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SOME ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF INDIANS AND PAKISTANIS IN NEWCASTLE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN

- BY -

JHARNA NATH

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF DURHAM.

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM
ENGLAND.

OCTOBER 1970.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

This study was made possible by guidance, advice and help from many sources. I wish to record my sincere thanks to all of them.

I am indebted to Professor Philip Mayer for his guidance, advice and affectionate inspiration.

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ABSTRACT

As the title indicates, this thesis is a study of the way of life and the complex problems of adjustment to a new environment faced by Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle, with particular reference to women.

Most women come as dependants of a man - wife, daughter, bride, or mother. Since both in Hindu and Muslim families a woman is expected at every stage of her life to be under the authority of at least one male member of the family, it is difficult to understand the women's problems without knowing their background and the situation of the male member of the household. That is why personal data of both senior male and female member of the household have been recorded wherever possible.

This thesis is divided into six main chapters. For background information on Indians and Pakistanis in Britain, a brief account of the facts and figures about immigrants in Britain is presented in the first chapter. At the same time published and unpublished materials on the subject are discussed. In the second chapter I have given an account of my field work. Chapter three deals with some salient features about the informants i.e. the reasons for their coming, problems of adjustment and their family structure in Britain. In this connection some case histories have been given. Chapter four analyses the economic activities of Indians and Pakistanis, their religious and social life. Chapter five deals with socio-cultural conflicts. Here the domestic problems of the

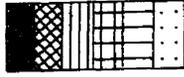
women have been discussed. Their reactions to life in Britain and views about going back home have been mentioned. The last chapter deals with the summary and conclusions.

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

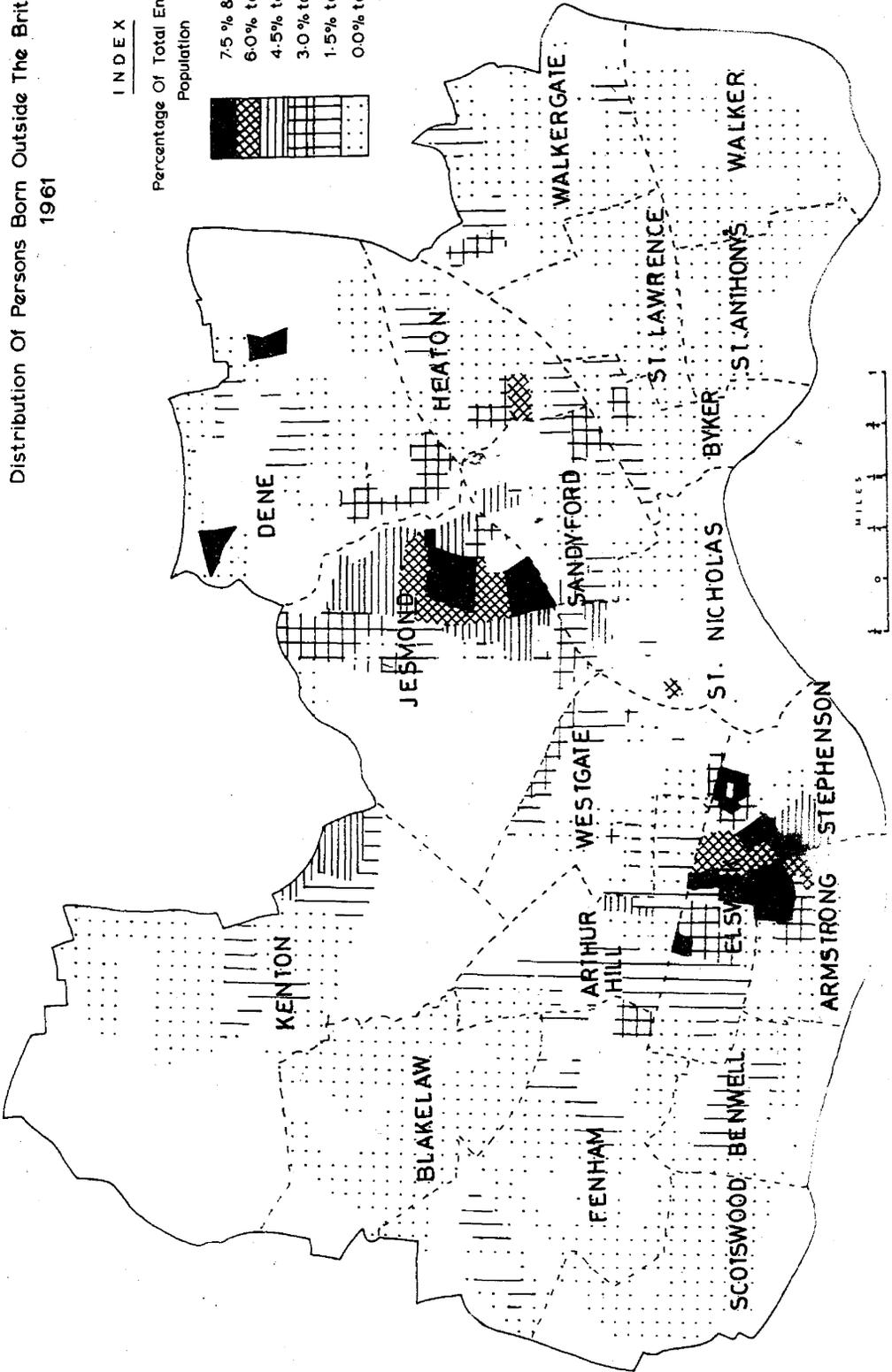
Distribution Of Persons Born Outside The British Isles
1961

INDEX

Percentage Of Total Enumerated
Population



- 7.5% & over
- 6.0% to 7.4%
- 4.5% to 5.9%
- 3.0% to 4.4%
- 1.5% to 2.9%
- 0.0% to 1.4%



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1.1 Facts and figures about Indians and Pakistanis in Britain

From the 1930's Indians have formed part of the coloured population of Great Britain. But the considerable increase in the flow of immigrants from the Commonwealth, notably from the West Indies, Pakistan and India, started during the middle years of the decade 1950 - 1960. Such an influx was new in British experience. The estimated coloured population from the Commonwealth in December 1958 had grown to about 210,000 (the following figures were given by Mr. David Renton, Joint Under Secretary of State for the Home Office, in the House of Commons on 5th December 1958: West Indians 115,000; West Africans 25,000; Indians and Pakistanis 55,000; Other coloured Commonwealth citizens 15,000. House of Commons Hansard Col. 1580-81, 5th December 1958) and settled groups of coloured people were by this time living in many industrial cities which had never before known coloured communities in their midst.

The following figures of net immigration into Britain from the Commonwealth indicate the increase in the number of immigrants. These figures (after deducting the outflow of those returning home)

were published on November 26th 1963, in a written parliamentary answer.

1959	...	...	...	...	21,600
1960	...	...	...	...	57,700
1961	...	...	...	...	136,400
1962 (January - June)		...	...		94,900
July 1962 - June 1963		...	...		10,517
1963 (July - October)		...	...		30,017

A White Paper (Immigration from the Commonwealth)* setting out the Government's policy on the question of Commonwealth immigration was issued on August 2nd 1965. Prior to its publication it was decided that Admiral of the Fleet Earl Mountbatten of Burma should lead a high-level mission which, as the Prime Minister had stated, would visit Commonwealth countries to discuss the problem of migration to Britain. Lord Mountbatten's mission began its survey by flying to Malta on April 20th, on which date it was announced from Downing Street that the mission would visit at least six countries- India, Nigeria, Canada, Jamaica, Cyprus, and Pakistan. The report was not published, as it was considered very confidential.

The principal features of the Government's immigration policy,

* Cmnd. 2739.

as set out in the White Paper of 1965, were as follows:

- 1- Instead of 20,800 Commonwealth immigrants 8,500 would be allowed to enter Britain every year. Accordingly 8,500 work vouchers would be issued annually.
- 2- New controls would be imposed on the entry of dependants (except wives and children under 16) and powers would be taken to repatriate Commonwealth immigrants entering the country illegally.
- 3- Immigrants were to be required to produce health certificates before admission to Britain, and additional health checks were to be imposed at ports of entry.
- 4- A determined attack would be made on the housing shortage, aimed at preventing the overcrowding and exploitation of immigrants and in particular, the multi-occupation of dwellings.
- 5- Measures were promised to integrate immigrants into British life, in which connection the white paper said that "there can be no question of allowing any of them to be regarded as second-class citizens."
- 6- A National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants would be formed and would take over the functions of the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council which was set up in 1962. The National Committee has, broadly speaking, two separate but interrelated functions: to advise the Government on national policies and to submit

detailed and informed proposals to the Government.

About the integration of Commonwealth immigrants the white paper said, "The United Kingdom is already a multi-racial society and Commonwealth immigrants make a most valuable contribution to our economy. Most of them will stay and bring up their families here and there can be no question of allowing any of them to be regarded as second class citizens. At the same time it must be recognised that the presence in this country of nearly one million immigrants from the Commonwealth with different social and cultural back-grounds raises a number of problems and creates various social tensions in those areas where they have concentrated. If we are to avoid the evil of racial strife and if harmonious relations between the different races who now form our community are to develop, these problems and tensions must be resolved and removed. . . . " *

A Race Relations Board and Local Conciliation Committees have been set up. The Race Relations Board is to operate when Local Conciliation Committees fail to obtain a settlement of difference after a complaint has been referred to them. If satisfied that there has been a persistent course of racially discriminatory conduct, the Board should report the matter to the Law Officers and a case can then be brought in a Civil Court.

* Cmnd. 2739. p 10.

The sudden arrival in Britain a several thousand Asians from Kenya holding United Kingdom passports, because of their fears about the effects of recent Kenyan legislation designed to implement that Government's policy of "Kenyanization," caused increasing concern in the U.K to-wards the end of 1967 and early 1968, as it was feared that further tens of thousands of people in the same position would follow and that the total number of arrivals would far exceed any possible rate of absorption.

Mr. Roy Jenkins, the then Home Secretary, on Nov. 21st 1967 in a written Parliamentary answer, published the following table showing under various headings the annual numbers of Commonwealth immigrants admitted to Britain between July 1962 and September 1967.

Period	Voucher holder	Dependants		
	Men	Men	Women	Children under 16
1962*	3,540	259	4,039	4,534
1963	27,371	833	11,331	14,070
1964	11,784	1,239	13,437	22,784
1965	9,710	1,485	14,992	24,737
1966	4,365	1,450	13,592	26,984
1967 ⁺	2,988	1,687	10,968	25,608

*July - December; +January - September

Towards the end of February 1968 the Government introduced the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill providing for the controls mentioned and proposing certain changes in the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act.

Afterwards widespread controversy was aroused by a speech made on April 20th, 1968 by Mr. Enoch Powell, Conservative M.P for Wolverhampton South-West and Opposition front-bench spokesman on Defence, in which he urged that the influx of coloured immigrants from the Commonwealth into Britain should be reduced immediately to "Negligible proportions," and that financial aid should be made immediately available to enable immigrants to return to their countries of origin. In the course of his speech Mr. Powell said that " We must be literally mad as a nation " to permit the influx of some 50,000 dependants of Commonwealth immigrants a year ; that on present trends, there would be 3,500,000 Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants in Britain within 15 or 20 years; and that the comparable figure for the year 2000 would be in the region of five to seven millions.

This discussion and the Commonwealth Immigration statistics from July 1962 to September 1967 show what was the origin of Immigration control, and how it affects the increase and decrease of the numbers of immigrants. It has obliged many Indians and Pakistanis to change their future plans of life.

However I am not directly concerned here with the tremendous

consequences of immigration control for the life of the immigrants and for the host country. But these facts are mentioned for better analysis and understandings of the problems, faced by Indian and Pakistani people, which I have stated in the following chapters.

1.2 Some related studies

For background information on Indians and Pakistanis in Britain, the published and unpublished materials referred to in this section have been consulted. The outbreaks of violence in Nottingham and Notting Hill in the late summer of 1958 received wide publicity in the World's press. So after 1958 quite a number of studies were conducted on Race-relations in Britain. But very few have been concerned with the Indian and Pakistani people.

Much has been written about the life and problems of coloured students in this country. Dr. A.T.Carey wrote about the " Social adaptation of colonial students in London, with special reference to West Africans and West Indians".¹ Dr. A.K.Singh published a study of Indian students in 1963. He analysed 400 cases, taking one hundred each from Oxbridge and Provincial Universities and two hundred from London.

1. Carey, A.T.: " The Social Adaptation of Colonial Students in London, with special reference to West Africans and West Indians," Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, June, 1955.

At first his approach was extensive and the aim was to collect informations about the students; so in the questionnaire, most of the questions were closed. After the preliminary investigation, open-ended questions were distributed among one hundred students to get some qualitative information. So the final report is based on the analysis of data from a hundred cases of extensive and sixty-seven cases of intensive survey.

He wanted to collect information about the social, personal, and academic problems of Indian students in Britain. " In the first place, the survey has shown that it may be misleading to consider the Indian students as an undifferentiated group. Their problems of adjustment to different spheres of life - social, personal and academic - depended on various factors such as social class, age, personality traits, level of study, type of University, and duration of stay in this country."²

But the fact is that the students expect to stay in this country for only a short period. So they maintain close connections with their home country and families. They are mainly busy in their academic

2. Singh, A.K. : " Indian Students in Britain," Asia Publishing House, London, 1963, p 117.

field and have very little contact with the outside world. Though they get opportunities to visit different parts of the U.K and to stay with British families during vacations, arranged by The British Council and colleges etc, they do not face the problems experienced by the Indian and Pakistani Immigrant workers in this country.

In the year 1960 G.S.Aurora made a study of Indian workers in England, mainly the Sikh community situated in the Southall borough of Middlesex county.³ This study was concerned mainly with the socio-historical factors involved in the migration and social adjustment of Indian immigrants to England. The main method followed was " Participant-Observation."

He found out that the Indian community of Southall consists of varied elements, but most of them are semi-literate immigrants, who like to live a more self-sufficient and intense communal life.

In 1962 Dr. R. Desai studied some aspects of social relations between

3. Aurora, G.S.: " Indian workers in England," a sociological and historical survey, Thesis submitted to the London University for M.Sc. 1960.

the Indian immigrants in the United Kingdom and the host society with particular reference to economic activities. He found that the Indians in the United Kingdom have formed themselves into 'linguistic-regional' groups based on their origins in India.

"The immigrant is sponsored by a fellow immigrant and comes to live in an immigrant house in an immigrant locality. Immediately on arrival, he finds himself within his own linguistic-regional group. This group satisfies his needs for employment, accomodation and leisure-time activities. He does not feel called upon to make radical cultural adjustments. The host society on the other hand offers him an open labour market, hostile landladies and a chilly welcome to its recreational activities. Small wonder, then, that once the immigrant has found a reasonable job through his membership of the immigrant community, he refuses to assimilate."⁴

Most of his field work was done among Gujrati families in and around the city of Birmingham. He also followed the 'Observant and participant' method. The book gives quite a comprehensive

4. Desai, R.: "Indian Immigrants in Britain," Oxford University Press, London, 1963. pp 147-148.

idea of Indian immigrants in the U.K, their settlement pattern, housing and mobility. He has described their economic activities in two main categories :

- 1- The internal economy - which includes house-owning, the grocery business and hawking.
- 2- The external economy - i.e, where Indian immigrants work in the host-society. This includes manual labourers in factories, assembly-line workers, bus-conductors, machine operators, postal workers, clerks, countersalesmen, laboratory assistants etc.

He wrote that " Immigrant leaders emerge in sponsoring new immigrants, in setting up households , in running the internal economy, in finding jobs and providing communication between immigrant workers and the management, and in the various types of associations." ⁵

In 1964 the work of Mr. W.H. Israel, " Colour and Community" ⁶ was published. Here he and his assistants analysed a sample consisting of 46.7% Indians, 12.7% Pakistanis and 40.6% West Indians in Slough.

5. Ibid. p 108.

6. Israel, W.H. : " Colour and Community," The Slough Council of Social Service, Slough, Buckingham-Shire, 1964.

This gives an overall picture of the life of the coloured immigrants in Slough. The work of Professor John Rex and Dr. R. Moore⁷ in Sparkbrook is of great value in the field of race relations. It also throws light on the life of the Indian and Pakistani immigrants. The writings of J.A.G. Griffith, J. Henderson, M. Osborne, and D. Wood in the book⁸ "Coloured Immigrants in Britain" give a back-ground idea of the coloured immigrants in Britain. Norman Pannell and Fermer Brockway,⁹ in their book, "Immigration : What is the Answer? " discussed the ethical aspects of immigration policy and made recommendations for the future. There are published reports from most of the large towns with an immigrant population about housing conditions, health, the education¹⁰ of children etc. Reports on coloured immigrants in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne

7. Rex, John, and Moore, R. : "Race, Community and Conflict : a study of Sparkbrook, " Institute of Race Relations, 1967.

8. Griffith, J.A.G., Henderson, J., Osborne, M., Wood, D. : "Coloured Immigrants in Britain," Oxford University Press, 1960.

9. Pannell, N., and Brockway, F. : " Immigration:What is the Answer? " ,Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, London, 1965.

10. Telang, S.D. : " The Coloured Immigrant in Newcastle Upon Tyne," (a research report), City and County of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1967.

and West Yorkshire¹¹ are also helpful. The pamphlets of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, such as "Indian Family in Britain."¹² by Dilip Hiro and "Pakistani Family in Britain"¹³ by F.Hashmi, are highly informative.

