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**Distance of the Heart.
How ethnic social group identity may
challenge cohesion in Bradford**

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PhD

Peace Studies & International Development

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“Races are the product of isolation and inbreeding...civilization, on the other hand, is a consequence of contact and communication.”

Robert Park, Human Migration and the Marginal Man,
American Journal of Sociology, vol 33 (6), 881-893, 1928.

Judy Wall
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Abstract

Since the publication 20 years ago of reports, which identified parallel living between diverse communities in northern towns, including Bradford, there has been increasing concern about how difference can be accommodated alongside commitment to a collaborative, national enterprise. I examine this conundrum, with the assistance of a cohort of 18 people whose families hail from India and Pakistan, from the perspective of the Council of Europe's recognition of the duty of the immigrant to integrate. I do this by considering how a sense of ethnic social group identity may constrain meaningful engagement in wider society. Framing this sense of ethnic social group identity is *distance of the heart*, the term coined by one of the cohort to explain ongoing emotional ties to homeland, long after migration, which have the potential to distract from total commitment to society here. My primary question was: what factors, inherent in ethnic social group identity, and elaborated by the term *distance of the heart*, may have shaped the experience of integration of Asian communities in Bradford? My secondary research questions explore how sense of belonging and home, parallel living, religion, heritage language usage, cultural endogamy, and caste and clan allegiances may impact integration. Utilising a critical realist approach I identify factors, or mechanisms, underpinning ethnic social group identity, which help to sustain minority exclusivity and result in a sense of *living on the edge*. However, my findings challenge assumptions about the dangers of parallel living by suggesting these can be trumped by agential choice. I found that while cohort members have a strong sense of ethnic identity, and commitment to minority community, they also engage with people from other communities and describe a British identity, which encompasses their ethnic identity. This demands a more nuanced response to parallel living, which treats it as a characteristic of, rather than a barrier to, cohesion.

Key words

Bradford, cohesion, community, identity, belonging, multiculturalism, integration, home, ethnicity, minorities, superdiversity.

Acknowledgement and dedication

I must begin by thanking the people in Bradford, and elsewhere, who became my cohort – giving hours of their time to answer my questions. Without you this research would simply not have been possible. If I have misunderstood or inadvertently mis-represented your views, in any way, I apologise. I hope you will forgive me. I must especially thank the family of **Mr C0121**, who graciously allowed him to remain in my research, after his untimely death. His contribution, of the eloquent term Distance of the Heart, was invaluable - directing both my enquiry and my conclusions. I hope it will be adopted by others to describe the strength of emotions about homeland expressed by minority communities long after migration, and serve as a legacy of his involvement in this project.

I would also like to thank those at Bradford University who helped me to conclude this work, in particular my supervisor Dr Graeme Chesters and academic skills advisor, Dr Russell Delderfield, without whose help this project would almost certainly have been abandoned in 2016. And I must thank all my friends who have listened to me going on for years about my PhD. I apologise, and thank-you for, at least, appearing to listen. Closer to home, I would like to thank my husband, for keeping a roof over my head and for bank rolling this study. And, last but not least, my best *good companion* Bede for keeping my feet on the ground.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this research to Asha, my dear 'friend across the miles' and her late father Goolam Moihdien Razack, who enabled our friendship to flourish, despite the great distance between us and our different worlds. It is the time I have spent with your lovely family in Cape Town, which inspired this endeavour.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Key words	ii
Acknowledgement and dedication	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Chapter One: Introduction. Both feet in, then both feet out: Living on the edge.	
Introduction	1
My personal interest in this research area	5
Lived experience	5
Theories of intergroup relations	5
Azar's theory of protracted social conflict	6
My friend Asha	7
Ownership: why me	8
Genesis of the research, and ongoing influences	9
The Parekh Report	11
The Ouseley Report	13
The Cantle Report	15
A northern town in England	15
The immigrant's duty to integrate	16
Bradford – a model of integration	18
My hypothesis	19
Distance of the heart	19
What the cohort said	20
Key considerations which help to address my hypothesis	22
In and out	22
How agency can negate the negatives of parallel living	22
Moderating our expectations	23
The particular value of my research	23
Rooting enquiry in the local	23
Understanding mechanisms of identity	23
Accommodation of other migrant groups	24
Challenging the challenge of parallel living	25
Feeling truly, truly British	25
My methodology	27
Terminology	28
Bradford District	28

Asian communities	28
Social identity	29
Ethnic group	29
Minority	30
Community cohesion	30
Conclusion	30
Chapter Two: Literature Review. The greatly exaggerated reports about the death of multiculturalism.	33
Introduction	33
How this chapter contributes to my research questions	33
The evolution of my review of literature	34
A case of life after death	36
The journey of three wise men	37
What a difference a decade makes	41
Local perspectives	43
Multiculturalism, the root of all evil?	44
The premature demise of multiculturalism	49
Superdiversity	52
Conclusion	54
Chapter Three: Context. No one is an island: The enduring quest for contact and communication.	56
Introduction	56
How this chapter contributes to my research questions	56
The value of the cohort	57
Finding common ground	60
Profile of Bradford	63
Language	69
Religion	70
Demographics	71
The future	73
Cohort Impact Matrix	74
Matrix factors	75
Bradford Council's race relations' approach since 1960	80
Measuring cohesion	85
A tale of two worlds, at least	89

Conclusion	91
Chapter Four: Methodology. Ways and means: Weaving knowledge from personal narrative.	93
Introduction	93
How this chapter contributes to my research questions	95
Contacting the cohort	95
Challenges of working with the BHRU cohort	98
My approach to interviewing	99
My interviewer limitations	102
My interviewer advantages	104
The reliability of personal narrative	105
The long and short of it	106
Validity challenge	108
The science of storytelling	110
The morphogenetic key	112
Rogers' contribution	120
Reflection	121
Life course dynamics (LCD)	122
Analysis	125
Doing unto you	126
Disengagement	129
Conclusion	129
Chapter Five: Introducing the cohort. Direction of travel: Gravitating towards a theory of relativity.	130
Introduction	130
How this chapter contributes to my research questions	131
The cohort profile	132
Punjab, India - Bradford	136
Gujarat - Mombassa - Bradford	137
Punjab, Pakistan - Bradford	138
Mirpur - Bradford	139
Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism	140
Key ethnic languages spoken by the cohort	142
Punjabi	142
Urdu	142

