version which would leave them a choice on their future partner. Ravanan's comment on that matter was exemplary:

> Ravanan: No, I won't have an arranged marriage. I 'm unlikely, maybe my mum may like try and find someone for me but I doubt that I actually have an arranged marriage
>
> Interviewer: And you wouldn't like to have one?
>
> Ravanan: Not really, but I mean the arranged marriages here are more like: they look for people and then they just show them to you …
>
> Veeran: Yeah and there's a misconception […] about arranged marriages where people confuse it with forced marriages coz arranged marriages aren't forced marriages.

All of the interviewed teenagers started to explain to me how the custom of arranged marriages functions in their community. As Veeran indicates here, there is a great sensibility of being misunderstood. The teenagers were very aware of their community's image in the British society. This became particularly obvious concerning marriage patterns – probably because this topic has received so much attention in western media.

Interestingly, the parents of three teenagers did not have an arranged marriage. Respectively, for Madayanti that means that she "…can choose whoever [she] want[s] to". This also applies to Pradeep and Veeran. However, in contrast to Madayanti both boys favoured an arranged marriage. Pradeep's argument fits to his traditionalism and Indianness. Further, his view is also based on his own experience. He experienced the unhappy marriage of his parents in contrast to his grandparent's long-lasting traditional marriage. In contrast to his divorced parents, his grandparent's home offered stability and constancy to him.

> Pradeep: Yeah, [...] I think arranged marriage is really good. When I think how my grandmother has stuck by my grandfather for three thick and thin, through different continents. [...] That is real commitment, you know. And you see, people break up over the smallest things but my grandparents, no matter what my grandmother'd never ever leave my grandfather [...]. That's a deeper love then any of this Hollywood-romance crap which goes after [...] the first five, ten years, anyway. What really counts is can we stick by someone through thick and thin and definitely traditional arranges marriages when they find compatible people [... is a good thing. This crap about freedom of choice, the people who go into the marriage suffer, the children suffer, the country suffers, economically everyone suffers, there is no benefit out of this romance love and in fact from having an arranged marriage ninety-nine percent of the time something much greater then romance love comes. So definitely arranged marriage is good.
>
> Interviewer: So you prefer for you to have one?
>
> Pradeep: Yeah, I mean I'd like to have an arranged marriage as long as I obviously had some choice in that.

So, even Pradeep cannot succumb himself to certain western freedoms on this matter, also favouring an adapted version of the custom. Being much younger Veeran's traditionalist arguments do not always convince. I have already commented on his idealistic and romanticized perceptions of life in Sri Lanka. He showed a good knowledge of philosophy customs and rituals but a lack of personal experience. This leaves the impression that he tries to present himself more traditionally and Indian. Nevertheless, this attempt to portray himself as Indian indicates his interest and affirmation of Indianness as well as his desire for roots and difference.

> Yeah I think I'm really like much more traditional Tamil then any of my friends. Like I know a lot of Tamil friends who'd just go out with girls but I'm very stick to my old traditions. I'm even more than my aunties and stuff. Like if they wear weird green panties and stuff, I'd be like why you're wearing green panties where you should be wearing white grown? And like even really really weird things like you should tie up your hair and not leave it out coz that shows that you're unhappy and stuff like that. So I'm really traditional. So I'd be completely happy with arranged marriage and I'm very spiritual, so that's my ultimate goal. (Veeran)

Concerning marriages, the answer category "undecided" in the questionnaires may also indicate that the youngsters favour a middle way, which has been described by authors before (Ghuman 1994: 60). Stopes-Roe finds that many teenagers consider their parent's involvement in marriage decisions as important. They accept and trust their parent's knowledge and opinions. Therefore, the youngsters accept a modified version of arranged marriage which allows them to decide about their future partner involving their parent's advice. Further, arranged marriages tend to be more successful and lasting as there are only few divorces in the British Indian communities.[41] This reason is often given by young people as seen in the quote above. Nevertheless, tensions about marriage matters remain although changes are evident. (Stopes-Roe 1991: 33-34, Commission on Racial Equality 1978: 27, Anwar 1998: 109) Hardly anyone wants to live with the consequences of loosing one's own family's and community's support, thus young people try to find an agreement with their parents and kin. Most families find a middle way in which the youngster's make their own choices and parents advice them. Ranjitham proposed an interesting compromise:

> I don't really trust my parent's judgement. […] I don't think their taste would be to […] what I'd want. For me personally I mean if I could avoid arranged marriage, then I would. But I think if it got to about say I was about twenty-nine or thirty and I still haven't found someone then I'd say: Yeah ok let's go for arranged marriage. I mean it's important that I would have made the effort first. […] I think it is a last minute option […]. It's one of those things where you've either tried looking for yourself and just not found that person or ehm you know just things haven't worked out with other people, then yeah arranged marriage is an option. […] Well I mean given the statistics they're more […] successful then other marriages. Then I guess you know it's not a bad thing but for me personally I'd be a last minute option.

In conclusion, I can confirm earlier studies about the topic: The young generations generally accept arranged marriage in some altered version. They demand to have a high degree of choice which they are given provided that their choice remains in certain limits which differ from family to family. Like Gillespie Shandrika Shah, who is also working at the Brent Youth Service, underlines that the parameters for marriage change. As indicated earlier, caste-endogamy ceases to play a role for the youngsters' marriage decisions. Instead, qualifications and age become more and more important (Stopes-Roe 1991: 35, 40, Gillespie 1995: 41, 44).

In contrast to earlier studies I found that acceptance of interethnic marriage is growing due to an increase in interethnic marriages over the last years (Stopes-Roe 1991: 46). Ranjitham tells:

> …within my family I've got about four or five cousins who've married either an Irish, one's married an Irish, another one's married English… […] It is slowly becoming […] more accepted.

Ranjitham was not the only one who told me about relatives who have married outside the ethnic community. But Buddhdev Pandya underlined that intermarriage was particularly strong with white British or Irish people; but less mixture occurred with other coloured ethnic groups. There appears to be a latent disapproval if not racism against blacks among some Indian communities which was also observed by Peter Smith. Ravanan comments on intermarriage with different communities:

> Ravanan: All I know is in our society, if you marry a brown person, they're happy; if you marry a white person, they're ok with it; I mean as you are in this country, but if you marry a black person, you're a kind of cut up from society. […] First of all you don't really find, I've never come across a brown person (laughs) marrying a black person together
>
> Veeran: no never […]
>
> Ravanan: They're inferior for some reason.

This contradicts Werbner's and Gillespie's findings. Both authors argue that the Indian youth identifies with black styles and culture such as music and dress taking them as examples in order to create their own styles and expressions (Werbner 1997: 21, Gillespie 1995: 181-182). Here significant social changes play a role. First, with growing acceptance and less discrimination from the white society different ethnic groups loose their common "other". Second, Indians are proud of their "success story" in Britain. They notice that Indian children

and families often do better in school and on the job market than those of other coloured ethnic groups. Particularly, Black Caribbean children face difficulties to succeed in the British school system.

Middle-class Indians in Brent and Merton do not need to affiliate or identify with other coloured ethnic groups as they face little discrimination and are well integrated. If they orientate themselves on any ethnic group, then these would be the white British. Peter Smith told me about an Indian father who would not send his daughter to the local school because he found that it employed too many teachers of ethnic minorities. Instead, he preferred a predominantly white school for his daughter believing that education was better there. Such attitudes are probably legacies from colonial politics and philosophies, as they sound like considerations about ethnic and racial groups in the 19th century. The revival of such views is influenced by the growing socioeconomic differences between black and Indian ethnic groups in the United Kingdom.

Furthermore, there are cultural and religious concerns against interethnic marriage:

> It's the fact that if you marry someone who is not Tamil, it's they don't speak the same language as you; their children aren't going to be Tamil. If you have a child with a black person they're not gonna be a Tamil person, they're gonna be a mix and then are they gonna be Christian or are they gonna be Hindu and then will they have the same culture as us? Whereas, Tamil people stick together. […] You find a good wife who's a good Tamil wife and who'll have children who are Tamil and would carry on your religion and stuff like that. I know Tamil people who've married like not so radical as white people or black people but just like Sikhs. Some doesn't speak Tamil and sometimes it's a bit awkward coz everything Tamil people do they do together, so parties with Tamil people together or temple or something like that and when a Sikh person comes in, Sikhs are fine, but even then you can see that they don't have quite same religious. (Veeran)

Like in the quote the reasons given against intermarriage where generally of religious and cultural nature. Earlier studies argued that different ethnicities and cultures lead to conflicts within the family and children would not know where to belong. Certainly, the fear of loosing ones culture though mixture is also involved (Stopes-Roe 1991: 47-49, 160, Commission for Racial Equality 1978: 27). From the discussions above it does not surprise that these objections against intermarriage are less important to teenagers in the Brent sample than to those affiliated to ISKCON and Sai Baba. In the *sampradaya* sample more

than half of the respondents were uncertain about intermarriage. These results differ from the Brent sample: Among those taking part in the Duke of Edinburgh Award more than half voted in favour of intermarriage and only very few were against ethnic mixture in marriage. This indicates that there are fewer objections against intermarriage among those who are not so strongly affiliated to religious sects (Appendix 6.7).

In conclusion, it has become clear that in the fields of courtship and marriage cultural change is evident. The majority of the young people considers courtship to be normal and does not want to have a traditional arranged marriage. Still, they do not completely reject their parent's and grandparent's traditions but actively look for agreement on a middle way acceptable for all parties. Further, gender, age and religious affiliation influence views on the matter. Particularly, among girls cultural change in the field leads to confusion because girls are more subjected to contrasting pressures and expectations than boys. But, the possibilities and attitudes of the individual teenager depend on the family's views and customs. Concerning interethnic marriage the affiliation to a *sampradaya* has a significant influence on the youngsters' attitudes. Interethnic marriage increases despite being equally accepted in all cases. Here the fear of loosing the ability to pass culture and religion on, social hierarchies and social status are considered.

2.4.2 Towards Englishness and the English way of life

"…I'd say I feel more British…" (Ranjitham)

For the third generation Britain is their home. It is their country of birth; it is where they grow up and live. The discussion of the results has shown that Britain is the place where they will live in the future and where they will bring up the fourth generation of Indians in Britain. Moreover, their nationality is British. But in how far do they associate with Britain and its western cultures? Do they feel attached to Britain? And in how far do they integrate into the English society? We have seen that the young British Indians are very concerned with maintaining their Indian heritage and show a great interest and enthusiasm for it. Does this imply a turn away from British society? No, it does not. The youngsters, who took part in the study, are well integrated into the multicultural English society of London. Their lives are characterized by British culture as much as by Indian culture. They enjoy mixing with different ethnicities at schools and colleges as well as in their free-time. Many like and celebrate the openness and cosmopolitanism of their urban environment. In general, Great Britain is considered very positively.

In contrast to the second generation of Indians the third generation does not feel situated between two worlds. The gap between home and school, thus between the ethnic community and British society and its institutions, does not exist anymore. Parents and schools hold good communications and relations, which has a positive effect on the adolescent's development. Having experienced the British educational system and speaking English fluently, the parents are more understanding than one generation before. There is a strong focus on academic success among the Indian ethnic communities. As education and achievement are considered to be vitally important by the Indian community, the young people experience pressure to succeed in the school system. The youngsters often study hard but all of the interviewed teenagers were proud of their community's success. They identified with these values and norms. Consequently, success in the British school system does not further psychological integration into the British society but strengthens ethnic bonds through a positive identification with their group. Pride in the "Indian success story" and particularly in one's own family's story was prevalent in all the interviews as well as in the questionnaires. Veeran and Ravanan articulated it most vividly:

> Veeran: Tamil people, children do really well in this country. Like if you get to the top schools like his school, my school Tiffin, there's so many Tamil people that is ridiculous. Only think about: Sri Lanka is such a small island and why shouldn't there be so many Canadians or Americans? There aren't coz even though we're from a really very tiny tiny island we get really far because…
>
> Ravanan: We're ..., it's in our blood that we end up working hard and things like that and we're ambitious.

This shows that a strong identification with the ethnic group remains despite successful structural integration. They do not assimilate to the western way of life nor to all values and views. Rather, they are very aware of the differences between them and British teenagers. Such differences have not been expected. After having considered the literature on the second generation, I hypothesized that the third generation has incorporated western culture, norms and values even more. Affinity to Britain and western life combined with a high degree of social and cultural integration would enhance detachment from the heritage culture. However, we have already seen that retention of Indian values and culture is high among the third generation. Thus, it seems unlikely that they are willing to give up this connection for a stronger affiliation with British culture.

> [The English way of life is] very different to the Indian way of life. […] I guess their priority's slightly different. […] Having English friends for me family is very important and I think in some, most cases I found with my English friends their career is more important and their priorities are different […] But I don't condemn, I mean it's one of those things that we've just learnt to integrate into. (Ranjitham)

Nevertheless, Britain was generally considered positively. Apart from Pradeep all interviewees valued aspects of Britain and western live and culture. Criticism was particularly voiced concerning race relations. The interviewed teenagers were very sensible about racism and discrimination.

Identity

I have hypothesized that the third generation of British Indians creates new ethnicities by fusing western and Indian aspects of cultural identity. We have seen that national affiliations remain although caste and linguistic affiliations decrease due to the loss of language and caste awareness. While attachment to Indianness is high, the third generation also feels British. Hence, the uncertainty concerning identity and belonging, which has been focused upon for the second generation remains in the third. However, as I will show later this ambiguousness does not stem from racism or discrimination but rather from the close attachment to Indianness while actually living in Britain. In the third generation the gap between the ethnic community and the majority culture has become much smaller resulting in less pressures and conflicts. In contrast to the second generation, British Indians today have more opportunity and can choose in how far they affiliate to either community. They must not be Indian nor must they be English. As most members of the ethnic community are well integrated into all aspects of the British society, there is more understanding for western ways of life. Further, through adaptation and change cultural differences have become less stark. Theoretically, the multicultural society in London accepts people to identify with Indianness rather than Englishness. Particularly London has become very multicultural with a considerable laissez-faire policy. Further, it has already become obvious that Indian heritage is considered very positively. Therefore, being different is no longer something one would want to hide. Rather, the respondents seem to be proud of their cultural difference.

In the questionnaire the teenagers were ask about their opinion on the statement: "I feel rather British than Indian." About half of the teenagers disagreed while the rest were to

equal parts unsure or agreed. Considering these results in more detail several correlations can be confirmed. First, girls are more likely to feel Indian than British. This hints at the preserving role of women in Indian culture. Girls spend more time with the family and in the community because they grow up more protected than boys. At the temples girls participate more actively. Girls are generally more encouraged to join in traditional and religious activities rather than spending their time with peers. Furthermore, girls suffer more than boys from conflicting sets of values and norms particularly concerning gender roles and sexual relationships. I have pointed that out in the previous part. Second, the results again confirm that with increasing age young people turn towards their culture of origin. All respondents over 18 years disagreed to identify themselves as Indian while the respondents under 15 felt rather British. However, there generally was a great group of respondents who ticked "undecided" which may imply that they feel as British as Indian (Appendix 6.8). They cannot decide to identify completely with one of the two cultures. This could imply the use of hyphenated identities which have been very prominent among researchers who dealt with the second generation of Indians. However, none of the interviewed youngsters accepted a hyphenated identity despite feeling both Indian and British.

> Interviewer: Do you feel rather Indian or rather British?
>
> Sheela: both […] coz […] when you are here you do a lot of British stuff like celebrate Christmas and stuff. And then with your family you celebrate like Diwali and other stuff, as well. […]
>
> Vikram: I feel both because my parents […] and relatives they are more Indians and therefore, both […]
>
> Interviewer: […] If someone would ask you what are you? If you, like, had to identify yourself, what would you say?
>
> Madayanti: Indian
>
> Rajesh: Indian
>
> Interviewer: […] So, you wouldn't say I'm British Indian or I'm British Hindu or something, you wouldn't say that?
>
> Madayanti: No.
>
> Sheela: No, I just say Indian.

The identification with India was quite surprising as all four were more in favour of western values and habits. Further, there is a contradiction between feeling attached to both cultures but only identifying with their Indianness. It has to be kept in mind that identity is a

very flexible concept that is constantly changing according to situation. Thus, constructing the situation of being ask for their identity in Britain, may imply their Britishness as logical. It does not need special mentioning. If I had asked them in India, they would have answered differently probably focusing on their British background. Other interviewees confirm that their Indian origin has a greater significance for their identification.

> Ravanan: Sri Lankan […] I'd say my ethnic origin is from Sri Lanka but my nationality is British.
>
> Veeran: Yeah, I'm a British citizen but I'm Tamil. I speak the language, I follow the religion, I'm brown-skinned. So, everything about me is Tamil but that doesn't mean I live in a Tamil place and go to school with Tamil people. I live here but I still think I'm Tamil coz like outside the school everything I do is with like my community a whole lot of things. So I'm Tamil, yeah.

Veeran's statement implies that the distinctiveness from "western white English" is so important that it does not allow them to identify with it seriously. Still, they feel British in the sense of nationality and citizenship. In Veeran's argument the idea of diaspora is present. He detaches the idea of being Tamil from Sri Lanka and South India being aware of the world-wide Tamil diaspora. Veeran comes from a diasporic family as already mentioned. In the diaspora identity becomes disconnected from place and attached to customs, belief and way of life. He indicates that diasporic individuals can choose how to live and with whom to identify. Interestingly, he was the only respondent who implied race awareness in the discussion of identity. In stating to be "brown-skinned" he differentiates himself from the white majority and from the black communities. Furthermore, he defines himself as Tamil on the basis of language and religion. Although none of the youngsters would identify himself as Hindu, religion appeared to be a very important reason for identification with the ethnic group. It was also used in order to distinguish oneself from other South Asian religious communities. Apart from the teenagers interviewed at the Dudden Hill Centre Veeran was also the only one who explained his identification on the basis of language. I have already mentioned that most youngsters have only limited command of their communities' language.

Language, religion and skin colour are traditional factors for identification. However, the diaspora also produced new factors for identifications and new differentiations within ethnic groups. Peter Smith informed me that young British Indians in Brent feel superior to those who have recently arrived in Britain. These are called "freshies". Though these feelings are

usually only mentioned as a joke, they mirror existing feelings. Further, young people in Brent differentiate themselves from British Indians in other parts of London. I was repeatedly advised to visit Southall in order see a different Indian community. This shows that identifying as Indian does not include the identification with the whole Indian community in Britain. Further, it again illustrates the flexibility of social and personal identities.

The various factors that influence identity are the result of all the influences and experiences of the individual as well as his or her values, opinions and affiliations. Not only age, gender, family, skin colour, religion and discrimination play a role. Connections to the homeland like a "myth of return", contacts to relatives and visits to the subcontinent affect identity as much as the interaction with the own and other communities in Britain. Interestingly, Ranjitham was the only interviewee to identify rather with Britain than with her cultural heritage:

> I think I'd say I feel more British than Sri Lankan, having been born in this county, been brought up in this country. But I feel that despite being British I still keep in touch with my religion and my culture… (Ranjitham)

Ranjitham feels very attached to Britain. She has no relatives in India or Sri Lanka, and her family is very open-minded. Her accounts of life in London are overwhelmingly positive as we shall see in the following paragraphs. Although being very attached to her religion and culture of origin as well as to certain values, she is very acculturated to British life. This has become obvious in her opinions on marriage and courtship. Nevertheless, she wants to pass the Indian tradition on. She has found a way to incorporate her religion and its norms into her western life. The great degree of acculturation is probably influenced by the lack of family connections to the homeland and her parent's open-mindedness and acculturation. In comparison to Veeran who also does not have relatives in India or Sri Lanka, her identification is completely different. This shows that mechanisms of identity as well as ethnic and cultural orientation are very complex. In order to discuss these correlations in full detail more research is necessary.

In conclusion, it is obvious that all youngsters hold bicultural identities though they would not use hyphenated identity markers. Almost nobody in the survey identified him or herself on the basis of religion. For Sri Lankans national affiliation remained important. They were very conscious of being Tamil and Sri Lankan, terms they used synonymously. New

distinctions influence the youngster's identities as they situate themselves in London's cosmopolitan boroughs.

Cultural preferences

Which culture dominates in the lives of the teenagers? What do they particularly like about living in Britain? Or what aspects of Indian cultures do they prefer? The answers to these questions do not only give information about cultural preferences but also tell us about the youngsters' general interest and adherence to one of their cultures. I hypothesized that the youngsters are assimilated to English culture and only maintain Indianness in the context of family and community. However, the results which have already been presented indicate that this could not be proved. On the contrary, the young people are very interested in their culture and heritage. They are keen to maintain their heritage culture knowing that they need to practice their cultural habits in order to maintain them. They generally enjoy aspects of their culture. However, they do not exclude English cultural items from their lives as they do not consider them as competition. In contrast, they enjoy both cultures and their products picking according to situation.