Narindar Uberoi in an article, "Sikh women in Southall," pointed out the importance of language teaching, and showed that "these women are by no means averse to making some changes in the traditional Indian way of life so far preserved in Southall."¹⁴

Zaynab Dahya in the article, "Pakistani wives in Britain," pointed out the problem of isolation of Pakistani women. She wrote "In Pakistan the purdah segregated the women of an extended family and confined them within the compound; they were secluded, sheltered and protected but they were never isolated in any sense. In Britain the

11. Butterworth, E.: "Immigrants in West Yorkshire",
Institute of Race Relations, London, 1967.

12. Hiro, D.: "Indian Family in Britain", NCCI Publication,
1967.

13. Hashmi, F.: "Pakistani Family in Britain", NCCI Publication,
1967.

14. Uberoi, N.: "Sikh women in Southall", in RACE, Vol 6. No.1.
July 1964, Institute of Race Relations, p 40.

purdāh does more than seclude women; it isolates the individual woman and cuts her off from meeting women who are similarly placed."¹⁵ Both of the articles throw some light on the life patterns and attitudes of the Sikh and Pakistani women in Britain.

So far we have discussed published and unpublished researches on Indian and Pakistani immigrants and some informative reports and pamphlets which contribute to our understanding of their life and problems in Britain.

15. Dahya, Z.: "Pakistani wives in Britain", in RACE, Vol 6, No.4. April 1965, Institute of Race relations, p 320.

1.3 Aims and scope of the present study

The main aim of this study is to find out the way of life and the complex problem of adjustment to a new environment faced by the Indian and Pakistani women in Newcastle. Only a few women have migrated to the U.K for independent work. They usually come to this country as dependants of a man either as wife, daughter, bride, mother or sometime unmarried sisters, since both in Hindu and Muslim families woman is expected at every stage of her life to be under the authority of at least one male member of the family, a father, brother, husband or son. The idea of marriage is the transference of the fathers authority over her. Women are not supposed to be independent at any time in their lives.

So without knowing their family background, their husbands' problems, ideas and attitudes, it is very difficult to understand the problems of the Indian and Pakistani women in this country or in their home country either.

For the present study, therefore, enquiries have been made on personal data from both the male head and the female members of the household, their immigration background, marriage, family structure, employment, education, social life, recreation and leisure time activities.

CHAPTER 2

FIELD WORK

2.1 Time of the study

I was supposed to start my work in this field from the Easter term of 1968. Unfortunately due to some difficulties I was not able to join the University at that time. But I was already interested in a special study of the Indian and Pakistani women in Newcastle, so I began from that time to make friends with as many families as possible so as to learn about their problems and life in this country. I got admission in October 1968, and then started to work enthusiastically and systematically.

2.2 Place of the study

I did all my field work in Newcastle. One reason is that, as I am living here, I know many Indians and Pakistanis and I can mix with them closely. Another reason is that it is one of the important concentrations of immigrant population in the United Kingdom.

I gather from my interviews and from the report of the City and County of Newcastle Upon Tyne that the main influx of Asian

immigrants to this place seems to have come before the second world war. The following figures are taken from the census report of 1951 and 1961:

1951 Census

Birth place	Male	Female	Total
India	283	199	482
Pakistan	69	13	82
Carribbean	38	24	62
West Africa	52	12	64
East Africa	33	12	45

1961 Census

Birth place	Male	Female	Total
India	531	301	832
Pakistan	306	64	370
Carribbean	108	52	160
Other countries in Asia	50	36	86
Africa, exclud- ing South Africa and Arab Republic	174	84	258

In Newcastle it seems that most of the Indian and Pakistani families are concentrated in the western end of the city. A good number are living in Jesmond and Heaton as well. In the western end alone there are more than eighteen Indian and Pakistani grocers' shops. The Hindu Temple, Gurduara (the Sikh Temple), and Mosque are also situated in that area.

One interesting point to note here is that most of the immigrant people of Jesmond and Heaton have had some education. Even many women can communicate in English. We learn from the report "The Coloured Immigrant in Newcastle Upon Tyne", published by the City and County of Newcastle Upon Tyne in the year 1967, that an estimate of illiteracy amongst Indian and Pakistani women in Newcastle is 20%.¹

Every day many Indians and Pakistanis move from the western end of Newcastle to such areas as Jesmond and Heaton to which higher status value attaches and where it is convenient for landlords to have tenants as bed-sitters.

1. Telang, S.D. : "The Coloured Immigrant in Newcastle Upon Tyne", City and County of Newcastle Upon Tyne, City Planning Department, 1967, p 5.

2.3 Methods used in field work

It is not always possible through guided interviews alone to understand the problems of Indians and Pakistanis. The main reason for this is that they are not used to questionnaires. Hence they become suspicious and are reluctant to fill them up. If the questionnaire is in a language other than their own they cannot always understand it.

Close association with the group is the most suitable way to understand their problems. For this it is convenient if the research worker knows the language of the group studied or if he is a member of the same 'linguistic-regional-group'. Otherwise an interpreter is essential all the time. If one depends on an interpreter it is often difficult to understand people of different culture and tradition, since they develop subtleties in their thought which are difficult for an outsider to grasp properly.

In my field work I have used sampling and questionnaire methods with as much "participant-observation" as possible. Life is lived indoors in this country, so that it is very difficult for an outsider to participate in it completely. I do not speak the language of the group concerned. This problem was solved by the co-operation of some Indians and Pakistanis.

2.3.1 Contacts with informants

First I studied the background of the Indian and Pakistani populations in Britain in published and unpublished research works. But, as discussed before, very little has been done on Indian and Pakistani women. It becomes necessary to make personal contact with as many families as possible to get information.

From the very beginning I have been living in an Indian-owned house. I have come to know our landlord (who is a shop-owner), his family, some of his relatives and some other people through him. So he is my first informant. Gradually I came to know many Indian and Pakistani students, engineers, doctors and trainees who are living in Indian and Pakistani houses. I have been to those houses many times to see our friends; there I met their landlords, their families and sometime their relatives and friends.

I have been several times to the Temple on Tuesday night and Sunday morning, to the Gurduara on Saturday night and to the Malvern Street Welfare Clinic on Monday, to participate in their functions. There I could talk to the people informally and observe their life-pattern and the problems facing them. In this way I was able to make some friends. I invited many of them to my place of residence and they invited me in return. Through such exchanges of

visits I got to know many of their personal problems automatically without direct enquiry. Some of them took me to their friends' houses also. I kept in touch with many of them, so that I was able to get more information from them later.

But the difficulty of the method discussed above is that it takes a lot of time. In this way I got to know families who can speak and understand a little English. They include some immigrant leaders, landlords, businessmen, doctors, engineers etc. This method did not bring me into contact with the uneducated people who are working in factories as manual labourers, those who do not come to the Temple, Gurduara or Mosque, and those who are not member of any association or are living in the western end of Newcastle. By relying only on this I should have had an incomplete account of the Indian and Pakistani community. I discuss in the following section how I managed to get over this problem.

2.3.2 Guided interviews

To get the information in a more organised way and from all the different sections of the population in the shortest possible time, I decided to draw up a questionnaire which would produce a

modified form of individual case-history. I collected the addresses of a good number of Indians and Pakistanis from different sources, e.g. immigrant leaders, Indian and Pakistani Associations, The Temple, Mosque, Gurduara, the shops and personal acquaintances.

I tried a preliminary questionnaire with five women, two of them known to me and the other three not. I got the addresses of these three from a Pakistani shop. Fortunately they all gave me their particulars. Two could not speak English. In one case the woman's daughter helped me to interpret my questions to her mother. In the other a woman staying in the same house kindly took the trouble of interpreting .

I went to several more houses, but I noticed that some women were hesitant in filling up the forms. They were afraid, and told me they would do it when their husbands returned home from work. As they might not know all the answers, this would be an advantage. One woman asked me to leave the questionnaire with her so that she could fill it up after consulting her husband.

From the five questionnaires distributed to women only, I realised that I had not got a clear picture of their life and background. The lives and attitudes of Indian and Pakistani women are very much influenced by their husbands and by the family structure. In addition many women cannot speak English. So it seemed desirable to use two

questionnaires; one for the male head of the family and the other for the female head. In most of the families I tried to interview both, and where possible informally interview the other adult members and children as well. Notes of all these informal interviews were kept carefully for later elaboration and analysis.

I distributed pairs of questionnaires to ten families to see how this method would work, and whether people would voluntarily complete the answers by themselves. Only two families filled them up by themselves and returned the completed questionnaires after a week when I went back to collect them.

Another five families replied that they had been busy, and would send the questionnaires by post after filling them up. When I had had no reply within four weeks time I went to their houses. Their husbands were not in. I talked to the wives and children and could gather nearly all the information I wanted. When I got home I filled up five pairs of questionnaires for them. Two families refused to answer the questions, saying that they concerned very personal matters. One man said that he did not like to give any particulars in writing, and added that no Indians or Pakistanis would tell the truth or answer the questions at all.

On another occasion I went to a house where I knew an Indian couple lived, though I had no personal acquaintance with them, and asked the house-wife if she could spare some time as I wanted to talk to her. She welcomed me, and she turned out to talk quite fluent English. I told her my purpose in coming that I wanted to study the problems faced by Indian and Pakistani people in this country. I would be very obliged if they had no objection to co-operating with me by answering some questions in a form. She said that her husband was very co-operative and she hoped that if I left the forms with her both of them could fill them up. We talked informally for some time about my personal problems here, so that she could start talking on that point. Thus I obtained many of the particulars I wanted to know. At last she said that it was necessary to write about the Indian and Pakistani people because English people were quite ignorant about them. She thinks that English people are envious of them as they have nice houses, cars and many other amenities of life. According to her this has been possible because the Indians and Pakistanis work hard, save money and do not spend it on drinking, gambling etc. She kept the questionnaire and told me to come back next day to collect it.

I went there next day. Her husband opened the door. I explained what I had come for. He replied that he hates to disclose his personal life. I explained the matter and told him all that I wanted to know.

was the problems people were facing here after coming from a different culture and tradition. Different people feel differently,, that is why I want to collect many people's experiences in this country. Then he fixed a time in the following week when I could go again to his house and talk about whatever I wanted.

Next week when I went there a girl of about 16 opened the door. I told her that I wanted to see Mr. and Mrs. M. She went inside the house and then told me, "Mrs. is out". When I asked to see Mr. M, she went in again and then replied, "Both of them are asleep!" This was the worst case I came across during my field work. It was due to misunderstanding I suppose. So I decided that it might be better without giving time for misunderstanding to go myself with the questionnaires and fill them up on the spot.

The next trouble I faced was the language difficulty. Most of the Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle are from the Punjabi speaking area. My language is not the same. I have a working knowledge of Urdu and Hindi. Mostly the man-folk can communicate either in Hindi, Urdu or English. But it becomes difficult to communicate with the uneducated women from the villages. In some cases their children did the interpreting.

I was lucky to get the help of two Indian gentlemen who volunteered to go with me to some houses to do the job of interpreting. The man accompanying me used to explain what I wanted to the family we visited in their mother tongue. If the person interviewed could communicate in English then I started the interview, otherwise my friend did it. Both the interpreters are graduates from India. They know many people who are working in buses and factories. So they took me to there as well. Most of them are quite nice and co-operative people. Some people, however, want to live by themselves and not be bothered by others.

Most of the questions in both the questionnaires were 'closed' so as to get the answers as quickly as possible. A few 'open-ended' questions were also asked so as to get an idea of the difficulties people face here, their attitudes towards the English etc.

Depending on the attitude of the person interviewed, the questionnaire was filled up either on the spot or after I got home. I found it convenient to approach a person directly if he or she was co-operative, because many doubtful question could be easily clarified in discussion, and at the same time I had an opportunity to collect relevant and useful incidental information.

In short, the questionnaire method was not entirely successful, so the study is not based wholly on its results. Informal interview, participant-observation and case study were also used to get to understand these people and their problems.

2.4 Description of the sample

As it is quite impossible, specially single-handed, to interview and question all the members of any community, one has to obtain information from a selected representative number or sample. But in selecting the sample, one has to be very careful to ensure that it covers people from all walks of life. Otherwise it will not give results within the acceptable limits of accuracy.

As most of my friends are living in Indian or Pakistani owned houses, I tried to make acquaintance with the landlords and their families. From the Temple, from leaders of the Indian and Pakistani communities, and from grocers' shops, it was possible for me to draw up a list of names and addresses.

After that I looked for friendly people from each group who would help me when I needed interpreters. Some of these were known to me beforehand, others I got to know afterwards through my original

contacts. I was successful in this respect. Most people were very co-operative.

Thus one hundred men and women were interviewed. Among them there were 28 Indian males, the average age of whom was 35.46; 24 Pakistani males with an average age of 35.50; 30 Indian females with an average age of 30.31 and 18 Pakistani females averaging 28.56 years of age. Some of these have been in Newcastle more than twenty years and some have come within the last five years. Below is a table showing their length of stay in Britain.

Years of stay in Britain

People interviewed	0-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11-15 yrs.	16-20 yrs.	21-25 yrs.	More than 25 yrs	Total
Indian male	5	12	4	6	1	-	28
Pakistani male	3	12	5	4	-	-	24
Indian female	16	9	2	2	1	-	30
Pakistani female	11	7	-	-	-	-	18
Total	35	40	11	12	2	-	100

In most cases I learned the informants' professions. So I decided to select names from different occupational groups, with differences in educational background. The educational background of the one

hundred people interviewed is as follows:

Education

Type of education	Indian male	Pakistani male	Indian female	Pakistani female	Total
No schooling	1	4	3	8	16
Primary	-	8	5	5	18
Secondary	15	4	10	1	30
Attended College and University	8	7	10	4	29
Training from U.K.	4	1	2	-	7
Total	28	24	30	18	100

In addition to these interviews I talked informally with as many people as possible and made short notes of the conversations sometime on the spot and often at the end of the interview, depending on the situation and the attitudes of the people concerned. These were expanded as soon afterwards as possible. Thus by casual conversations and general enquiries I came to know many of their problems. In the majority of cases where I made formal interviews I tried to continue my contact with the same families by occasional visiting and asking them to come to my residence. So that it would be possible to participate in their lives and to know them more closely.

CHAPTER 3 FEW SALIENT FEATURES ABOUT THE INFORMANTS

3.1 Coming to Britain

3.1.1 Reasons for coming

The current migration of Indians and Pakistanis to the United Kingdom did not begin before the end of the second World war. From the 1930's Indians, especially the Seamen, generally known as "Laskars," formed a portion of the coloured population in Great Britain. In those days a group of Sikhs came to Britain and started earning their living by peddling clothes and hosiery etc, in the Midlands and Scotland until the late 1940's. They were the principal pioneers of immigration to Britain. After World war II there was a considerable shortage of manpower in factories; as a result many of these people got jobs in factories as labourers.

From the late 1940's the main "Pulling" and "Pushing" factors inducing the Indians and Pakistanis to come to Britain were as follows -

- 1.- The partition of India can be called a "Pushing" factor.

The partition of the Indian sub-continent in the year 1947,

caused a great upheaval. Sikhs and Hindus left their homes in West Punjab and moved to East Punjab which was included in India; while the Muslims of East Punjab took refuge in West Punjab. Many of these uprooted people found it very difficult to settle down in their new homeland and consequently sailed for Britain to try their luck and make a fortune. Poverty and hardships also often forced them to start for Britain, scraping together all the money of the family members, even borrowing from friends and relatives to pay their passage.

- 2- The main 'Pulling factors' were the reports of the progress and good fortune of working immigrants in the United Kingdom. Contacts with these pioneer immigrants, and often promises of help to the prospective ones, gave them an incentive to start for Britain.
- 3- On the other hand educational travel from industrially developing countries like Asia and Africa to Britain has got a long history. Even now a great number of students come from these countries to Britain for higher education and the glamour of British degree.

They hope to get better opportunities and promising jobs in the home country if they succeed in getting higher qualifications from Britain. Again academic qualifications from an advanced foreign

country, even a stay for sometime there, are considered as a means of upward social mobility. In this way a man not only raises himself, but his whole family earns a higher social position. Particularly in the case of doctors, those who qualify for the F.R.C.S, W.R.C.P or any other British special qualification, can generally earn three or four times as much money as before. So these are the main reasons for seeking higher qualifications in Britain.

From informations obtained in personal contacts with Indians and Pakistanis and after discussion with members of all categories, it seems that practically nobody came to this country with the firm decision of settling down here. Many people did not even bring their families. With very few exceptions the female members came later on as dependents of the male immigrants. The pioneers came alone, leaving their families behind. But after a few years, when they found that there were quite a few of them staying in this country, they felt a sense of security and began to bring their families. Many of them wanted to go back after some time. In the course of time conditions back home, and here also, have changed so much that many immigrants have changed their minds. Many are still undecided. We will analyse the factors responsible for these changes in the appropriate chapter.

Thus broadly speaking there are two main motives for Indians and Pakistanis to come to Britain.

These are -

- 1- To earn a living
- 2- To obtain technical training and higher qualifications.

The immigration of women is a very recent phenomenon. Before the present current migration a few women, either from upper class families or with unusual academic attainments, came to Britain for higher studies. A few from very rich families used to visit England with their husbands. But these are very rare and exceptional cases. Now a days, due to Western education and increasing changes in the social system of India and Pakistan, a good number of women are coming independently for higher studies and only a few to earn their living.