Gujarati	142
Collaborator profiles	143
Conclusion	178
Chapter Six: First data chapter. Mind the gap: Bridging the space between here and there.	180
Introduction	180
How this chapter contributes to my research questions	180
Distance of the heart	181
Conclusions	187
A sense of home	188
Conclusions	192
A sense of belonging	192
Conclusions	196
Parallel living	197
Conclusions	203
Identity	204
Local attractions	211
Conclusions	213
Chapter Seven: Second data chapter. The art of feeling comfortable: Instruments which orchestrate engagement.	215
Introduction	215
How this chapter contributes to my research questions	215
Religion	216
Conclusions	222
Marriage	223
Conclusions	229
Language	230
Conclusions	238
Caste & biradari	240
Conclusions	246
Chapter Eight: Third data chapter. Mixing it up: The home we build together.	248
Introduction	248
How this chapter contributes to my research questions	249
Sense of community	250
Conclusions	256
Associations	258

Muslim funeral clubs	262
The final journey	265
Conclusions	269
Friendship and occupation	270
Conclusions	277
All for one and one for all	278
Conclusions	283
Trees and falling apples	284
Conclusions	292
Chapter Nine: Conclusion. Back to the future: Rescuing the baby from the bathwater.	294
Introduction	294
The contribution of my research	295
The contribution of my research to the superdiversity literature	297
My primary task	298
Chapter One: Introduction. Both feet in, then both feet out: Living on the edge	299
Contribution of Chapter One	300
Chapter Two: Literature Review The greatly exaggerated reports about the death of multiculturalism	300
Contribution of Chapter Two	302
Chapter Three: Context. No-one is an island: The enduring quest for contact and communication	302
Contribution of Chapter Three	304
Chapter Four: Methodology. Ways and Means: Weaving knowledge from personal narrative	305
Contribution of Chapter Four	307
Chapter Five: Introducing the cohort. Direction of travel: Gravitating towards a theory of relativity	307
Contribution of Chapter Five	309
Chapter Six: First data chapter. Mind the gap: Bridging the space between here and there	309
Contribution of Chapter Six	310
Distance of the heart	311
Sense of home	311
Sense of belonging	311

Parallel living	312
Identity	312
Chapter Seven: Second data chapter The art of feeling comfortable:	
Instruments which orchestrate engagement	312
Contribution of Chapter Seven	314
Religion	314
Marriage	314
Language	315
Caste and biradari	316
Chapter Eight: Third data chapter Mixing it up: The home we build together	316
Contribution of Chapter Eight	317
Sense of community	317
Associations	318
Friendship and occupation	318
All for one and one for all	319
Trees and falling apples	319
Curiouser and curiouser	320
Back to the future	321
Babies and bathwater	322
The Chimera effect	322
The short answer	325
Suggestions for future research	326
A final word on the cohort	327
Chapter 3 Appendix 1: Bradford wards	329
Chapter 3 Appendix 2: Postcode map	330
Chapter 3 Appendix 3: Acts of Parliament which frame the cohort's arrival	331
Chapter 4 Appendix 1: BHRU Contact Schedule	333
Chapter 4 Appendix 2: Interviewee letter	335
Chapter 4 Appendix 3: Interview tables	336
Chapter 4 Appendix 4: Core questions	339
Chapter 4 Appendix 5: Reflection extracts	341
Chapter 4 Appendix 6: Research schedule	343
Chapter 5 Appendix 1: Migration table	344
Chapter 5 Appendix 2: Cohort family tree	345
Chapter 5 Appendix 3: C0121 family tree	346
Chapter 4 Appendix 4: C0101 family tree	347

Chapter 5 Appendix 5: C0059 family tree	348
Chapter 5 Appendix 6: C0042 family tree	349
Chapter 5 Appendix 7: C0009 family tree	350
Chapter 5 Appendix 8: C0086 family tree	351
Chapter 5 Appendix 9: C0127K family tree	352
Chapter 5 Appendix 10: C0049 family tree	353
Bibliography	354

Chapter One: Introduction.

Both feet in, then both feet out: Living on the edge.

Introduction

In this study I have explored the attainability of what Goodhart describes as the British Dream – that is a community that can reconcile the demand for the equal recognition of minority groups with the idea of a democratic national citizenship (Goodhart, 2013 p.302). Implicit in this model is recognition of a relationship of inverse proportionality,¹ which must balance sense of belonging to a minority with sense of belonging to wider society. In the social setting, therefore, inverse proportionality underpins the drive for optimal balance between the inclusion and distinctiveness of social groups. This is elaborated by Brewer's Optimal Distinctiveness Theory, which maintains that when there is too much of one of these motives the other must increase in order to counter-balance and vice versa (Brewer, 1991). This implies an escalating interplay which at some point must be tempered, or governed; the one motive giving ground to the other; hence the idea of inverse proportionality. Interestingly, there is neurological evidence for this, because while we are preconditioned to respond to changes in our environment there seems to be a limit to our processing capacity (Weber, 2014). This may mean that the extent of the arena in which we locate our identity is fixed and unyielding – requiring that we over or under compensate to accommodate other aspects of our identity. Importantly, construction of a super-ordinate, community of communities (Runnymede Trust, 2000), with its own sense of 'genuine community' (Lichterman, 1996 p.250) quoted in (Farrar, 2011), solidarity, common loyalties, and moral and political consensus, may only be achievable at the expense of its component cultures (McLennan, 2001). Something has to give. This then becomes the basis of the distinction between civilization and race, which Park made earlier.

¹ An inverse variation is a situation in which as one quantity increases the other decreases, for example, the faster one travels it takes a shorter time to arrive Lynn, P. (2017) *Workshop 7: Direct and Inverse Variation*. [web page] Annenberg Foundation. Available from: <http://www.learner.org/workshops/algebra/workshop7/>

It was this transaction of belonging, which I examined with the assistance of a cohort of 18 people living in Bradford District, who migrated to West Yorkshire in the 1960s and 1970s from India, Pakistan and Kenya, and their British born children and grandchildren. As a cohort they are introduced in Chapter 4, as individuals they are introduced in Chapter 5, and their responses, during 58 hours of interviews between May 2006 and April 2010, can be found in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Eleven of my cohort previously participated in research, conducted by the old Bradford Heritage Recording Unit (BHRU) in the mid-1980s. There is more on the work of this earlier project in Chapter 4.

The idea that a minority community's sense of belonging could be viewed as an equation of inverse proportionality was inspired by a comment made by Bradford Council's former Principal Race Relations' Officer, Graham Mahony, who I interviewed in 2006. He said:

The stronger your own ethnic social identity...the longer it's going to take to integrate... but it's not only your identity, it's your identifiability to others, how much you contribute to making yourself identifiable. (19.1.06)

This comment required that I first consider what factors, underpinning ethnic social group identity, might impact inter-cultural engagement, and then how they might govern construction and maintenance of societal cohesion in the District. I did this by utilising a critical realist approach, which enabled a search for individual and group motivational factors (or mechanisms), which explained behaviour (Bhaskar, 2008). To enable this examination it was also necessary that I consider contextual factors (or mechanisms) – some specific to Bradford, others more general - which underpinned those framing minority community identity. In addition, adopting a Life Course Dynamics approach helped me to situate the cohort geographically as well as historically (Elder, 1985b). This historical situation was important as it became apparent there exists, what might be described as, a legacy of obligation and behaviour norms, sustained and perpetuated over time – to varying degree – across the

three generations in the cohort. This legacy ensures relationships are maintained with kith and kin in country of origin and elsewhere overseas and in Britain – facilitated, primarily, by religion, ethnic language, and marriage with close relatives or within caste and clan. Wagley and Harris describe this process as transmission by rule of descent (Wagley and Harris, 1958 in Hutnik, 1991).