> […] I'd watch a Bollywood film with my Indian friends and then I'd watch a Hollywood film with my English friends and that's the only difference. But aside that we'd go about doing things the normal way … (Ranjitham)

Hence, questions concerning cultural habits hardly presented clear data in the questionnaires; rather there were numerous contradictions, and a great amount of people could not decide to vote in favour of one or the other culture. Particularly, preferences in film and television, the most consumed media among young people, were balanced. Nearly 40% ticked "undecided" in both questions confirming Ranjitham's statement that cultural products from either culture are equally enjoyed. Gillespie also found that Indian teenagers in Southall have contradictory views on Indian film (Gillespie 1995: 85-86).

Furthermore, the teenagers had to state their opinion about the statement: "We have few common interests with white teenagers." Here again differences between the samples appeared. Particularly, among the Sai Baba sample agreement on the statement was high. In contrast, among the Brent sample the majority disagreed with the comment. Among the Pandava Senas opinions differed significantly. While a slight majority disagreed to the statement, insecurity was high. These findings demonstrate the influence of a close ethnic community and a strong affiliation with it (Appendix 6.9). The Sai Baba Centre is almost

exclusively Tamil. The Shree Ganapathy temple and its regulars, particularly in the adhered Sai Baba Centre, form a close community in which many families know each other. With its vivid cultural and spiritual life the Sai Baba Centre in Merton offers a great amount of activities not only to young people but also to the whole family. Temple activities do not only take place at the weekends so that the young people spent a lot of time in the centre. This differentiates their interests and activities from those of their white peers. They are very aware and proud of these differences. This also showed in the interviews when talking about family values and norms. Further, religious activity was considered to be a significant difference between Indian and white British teenagers. Nevertheless, these differences in interests and habits do not hinder integration and social mixture.

Teenagers in the Brent and ISKCON sample are to a lesser extent part of such a close community. Especially, the Brent sample feels closely connected to their white peers. In general, everyone underlined the great degree of mixture in London schools and peer groups. Indeed, observing groups of teenagers on London's streets, they are often mixed. Veeran explains:

> …There're some things you share with Tamil people that you not share with other people but at the same time you could say you hang out with someone coz they're in that same sports team or coz you play violin with them or something like that. So it's about common interests but also common culture. (Veeran)

Interestingly, the question on common interests seems to have no connection to the youngsters' identification. Logically, it was expected that those who feel rather British also state to have common interests with white teenagers. But the data from the questionnaire ascertains that there is no correlation between the items on common interests with British teenagers and identification as British. This hints to an understanding of Britain and Britishness which I will consider in the following paragraph.

The previous chapters showed that the vast majority of the young British Indians enjoys Indian cultures. Also, in contrast to previous studies, the respondents enjoy wearing traditional dress. Particularly, in the temple, religious and community activities many young Indians wore traditional dress or a combination of western and eastern styles. This again implies an affirmation of Indianness as clothes express ethnicity and identity (Gillespie 1995: 178). It would further be interesting to consider the importance of the British Asian youth culture which developed in the 1980s with Bhangra music and films. Unfortunately, a

detailed research and analysis about this topic could not be done in the limited scope of this work.

Britain, Britishness and the British society

All the teenagers are very positive about their country of birth, apart from Pradeep. They particularly value the multiculturalism, open-mindedness and democratic structure of Britain and its society. Their answers to the question "What do you particularly like about Britain?" were very much influenced by their personal experiences. The younger interviewees valued the amount of activities and freedom the British society offers to young people for their free-time. In addition, the two Tamil boys valued freedom of speech and the rule of law. In comparison to other places in the world Veeran particularly acknowledged the comfortable life in a "rich nation" such as Britain with its welfare and educational system. Such an awareness of freedoms, lawfulness and social needs is untypical for a teenager of sixteen. It shows that they have made different experiences in their homelands and overtake their parents' or grandparents' views about that. Surely, the conflicting and unstable political situation in Sri Lanka influences their positions.

Ranjitham, who lacks a connection to her country of origin, concentrates on her personal experiences in London when stating:

> I really like just generally the open-mindedness of the people, of British people in particular. […] We're such a multicultural country; we've got all kinds of life, all backgrounds of people in this one place, particularly in London. I mean within London it's huge array of religions and cultures and it's really nice because in some ways it gives you an opportunity to learn about other people's cultures, learn about other people's religions and just become less ignorant […] I think that's something you don't necessarily find in other countries, that sense of freedom… (Ranjitham)

Her views were contrary to Pradeep's who is much more critical about the openness of the British society:

> … So there is nothing really which binds me to Britain, […] But I mean the one thing that I used to appreciate was that London was so cosmopolitan. But I'd been doing a lot of studies in kind of like anthropology, sociology and actually understanding how the culture works... So what […] appeared cosmopolitan on the outside – like […] London it's most divers in the world even more so like New York – […] in fact then is not. The expression of culture isn't as divers as the make-up of the people. In

> fact, there is only one culture which is kind of sense-gratification, money-making. There is no real like distinct cultural expressions here. So they may look different but in fact everyone is the same culturally. I used to really think that multiculturalism was something I liked about London, maybe not about Britain, but about London. But even having seen that that's only surface-deep, it's very superficial. (Pradeep)

With his observations Pradeep challenges theories on the city and metropolis. Chambers describes the metropolis as place of diversity, hybridity and heterogeneity in which customary boundaries and dualities collapse and create new transitory structures (Bronfen 1997: 17, Chambers 1994: 14, Rapport 2006: 185). In particular, Pradeep contests the idea of mixture and merging of diverse cultural forms which Rapport describes. He denies the creolisation of cultures and people through "reciprocal" and "dialogic exchange" in the metropolis (Rapport 2006: 186, 188). The exchange takes place but remains at the surface of cultural expressions. Instead only one culture remains: that of finance and commerce. These thoughts need further consideration. I will go into more detail on this matter when talking about racism and discrimination. Pradeep's insight and criticism is not only enabled by his studies but was probably sparked through his strong attachment to ISKCON and the Hindu religion. He rejects the capitalist and materialist structures of the British society which impede the concentration on the non-material world of Hindu enlightenment.

Integration into the society

The third generation of British Indians is very well integrated into the society. We have already seen that they also feel British, despite their strong affirmation of Indian culture and heritage. The second and third generation of a diasporic community always has greater possibilities for integration because they have acquired language, *habitus* and contacts in the school system. However, integration is again influenced by a number of aspects. This means that in the following generations a greater degree of integration is likely but not automatically provided (Esser 1990: 76, 78, 99-100). Such factors are the interaction with individuals from the majority society, racism and discrimination among others.

For British Indian Hindus in London integration has been successful in all the four fields Esser distinguishes. British Indians in west London are quite well-off in comparison to other ethnic groups. They speak English and identify with the British nation-state. Indian children are doing well in the British school system because they are determined to succeed. Families see

education as one of the main goals and possibilities to improve as I have pointed out before. Hence, education plays a central role in the lives of the teenagers. At least half of the interviewees went to public schools and their parents further encouraged their education.

> Education is the most important thing for us coz [parents] are so obsessive about education coz in India education is your wealth and when they came over here as well the only people who survived in this country were the people who'd education. If you didn't have education, you couldn't like get anywhere here. So like everyone Tamil children always joke that Tamil parents're obsessed with tuition. It's like I have Math tuition, French tuition, Science tuition, everyday of the week I have tuition. […] (Veeran)

Despite lamenting about the amount of tuition, Veeran and Ravanan take pride in their community's educational and professional attainment in Britain. The national statistics confirm these observations: Indians are getting better GCSE results than all other ethnic groups apart from the Chinese (National Statistics: 2006). Consequently, British Indians have successfully integrated in educational and professional structures.

Furthermore, there is no ghettoization in London. Young British Indians grow up in ethnically mixed areas providing social integration. Agreement on questions concerning mixture was high confirming Ghuman's findings on the topic (Ghuman 1994: 119, Ghuman 1991: 130). All interviewees enjoyed mixing with other ethnic groups.

> I mean in my friends it was more because we played sports; so I had Indian friends but it wasn't because they were Indian. I mean I got my friends because we played Rugby; we went out to the same kind of places. So yeah I had, Jewish friends, white friends, Indian friends, black friends, Greek friends, like pretty much everything, you know. (Pradeep)

Thus, in general peer groups are ethnically mixed. The three Tamil respondents however experienced ethnic concentration in school. Veeran and Ranjitham went to Tiffin and Tiffin Girls' School in Kingston upon Thames, at which about half of the pupil's population belongs to ethnic minorities, particularly Tamils (Ofsted Reports).

> When I went to secondary school it was a huge difference, it was predominantly Asians, in fact predominantly Sri Lankan Tamils. I kind of grew up my teenage years being surrounded by girls […] of just Sri Lankan Tamils. […] In some ways it was nice coming to school, talking about temple or whatever religious culture … (Ranjitham)

> But in my experience in school […] everyone is very multicultural in my year. In some classes there are more Africans or Asians. In my old class there're more Tamil people than whites in the whole class. (Veeran)

Mixture is generally considered as normal. Therefore, the statement "I would like to have more white friends" did not make sense to the questioned teenagers. Some commented that they had enough white friends. The youngsters disagreed that ethnic concentration would be good for their community. Particularly, among the Brent sample there was a high willingness to expand interethnic relations. In comparison, people in the *sampradayas* hesitated about further mixture. This confirms the results about common interests with the English. However, among the Sai Baba sample the majority was uncertain about the question of cultural mixture (Appendix 6.10). On the one hand the youngsters enjoy cultural mixture but on the other they feel comfortable in their close ethnic community which is even continued in the schools. Further, the stronger concentration on cultural heritage and religion among the *sampradayas* plays a role. But for the youngsters affiliated to ISKCON the situation is different than among the Tamil community of the Sai Baba Centre in Merton because ISKCON is ethnically mixed. There young people know that the survival of their religion and cultural heritage is not endangered by interethnic relations.

Interestingly, the majority of teenagers enjoyed to have many Asian families in the neighbourhood despite interethnic relationships and mixture. Being predominantly populated by people originating from the Indian subcontinent, especially the Brent sample and the ISKCON sample affirmed this. Thus, the third generation of Indians in Britain still enjoys living in their ethnic group, as Peter Smith also confirmed. Both Ranjitham and Veeran explained that although their friends were mixed, they were particularly close to Tamil friends because they shared the same family and cultural background. Of course, this depends on the individual's affiliation to Indian culture and Hindu religion.

Racism and discrimination

Experiences of racism[42] and discrimination have a great influence in all aspects of life making integration into the society which discriminates impossible. An ethnic community which is discriminated against closes itself against the rest of the society in order to protect itself. The consequence is marginalization which often leads to alienation from the majority and radicalization, essentialism or even fundamentalist movements within the ethnic community (Bhatti 1999: 4, 242, Ghuman 1994: 136). Further, the young people's sense of belonging is

problematized through racism and discrimination because they encounter exclusion from the society of which they feel part (Gillespie 1995: 110).

Britain's history of immigration is marked by racism and discrimination which culminated in open racial conflict in the 1980s. While in general racism and discrimination against coloured people has decreased thanks to Race Relations Legislation and campaigning, discrimination and racism are far from non-existent in the British society. In addition, a new form of collective antipathy has developed and become very influential since 9/11: Islamophobia (Modood 1997: 358, Mukadam 2006: 111). At first glance Islamophobia was expected not to become a topic in this study but it turned out that young British Indian Hindus were also affected by this new form of culturally motivated racism. Still, daily experience of racism and discrimination particularly at British schools, which has been described by researchers in the past, no longer determine the lives of the third generation of Indians in London (Bhatti 1999: 109, 170-174, Anwar 1998: 37-38, Ghuman 1994: 65-66).

In general, all youngsters were very positive about the situation in London. Most of them spontaneously declared that they have never had any experiences with racism or discrimination. But after reflecting more carefully about the matter they remembered certain situations. Further, they were very aware of racism and particularly critical concerning attitudes towards Muslims. Certainly, in London racism and discrimination is not such a problem than in other parts of the British Isles. The city is so cosmopolitical that colour, culture and background cease to play a role in daily life. Campaigning and Race Relations Legislation obviously have had a positive effect.

> I think one of the best things I have seen is people are becoming more educated in it [in racism]. We've got adverts and that, TV and really good celebrities endorsing in stop-racism. And it's really good. I found that within our society people are becoming more educated against not being racist and that's something that has had a positive effect because I personally haven't come across any of this racism in that sense personally towards me. Yeah, I've been lucky I guess. (Ranjitham)

The high degree of ethnic mixture in the schools and neighbourhoods, the general openness of London as a metropolis towards foreigners and the middle-class background obviously have a positive effect sparing the young respondents personal experience with overt expressions of racism and discrimination. Pradeep accounts:

> I remember the first time someone called me a Paki, and I didn't even know what it was and I remember thinking: "I am not from Pakistan, my family is from India." So

> that just shows how alien it was in my life, I think I was about nine or ten. And he was a Jewish guy. It was really weird. […] But I mean like in my school […] up to half of the students were from different backgrounds. […] So like culture not really came into it coz I'm from quite an affluent background. […] So, there was never really so much discrimination. (Pradeep)

It is implied here that such incidents of name-calling repeatedly occurred but neither Pradeep nor anyone else took these seriously or felt offended. Rather, being very educated Pradeep analyses such behaviour: "People will find anything to insult…" Later he accounts that in contrast to other Indian ethnic groups:

> … you don't face so much troubles [with racism] even though there was a big fear that with all the tensions with Muslims that maybe that would overspread to Hindus. […] In fact, people had been able to tell the difference and Hindi communities haven't really suffered as in I have never encountered anyone in terms of school, like school applications there'd be no problem, university applications no problem, in jobs. In fact if anything, sometimes I think maybe coming from a Hindu-Indian background is in your favour coz they see you was having a very work ethic. So yeah Britain is very good in that sense, it won't discriminate on basis of – at least outwardly – of ethnicity… (Pradeep)

Pradeep here makes a significant restriction. Discrimination and racism are no longer openly displayed and manifested in racist and discriminatory behaviour. However, under the surface of an open multicultural and cosmopolitical society the white British hegemony persists, setting the conditions for the integration of ethnic and cultural groups and individuals. I have already considered above that there are limits to mixture. This confirms Brah's observances. The author criticizes that multiculturalism is a western idea constructed in opposition to other forms of social organisation. It is characterized by western rationality and hegemony as well as eurocentricity (Brah 1996: 214-215, 220-221, 225). Thus, western multiculturalism only accepts difference on the surface of cultural expressions thereby satisfying its exoticism. Multiculturalism therefore demands assimilation into mainstream western structures and culture. In consequence, integration and success in the British society are only possible under the prerequisite of assimilation. Only Pradeep saw this critically.

> …but at the same time I think it does entail having a homogeneity or having a homogenous cultural society; like rather accept you for an Indian you must be very

> willing to subscribe to certain English values, for example going out to the pub maybe three – four times, which I mean for third generations they mostly do it themselves anyway. But it 'd be very difficult for you to assimilate to a corporate structure if you didn't do these out-things like social drinking, smoking even eating meat sometimes raises a few eyebrows. So yeah, I mean it's not a problem as long as you are willing to be English [laughter]. (Pradeep)

Hence, English multiculturalism does not manage to integrate difference. In order to have full access to the English society a high degree of assimilation is necessary as if there was a glass-ceiling to success without assimilation. Thus, integration becomes impossible for those unwilling to become English. This implies that although open racist and discriminatory behaviour has become unusual, cultural difference is still not fully accepted and recognized (Anwar 1998: 39). Interestingly, none of the other interviewees noticed this. Studying law and social sciences, Pradeep has more insight into these matters and is more able to reflect social processes critically than others. In addition, he may have experienced that there are boundaries to the acceptance of his religiousness in daily life as every individual has to submit to the western and capitalist structures of the society. The individual therefore has to adapt to these structures to a certain degree. The question is how much difference a society can bear and allow without falling apart. Unfortunately, this cannot be answered in the scope of this paper.

In contrast, Ranjitham showed a very "assimilist" attitude throughout the interview. She considered it to be her, as well as her whole community's duty to assimilate and adapt to western habits and norms in order to be accepted by the English society. It is true that the openness of the Shree Ganapathy temple towards its neighbourhood helps to decrease prejudice and fears. But this openness remains often one-sided. The girls and boys at the Dudden Hill Centre as well as Ranjitham told me in detail how they celebrate Christmas and Easter. In contrast, Indian festivals are only marginally watched by the English. For a long time the Indian communities faced considerable difficulties to live their customs and traditions in Britain. And, although the temples attempt to open themselves up to other ethnicities, only the occasional school class passes by in order to learn something about Hinduism. Cultural mixture or alternative ways of exchange do not really take place. Integration continues to be one-dimensional. Even in a town so multicultural and cosmopolitical as London western Anglo-Saxon culture remains to be the reference point into which everyone else has to integrate. Multiculturalism still cannot really accept cultures

to mix. Ethnic interaction only takes place on the surface, celebrated in numerous cultural festivals in London.

> Yeah, there was one on food stores the other day. […] They were doing some food sellings and tastings of different cultures and it was just nice. Something you wouldn't necessarily do until it is brought onto your doorsteps, it was nice. (Ranjitham)

Consequently, Ranjitham – and the same applies to all the other teenager I interviewed – are still constantly forced to explain and justify her Indianness and religiousness although she underlines that her friends are very understanding and accepting. This "assimilist" approach is also influenced by the idea of working oneself up though hard work which was particularly obvious among the Tamil interviewees who presented the stories of their parent's hardships with pride. The youngsters were aware of the discrimination and racism suffered by their parents and grandparents upon arrival in Britain but they could not tell me any details. Obviously, although stories of immigration and survival in the new country were present in the minds of the teenagers, their families have not talked about racism and discrimination in detail.

In societies in which difference is not fully accepted and recognized minorities always have to explain themselves and justify their difference. This necessity is not only existent on the level of personal relations but also on a society level. Pradeep has already hinted at Islamophobia arguing that this has not affected the Hindu community negatively. This view is contested by the young people interviewed at the Sai Baba Centre. They have told me that after 9/11 and the London bombings people looked at them differently thinking they were Muslims. These experiences may be affected by skin colour: Tamil people tend to have a darker skin than people originating from the north of India like Pradeep. Further, Pradeep is living in a very educated social environment, where people are more critical. This indicates that experiences of discrimination differ from individual to individual, and are dependent on numerous other influences such as social surrounding and personal sensitivities to these aspects. Also, Veeran and Ravanan had very different views on the existence of racism and discrimination in Britain. While Ravanan detects a growing rejection of people from different backgrounds in Britain, Veeran denies the existence of racism and discrimination. Thus, both boys tended to quite radical views in opposite extremes. Ravanan's opinion is influenced by the fear of British nationalist movements and their demands to throw the immigrant communities out. This fear was sparked by the news that the British National Party had won

a seat in a local election a few weeks earlier. In contrast, Veeran is very positive and absolutely uncritical about the situation in Britain. He found the British to be one of the most open and fair societies in which everyone had the same chances.

> Ravanan: Not that [racism or discrimination] has actually directly affected me. People […] may have like looked at me differently but I don't have actually thought of that as racist.
>
> Veeran: I haven't had the slightest kind of racism at all. […] I think maybe when a long time …
>
> Ravanan: But I mean attitudes are changing […] in this country especially…
>
> Veeran: When, the time I've lived then I've never been affected by racism. Noone's looked at me in a different way or anything. Maybe…
>
> Ravanan: after the bombings
>
> Veeran: …a long time ago there was a time when people looked differently but…
>
> Ravanan: It was a time when people were fine except after like the 7 / 7 bombings here and after things they've kind of lost their tolerance and they're starting to get frustrated.
>
> Veeran: I can't say I've experienced any racism at all. […]

Like almost all other interviewees both boys have never felt discriminated or harassed for reasons of cultural background. But their reactions to the question on racism are very different. Veeran derives a very positive view on the matter denying any of such incidents in Britain. Only considering his personal experience, he tries to defend the British society. Despite the lack of personal experience with racism and discrimination, Ravanan is much more critical. He is generally concerned about the situation in England. He probably realizes that his live is not representative for the British public and for all ethnic minorities. First, racism and discrimination are less present in London than elsewhere in the country. Further, growing up in a privileged background they are less likely to suffer from discrimination than people in other areas and other social classes. Therefore, his views are interesting. In contrast to Veeran Ravanan thinks critically of both communities without distancing himself from them. He may also be more sensible concerning racial harassment or name-calling than Veeran. On the example of Pradeep we have already seen that the personal impact such incidents have depends on the way youngsters interpret such occurrences. Veeran is obviously not able to criticize neither of the communities which shows that he is not firmly rooted in them. If one feels to belong to one community and must not question this

belonging, one can also view the respective community critically without loosing attachment to it. Nevertheless, Ravanan's fear of the changing situation in Britain is also the consequence of an exaggerated generalization which is present in the following quote.[43] In contrast, Veeran constantly tries to defend both the Tamil as well as the English society against any criticism whereby his comments become increasingly grotesque until arguing that the situation has become better because slave trade and apartheid no longer exist.

