

introduction

“As an artist you enter the psyche of a nation.”¹

The main purpose of this essay is to discuss the importance of the role of art in developing relationships between South Asian minority communities in Scotland and the rest of the Scottish population. This discussion will help to place my documentary film, *Under my Skin*, into its appropriate context as this is the central concern of the film, both in its content and function.

By art I mean any creative means of expression or communication, such as performing art, visual art and literature. The artists in question belong to the South Asian diaspora. Their art form and practice of it potentially contributes to the national culture, and as a result, to notions of national identity.

The question of identity is the other main strand of thought that feeds into this discussion. “...the self is composed of multiple identities and roles – family, territorial, class, religious, ethnic and gender.”²

Identity is a concept that has been widely discussed in post-colonial discourse, particularly in relation to parallel discourses of nationalism, globalism and dislocation. In the case of minority immigrant communities, the search for identity is challenged by geographical and cultural dislocation and evolving affiliations. Any attempt to search for a single, all-encompassing sense of self will always result in a splintered picture. Again, the possible role of art in resolving issues of identity that can be a source of marginalisation and alienation amongst members of the South Asian diaspora will be discussed.

I will begin by briefly introducing the phenomenon of human migration in the context of history, and will then discuss how the more recent wave of migrations of people from the “third world” countries to Europe are different from those of the past. I will outline the recent history of migration of South Asians, specifically Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, to Scotland, before identifying the main problems that ensued in Britain in the face of this

large-scale immigration, along with the main problems faced by the South Asian diaspora in Britain, and in particular, Scotland. In light of these problems, I will then introduce my proposition about the role of art in being instrumental in easing the process by which the diaspora can build a relationship with the rest of the populace of Scotland.

migrations

How do you make that leap from being a traveller/foreigner, staying/living in another land, to becoming an immigrant, abandoning your country and adopting another as a new home? Where does your sense of identity lie? Do you ask yourself who you are? And where you belong?

I think of the Palestinian children who have never seen the world beyond the camps of Shatila and Beddawi in Lebanon, where they were born, and who are brought up knowing and venerating every geographical detail of the villages that their parents have left behind in their occupied homeland. That is living in exile - anticipating the moment of return.

And there are those who abandon the prospect of return - that is migration.

The human race has been migrating over the centuries of its existence. Migrations have been recorded in legends and history. Noah's biblical legend records the Great Flood in the region of the Black Sea in 5600 BC, which led to the dispersal of tribes to north-east and central Asia.³ People were banished from their homelands, like the Jews led by Moses, who were fleeing persecution from the Egyptians. And others left of their own will, such as the Aryans, who migrated eastwards from Central Asia to the Indian subcontinent in search of fertile land in 1500 BC. There were adventurers, travellers, such as Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta, and conquerors, such as Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great and the Spanish conquistadors, as well as other waves of Europeans who set out to conquer the New World.

why is this migration different to those from the past?

What makes the recent waves of immigrants from the “third world”, from countries such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, to the West, to a country like Britain, different from the migrants of the past? To address the question of why this wave of migration was any different from any other migration that has taken place over the course of history, a number of factors need to be taken into consideration. These include the relatively recent phenomenon of nationhood, capitalism, the role of media, globalism and the legacy of colonialism.

Nationhood is a recent phenomenon and national identity has become an important part of a nation’s collective consciousness. It was in the late eighteenth century, after the French Revolution in 1789, that the Western concept of the modern nation was born in Europe. The movement towards the birth of nations began much earlier, when the Church lost its monopoly over knowledge as it became accessible to the masses with the invention of the printing press and with the European renaissance of classical science and art in the fifteenth century. This led to the reformation of the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. The breakdown of ecclesiastical power and the accompanying discourses that championed science and reason in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, also known as the Enlightenment, were followed by the revolution in France that introduced the ideals of “liberty, equality and fraternity”. These ideals formed the basis of democracy and the new European nation-state.

Anthony Smith defines the nation as “...a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.”⁴

He distinguishes between the Western concept of the nation, described above, and the older non-Western concept of the nation, which is oriented towards an ethnic basis, and is “first and foremost a community of common descent”.⁵ An obvious example of a non-Western nation would be Saudi Arabia, which does not grant citizenship to anyone other than those who descend from the tribes belonging to that region.

Although the Western nation does not necessarily have an ethnic basis in its composition⁶ – “the Western concept laid down that an individual had to belong to some nation but could choose to which he or she belonged”⁷ – the problems of including immigrants in Smith’s definition of a nation are self-evident. The impossibility of sharing a “historic territory, common myths and historical memories” can only be overcome with time and subsequent generations of immigrants, and the inclusion of the immigrants’ own history of arrival and settlement in the nation. The challenge that many European countries are facing today is the inclusion of immigrants in their public culture and in the image of their own sense of identity.

“More than a style and doctrine of politics, nationalism is a *form of culture* – an ideology, a language, mythology, symbolism and consciousness – that has achieved global resonance, and the nation is a type of identity whose meaning and priority is presupposed by this form of culture.”⁸

In Britain, national identity took on a great importance after the Second World War, when the British empire slowly disintegrated and the country needed to reassess its identity and status.

At the end of the war, although the colonised and New Commonwealth subjects of the British empire were theoretically allowed unrestricted access into Britain, successive governments followed a tacit discriminatory policy of discouraging non-white immigration into the country.⁹ After the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962, followed by further legislation in 1971 and 1981, this immigration was curbed through public policy.

Ian Spencer argues that, contrary to popular belief, the reasons for the extensive debate over the decades on restricting non-white immigration into the country was not because of the fall in labour requirements in the late 1950’s, but because coloured people were regarded as a “problem”.

“It was what might happen in the future that counted; it was fear of ‘swamping’, of loss of identity and of the ‘magpie society’. ‘Assimilability’ was the issue; controls over coloured immigrants were introduced despite labour needs, not because of them.”¹⁰

These fears of non-assimilation were publicly expressed by politicians such as Enoch Powell and Margaret Thatcher.¹¹ The ideal of an exclusive nation, culturally if not racially exclusive, is a part of the prevailing racism that black and Asian immigrants have experienced, particularly in the 1960's and 70's, and continue to experience, in Britain.