To summarise, I explored with the cohort how ethnic social group identity can impact societal cohesion in Bradford, and the nature and scope of parallel living in the District, with the aim of adding to the knowledge of local Asian communities as they age and contributing to the production of outcomes that inform approaches to cohesion and inter-community policy making.

I found that while cohort members' sense of ethnic identity, and commitment to minority community remains strong they exercise agential choice to overcome structural barriers, which have the potential to govern wider society engagement. This process is fostered by, or may otherwise motivate, an elaboration not of hybridity but rather an overarching sense of identity, which encompasses all aspects of self, and a cherry picking from all incarnations of association. This means that cohort members do not live exclusively parallel lives. They repeatedly demonstrated how they move in circles, which may be intrinsically exclusionary and barred to out-groups, but they also engage with people from other communities and society in general.

This suggests that a more nuanced response to parallel living is required; and that it should be seen as an inherent characteristic of cohesion, rather than a barrier to it - as it is a fact of life in Bradford.

Importantly, the cohort also demonstrated how their British identity was not separate to their ethnic identity but, rather, encompassing of it: to be British was also to be Pakistani or Indian. This reflects Hussain's conclusion that as British South Asian identity increases in quality and quantity the boundaries between post-migration hybrid identity and that of the indigenous population may erode to the point where British identity embraces its South Asian

component (Hussain, 2000 p.367). This made me consider how my own identity, as indigenous white, and that of people in other minority communities in Bradford might be impacted by the presence of Asian communities. If I describe myself as Bradfordian, does that necessarily mean I am also inherently Pakistani and Indian? This dilemma reflects what Giddens describes as the crisis of natural attitude - the presence of the stranger serving to unsettle the taken-for-granted patterns of every day life, a 'potential challenge to the ontological security of the self' (Giddens, 1991) quoted in (Gandeha, 2003).

The cohort is no more homogeneous or cohesive than Bradford's so-called Asian community; it's make-up reflecting different ages (now, 26-84 years); gender; religious affiliation (Hindu, Sikh and Muslim); countries of family origin (India, Pakistan and Kenya); first languages (Punjabi, Gujarati, Urdu, Hindi and English); and migration/settlement/living in Britain experience. This diversity in Bradford, writ small within the cohort, has been obscured by a kind of sloppy shorthand, which prioritised the generic over a tailored response to the needs and nature of different Asian communities. This is problematic, as it resulted in a one-size-fits-all approach, not fit for purpose.

This was avoidable; as long ago as 1990, Graham Mahony warned Bradford Council about growing antipathy between Sikhs and Hindus, and Muslims, saying that they could no longer be described as generically Asian. Ten years later he told the Ouseley Commission race relations did not exist in Bradford, and that the 'new communities' were partly to blame for this (Mahony, 2001). Interestingly, his report was never published.

However, in 2017 the frailty of the old one-size-fits-all approach was, finally, recognised by the new Strategy for Bradford District 2018-2023, which acknowledged the contribution of local residents who demanded integration policy he designed to meet the particular needs of different parts of the District; that they be specific to the place and the community which lived there (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2018). There is more on this new strategy later in this chapter.

My personal interest in this research area

I will now explain how I came to this research, what motivated me to undertake this particular line of enquiry.

Lived experience

Unsurprisingly, no single factor led me to conduct this research. During the 1980s and 1990s I lived in Germany. I constructed a very British life for myself, easily identified by visitors to my home; I even taught English. For a while I did feel European as much as I felt British, but I never felt German, or developed any particular affinity to local institutions or processes; and my command of the language remained poor.

When I returned to Britain in 2000, to study at Bradford University, I found myself living in the most diverse environment, by far, I had ever lived in. Initially, I was, especially, shocked by the many Muslim women I saw wearing the burkha; and there seemed to be an unwritten set of rules, I had yet to learn, which framed the lives of the city's diverse communities, and the areas where they lived. I viewed life in the city with the perspective of an outsider, who grew up in a very white city (if it can be called that) in the south of England. I was fascinated and keen to explore how people of different backgrounds engaged, and also what prevented them from doing so.

Theories of intergroup relations

Then, in the second year of my Peace Studies' degree I took a course about inter-group relations, which enabled me to begin to make sense of what I was seeing and experiencing in Bradford. This course introduced me to Tajfel & Turner's Minimal Group Paradigm (Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001), otherwise known as binary instinct (Cantle, 2005 p.104); Tajfel's subsequent Accentuation Theory (Hogg and Abrams, 1988 p.33); and Sherif's Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966). Developed in the 1970s, the first determines the minimum conditions necessary for intergroup discrimination. Simply being a member of a group, Tajfel & Turner say, is enough to elicit discriminatory behaviour towards out-groups. The second

determines that in-groups maximise their favourable characteristics and minimise their negative characteristics, and vice versa for out-groups. The third, developed by Sherif in the 1960s, says that when a group delineates itself in-group norms develop from interpersonal relationships within the group – defining acceptable in-group behaviour, and applying stereotypes to out-groups. These approaches reflect Sumner's work in the early 1900s on ethnocentrism, that is the '...apparently universal tendency for human beings to differentiate themselves according to group membership, ' (Sumner, W.G. in Brewer and Miller, 1996 p.22).

Together, these approaches help to explain the durability of ethnic groups in Bradford. The task of multicultural policy, or cohesion, has been to enable inter-cultural access without destroying any groups in the process. This has required a fine balancing act, the nature of which has fluctuated across the decades - the current interest tipping more in favour of newcomers fitting in rather than maintaining a discrete cultural distance. There is a causal link between identity and group membership – identification with others forming and replenishing the group, which, in turn, provides the magnet for further membership. In this sense identity becomes both the outcome and the process – the fulcrum, which determines in and out, at the centre of the sense of belonging paradox.