> Veeran: But there is more equality now then there's ever been as far as laws and things like…
>
> Ravanan: No, there's laws but the attitudes are starting to change the opinion of people …
>
> Ravanan: …so that shows that the minds of the British people are starting to change and they're starting to realize that they want all the foreigners out of it…
>
> Veeran: I can see [that] because of fundamentalism and things […] there're a lot of maybe anti-Islamic, being careful here, kind of anti-Islamic things in the media and stuff like that but […] on the street and in my own personal experience I can't see people getting worse. I can only see people if anything getting better. I don't think there's you know time in the world when people are as tolerant as that. You look back there was like slave trade and apartheid stuff, I think now there aren't things like that especially in this country.
>
> Interviewer: […] Do you also feel that people have the same chances whatever background they are?
>
> […]
>
> Ravanan: I mean they don't actually, the employer doesn't directly say it to you as in: "coz you're brown, black, I don't wanna employ you." But I mean […] its still in the back of their mind. They may just be slightly sceptic to actually take you

This argument seems to be characteristic for the two different views on the topic prevalent among British Indian Hindus. Some teenagers like Pradeep and Ravanan are much more critical about the British society's openness and willingness to integrate and accept others. And, others believe in multiculturalism and mixture finding no reason to detect racism and discrimination against their community. Further, there are divergent opinions about the impact anti-Muslim sentiments have on the Hindu Indian community. While some like Ranjitham feel affected, other do not see a connection as we have seen in Pradeep's comments.

> We've had this whole racism against Muslims and often as an Indian […] people don't see us as any different from Muslims and […] there had been, on one occasion, when I think soon after the September the 11th attacks, I remember walking down the street and I got this funny looks because people thought I was Muslim and it was just like: "No, no we're very different!" (Ranjitham)

One can conclude that neither racism nor discrimination influences the lives and development of young British Indians in the third generation. In general, one can derive from the discussion that racism is no longer a daily experience for the third generation in Britain. Thus, it is easier for them to integrate and attach themselves to the British community than for their predecessors who constantly had to deal with rejection and discrimination from the British majority. But, particularly the growing Islamophobia has become influential for the youngsters. They are very sensible of growing anti-Islamic sentiments and feel mistaken for a Muslim in the streets. Hence, they underline and argue strongly that they are not Muslim. This indicates that there is no identification with other South Asian religious groups. Particularly interesting are Ravanan's and Pradeep's descriptions and criticisms of the English society which on the surface appears open to difference. They detect that equality and multiculturalism are just the surface under which Indians have to assimilate in order to be accepted. Here racial prejudice is still alive although not openly articulated. All interviewees did not feel very comfortable speaking about the subject. Consequently, it may be suspected that they did not tell me about all their experiences as exposures to racist and discriminatory behaviour are extremely painful. Generally, such experiences are rarely spoken about which has been confirmed by the accounts about their parent's and grandparent's settlement. This is a way to suppress feelings of exclusion from the British society to which they all feel to belong. (Lyon 1997: 8, Shukla 2003: 235, Ghuman 1994: 139)

3. Conclusions: Post-diasporic diversity among Hansen's grandchildren

Considering the information from the literature and theory as well as the findings from my research about the third generation of Indians in Britain one can conclude that the third generation is fully integrated in the two cultures which characterize and form their lives. They are part of the British society as well as of their own ethnic and religious community

fully belonging to either. They enjoy cultural aspects of both cultures: Eastenders and football as much *bhajan*[44] and Bollywood. Their lives are characterized by the hybridity of two or more cultures and identities. However, as much as they enjoy their hybrid and bicultural life they consciously retain ethnic pride and identity.

I can confirm that the experiences of young British Indians in the 21th century are very different from those fifteen to twenty years ago. Most of the problems the second generation of Indians faced are of no longer significant for the third generation. Also problems which arose from bridging the gap between family and school in the second generation are no longer relevant to young Indians in London today. Their parents do not hesitate to contact the school and get involved in school activities. Parents do not struggle with language barriers anymore. However, many grandparents still only have a limited command of English. Therefore, the communication between grandparents and their grandchildren sometimes becomes difficult because the youngsters do not speak their heritage tongue properly. This has been clearly confirmed through the research. The youngsters welcome the compromises which the generations before agreed upon as well as a better socioeconomic position than ever before. Although there are significant differences within the British Indian Hindu community, many families have generally improved their economic position. This has been achieved particularly though continuous hard work and better qualifications. Having grown up in Britain, most parents understand the pressures their children face better than their grandparents. Nevertheless, most adhere to a traditional Indian education imparting values of respect and discipline. Still, many parents turn a blind eye on their teenager's dating, relationships and partying as they know that these activities are common in western teenage culture and can hardly be prevented without creating conflict in the family. Despite following western teenage culture to a certain degree, young British Indians stick to core social values like respect for elders and family priority. Consequently, the interviews proved that family life was very harmonious and arguments focused mainly on matters of education and study.

The investigation ascertains that the alienation from the culture of origin does not multiply itself in each subsequent generation of diaspora. In contrast to what had been expected, Indians in Britain do not loose their culture and cultural habits. Instead, after more than 50 years in Great Britain the Indian communities are very well organized and become increasingly resourceful so that possibilities and opportunities to maintain and pass cultural orientations on are improving. The communities have adapted to their diasporic and

minority position. They consciously cultivate difference in order to maintain the imaginary community as well as Indian culture and Hindu religion. Thereby, communities, sects and temples make increasing efforts to attract the British Indian youth. On the example of the Pandava Senas we have seen that even young British Indians have become active in order to impart culture and religion. Most importantly young people are very interested in Indian culture and Hindu religion; they are willing to engage actively in their culture of origin.

Constant diasporic awareness encourages people in the Indian diaspora to keep their religion and culture alive through fostering identification with the ethnic and diasporic community. This has been considered in the first chapter. The respondents show a great interest in their heritage culture and religion; they become active in the temple or in cultural activities such as traditional dancing or singing. Thus in general, the interviews and questionnaires rather confirmed the opposite to what had been expected: the attachment to Indian culture and Hindu religion of the young British Indians in the third generation is not declining but rather increasing. This tendency was particularly strong among those affiliated to a *sampradaya*. In consequence, it cannot be proved that the third generation has only limited understanding and knowledge of their heritage culture. Though some aspects of culture like language are indeed lost, the core of cultural values and norms is maintained with great attention. This interest and identification with the ethnic and cultural community as well as with their country of origin which the young people confirmed was unexpected.

Therefore, the youngsters also showed a great interest to learn their language but only few teenagers accomplish to speak their language fluently. Interest in learning the language is high despite. Concerning language, it turned out that in many theories language may be overvalued as it is seen as a prerequisite for identity and ethnicity. A strong connection between language, culture and identity could not be observed. The results of the study show that Indian culture in the diaspora is continued in the English language just as in Hindi, Tamil or Gujarati. Being multilingual, Hindu religion and Indian cultural expressions are not closely bound to language. Further, religious contexts are generally in Sanskrit which has to be translated anyway. Nevertheless, it is astonishing how easily and fast language is changed. Culture is continued and lived in another language without translation or significant adaptations. Hence, language is expected to be lost in the following generations. Or, the revival of language as part of heritage culture has not yet started. Can language and culture really be detached so easily from each other? Particularly in the context of regionally and linguistically defined ethnic subgroups like Tamils it is interesting that language ceases to be

a marker for belonging. This theoretically opens the group up to outsiders as the boundaries to other regional ethnicities dissolve.

However, other markers of ethnicity and ethnic differentiation become more important. Regional affiliations are maintained to a certain degree which is a consequence of the structure of the Indian diaspora; each regional group has its own temples and community centres. Further, ethnic subgroups concentrate in certain boroughs and towns. Therefore, the youth grows up in an Indian community characterized by a common origin. This also affects school populations and youth groups. The young people are thus aware of their belongingness to an ethnic subgroup seeing the differences and common grounds with other Indian ethnic subgroups. Sri Lankans were particularly proud of their origin, but also acknowledged that they shared a culture and religion with other Indian subgroups. At the same time, there is a tendency to pan-subethnic identification as Indian among the young British Indians in the diaspora. A number of teenagers acknowledged the similarities in culture, belief and lifestyle with other Indian ethnic subgroups. This depends very much on the ethnic interrelations of a person. Ravanan and Veeran who did not have so much contact to other Indian subgroups articulated pride in their sub-ethnicity. In contrast, Ranjitham and Pradeep formulated rather pan-subethnic sentiments. At university both came into contact with British Indians from other ethnic sub-groups. Pan-subethnic identification however is restricted to ethnic subgroups of Hindu religion. In the light of Islamophobia British Indian Hindu teenagers openly try to distinguish themselves from Muslims.

Furthermore, other new boundaries are created in the diaspora. The observed groups of teenagers would not identify with the “freshies”, as the Brent youth calls those Indians who have immigrated recently to Britain. They are not considered to be part of the imagined community because they do not share the common narrative. The same applies to certain ethnic subgroups in other areas. None of the young people I talked to would identify with South Asians in Southall. Southall represented a different way of being Indian in Britain. The young people I observed distinguished themselves from the South Asian population in Southall less for their different origin but more for their lower socioeconomic position and status in Britain.

The described developments indicate that certain traditional affiliations and identities are loosing significance for the third generation. This is not only true for linguistic affiliations but also for caste identities. Though caste awareness remains particularly among those castes of high social status, it does not have any significance for the young people’s life. This confirms

the observations on the second generation. The notion of caste as it has been in practice in India contradicts western ideals of equality. It has already lost its implications and praxis in the aftermath of migration.

Three influences on cultural, ethnic and personal identification could be proved: Gender, age and religion. The most important factor for cultural identity turned out to be congregational religious practice. Close attachment to a *sampradaya* leads to a higher affiliation to Indianness. This is not particularly fostered by religion or spiritual education but rather by the experience of belonging to a like-minded subethnic community. Religiousness and practice encourage a positive identification and ethnic pride. This was evident in ISKCON and more so in the Sai Baba sample. Here reasons of nationality, sub-ethnicity and migratory history also influence group identification.

Identities are always shifting and positional depending on the historic and social situation. Particularly, in a multicultural and diasporic condition self-definitions are adapted and managed according to social and historical context. In contrast to the second generation the young people in the third generation deny the binary description of hyphenated identities. Although ambiguities remain, there is no evidence of the identity crisis or conflict much accounted for the second generation. Multicultural freedom and lacking discrimination allows the third generation to take pride in their difference while they feel part of the English society at the same time. However, the young British Indians do not claim to feel British or English. It seems as if this has become natural and does not need special mentioning. They agree to be Indian but in general they are as Indian as English. This indicates that Indianness is more important to them. Hence, they differentiate between their ethnic identity which for instance is Tamil, their cultural identity which is Indian and their national identity which is British. Depending on the situation one of the three is used. These three however do not constitute any contradictions or conflicts for the teenagers. Interestingly, religion is not used in order to identify. It seems to have lost significance for self-definition. In conclusion, identities are no longer constructed between binaries but are becoming increasingly fragmented accepting diversity and ambiguity. But at the same time reaffirmation of Indianness and pride in their heritage plays an important role marking their roots and origin.

It has become obvious that social and historic developments in the diaspora play a role in identifications and affiliations. Hence, they also influence inter-ethnic relations. The new pride and self-definition as Indian is also based on the construction of new exclusions and

inclusions. In this context it has also become clear that young South Asians in Britain do not unite under a pan-subcontinental ethnic identity. The new ethnic and subethnic boundaries show that differences and coalitions are positional and change according to context and situation as they adapt to the realities of the diaspora. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that identities detach from time and space and become "free-floating" as Hall argues. Neither, do they adhere to traditional regional and historical identities. Instead, the youngsters find a middle way which reflects their specific contemporary situation in which some differences loose significance while others gain importance. Aspects of post-diasporic life in Britain are added to selected traditional affiliations which retain significance: especially the religious community and the Indian or Sri Lankan homeland.

The results of the study demonstrate that the attraction of the Indian homeland as a place of roots remains. Particularly, the strengthening effects for personality, identity and belonging have to be underlined. It was evident that a personal experience with their country of origin gives them more security and orientation. Both, the attraction as well as the sense of origin remain significant for teenagers. Particularly, family ties in the homeland give the third generation teenagers a realistic impression of life in the homeland. This helps them to balance cultures and ethnicities because they are able to consider both critically. In addition, ties with the homeland lead to lesser concerns about cultural loss. Unlike the migrated generations the third generation lacks any sense of dislocation. They do not suffer from divided loyalties. They feel at home in Britain and are content with occasional visits to India. India remains to be their origin with which they identify. Nevertheless, Britain is where they actually come from and where they feel to belong. The common identification with India which unites the diaspora remains without nostalgia or "myth of return" in the third generation.

Furthermore, the diasporic context of the Indian diaspora remains to be important for the third generation. As hybridity, diversity and difference were most signifying concepts for their lives, Mukadam's concept of "post-diasporic people" describes the situation of the third generation best. While feeling at home in Britain, almost all of the teenagers live in transnational families. Communication and travel maintain family ties and diasporic awareness. This is particularly fostered by the grandparents – the first generation of British Indians. In addition, almost all teenagers I talked to have visited India which has been positive for them because they were able to prove the stories and images they received from parents and grandparents.

Thus, in the light of the study and its analysis the thesis that the third generation looses central aspects of their culture favouring English orientations has proved to be wrong. Rejection of Indian cultural aspects is low. Core values and norms are maintained and the young people have a great interest in their culture and religion. The grandsons of the Indian immigrants hence wish to remember their cultural background. And they are proud of their difference. Nevertheless, they also enjoy a western lifestyle and feel at home in their country of birth. Therefore, if Indian customs and traditions do not fit to western life, they are appropriated. The youngsters show a great ability to adapt their culture to their English way of life as seen with language. This also applies to norms and values concerning gender roles and marriage patterns. However, the underlying core values are maintained with pride such as collectivism and respect for elders. Also constituting aspects of culture and cultural practice like the Hindu religion are maintained and even revitalized as seen with the Pandava Senas.

Still, young people of the third generation of Indians also value the British society showing that multiple alliances are possible without referring to the hyphen. They generally share a very positive image of the society they live in. This of course is the result of significantly decreased racism and discrimination particularly in Greater London. However, as some teenagers critically recall a certain degree of assimilation to the British way of life is necessary in order to be accepted. This predominance of western Anglo-Saxon culture is evident in the lives of the teenagers, as they have to subject to norms and assimilatory pressures from the English society. Pradeep noticed that these pressures are hidden under a surface of equal acceptance of everyone. The young people are conscious and aware of English hegemony and defend their cultural orientations and expressions of difference. In that process however they do not fall into authenticity, essentialism or fundamentalism but allow hybridity and diversity where it is necessary and comfortable. Hence, they agree to adaptations and changes of customs and habits. This is also possible because there is no fear for the survival of Indian and Hindu culture in Britain. First, the communities have become very well organized and settled. (The Indian community also has their own representatives in parliament.) Second, there is neither rejection of Indianness nor of Hindu religion in contrast to Islamophobia. Rather, some cultural exports are becoming increasingly fashionable like Bollywood and ethno style. Official support is also increasing so that Diwali celebrations on Trafalgar square are now organized by the mayor of London (“Diwali in London”). Thus, as

Indian culture and Indianness has become so fashionable and valued, young British Indians are encouraged to keep their ethnic identification.

The positive image young British Indians have of Britain is not even shaken by Islamophobia which also affects Indian Hindus though they are not the target of this new form of xenophobia. They are sometimes mistaken for Muslims for reasons of skin colour. Despite all teenagers reported not to have been directly affected by racism and discrimination, three comments must be made: First, that racist and discriminatory behaviour is far from non-existent in Britain. Second, some teenagers are very concerned about the situation with Muslims or the rise of the National Party. Third, prejudices remain and difference is still not fully accepted by postmodern British society. This is often not obvious at first glance. Deprecatory feelings against the different are not articulated openly but are kept under the surface of a so-called multicultural and cosmopolitan society. Consequently, eurocentrism and western hegemony are not overcome by contemporary forms of multicultural societies. They do not manage to integrate difference but demand a certain degree of assimilation in order to be able to accept the other. The question of how much assimilation and integration is necessary in order to form a society and in order to be able to live together has not yet been completely answered by sociologists, neither, it can be answered in the scope of this paper. The views that the teenagers had of the matter were divers. Some were more critical about the necessity to assimilate than others.

However, even those more traditionally orientated teenagers were in favour of certain adaptations. Therefore, cultural change was particularly evident in marital and gender issues. These customs choke with norms and values of western culture which the young people have adapted: equal treatment of men and woman and personal freedom of choice. Consequently, customs are appropriated and changed but do not get lost. Nobody completely rejects Indian culture as my findings confirm Mukadam's "glass-ceiling" thesis. Therefore, loss of cultural aspects is not evident. Only caste appears to loose more and more significance in the third generation because the youngsters are no longer willing to put their personal interests behind a form of social organization which makes no meaning to them. Still, they maintain caste awareness; and numerous organizations, temples and communities based on caste belongingness continue in Britain.

In general, Indian cultural aspects are known, understood and practiced in the third generation. If they do not fit into life in the West, they are changed or slight adaptations are made. This shows that the third generation of Indians in Britain does not take only "bits and

pieces" from their heritage culture but is living Indian culture in a western setting. In this process they also create their own articulations which are characterized by a proud expression of Indianness and Indian heritage. These articulations are different from those of the second generation who concentrated on "bridging-the-gap". Now however, the young generation is focusing on the expression of retention, adherence and maintenance of Indian heritage culture – an expression of difference. It may be argued that in today's world of communication and globalization which mixes and hybridizes cultures continuously people are looking for strong and unequivocal markers of identity and difference. But, neither the articulations of their grandparents nor these of their parents are valid for the third generation. First, they lack their grandparent's sense of dislocation and second they do not feel their parent's in-betweeness and "cultural clash." Instead, they are able to underline their difference while taking Britishness for granted. This is also possible thanks to an image of Britishness which their predecessors worked hard to revise. Britishness is now accepted to be black or brown as well as white.

Cultural change depends on the amount of exchange and interaction between cultural and ethnic communities. Though the third generation enjoys being close to their own ethnic community, they show no intention to close themselves against mixture. Especially in London young British Indians grow up in an multicultural environment. Further, the young people revealed the cosmopolitan state of mind described by Gillespie (Gillespie: 1995: 21-22). Hence, objections to interethnic marriage and ethnic mixture are declining; this tendency is particularly strong among those who are not affiliated closely to a religious sect. However, significant distinctions are made concerning the ethnic groups. Here prejudice against blacks became evident as a consequence of socioeconomic developments and surviving imperial ideologies. In this process, exclusions and inclusions as strategic boundaries are used in order to present the own ethnic group in a good position. In the diaspora Indians are subjected to the burden of representation. For this reason also the young Indians who took part in the study were permanently concerned with their ethnic group's representation.

Despite singular "assimilist" tendencies revealed by some as consequences of ideals of hard work and discipline, the majority has overcome mimicry and maintains pride in Indianness. Still, Stopes-Roe rightly claims that the second-generation's alienation and criticism is a step towards less reliance on the ethnic community (Stopes-Roe 1991: 135). Such a step is important for integration as well as for the individual identity and freedom. The critical view

of the second generation helps to overcome nostalgia and thus enables cultural change. This in turn helps the third generation to reconcentrate on their roots.

Lacking serious conflicts and contradictions both in the family as well as psychologically the third generation can live and enjoy their Indianness as much as their Britishness. Here Gillespie's comment on the consequences of pressures is right. She argues that pressures to retain Indian values and norms in the second generation rather lead to rejection of Indianness and to westernization. In contrast to the second generation the third generation experiences much less pressure to stick to Indian values and norms. Parents, grandparents and community leaders have learned to accept cultural change and compromise particularly in the most conflicting fields of gender relations, marriage and courtship. Hence, the third generation can more easily combine the two cultures and lives.

However, it has to be kept in mind that the young people who took part in this study are well-situated. Middle class parents are generally less strict for often being more educated. Further, the youngsters do not spent so much time in the streets. They are occupied with studying and other hobbies or additional courses. Their status and social environment protects them from discrimination which is worsened by double exclusion among lower-class children of ethnic minorities. Further, the findings of this study would certainly have differed if the sample had been taken in other Indian sub-ethnic groups. Hence, the study cannot represent the whole British Indian youth.

In conclusion, the "three-generation-assimilation-cycle" and my derivations from the literature on the second generation have been proved wrong by the case study. There are no signs that the third generation will give up its heritage culture and assimilate to Britishness. Rather, the opposite has turned out to be the case. The strength and persistence of ethnic and diasporic affiliations must be confirmed. Consequently, my findings generally validate Hansen's theory described in "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant". The young British Indians do not loose their culture and identity. Hansen explains that while the second generation tries to assimilate because of the will to overcome their difference, the youngsters in the third generation have new opportunities and forces. They do not suffer the "clash of cultures" and are well integrated into the majority culture, thus they can revive their culture of origin. Hence, third generation adolescents take an increased interest in their grandparents' culture and history. Hansen states the following as a universal phenomenon: "What the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember." (Hansen 1938: 9) This

has been observed among the third generation of British Indians as well. In contrast to the second generation the third generation has no reason to feel inferior because differences and disadvantages like language or citizenship have been overcome. People in the third generation are no longer considered to be an immigrant as they are completely integrated into the society. On the basis of that rise in equality it is possible for the third generation to take interest and pride in their heritage. This leads to a "renaissance of sentiment" concerning their heritage and origin which functions as a binding factor for the ethnic community (Hansen 1938: 10, 12).