In the 1980's, Thatcher reassessed this policy, realising that the "black" vote was crucial for the Conservative Party to win urban marginal constituencies. She began to recruit Asian votes by supporting local Asian leaders in their campaign to be recognised as distinct religious Muslim, Hindu and Sikh communities. The inclusive term for coloured people, "blacks", was abolished, and Asians were officially recognised as Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indians, separate from African and Caribbean Blacks. Yasmin Ali observes:

The heightening of 'ethnic' identity and its politicization began on the Left but was paralleled on the Right by those who wanted a non-*racist* means of defending English identity... The common view of English national identity in the *Salisbury Review* [described by Ali as an "ultraconservative journal"¹²] is that it is *rooted* in the historical experience, culture, religion and language shared by those who are of 'this scepter'd isle', and that it cannot be conferred by the acquisition of a passport or even a generation's residence (nor, apparently, can it be lost by 'kith and kin' in white colonies or ex-colonies).¹³

The Conservative policy in the 1980's of encouraging ethnic divisions was in deliberate conflict with the Labour party's stance to promote anti-racism against the "black communities". When Labour came back into power in 1997, this image went through a makeover. New Labour has attempted to amalgamate minority communities into its vision of "Cool Britannia" by wearing a garb of inclusive multiculturalism in the make-up of its population. More recently, however, this policy has been called into question by contradictory measures taken by the government. For instance, in January 2001, they funded for the first time two Muslim state schools, and in June 2001, a Muslim all-girls school, which might be construed as a step towards the possibilities of ghettoization rather than integration.

Along with the rise of nations and national identity, this is also an age of capitalism. The capitalist system developed from the growing trend towards market economies in Europe, Adam Smith's economic theories and the industrial revolution in the eighteenth century. In a capitalist society, competition is encouraged and survival instincts are sharpened. The arrival of a wave of immigrants to a country functioning under a capitalist system will inevitably result in hostility from the local population, as the immigrants threaten to compete for jobs and incomes, and to deprive the locals of employment opportunities.

In Britain, in light of the legacy of the Thatcher years, when the government did not support the idea of a welfare state and began the privatisation of public services, competition for jobs and incomes is perceived to be fierce. The South Asian immigrants were predominantly economic migrants, in search for a source of income that could support themselves as well as families that were left behind. This has been the cause of great resentment amongst the local population who feel they are in competition with people willing to work longer hours, for lower wages and in poorer conditions than they would concede to.

The ever-expanding role played by the media, especially by newspapers, radio and television, is another phenomenon that has had a revolutionary impact in most parts of the world, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century. Never before has debate on every issue relating to the nation been so widespread, and the media has much influence in manipulating public opinion.¹⁴ In a capitalist society, the media needs to increase circulation and reach a wider audience in order to maximise profits for shareholders. With their search for sensationalism and controversy, which is always an easy route to getting a wide readership, (and the tabloid newspapers in Britain, with their acknowledged debt to both sensationalism and controversy, prove this point) minority communities have been an easy target.¹⁵

In a world that seems to be moving towards the idea of globalism and the lifting of boundaries, at least in an economic sense, there has been a parallel movement towards protecting local cultures and national identities, particularly in Europe. The European Union and its goal for creating an open European economy is a logical step towards protecting Europe's economic interests from the threat of being wiped out by America's giant devouring economy.

In Britain, there is a historical sense of wariness towards forming links with countries in mainland Europe, especially Germany and France. The British population's reluctance to join the economic union is fuelled in part by fears of losing its identity. In a sense, it is Britain's fear of confronting its minority status within Europe. Echoes of its imperialist past have not yet died out, and it will be interesting to watch and see whether it will be Britain's ego or its economic sensibility that will win the Euro-battle.

This identity crisis is also reflected in the nation's relations with its minority communities. Similar to the fears in France about French identity and culture being threatened by the large presence of North African Muslims in urban areas, resulting in its petty battles such as not permitting Muslim girls to wear their head scarves at schools, there is in Britain a paranoia about its own minority communities. Where there is a difference of history, language, dress, culture and outlook - in short, a difference in national identity, the perpetrators of difference are considered to be a threat to the nation's own identity. In an environment where the nation's identity is already under question, these relations are bound to be under strain, and the community is naturally inclined to be more defensive towards its own sense of self.

In light of Britain's specific reluctance to incorporate non-white immigrants into its nation,¹⁶ it appears that the main cause for the difference between this migration and others in the past is the legacy of colonialism. The British empire in India had systematically created codes of conduct which kept the governing British classes separate from the Indian population at work and in social spheres. The denial of certain rights to the Indians could only be justified by regarding them as an inferior race that needed to be educated and civilised. Vaughan Robinson explains the effect this had when Asians came to live in Britain.

As Cox (1948) argued, it was essential that thinking Christians rationalised their economic exploitation of colonial labour forces and raw materials through the development of derogatory stereotypes which cast the indigenous populace in the role of inferiors. The white man's burden. Only if the "native" population could be thought of as inferior could their inferior treatment be justified. Such attitudes were carried back to metropolitan society where they became entrenched in the educational system and the national psyche. However none of this made allowance for the fact that one day these "inferiors" might migrate to Britain, live in British neighbourhoods, and work in British factories. When that occurred, the key spatial and

social distance which had been essential for the operation of colonial exploitation in the non-metropolitan context no longer existed. British people who had been taught for years that Asians were inferiors suddenly found that members of that group had moved into their street, bought houses like theirs, acquired jobs as good as theirs, and were now sending their children to the same schools as theirs. Status anxiety was inevitable under these circumstances...¹⁷

why did they migrate to Britain in the first place?

The first South Asian immigrants to come to Britain were Indian seamen, known as lascars, who were employed on the East India Company ships. "The lascars were not only very poorly paid but also very badly treated on board by the white officers."¹⁸ As a result, there were a large number of deserters who jumped ship and sought employment in port cities such as Liverpool and Glasgow. At the turn of the century, there were small colonies of lascars in port cities, who waited for further employment or a chance to return to India.

During the First World War, these seamen were enlisted as merchant sailors or workers in munitions factories. At the end of the war, in 1919, when they returned to their lascar colonies, there were tensions between the lascars and white sailors, resulting in riots in most of the port cities. As a result, the lascars either returned to India or moved inland to England, to the industrial belt in search for employment. In 1925, the government passed the Coloured Alien Seaman Order, "an immigration control with the force of law that sharply restricted the right of entry for settlement to the United Kingdom of Asian and black British subjects".¹⁹

Between the two world wars, there were also a small number of Indians, who were either lascar deserters or had connections with lascars or other Indians already in Britain, who made their way to Britain specifically in search of economic opportunities. They ended up working as peddlers, selling goods from door to door. In Scotland, this trend was started by one man, Nathoo Mohammed, from Nakodar (district Jalandhar) in Punjab, who was a lascar and who jumped ship and arrived in Glasgow in 1919. Eventually, he was joined by

his brothers and then by friends and relatives from Nakodar and the neighbouring village of Jagraon (Ludhiana district).²⁰