Azar's theory of protracted social conflict

In the final year of my Peace Studies' degree I was able to further explore some of these ideas in my dissertation, *How can theories of intergroup relations add to an understanding of conflict in Bradford within the framework of Azar's model of Protracted Social Conflict* (Wall, 2003). I began this research shortly after publication of several reports, around the turn of the century, which identified segregation and parallel living in northern cities, including Bradford.² Azar developed his theory during the late 1970s,

² Including, the Parekh Report (Runnymede Trust (2000) *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain. The Parekh Report*. Profile Books Ltd.), The Ouseley Report (Ouseley, H. (2001) *Community pride not prejudice - making diversity work in Bradford*. Bradford: The Bradford District Race Review Panel.); & the Cantle Report (Cantle, T. (2001) *Community Cohesion: A report of the Independent Review Team*. London: Home Office.).

defining Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) as the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation (Ramsbotham, 2002). According to Azar the focus on episodes of overt, violent conflict often obscures more low level, covert, latent tension, which continues to persist between communal groups. This, he says, is rooted in issues of communal identity and deep-seated friction between contested social groups. My aim was to consider if PSC was present in Bradford, in particular between riots in the city in 1995 and disturbances in 2001 – although eventually I extended this timeframe by looking at social conflict and events between 1964-2003.

I concluded that a thread of conflict was evident in Bradford – demonstrating that apparently discrete, episodic events should rather be viewed on a continuum, albeit containing varying degrees of conflict intensity. Bradford's first race relations policy Turning Point (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council)) published in 1981, was an attempt to accommodate, or appease, local ethnic communities (in particular the Muslim) – to provide the security, recognition, acceptance and fair access Azar warns is necessary if PSC is to be avoided. The report recognised that ethnic communities, in practice, Asian communities, would likely remain distant for many generations and that ethnic sub-groups were transforming into ethnic communities. This warning foreshadowed Graham Mahony's advice 10 years later; by then bonds of faith and kinship ties, facilitating difference, had become a source of conflict. They helped nurture an insularity, which encouraged separation from Bradford's wider community, and exemplified growing concern about multicultural policy. It was this perception of insularity, which became the focus of my current study.

My friend Asha

Years ago, when I was a teenager, I began a pen-friendship with a Muslim girl in South Africa, whose family hails from the West coast of India, about half way between Mumbai and Goa. Over the years our friendship has become very important to me and I have had many wonderful holidays

staying with her family in Cape Town, and I have visited her ancestral home in the small Indian village, where her in-laws and other relatives still live. I have attended weddings, house warming parties, and halal barbecues in their gardens; respectfully watched religious ceremonies, wearing traditional Indian dress (including headscarf); and become the only godmother in the world (probably) to a Muslim boy, Asha's son Wasim. With her husband, Mahmood, my husband and I have even tasted wine in the spectacular Stellenbosch valley outside Cape Town – albeit Mahmood was drinking orange juice,

With this family I have never felt an outsider, because of faith (I have none), colour, ethnicity, nationality, different first languages, or anything else; rather I have felt included. Asha is my friend, she just happens to be Muslim, in the same way that she just happens to live on the other side of the world. It is because our friendship is so important to me that I have dedicated my research to her late father, Goolam Moihdien Razack. Sadly, I never met him, but I am grateful that, at the height of apartheid, he permitted his daughter to write to a white girl in Britain.

Because of my experience with Asha's family, the parallel living evident when I arrived in Bradford was a particular mystery to me, and one which I wanted to examine.

Ownership: why me

Having reached the conclusion that I wanted to conduct this research into so-called parallel living in Bradford I had to decide how I would approach the task. There is more below about what influenced the direction of my enquiry, but first I would like to explain why I chose to write my thesis in the first person.

I decided to write in the first person - that is reflectively, acknowledging that my work would be my personal interpretation of what I discovered (Jasper, 2005), albeit complimented by the use of as many direct, verbatim cohort quotes as capacity allowed. I wanted to avoid using the third person, which

could result in bias and be stylistically awkward (Webb, 1992). As DeGroot says, research is tainted by the personal beliefs and values of the researcher (DeGroot, 1988); I chose what to study, who to approach, my hypothesis, the direction of my core questions, and the way data was analysed. My preconceptions and perceptions have informed my interpretations and conclusions; it is, therefore, important to me that I demonstrate ownership. This ownership is also important as it demonstrates the potential fallibility of the study, which seems fair, and evidences how research is the product of mutual *verstehen* between the researcher and the researched (Webb, 1992).

Genesis of the research, and ongoing influences

In this section I will explain what influenced the inception and progression of the direction of my enquiry.

The polydomainal society (Horowitz, 2001) of Bradford has long been considered a barometer of the success, or otherwise, of multi-ethnic cohabitation, where different communities live - distinguished by their communal beliefs and values, direct and multifaceted internal networks and reciprocal interdependency (Taylor, 1982). Indeed, Goodhart considers Bradford, more than any other place in Britain, to be the emblem of segregation (Goodhart, 2013 p.78), a view fuelled in 2001 by widespread rioting in the city (Macey, 2005). Fifteen years on, Open Democracy published a report which claimed that, while England, as a whole, was more ethnically mixed, white and minority groups were more isolated than ever (Cantle and Kaufman, 2016). Four wards in Bradford, Little Horton, Toller, Bradford Moor, and University, were identified in this report as places where the white British population was dwindling while minorities increased - emphasising segregation.

In 2017 Bradford had the third highest level of residential segregation in England, with nearly a third of Council wards having BAME (Black, Asian and Multi-Ethnic) populations of over 50%, influenced by historic patterns of settlement and where housing is most affordable (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2018).

Also of particular relevance to this research is Parekh's exploration of whether it is possible to feel British and something else at the same time (Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.6).

As I conducted my research over a number of years it is important to mention not only its genesis, that is what led to its inception, but also events and recent literature, which influenced my conclusions as it proceeded. They are, then, grounded not only in cohort responses but also in the changing nature of local and national narratives, which occurred during the timeframe, on a range of issues, including migration, terrorism, and debates about cohesion and integration. Since data collection ended in 2010 my analysis has been impacted by the publication of a number of relevant reports, such as the Casey Review into opportunity and integration (Casey, 2016). And, importantly, the Policy Exchange survey of Muslim communities, published the same year, which identified a prevailing sense of 'unsettled belonging,' and found that Muslims in Yorkshire and the Humber region – where Bradford is situated - are more likely than anywhere else to want to lead a fully separate Islamic life style and less likely to want to integrate with non-Muslims (Frampton et al., 2016).