After the Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed in July 1962 more Indians and Pakistanis in Britain started bringing the wives and children who had been left behind. Now a days an illiterate mass can not come to Britain, only the educated and skilled people get permission. These people have a modern outlook, and prefer to bring wife and children, if they can afford it. So it will be clear why from July 1st 1962, when restrictions on Commonwealth immigrants were first imposed, to April 24th 1964, Britain took 24,633 Indian immigrants, 22,487 Pakistanis and 26,165 immigrants from the rest of the Commonwealth.*

*Kessing's Contemporary Archives, 1963-64. p 20467

When, in the course of this study, a sample of one hundred Indians and Pakistanis was asked their main reason for coming to the United Kingdom, we got the following answers:

Main reason for coming to the U.K.

People interviewed	To earn money	For getting education	For getting technical training	To join family	Total
Indian male	21	4	2	1	28
Pakistani male	18	6	-	-	24
Indian female	1	-	1	28	30
Pakistani female	-	-	-	18	18
Total	40	10	3	47	100

So far we have discussed the main reasons for Indians and Pakistanis to come to Britain. Now the question arises what makes them decide to come to Newcastle. The main attraction for these people of coming to Newcastle is not only employment in industry. The following are the reasons which they gave:

Main reason for coming to Newcastle

People interviewed	Had friends in Newcastle	Had relatives in Newcastle	Attracted by employment	To join family	Total
Indian male	11	12	5	-	28
Indian female	1	-	1	28	30
Pakistani male	15	8	1	-	24
Pakistani female	-	-	-	18	18
Total	27	20	7	46	100

Among these 52 Indian and Pakistani men 46 came to Newcastle because their friends or relatives were here before them. From the established immigrants , the newcomers got all possible help like finding accomodation, job etc. Now the question is who are these friends and relatives. They do not use the words with any precise meaning. A "Relative" may be a real brother, cousin, paternal or maternal uncle or anybody related to the informant, not necessarily by blood. Often they are distant relations such as sister's husband's brother's wife's brother. Then there are honorary relations like father's friend or fellow villager whom one calls 'uncle' or 'brother'. Among these friends, there are classmates, village people of the same age group, and people whom they merely know by name.

Only six of these men came as strangers, attracted by employment. They are the qualified people with degrees from U.K or Indian and Pakistani Universities. Among 48 females 46 came to join their husbands and two for jobs. One Indian lady teacher came to Newcastle to friends, first lived with them and then tried to get a job somewhere near. The other is an engineer who came to Newcastle because she got a job here.

I gathered from immigrant leaders that about 60 percent of the Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle are engaged in business.

Mostly they are peddlers, drapers, grocers, hotel owners or small factory owners. From discussion with these people it seems that the majority of Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle are either the pioneer immigrants, their descendants, or their relatives or friends.

3.1.2 Initial adjustments

So far the discussion has been about the various "Pulling" and "Pushing" factors that lead Indians and Pakistanis to leave their country of origin. Here I give some selected cases as illustrations to show why they have come to Newcastle and the various ways in which they are getting adjusted to the initial difficulties in this country.

Reports of fortunes in England coupled with hardships in India encouraged Mr. A. to come to England and try his luck. Mr. A. 45 years old, told his story as follows:

He is a matriculate, and was a clerk in an Indian Office in the Punjab, earning 125 rupees (about £7) a month. His father was also a clerk. And as they had not much property it was very difficult to support the family.

In the year 1947 he met a gentleman (Mr.B.) in a compartment of a train. Mr.B. asked him about conditions in India. Mr.A. gave him his newspaper. But he frankly said that he could not read. Since Mr.B. was wearing a complete suit, which was very uncommon in those days, Mr. A. thought he was joking. Later on he learned that Mr.B. was a businessman in England, and had come to the Punjab to see his family. Mr.A. became very curious and interested in the man

and asked him, "What is England like, how it is possible to do business without even reading and writing English?" They became friends, Mr.A. took the address of Mr.B. and kept in touch with him.

Then Mr. A. discussed the matter with his parents and other older members of the family. With their consent he borrowed some money from his relatives and friends, and left for England in the later part of 1947 to try his luck. He came to Mr.B., who was very kind and co-operative and gave Mr.A. food, shelter and all necessary advice and help.

They had to adjust themselves to some new situations arising out of their difference in religion. Mr.A. is a Hindu and Mr.B. is a Muslim. In particular Mr.A. found it very difficult to use the same kitchen. Mr.B. understood this and one day told Mr.A. that he would not cook beef, which is a religious "taboo" for Mr.A, as long as they stayed to-gether. There was no friction between them, and they managed to live to-gether on good terms. Mr.A. started work with the help of Mr.B. He took Mr.A. to the Jewish Wholesaler who used to give him materials on credit. At first he carried materials in a suitcase and travelled on foot from door to door selling them. When he got used to it and know the bus routes, he began to go longer distances by bus.

Illness, loneliness, depression and the possibility of making good money in England made him decide to bring his single family here. He went home after one and half years' stay in this country and brought his wife and two sons back with him. They stayed with Mr.B. and used the same kitchen. This was very inconvenient for Mrs.A. because she came from an orthodox Hindu family where it is beyond imagination to use the same kitchen with a man of a different religion. As there was no alternative, she had to adjust herself to this situation. Then her trouble was with the children. They used to cry a lot and were always wanting to go out, as they missed their grand-parents and did not like to stay always in a confined room.

After about six months her husband managed to buy a house. In the new house she was happy. The children could play inside the rooms as it was a big one. Altogether she had a very difficult time for the first few years. In those days there were not many Indian or Pakistani women living around. She had two more children after coming here. She was very busy with the children and there were no Indian or Pakistani women living there, so she had never gone out. Gradually the children started going to school and she got some leisure to relax. Now she can speak and understand a little English, as she has been here for about 20 years.

They are now quite settled. Two of their elder sons are married. Mrs.A. is busy with house-work and looking after the grand children. Sometimes she helps her husband in the sweet shop, which was started by her husband two years back. Two of her sons are working. Two daughters-in-law work in a nearby clothing factory. One daughter is studying in the college of education; another son is doing 'A' level. Mr.A. brought two of his brothers and one brother-in-law to England. One is working in London and the other two in Wolverhampton.

Many people in the sub-continent, have been badly affected by the partition of India in the year 1947. Mr.C. is from such an affected family. Before partition his father was a village head-man and money-lender in a small village of West-Punjab, which is now in Pakistan. After partition they left that village and came to East Punjab. His father could not collect any of the money he had lent out. He had a severe shock and died soon afterwards.

They are four brothers and one sister. Mr.C. lost his mother long ago when he was only three years old. They were not well cared for in the family where his uncle was the head. At the age of 21, in the year 1956, he left for England to earn more money.

After arrival he stayed with a man from a nearby village, whose address he collected before coming to this country. He was working

in a factory as an unskilled labourer. Then he left the job, became a peddler, two years ago he opened a grocers shop. He went home seven years ago and married a daughter of a rich businessman. He bought two houses and is living quite happily with his wife and three children. He helps his brother and sister back home by sending money. He helped two of his brothers niece, nephews and many other relatives and village people to come to England and get settled down here.

It is interesting to learn the experiences of an uneducated man without any previous knowledge of urban life: how he get adjusted in this country; what kinds of problems he faced and how he is getting on. The case of Mr.D. is an illustration. He is now about 55 years old. He first came to Bradford 16 years ago. He left his wife and son behind in a village of Mirpur.

He went with his village kinsman to a factory for a job and got it. He learnt everything that is needed for day to day life, such as how and where to cross the road, how to use the toilets here, how to wear English dress etc. Without understanding and speaking English he managed well, as he is always within his own group of people.

After a few years he felt that all his friends were becoming very self-centred. Everybody was busy with his own problems. He

felt bored and disappointed, left Bradford, and went to Manchester to another friend, but he did not like the place and found his friends there were not very sincere. Ten years ago he came to Newcastle to another friend. By now he has got a good number of relatives in Newcastle. About 9 years ago he sent for his son also. Both of them and most of his relatives are working in the same factory.

The old man said he would stay in this country as long as he had the strength to work. After that he may return to his wife in the village of Mirpur. In his leisure time he goes to the neighbouring kinsmen of his age to gossip and relax and pass time. Generally the father and son cook meat-curry in a big vassel on Saturday night and eat it all through the week. Every night when they come back from work they boil it up and with a portion of it they take "Chapattees" (something like pan-cakes, made of flour) which they make everyday at home.

His son also said that it was very difficult to pass the first few months in a foreign country. At first one has to learn how to wear English clothes which he found very difficult. Everything was so strange to him that he used to feel scared sometimes to see the customs, behaviors and the free movements of boys and girls in the street. Sometimes it was difficult to understand the conversation of his own relatives and countrymen. Because they used some very

common English words. Now he is quite used to it and has picked up enough English.

Some people can afford to come to Britain as travellers. Mr.E. told how he came to England as an adventurer just to see this country. But after staying for six months, he found that this country was a good place for earning living. So he brought his wife and all his brothers and sisters, his mother, mother-in-law, father-in-law and many more relatives to England. They all live in the same area and are quite settled by now. From his own description it will be clear how he came and how he has settled down and what are the problems they faced.

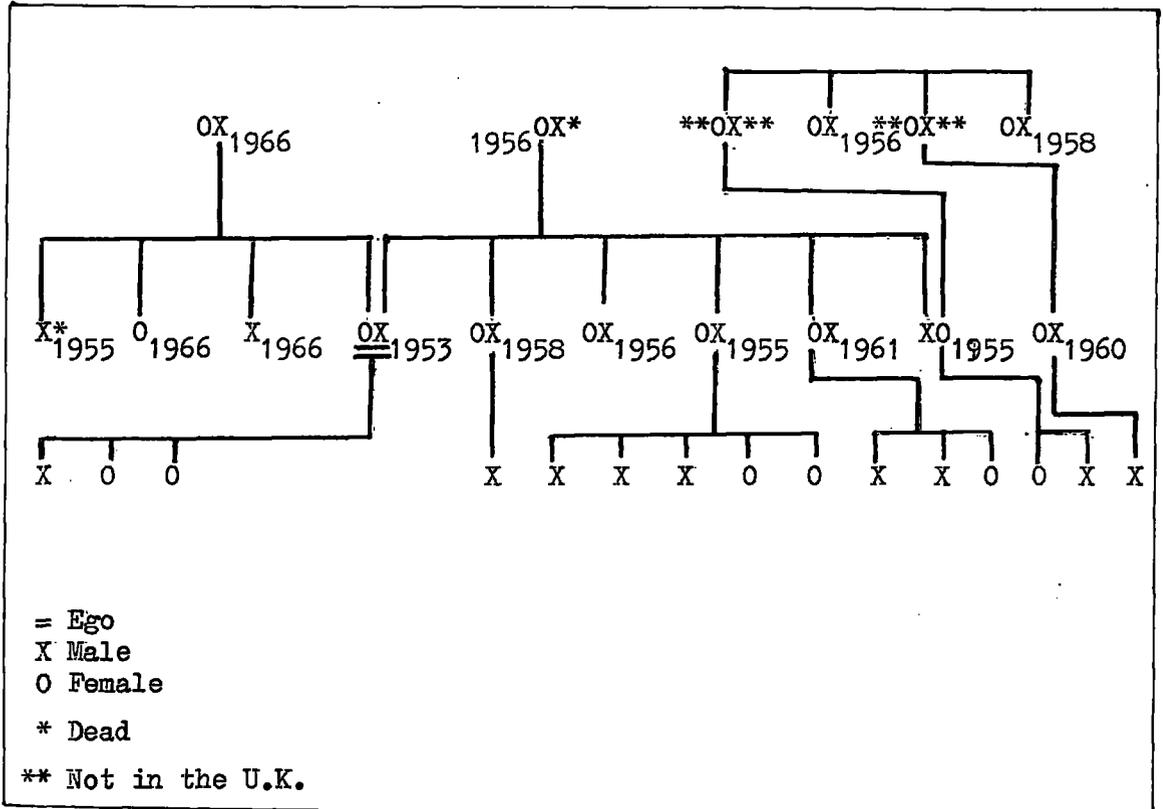
He told me his life-story as follows: "My father was a businessman. He was very keen on my studies. After my matriculation examination he wanted me to do further studies. But I am a spoiled child. I left college and joined the army. I got married and left the job. I started doing the work of film-representative. In the year 1951 I came to my friend in Newcastle for a holiday. After six months, I left England. After staying for 15 months in India I decided to come back to Newcastle with my wife, to show her the outside world and earn our living.

We reached Newcastle on 1st December 1953. We stayed with our

friend for two weeks. Then we found accomodation where we had a room and a kitchen. I started peddling things. In the year 1954 we got a son. We had a very difficult time bringing up the child. In the year 1955 we were blessed with a girl. Another girl was born in 1958. My brother-in-law came here in 1955 to study engineering. He stayed with us. It was very helpful and we felt very happy. But suddenly he collapsed. We had a severe shock.

In the year 1954 we bought a small house for £ 250. After depositing £25 pounds we were asked to pay the remainder in instalments at the rate of 22 shillings a week. In the year 1955 two of my brothers came and joined my business. We had some misunderstandings and I left the business. My brothers are still carrying it on. I took training as a carriage and wagon examiner in British Railways. So for about 13 years I have been working here. My wife is a nurse and she is working. I do not want my wife to work, it is quite a hard job for her. The only reason why I do not object is that she is helping her old parents. I sold my small house and bought this house few years ago! Their present residence is a spacious and nice one. Within 16 years of his coming to this country he has managed to bring the following relatives to England. He added that all the families are now settled and nobody is financially hard up.

The following chart shows the relationships with the persons whom he helped and encouraged to come to Britain. The year of arrival of each adult person is indicated by the side of the member concerned.



The above chart shows Mr. D who is the pioneer of the group, helped not only his four brothers and one sister to come to the U.K., but also his mother, wife's parents and her brothers and sister, even distant relations like brother's wife's uncle, cousin brother and so on.

Mr.F., a highly ambitious young man, had to make various changes in his life as to adjust himself here and at the same time fulfil his ambitions and gain a higher social position in the home country. He is a science graduate from Karachi University in Pakistan, and came to London in the year 1958 to study Aeronautical Engineering. He had the impression that he would do part-time work to cover his educational expenses. His parents were not rich enough to send him money. But he found it was very tiring and difficult to continue his studies after doing a part-time job. So he decided to work for a few years and then become a full time student.

In Newcastle he had a friend who was studying in the college. He came to him and tried to get a job. He applied for many jobs, could not get one. In some places he was told that he is too highly qualified for the post. He became very desperate and joined a factory as an ordinary labourer, then worked as a busconductor and afterwards became a driver.

He had been married before he left his country. His wife was not educated. She came from a backward village and did not have any experience of urban life. He wrote to his father-in-law to send his daughter. But she was very scared to come to England. His parents wrote to him to go back to Pakistan and settle down there. But he was determined that he would get a foreign degree one day

and only then go back to Pakistan. In the year 1965 he went home, and he wanted to bring his wife with him to England. But she did not want to come. "There were some other family reasons also", he added, for which he divorced her. In the same year he married an educated girl from a middle-class family and brought her with him to Newcastle.

He applied for a grant to do post-graduate studies. In the year 1967 he got it, and is now doing post-graduate studies in Chemical Engineering. Mrs.F. is very busy with two children and house-work. Occasionally at week-ends she goes to a friend's house with her husband for a visit. Otherwise she stays at home. Mr.F. thinks that after finishing his studies, if he can get a good job in Pakistan, he will surely prefer to return there, but if he does not get a suitable post, he may stay here or try to find a job in the Middle East. Nothing is decided yet. According to him life is full of struggle and one must face it boldly.

It is unusual for a lady to take the initiative in coming to this country and then to bring her family here. But life is becoming very complex and competitive every day. Most people are struggling for upward social mobility. A foreign qualification is one of the means to get it.

Both Mr. and Mrs.G. were lecturers in a college near Delhi. They applied for vouchers to come to England and both were successful. Now they have to decide what to do. Both of them did not want to resign from their jobs. They decided that she should come first, and if she got a good job her husband would come on leave and would do some higher studies. She would support the family and bear the educational expenses of her husband.

After her arrival she lived with a family whom they knew before. Recently she has got a teaching post in a grammar school and she hopes to bring her husband.

From the discussion above and after participating and observing the life pattern of Indians and Pakistanis, it seems we can classify them broadly into three categories, each having its own distinctive characteristics:

- A- Professionals, students and trainees
- B- Businessman, drivers, conductors, skilled workers etc.
- c- Ordinary people such as unskilled labourers.

These are the few broad outlines. We shall discuss and analyse the facts in the following chapters in more detail.

3.2 Family structure

3.2.1 Family compositions

To Indians and Pakistanis the family is not exclusively the nuclear family unit. The classic type of family in India or Pakistan consists of a number of married couples and their children who live together in the same household. All the men are related by blood, as a man and his sons and grand-sons or a set of brothers and their sons and grand-sons; the women of the household are their wives, unmarried daughters and perhaps the widow of a deceased kinsman. The servants also are regarded as an inseparable part of the family. They would call each other by relationship terms, and in their day-to-day dealings they would behave as if they were actual blood relations. The joint preparation of food and eating together were the external symbols of homogeneity in the family.

The family as it exists to-day in India or Pakistan has to a large extent lost these characteristics of a joint family because of the introduction of the money economy, urbanisation and industrialization. Practically in towns, though many of them are not able to live in the same household, the feeling of unity with

brothers, their families and kith and kin is there. They are, so to say, morally obligated to help each other. Otherwise they may have to face severe criticism in their society.