By the end of the 1930's, there were about 175 Muslim and Sikh peddlers in Scotland of which 125 were in Glasgow. The rest had spread to other parts of Scotland, such as Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen and even Stornoway.²¹ Peddler communities were not confined to seaports, as there were about 100 peddlers in Birmingham as well.²²

The main movement of immigration from the Indian subcontinent began during and after the Second World War, just over fifty years ago. During the war, Britain employed large numbers of sailors from the ports of Bombay and Calcutta to replace their own merchant mariners who had joined the wartime Royal Navy. This meant that more ships with lascars working on them docked in port cities in Britain than ever before. Many of these ships were bombed or torpedoed in the war, and the lascars found plenty of employment in munitions and other factories inland.²³

In 1947, India was granted independence, and simultaneously, Pakistan separated from India to form a new country. Many of the lascars stayed on in Britain after 1947, especially those who came from two particular villages that suffered from the geography of the partition of India and Pakistan. Sylhet was a village in what became a part of East Pakistan (which is now the independent country of Bangladesh), whereas Calcutta, the port from where the Sylheti lascars were employed, remained a part of India. Similarly, the Mirpuri sailors would have to return to the port of Bombay, which is in India, whereas Mirpur became a part of Pakistan-ruled Azad Kashmir.²⁴

During the first few years of independence, the newly formed governments in India and Pakistan did not manage to issue passports to their citizens. Although Britain claimed to have an open door policy for Commonwealth citizens, the government persuaded the Indian and Pakistani governments to place restrictions on allowing their citizens to travel to the UK without a guaranteed income or support.

Despite these restrictions, immigration rose in the post war years, particularly as travel became easier and cheaper. Britain's industries in Northern England and the Midlands were

faced with labour shortages and there was no shortage of employment for the immigrants. Those who already had employment would use their savings to sponsor a friend or relative to join them, and this started a chain of migrations from small villages and communities in Pakistan and India, similar to the chain started by Nathoo Mohammed in Glasgow, described above. In Oxford, there are approximately 2000 Pakistani immigrants who can trace their roots through two chains of migrations, one of which was started by a settler in Glasgow during the Second World War.²⁵

In the past, the British government had often encouraged labour to move and work in different parts of the empire, so that large populations of Indians migrated to places like the West Indies, South Africa and East Africa to work in plantations or to help build the railways. Now, the British government welcomed the labour from the subcontinent to work in the textile mills in the industrial north and Midlands of England, but in the hope that their stay would be temporary.

Most of these labourers, who had been driven from their villages in India and Pakistan by population pressures on land and resources, willingly worked for lower wages and in poorer conditions, and who sent money to their families back home. During this time, there was also a shortage of doctors and nurses in the hospitals, and there was a large exodus of medical staff from India to Britain as well.

In the late 1950's, when the need for employment decreased, the government used the opportunity to introduce legislation to restrict the entry of non-white immigrants. However, the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962, although designed to curb immigration of blacks and South Asians, was ironically responsible for the large influx that took place to "beat-the-ban".

"According to Home Office figures, of the approximately half a million Asian and black immigrants to enter Britain between the end of the Second World War and the Act, about a quarter of a million came in the two years between July 1960 and the end of June 1962."²⁶

These immigrants were spurred on by the belief that this was their last chance to enter Britain with its employment opportunities. The Act was also responsible for persuading

those immigrants who might have been temporarily resident and uncertain about their future, to decide to remain in Britain.²⁷ There was also an influx of families of immigrants who feared that further legislation might prevent them from entering the country at a later stage.²⁸

In Scotland, the numbers of immigrants did not rise as sharply as they did in England. Meanwhile, the peddlers started to seek other means of more permanent employment. Large numbers found employment in the transport services of major Scottish cities. In the 1960s, half the work force employed by Glasgow's transport department comprised Indians and Pakistanis.²⁹

"...when India and Pakistan went to war with each other in 1965, there was chaos in the city. All the Indian and Pakistani bus drivers and conductors were in a state of shock and were either glued to their television sets or tuned in to radios to find out what was happening back home. Thus the public transport service came to almost a standstill for most of the day."³⁰

In the 1960s, there was a wave of immigrants who moved up north to Scotland from England when there were labour shortages in the jute mills in Dundee. At the same time, there was an influx of doctors and nurses from India and Pakistan as the Health Service in Scotland was in dire need for medical staff. At the time, about 70% of the Asians were employed and the rest were shopkeepers – "grocers, newsagents, restaurateurs and retail and wholesale drapers."³¹

In addition, during the sixties, when the East African countries of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda were granted independence, there was a large population of Indians from Gujerat, Punjab and Goa, who were given the choice of British or local citizenship. Most of them chose British citizenship.³² After the 1962 Act, with the possibility of further legislation against immigration, as well as the threat of persecution posed to their lives and properties by nationalist African regimes in power, such as that of Idi Amin in Uganda, there was a large exodus of East African Asians to Britain. With this additional influx, the South Asian diaspora became the largest minority in Britain.

In Scotland today, Asian immigrants are working in all sorts of enterprises. There are some remarkable stories, such as that of Mr Yaqub Ali, who came to Glasgow in 1952 when he was nineteen years old and couldn't speak any English at all. He became a peddler in Glasgow, took evening classes to learn English, bought a grocery business which gradually expanded, until in 1983, he built Castle Cash and Carry, Europe's largest cash-and-carry wholesale warehouse, and became a millionaire. In 1991, his company was listed in top 200 Scottish companies by *Scottish Business Insider*.³³

the migrant problem

Before discussing the migrant problem, I must stress that it is important to keep in mind that this wave of immigration is extremely recent. Its repercussions will change and fade over time, when the second generation of immigrants, who were born in this country, start to bring up their own children in a changed political climate and in the hope that their children wouldn't face the same fears and threats that they did during their childhood. The very nature and focus of this discussion will change with time. However, the immediacy of the problems faced by the diaspora now, and its widespread repercussions threatening the stability of parts of society in Britain (e.g., the riots in Oldham and Bradford in the summer of 2001, the increase of BNP politics in the south of England and its recent spread in Scotland, the murder of the Kurdish asylum seeker in Sighthill, Glasgow, in August 2001, the attacks on Muslims and Sikhs following 11th September 2000, etc) makes discussions of this sort essential and urgent.

Amongst the main problems faced by the South Asian communities in Britain are issues of alienation, segregation, racism, difficulties of integration and acceptance, the politics of difference, the fear of assimilation, and the threat of ghettoization.