In general, my findings confirm Hansen's theory showing that his principles are still valid after sixty years of time as well as in a different ethnic and cultural environment. It is true that the lack of cultural conflict, more opportunities as well as strength and pride in the own group connected with a high degree of structural integration allows the third generation to feel positive about Indianness. On the one hand, it is true that this revives the ethnic community and its culture and future as Hansen states (Hansen 1938: 10, 12). On the other hand in today's complex postmodern world in which clear social categories are increasingly overcome, I cannot fully agree with Hansen on that matter. Though it is true that interest in Indian culture is growing and core values and norms are maintained by the majority, there is a growing diversity in opinions and lifestyles among British Indian teenagers, today. The comparison of the two samples revealed the differences between British Indian youngsters in the third generation. This diversity is growing because the Indian youth increasingly separates itself along lines of taste and cultural preferences (Werbner 1997: 1). While some teenagers prefer to spent their time in the temple others rather go to pubs or clubs. These new differentiations cross traditional ethnic divisions. Further, as indicated above the interest of the third generation depends very much on a number of other social factors such as social status and tolerance of the wider society (Archdeacon 1990: 54-58). Thus, there are certain limitations to Hansen's theory (Weber 1991: 322). The postmodern society is too complex to be pressed in simplified laws.

Therefore, Mukadam's acculturation types prove to be very helpful. Some young people adhere strongly to Indianness while rejecting many aspects of western culture. Others, as I was told, do not care about Indianness at all. However, in this study there was nobody who completely negated Indian culture. Even the few respondents who showed no interest in religion voted towards Indianness on other matters such as language or family relations. There appears to be a limit to cultural assimilation. In general, the majority enjoys aspects of

both cultures and has a very balanced mixture of Indian and English habits, values and norms. The prevalent tendency to cultural mixture or hybridity proves that there is no need for the young people to decide on either of the two. They manage to overcome conflicts and contrasts and live comfortably with both cultures. They can affirm difference and hybridity. As a consequence of the development of such communities of taste, diversity and complexity grow in the third generation.

At last, it is necessary to find an appropriate terminology. The young people must be distinguished from their parent's and grandparent's generations. The third generation's multiculturalism, pluralism and their new ways of diaspora and ethnicity need to be acknowledged by proper terms. However, these are lacking so that one has to stick to old and often morally charged concepts like Indian, British, English or minority and majority (Mukadam 2006: 105, 108). It is necessary to overcome terminologies which put people in certain categories entirely based on ethnicity and cultural difference. Such categories can not acknowledge diversity, hybridity and cultural change which are evident in the third generation.

Unfortunately, many questions and issues the research provoked remain unanswered for reasons of time and space. As the Indian presence in Britain grows and India and the Indian diaspora are becoming more and more influential in world politics and economics, this topic is becoming increasingly important. This work tried to understand the relations between generation and integration as well as between culture and identity. As the various diasporas around the world and particularly in Europe are growing into the third and fourth generations such topics become increasingly significant. The study has proved that diasporic cultures of the 21st century survive over generations. The third generation's interest and engagement in cultural heritage is not a short-term politicized reaction. On the contrary, in the third generation the Indian diaspora has managed to settle down in the British society. They are well organized and feel at home in western structures maintaining their culture without constant conflicts with the hegemonic western Anglo-Saxon culture. Thus, the third generation of Indians in Britain is well integrated in the multicultural society and enjoys hybrid lives underlining their difference. The grandchildren of the Indian immigrants display a post-diasporic diversity retaining Indian culture in Britain.

Obviously being identified with the spiritual movement, we're not supposed to be so much attached to like place of origin, place of birth because these are constantly changing. […] I mean even in the material sense: I was born in the United States, my father is from sixth generation polish American, my mum's Indian-British. I was born in the States and then moved to Britain and now I am gonna live in India, so I can't really say like I feel particularly attached anyway, even on the material sense. And obviously my spiritual background is that I'm supposed to be the soul, I supposed to see […] the eternality in everyone. I have eternal spiritual identity. But I guess if I was to if I was to attach myself to any country, it would have to be India, definitely, definitely… (Pradeep)

Notes

[1] There are no appropriate terms to describe ethnic groups originating from the Indian subcontinent. The term Indian is heavily contested because being a very divers country India is home to numerous cultures, traditions, ethnicities and religions. Further, the term often tends to include people from the neighbouring countries on the Indian subcontinent like Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans or Nepalese. Despite nationalism and postcolonialism no alternative terms have gained acceptance; so that I am forced to work with such imprecise terminology. Also the term British Indian is debatable. The young people would not use the hyphen for themselves, as I will show in the second part of this paper. It would probably be right to speak of British citizens of Hindu religion and of South Indian, North Indian or Sri Lankan origin. Of course, for legibility's sake I was forced to shorten such descriptions so that British Indian remained as the only possibility. Such terms are widely used in the literature and none of the teenager I talked to objected to the label Indian. Hence, I herewith define that whenever in this work I speak of British Indian I am referring to Britons of Hindu religion who originate from the north, west or south of India or Sri Lanka and currently live in England.

[2] Though Alibhai-Brown criticizes the use of the term minority referring to the growing numeral strength of immigrated groups in Britain, I still find the term appropriate. I base this view on an understanding of the concept of minority which must not be based necessarily on numbers. More important than numbers are the conditions under which a cultural group can represent itself and its identity, though those are often connected. The involved relations are influenced by hegemony. Thus the minority is forced to articulate its identity within the symbolic order of the majority culture (Bronfen 1997: 12). The minority position also has still has further very practical consequences for the Indian minorities, like "political disenfranchisement", "social manipulation", "ideological domination" and for some groups also "economic exploitation". Actually the term minority has only been introduced as a polite substitute for racial denominations. However, it has not changed power relations. (Brah 1996: 188, 186)

[3] The Indian community is very divers consisting of numerous culturally, linguistically, religiously or regionally defined groups. These are defined as ethnic subgroups as Indians in the West are often considered as an ethnic group. In that I follow Mukadam. Identifying Indian Hindus as an ethnic group it appears sensible to consider Tamils or Gujaratis etc. as ethnic subgroups. The identifications and limitations of ethnic subgroup are not fixed and change according to situation. In the course of this work I will try to stick to these definitions. (Mukadam 2006: 115) (See also chapters 1.1 and 1.4)

[4] For a more detailed definition of the term diaspora and more information about the debate on the concept see: Tsagarousianou, Roza. "Rethinking the concept of diaspora: mobility, connectivity and communication in a globalised world." *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture.* Vol. 1,1 (2004): 52-66. 07 June 2008. <www.wmin.ac.uk/mad/pdf/Tsagarousianou.pdf>.

[5] The term has been coined by Muhammad Anwar. See also Anwar, M. *The Myth of Return*. London: Heinemann, 1979.

[6] In social and cultural sciences integration is again a very debated term. In this paper I follow an idea of integration which allows people to be part of the society without assimilating – becoming culturally the same – themselves to its way of life, values, norms and beliefs. Nevertheless, a certain degree of adaptation is necessary in order to live as part of the society, but differences can be maintained. There is a constant debate about how much acculturation is necessary for integration into the society and how much difference a society can bear. The outcome of this discussion depends very much on the society and its history, values and beliefs. I particularly support Esser's theory. Hartmut Esser differentiates between cognitive, structural, social and "identificatory" integration. (Though calling it assimilation his understanding rather corresponds with

integration). These four aspects of integration are dependent on one another. (Geenen 2002: 247-249, Esser 1990: 76,78)

[7] The term Indianness was created out of necessity for a short description of Indian identity and culture. It denotes the totality of Indian cultural habits, norms and values. The Indian subcontinent is ethnically, culturally and linguistically very divers. Nevertheless, there are some basic characteristics that unite subcontinental cultures. In this essay the term includes the Hindu religion though in reality of course Indianness is not exclusively Hindu.

[8] In postcolonialism a culture is described as authentic if it is not influenced by the colonizer. This often implies the search for the indigenous which involves the danger of essentialism. Hereby, often hybrid cultural forms are rejected and a supposed original cultural form is "iconized" which involves the danger of essentialist positions. These are static and ignore cultural change. (Ashcroft 2000: 21)

[9] Bourdieu's term is quite useful here, because what children learn is not culture in its broad sense but the group-specific knowledge, behavior and actions. These then differentiate Indian children from others who have learnt a different *habitus*. The *habitus* is unconscious.

[10] Because culture is always changing and mixed as it lives with and trough the people who constantly produce and reproduce it, culture has no essential center. Understanding culture as process does not exclude the existence of cultural artifacts such as traditions or works of arts, which survive over generations despite changing backgrounds. Surely there is an "ongoing *reassamblance* of the familiar, a re-enactment [but] that performatively changes as it repeats." (Brah 1996: 234)

[11] Originally played at harvest festivals in Punjab, Bhangra was mixed with various western styles like house music, hip hop or rock. It became the music of the second generation of South Asians in Britain.

[12] Ethnicity is often racialised which according to Brah has its roots in colonialism. In general, ethnicity is a new concept in comparison to the discourses of minority, nationalism or race. Nevertheless, ethnic groups are embedded in the same structures of hegemony (Brah 1996: 162-163). Still, the term ethnicity challenges biological definitions of race and assumptions about the ethnic homogeneity of nations because it constructs social categories on a variety of characteristics (Gillespie 1995: 8).

[13] This is similar to the concept of cultural identity. But speaking of cultural identity a collective is created on the basis of common culture. This includes a common history and ancestry, experience and cultural codes. Thus, the boundaries between the two terms are not clear (Hall 2003: 110). Cultural identification can take place with a greater group which transcends ethnic boundaries while ethnic identity is based on the ethnic group. Cultural identity provides common experience as the basis of identity on the basis of common frames of reference and meaning (Hall 2003: 111).

[14] The term multiculturalism may denote quite different concepts and ideas. It is a very controversial intellectual and social idea often applied to postcolonial and immigration-related contexts. In general, multiculturalism refers to the coexistence of different cultures and cultural and ethnic milieus in one society. These different cultures live together and therefore share relations which are often not without conflict. The different cultural communities in a multicultural society tend to seek equality and recognition. (Hettlage 1996: 175, Joppke 1996: 449)

[15] This correlation has been described in the "social identity theory" by Henri Tajfel. For further detail see also: Tajfel, H., Turner, J.C. "The social identity theory of intergroup behavior." Eds. S. Worchel and W.G. Austin. *Psychology of intergroup relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1986. 7-24.

[16] These conflicts are particularly relevant among those communities who have low social status or caste like the Valmikis. They experience exclusion from both societies. They are discriminated among Indians in Britain for their religion and caste; they are also not part of the white British majority (Nesbitt 1994: 157).

[17] Erikson conceptualizes and defines identity as interplay of individual and community cultures. Identity is semiconscious and gives life a sense of continuity and sameness. Erikson's model is criticised for a number of inexactitudes. But most problematic is the bipolarity of Erikson's theory: if identity is not successfully developed on a certain stage of life, the consequence is role confusion. This means that the individual cannot successfully complete his or her roles in society (Kroger 1989: 14, 32, 34).

[18] When developing from a child to an adult during teenage years, young people are faced with numerous tasks and changes. In adolescence people start to question parental values, norms and authorities in the light of becoming increasingly able to deal with abstract matters (Ghuman 1994: 29-30, Rosenthal 1987: 157). The individual's relation to groups is complicated. While children are ascribed to groups, adolescents are expected to create their own affiliations and identifications. They have to re-orientate themselves among peer-groups, they have to take professional decisions and overtake new social roles. All these tasks amount to the formation of personal and social identities. Through negotiating their identity the young generation has the possibility to influence new ethnicities and cultural change. It is still debated whether these tasks are internal or whether they are created by social circumstances. In fact, in modern western societies adolescents have more time and freedom for these developments than elsewhere and before. (Ghuman 1994: 29-30, Kroger 1989: 1-2, Gillespie 1995: 2)

[19] Such an identity has actually never existed. Britain is shaped by regional affiliations and identifications. Also in England identifications have always differed greatly depending on gender, class, ideology and region.

[20] Of the South Asian communities in Britain Bengalis have the most difficulties to adapt. In all areas they are worse off than other groups. They struggle economically and have low levels of education.

[21] Modood uses data from the 1990 census. When ask what they considered most important for their self-description 73% of Indians referred to religion and only 37% to race. These numbers differ greatly from the Afro-Caribbean communities in Britain who rather define themselves on the basis of skin colour. When asked to identify themselves, 62% of Indians agreed to feel British and 91% agreed to feel Indian (Modood 1997: 262, 329). It has to be kept in mind that these numbers contain all Indians regardless of age. Pakistanis where not included. New statistical data from 2002 shows that the amount of Indians who identify as British has increased to 75 % (National Statistics 2005: 7).

[22] See Commission for Racial Equality 1987: page 7.

[23] Being an immigrant nation there have been more investigations on the correlations between generation and integration in the USA. Many of these also refer to Hansen's thesis (Archdeacon 1990: 49).

[24] This however does not apply for all ethnic groups. For example, Bengalis or Bangladeshis are still structurally disadvantaged. Muslims in general suffer from growing islamophobic sentiments. But, this paper focuses on Indian Hindus who have reached comparatively privileged positions over the last 15 years.

[25] Furthermore, four teenagers filled the questionnaire out on the street in Brent. They are counted to the Brent Council sample. Another five teenagers completed the questionnaire at the *Indian Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, the institute for Indian art and culture in London. It turned out that all these girls were Tamil. For this reason and their attachment to Indian culture and Hindu religion they are included in the *sampradaya* sample.

[26] About half of Brent's population belongs to non-white ethnic groups. Of them British Indians form the majority (18.5% of the whole population). Consequently, Hindus are the second largest religious group (17%) after Christians (48%). 12% of the population is Muslim (Brent Council: 2007).

[27] These accidentally took part in the survey as part of the Brent sample. Their questionnaires were included in the analysis because their answering patterns did not differ significantly from that of British Indian Hindus.

[28] All names have been changed by the author for reasons of anonymity.

[29] The programme is called Bal Vika meaning child development (Nesbitt 2007: 62)

[30] The dimension concerning discrimination was left out. First, being a very sensitive topic, it was expected that the teenagers would not answer honestly. And second, discrimination and racism take more subtle forms today, which cannot be explored in binary answering categories.

[31] Lickert scales are the most common scales. They have 5 answering categories ranging form strongly agree to strongly disagree. In my questionnaire each answering category is attached to a value between 2 and -2. Hereby, 2 points are given for the most "western" answer and -2 for the most "traditional" answer. Counting all answers together every individual has its own acculturation score. The highest reachable scores were 60 and -60 with 0 points for a completely equilibrated point of view.

[32] It is important to keep in mind that the acculturation score can only give a first orientation for general attitudes. The method has been criticized because the same score may be reached in different ways. A respondent can reach a score of 0 by always ticking "undecided". Another teenager may have agreed to acculturation in half of the questions and ticked towards retaining traditions in the other half. He will also get the same score. Nevertheless, the acculturation score gives a first orientation. And, the questionnaires were checked for their meaningfulness and reliability before being analysed.

[33] The Dudden Hill community centre runs Gujarati classes. Children can even gain a GCSE in this South Indian language. On Saturdays the centre runs several classes with schoolchildren of different ages but the situation is rather crowded. However, the chairman Naginbhai Mistry and all teachers and staff are doing their best to maintain order and concentration.

[34] In the Hare Krishna Movement English has always been the predominant language as the movement has started in the USA. The London temple is extremely international so that English is the only language everyone understands. Most other temples like the Shree Ganapathi temple are bilingual; announcements are made in English and posters and information are put up in Tamil and English.

[35] Ravanan and Veeran comment:

> Veeran: …and everytime you go to India you learn a lot more about your culture like when you go…
> Ravanan: When you go to the temple…
> Veeran: and the famous temples and also like there're different foods and stuff like that. When we went there my dad was showing me like the fruits and the different types of trees and stuff that he was brought up with, that I never knew about: like that's a jackfruit tree and we don't have those here so I didn't know about it, so its also getting about…

[36] The *boli* is the oral family history. It is derived from the Hindi word *boli* meaning speech.

[37] During the Vedic period women were considered equal to men. Later in Indian history this changed and the rights and freedoms of women were curtailed becoming increasingly subordinated (Klostermaier 2003: 209).

[38] Bhatti's research mostly covered Muslim and Sikh teenagers. Their communities tend to be stricter on issues of gender and courtship.

[39] Gillespie's study was conducted in Southall, an area mainly Sikh populated. Sikhs tend to be stricter on gender and marriage issues than Hindus. Nevertheless, in principle Hindu girls may also face these double standards.

[40] Pradeep said: “After understanding the values of spiritual life and seeing what it’s given me, [...] I think that too free mixing of boys and girls especially at a teenage age is not productive, you know. It’s just like a massive distraction. Like the whole time my mind was just elsewhere. I should been sitting down and studying and developing my ideas and my morals and I was just off getting drunk, doing nonsense. So, I wouldn’t want my kids to have relationships before they got married. [...] I mean yeah, I don’t wanna sound like a fuddy-duddy, but no I think marriage is there for a purpose and if you have these desires to go and fool about, then get married. But I don’t think that before marriage [there should] just be unrestricted messing about, you know.”

[41] This also has to do with the low degree of acceptance of divorce in the Indian community. Buddhdev Pandya however indicated that this has started to change as women become more self-conscious and independent through western education and work. Therefore, divorce and single parenthood is growing.

[42] It is necessary to keep in mind that the forms and motivations of racism have changed significantly over the last decades. Nowadays, cultural motivations have replaced argumentations of skin colour. Thus, more and more cultural difference is used to discriminate and harass people or to demand assimilation. Nevertheless, racism has not become entirely independent from race. Still, race is perceived as a marker of difference. It is applied to categorize people into culturally defined groups (Modood 1997: 353, Allen 1971: 23).

[43] The full-text version of the interview sequence is quoted beneath:

> Ravanan: Yeah, the attitudes are changing […] since like this turn of the century people in this country are starting to mainly the Brit… no the English…
>
> Veeran: But there is more equality now then there’s ever been as far as laws and things like…
>
> Ravanan: No, there’s laws but the attitudes are starting to change the opinion of people …
>
> Interviewer: In what direction?
>
> Ravanan: As in this, like for example in the news they’re saying how the British national party won the first eight seats […]
>
> Veeran: No, I …
>
> Ravanan: …so that shows that the minds of the British people are starting to change and they’re starting to realize that they want all the foreigners out of it…
>
> Veeran: I can see [that] because of fundamentalism and things […] there’re a lot of maybe anti-Islamic, being careful here, kind of anti-Islamic things in the media and stuff like that but […] on the street and in my own personal experience I can’t see people getting worse. I can only see people if anything getting better. I don’t think there’s you know time in the world when people are as tolerant as that. You look back there was like slave trade and apartheid stuff, I think now there aren’t things like that especially in this country.
>
> Interviewer: […] Do you also feel that people have the same chances whatever background they are? […]
>
> Ravanan: I mean they don’t actually, the employer doesn’t directly say it to you as in: “coz you’re brown, black, I don’t wanna employ you.” But I mean […] its still in the back of their mind. They may just be slightly sceptic to actually take you
>
> Veeran: I don’t think that. But I know that when the first Tamil people came to this country after the war […] and at the start well my parents they did have to work really hard but now I’m equal to anyone else in society, white people or whatever. I’m equal but my parents when they came here

they had to work hard to get here but that was because of the war and coz they didn't come with anything so […]

Veeran: I know they experienced racism but they didn't come with any money or anything so they had to work hard for that but I'm not sure whether their colour affected anything.

[44] Singing of religious songs mostly in groups.

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Appendices

Attitude Scale

Please read the following statements and mark whether you agree or not.

	strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
It is important to improve our knowledge of our Asian tongue.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We should not speak English with family members.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am religious.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I want to learn more about my religion.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I do not know which caste my family belongs to.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel rather British than Indian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We have few common interests with white teenagers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to have more white friends.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Boys and girls from my community should mix with white kids.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would not mind being the only British Asian in class.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to go to India for a year.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I prefer to go on holiday elsewhere than India.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We are better off living with people from our community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I like having many Asian families in the neighbourhood.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We should always try to fulfill our parent's wishes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Grandparents should not intervene in family matters.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sisters and brothers should be treated equally.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Our girls should not behave like white girls.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Indian films are more entertaining than English ones.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Attitude Scale

	strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
I do not like wearing traditional Indian clothes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There should be more Asian programmes on telly.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We should keep our customs and traditions.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is ok to have a boyfriend or a girlfriend.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Marriages should be arranged by the family.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There should be more mixed marriages.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Grandparents should live with their children and grandchildren.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Our grandparents have done a great job settling here.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Grandparents should adapt more to the English ways of life.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Most parents are to westernized.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I have only little knowledge about my family's origin.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Background information

Gender

Please state your gender:	male ☐ female ☐

Age

Please give your year of birth:	☐☐☐☐

Family

Which language do you speak at home?	English ☐ only our Asian tongue ☐ both ☐
What is your fathers profession?	
Whats your mothers profession?	
Is your father born in Britain?	yes ☐ no ☐
If not, where does he come from?	
Is your mother born in Britain?	yes ☐ no ☐
If not, where does he come from	
How often do you see your grandparents?	several times a week ☐ several times a month ☐ monthly ☐ seldom ☐ never ☐
Where do your grandparents come from?	