There are in Newcastle quite a few families where three generations live together. These are found mostly in the "B" categories of immigrants. Two factors are responsible for that. One is the longer length of stay, i.e., there are people, especially among the "B" categories, who came long ago, living with their families and are grand-parents by now. Another factor is that old parents and children are joining their sons and father respectively. Due to some reason or other, though they may have to live separately still they feel the attachment to the family members. On holidays or on any other social occasion like marriage, they all try to assemble together and feel responsible for performing the function successfully.

Among the one hundred people interviewed there are 28 Indian male members i.e. heads of households. All 28 are married and living here with their wives and children. Among these there are two houses where three generations are living jointly. In one of these the old parents are not working now. Only two married sons are working and another two are studying. In another case the head male member- the father and two of his married sons are working and one son is studying.

All these people are morally bound to help each other during any trouble. This will be clear from the case of Mr. X, who is a peddler and lives here with his wife and children. About two years ago his uncle's (father's real brother) family i.e. his aunt with her children, joined him because his uncle, who was working in Newcastle, died. They all live in the same house and have good relations with each other.

But if there is any conflict among relations, this does not change because they have changed their country. Such conflict may arise between near relatives as well. For instance, Mr. X has his sister and brother-in-law in Newcastle but for last six or seven years he has not been on speaking terms with them. They do not even bother to keep up formal relations. Mr. X's brother-in-law is a very dominant man in his family. So he does not allow his wife to come to her brother's house or to meet her auntee (Father's brother's wife). Thus though the country and surroundings have changed these people have not changed much in their personal relationships.

Eighteen out of twenty four Pakistani males are living with their wives. Other six Pakistani males are also married, but have left their wives behind and are living here alone. Only one gentleman sent for his mother, because there is nobody to look after her in Pakistan. Otherwise all these eighteen families are single family units here.

As long as their parents are alive (particularly the father) sons, even though married, prefer to live in the same house, if possible. In that case they take food together and maintain the convention of the joint household. But generally after the death of the parents the brothers separate.

Again, if a man helps his brothers to come to this country and is ready to offer them food and shelter, he prefers them to live separately after a reasonable time. The case of Mr.E, described before, illustrates this. The family consists of five brothers and one sister. He helped them all to come to this country. He gave them food and shelter until they were able to save enough to buy their own houses. By now they have all bought separate houses and are living independently.

Thus particularly among the "A" category of people and even among others, the tendency is towards the single-family unit. One Indian grocer's shop owner told me that he wanted to buy another two houses because he did not like the idea of staying in the same house with his children after they were grown up. He thinks it will be nicer if they all live in separate houses with their respective families. At present he has got two houses and three sons. He wants to buy two more houses so as to live in one and give one to each of his three sons.

With the change of country some of them have adopted new values, particularly in house management. For instance, the general convention of the Indian and Pakistani household is that relatives who live in the same house should take their food together. But here we find, for convenience and to avoid conflict different kinds of home management have developed. I have been to a house where one gentleman lives with his wife and children. There are seven other adult persons living there, all married men who have left their wives at home. Though related to each other they do not take their meals together; but they prepare and eat their food separately. Some time, if they wish, they taste each other's curry at a meal. They found this to be the most convenient way. As every thing is separate, there is no possibility of conflicts arising. They have each other's company, and consider that this is enough when living in a foreign country.

In another house, although the members are not related to one another they take food jointly, share their joys and sorrows and live happily together. The owner of this house is a Pakistani gentleman. His wife cooks for all the members and they share the expenses. They include one Indian and three Pakistani gentlemen.

Some people who help newcomers to this country hope to get some help from them in return. But often the ideal of mutual help is forgotten if one party finds some other profitable way of living.

For instance, one Mr.K. helped a village mate, Mr.L., to come to Newcastle and find a job. Mr.L. stayed with Mr.K. His parents were very anxious and asked him to go home and get married. He went home after one year, married a girl chosen by his parents and came back with his wife. Mr.L. and his wife stayed with Mr.K. (Who is a shop-owner) and was paying £6 per week for board and lodging. The shop-owner expected that in consideration of this low charge Mr.L's wife would help with the house-work and look after the children while Mrs.K worked in the shop. Within a few months Mrs.L. got to know some Indian and Pakistani women living near by who were working in clothing factories as machinists. She wanted to work there too and discussed the matter with her husband, who agreed. Mr. and Mrs.K. were disappointed at their decision and asked for a higher rent if they were going to have to employ a baby-sitter for their children. This started a conflict between the two families. Eventually Mr. and Mrs.L. left and took a room in another Indian owned house where they are paying £2-10 per week. Both are working hard and are planning to buy a house of their own.

Reviewing the data on the married Indians in the sample, we find that 23 Indian couples have a total of 50 children, i.e, in the precise manner of statistics about 2.17 children per marriage. Two of the Indian marriages are childless. Three couples are expecting a child. Among 18 Pakistani couples there are 52 children i.e, 2.89

per marriage. Six other Pakistani married men have left their wives and children at homes. The figures in the following table show this clearly.

Family composition

People interviewed	Households	Sons residing in the U.K.	Average age of sons	Daughter residing in the U.K.	Average age of daughter	Children per couple
Indian	30	28	8.28	22	8.36	2.17
Pakistani	24	31	6.45	21	7.19	2.89
Total	54	59	-	43	-	-

The above table does not show any remarkable difference in numbers of children between the Indians and the Pakistanis. But after talking to many of them I have the impression that the tendency of these people is to have smaller families. Educated and urbanised people are more concerned to have smaller families; but it seems that quite ordinary uneducated women also prefer to have small families if their husbands agree.

There are some Pakistanis, particularly Muslims, who, although educated, are strongly opposed to family planning. The wife of one such gentleman, who is a teacher in a school in Newcastle, told me that her husband is a very religious man so he did not like the idea of family planning; but if a doctor advised them not to have more

children on medical grounds, they would be willing to follow his instructions. They have four children at present. The eldest is five and half years old.

From the discussion so far we can see that the general trend is towards smaller households.

3.2.2 Authority and decision-making

It seems that the traditional idea of the relationship between the individual and authority has not changed much. Even now Indian and Pakistani families are strongly male-oriented. Authority rests with the men and is organised hierarchically in respect relationships. Complete submission is expected from the children; the submission of female to male, younger to older is the pattern for all latter relationships. Children are taught by their parents to follow and respect the views of their older siblings.

On the death of the senior male in a family authority automatically goes to his eldest son. It is then the duty of the eldest son to look after the well-being of all the members of the family; he must even arrange the marriages of his sisters. Always, the eldest son in a family has to be very responsible. The head of the family is expected to watch over not only the education, marriage and employment of the children, but also minor aspects of their life and activities such as visits from their friends or expeditions to picnics, cinemas, theatres, etc. It is taken for granted that he always has the well-being and prosperity of the family at heart.

There is not much difference between Indians and Pakistanis or between Hindus and Muslims if they come from the same background.

But there is a great deal of difference in the attitudes towards authority between educated urbanised people and uneducated people from a rural background. Of course in some cases religious belief and cultural background play a great role in forming people's attitudes.

The oldest female member of a household is highly respected though the patriarchal system is the common form of family among Indians and Pakistanis. Particularly in arranging the marriage of a family members or in inviting people to family gatherings, her views are respected. Though the convention is that women do not take an active part in making serious decisions, what actually happens depends largely on personalities.

If the wife is educated or has some experience of the world, she may often influence her husband or other male members of the family in making plan. But obviously she does not take any serious decision without consulting the elders. For instance, Mrs.H, a graduate from India and wife of a Chemical analyst in Newcastle, insists on her husband doing higher studies in this country before returning home. She came to this country only a year ago, and from then onwards has felt miserable staying all alone at home. When her husband goes to work, there is nobody to talk to.

She does not think it is worthwhile to come permanently to a foreign country. If a man gets a good job, prestige, comfort and the

necessities and luxuries of life at home, there is no reason why he should stay and work in a foreign country. According to her "It is nice to visit a foreign country, if somebody can afford it, but for settling - impossible!" Mr.H. was convinced by her arguments and applied for a grant to work for a doctorate. Fortunately he has been successful and is planning to enter the University soon.

There are some people who after coming to this country lose self-confidence, suffer from an inferiority complex and then try to be contented with whatever job they can get. In such cases their wives, if educated, can often inspire their husbands to choose the right type of work and thus regain confidence. For instance, Mr.I., a graduate from India, came to Newcastle in the year 1962 and tried to get a suitable job. When he was unsuccessful he was very disappointed, and took a job as a bus-conductor, afterwards becoming a driver. Two years ago he went home to get married. He told his relatives that he was working in the Ministry of transport and avoided explaining what he was actually doing. His relatives arranged his marriage with the daughter of a doctor. Mr. I. spent a few thousand rupees and the marriage was performed in a gorgeous manner. His wife accompanied him to Newcastle. Mrs. I. was very much shocked to find that her husband was a bus driver. She felt disgusted and would not go out with her husband when he was in uniform. She felt a hatred for

him. But within a couple of months she came to know of other educated Indian and Pakistani men and women doing manual work. Gradually she was able to overcome the conflict and became sympathetic to her husband. She could understand how hard his life was. She thought she might work and support the family so that her husband could try to get training and then be able to compete for a good job here. But her husband did not want her to work. She saw an advertisement in the local news-paper for the post of clerical officer in the Ministry of Social Security, and asked her husband to apply. He did so just to please her and to their surprise he was appointed. In both these cases, the wives did not make the decision but they influenced and encouraged their husbands to take a bold step.

But women who are not educated and at the same time have come from rural background, have very little say in decision-making. For instance, one Sunday afternoon I went to a Mirpuri family, both of them from a rural background and the wife not educated at all. They were co-operative and hospitable to me. The man took me round his friend's houses and did not even inform his wife where he was going and when he would return. There was no question of taking her with him. I asked him to tell his wife at least when he would be back, otherwise she might be worried. But he replied, "It is not a problem, she is very quiet and does not mind that. Her duty is to look after

the house, cooking and bringing up the children. She must not bother about anything else!"

Whether educated or not, most Indian and Pakistani boys grow up in family surroundings such that from their very childhood they learn to dominate over women. For instance one Indian gentleman said that before he married he used to go out with English girl-friends but he had the idea from the very beginning that he would not marry a girl from a different culture in any circumstances. He said, "I want to be a sort of king in my house." His idea is that English girls will never be so submissive, since they are brought up from childhood in a free society. He told me that one of his friends married an English lady; and now every day he has to make her morning tea. He thinks that he would never be able to do that for his wife.

So it seems that authority in making any serious decision lies with the male head of the family. Educated women of strong personality, can influence their husbands in making plans. But in arranging marriages and in family gatherings, the views of elderly ladies in particular are highly honoured.

3.2.3 Changing roles and relationships among family members

An English lady was very much surprised and asked me why Indian and Pakistani women walk behind their men-folk, not together or hand in hand, she wanted to know whether this was a matter of religious precept. In any case it is the result of a different culture and tradition.

Among the Indian and Pakistani community distinctions between men and women are greatly emphasised in social behaviour. Men should earn money, be brave, and make decisions; women should be dependent, cherishing and non-aggressive. It is thought to be very disgraceful for members of one sex to act in the very different way prescribed for the opposite sex. In particular girls are supposed to be very modest and submissive. If they walk fast or lough loudly, they are considered to be spoiled and flirtations.

In both Hindu and Muslim families a woman is expected at every stage of her life to be under the authority of a male kinsman i,e, her father, her husband or her son. Marriage is the transference of her father's authority to her husband. An unmarried girl should be prevented from going astray by her parents.

At marriage a girl goes from her parents' house to that of her

husband. In respect of habits, ideology, social etiquette, conflict may arise between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law. In these cases, the mother-in-law gets the sympathy of all, because it is the convention. The only concern in life of the wife is to see that all services required of her by her husband and his family are properly performed. If anybody finds fault with her behaviour this is regarded as a disgrace to her parents as well as herself.

The eldest female member of the house has great responsibilities. She must concern herself with the maintenance of the family prestige. Even if she is not able to work, she acts as a guide to the rest of the family members, especially the women. A bride's relationship with her brothers-in-law depends on whether they are older or younger than her husband. She enjoys a friendly and joking relationship with her husband's younger brothers but must show great respect to his elder brothers and call them 'Dada' or 'Bhaisaheb' (i.e. elder brother)

The practice is changing day by day. But still one can very rarely see any Indian or Pakistani couple walking hand in hand. Due to western education, and in cases where a married couple has an independent household, the relationship between the husband and wife is becoming more of a partnership instead of the traditional subordination of women and their confinement to home activities.

It is generally the people of category 'A' and 'B' who go shopping, go to laundry, go out for a walk and sometimes visit a friend's house to-gether. Some of them help their wives in cooking, cleaning and other house work at least once in a weekend.

Any physical demonstration of love between husband and wife in front of others is considered to be immodest and even indecent. Too much stress is paid on feminine modesty. In Newcastle no Muslim women wear the 'Borkha', a garment which covers the whole body from head to feet. But religious Muslim women are very particular about covering their heads with a part of their 'Sari' or 'Dopatta'(a scarf), and prefer not to come into the presence of unrelated men. It is quite common nowadays to see an Indian and Pakistani couple, sitting in the front seats of a car with their children in the back.

Children have a more affectionate and closer relationship with their mother, and generally prefer to ask her for anything they want. As the cash is usually controlled by the father, the mother may pass on the demands of the children to him. From discussions with parents here it seems that children are developing an independent attitude and at the same time more informal relationships are developing between father and children. Father is no longer a terror in the house. One gentleman said, "We were never able to look at our father's face and talk. There is no such gap here. Now our children want to play with us".

CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS OF INFORMANTS' LIFE

4.1 Economic activities

Indians and Pakistanis tend to take whatever employment is available, so they do not appear to be prone to unemployment. Among the 100 people interviewed only one gentleman is not working. He is more than 60 years old. 13 Indian and 12 Pakistani women are not working. These 25 women are either very busy with small children and household work, or their husbands or older family members do not want them to work.

The attitudes of Indians and Pakistanis towards working wives varies from person to person. Mostly the educated and enlightened immigrants do not object to their wives working. Those women who do work take up a variety of jobs depending on their education, ability and availability. Highly educated women prefer to take up teaching if possible; otherwise they work in the Social Security Office as Clerical Officers or Assistants. Some educated women who could not get any more suitable job are working as packers in a sweet-factory to pass their time and earn money. Educated women find it very distasteful to work in factories. One woman graduate said

she first tried and failed to get clerical work. Then she applied for factory work and was engaged, but was very reluctant to do it and took one month to decide whether to take up the job. On her first day she rang up the personnel manager and told him that due to some difficulties she would rather wait for a month or so and then start work if the vacancy was still open. During this time she tried desperately to get a more suitable job, but was unsuccessful, and finally joined the factory.

Some Pakistani and Indian women who do not have small children are working for dressmaking businesses. Quite a number of immigrant women do sewing work delivered by factories in their homes. Besides these in Newcastle there are a few lady doctors and nurses.

Indians and Pakistanis here consider the grocery business as a family enterprise. All the members of the household, including the wife, sons, daughters and daughters-in-law, work in the shop according to their convenience. Here there is some difference between Indian and Pakistani women. A Pakistani woman does not generally work in the shop, because the convention of traditional Islamic society is that only man should participate in public activities or community work, while woman's nature requires her to confine her interests to her family and household. Within the family, women are occupied with child care and the preparation of food, since motherhood and competence

in household tasks are deemed the highest feminine virtues.

Higher education is considered to be a force of emancipation and enlightenment in most societies. The highly educated Muslim women work outside if they get the permission of the older family members. Though the tradition is that the male members are expected to bear all the expenses of the maintenance of the women of the family - both wives and unmarried sisters, and it is considered a disgrace to the family if women have to earn their living. Those families who encourage their daughters to secure higher education, prefer that they do not use their qualifications unless divorce or acute emergency drives them to find employment. But ideas are changing day by day. If any one is capable of working not many people would nowadays object to their earning.

Since the Newcastle corporation transport department began to employ Indians and Pakistanis in 1958, by now a good number of them are working for it. Only those who have a working knowledge of English are employed as bus-conductors. They, if found satisfactory, are promoted to be bus-drivers. Of course, before becoming a bus-driver, one has to pass the driving test. Some graduates from India and Pakistan who could not find more suitable jobs also work as bus-drivers or conductors. One Pakistani graduate said he was refused the post of a clerk because he was considered to be over-qualified.

Some educated people although employed in lower status jobs, always hope to change to something more suitable when an opportunity comes. Others get used to the work and do not bother about changing. Since they can earn more money in overtime work.

It appears from interviewing the immigrant community leaders and others that the majority of immigrants in Newcastle are engaged in business. There are more than 21 Indian and Pakistani grocer's shops where Indian and Pakistani foodstuffs are available. All these shops sell 'Halal' meat as the Muslims will not eat the meat of chicken, cow or lamb if the animal is not sacrificed in the name of God and processed in a special way sanctioned by Islam. There are some deviants, but the number must be negligible.

Some Indian and Pakistani women have contracts with the grocer's shops to prepare sweets and pickles to order, and so can earn in their leisure time.

There are twelve dressmaking businesses owned and managed by Indians and Pakistanis. In one of these 19 Indian and Pakistani women are working, with only one English girl. The owner of this small business is a Pakistani gentleman; his wife also works there. Apart from the owner no other man is employed. A lady driver delivers work at home. Here the women work there in a homely atmosphere,

where they all speak the same language and there are no men.