As mentioned earlier, one of the greatest threats perceived by the British establishment has been the fear that non-white immigrants from previously colonised countries cannot assimilate into the frame of British national identity. It can be questioned whether integration or assimilation are in themselves desirable, especially since Britain has now officially recognised itself to be a multicultural nation. Assimilation implies a loss of cultural identity in favour of adopting the dominant culture, and that does not correlate with the essence of multiculturalism, which accommodates the co-existence of different cultures. I believe, however, that for the peaceful co-existence of cultures, for the cultivation of an environment of tolerance, understanding and acceptance, it is necessary for communities to integrate, at a social and cultural level. Integration does not demand conformity to any particular matrix of cultural identity, but rather, it provides possibilities for forging new notions of identity through the melding of ideas and experiences.

The South Asians in Britain form a fairly conspicuous group that visibly stands out from the rest of the local population. Apart from differences in skin colour, there are differences in dress, language, religion, history, values, traditions and culture, all of which are the component elements of one's identity.

Pakistanis and Indians often choose to wear their own form of dress, and many of the rural immigrants have trouble speaking English. This leads to barriers in communication between them and their neighbours and co-workers. The majority of them follow different religions, such as Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. Religion, with its distinct places and rituals of worship, and with its own codes of conduct and laws, is not only a symbol of difference, but also a strong source of identity for many South Asians in Britain.

The South Asians share a history with the British, but their perception of it is from the other side of the fence, so to speak. The British empire was, to Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, the fruit of invaders, exploiters and imperialists, rather than the glorious symbol of power and wealth that it is often still regarded as in Britain's reflection on its past. And the "natives" of India were, as mentioned earlier, looked down on as an inferior race that needed to be educated, civilised and modernised. The centuries of culture and civilisation that belong to India's history were either disregarded or studied by ethnographers

and historians through a prism of exoticism that lent a mystique of Otherness to Indian culture, thereby objectifying and distancing it from Eurocentric ideas of history, culture and civilisation.³⁴ These attitudes have persisted in the insidious forms of racism that South Asian immigrants have encountered in the last fifty years in Britain.

In my experience of living in Britain over the last five years, one of the main problems that I have perceived is a deep-rooted alienation of South Asian immigrant communities from the mainstream of British society. Religious and ethnic communities tend to reside in segregated areas in cities. For example, in Edinburgh, the Batra Sikh community predominantly lives in Leith. This is a natural phenomenon with all religious communities, as is evident from the traces of the Irish Catholic community found in street names in the south-east part of Edinburgh in the Newington area. However, it also appears that the South Asian communities do not tend to socialise with the rest of the society, and perhaps one of the reasons for this is a lack of fora available for integration.

It is rare to find South Asians in pubs and clubs, which play a large role in providing a venue for youth culture in Britain. It would be understandably difficult for many South Asians to integrate into the lager culture as drinking alcohol is forbidden in Islam and orthodox Hinduism and Sikhism. Nor does one see many South Asian faces in Bingo halls or bowling greens, which are popular collectives for socialisation amongst the elderly in Britain. At sporting events like football and rugby, the culture of team supporters is very exclusive, especially in national games where English or Scottish teams are playing. Golf is supposed to be the national sport in Scotland, but golf clubs are notorious for rejecting membership on racial grounds. The only sporting arenas where one sees large numbers of South Asian supporters are cricket grounds, where most fail the Norman Tebbit test and tend to support South Asian teams rather than the English cricket team.³⁵ It was interesting to note, however, that when Nasser Hussain, an English player of Pakistani descent, was made captain of the English cricket team, this tide began to change, perhaps because British Asian supporters found that they could more readily identify with the team.

With the lack of a forum that might provide possibilities for integration, it is evident that there is a social chasm between South Asian immigrant and white communities. This presents the danger that the immigrant communities could become insular, leading to the

formation of ghettos. This is already evident in certain cities like Leeds, Leicester, Bradford and parts of Glasgow, such as East Pollockshields. The dangers are similar to those confronted by immigrants who are housed by city councils in housing estates, where the white families, already suffering from poverty and poor education, feel economically and socially threatened by the immigrants who are perceived as thieving outsiders.³⁶

On the flip side, South Asian immigrants themselves are faced with the threat of being excluded from being offered better amenities or employment opportunities that might be reserved for the white communities. In a study of the interface “between immigrants and core population” on the issue of housing in Blackburn, Robinson concludes:

Incontrovertible evidence exists, both at a national and local level, to show that white society persistently and systematically places barriers in the way of coloured immigrants who wish to gain access to better housing in better residential neighbourhoods ... evidence that is not cited in this book suggests that this situation is not unique to the housing market and that the majority of scarce resources are allocated in such a way that the coloured population is disadvantaged and debarred.³⁷

At a meeting with Rushpal Nottay, who is the Minority Ethnic Mental Health Development worker at the Royal Edinburgh Hospital, I discovered that South Asian immigrants deal with a wide range of problems that are often hidden from or ignored by health authorities, and that require special attention and care.

In the case of first generation immigrants, particularly those who migrated from small villages in South Asia, these problems include the obvious communication difficulties, especially if the immigrants are illiterate, and the “cultural clashes” they have with the rest of society. They have to cope with climatic and environmental changes, poverty and the pressures of living in a joint family system in an environment that is not geared towards that kind of family structure. Men suffer from drinking and smoking problems and stress related to long hours of work. Marriages often suffer because immigrants as a general rule tend to work harder than is considered normal, and the long hours they spend away from home creates mistrust between couples.

Owing to language barriers, women don't work and infrequently leave their homes, especially Pakistani and Bangladeshi women (it must be remembered that most of the women arrived in Britain at a later stage than their husbands), although the trend is changing with Pakistani women who are beginning to venture out in search for employment. The women also suffer from post-natal depression, which is common in Western societies because of the lack of community and family support for women after they give birth.

The children of first generation immigrants suffer from peer pressure and parental pressure, usually in a battle between conformity to family values and assimilation into the youth culture. This often results in children rebelling against their parents, which can cause great distress as it upsets the social order of the family.³⁸ As students, they often suffer from racism in the form of verbal and often physical abuse, and the effects of this have far-reaching repercussions on their psyche.

Since the majority of the South Asian immigrants came here for economic reasons, seeking financial betterment and stability, and particularly since social status is such an important part of South Asian culture, most of them entered some form of business. They are well recognised and readily associated with stereotypes of being grocers, newsagents, shopkeepers, restaurateurs, or if from a middle class background, doctors and businessmen. It is not common to see South Asians in the role of tradespeople such as plumbers, electricians, builders, or in the service industry, such as hairdressers, customer service people or bankers. And it is even less common to see them as part of any cultural professions that represent or form a part of what might be defined as British culture.

art and identity

“Culture is the mechanism through which individuals, communities and nations define themselves.”³⁹

There are obviously different forms of culture, and without launching into a long debate of what constitutes culture, it would be useful to define two categories of culture. The first is

mass culture, which I would say lies in the hands of institutions, such as television broadcasting companies, radio stations and other media such as newspapers, magazines, etc, and which is successfully disseminated to most of the population en masse. The culture is created, chosen and communicated by institutional policies, and much has been said and written about representation of South Asians in the content and presentation of this form of culture.⁴⁰

The other category is what I would refer to as art, which is created by individuals who might be called artists. These constitute writers, photographers, painters, sculptors, dancers, actors, filmmakers, musicians, etc. I am aware that these two categories are not exclusive or entirely representative, and the boundaries are arbitrary and hazy at best and tend to overlap in many instances, such as where artists might use institutions of mass culture as a means of disseminating their creative work.