Furthermore, terrorist attacks across Europe³ have served to intensify concern that segregated communities, living parallel to the mainstream, have somehow nurtured disaffection and enabled radicalisation. The Social Integration Commission proffered a wake-up call, that unless positive steps

³ Those attacks include: London (3.6.17), vehicle driven into pedestrians on London Bridge, nine deaths; Manchester (22.5.17) suicide bomber attacks Ariana Grande concert, 22 deaths; London (22.3.17) vehicle driven into pedestrians on Westminster Bridge, five deaths; Berlin (19.12.16) vehicle driven into pedestrians at a Christmas market, 12 deaths; Ansbach (24.7.16) suicide bombing outside a wine bar; Wurzburg (18.7.16) knife and hatchet attack on train passengers; Nice (14.7.16) vehicle driven into Bastille Day revellers on the Promenade des Anglais, 86 deaths; Brussels (22.3.16) three co-ordinated suicide bombings, two at Zaventem airport and one at Maalbeek metro station, 32 deaths; Paris (13.11.15) suicide bombing outside Saint-Denis football stadium, followed by mass shooting and suicide bombings at cafes and restaurants and mass shooting and hostage taking at Eagles of Death Metal concert at the Bataclan Theatre, 130 deaths; Paris (7-9.1.15) three days of attacks, at Charlie Hebdo newspaper office, a Jewish supermarket and several locations in the Ile-de-France region, 17 deaths; Dijon (21.12.14) vehicle driven into pedestrians; London (7.7.05) three bombs exploded on the underground and a fourth on a double-decker bus, 52 deaths.

are taken to actively promote integration we are on a path towards a fractured society (Social Integration Commission, 2014). Tolerance, the Commission says, is not enough; a diverse society, which is un-integrated, could lead to a decrease in levels of trust. This rhetoric is often located within the immigration debate; anxiety that floods of refugees (Nebehay, 2011), asylum seekers and economic migrants are taking British jobs, overwhelming public services (particularly the National Health Service), and burdening the benefits' system, stoked the Brexit vote in 2016 (Prime Minister's Office, 2016) and dominated the General Election the following year (Woodcock, 2017).

The 2017 suicide bombing at the Ariana Granda concert in Manchester (Dodd et al., 2017), and vehicle attacks on pedestrians on the London and Westminster Bridges may have provided a tipping point for a backlash against Britain's Muslim community.⁴ More than ever, there is a pressing urgency to understand the factors which foster or impede engagement between people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, in order to enable more meaningful contact and a greater sense of togetherness and common good, and, potentially, to promote resilience to extremist ideologies (Casey, 2016).

My research is rooted in a number of so-called *turn of the century* reports, tasked with examining, especially, what was seen as divisive parallel living, particularly in northern cities with large minority communities, including Bradford. These reports include the Parekh Report in 2000 (Runnymede Trust, 2000); The Ouseley Report, in 2001 (Ouseley, 2001); and the Cattle Report (Cattle, 2001). I will now outline these reports, and explain their relevance for my research.

The Parekh Report

The Parekh Report is of particular interest to this research because it elaborates a two-tier synthesis model of pluralistic community of

⁴ On 19.6.17 worshipers leaving Finsbury Park Mosque in North London, early one morning during Ramadan, were mowed down by a man apparently intent on killing Muslims.

communities, and liberal community individuals – designed to somehow respect and value the other while nurturing a sense of collective identity (Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.48). This approach reflects that of Common In-group Identity, which proposes creation of a super-ordinate identity, which trumps in-group and out-group categorisation, encouraging members of both to see themselves as belonging to a common, overarching in-group (Gaertner et al., 1993). However, in a multi-multi-community environment, like Bradford, this appears particularly challenging, with consensus on such a clean, absolute solution unlikely. Challenges include, how to ensure different groups (communities) engage on an equal footing, and to an equal extent; how to ensure engagement is truly meaningful, and not superficial or disingenuous; and how to ensure sustainability of the integrity and identity of all groups. The achievement of a single community, based on shared morality – otherwise known as cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 1997) – is a big ask in a multicultural environment. However, for Parekh a new composite culture, based on the respective contributions and insights of all parties involved, is the logical outcome of the interaction of different cultures (Parekh, 2005 p.221). This is borne out by cohort members, who appeared to reject the idea of any kind of diverse hybridity, in favour of super-ordinate identities, which span minority kith and kin, wider society and homeland overseas.

Parekh's model is also useful because it engages with individuals as well as groups. In an increasingly individualistic society, particularly in Bradford where collectivist communities not only exist alongside those tending to be individualistic - but also themselves contain people increasingly primarily interested in individual goals (perhaps at the expense of the health of the collective) – personal motivation must be taken into account.

Particularly helpful, in this regard, is Archer's morphogenetic take on critical realism, which asserts that our social selves (identity) emerge at the interface of structure and agency (Archer, 1995). In this sense, agency is defined as the ability to exercise a share of power through active participation (Fukuyama, 2018 p.46). The assumption is that social structures exist prior to individuals and have a real effect on them – that is, they have intransitive

dimensions - but also that people's actions are never determined by certain structures, merely conditioned by them. Therefore, there is a tendency for certain behaviour in certain circumstances, but also the possibility of behaving otherwise. This led me to want to explore with the cohort the extent to which their social identity (through collective membership) was voluntary (agential), or constrained by structures – for example, kinship groupings. The agency – structure continuum is best seen as a journey, on which younger generations with maybe more of an individualistic outlook are distanced from their more collectivist elders. It is this, which provides the seed of intergenerational tension within the Asian communities in Bradford, which I explore in Chapter 8. Engagement with the cohort led me to conclude that while mechanisms of ethnic identity may have the potential to constrain societal engagement, they must first be triggered – and that is a question of individual choice, or, at least, capacity to choose.

The Ouseley Report

The Ouseley Report, *Community Pride not Prejudice* (Ouseley, 2001) is of particular interest to this research because it was Bradford District's first significant race relations' review for 20 years.⁵ Also it was published shortly before I began my first study into inter-group relations in Bradford, and one of its panel members, Professor Jenny Pearce, became my first doctoral supervisor.

The report was damning: it said islamophobia and racism had not been effectively challenged; negative stereotyping, bigotry, ignorance and prejudice was rife; intergroup relations were mismanaged by local politicians kowtowing to un-elected community leaders; and the District was polarised, fragmented along social and religious lines, with different ethnic groups retreating into their own comfort zones (Ouseley, 2001).

⁵ Since Bradford Council published *Turning Point* in 1981 (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council) (1981) *Turning Point: A review of race relations in Bradford. Report of an inter-Directorate working party under the Director of Education*. Bradford: City Of Bradford Metropolitan District Council.).

By the time of its publication many of the initiatives from the 1980s, which supported local race relations, had been dismantled and there appeared to be a sense of 'job done,' with the Council again focused more on service-provision. The aim was to ensure everyone was treated equally. This transformation marked the disappearance of, for example, the old Bradford Council Race Relations Advisory Group, which had striven to accommodate the needs of local ethnic minority communities. While orchestrated locally by the former Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government⁶ Eric Pickles – then Leader of Bradford Council – the move away from ethnic minority politics was directed by central government.

The earlier, more proactive and overtly positively discriminatory celebrate your diversity kind of strong multiculturalism (Cantle, 2001 Foreword) had, by 1990, given way to an equality agenda encompassing ethnicity, gender and disability. This marked the shift from a plural mono-cultural, bounded multicultural approach - where different ethnic communities were encouraged to remain largely separate culturally, socially and geographically – to a softer, weaker multiculturalism - which may also be described as superdiversity – in which individuals of diverse backgrounds come together and form bonds based on a variety of interests (Foner et al., 2019). There is more on superdiversity in the following chapter and in Chapter 9.