Apart from these there are about 15 drapers, wholesalers and retail shops. There are also a few Indian and Pakistani Hotels and Restaurants. I gathered from the immigrant leaders that about 60% of Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle are engaged in business; they are either peddlers, drapers, grocers and Hotel owners or small factory owners. 30% of them are working as bus-drivers, bus-conductors or mechanics in the Newcastle corporation transport department. 5% of them are in bakeries and foundries as unskilled labourers. The remaining 5% are professional people - doctors, engineers, teachers, etc.

All the men and those women whose husbands or families do not object to their working, try to take any job they can get. As they are mainly economically motivated many of them do not want to spend their time in leisure. One Indian lady told me that since very few coloured people get suitable work, so she did not bother to wait for a white-collar job. She did not think it right to waste time; so she took unskilled work in Newcastle Breweries.

The following table shows the kinds of employment taken by one hundred Indians and Pakistanis who were interviewed in the course of this study.

Employment

People interviewed	Bus driver or Conductor 1	Technician or Draftsman 2	Teacher or Engineer 3	Clerical work 4	Business self employed 5
Indian male	9	4	6	-	5
Pakistani male	5	4	1	-	3
Indian female	-	-	2	2	3
Pakistani female	-	-	-	-	1
Total	14	8	9	2	12

People interviewed	Clothing machinists 6	Factory labourer 7	Not working 8	Other jobs 9	Total 10
Indian male	-	3	1	-	28
Pakistani male	-	11	-	-	24
Indian female	7	1	13	2	30
Pakistani female	5	-	12	-	18
Total	12	15	26	2	100

One of the two Indian women doing other jobs is a nurse, the other is doing part time work in a school canteen. The three Indian women in business are working in shops of their own. The Pakistani woman is working in their own dressmaking business. Thus it appears that the Indian women, if they do not have small children prefer to do some kind of gainful work. A few educated Muslim women work outside, but most of the little educated or uneducated ones prefer to work at home stitching dresses for the factory.

I have not yet met any woman from Mirpur who is working for wages in Newcastle either at home or outside. The reason could be that they are generally from backward villages and are not educated enough. But the most important thing is that their husbands or their family members do not want them to work. I talked to a few Mirpuri gentlemen about it. They told me that there although some Indian and Pakistani women earn money, they do not like "Kashmiri" women to do so. If they need more money, the manfolk will work overtime. Women's duty is looking after children, cooking and domestic work. They should be good housewives; nothing more is expected of them.

Some people even stay here without their families till they are old because "There is better money here!" For instance I met one gentleman who is over 50; his wife is blind and he has left her behind in the village of Mirpur. His son, aged about 22, is also

working in a factory in Newcastle. They earn about £25 per week each. His daughter-in-law has also been left behind to look after her mother-in-law. Both father and son live in the same house. As it is their own house, they do not have to pay rent. They do not have many expenses. The old man does not go to the Indian and Pakistani cinema. His son goes occasionally. Once in 5 years or so they go home, stay for a few months and come back. They do not want to bring their families to this country but they do not want to go back for good as there is "better money here!"

. House owning is a symbol of prestige as well as a source of income, particularly for the 'B' and 'C' categories of people. Most of them prefer to let their houses to their own people - generally to students. Nowadays few students come from India and Pakistan to study at their own expense, because recently both governments have put restrictions on foreign currency. So they have started letting their houses to other overseas people and to English as well.

Here is an example to show, how much hardship they undergo to become economically successful. One Mr. V. came to this country 14 years ago, for his first two years he was working in a factory, then he started peddling. After he had been here 6 years he went to India to get married. He came back with his wife. When she arrived she also started work packing in a factory. When she had two children it was

difficult for her to work in a factory, so she started taking home-work from a clothing manufacturer. About two years ago her husband opened a grocers' shop. Both of them work there from 9 o'clock in the morning to 9 o'clock at night. she also makes Indian sweets to sell in their shop. They have no time to entertain friends or relax. Mrs.V. often says she is really tired now and would like to rest. They are planning to employ one of their relatives in the shop, so that they will have sometime to rest.

Most of the Indian and Pakistani immigrants, whether man or woman, sincerely wants to work. If they get a job, generally they stick to it and work as hard as possible. The menfolk do as much overtime work as they can, but women generally do not do overtime work, since they have to cook for the family in the afternoons.

The Indian and Pakistani wage-earning women add their income to the family budget. There appears to be no conflict between the interest of the family and that of individual woman. The women, as mothers and wives, are always glad to devote their financial resources to the welfare of the family, as have always devoted themselves physically and mentally to it.

The main points arising out of this chapter are as follows:-
Economically motivated as they are, they are not apt to be unemployed.

The majority of those here are employed in business. Except for those from Mirpur, most of the women want to work unless they are too busy with children or their husbands and family members are against it.

Among the Indians and Pakistanis it seems that Indian women are more inclined to work while most Pakistanis, apart from the educated women prefer home-work. The educated and professional women suffer from emotional conflicts if they cannot find suitable work.

4.2 Religion, marriage and some rituals

Most of the conflicts among Indians and Pakistanis are for leadership or arise for personal reasons. We could find no evidence of overt religious disputes or conflicts among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

Islam provides the code of conduct for the Muslims. Every facet of a Muslim's life is so very strongly associated with religion that he is expected to retain the basic group characteristics. Deviation is very rare.

Until few years ago Hinduism was a rigid and complex socio-religious structure of castes or classes ranging from untouchables to Brahmins. We do not find in Newcastle obvious forms of 'caste-consciousness' such as refusal to eat at the same table with people of different caste or religion.

The beard, long hair and turbans worn by Sikhs are the visible indications of their religious belief, and these points of identification are necessary and important parts of a Sikhs appearance. But nowadays quite a number of Sikhs have shaved off their beards, have regular hair-cuts and have dispensed with the wearing of turbans. Some of them do not know any reason why they should keep these; some find it easier to get jobs if they do not have turbans and beards.

The following table will show the religions claimed by the people in the sample taken for the study.

Religions claimed

People interviewed	Islam	Hinduism	Sikhism	Christianity	Total
Indians	-	42	16	-	58
Pakistanis	42	-	-	-	42
Total	42	42	16	-	100

In Newcastle there is one Temple for Hindus, one Gurduara (Sikh Temple) for Sikhs and one Mosque for Muslims. All three have been built by the respective communities by contributions collected mainly from their members. Each community selects a committee to look after the property and arrange the regular prayers etc.

People can go to the Mosque any day they like. Generally on Sunday a good number assemble there for prayer. Not many people can attend the 'Jummah' prayer, which is held every Friday afternoon, as most of them are at work at that time of day. A few hundred people assemble in the Mosque twice a year for E-I-D prayer. Of course no Muslim woman attends the prayer or discussion in the Mosque. The Muslim women pray at home.

A small number of people in Newcastle took the responsibility for organising classes to teach Islam to the Muslim children. About 10 to 12 children attend the class regularly on Sunday afternoon. Only small girls go to the Mosque to learn about Islam. Grown up girls are not allowed to go there. There are some devout Muslims in Newcastle who pass their leisure time in religious discussion in the Mosque. Sometimes devout Muslims from other parts of the U.K. come to the Newcastle Mosque for discussions. People from Newcastle in turn go to other places. There is a small library in the Mosque. The books are mainly religious. The Mosque serves as a community centre for the Muslims. Any one who is in difficulties can go there, meet friend and get the advice of his fellow Muslims.

Every Sunday a group of Sikh people assemble in the Gurduara for prayer. One man reads from the "Granthasahib", the holy book of the Sikhs and the rest follow him. When the service is over, they distribute sweets and fruits to the congregation. Every Saturday evening a few women from Sikh and Hindu community assemble in the Gurduara and together sing songs of praise to the Almighty.

In the Hindu Temple every Sunday morning about 10 to 15 people irrespective of caste assemble to pay homage to their gods and goddesses. The sacred fire ritual "Havan" is essential. They light the fire in a tin box with some wooden sticks. Four people then sit on

the four sides of the box and together throw sacred offerings of grains and clarified butter on the flames and chant "Mantras". There are a number of small books containing all the "Mantras" and formulas of "Puja" (Prayer) in Hindi. Those who do not know the "Mantras" follow the books. There is no discrimination against or preference for any caste; any body can sit round the sacred fire and perform the "Puja". After "Havan" one man does "Arati" i.e. dancing before the God with a light in his hand. Then every body bows down before the pictures of deities and they take the "Prasadam" which consists of fruits, sweets etc. offered to God.

On Tuesday night again some Sikh and Hindu women go to the Hindu Temple and pray and sing the songs of praise to God. The sacred fire ritual "Havan" is not performed at that time. About 8 to 10 women regularly attend the Tuesday night gathering. The women attending there told me that a few months ago about 15 to 20 women regularly went to the prayers. But now many women have started working in factories or at home; they naturally are tired in the evening and also at that time they have to cook for the family. So they find it difficult to come to the Temple. Many families who used to attend the Temple regularly have moved to other areas a long way away. It is inconvenient for them to attend the prayer in the evening.

Though only a small proportion of the Indians and Pakistanis

visit the religious institutions regularly, they feel a sense of security and satisfaction because everybody knows that each community has its religious institution. Whenever they really feel like going there, they can do so and make offerings, if not always, on some occasions like getting a good job, passing an examination etc. i.e. in the fulfilment of one's desire.

In all the communities the older people are more particular about the religion. Most of the older Hindu people and many others also have in their houses here the portrait of God or a miniature statue to whom they pay homage everyday. The Sikhs have the picture of "Guru Nanak", the founder of their religion, and the holy book "The Granthasahib" from which many of them read a few pages everyday. Many of the Hindus and Sikhs do not perform their religious duties formally and regularly. They still have the belief in the Almighty and some of them pray at home informally.

Few Muslim can pray regularly i.e. five times a day, because of their work, but generally they do attend the prayer twice in a year during the "Eid festivals". With few exceptions most of the Muslims pray at least once or twice a day and have "The Koran", their holy book, in their houses and read it whenever possible. During the "Eid" they invite their friends and relatives for lunch or dinner, and exchange greetings. On this occasion they give "Korbani" i.e. the

sacrifice of cow or lamb in the name of God, and then distribute the meat among friends. The slaughtering is done in the slaughter-house in the way prescribed by the religion. Some people send money home to relatives to give "Korbani" in their name and to distribute the meat among poor people and their friends and relatives. Everybody gets new clothes at this time. The children in particular always look forward to it. On "Sabe-Barat" (a holy night), the Muslims pray throughout the night, read the Koran, invite their friends and enjoy a good meal together. During "Ramadan" they are supposed to fast during day-time for a month; many of them follow this rule. The women are more particular about fasting in the month of "Ramadan". As long as they are in good health they try to fast for the whole month.

The Hindus and Sikhs observe "Dewali", the festival of light, when they prepare sweets and a good meal, and invite friends and relatives. The children get new clothes, toys etc. In both Temple and Gurduara they have special rituals on that day. Quite a good number of people attend. With their friends and relatives they also celebrate the first day of the Indian New Year, "Baishaki", with a good meal. The Indian Association in Newcastle arranges social and cultural functions on that day. People from all the communities can attend the functions where there are songs, dances etc. and then light refreshments are served.

For the Muslims pork is ritually "Taboo", and for the Hindus and Sikhs beef is "Taboo" as they consider the cow as a sacred animal. The Hindus generally do not eat pork either, because they consider the pig as a scavenger and dirty. But in the U.K. many of these people do not observe these taboos. Sometimes the small Indian and Pakistani children are instructed by their parents and elders at home not to take any kind of meat in school because it could be the forbidden one.

The timing of each ceremony is regulated by the lunar calendar developed by the ancient Indian astronomers. They get these calendars from the home country. The people of all community consider Christmas as a social occasion, as most of them have holidays during that time and visit friends and relatives. They have to buy presents, at least for the children. During Christmas I have seen a few Indians decorate a Christmas-tree. They do this because the children want to have them in their houses. Gradually the celebration of "Mothers'day" is becoming more popular, particularly among the younger generation.

As discussed before, the significance of caste and untouchability has now decreased considerably. In the Temple of Newcastle people of all castes and religions are allowed to attend the rituals. People of all religions also eat together there on social occasions. Again people may live in the same house irrespective of religious belief, caste or

nationality. Occasionally they invite each other and have a meal at the same table. The Hindus still attach great importance to caste particularly when arranging marriages. Except for a few marriages made by the choice of the partners, most marriages are within the same caste. So it seems that with this one exception, caste does not have much importance among these people. One might say that the idea of untouchability has completely gone.

The marriage ceremony is of great importance to Indians and Pakistanis. Marriage and death are the two occasions which are most widely ritualised among them. Marriages are usually "Arranged" by the elders. For a young man coming unmarried to this country, some prospective brides are looked out by relatives at home. Then the man may go home and choose one of these girls and get married there.

Both in Hindu and Sikh marriage the presence of both bride and bridegroom is necessary. If the marriage is performed in the home country, they follow all the traditional rituals. But if it is performed in the U.K., it is not always possible to follow all the elaborate rituals.

The sacred fire ritual (Havan) which is performed by the Hindus at all major ceremonies is considered essential, and the bride and groom jointly throw sacred offerings of grains and clarified butter on the flames while the priest says the marriage prayer. Then they

walk round the sacred fire seven times. The groom has to mark the central parting of his wife's hair and her forehead with a red powder called "Sindoor". A married Hindu woman has to use this "Sindoor", the specific sign of wife-hood, as long as her husband is alive. It will be removed if she becomes a widow. Both bride and bridegroom have to take an oath before the sacred fire that they will live as faithful wife and husband and will perform their duties sincerely.

The Sikhs take an oath before "The Granthasahib", the holy book. If the marriage takes place in the U.K., they go to the marriage registrar.

Although many young men meet western girls at dances and social parties, few of them are desirous of marrying outside their own culture and almost all are content to leave the choice of a bride to their parents. There are a few exceptions to this custom. But filial piety requires a man to accept his parents' choice; otherwise he may get a bad name. One such gentleman had to go to India and marry a girl chosen by his parents. He does not like the girl and in addition he has a liaison with an English girl here. Accordingly after the marriage he came back to England without his wife. He regularly sends money for her maintenance and is allowing her to hope that when he is more settled here he will bring her. He has now been married some years and his friends say that he never will. He



married there in India simply to please his parents.

Among the Muslims the couple need not both be present at the marriage ceremony. So sometimes a marriage may be performed when two partners are a thousand miles apart. On such an occasion the boy will give his consent to the marriage by telephone. He has to say "Kabul" (i.e. yes) thrice by phone and this should be heard by three witnesses; then the girl, if she is in Pakistan, must also say "Kabul" thrice and this too should be heard by three other witnesses. Then they will be declared to be man and wife. Then the guardians, having heard the consent of both boy and girl, will make the contract of marriage, which is called "Kabin-nama". Among the Muslims, both husband and wife have the right to divorce in certain circumstances. Hindus also can divorce each other, but this happens very rarely, as they consider marriage as a sacrament. In every community, the marriage is followed by a gorgeous feast. This is considered necessary to maintain the prestige and status of the parents of the couple.

The dowry system still exists. The parents or guardians of the girl must pay money and such other things as are demanded from the side of the boy. This has become a custom by now. Some educated boys do not want any dowry from their brides' parents. Still the parents of the bride give as presents at least ornaments, clothes, furniture, a watch for the boy and many other things of everyday use. Some parents spend

a lot of money and energy in arranging the marriage of their daughters with "foreign returned" boys or with boys who are living in a foreign country. Thereby they attain high social prestige.

The pattern of married life appears to be very little changed among the immigrants in Newcastle. It seems from the following table and from discussion with the immigrants that the uneducated Muslims are rather reluctant to bring their wives to this country. Of course the educated Muslims want to bring their wives and many of them are living with their families.

Marriage

People interviewed	Were married before coming to the U.K.	Were single, went home, got married and came back	Got married in the U.K.	Not married	Total
Indian male	13	14	1	-	28
Indian female	14	14	1	1	30
Pakistani male	18	5	1	-	24
Pakistani female	13	5	-	-	18
Total	58	38	3	1	100

One Indian lady engineer aged about 30 years is not married and

is staying in Newcastle. All the five Pakistanis who went home to get married have brought their wives to Newcastle. All these five people are educated.

Though interdining is common among the immigrants in the U.K., intercaste marriage is very rare. The Hindus in particular follow the rule of caste endogamy very strictly. The Indians and Pakistanis used to observe many more rituals and customs regarding birth, marriage, death and other significant events of life in their home country.

A Sikh child from its earliest childhood has to wear an iron bangle which is generally given by the relatives at home.

In entering a new house the immigrants pay special offerings to Temple, Gurduara or Mosque according to their own religion. The opening of a business, a child's success in an examination, getting a good job - these are generally the important occasions on which they perform special prayers. Often on the fulfilment of their desires, they send money back home to a renowned Temple, Gurduara or Mosque to pay special homage and to feed the poor.

In many modern Hindu and Muslim homes all the traditional rituals are not fully carried out, but birthdays are celebrated in a gorgeous way. These birthday parties are celebrated in western style but they invite the children, their parents, own friends and relatives. In

some families in addition to the birthday party they make special offerings in their own places of worship as well. The people of India and Pakistan were not so much concerned with birthday celebrations. Many of them know their date of birth according to their own regional calendar year. Most of them were not particular about the exact date of birth. At the time of Secondary School Certificate Examination they have to fill up a form where they should give their date of birth. Often this is guessed. But some orthodox families keep record of the birthdays of members of the family so as to make horoscope. Again, westernised and educated people often record the date of birth of family members.