In the latter category, there is a mere sprinkling of South Asian faces that one might encounter. I propose that this lack of representation is one of the reasons why the integration of South Asian communities into the fabric of the British population has been slow and painful and will continue to be as such until more South Asians participate in creatively contributing towards the British culture through art.

Before explaining the reasons behind this proposition, it would be interesting to look at why South Asians don't choose artistic professions readily, even if they are attracted to the arts or to the possibility of expressing themselves creatively.

The majority of the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants who are the owners of small businesses, come from rural backgrounds, from villages, and are often illiterate. Their main concern for their children is to get a basic education and a secure job. They are generally insular in their social life and single-minded about their values, which firmly embrace their traditions, and these values do not include art, in the Western modernist sense of the word.

In rural society in South Asia, artists are craftspeople and art itself is regarded differently. In every aspect, art is functional. This is not to say that the aesthetic value of art doesn't play an

important role in its creation. However, the aesthetics of art in rural South Asia are bound in tradition. In painting, sculpture, pottery, textile design etc, the patterns, motifs and symbols used are repetitive and passed on down the generations. There is not much value placed on individual creativity, in trying to break away from traditional means and methods of expression. Rather, value is placed on perfecting the tradition, on quality and endurance. I must add that traditional rural forms of art are by no means static. On the contrary, they perpetually and dynamically evolve and adapt to include new influences, ideas and materials.

The function of art in rural South Asia is oriented towards the community rather than the individual. For example, South Indian dance originated in temples, and hence played a religious function. Theatre in India perpetuates history through the oral tradition. Music and poetry is traditionally performed or recited in social gatherings, in *mehfils* and *mushairas*. It is only in urban society in these countries, through Western influence over the last century, that art is patronised and practised in a way that is similar to and based upon the Western model of individuality and subjectivity.

The migrants from professional classes encourage their children to get jobs in similar professions to their own. Social status is an important value that they wish to uphold, and status is derived from “respectable” professions such as medicine, business, accountancy, engineering or law. The value placed on these professions stem from the guarantee of earning a decent income. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee for a stable income from a career as an artist, particularly in countries like India and Pakistan, but also to a large extent in Britain. The reasons for this, such as the underfunding of the arts, competition for grants, etc, are manifold, and would require attention that cannot be incorporated in the limited scope of this paper.

This is not to say that there is no interest amongst South Asian immigrants in the arts at all. I have encountered a limited interest in art amongst the South Asian community in Edinburgh, although this interest is mainly expressed through traditional forms of art imported from India and Pakistan which is purported for consumption within the community itself and is generally inaccessible to the wider public.

For instance, there is an Urdu language society, Bazme Urdu, which organises events such as short story competitions in Urdu and regularly holds gatherings for Urdu poets living in Edinburgh and Glasgow to recite their poetry. However, the language in itself bars anyone from outside the community from partaking in these gatherings and most of its members are first-generation immigrants whose first language is Urdu. There has been no attempt to translate the work of these poets, whose work will remain, until such an occasion, the literature of a community that is distinct from the Scottish community.

In contrast, I have met a handful of artists of South Asian origin in Edinburgh and Glasgow, whose work is made accessible to the wider public through the dialogue that it engages in. For example, Ranjana Thapalyal, a Glasgow-based painter and ceramist, who exhibited her work in June 2001 at Out of the Blue in Edinburgh, explored traditional Indian ideas of feminine strength in a dialogue with Western feminist discourse through her paintings.

There are a few poets and writers from the diaspora who write in English, such as Leila Aboulela, Suhayl Saadi, Bashabi Fraser and Hamid Shami. They have been recognised as Scottish writers and have been published in anthologies of Scottish literature⁴¹. What is of importance here is not the language, but the *communication* that this sort of writing makes. As Suhayl Saadi, who is also a subject in my documentary film, *Under My Skin*, once said to me, “As an artist you enter the psyche of the nation.”⁴²

The contribution of South Asians to national culture through art has a multifold effect on relations between the immigrant and the host community. It promotes an understanding of South Asian culture amongst non-Asians, particularly by communicating immigrant experiences, removing misunderstandings and mystifications, breaking down stereotypes and expressing ideas and traditions brought across the continents from the country of origin.

Simultaneously, it changes the face of the national culture. Being Scottish is not just about bagpipes and highland dance anymore. Gradually, the face of Scottish culture is adapting to include multicultural influences to it. Scottish music, following a widespread trend, often incorporates elements of traditional Indian ragas and uses musical instruments like the tabla. For example, the soundtrack, *Indian Summer*, used in my film, is composed and played on

Scottish harp by Scottish musician Phamie Gow, who was inspired by Indian ragas in the composition of this piece of music.

Similarly, different art forms that have been brought across from South Asia, are adapting to derive inspiration from Celtic and other local traditions. Priya Sreekumar, another subject in *Under My Skin*, is a dancer who occasionally choreographs traditional South Indian dances to include Celtic myths and symbolism. In this way, by altering the face of national culture, the inclusion of South Asian influences adds a new dimension to notions of national identity and the collective consciousness of the nation.

In 1989, a large exhibition of Afro-Asian artists in Britain, called *The Other Story*, was curated by Rasheed Araeen at the Hayward Gallery in London. In the exhibition catalogue, Araeen says of this “other” story, “It is ... a story of those men and women who defied their ‘otherness’ and entered the modern space that was forbidden to them, not only to declare their historic claim on it but also to challenge the framework which defined and protected its boundaries.”⁴³

This exhibition sparked off extensive debate on different issues such as the usefulness of exhibiting the work of coloured artists in exclusion to other artists, and whether Araeen was justified in accusing art historians of excluding Afro-Asian modern artists from the history of modern art. Some critics accused Araeen of playing the racial card in attempting to reinstate Afro-Asian artists into the history of modern art: “The dilemma for the Afro-Asian artist is whether to cling to a native tradition that is either imaginary, long moribund, or from which he is parted by generations and geography, or to throw in his lot with an ancient tradition of white western art, from which he borrows, but with which he has scant intellectual or emotional sympathy. Whichever he chooses, he must not require praise, nor demand a place in the history of art, simply because he is not white.”⁴⁴

In response to such criticism, which fails to accept a different interpretation of modernism that simultaneously includes influences from a “native tradition” as well as “the ancient tradition of white western art”, Homi Bhabha writes, “None [of the reviewers] has attempted to ask whether the self-image of metropolitan (post)modernism has to be rethought in relation to this particular, postcolonial hybridity, its cultural migration and its

translation of artistic traditions ... The importance of this exhibition lies in our being able to acknowledge the presence of both [Afro-Asian and white] artists in a city, and a country, whose vision of itself must change with the emergent, hybrid cultures of its people.”⁴⁵

I believe that the melding of different cultures, the contribution to culture from individuals who also carry within them a long and rich history and tradition of art from another culture, can only enrich the national culture.