Religion

Please state your religious affiliation:	

Appendix 3: Interview guide:

Introduction of the why, what and how of the interview.

I. Attitude towards retention of Indian/ Hindu culture

How do you feel about your family's origin/ culture/ religion?

1. Language:	- Which language do you speak spoken at home? - Can you speak/read ***Asian language***? - Would you like to learn it?
2. Religion:	- Do you take part in any ***religious activities*** in the temple or at home? Tell me about it! - What do you think about it? Do you like it or not? - Are you religious? - Can you tell me what it is for/ why do you do it? - Which festivals do you like most?
3. Visits to India:	- Do you have any contacts to ***friends or relatives*** in India? - Have you ever been to India? - If yes, how was it/ what do they think about the ***trip*** and the country? Tell me about it! - If not, would you like to go? What would you want to do and see? What do you think it would be like?
4. Caste system:	- How do you feel about the ***caste system***? - Do you know what caste your ***family*** belongs to? And why does your family belong to that caste? What does it mean to belong to that caste? - What caste do your ***friend's families*** belong to? - Does it ***matter to you***?
5. Community matters:	- Is your family in any Indian organization, association or club? - How do you feel about the Asian community (here)?

II. Attitude towards Englishness and the English way of life

What do you think about the English way of life?

1. Identity:	- Do you feel rather British or Indian or Hindu/ Sikh or both? - How do you feel about the British society?
2. Discrimination experiences	- How do you feel if you hear about ***racism***? Do you feel foreign or not? - Your grandparents and parents faced a lot of racism and discrimination. Did you ever feel ***discriminated***? Tell me about it! - Do you feel that you have the same ***chances*** as white people?
3. Cultural preferences:	- What do you like about Britain and living here?

4. School and friends:	- Are most of your ***friends*** British-Indian or not? - What do you do with them? What do you do white friends? - I have heard stories about girls who are quite rude at school smoking and having boyfriends but at home they are all goody-goody. Do you also know people who behave differently at home and at school? And you? - Did you ever have a ***problem in school***? What did your parents do? Tell more about it!

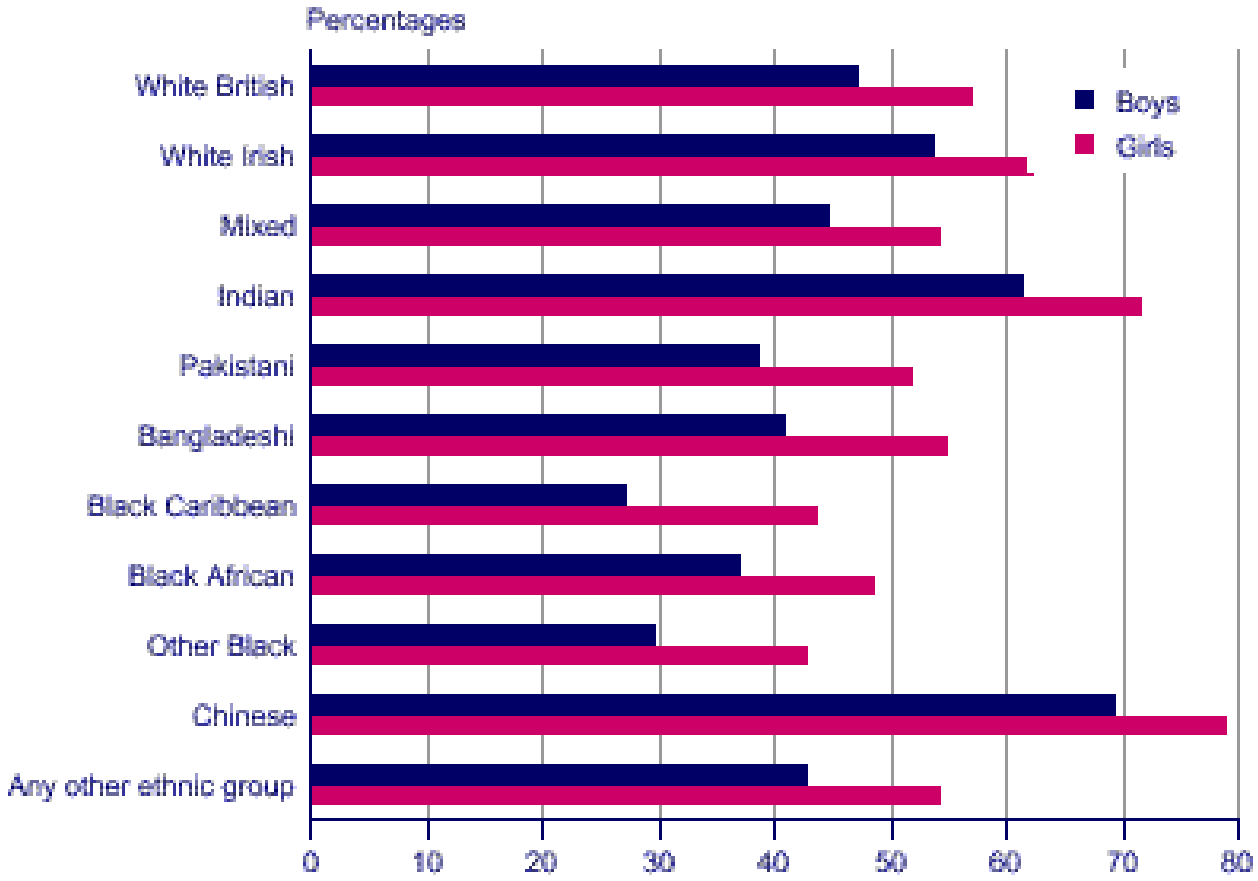
III. <u>Family dynamics</u>

Is your family very traditional? Tell me a little bit about your family!

1. Family's origin	- Where did your grandparents come from? Did they ever tell you why they have moved here? - What did they tell you how it was settling in Britain?
2. Family relations	- How do you feel about ***family meetings*** and celebrations? What do you like about them and what not? Tell me about them! - What is it like when your ***grandparents*** are around? Tell me about such situations! - Are your parents strict or not? - Do you think English teenagers have more ***freedom***? Is it good for them? - How do you feel about paying respect for elders? - About what ***topics do you argue*** with your parents? - What do they think about ***English families***?
3. Gender roles	- Should girls be allowed the same as boys? - What do you think about going to clubs ect. where boys and girls meet? - What do they think about having boyfriends/ girlfriends?
4. Marriage	- How do they feel about ***arranged marriages***? - Did your parents have an arranged marriage? Tell me about it! - Do you think you will they have one or not? - How do you feel about ***intermarriage***?

Background questionnaire!

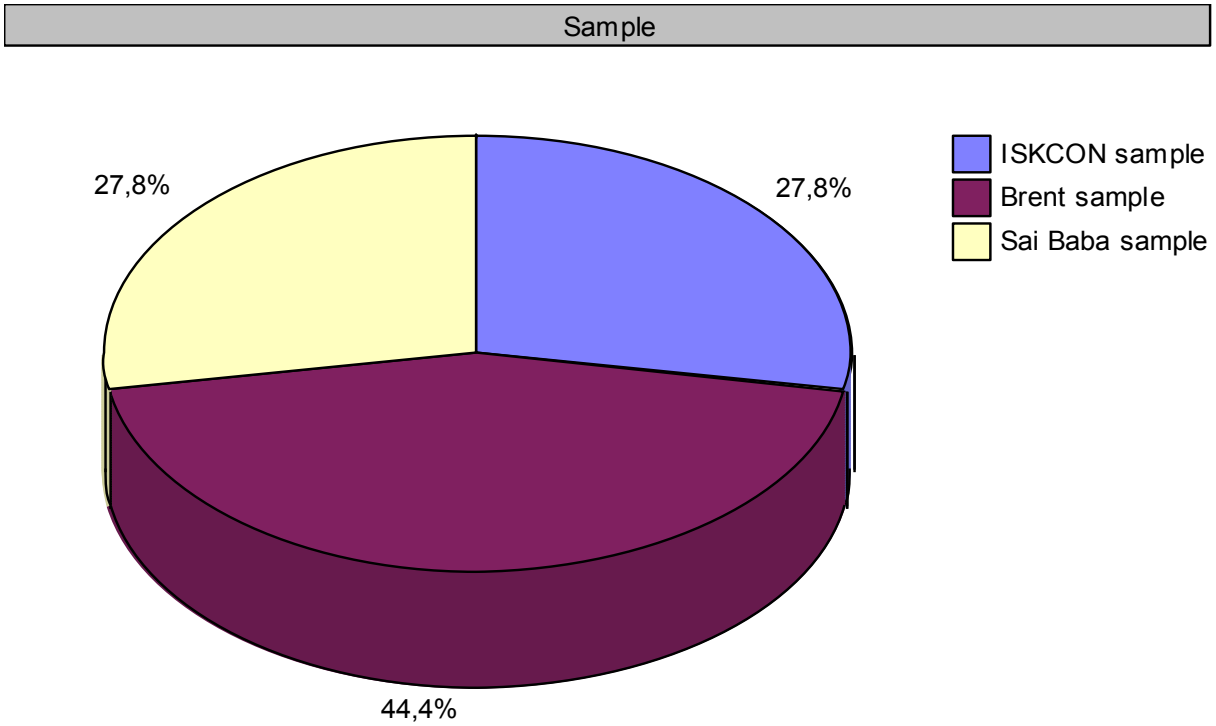
Appendix 4: GCSE results according to ethic groups:



Pupils achieving 5 or more A*-C at GCSE/GNVQ: by sex and ethnic group, 2004, England
(National Statistics. "Education: Chinese pupils have best GCSE results." *National statistics: Ethnicity and Identity*. 21 February 2006. 01 August 2008. <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=461.>)

Appendix 5: Sample data[1]

1. Samples :



2. Gender:

	Respondents	Percentage
Not stated	**1**	**1.9%**
Male	**21**	**38.9%**
Female	**32**	**59.3%**
total	**54**	**100%**

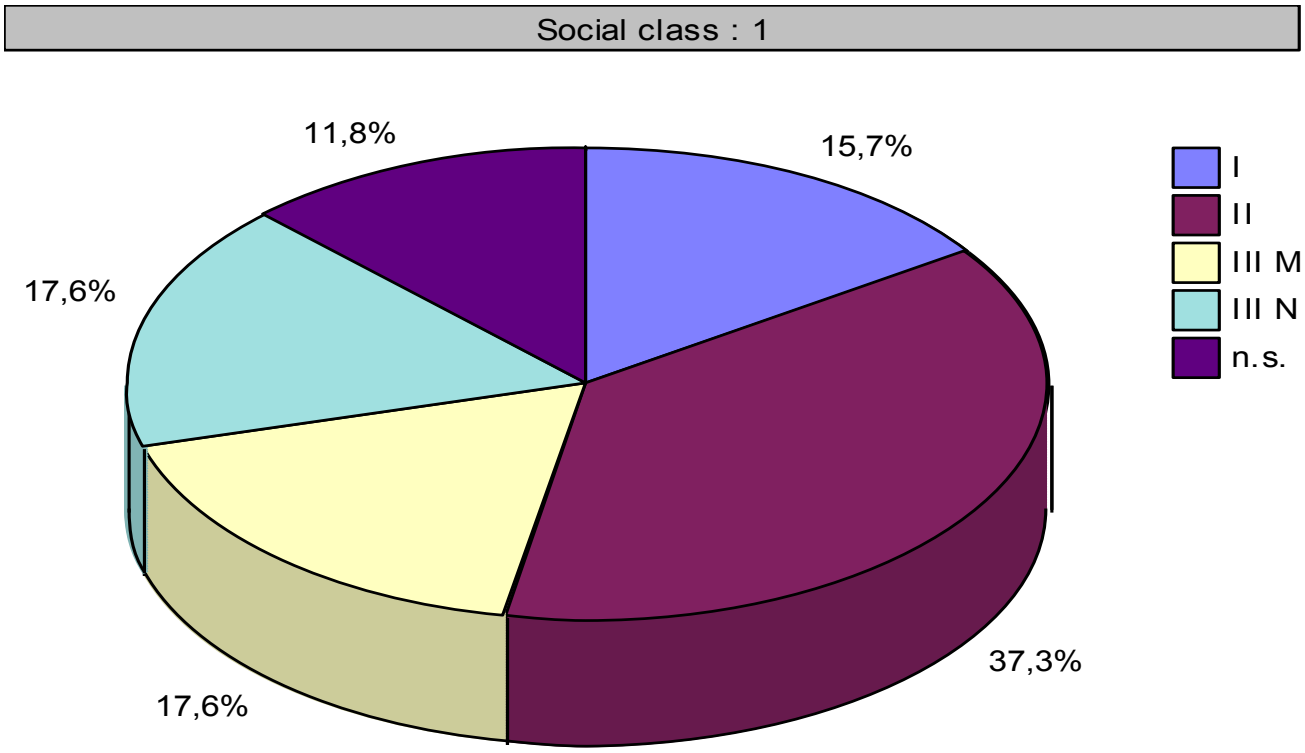
3. Age:

	Respondents	Percentage
Not stated	**1**	**1.9%**
18 years and older	**8**	**13.0%**
15 to 18 years	**20**	**37.0%**
13 to 15years	**21**	**38.0%**
13 and younger	**5**	**9.3%**

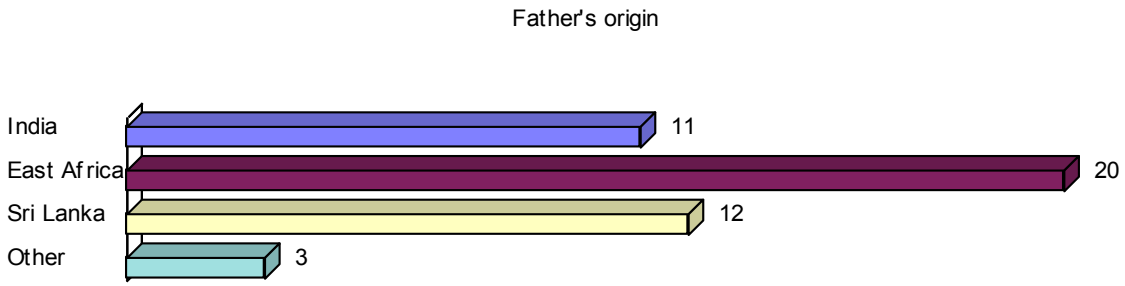
4. Family's social class:

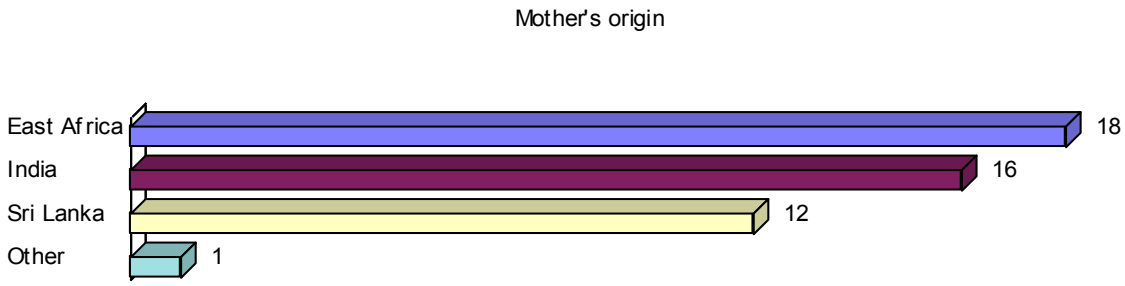
Social class is differentiated following the parents' professions.

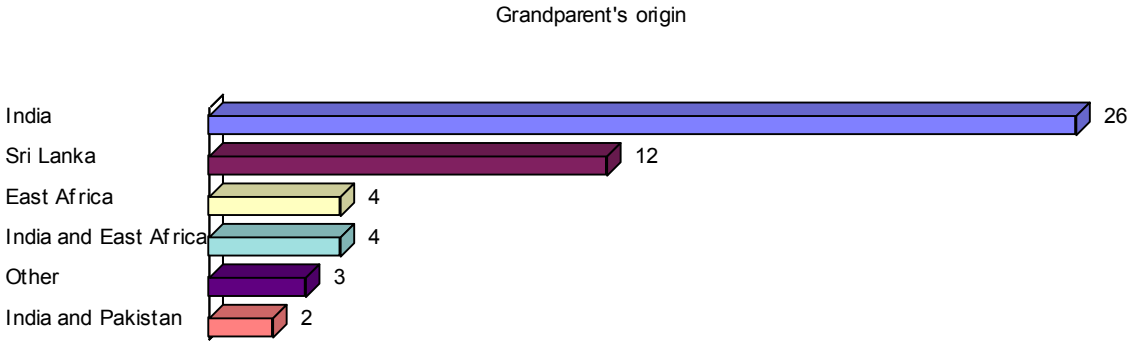
Categories:
I = professional occupations
II = managerial and technical occupations
III N = skilled non-manual occupations
III M = skilled manual occupations
(no parents worked in IV = partly skilled or V = unskilled occupations)



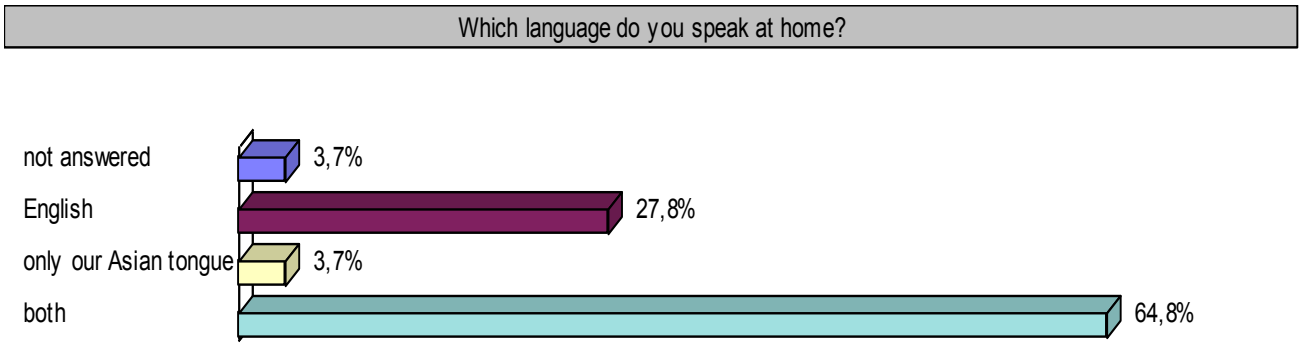
5. Family's Origin:





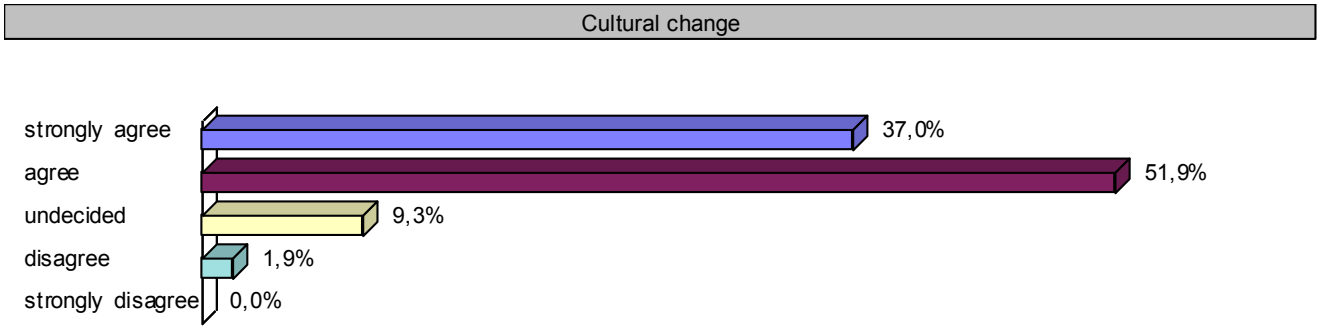


6. Language spoken at home

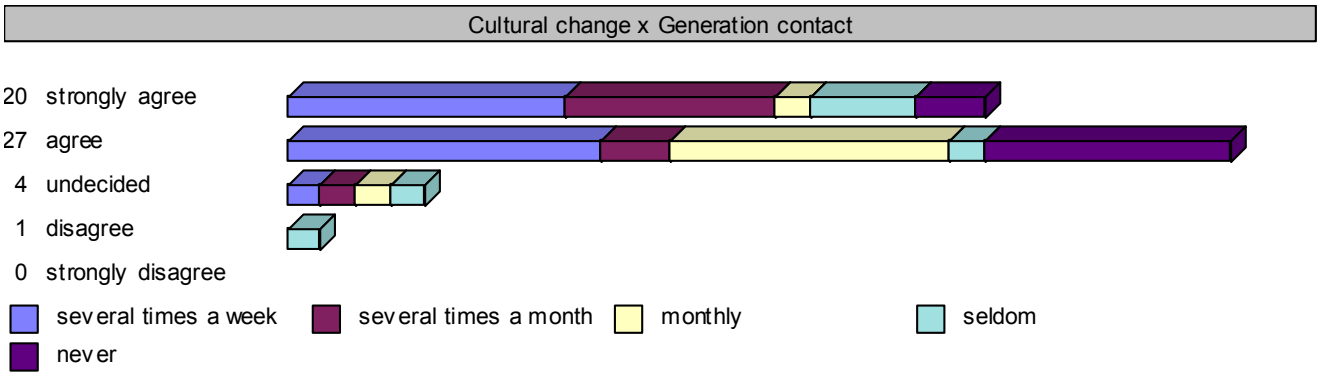


Appendix 6: Data from the questionnaire

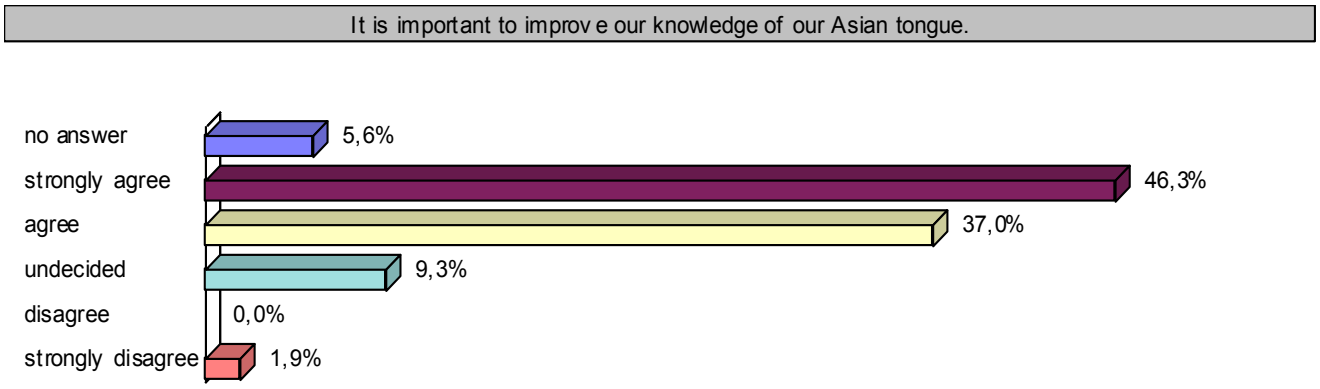
1. Retention of Indian culture: ("We should keep our customs and traditions.")