In this country things are very different. Even the small children know their age with the exact date of birth. Once I asked a small girl born of Indian parents, what her name was. She promptly replied, "I am Nina, I am four, I am pretty". In India or Pakistan she would not have been conscious about her age. People even considered it very rude to ask anybody particularly girls, about their age. In India and Pakistan ideas are changing among the educated, but not among the common people.

Death rituals are not performed so elaborately in this country. If a Muslim dies here, the other Muslims will assemble and give the corpse a sacred bath; after that the body will be buried. Very

occasionally, if the relatives wish it, they send the body home. Among the Hindus the body is cremated in a gas fire. Then a portion of the ashes is sent back to the native country and the relatives perform the rituals there. For about a month the chief mourners are in a state of ritual impurity. They do not cook any meat, fish or eggs during that time. For at least a year no public ceremonies such as Dewali, and no domestic events such as marriage are celebrated by the members of the affected family.

4.3 Social life

Most of the Indian and Pakistani people say that they do not have any social life at all in this country. After all man is a social being. It is quite difficult, if not impossible, to live all alone. The following section will discuss the social life of the immigrants, though it is somewhat different from that of English people and also in some respects different from what they used to have in their country of origin.

Mostly they have come to this country to earn money and better their prospects but not with the intention of starting a new way of life. So they accept only those cultural changes which are required for their survival in this country, i.e., dress and the addition of few more items to their diet, especially protein food. Generally the menfolk adopt these changes as soon as they come to this country. But the women do not change their habits unless circumstances compel them to do so. For example, very few women have started wearing English dresses.

4.3.1 Friendships

Those who are married and have their families here seem to have a

more organised life than those who are living alone. As regards friendship, I learned that it is easier to make friends if a person knows anybody here from his own home. It is quite difficult to get to know people closely if someone does not know anyone here, because everybody seems to be very busy with work and with personal problems.

The well-educated and professional^s can sometimes overcome cultural differences and establish friendships with English people. These are mostly professional colleagues or members of the same voluntary organisation or society. Generally contacts are very formal and superficial. Often these Indian or Pakistani people are invited by their English friends at Christmas or in a get-together party for lunch, dinner or tea. These people also in turn invite them to have a meal with them. Thus only a few professional people can overcome cultural differences and establish intimate friendships with the British.

For many this is a great handicap. There are language difficulties for some. They find it quite hard work to keep up a friendly conversation in English for a considerable length of time. Due to the difference of cultural background many people find it difficult to make friends with members of the opposite sex. Some have found it both economically and psychologically embarrassing to go to drinks parties or dances or to make friendship with members of opposite sex

of the host community.

People of every social status among Indians and Pakistanis find it more emotionally satisfying to meet people from their own region. Then they can continue to converse on personal matters and relax. Conversation with people of other regions also seems to be superficial and emotionally unsatisfying. Only among very close friends can they just pop in whenever they like and join dinner or lunch if they happen to be there at that time. Except for a few close friends or relatives relationships are formal.

Indian and Pakistani women often become friendly with the neighbouring immigrant women as they meet out shopping or at the clinic. As they become close, particularly those who are not working, they visit one another on weekdays while their husbands are at work. In most of cases their husbands come to know from their wives about these visits, and sometimes in this way the families get acquainted and become friends.

It is very helpful to have a few close friends, whether they are relatives or fellow countrymen. One can easily leave one's children with others and go shopping or to some places where it is inconvenient to take children. Above all, in sickness one can have a source of help and consolation.

The experience of one such family, which has recently moved to a new house where there are no other people from India or Pakistan living near, will show what sort of difficulties they face and how they are trying to cope with it. Previously the family was living in an area where the immigrant population forms about 10% of the total inhabitants. As the area is not a good one and their house was in a bad condition, they managed to buy a nice detached house, about four miles away. The house they have now is a good one with two gardens. Their only trouble is that there are no Indians and Pakistanis living anywhere near. They both feel lonely, particularly Mrs. J. The area is so quiet that she does not even see the faces of many English people on the road. In the previous area, though they did not visit neighbour's houses very often, still they could meet people from their own country either in the nearby shops, at the laundrettes or in the street. But now if they want to talk to anybody or even to see a countryman, they have to come back to the old neighbourhood and this is not always possible. Only at week-ends can they expect to see any friends.

Recently Mrs. J. had a major operation on her stomach. She has been advised by the doctor to take a complete rest at home for about a month. She feels terribly miserable in the house as her husband goes to work and her son to school. She says that many neighbours and

friends could have come to see her and keep her company if they were still/in the place they have left. But now she is so far from their houses that they can only manage to come at week-ends. So they employ an English woman who comes at 12 noon and goes by 4 O'clock. She keeps Mrs.J. company, does a little house work and prepares lunch and afternoon tea for Mrs.J. She (Mrs.J.) is not so fluent in English but she can understand and express herself a little. Mrs.J. said they could not keep up a conversation as she was not good enough in English. But she is at least happy to see somebody's face rather than staying alone.

4.3.2 Visits between families

Visits between families here depend mostly on the degree of acquaintance. The immigrants pay more frequent and informal visits to families which were known to them before coming to this country. These are generally people from the same region with the same mother tongue. Thus the families visited by new immigrants are those whom they knew before coming to Britain or to whom they have formal introductions through letters from common friends.

It is quite interesting to note that the immigrants know their Indian and Pakistani neighbours by name and talk to them, when they

meet each other in the street. Thus they come to know each other's problems though they may not have visited one another's house.

Sometimes bus-drivers, bus-conductors and other people who are working in factories become friendly with their English work-mates but they generally do not visit one another's houses. Couples, sometimes they live together, and marry if they become very close.

After close observation and participation with Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle it seems that many of the women have 'no' or 'slight' acquaintance with English men or women. This is mainly due to language difficulties and the lack of opportunity to get to know English women. For the wives of the professionals and students there are ample of opportunities. The meetings and parties arranged by the British council and other associations for overseas wives provide many chances to meet people and exchange ideas. Thus these women sometimes form closer acquaintance and friendship with English families in this country.

The people from Mirpur visit their village kin-group quite often at week-ends. Most of them live in the same area and maintain good relationships with one another.

For the children of the immigrants it is quite different. They have friendships with English children. The immigrant boys play with

the English boys. But the movements of the immigrant girls are rather more restricted. In the case of immigrant children where language is no obstacle to friendship with English people there is a cultural barrier which often restricts their freedom in making friends. For instance the immigrant girls are not given the liberty to make friends with boys whether they are from the English community or from their own. Often these girls are themselves very much aware of the cultural differences. One Indian girl said that she hesitates to invite her friends to her house in case they misunderstand her parents because their way of life is so different from that of the English people.

4.3.3 Recreation and leisure time activities

The most common leisure time activity enjoyed by the majority of the immigrants is social conversation on topics such as enquires about vacant rooms, job prospects, food habits and future plans for their children. Thus they become interdependent. At the same time they come to know about one another's problems and ways to solve them.

The following table shows the numbers of immigrants claiming

to participate in, or regularly enjoy, the various activities listed below:

Recreation and leisure time activities

People interviewed	Watching T.V. 1	Listening to Radio 2	Going to Cinema 3	Visit to friends 4	Sight seeing 5
Indian male	25	3	24	23	6
Pakistani male	15	2	17	20	1
Indian female	26	3	13	24	7
Pakistani female	10	2	5	15	1
Total	76	10	59	82	15
	Visiting pubs 6	Sports 7	Visit to parks 8	Total 9	
Indian male	20	2	12	28	
Pakistani male	5	1	2	24	
Indian female	-	-	17	30	
Pakistani female	-	-	2	18	
Total	25	3	33	100	

Among one hundred people 76 watch T.V. and 82 regularly visit friends. Another 18 people visit their friends very rarely, only if they are invited or are needed to consulting them about some problem.

According to them, as they meet friends quite often at the place of work, in shops or on the street, there is generally no need to visit them formally in their houses. The table shows that more Indians go to cinemas than Pakistanis. Very few Pakistani women do. This is due to the fact that in the sample taken from the Pakistanis there are some who have come from backward villages and have not had any experience of town life before coming to this country. They are much more conservative. The women in particular, who had no previous experience of urban life, are more orthodox and shy; they do not even like to go shopping. But Indian and Pakistani women who are educated and have had the opportunity to live in urban areas before, go to cinemas, and theatres; they even go out shopping alone. They do not even hesitate to work outside and earn money if they do not have small children.

Proportionately fewer people go out sight seeing. From a careful observation and discussion with people of every status I note that the professional people, who consider their stay in this country as temporary and do not have very small children, are the ones who go out during the holidays in Summer for sight seeing. The ordinary working people stay at home on holidays and do painting and other repair work in the house. They may go to see friends or relatives who are living in other towns of the U.K. or may invite those friends

or relatives for a few days. During this period they prepare different kinds of dishes and enjoy the gathering very much. Even at week ends people who are living with their families take pleasure in inviting their friends who are alone in this country, to have meals with them.

20 out of 28 Indians go to pubs but only 5 out of 24 Pakistanis. This may be due to the fact that in Islam drinking alcohol is forbidden while among Hindus and Sikhs religion does not disapprove of drinking alcohol. Of course society does not approve it as normal behaviour. From among the Muslims I could gather that many of them have started drinking alcohol in the U.K. on account of the cold weather and heavy work. As the drinking of alcohol is forbidden by religion, many of them do not like to admit this to an outsider. But it is rare for an Indian or Pakistani woman to drink alcohol. Only in some social gatherings a few very modern women drink a little. The number of such women is very insignificant. So far I have not seen or heard of any Indian or Pakistani woman in Newcastle going to a dance, which is not very uncommon among the College and University male students. Indians or Pakistanis who are accustomed to go to pubs seem to prefer to go there with friends. For example one such gentleman said that he used to visit a pub at least once or twice a week with some friends. He enjoyed it very much. Now unfortunately all his friends have gone to other towns of the U.K. He is all alone here; that is why, he says, he does not go to pubs nowadays like a "disappointed lover".

I met two Indian women who consider swimming once or twice a week as exercise and enjoyment. Though not born in this country, they were brought up here.

If there is some ground either at the front or back of the house, most of the people enjoy gardening. Though it is not always flowers, they at least grow some coriander. Coriander leaves are a favourite with both Indians and Pakistanis. They use them in curry or to make pickles.

Surprisingly enough I have not seen anybody who had a dog or cat as a pet. In their country of origin many people whether rich or poor, educated or uneducated, keep dogs and cats as pets. There they generally have a practical reason; they keep dogs to guard the house at night and cats to kill rats. Here these reasons do not apply, and some of them do not consider they are spending money and time after pets.

Most of the women like knitting in their leisure time. Those who do sewing work for factories, also prefer to do some knitting for a change. I met some women who do not like to go out even for shopping and prefer to stay at home. This is not because of their husbands' or elders' objections. They feel uncomfortable about going out simply because they are used to staying at home.

Gossip is accepted as a part of social intercourse. Everybody in the neighbourhood seems to know the most private affairs of others through some third party. Excessive drinking, neglect of wife and children and going out with English girls etc. are the main topics of discussion to while away the time.

Thus from the interviews, informal discussion and participant observation it becomes clear that the educated and those who have come from urban areas have more or less the same kind of leisure activities. Among the village people, some Pakistanis are more conservative and try to maintain their own cultural values.

There are Indian and Pakistani Associations in Newcastle. They sometimes arrange excursions and social gatherings. But it seems that very ordinary people neither go there nor take any interest in them. A few overseas educated people and some influential men take part in these. It is quite interesting to note that I have not known any person, born of immigrant parents and educated in this country, take an interest in an Indian or Pakistani Association, much less take an active part in it. It is primarily the educated persons of Indian and Pakistani origin, who have come from Africa and Asia to this country for higher education who take interest in these associations, and generally these are the people who take the initiative in leadership also.

Hindi and Urdu weekly magazines are sold in the Indian and Pakistani shops. Many people buy them to read the home news and short stories. I met one married Sikh lady who has been here for the last 16 years. She was educated in this country. She gets regularly from India Indian Film-fare, a magazine written in English. She does not read it regularly but looks at the pictures, particularly those of the Indian Film-stars. Sometimes her friends borrow it from her to read in their spare time.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIO-CULTURAL CONFLICTS

5.1 Status conflict

It was mentioned before that it would be misleading to consider the Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Britain as one group or counting even as following into two groups each sharing a common culture. Neither all Indians nor all Pakistanis share a common social and cultural background; some have a rural background, some an urban; some are educated, some are not. So the life the immigrants are leading in this country is more or less influenced by their way of life in India and Pakistan. These differences in background often influence their orientation to this country and consequently affect their adjustments and attitudes.

Sometimes these groups are acutely conscious of their status. To be recognised as a member of the elite generally requires a knowledge of English, the possession of a house, a good business or a well-paid job. Much depends on the personality of the person concerned. They form the prominent group among the immigrants. Conflict for power and leadership divide Indians and Pakistanis into small groups. The conflict may be on a regional basis or a matter of personal

belief and ideas.

There are doctors, engineers and other professional people. Among them only few take an active part in the affairs of the immigrant community. This may be because they consider their stay in this country as temporary, and some especially the doctors, are busy and are trying to acquire better professional and academic qualifications. Though some of them are genuinely interested in community affairs they have not enough time to take an active part.

The most status conscious people often prefer to avoid close contact with ordinary people though they live in the same area. For example, one such gentleman has enough money to live nicely; all his sons are educated. As a result he and his family consider themselves to have a higher position than the neighbours. They know the people around but neither he, nor his wife, or even his daughter-in-law will visit neighbours in their houses or invite them to come to their house. This gentleman says he does not like going to other people's house, as they were not educated enough and talk about nothing but money-matters. Even if he meets a neighbour in the street, he may be asked to go somewhere with him for a conversation in English. This is another reason why he avoids the countrymen. He advised me not to go to all the immigrant houses because the backward people might not be polite to me. His daughter-in-law also does not have close contact

with the neighbouring ladies. She feels that they only criticise others. As she wears English dresses occasionally, they gossip about her.

Status conflicts sometimes arise between the families of the landlord and his tenants. Many professional people consider their stay as temporary and do not want to buy houses. They generally rent flats from Indian and Pakistani land-lords. With few exceptions they do not become close friends with the land-lord and always try to keep a social distance from him. It is quite difficult to become friendly if they have different social background at home. The conflicts that arise are generally between the landlady and the wife of the tenant. They are due to the status-consciousness of both parties. The tenant's wife if she is from a good family, educated and well established in her country of origin often considers it very offensive if the landlady asks her to do some work in the house or complains about cleaning the house or noise etc. These tenants have the impression that their landlords did not have much education or property in their country of origin; and now because they have made money they think a lot of themselves and try to display their authority and power, particularly over their tenants.

Thus it is not always easy to become friendly with people, even from the same country, if they do not have the same social background.

Many students and professional people also suffer from status conflict. For example, they often remarks that, "English people can not think of any Indian and Pakistani man other than a bus-conductor or a factory-labourer!".

5.2 Some specific problems faced by Indian and Pakistani women

5.2.1 General

Language is always a great problem, particularly for those who do not know English. In daily life there is not much difficulty. For example, there are quite a number of Indian and Pakistani shops, and one can also go to a self-service shop where there is no need to speak. Since there is no bargaining women can get on quite well even in other shops. Anyone who stays in this country for sometime can pick up at least the most common words like, "How much" "I want a pound" and so forth, and can pay the money. Some people who are not used to counting money, ask the sales man or woman to do this for them.

Above all during illness and maternity, it is very difficult and inconvenient if a woman does not understand English. There is of course an Indian lady liaison officer. Her main job is to help the doctors and health visitors by interpreting. She attends the clinic twice a week with the health visitor in the area where most of the Indian and Pakistani people live. This is very convenient and helpful for the immigrants. I went to the clinic several times to see how these people behave there, what sort of troubles they face and for what problems they ask advice from the health visitor or the liaison officer. The liaison officer's wide knowledge of Indian and Pakistani

dialects enables her to be very useful. The Indian and Pakistani women come with their children, often accompanied by neighbours. New immigrant women go to the clinic with their neighbours or friends to see what it is like. I have noticed that the women like going to the clinic because they can meet friends or make friends there. I found the women are eager to know modern ways of bringing up children. As they find the English children are healthy here, they are ready to follow most of the advice given by doctors, mid-wives and health visitors.

I met some women who asked the liaison officer about day-nursuries and also about good schools for older ones. One woman asked the liaison officer to visit her at home in her spare time and help them to fill up some forms for the admission of their children.

Many Indian and Pakistani people suffer from depression and loneliness. As mentioned before, if they have good neighbours or relatives who have come from the same region and have a similar social status both at home and in this country, they have company. Otherwise they cannot make close friends even with women living in the same house or next door.

One such woman who is more than 50 years old came to live with her daughter here. As she is a widow, she lived in India with her brother's family. Her daughter goes to work in the morning and comes

back in the evening. She is all alone in the house. She passes her time sitting by the side of the paraffin heater, either reading magazines, dozing or watching T.V. As she knows English quite well she can read English magazines and newspapers. In winter she draws the curtains, lights the lights and simply sits quiet. Thus she feels miserable and lonely. According to her, outside it is always either cloudy, windy or snowing. A leaking water pipe in the house made a continuous sound. Otherwise there was complete silence. There are not many people in the streets. She said it was a "ghostly atmosphere in a dead land!" Her daughter used to do all the shopping, cleaning, and all other house-work, even cooking. She asks her mother to rest and relax. But the old lady told me she would go mad if she stayed here much longer in such a lonely and miserable condition.