Also, the contribution of South Asian artists to national culture helps other South Asian immigrants to identify with the national culture. Being Scottish is easier if Scottishness is something you can relate to. The artists also provide role models for the next generation of aspiring artists from the diaspora, paving the way towards making art a more desirable and *possible* profession.

Suhayl Saadi said during an interview: “I’ve been through that phase of denying my Asian-ness, my Pakistani-ness, you know, because the time that I was brought up in this country, there were very few positive role models I could look to, and ... certainly no Pakistani role models.”⁴⁶

Suhayl, whose parents migrated to Britain from Pakistan in 1955, presently works as a general practitioner at the Govan Health Clinic in Glasgow. In his spare time, he writes fiction and poetry. His perceived lack of having a role model whilst growing up in Scotland is telling. He has found, over the last ten years, that the choices that he made towards practising medicine were not what he really wanted to do. He has now decided to resign from his practice and work part-time as a GP, and spend most of his time writing. In doing so, through this transition, he is himself providing the younger generation a role model, by abandoning the traditionally honoured profession of medicine, spending more time as a writer and making an impact on Scottish literature through his writing.

More importantly, he has moved on to embrace his ethnic identities, his “Asian-ness” and “Pakistani-ness”, and incorporate his ethnicity into his writing. Many of his stories are set in Glasgow, and his use of language reflects his multicultural origins, in that he liberally fuses Glaswegian and Scots dialect with Urdu and Punjabi words and phrases.

Issues of identity are central to postcolonial migrations and must be recognised as such. The importance of recognising pluralism in identity, particularly in light of recent history, is described by the scholar, Edward Said:

“No one today is purely *one* thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are no more than starting-points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental.”⁴⁷

This belief is echoed by the French Algerian writer, Amin Maalouf, who says, “What makes me myself rather than anyone else is the very fact that I am poised between two countries, two or three languages and several cultural traditions. It is precisely this that defines my identity.”⁴⁸

Salman Rushdie, perhaps the best known of British postcolonial authors, says of identity: “I am speaking now of those of us who emigrated. . . Our identity is at once plural and partial. Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures; at other times, that we fall between two stools.”⁴⁹

It is this notion of straddling more than one culture that perhaps best expresses diasporic identity, and presents a challenge to ideals of assimilation and the dominance of one culture in the frame of national identity. It is important to recognise that the celebration of a fusing of traditions can only expand and enrich the frame of national identity. I believe that the expression of this fusion by diasporic artists, whose work is recognised as an integral part of the (multicultural) national culture, can only instigate a process of integration whereby minority immigrant communities are accepted along with their differences into the nation’s image of its own identity, and whereby social and cultural barriers cease to be barriers and are instead transformed into points of meeting.

conclusion: *under my skin*

My initial proposal to make a documentary film about South Asian immigrants in Scotland was spurred by a personal interest in the choices that immigrants make in the process of migrating from one country to another, and how the process of migration affects their sense of identity.

My own family migrated to India from Iraq and Persia two hundred years ago. My parents migrated from India to Pakistan some years after partition. I migrated to Canada nine years ago, before moving to England after my marriage and on to Scotland last year. My own migrations from Pakistan to Canada and on to Britain have never had any sense of permanence attached to them. The idea of home has always been transient and in a state of flux. In Pakistan, anyone whose roots are not from that geographical region is referred to as *muhajir*, which literally translates to “immigrant”. My family’s roots are in India, but I have never actually lived there. Although I am now resident in Britain, this is not home.

When I moved to Edinburgh and started doing research for the film, I met a wide range of South Asian immigrants, from different backgrounds and of various faiths and cultures. With each encounter, I realised that every immigrant had a different and often remarkable story.⁵⁰

However, most of the people I initially met were owners of or workers in small shops and restaurants. This is the face of the South Asian community that is most visible to the rest of society. This is also the stereotype. I wanted to reveal a different side of immigrant culture, and one that oversteps the boundaries of stereotypes. It was this desire that led to the logical choice of making a film about artists of South Asian origin.

However, *Under my Skin* is not just about the role of artists, or their art. It is also about the experience of being an immigrant from the point of view of three artists who have not entirely conformed to the roles that they are often expected to play as South Asian immigrants.

As mentioned already, Suhayl is a doctor. He comes from a family of doctors (when I once met Suhayl's father, he said to me, "there are 38 doctors in our family,") and there was no question that he would follow anything other than medicine himself. His writing, especially since it began to be published ten years ago, is a symbolic break from this tradition. He says that writing for him is a means of confronting his past and it stems from his multi-faceted sense of identity:

I went through a long period of feeling desperately inferior in this country and that was obviously the sort of overt racism that I faced at school and in other situations... in many ways I was dislocated from my own culture and from the host culture ... somebody that felt more confident in what they were might not have the same drive as you, drive to be the best, drive to stand out in some sort of way, drive to find yourself.⁵¹

Suhayl was invited to read from his writing at the Edinburgh International Book festival, during the "Celtic Writers for Breakfast" event in August 2001. It is significant that he has been recognised as a Celtic writer.

Priya Sreekumar migrated to Scotland from Kerala, India, seven years ago. She teaches and performs *bharatanatyam* and *mohiniyatum*, which are traditional South Indian dance forms. She originally came here with her husband, having sold their landscape architecture business in Kerala, for higher studies in landscape architecture at Edinburgh University. After a year, the university withdrew her funding and she decided to stay on to teach dance. She has since appeared on national television and international festivals throughout the world.

For Priya, teaching and performing dance is simply a form of livelihood, and she says: "Dance *is* important. But if I find another job ... which is interesting, challenging, good enough and I'm sure a job would be more economically better, I would just not dance anymore, I would rather do the job."⁵²

However, Priya's role as a dancer, and particularly as a teacher of dance, has extended to her audiences and her students an age-old tradition and discipline imbued with Sanskrit mythological symbolism, in the contemporary context of an art form that has crossed geographical boundaries.