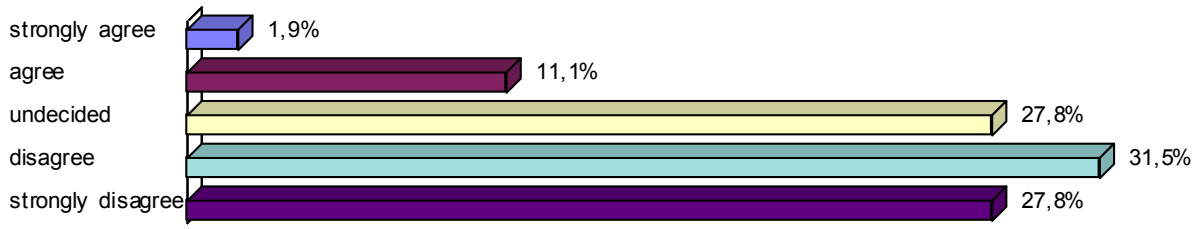
Correlation between the frequency of personal contact to grandparents and attitude to maintain customs and traditions:



2. Attitudes towards community-language learning:



We should not speak English with family members.

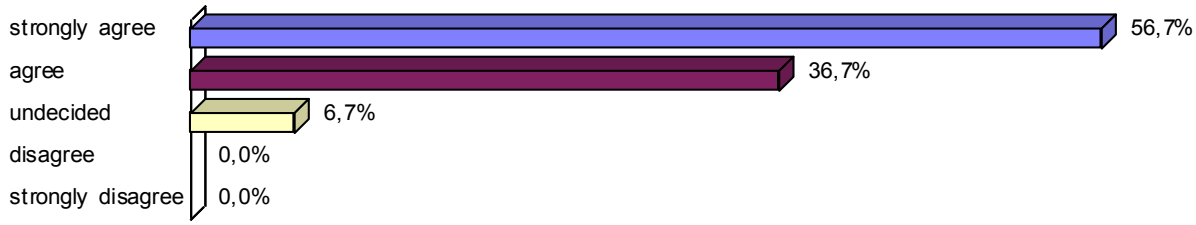


3. Attitudes towards religion:

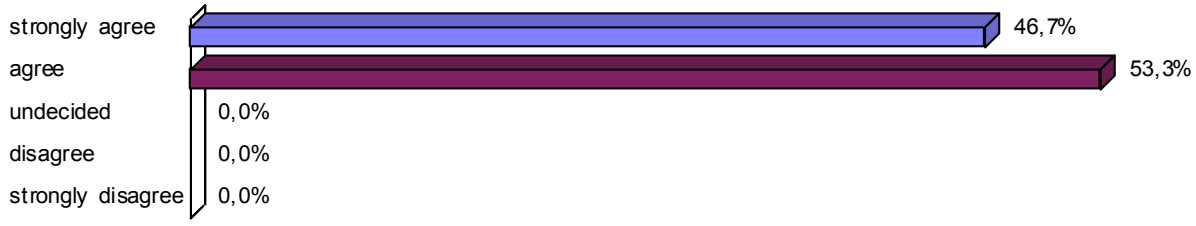
The *sampradaya* sample had a different question concerning religion, than the Brent sample.

***Sampradaya* sample:**

I am religious.

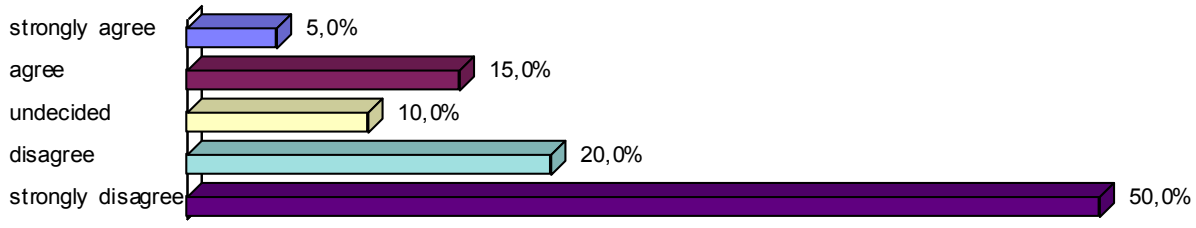


I want to learn more about my religion.

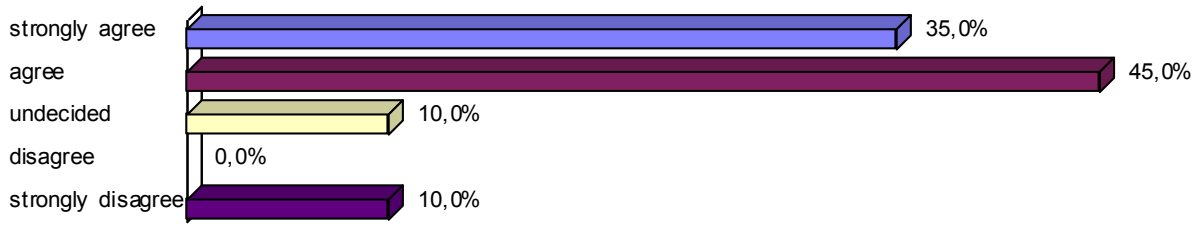


Brent sample:

There is no point in going to the temple regularly.



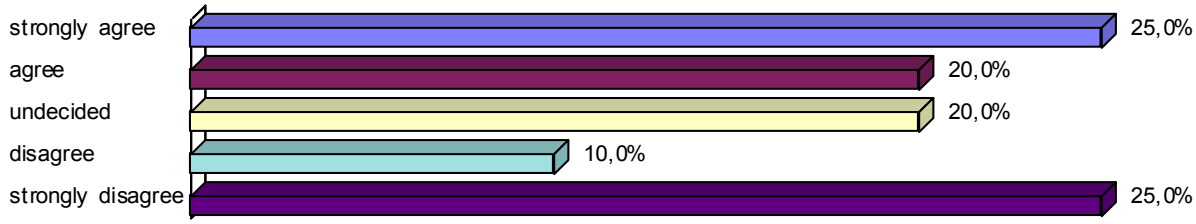
I want to learn more about my religion.



4. Attitudes towards India:

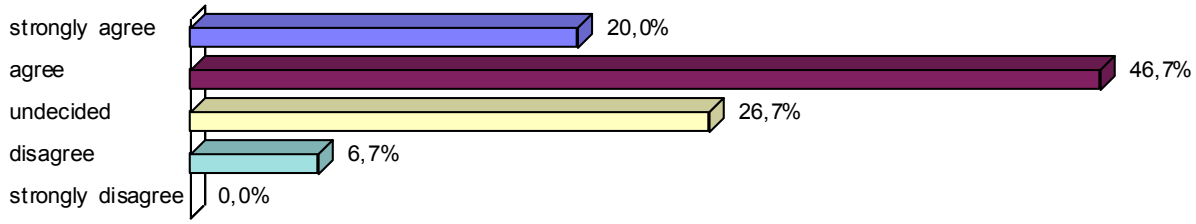
Brent sample:

I would like to go to India for a year.



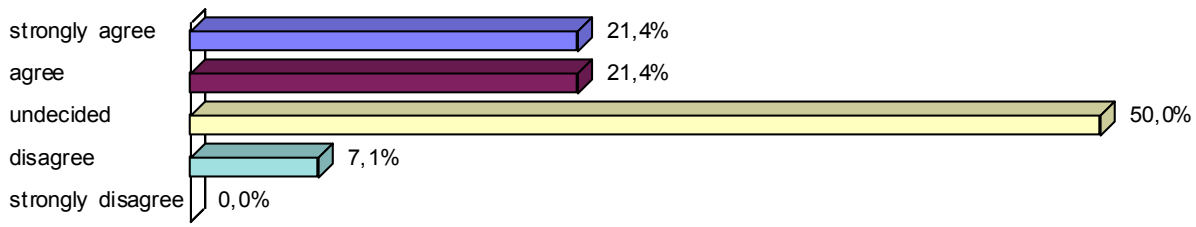
Sai Baba sample:

I would like to go to India for a year.



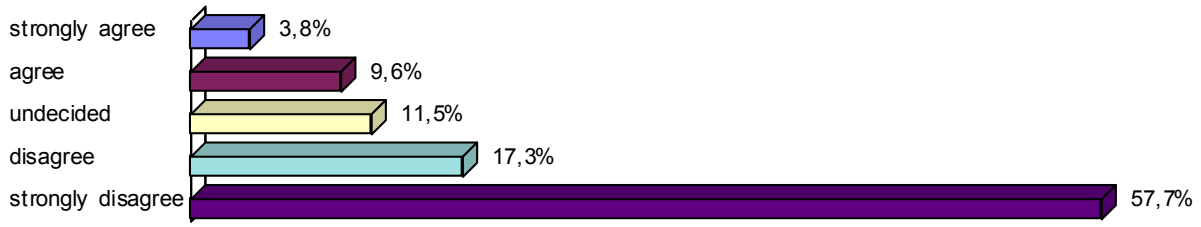
ISKCON sample :

I would like to go to India for a year.



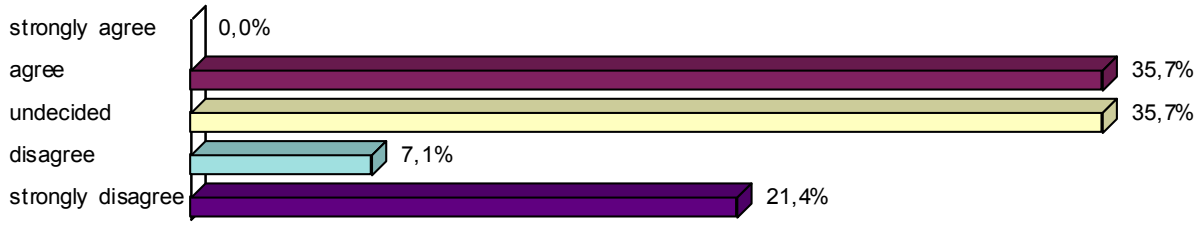
5. Caste awareness :

I do not know which caste my family belongs to.



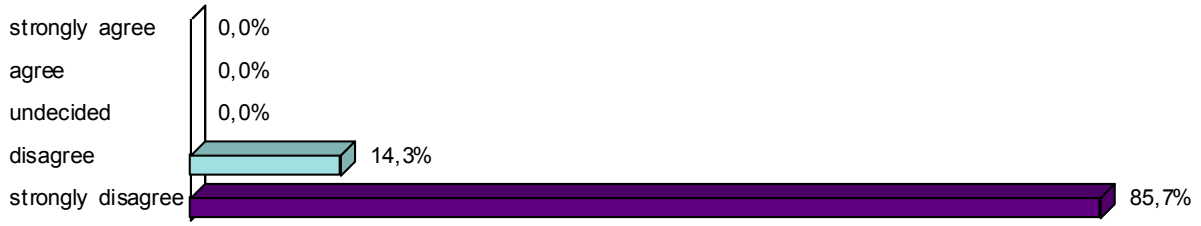
Sai Baba sample:

I do not know which caste my family belongs to.



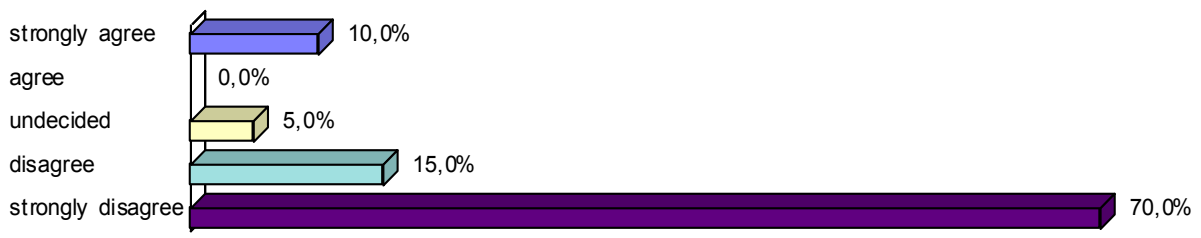
ISKCON sample:

I do not know which caste my family belongs to.



Brent sample:

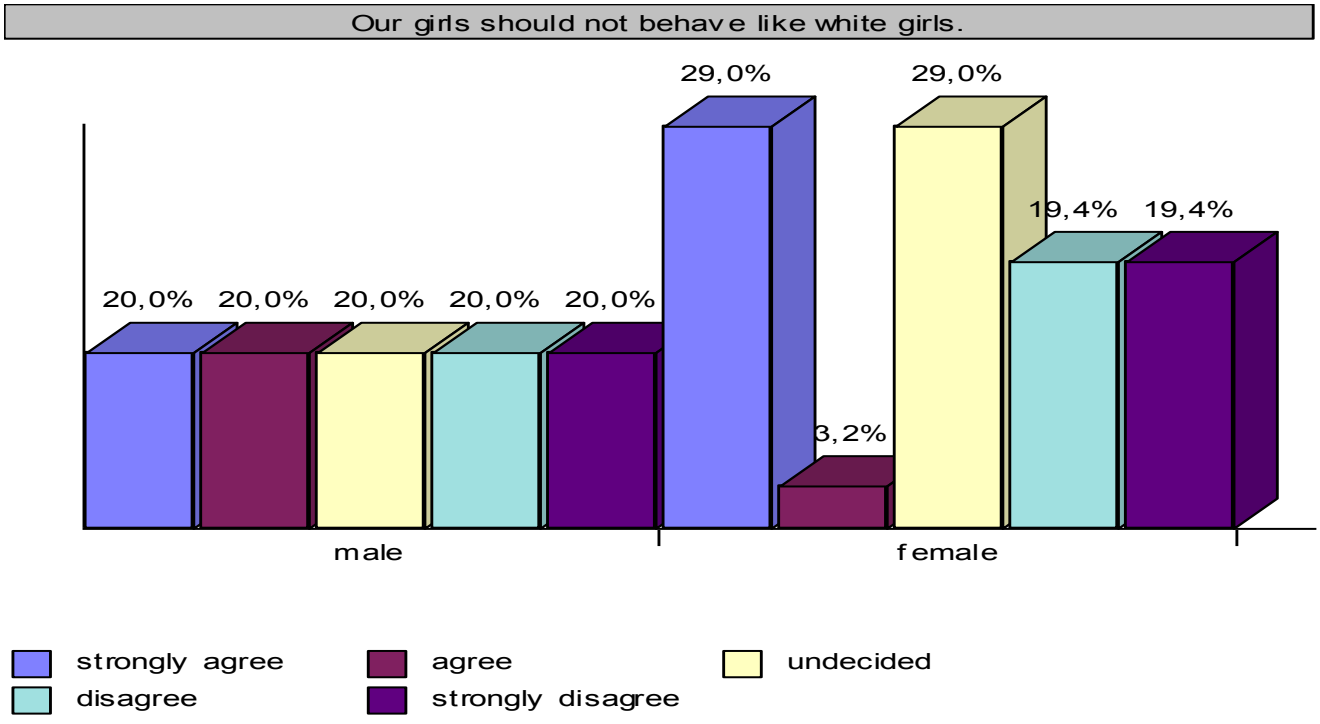
I do not know which cast my family belongs to.



6. Attitudes on gender roles and relations:

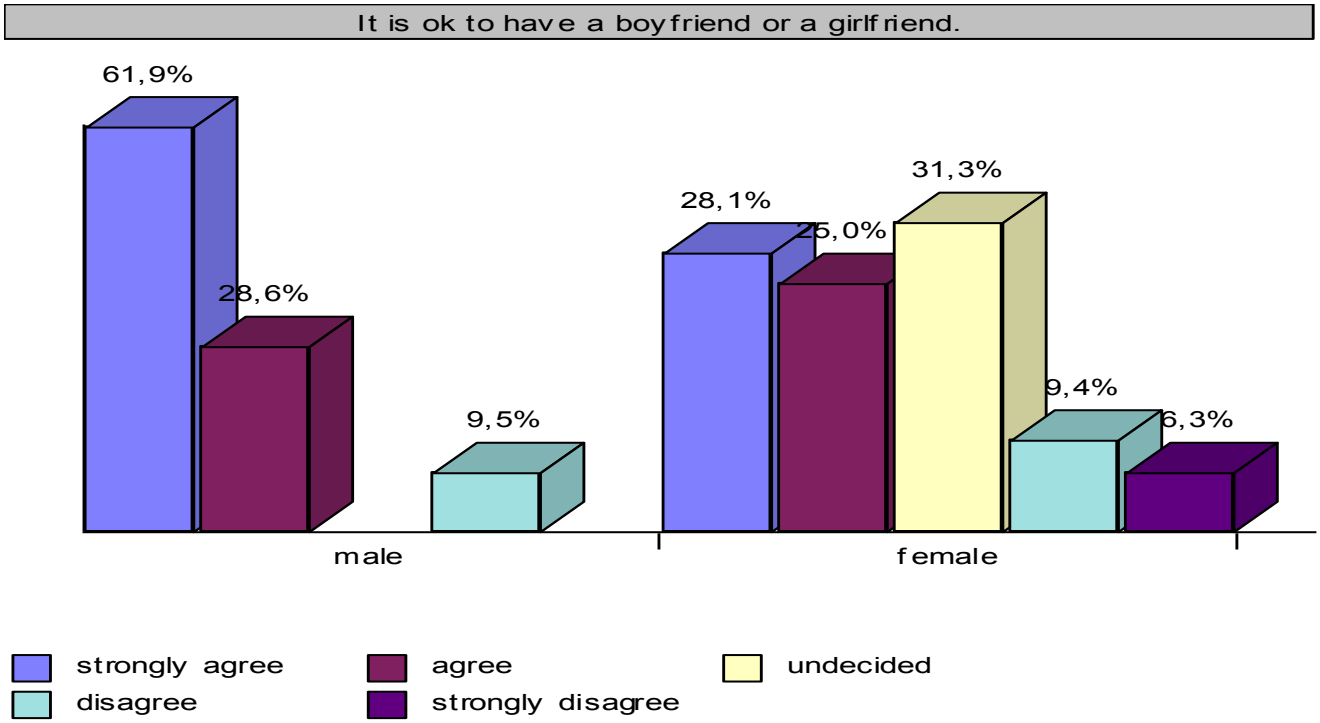
Correlation between gender and attitutes towards gender equality:

Correlation between gender and attitutes towards the behaviour of Indian girls :