In India also she was alone living with her brother's family, but there were friendly neighbours. She could visit them and many people also visited her. She was never bored and lonely as she is now. In India, even if there was nobody with her, she could pass her time looking at the streets busy with crowds and hearing the shouts of hawkers selling vegetables, clothing and many other household goods. Children played outside and made a noise, dogs barked. There was always noise everywhere, the sign of life.

When she had been in this country about a year, she really

became very weak and had to be sent to hospital. On one occasion she lost consciousness, and after that she could not recognise her daughter or remember the past. After good care in the hospital and rest for about a month, she recovered and was sent back to India. So far I have not heard of any other extreme cases like this. Though only a few cases become so severe, it is quite natural to be depressed due to loneliness if there are no children in the house or any friends or relatives near.

In India and Pakistan, particularly in the villages, the women are segregated from the men-folk, but they have their own world. In a joint family there will be some other women in the house. Even if they do not co-operative, they quarrel or gossip with one another. They are never lonely. Men are busy earning a living and they pass their leisure time gossiping with other men in the village. Generally a man and wife do not visit their friends together. If the women want to visit neighbours they will be accompanied by an older woman of the house, a brother, or their sons. But in towns and among the educated people the practice is different. Particularly among the younger people husband and wife visit friends and enjoy cinemas, theatres etc. together.

After coming to the U.K. those who are orthodox and came from villages often do maintain the same habits. In their leisure time

men visit friends or go to a cinema, leaving wife and children at home. The women themselves do not want to accompany their husbands. If they become friendly with neighbours they visit them on week-days when their husbands are at work. But among the educated, enlightened or those who are able to adjust themselves to the new attitudes, they do go out and enjoy the outside world together.

5.2.2 Problems related to children

In general the children of Indian and Pakistani parents are very much attached to their family. They seemed to be loved, well cared for and happy at home. After talking to Indian and Pakistani children and their parents I concluded that it is the children who have recently come from India or Pakistan who have language difficulties. Those who have been born and brought up here face a kind of cultural conflict. For instance a ten year old Sikh boy goes to school with his long hair and a bangle on his wrist. An English boy was very curious and asked him why he kept his hair long and why he was wearing the bangle. The Sikh boy took this seriously and questioned him why he wore a cross round his neck. When he got home he told the story to his mother and said he wanted to cut his hair because his uncle, who is also a Sikh, did not have long hair. His mother said, "If anybody jumps into the fire knowing full well that it will burn him, will you follow

his example?" She also said, "It is the Sikh religion to keep the hair long; every Sikh must follow it, otherwise God will punish him." After that the boy never complained to his parents about his long hair or bangle.

Again, if the children are under the strict control of their parents they often think that they will get more freedom when they can go home. For example a sixteen-year-old Pakistani boy thinks he will be freer and that people must be very nice in Pakistan, while he is under the strict control of his parents here. After school he has to come straight home, then he is supposed to watch T.V. or read newspapers, magazines or story-books. Very rarely he is allowed to visit a neighbouring Pakistani house where he can meet his friends. For that too he needs the permission of his parents. Generally his father buys all his papers, pencils etc and does not want him to go alone to faraway shops. He has to go to the Mosque once in a week for prayer, otherwise he prays at home if possible. He can understand and speak a little Punjabi, though he is unable to read and write it. He looks forward to visiting Pakistan when he has finished his studies.

Because of family restrictions and cultural differences a fifteen-year-old Indian girl said she felt happy when in classes at school. In playtime she does not feel happy or at ease because most of the girls

of her age talk mostly about boy-friends and boys, which she does not like. She thinks English girls of her age are crazy. She said she would gladly marry the person chosen by her parents. She thinks they will find a suitable smart person for her; she is very confident of this and hopes her parents will allow her to see the person they choose before she marries him. She wears western clothes, but prefers to eat Indian food, listen to Indian songs and watch Indian films. She loves to read the magazine 'Indian Filmfare' which is written in English. There are one brother and two sisters; all born here. All three were sent to India 3 or 4 times for holidays by their parents. Her brother did not like India; he feels better in England. But both the sisters like India better. She wants to go back to India if possible. Her father said, "My girls are not given as much freedom as my boy; that is why they think they will be happy in India!"

There is a girl of 16, born to Indian parents; who works in a co-operative shop and wants to become a nurse. She will begin the training for nursing when she is eighteen. Her filial piety leads her to take care not to do anything which will bring disgrace on to her parents, and at the same time she is very particular about her behaviour so that nobody can tell them that she is going astray or becoming anglicised.

Accordingly she has to follow two types of behavior. She wears

Indian dress at home or when she goes to Indian pictures or to Indian houses. At work she always prefers to wear English dresses. Again, at home she tries to speak in Punjabi otherwise the neighbours (Indians) think she is deviating from her culture. When she was at school, she used to have some very nice English girl-friends. But her parents do not like her to mix so much with the English people. That is why she never extended an invitation to them. She used to enjoy the fun the girls had with their boy-friends.

She thinks she will never be able to marry a man she does not know. She thinks her parents are quite liberal, and will allow her at least to meet the man she is going to marry. As her parents do not like her mixing with the English people -especially the boys - she does not do so; but she personally feels that it is nice to know people of different societies and culture.

In addition the family influences the children's ideas about themselves. For example, a girl of six born of a mixed couple is very conscious about her ethnic identity. Her mother is English but her father is a Pakistani Muslim. I saw her wearing Pakistani dress, the 'Sallowar' (trouser) and 'Kameej'(dress) and a scarf round her neck. Being surprised I asked her why she had put on that type of dress. She replied that only her skin is white but she is black as her father is black.

From the discussion so far it seems that those who do not suffer from language difficulties have cultural conflicts because of the opposition between the influences of the family and the external environment. Those whose parents give them more freedom like life in this country. But those who are strictly controlled, think they might be freer and happier in their own country of origin.

In all cases the influence of the parents, particularly the mother, over children is very great, on many occasions it is she who has to tackle the problems faced by her children.

5.3 General reactions to life in Britain

It seems that most of the Indians and Pakistanis are economically solvent, and better off here than they were at home. Though some have not got the right job, they are earning far better money. The best thing about life in Britain is that there is an opportunity to earn good money by hard work even if one does not get a job, appropriate to his qualifications and ability.

But even if their economic condition is satisfactory, many of them suffer from depression and feelings of insecurity and loneliness. In their home country most of the Indians and Pakistanis used to live among their own people, grand-parents, cousins or more distant relatives, preferably in one house. Coming from such closed families, some of them find it very difficult to adjust themselves to life in a completely different atmosphere.

Here there are few cases in which the informants are frank enough to give their views about the social and cultural life of the English people and at the same time their reactions, favourable and unfavourable to life in this country. There are also some instances where people suffer from mental instability and unhappiness.

A science graduate from Pakistan, the son of an established family, came to the U.K. to get practical experience. As he got the job of a

research technician in Newcastle, he came here and started living with some of his countrymen. He leads a busy life. From the beginning he has taken an interest in dog and horse racing; he regularly attends Bingo sessions, public dance halls and sports. In the year 1964 he married an English girl, they have now two children and he has managed to buy three houses. In all these respects he seems to be quite settled in this country. But I got surprising results from my interview with the questionnaire.

According to him he is "NOT AT ALL" happy here. He wants to go back to Pakistan in his old age "FOR PEACE OF MIND," which he thinks is not attainable here. I am quoting from his writings, "I am not at all happy here. It is a matter of personal feelings. But I would rather prefer not to advise any of my friends and relatives to come over here. Social behaviour of English people and their lives are completely strange to us. Even residing in this country for a long time, for us cannot mould ourselves according to this country pattern !" He gave following three causes as the main reasons for his dissatisfaction.

- 1-"Respect for coloured people in this country has got no meaning at all.
- 2- Qualified persons from India and Pakistan generally degrade themselves and repent.
- 3- Coloured children will not have the privilege of being the citizens of this country!"

One Indian Hindu gentleman has been in Newcastle for eighteen years. He has got most of his near relatives, brothers, sisters, mother, wife and children in Newcastle. They all live in the same area and meet each other quite often. He has a nice house, and a stable job as a skilled labourer. He gave me his ideas about this country and his practical experiences and reactions to life here.

"It is a nice country. There is social security and free medical treatment. There is no adulteration in the food. Nobody will die here without food. Most of the English are honest people, but they are selfish. They do not think of anybody but themselves. They are conservative. They live in their own society and very rarely mix with anybody else. They do not care what is happening next door. But our ways of life are very different. We are all very much attached to our relatives and neighbours. These people think they are more educated, but I feel that the working class are educated only upto the point when they can get a glass of beer, a packet of cigarette and some money for gambling. For that reason they do not care for their family and country. But they are straightforward and never hide anything.

Sometimes I feel that I am more matured for my age. I have got enough courage to do any sort of work that may be needed. I am happy because my children, wife and near relatives are here. For financial matters we are not hard up. I have no complaint about that. I am British

citizen still I feel these people treat us as foreigner because of my colour. That is why I do not think of this country as my own although I have been here a long time. Though my family is here, I miss my country. We have no place to go to, talk and relax. English people go to pubs; they go to clubs and meet their friends; but we cannot enjoy these type of things, this is our trouble!"

He is also worried about his children. He said, "In this country people become very independent. They are not attached to the family. I hope my children will learn from us how to live jointly, and respect their elders in the Indian way. But I cannot guarantee it. My daughters do not get as much freedom as my son. They are obedient. I worry about my boy. He is becoming very independent-minded. So I do not know whether when he is 16, he will say, "Good-bye, dad!"

In the "Sunday Times" of 13th July 1969, there was published a report "Immigrants: 3 patterns of adjustment!" It is stated there of the Pakistanis that, "they avoid situations where they might meet discrimination - earning a living is more important than civil rights!"¹ Such a person told me he is very happy in this country. He can earn his

1. Chester, Lewis.: "Immigrants:3 patterns of adjustment", The Sunday Times, London, 13th July 1969.

living nicely and nobody interferes with him. Nobody even objects to him performing his religious duties. There are good facilities for the education of his children. He can get any kind of food he wants. "What else does a man need in his life?" His wife is also happy, as she has her brother and sister-in-law living next door. He thinks the lives of the immigrants will be more insecure if they start agitating and complaining about the facilities they are not getting. One should always remember that after all it is a foreign country.

It has often been noticed that Indian and Pakistani shop-keepers are very particular to keep on good terms with their white customers. Often they keep their own countrymen waiting while they serve white people. The reason given by a Pakistani shop-keeper was reported in the 'Evening Chronicle', a local paper, of 6th October 1969, with the heading 'Threats made to Pakistani shop-keeper'.

"A Pakistani shop-keeper who refuses to serve his fellow countrymen has been threatened with violence.

Father-of-five Abdul Reham barred Pakistanis from his shop in Fenham Road, Newcastle, because they kept him too busy talking. He stuck a notice in his shop window which read: 'Pakistani Muslims are not allowed in.'

Since then he has been warned that his window will be smashed and shop wrecked unless he lifts the ban.

But today Abdul, aged 36, who has run the grocery business for a year, had not changed his mind.

He said: 'I know people think this is discrimination but I intend to stick to my decision.

'When I moved here I was continually being pestered by Pakistani families who expected better treatment than other customers.

'To be quite honest it was ruining my business and I have had to stop it.

'I have tried other ways but nothing worked and I was in danger of losing trade because so many of them wanted me to spend all my time talking to them.

'There were other things, too, which disturbed me, like people asking for credit and getting annoyed when I had to refuse.

'As far as I am concerned, I do not want them in my shop until they can act like my white customers.'

A spokesman for the Race Relations Board in Leeds described the case as one of the most unusual to come to their notice.

'It obviously sounds like discrimination, but we will have to wait until we receive an official complaint from one of the banned families

before we can investigate,' he said."

I know one Indian shop-keeper who used to sell Indian sweets, made at home by his wife. Now he has given this up because many Indian and Pakistani customers sometimes take one or two sweets to taste and do not pay for them. He cannot ask for the money, as the sweets are made at home, particularly from his relatives or friends. To avoid the unpleasant situation he stopped selling sweets.

A 39 years old Pakistani gentleman came to Newcastle about 8 years ago. He was a stenographer at home; now he is working as a bus-conductor. He is living here with his wife and six children. He frankly admitted that he came to this country to earn better money. His wife is also working in a clothing factory. He thinks what he is earning is just sufficient for the maintenance of such a big family. But his children are getting education in an advanced country, which would not have been possible in Pakistan.

Here I am quoting from what he wrote about his experience in this country. He does not have any relatives here but has a few friends among his work-mates. His views of them in his own words are:

"In this present time and artificial world I do not believe one can really find a sincere, honest and faithful friend. Friendship has gone with the winds, only selfishness remains these days." He is not

really happy here, because "Everything is contrary to my own country's social and cultural life. I can only be absorbed in this if I act like the Beatles, Rolling Stones etc, wearing long funny hair, going to pubs, meeting mini-skirted girls and taking L.S.D every day. I could write a whole book to say why I am not happier here."

About the social and personal life of English people he wrote, "It only remains upto heavy drinking, after that uttering unparliamentary language in an unconscious condition. Their Ministry of Social Security do a lot of social work, but they are not doing anything for the young generation who are going right into the dirtiest ditch of life - a life of no good return."

He mentioned his leisure time activities; he attends community social functions if possible once a year; sometimes he visits friends. Otherwise, "I can dance with my children when they are playing or crying."

One Indian Sikh woman who is now 30 years old came to Newcastle with her mother, other sisters and brothers to join her father 18 years ago. She got her nursing training in this country and worked in a hospital. Now she has given this up, as she has small two children to look after. She is very critical of the Indians. She thinks they are a hundred years behind the English people. Indians can do nothing but criticise. She

says she does not believe in the caste system and in arranged marriages, especially when an old man because of his power and wealth marries a young innocent girl. Then comes the joint family system. She thinks, "If the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, there is no problem; it is nice and healthy. But there are families where they live together just because they are afraid of talk from neighbours and relatives."

She feels that the Indians should be given the chance to think and work independently. The society does not progress much because in the Indian way of life, both men and women are always under the guidance of their elders. When they are mature enough to think independently, they should be given the opportunity to do so. According to her the English people enjoy their lives in this world whereas the Indians always suppress their emotions and feelings. They always try to please others and are very conscious of what others will think. That is why they cannot think independently.

Her brother has married an English girl. After that her parents did not accept them. But she does not find any fault in this. About her sons, she says she prefers them to marry in their own community but would not force them in any case.

Thus different people react differently in this country. The

differences mainly depend on the influence of their surroundings and the way they are brought up.

5.4 Permanance of residence in Britain

Intentions about staying in Britain permanently may change from time to time for various reasons. But the following table will give an idea of the plans of immigrants in the sample.

Views about going home

Views	Indian	Pakistani	Total
Permanently in old age	1	2	3
If get good job and opportunity	5	2	7
When children are well placed in life	3	2	5
If circumstances compel	5	3	8
Do not know	9	2	11
Do not want to go back	6	11	17
Want to go to some other country	1	2	3
Total	30	24	54

Altogether 54 people were formally interviewed about their views on returning to the home country. Among them 52 are men and 2 are women. These two women were interviewed because they came independently to this country. All the other women interviewed are the dependents of husbands, sons or brothers whom they have come to join in this country. Some of these women seem to be quite happy, as they have rejoined members of their families after a long time. But generally speaking most of them want to go back some time or other.

After interviewing a good many people and after close observation and discussion it seems that those who are economically successful in this country, often do not want to go back permanently, particularly if they have not much property at home or much education to give them status. Another group of people are ashamed to go home and face the relatives and friends there. These are generally the people who have come to the United Kingdom primarily with the intention of getting higher academic qualification but for one reason or other did not succeed. They have had to take up work that is often below their status and ability. They think they may not get suitable work at home either; so it is better to stay in this country. They try to accumulate as much money as possible so that they can return home in their old age and live peacefully for the rest of their lives. Some of them bring their families over here and hope that their children will do well in education in this country. Then they can take the lead in

returning to the parental home. But often these children, if they were born and brought up in the United Kingdom, do not want to go back to India or Pakistan and settle there. Those are foreign lands to them; they prefer to go to Canada or America if they find good opportunities there. Then come the cases of the professional people, especially the doctors and engineers who have come to this country to get experience and then return home. If they try to get a job at home after working in this country for some years they are often disappointed at receiving offers below their expectations. So they mostly look for jobs in America, Canada or the Middle East. Generally the people who have come to this country for higher studies or training, sponsored by their Government or institutions where they are employed, go back after completing their studies or training.

CHAPTER 6

Summary and conclusions

This study was undertaken with the aim of finding out the way of life and the complex problems of adjustment to a new environment faced by Indians and Pakistanis in Newcastle, with particular reference to women.

As woman's life-pattern is very much influenced by her husband and other members of her family, investigations have been made on all the members of a family wherever possible. Otherwise enquiries have been made on personal data of both the senior male and female members of the household.

It is misleading to consider the Indians and Pakistanis as an undifferentiated group or as two broad groups, depending on the country of origin. Neither Indians nor Pakistanis have a uniform social and cultural background. These differences in background often influence their orientation to this country and consequently affect their adjustments and attitudes. Some of the main findings about their life pattern and problems of adjustment are briefly described here..