When Ouseley published in 2001, Bradford had been practicing a less accommodating, weaker multiculturalism for a decade. Yet, despite that multicultural policy was blamed for the segregation the report identified. That this was the sole reason for segregation and parallel living in Bradford – to the degree that this was accepted - must, at least, be questionable. By interrogating parallel living, with the assistance of the cohort, my work strives to address this.

⁶ Until May 2015.

The Cantle Report

The Cantle Report is of particular interest to this research because although it found communities to be operating on the basis of a series of parallel lives, failure to agree a set of values that could govern behaviour, and people tiptoeing around sensitive issues of race, religion and culture (Cantle, 2001 p.17), it did not dismiss parallel living per se – recognising that it could result from a valid lifestyle choice. The real problem, the report warned, was if separation were multi-faceted - to the extent that there was little or no contact with other communities – it could cause ignorance to develop into fear (Cantle, 2001 p.20),

Nonetheless, this recognition of the validity of parallel living offered a crumb of hope, which could have reduced anxiety. Instead Cantle's pragmatism was sidelined as the urgency to draw everyone into the fold intensified over the next 15 years. It does, however, emerge as a pillar of Parekh's Community of Communities and Individuals' model (Parekh, 2007) – which is contingent on difference to delineate the fringe of constituent parts within its overarching whole. This model offers a useful frame for my work.

In 2005 Ted Cantle's follow-up report, *Community Cohesion: A new framework for race and diversity* (Cantle, 2005), acknowledged cultural distinctiveness to be a given, but questioned how much of it was acceptable and in what form. I used ethnic identity, and mechanisms with the potential to constrain or facilitate it, to examine this question.

A northern town in England

My research is also influenced by a similar study, conducted in Bradford in the 1970s by Muhammad Anwar (Anwar, 1977). Anwar found that integration of Pakistanis was limited, due both to external constraints, such as prejudice and discrimination, and to internal cultural norms of behaviour and pressure to conform. He asked what processes strengthened ethnic social group identity; what was happening in ethnic communities, at the time; which groups maintained their original ethnic characteristics and which drew away from their origins; how far the Pakistani community was transplanting its

culture in Britain; and how kinship and friendship networks determined a dominant pattern of activity in fields of social action among Pakistanis. He concluded by saying that further research was needed. Four decades later I returned to some of the issues he raised, and broadened my research by considering how other local Asian communities have adapted to life in Britain, that is those of Indian origin and Sikh and Hindu faith, and how the migration legacy is impacting second and third generation British born descendants.

The immigrant's duty to integrate

My primary focus on Bradford's Asian communities - note my deliberate use of the plural - is justified by the Council of Europe's third key integration area; that is the duty of the immigrant (Directorate of Social and Economic Affairs, 1997).

Primary and secondary research questions: this focus led to my primary research question: what factors, or mechanisms, inherent in ethnic social group identity and elaborated by the term *distance of the heart*, may have shaped the experience of integration of the Asian communities in Bradford? Because I adopted a grounded theory approach (Bryman, 2001), my secondary questions emerged from the data, as research progressed. They are:

1. To what extent may an enduring sense of home in country of origin and sense of belonging elsewhere, have impacted the development of sense of home in Britain and sense of belonging here for Bradford's Asian communities. This is explored in Chapter 6.
2. To what extent, and in what way, may the so-called parallel living of the Asian communities in Bradford have challenged their meaningful (as in the sense of being more than superficial) integration into the District? This is explored in Chapter 6.
3. To what extent may religion, or religious affiliation, have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford? This is explored in Chapter 7.

4. To what extent may the continued widespread use of heritage languages have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford? This is explored in Chapter 7.
5. To what extent may the persistent, widespread practice of cultural endogamy have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford? This is explored in Chapter 7.
6. To what extent may the persistence of caste and clan allegiances in Bradford's Asian communities have impeded the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford? This is explored in Chapter 7.

There are other angles from which this research could have been approached, for example the duty of the receiving society to integrate with immigrants. In practice, integration likely only occurs when all parties are enthusiastic and receptive. I have tried to mitigate any theoretical deficit of my pre-occupation with minority community responsibility by situating the cohort in Bradford and by identifying mechanisms external to the communities I have studied, which might impact the response of individuals. However, insofar as these external mechanisms are concerned, I have gone no further.

Identity is considered by the Council of Europe to be just one of the core dimensions (concepts) of integration; others being social, economic, culture, and participation in political life – including the right to express one's opinion and beliefs (Directorate of Social and Economic Affairs, 1997 p.5). However, I would argue that identity provides an umbrella concept, and therefore encompasses these other dimensions, rather than being parallel to them. This was the basis on which I approached the cohort - seeking perspective on mechanisms, framed by or arising from their identity, which might constrain their participation in the wider society of Bradford.

Bradford – a model of integration

Significantly, as my research drew to a close, in March 2018 the government announced Bradford would become one of five so-called Integration Areas,⁷ which would pilot plans to encourage stronger cohesion between diverse communities. It is intended this initiative will result in a model, which can be rolled out across the country - placing Bradford at the forefront of the national narrative to 'tackle poor integration and create a stronger, more united Britain' (Ministry of Housing Communities & Local Government, 2018). The new Stronger Communities Together Strategy for Bradford District (2018-2023) aims to develop projects which, among other things, encourage greater interaction, dialogue and understanding between people from different backgrounds (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2018). Interestingly, the new strategy acknowledges that integration is not a one size fits all, endorsing what my cohort repeatedly evidenced (see Chapters 6, 7 & 8).

Integration Programme Lead Zahra Niazi said (interview 20.5.19) that £3 million of government funding was secured to establish 17 projects across the District, which, it is hoped, will help improve employment opportunity, reduce residential segregation and hate crime, and encourage social mixing.

It remains to be seen how this initiative will differ from others, which have gone before,⁸ but the selection of Bradford as a pilot area apparently both recognises the value of the District's past experience of accommodating diverse communities, and reveals a perception that it remains dangerously segregated.

Importantly, this is a view challenged by the cohort – elaborated in their responses in Chapters 6, 7 & 8 – and, consequently, my conclusions.

⁷ The others being Blackburn with Darwen, Peterborough, Walsall and Waltham Forest.

⁸ There is more on this in Chapter 2.

My hypothesis

I will now explain my hypothesis and how during interviewing a cohort member provided the concept which came to represent the essence of my enquiry into the challenge posed by ethnic social group identity to societal cohesion in Bradford: Distance of the Heart.