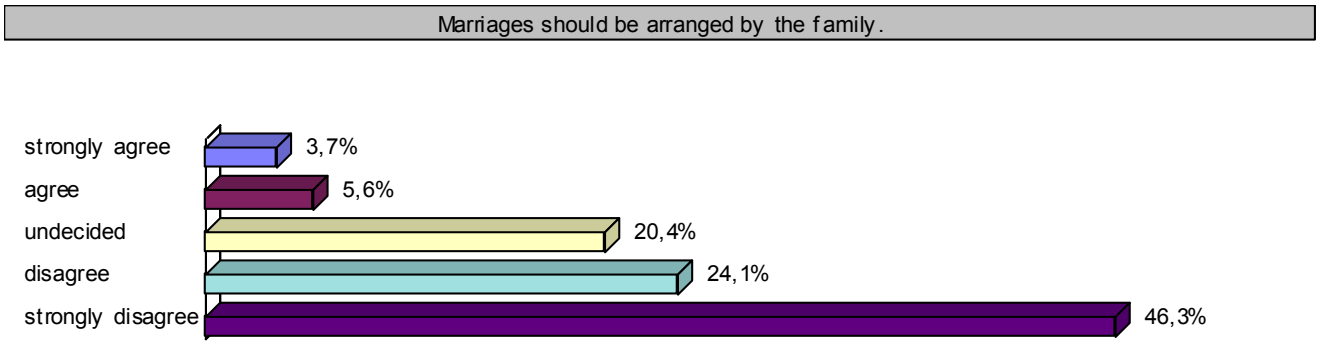


7. Attitudes towards courtship and marriage:

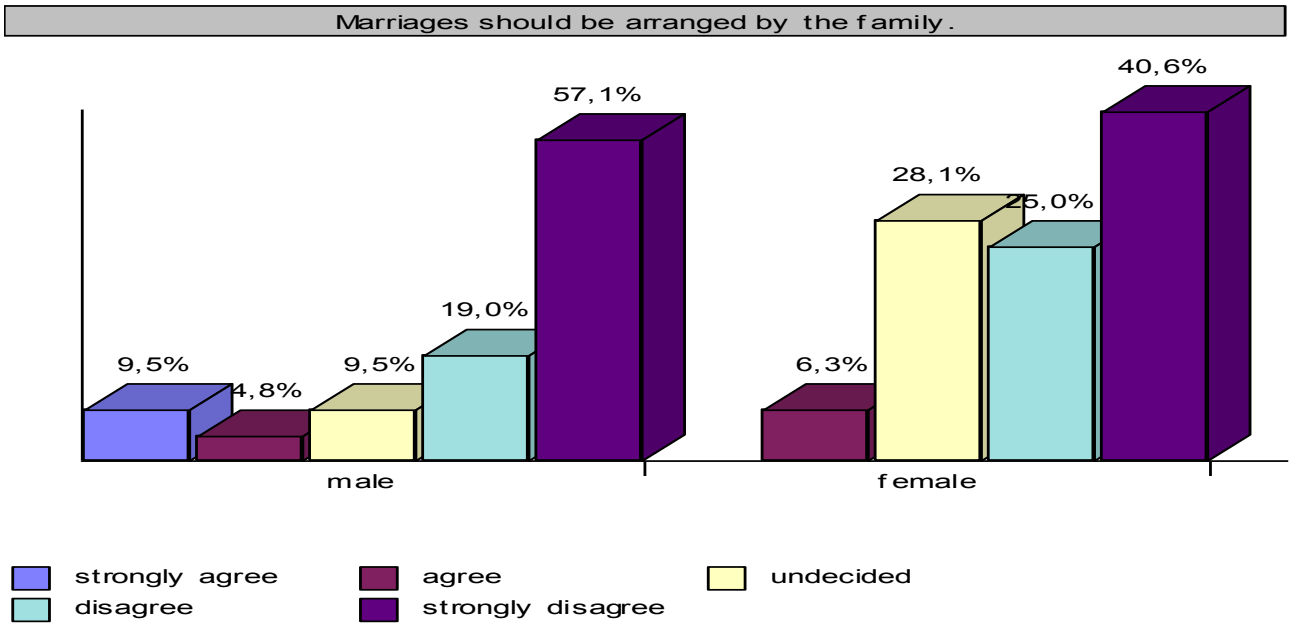
Correlation between gender and attitudes towards having boyfriends or girlsfriends:



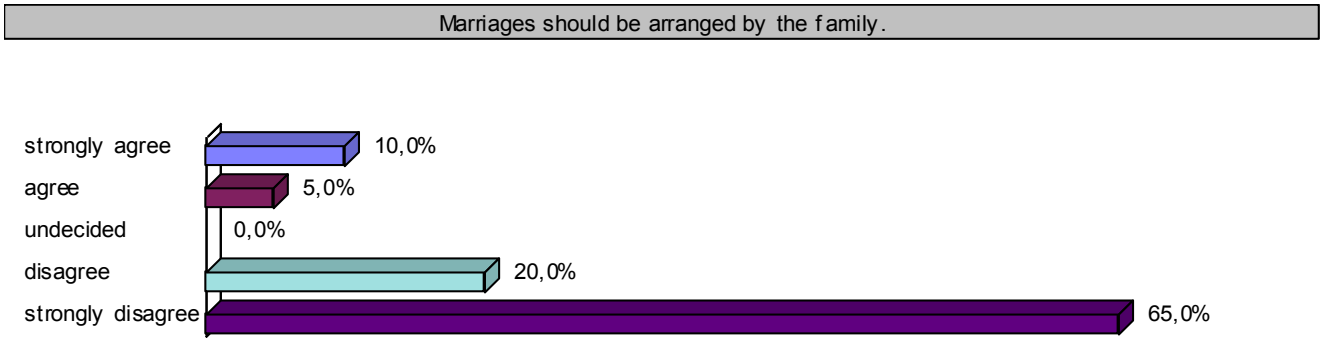
Attitudes towards arranged marriages (all respondents):



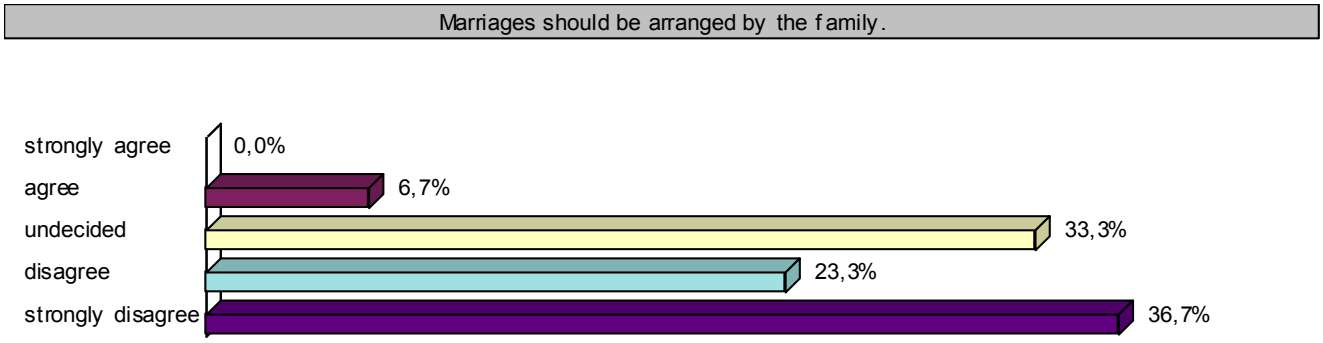
Correlation between gender and attitudes towards arranged marriages:



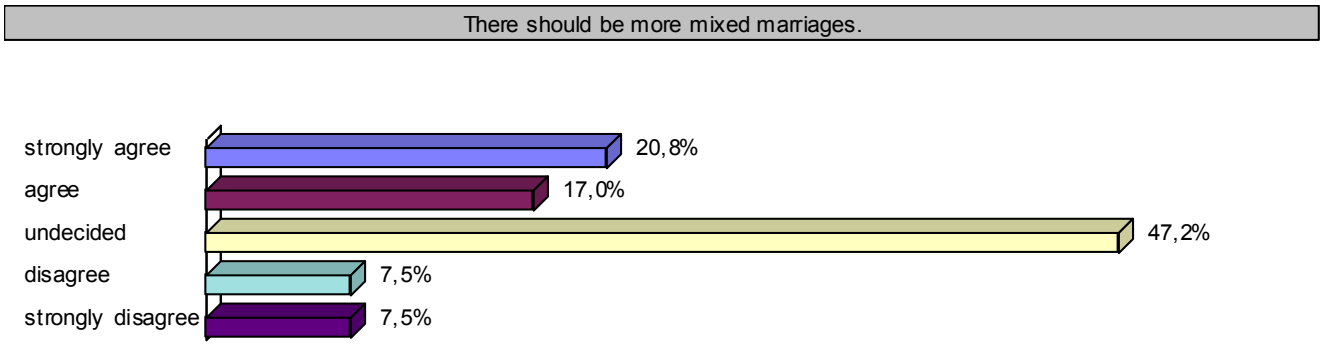
Brent sample :



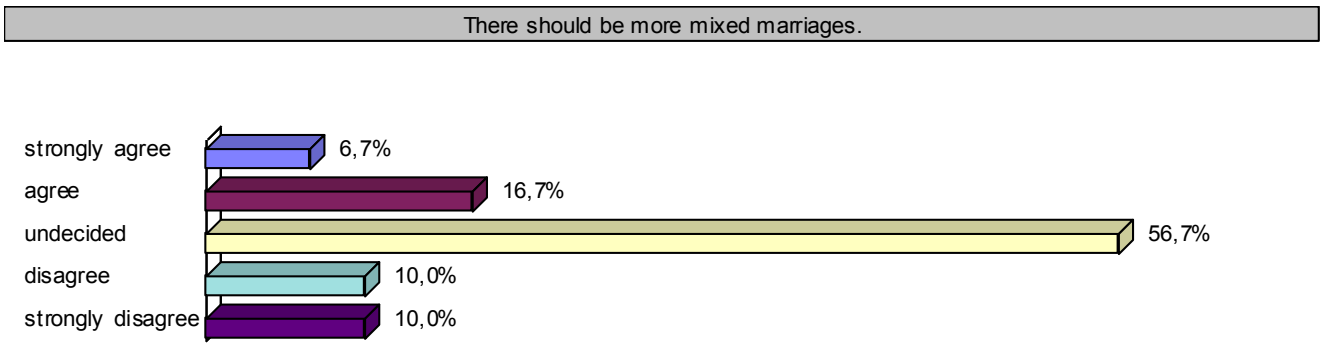
***Sampradaya* sample:**



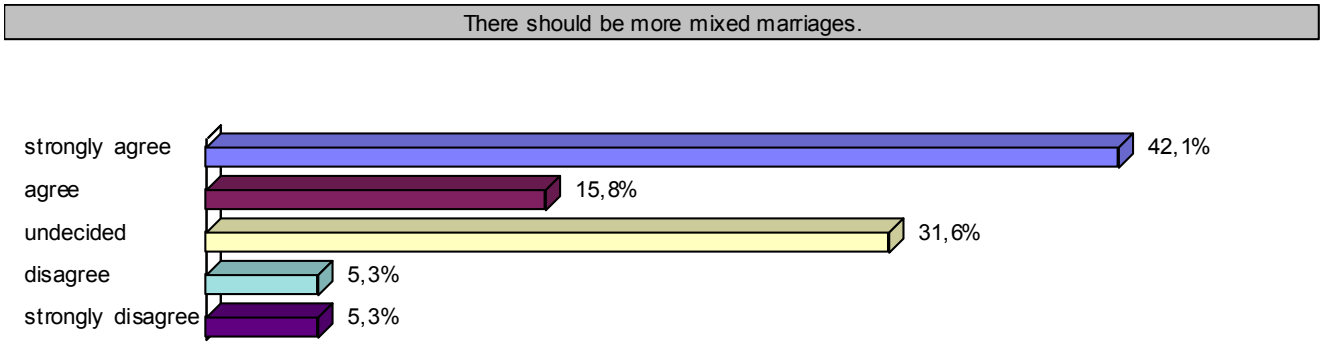
Attitudes towards interethnic marriage (all respondents):



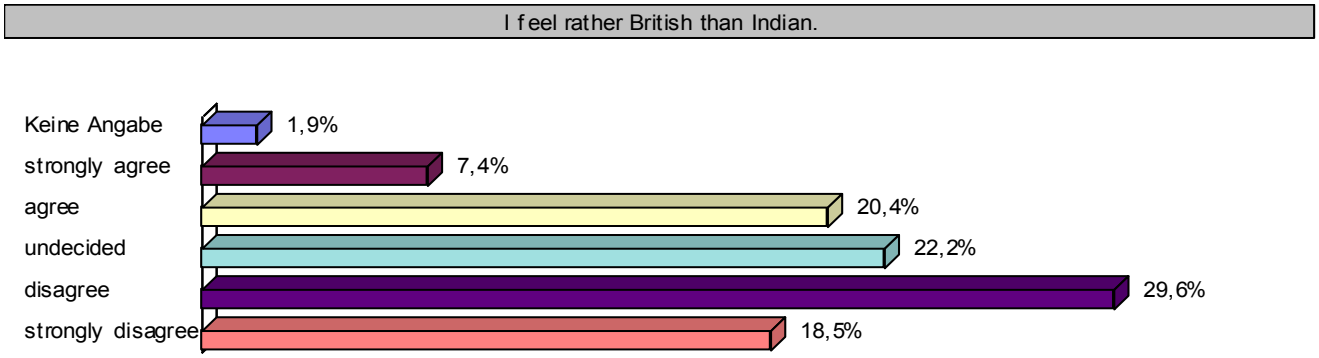
***Sampradaya* sample:**



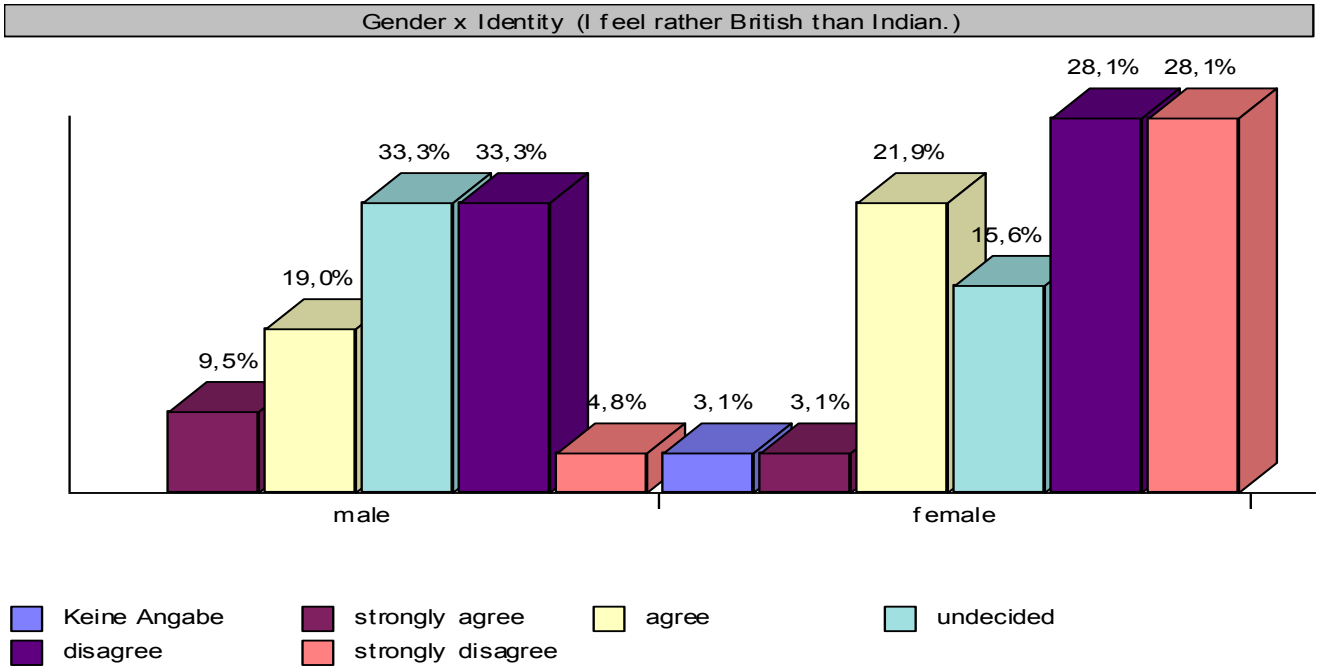
Brent sample :



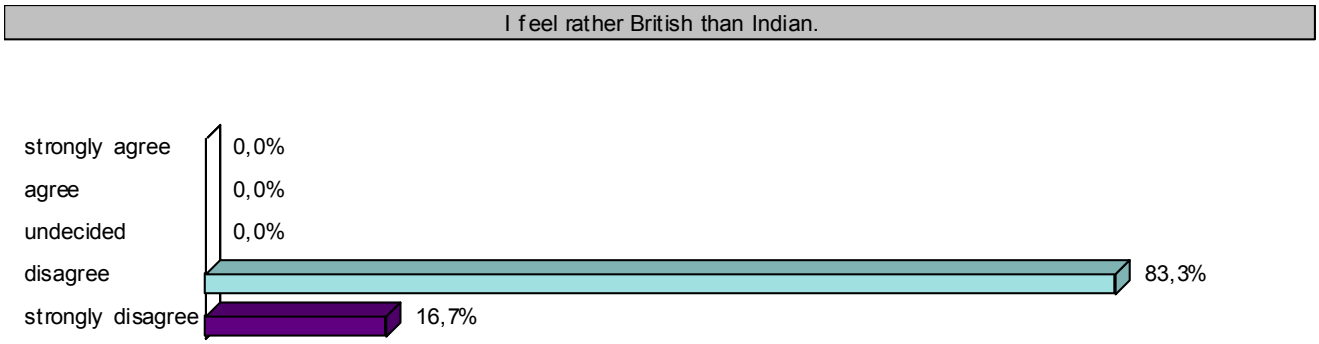
8. Identity:



Correlation between gender and identification with the British.

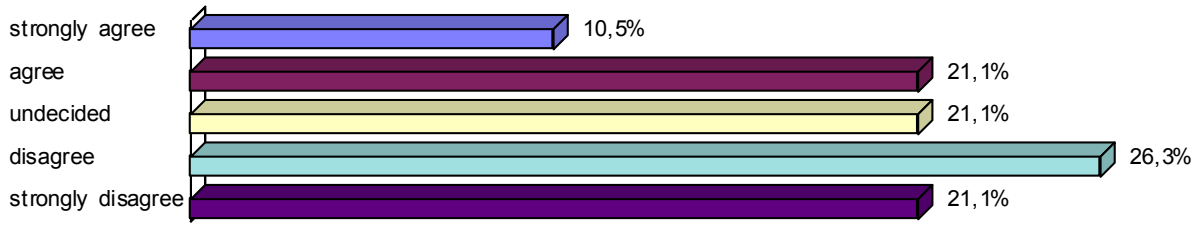


Identification of respondents older than 18 :



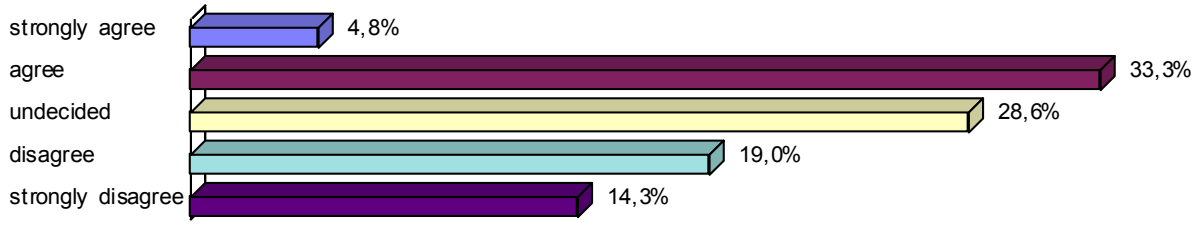
Identification of respondents between 15 and 18 :

I feel rather British than Indian.



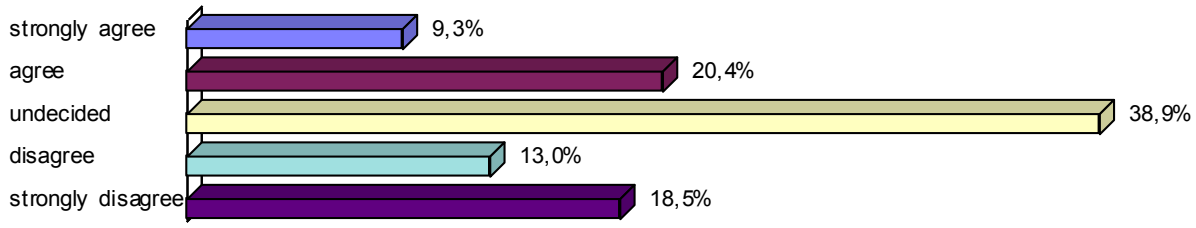
Identification of respondents between 13 and 15 :

I feel rather British than Indian.