Some salient features of the informants

Coming to Britain

From the 1930's Indians have formed part of the coloured population of Britain. The partition of India, reports of the progress and good fortune of their fellows, induced to others to come to Britain. Many came also for education and technical training. In addition to economic gain they consider coming to a foreign and advanced country as a means of upward social mobility.

From case studies and discussions it seems that very few have come independently without knowing anybody who can help them in getting adjusted to this country, i,g, to find work, accomodation etc. They bring their wives and children only when they are settled and have saved enough to pay the passage money.

Family structure

The family structure has not changed much with the change in surroundings. But one interesting thing to note among them is that they have adopted the modern tendency for a small single household, though everybody tries to assemble if a relative is celebrating a social occasion such as marriage, a religious festival etc. In times of

distress they try to help each other.

Authority and the power of decision-making is still mainly in the hands of men. Much respect is given to the aged members of the family, whether male or female. Particularly in arranging the marriage of family members the opinions of the elderly women are listened to. As the families are male oriented even among the educated the head male member generally takes the decision. Women if they are educated, may influence their husbands in this respect.

The role relationships among the members of the family have not changed much. One interesting thing is this that in many families, because of changed circumstances the men help in household work which used to be regarded as the women's domain which it would be disgraceful for a man to enter.

Analysis of informants' life

Economic activities

Nobody denies that money is the most important incentive for Indians and Pakistanis to come over here. It seems that in Newcastle the majority of the people have independent businesses such as peddling, retailing, wholesaling and grocery. Except Mirpuri most of the women

who do not have small children at home or where the men are not opposed to it are working for money-earning outside or at home. In the case of Mirpuri women things are different, as they came from backward villages, most of them are illiterate, and in addition their husbands do not like them to work and earn money.

The Indian and Pakistani wage-earning women add their income to the family budget, and there appears to be no conflict between the interest of the family and that of individual women. It seems that Hindu and Sikh women are more inclined to work outside the home; among the Muslims, except for the educated women, the majority prefer home-work.

Religion, marriage, and some rituals

There is no overt of conflict among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. All these groups have their own religious institutions to which everybody has free access and any member of the respective group has the right to pray.

The strict observance of religious activities, marriage ceremonies and rituals is losing its importance every day. Inter-dining has become very common but inter-caste marriage is not so popular yet. For death and birth ceremonies many people send money home to relatives who perform the rituals on their behalf.

Social life

There is no organised social life among the immigrants as a population. Their leisure activities are confined to their own people, particularly those from the same place and generally with the same social and cultural background. Close friendships very rarely grow up between people from different regions of the same country. Only in a close friend's house may people just pop in any time they like and share a meal even without any previous information.

It seems that no-body has come to this country with the intention of starting a new way of life. So many of them adopt only those changes which are necessary for their survival. Gossip with friends is the common form of pastime among the immigrants, whether they are educated or not. Visiting pubs, listening to radio and watching T.V. are also quite common. Watching Indian and Pakistani films on Sunday in the local cinema halls is another interesting way of spending leisure time for Indians and Pakistanis.

Socio-cultural conflicts

It is quite interesting to note that these people are concerned with status. There is often conscious avoidance between land-lord and tenant, educated and illiterate, and wealthy people and the less well off.

Conflicts arise among these people out of competition for leadership and the exercise of power.

Indian and Pakistani women are often faced with a language barrier. Everyday work they can manage, but in clinics and during maternity they are really handicapped by being unable to express themselves. Where there are children in the house, women have plenty to occupy their time; but for those who are not working and have no children at home, life is really miserable and they feel terribly lonely and depressed.

Quite often parents have to face and solve the problems of their children. Older children who have newly arrived have language difficulties, while those born in this country often face cultural conflicts as they grow up, because parents want their children to follow the culture and heritage of their respective home country. Most of the children with whom I talked have problems of identity.

General re-actions to life in Britain

The general opinion of Indians and Pakistanis is that most of them have come to earn money. But things are becoming more difficult every day. It is not as easy to come and get work as it used to be. So though doing well economically many of them suffer from depression, insecurity and sometime are faced with severe frustrations as well.

Most of them had a high opinion of English people before coming to this country, but they are disappointed on seeing the English people here.

Permanancy of residence in Britain

Peoples intention to stay in Britain changes from time to time for various reasons. Those who are doing well economically, have a good standard of living in comparison with their position at home, and are living with their family, often prefer to stay here. Many of them think they will go back sometime; if it is not possible for themselves, their children will do so. Many professional people, on the other hand, though they want to go back home, cannot do so because it is difficult to get a suitable job there. They often try to migrate to Canada, America or the Middle East. One Indian woman said, "If one comes to this country once, it becomes really difficult to return permanently."

Now, in brief if we analyse the groups carefully, we find the following general characteristics :-

'A' - Educated: have experience of urban life before; are not strictly observant of religion; consider their stay in this country as temporary; prefer to live independently with own nuclear family; live in a rented house; do not bother to buy house; mostly prefer to migrate to Canada or America.

'B' - These are mostly pioneer immigrants or their descendants

and relatives: educated generally secondary though a few have attended college; do not consider their stay as temporary, though some of them say they may return to home country some day or other; generally bring their nuclear family and relatives and friends; after only few years of stay buy house, often own few more houses for letting; observant of religion; do not want to go to Canada or America but if possible want to return home.

'C' - Mostly uneducated without having had much experience of urban life before; observant of religion; do not consider their stay as temporary, generally do not like to bring their families but often help relatives, particularly male adults, to come here; very few of them buy houses - sometimes a number contribute to buy a house and then all manage to live there. They are really like the "Worker bees outside the hive" as described in the article "Immigrants: 3 patterns of adjustment" in the Sunday Times of 13th July 1969.

Obviously, there are exceptions to these generalisations. In Newcastle the majority of Indians and Pakistanis fall into the 'B' category. In the 'C' category the majority are from Mirpur in Azad Kashmir. There are a negligible number of 'Gujratis' and 'Sylhetties' i.e, the Eastern Bengalis in Newcastle. The characteristics of the 'Sylhetties' are that they prefer to work in groups either in factories or restaurants, as they are very religious and consider their stay as temporary.

So most of the people in Newcastle are either from East Punjab, West Punjab or Mirpur. There are a few people from Southern India and West or East Bengal, but they fall into category 'A'. They do not generally participate actively in the immigrant life pattern here.

To sum up, unfortunately many of the women do not know English. They should be given a knowledge of English and English culture to enable them to understand of their surroundings. For success in this, the menfolk must be educated first, since in Indian and Pakistani families, whether they are educated or not, woman's behaviour and activities are to a great extent organised according to the wish of the male head of the household.

If members of all groups can have an idea of each others ways of life, peaceful co-existence and friendship among people of different groups and the host community as well would be easier. Nowadays one often finds misunderstanding, ignorance and avoidance among people of different communities in Britain.

APPENDIX

Preliminary questionnaire

REFERENCE NO :

1. What is your nationality:

religion :

age on last birthday :

home language :

education :

2. How long have you been in this country?

3. a) Where were you living on your first arrival in the U.K.?

b) What difficulties did you face in getting accommodation ?

c) Why did you choose to come to Newcastle?

4. a) What other difficulties did you face after coming to this
country?

b) In which respect did you have to make special efforts to adjust
to life in this country?

5. a) Did you know anybody here of your home country before your arrival?
 - b) How did you know them?
 - c) What kind of help did you get from them?

6. a) How many children have you got?
 - b) How old are they?
 - c) What are they doing?

7. a) What are the main difficulties you find with your children in this country?
 - b) Do your children have any difficulties in school?
 - c) What sorts of difficulties?

16. a) Who are your close friends in Newcastle?
b) How did you get to know them?
c) What have you got common with them?
d) When and how often do you meet them?
e) What do you do when you are together?
f) How well does your husband know your best friend?
g) How well do you know your husband's best friend?
17. a) Would you like to widen your circle of friends?
b) Why/why not?

18. a) How often do you go to Cinema, Theatre or visit to places?
b) Who generally accompanies you?
c) What do you do during holidays?
19. a) Have you any English friends?
b) How often and where do you meet them?
c) What do you feel about the close association of your husband and children with the English?
20. a) What do you think of the English way of dressing? Do you like to wear it? If not, why?
b) What do you think of the English food? Do you like it? If not, why?

21. a) In what circumstances do you take meals with people of different caste, community and religion? How often?
- b) Do you prefer your son's and daughter's marriage in the same caste? Please specify your reasons.
22. a) After coming to this country, what are the changes do you notice in yourself, your husband and children?
- b) Is your husband happier than when he was in the home country?
- c) Are you yourself happier here or unhappy?
23. a) What do you find specially interesting and remarkable about the life of the English?
- b) What do you find most difficult about getting on with the English?
- c) In which respects is life easier/harder here than what was in your home country?

24. a) What type of job is your husband doing at present?

b) What did he do before?

c) Is he happy with his job?

25. a) What is/was the profession of your father?

b) Where were you brought up?

c) How often have you been to big towns?

d) How long have you lived in big cities?

26. a) When did you get married?

b) How and where was it performed?

27. At present where do you consider your real home is?

28. Whom, if any, do you support financially in your home country?

29. a) Do you intend to go back to your home country?

b) Or, to some other country like U.S.A., Canada, Africa, the Middle East etc.? If so, why?

c) Or, do you like to settle down here in this country? If so, why?

Final questionnaire

Dear Mr. & Mrs.

I am a post-graduate research student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Durham. I am conducting one survey of Indian and Pakistani families in Newcastle.

It will be of great help if you please fill up the questionnaire at your earliest convenience. A few possible answers are given below most of the questions. You have to tick the one which applies to you, so it will take only a few minutes to complete the questionnaire.

May I, therefore, hope that you will fill up the questionnaire frankly and honestly. All your views and information will be treated as entirely confidential.

With many thanks for your help and co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Jharna Nath (Mrs.)

34 Lansdowne Gardens

Jesmond

Newcastle-2.

FOR HEAD MALE MEMBER OF THE FAMILY

1. a) Name:
 - b) Age:
 - c) Nationality :
 - d) Religion :
 - e) Home country :
 - f) Mother tongue :
 - g) Home province :
 - h) Education received from home country:
 - i) Please mention if any education or training from this country:
 - j) Please specify if any restriction on food :
-
2. Please put a tick against the period which applies to you :
(How long have you been in this country?)
 - a) Between 1 year and 5 years
 - b) Between 6 years and 10 years
 - c) Between 11 years and 15 years
 - d) Between 16 years and 20 years
 - e) Between 21 years and 25 years
 - f) More than 25 years

3. Which was the main reason of your coming to the U.K.?
 - a) To earn money
 - b) To get a job
 - c) For education
 - d) To see relatives
 - e) For travelling
 - f) If any other reason please specify :

4. Main reason for coming to Newcastle
 - a) My relatives were here
 - b) My friends were here before me
 - c) Just accidentally
 - d) As I got a job here
 - e) If any other reason please specify :

5. a) What was your occupation in home country?
 - b) What is/was your father's occupation in home country?

6. What is your occupation in this country?

7. How did you get the job here?
 - a) Through employment exchange
 - b) Through friend
 - c) Response to advertisement
 - d) Personal application on chance
 - e) If none of them, please specify what way :

8. Where and when did you get married?

9. When did you call for your wife and children ?

10. Please give the particulars about your children here.

Items	Boy					Girl				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Place of birth										
Age										
Married										
Not married										
Living in the same house										
Living in separate house										
Living in home country										
Any other place										
Occupation										

11. Do they attend any special class for their own religious studies and culture?

12. If you have got any relatives in the U.K., please give the particulars in the table below:

Items	Relatives				
	1	2	3	4	5
What is the relationship with you					
Single					
With family					
Their address					
Year of their arrival					
Their occupation					
How often do you meet them					

13. Except your relatives please give the following information about your three close friends.

Items	Friends		
	1	2	3
Country of origin			
Male			
Female			
Occupation			
What help do you get from them			
What help do they get from you			
How do you come to know them			

14. If you have got your own house then how many?

15. Please give the particulars about your tenants.

Tenant	Country of origin	Occupation

16. How often do you visit Hindu Temple, Gurduara or Mosque?

17. What are the religious functions you perform at home?

18. If you are a member of any association please describe what is that.

19. Since you left your country had you ever been to your home country?

Yes/No

How many times :

What for :

20. Do you attend any of these places for recreation?

Place of recreation	Once in a week	Twice in a week	Once in a month	More than once in a year
Cinema				
Public dance hall				
Sports				
Dog or horse racing				
Bingo sessions				
Gambling				
Social functions of the community				
Visit to friends				
Evening classes				

21. If you have visited any places except Newcastle, please give the particulars in the table below.

No of country visited	Name of the country	To see friends	To see relatives	To visit only	Any other reason

22. Please tick one which you think to be applicable to you regarding your returning to home country.

- a) Permanently in old age
- b) If I got a good job
- c) For visiting only
- d) When children will be well-placed in life
- e) If circumstances compel
- f) Do not know
- g) No, not at all
- h) If you want to go to some other country like Canada, U.S.A., the Middle East etc. please specify.
- i) If none of them apply please mention what is your idea.

23. Would you please describe if you have got any personal experience of colour discrimination in this country?

24. Do you think you are happier in this country? If so, why?

If not, why not?

25. What is your idea about the social and personal life of the English people?

FOR HEAD FEMALE MEMBER OF THE FAMILY

1. a) Name :
 - b) Age :
 - c) Nationality :
 - d) Religion :
 - e) Home country :
 - f) Mother tongue :
 - g) Home province :
 - h) Education got from home country :
 - i) Please mention if any education or training from this country :
 - j) Please specify if you have got any restriction on food :
-
2. How long have you been in this country? Please put a tick against the period which applies to you.
 - a) Between 1 year and 5 years
 - b) Between 6 years and 10 years
 - c) Between 11 years and 15 years
 - d) Between 16 years and 20 years
 - e) Between 21 years and 25 years
 - f) More than 25 years

3. a) What was your occupation in home country?
b) What is/was your father's occupation in home country?
4. If you are working, then what is that work?
5. How did you get the job here?
 - a) Through employment exchange
 - b) Through friend
 - c) Response to advertisement
 - d) Personal application on chance
 - e) If none of these then specify what way
6. If you are not working, then what for?
 - a) My husband does not like me to work
 - b) I am busy with children and home-work
 - c) I have tried but could not get one
 - d) Who bears the economic expenses of the family
7. Please put a tick against the thing you are having in the house.
 - a) Radio
 - b) Record player
 - c) Tape recorder
 - d) Washing machine
 - e) Sewing machine
 - f) Television
 - g) Motor car
 - h) Electric iron
 - i) Refrigerator

8. Since you left your country had you ever been to home country?

How many times :

What for :

9. How old you were when you got married?

- a) Between 5 and 10 years
- b) Between 11 and 15 years
- c) Between 16 and 20 years
- d) Between 21 and 25 years
- e) More than 25 years

10. Please put a tick against what applies to your case.

- a) Arranged marriage
- b) Choice marriage
- c) We have seen each other before marriage
- d) We have not seen each other before marriage
- e) We have seen photograph
- f) My husband was my relative beforehand.
- g) Both the families were known to each other before marriage.
- h) Both the families were just strangers to each other

11. Please put a tick against what you think to be correct.

a) It is good to have a big family (more children) in this country.

Yes/No

b) It is convenient to live independently (with husband and children) in this country. Yes/No

c) It is good to live jointly (with parents, brothers, sisters, their husbands, brothers' wives and children) in this country.

Yes/No

d) Most happy marriages are those arranged by parents. Yes/No

e) Most of the love-marriages has got bad end. Yes/No

f) Our people should marry among our own caste and community.

Yes/No

g) We do not have so much restriction if our sons marry outside the community. Yes/No

h) We have strong objections if our daughters marry outside the community. Yes/No

i) It is the parents' responsibility to arrange marriage for their children. Yes/No

j) It is the responsibility of the children to find out their partners in life. Yes/No

k) It is the responsibility of both parents and children. Yes/No

b) What time do they get up?

Person	Time							
	5 am	6 am	7 am	8 am	9 am	10 am	11 am	12 am
Myself								
Husband								
Son								
Daughter								
Daughter-in-law								

15. If you do your shopping then who generally accompanies you?

Person accompanies	Once in a week	Sometimes	Most of the time	For a special buy
Husband				
Son				
Daughter				
Daughter-in-law				
Neighbouring friend				
None				

16. If you are a member of any association please describe what do you do there.

17. Please give the following particulars about your three close friends.

Items	Friends		
	1	2	3
Names			
Country of origin			
How do you know them			
Does your husband know them			
I meet them mostly in their house			
I meet them while shopping			
I meet them in social gathering			
If any other place please specify			

18. Do you like to widen your circle of friends?

- a) No, I have enough friends.
- b) I do not have time; I am very busy.

19. Please give the particulars in the table below if you have visited any other places except Newcastle.

Name of places	For visiting only	To meet friends	To see relatives	Any other reason

20. Do you go to any of the following places for recreation?

Items	Cinema	Gambling	Evening classes	Visit to friends	Social function of own community	Park
With husband						
With friend.						
Alone						
With children						
Once in a week.						
Twice in a week						
Once in a month						
Occasion-ally						

21. Do you go to Temple, Garduara or Mosque? When do you go there?

22. What are the religious duties you perform at home?

23. What are the difficulties you face in this country?

24. Please describe what you think about the colour discrimination in this country.

25. Do you think life is easier and happier here? If so, why? If not, why not?

26. What is your idea about the social and personal life of the English people?

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