My hypothesis is that a strong sense of ethnic social group identity (Reicher and Hopkins, 2013), with all its constituent elements, has the potential to govern the development of a sense of wider society identity – so limiting the capacity of cohesion. This seems particularly relevant in places where there are a large number of people, as in Bradford, who consider themselves to belong to the minority(ies), because this generates both a sense of safety in numbers and the practical means of sustaining parallel living (Park, 1928). Importantly, while my research is framed as an investigation of ethnic social group identity, this is, in truth, a simile for the nature of community – including boundary-building mechanisms, drivers of association and in-group membership qualification

Distance of the heart

The pull of home, which underpins ethnic identity, is best exemplified in the term Distance of the Heart. Coined by **Mr C0121**,⁹ during our only interview, on 19.5.06, this describes how he continued to feel the almost overwhelming pull of Kashmir, where he grew up. For him the distance between Britain and Kashmir was like that between two neighbouring villages – such was his sense of connectedness ([no author], 2009). He didn't imagine this distance in terms of mileage or time but rather how close it felt in his heart; there seems no better way than Distance of the Heart to describe how the miles between location and home melt away, when trumped by a measurement of affection.

⁹ The cohort are referred to throughout this study by coded numbers allocated by Bradford Heritage Recording Unit, which conducted research with most of them in the 1980s. There is more about this in Chapter 3. Younger members of the cohort, who did not participate in this earlier research, are identified by their parent's code plus 'S' for son or 'D' for daughter.

I prioritise the idea of Distance of the Heart in my data Chapters (6, 7, 8) – and include it in the title of this thesis - to reflect the important contribution it has made to this research. While it is treated as a mechanism, in its own right, it also, significantly, provides an anchor for most of the other mechanisms, which follow. It becomes a significant parabolic reflector (Directorate of Social and Economic Affairs, 1997 p.36), shortening the distance between cohort members and their various family homelands; reflecting a homing desire (Brah, 2007 p.142), a longing for security and belonging. At the very least, this makes it an important element of the routinized transnational experience (Samad, 2012), but it may be more than that, tugging at the heartstrings not only of people who have migrated but also their descendants who inherit a migration narrative. This sense of belonging to a distant land and distant ancestors makes homeland much more than an intermittent holiday destination, even for younger British born generations; this is supported by cohort members of all ages. But it may also challenge commitment to life in Britain, by providing an alternative – insurance, as cohort members explained, in case everything goes wrong here. Significantly, around 1 million journeys are made by British Pakistanis (for want of a better term) between here and there every year (Warsi, 2018). For all these reasons, Distance of the Heart elegantly encapsulates the enormity of the task, which any policy aimed to encourage societal cohesion in a multicultural environment has to contend with.

What the cohort said

The cohort responses during interviews resulted in three broad thematic areas, outlined in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. In Chapter 6 I identify five mechanisms, or sub-thematic areas, which reflect how the identity of respondents is framed by a cohesive transnational, polydomainal sense of home – routed in more than one location. This overarching sense of identity, capable of spanning space and time – evidenced during conversations with younger cohort members – challenges any idea of contested hybridism. The mechanisms examined in Chapter 6 - the most salient to emerge from my research - are Distance of the Heart (see above); sense of home; sense of belonging; parallel living; and identity. The 28 findings, which result from

these five mechanisms, or thematic areas, are outlined in Chapter 9. Significantly, the cohort evidences the persistence of parallel living in Bradford, religion being the most important distinction. However, how problematic parallel living is is unclear, as lack of inter-cultural engagement may not be a reliable measure of segregation or the quality, as opposed to the degree, of societal cohesion.

In Chapter 7, I reflect on four key mechanisms, or thematic areas, which frame minority community boundary formation: religion; marriage; language; caste and biradari (brotherhood) (Anwar, 1979 p.62). The 22 findings, which result from these four mechanisms, or thematic areas, are outlined in Chapter 9. Significantly, the cohort repeatedly identified religion as a key challenge to social cohesion in Bradford; with most tension between Muslims, and Hindus + Sikhs. This tension facilitates the endurance of ethnic endogamy, with few cohort members prepared to permit or engage in inter-racial marriage. Ethnic endogamy, then, continues to be a powerful boundary marker between Bradford's different Asian communities, and between them and the indigenous community. Heritage language usage, and caste and biradari affiliations, are also important minority community gate-keepers.

In Chapter 8, I reflect on the nature of relationships within the minority communities cohort members identify with. This examination is conducted through consideration of sense of community, and affiliation to exclusive associations, including funeral clubs. In this section I also consider how changing funeral arrangements, for example the increasing practice of burial and scattering of ashes here rather than in the Asian sub-continent, may be impacting sense of identity; friendship and occupation choices; all for one and one for all, a consideration of sense of the collective; and trees and falling apples, a consideration of how views and behaviour of cohort members may be changing over time. The 31 findings, which result from these five mechanisms, or thematic areas, are also outlined in Chapter 9. Sense of community emerged as being inextricably linked to sense of home and sense of belonging, and parallel living as a natural response to the

nature of life in a multicultural environment. Also, significantly, the cohort evidence how their British identity includes their ethnic identity, rather than being separate from it.

Key considerations which help to address my hypothesis

In and out

Cohort members give the impression - to varying degrees in different spheres of life and at different times – of being not entirely here (in Britain) or there (countries of family origin, or within ethnic communities here); sometimes more in, sometimes more out. This applies both to older people born overseas and their children born here. However, they can negate potential for tension, by their skilful navigation of conflicting demands and expectations, and an ability to cherry pick from a kitty of everything available to them. Brocket describes the goal as ‘positioned belonging’, that is the outcome of attempts by the second generation (British born) children of migrants to craft their sense of belonging from all identity sources available from the interplay between feelings for their diaspora community, host land and home land (Brocket, 2020). Importantly, this perpetual navigation may result more in a sustained, and workable, state of flux – which eventually becomes an agreeable norm – rather than anything of major concern.

How agency can negate the negatives of parallel living

While it is relatively easy to determine mechanisms, which frame cohort members’ identity it is more difficult to say how these might impact societal cohesion in Bradford. This is because individuals repeatedly demonstrated how their agency might govern, or indeed facilitate, triggering of the impact of any of the identified mechanisms, for example through the formation of intercultural networking, clubs and associations.

Therefore, referencing the cohort specifically, it can only be said that mechanisms of ethnic social group identity have the potential to significantly constrain wider societal engagement – but only if they are triggered, or, at least, negated. Agential choice can bridge any resulting structural barriers – minimising, or even possibly eliminating, difficulties arising from interaction of

different norms and practices. Significantly, this means, while parallel living is now a fact of life in Bradford, it need not prevent the construction of cohesive society.

Some triggers, with the potential to cause difficulty, are outlined in Chapter 9. They are divided into push triggers - emanating externally and with the potential to alienate minorities – and pull triggers, emanating from within minority communities themselves. Cohort members refer to both types – evidencing how societal cohesion can be impacted.