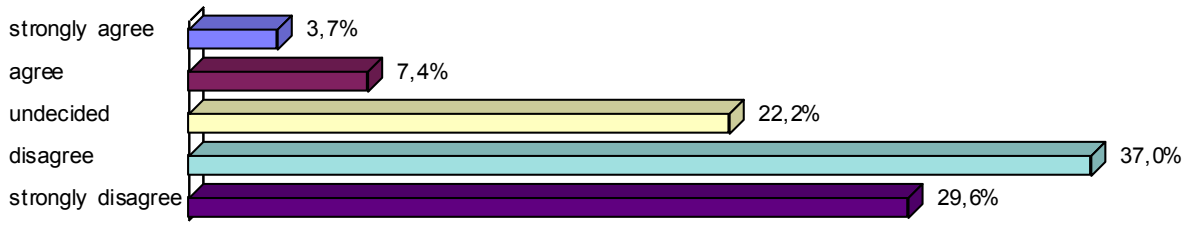


9. Cultural preferences :

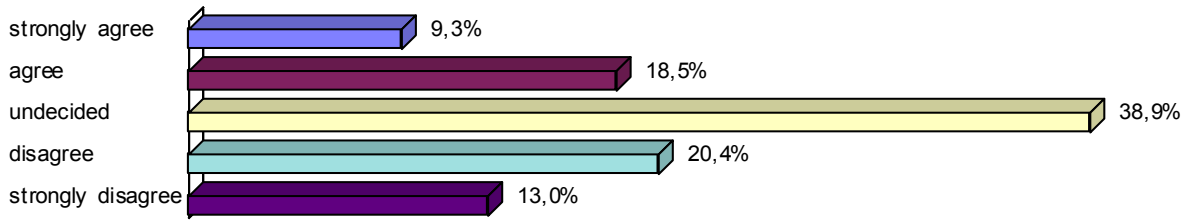
Indian films are more entertaining than English ones.



I do not like wearing traditional Indian clothes.

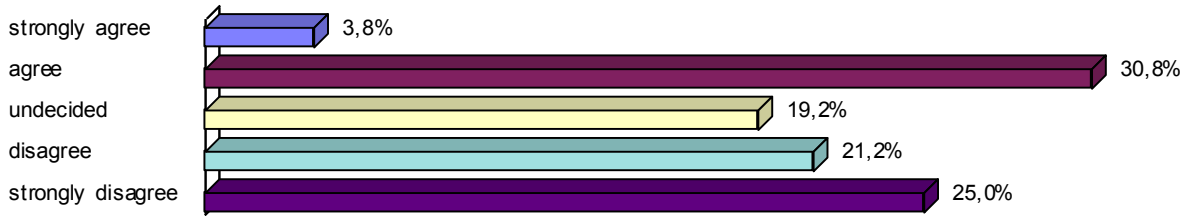


There should be more Asian programmes on telly .



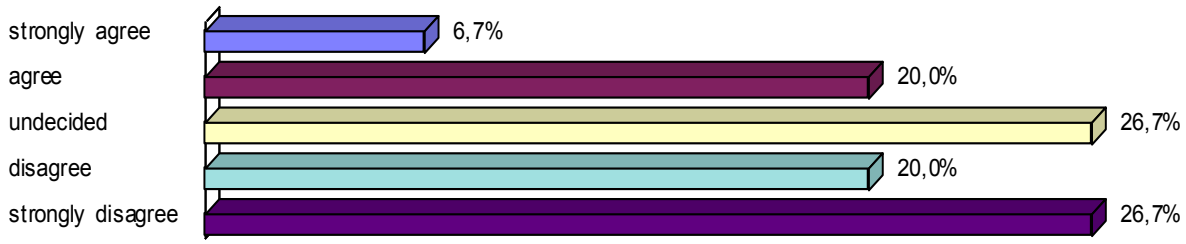
Attitudes towards common interests with white peers (all respondents):

We have few common interests with white teenagers.



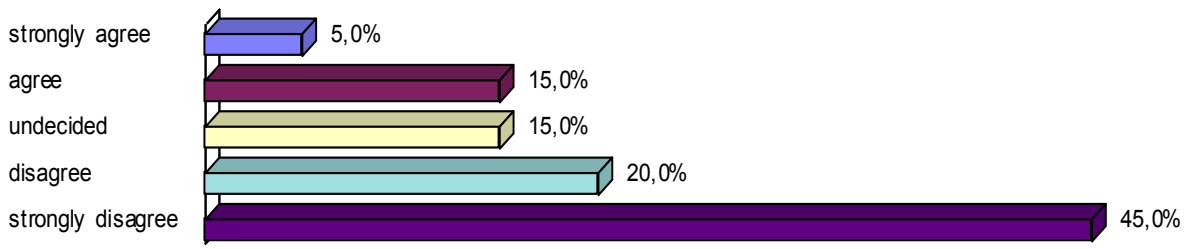
ISKCON sample:

We have few common interests with white teenagers.

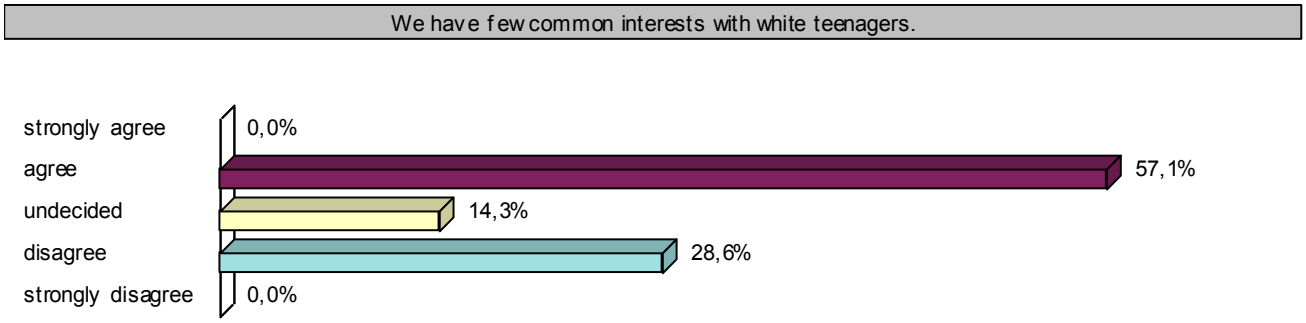


Brent sample:

We have few common interests with white teenagers.

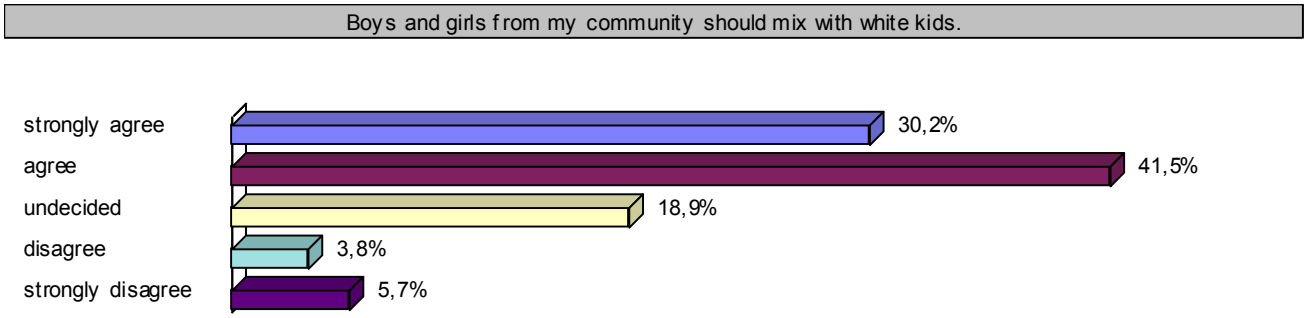


Sai Baba sample:

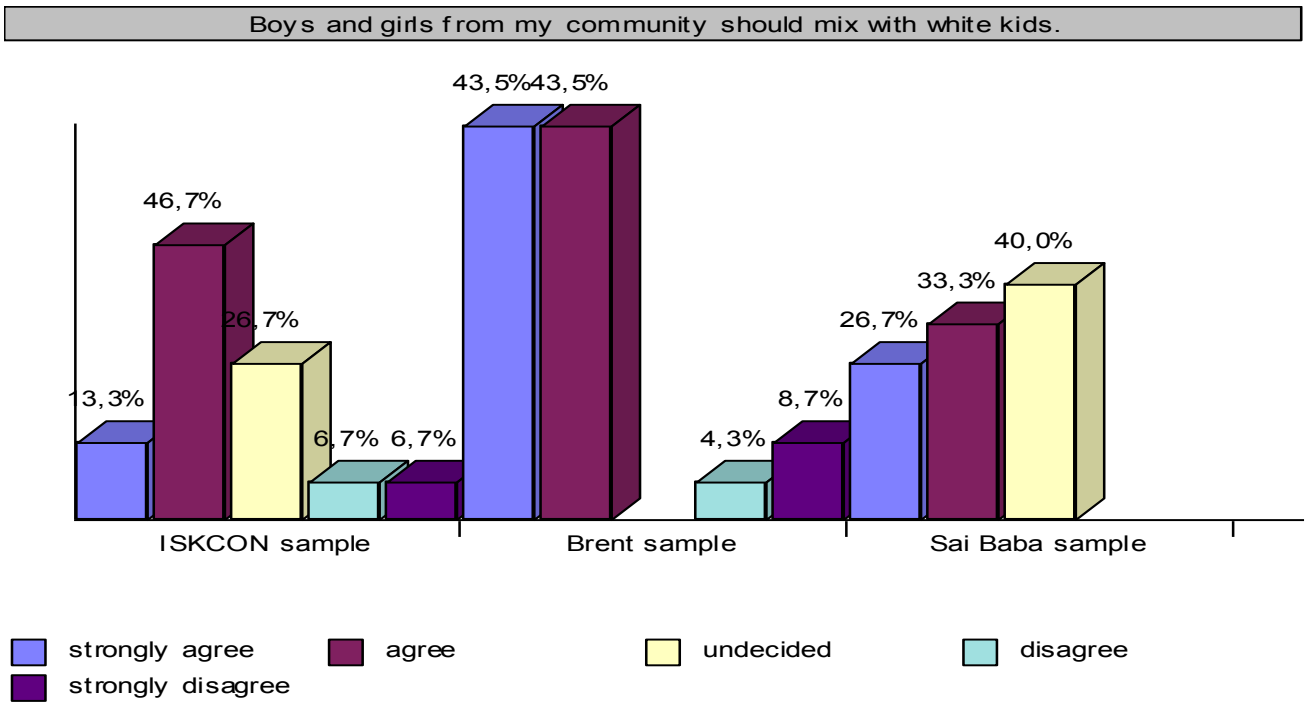


10. Attitudes towards integration:

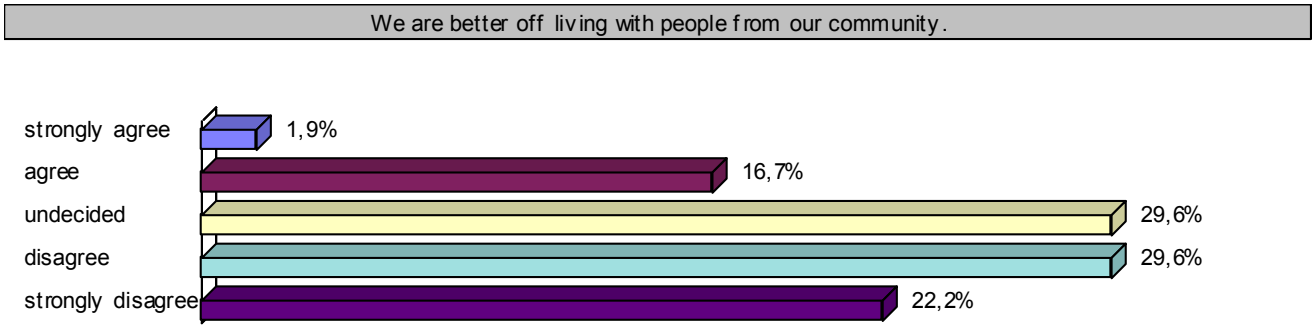
Attitudes towards mixed friendship groups (all respondents):

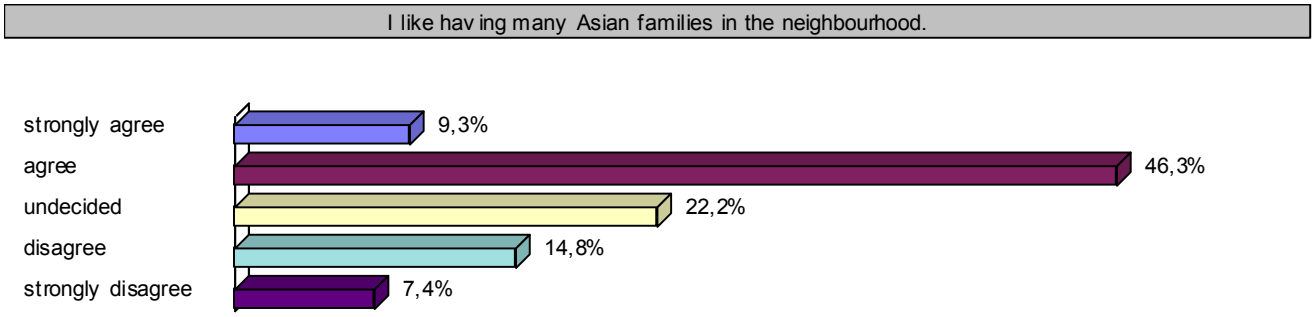


Attitudes towards mixture according to sample :

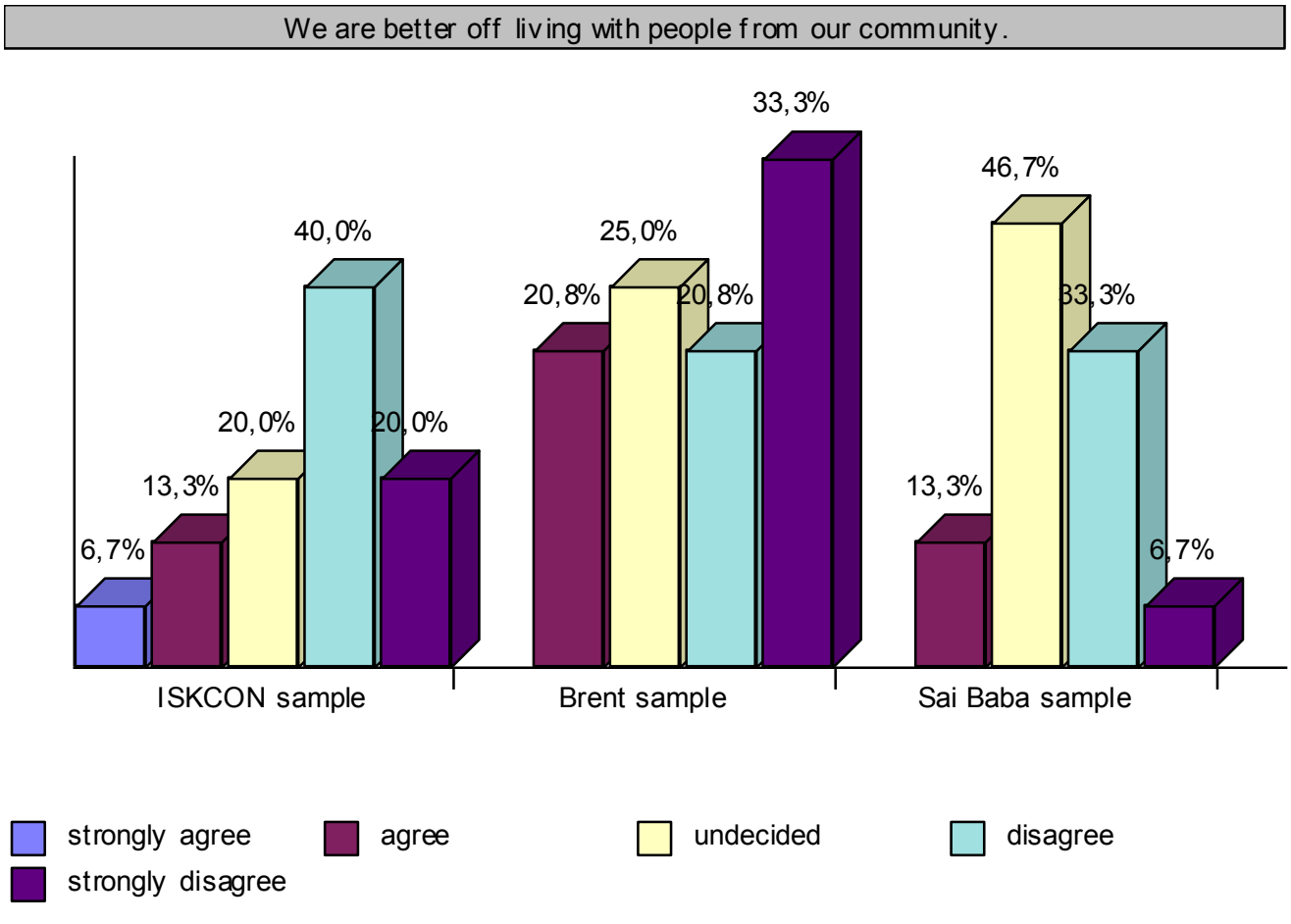


Attitudes towards living in an ethnically segregated neighbourhoods:

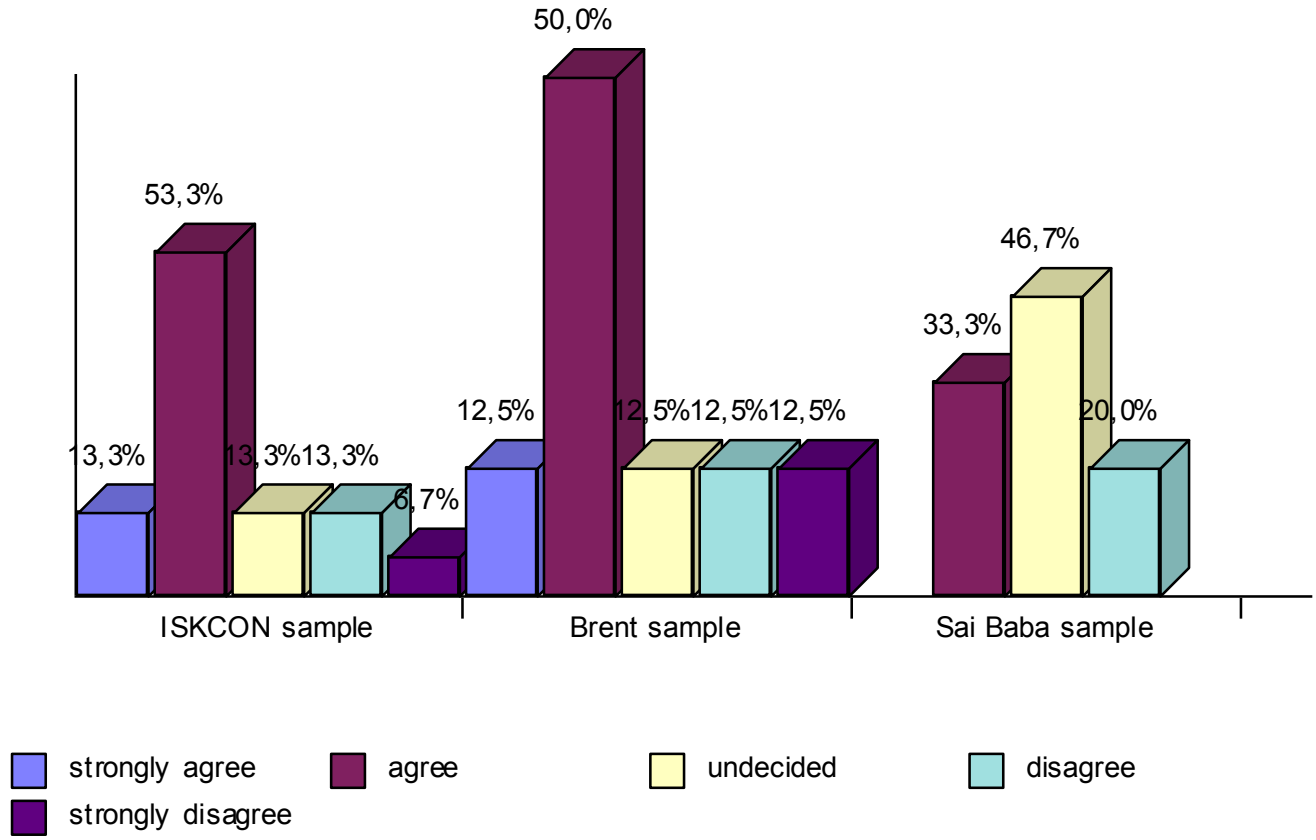




Attitudes towards living in an ethnically segregated neighbourhoods according to sample :



I like having many Asian families in the neighbourhood.



[1] In most diagrams the categories “not answered“ or “not stated” is omitted for reasons of clarity.