Herman Rodriguez is a photographer. He comes from a small Christian community that migrated from Goa to Madras in the south of India, and then on to Jaipur, in the Rajasthan desert in the north of India. Herman moved to Scotland eleven years ago to accompany his wife who came here to do a PhD at Edinburgh University. After unsuccessfully applying for countless jobs, he started working as a waiter in Indian restaurants, before deciding to open a restaurant himself where stereotypical and inauthentic “geographical curries” were not served. He now owns one of the most successful Indian restaurants in Edinburgh.

Herman’s passion for photography has led him to research, document and photograph over the years the different South Asian communities settled across Scotland. He says that he found it incredulous that South Asian immigrants all fall under the same banner of “Asian” when there is so much cultural and historical diversity amongst the different and distinct communities within that banner. He now often works in conjunction with the School of Scottish Studies and regularly exhibits his photographs.

Under My Skin consists of three separate films, where each one is about each of the artists described above. The process of narrowing down the range of choices as to whom to include in the film was difficult, as I met a number of artists whilst researching the film, such as Bashabi Fraser, who is a writer and a *kathak* dancer, and Ranjana Thapalyal, who holds a research position as a painter and ceramist at the Glasgow School of Art. My decision to film these three particular artists was ultimately instinctive, on who it would be cinematically most interesting and challenging to portray.

I decided to use Super-8 film as my medium, and to construct a voice-over narrative from a series of interviews that I recorded on digital audio tape with each of the artists. I find that Super-8 film is particularly evocative and appropriate to this story, as it was used in early home movie cameras, and it simultaneously draws in and distances the audience from its subject matter. It transforms an image into a memory, something that happened in the past, and creates a sense of nostalgia and dislocation that is central to most immigrant experiences – a sense of being here whilst the “here” belongs elsewhere.⁵³

In attempting to describe the visual effect of Super-8 film, I cannot help but recall Rushdie's description of the diasporic writer: "It may be argued that the past is a country from which we have all emigrated, that its loss is part of our common humanity. Which seems to me self-evidently true; but I suggest that the writer who is out-of-country and even out-of-language may experience this loss in an intensified form."⁵⁴

In the process of documenting the artists, I am attempting to highlight their place within the South Asian diaspora and the importance of this place. In one sense, this is done by aestheticising every image and projecting through their own voices and thoughts a reflection, their reflection, of the experience of migration. I had originally planned not to film any part of their physical selves, but to try and portray their environment through their absence. However, I planned this at a stage when I had not made a choice as to the subjects or the focus of the film. During the process of filming, I realised that their physical selves, particularly in the case of Priya as a dancer, were often central to capturing their environment.

The visuals in the film do not have a direct relationship to the voice-over narrative. This is a deliberate attempt to provide, through the visuals, another dimension to the portrayal of the artists, as they communicate their own experiences and thoughts through the narrative. In some sense, the visuals are also a reflection of my own relationship to the artists, a relationship that developed through the period of my getting to know them, and eventually, to interview and then film them. The process of creating a bond of trust and establishing the dynamics of filmmaker and subject, was a learning experience, and often difficult, especially in the case of Priya, with whom I also have the very different relationship of guru and student, as I have been learning *bharatanatyam* dance from her over the last year.

At another level, I have realised that as I myself am a member of the South Asian diaspora, the exercise of making this film is self-reflexive. As a film about artists of South Asian origin, who communicate the experiences of South Asian and immigrant culture to the larger Scottish society, *Under my Skin* is in itself performing that function of communication. And this, I feel, is my greatest ambition in the context of this film.

This particular function of *Under my Skin* dawned on me when this film was shortlisted for a Cineworks award that I had applied for in my search for funding. Although I later found out that as a student I was not eligible for the award and was forced to alter my proposal in order to remain on the shortlist (and I was eventually unsuccessful in receiving the award), I realised that the *possibility* of receiving Scottish national lottery funds for *Under my Skin* would entail its official inclusion in films representative of Scottish culture, recognised and funded by the establishment (which in this case is Scottish Screen).

I should add that as a result of being short-listed for Cineworks, I went through a very useful training and development scheme that included documentary film training and sessions of pitching my ideas to a panel. My altered proposal went through a further series of alterations, to the point where new guidelines for the award forced me to change the medium of my proposed film to digital video. The entire process was discouraging and it hardened my resolve to make *this* film just the way I planned to.

The process of carrying out research for *Under My Skin* has been a very interesting and extraordinary experience. I was not previously aware of the close links and sense of community within the South Asian diaspora, despite the strong divisions and bitter politicking between different politically charged groups that jostle each other in their struggle towards establishing themselves as bastions of support for the communities or as central mouth-pieces for issues that are common to most of the communities.

I was surprised at the warm welcome I received in every temple, mosque or gurdwara that I visited, and was invited to join in religious festivals and celebrations from all of the separate religious communities. I made an effort to meet every South Asian immigrant I could, to the extent of starting conversations with strangers at bus stops and making friends with every South Asian who runs a restaurant, grocery store or newsagent shop in Edinburgh. I contacted groups that have set up projects for minorities, such as the Nari Kalyan Sangho, that run courses and activities for women from ethnic minorities, and discovered that there are many such non-profit ventures that have been set up to provide support and a sense of community to immigrants who are otherwise socially and often economically displaced in the wider society.

During this time, my knowledge of recent British history has expanded, and I have become aware of issues of race and difference at many levels. I feel very strongly that South Asians fall outside representations of national culture (other than in the instance whereby “chicken tikka masala curry”, a wonderful example of hybrid culture, has been voted as the nation’s favourite dish).

Priya says of the majority of South Asian immigrants: I feel most of them are living in a frozen time frame. India has evolved so much. India is so different now, and because I came from India and I looked at the way they are ... it was a shock to me, more than the British culture ... there should be some change ... because then I would find it easier to communicate with them. I feel they are a very alienated community.⁵⁵

Art is a potent form of communication. The importance of this communication has yet to be recognised by the South Asian diaspora. As Herman says, “You’ve got to remember that the Asians as a community are not really bothered about artists, you know, they’d say, ‘what the hell are you wasting time for’ ...”⁵⁶

Perhaps the importance of art in minority communities also needs to be fostered by national institutions that fund artists, such as the Scottish Arts Council. Neeru Bhatnagar is a funding officer at the City Arts Council in Edinburgh. She previously worked as an outreach officer for minority communities. She says that in her experience, South Asian minorities are racially discriminated against, and her own struggle to reach the position that she is in now has been predominantly against such discrimination.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, racism is becoming more widespread in Edinburgh in light of the attack on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in USA on September 11th, 2001. Mrs Bhatnagar, after wearing the traditional Indian dress of shalwar kameez for thirty years in this country, has suffered so much abuse in the last few weeks that she has started wearing Western attire. This example of self-defence shows how superficial the provocations for racial abuse can be.

There is no doubt that the process of integration and acceptance of the South Asian minority in this country will be long drawn out over the next generations. In view of the examples of history, Smith analyses:

“Even where new immigrant communities equipped with their own historic cultures have been admitted by the state, it has taken several generations before their descendants have been admitted (in so far as they have been) into the circle of the “nation” and its historic culture through the national agencies of mass socialisation.”⁵⁸

This means that what is thought to be British, or Scottish, needs to be re-evaluated. It must not be forgotten that identity is an ever-mutating vision. It is only through the inclusion of a diversity of cultural traditions and experiences into the national culture, through the acceptance of difference and the celebration of plurality, that identity can be a true reflection of the nation. And this reflection is best expressed through art, through the spontaneous and creative expression of the artist, for whom the experience of dislocation is fertile ground from which to draw upon, and whose expression and communication takes us another step across these skin-deep boundaries.

notes

- ¹ In conversation with Suhayl Saadi, 20th May 2001, Glasgow.
- ² Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Penguin Books: London, 1991), p.4.
- ³ See William Ryan & Walter Pitman, *Noah's Flood: The New Scientific Discoveries About the Event That Changed History* (Simon and Schuster: London, 2000).
- ⁴ Smith, *National Identity*, p.14.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p.11.
- ⁶ This distinction is somewhat simplistic and ideological, as in the case of Germany where the older ethnic notion of nationhood still persists.
- ⁷ Smith, *National Identity*, p.11.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p.92.
- ⁹ See Ian Spencer, "The Open Door, Labour Needs and British Immigration Policy, 1945-55", *Immigrants and Minorities* (Frank Cass: London), Vol.15, No.1, March 1996, pp.22-41.
- ¹⁰ Ian Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939: The making of multi-racial Britain* (Routledge: London, 1997), p.155.
- ¹¹ See *ibid.*, p.147.
- ¹² Ali, Yasmin. "Echoes of Empire: Towards a Politics of Representation", *Enterprise and Heritage* (Routledge: London, 1991) pp.194-211, Ed. John Corner and Sylvia Harvey, p.199
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.201-202.
- ¹⁴ See Edward S. Herman & Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent* (Vintage: London, 1994).
- ¹⁵ Compare headlines of tabloids and broadsheets during race riots in Britain, in the summer of 2001.
- ¹⁶ "There was little dissent in the post-war debate from the view that 'colonial', or 'coloured' or 'new Commonwealth', immigration was undesirable and no question that white immigration from the Commonwealth and Eire was, and continued to be, desirable." Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939*, p.154.
- ¹⁷ Vaughan Robinson, *Transience, Settlers and Refugees: Asians in Britain* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1986) pg. 202.
- ¹⁸ Bashir Maan, *The New Scots: The Story of Asians in Scotland* (John Donald Publishers Ltd: Edinburgh, 1992), p.84.
- ¹⁹ Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939*, p.12.
- ²⁰ See Maan, *The New Scots*, p105.
- ²¹ See *ibid.*, p.132.
- ²² See Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939*, p.8.
- ²³ See *ibid.*, p.15.
- ²⁴ See *ibid.*, p.17.
- ²⁵ See *ibid.*, p.16.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.131.
- ²⁷ See *ibid.*, pp.130-134.
- ²⁸ See Maan, *The New Scots*, p.163.
- ²⁹ See *ibid.*, p.164.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.165.
- ³¹ See *ibid.*, pp.165-167.
- ³² See Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939*, pp.140-141.
- ³³ See Maan, *The New Scots*, pp.177-179.
- ³⁴ Hegel's dialectic of history unfolding did not include the "stagnant" culture of the Indian subcontinent.
- ³⁵ "Do' Care", poem by Edinburgh poet, Bashabi Fraser, *Wish I was Here* (Polygon: Edinburgh, 2000), p.150:

In a Paris hotel lounge on one occasion
My thirteen year old five foot five
Daughter glowed with the attention
Of three young men striving
To pigeon-hole her Scottishness
And break her brittle brusqueness

With their far-eastern finesse.

If Scotland played England
Whom would she support
-Sco'land- was the answer she delivered
And if England played India
-India- she claimed with a triumphant swagger
If England played Germany
-Germany- was the response
From the unassailable position
Of a new-found nationalism.

And what if it were Scotland and India
One demanded with diabolical confidence
Of an argument-winning lawyer –
She clamped down her glass, shrugged her bare
Shoulders, turned away saying – do' care.

³⁶ There has been plenty of literature has been written about this problem, e.g., see Meera Syaal, *Life Isn't all Ha Ha Hee Hee*, (Anchor: London, 2000) and Hanif Kureishi, *The Black Album* (Faber and Faber: London, 1995).

³⁷ Robinson, *Transience, Settlers and Refugees*, p.199.

³⁸ See Gurinder Chadha's film, *Bhaji on the Beach*.

³⁹ "Towards The New Enlightenment" – A Cultural Policy for the City of Edinburgh, 1999.

⁴⁰ See Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, *Who do we think we are?* (Penguin: London, 2001).

⁴¹ See, for example, *Back to the Light* (Mariscat Press: Edinburgh, 2001), ed. Donny O'Rourke & Hamish Whyte.

⁴² Ibid. note 1.

⁴³ Rasheed Araeen, *The Other Story*, (South Bank Centre: London, 1989), p.9.

⁴⁴ Brian Sewell, "Pride or Prejudice", *Art and its Histories: A Reader* (Yale University Press: London, 1999), ed. Steve Edwards, p.267.

⁴⁵ Homi Bhabha, "The Wrong Story", *ibid.*, pp.270-272.

⁴⁶ See "Interview with Suhayl Saadi" in Appendix 3.

⁴⁷ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (Vintage: New York, 1994), p.336.

⁴⁸ Amin Maalouf, *On Identity* (The Harvill Press: London, 2000), p.3.

⁴⁹ Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* (Granta Books: London, 1992), p.15.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 1.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² See "Interview with Priya Sreekumar" in Appendix 3.

⁵³ A Scottish multicultural anthology, published by Polygon Pocketbooks (2000) is evocatively titled *Wish I was Here*.

⁵⁴ Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, p.12.

⁵⁵ See "Interview with Priya Sreekumar".

⁵⁶ See "Interview with Herman Rodriguez" in Appendix 3.

⁵⁷ In conversation with Neeru Bhatnagar, 22nd December 2000, Edinburgh.

⁵⁸ Smith, *National Identity*, pg.11.

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