Moderating our expectations

A more pragmatic view of what integration can achieve, and what cohesion can look like, may help mitigate the impact of difference. What emerges then is not a standard British identity, but one, which embraces distinction – which has vital implications, not just for those in minority communities, but also for how we all see ourselves.

The particular value of my research

Rooting enquiry in the local

With the assistance of the cohort, I am able to satisfy calls for research grounded in local views, which provides understanding of what is happening in communities - specifically factors fostering or impeding engagement between people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. This need was elaborated most recently by Casey (Casey, 2016), but also 10 years earlier in a study by the Rowntree Foundation, which was critical then of investigation in Bradford which lacked empirical foundation and reflected only the views of its authors (Darlow et al., 2005).

Understanding mechanisms of identity

With the assistance of the cohort, I explore mechanisms, which have impacted the formation and maintenance of their identity, and framed their engagement with wider society in Bradford. This is valuable because there has been a change in the nature of the measure of integration (Sobolewska et al., 2015). In the past integration was measured by immigrant educational

achievement, equality in the labour market, and electoral success, but now the public focus is more on lack of immigrant cultural integration – that is commonality of values and lifestyles, loyalty to their new country, and self-segregation. This change marks a transfer of focus from immigrant attainment to immigrant agency and a move away from actions to be taken by the host society to facilitate integration to the responsibility of the immigrant to integrate – mirroring the Council of Europe consideration, mentioned earlier. Separate ethnic and common national loyalty is seen as being mutually exclusive (Sobolewska et al., 2015) – equating to a symbiotic relationship of inverse proportionality. Reflecting this development, my study focuses on cultural aspects of identity within Bradford's Asian communities.

While there is a raft of literature on ethnic community identity my work contributes to the narrative by seeking deep understanding of the mechanisms which impact its construction and maintenance and how it may facilitate exclusionary association behaviour, impacting cohesion. This contributes to what Taylor & Moghaddam describe as the limited understanding of the 'fundamental psychological motives' underlying the desire for assimilation or heritage-culture maintenance (Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994 p.190).

This is explored in Chapter 4, where I explain how I used a Critical Realist approach (Bhaskar, 2008) to search for deep understanding of mechanisms underpinning structures in Bradford's Asian communities, which can construct and maintain aspects of ethnic identity, and have the potential to resist societal cohesion

Accommodation of other migrant groups

Hodson & Hewstone warn that intergroup contact represents one of the most pressing concerns for academics and policy makers in the 21st century (Hodson and Hewstone, 2012 p.10). By 2050 the proportion of British residents who are members of a minority group is projected to rise to around 38%, from 16% in mid-2012 (Social Integration Commission, 2015). Meaningful social interaction - described as being where conversations go

beyond surface friendliness; where people exchange personal information and share common goals and/or interests; and friendships are sustained long-term (Commission on Integration & Cohesion, 2007 p.111) – is allied to a sense of well-being, which, in turn, helps foster further community connection. This research, with Bradford's long-established Asian communities, contributes to knowledge, which may prove useful to the accommodation of other immigrant/minority groups in Britain. That this research is focused on Bradford is especially relevant given that the city is described as being one of the key places in the UK, possibly in Europe, where relationships between populations of Muslims and non-Muslims will be worked out in the future (Carling, 2008).

Challenging the challenge of parallel living

When I explored how, and to what extent, cohort members could be said to be living parallel lives, an immediate difficulty emerged – that is how to determine characterisation of the reference point for this so-called parallel living (Crul, 2016). While there is a raft of literature on parallel living, and much focus on its implications for societal cohesion – particularly over the past 20 years or so since the publication of the turn of the century reports (mentioned above) – my work contributes to the narrative by identifying mechanisms, with the assistance of the cohort, that evidence how parallel living per se need not challenge cohesion.

Feeling truly, truly British

Published in 2013, the British Social Attitudes survey (Park et al., 2013) identified nine key requirements for someone to be considered British; that is: have British citizenship; be able to speak English; to respect Britain's political institutions and laws; to have been born here; to have lived here most of one's life; to be a Christian; to have British ancestry; to share customs and traditions; and to feel British. The first three can be described as civic (formal) dimensions, the other six as ethnic dimensions. The survey found that six of these nine attributes were seen as being 'very' or 'fairly' important by around at least three quarters of people; the exceptions being: having British ancestry, sharing customs and traditions, being a Christian.

While there was little difference between the 2013 survey and the previous NatCen survey on national identity ten years earlier, the importance of being able to speak English had increased by a significant 10% (NatCen, 2014). Two thirds of people continue to attach importance to both ethnic and civic aspects of national identity, but around one third tend to think of national identity only in civic terms. Interestingly, nearly nine in ten older people (those born before 1945) have a civic and ethnic view of British national identity, compared to six in ten of those born between 1945-1964, and five in ten amongst those born post 1964. In this latter group, 40% view British national identity only in civic terms, compared to just 13% of the pre-1945 group.

NatCen concludes this means that over time the importance attached to ethnic factors in thinking about national identity may decline – as older generations die out and are replaced by generations less likely to think of Britishness as being dependent on, for example, birth, ancestry and sharing customs and traditions.

Through expanding the cohort to include children and grandchildren of original BHRU interviewees, an interesting dichotomy emerges. While older cohort members, born overseas, have understandably pragmatically prioritised civic aspects of their British identity – devoid as they were of the ethnic – their British born children are now in possession of most of the ethnic attributes. However, somewhat ironically, this appears to be occurring exactly when ethnic dimensions are generally becoming less important prerequisites for British national identity. It is particularly interesting to note that feeling British is categorised as an ethnic dimension of national identity, meaning its importance may also be expected to wane.

Notwithstanding, insofar as the equation of inverse proportionality is concerned, it is still useful to distinguish between sense of felt belonging and sense of more formal (civic) belonging, including possession of a British passport (Goodhart, 2013 p.302). Last captures this distinction in his comparison of hermeneutic (meaning interpretation) and cognitive reflexivity,

the former revealing the essence of shared (felt) attachment, the latter, a sense of belonging rooted in bureaucratic (formal) institutions (Lash, 1994 in Hussain and Bagguley, 2015). It is the ethnic dimension of identity, which epitomises the idea of Distance of the Heart (see above), but the civic dimension, which provides its reference point and the means of facilitating felt identity. In a sense, therefore, cohort members can continue to identify with their ethnicity because they are British; it follows then that their British identity includes their ethnic identity. This has significant implications for the identity of the rest of us, requiring that we consider how our own identity is impacted by the presence of minority communities.

My methodology

As mentioned above I conducted this research with the assistance of a cohort of 18 people, and ground my enquiry and conclusions in their responses. My approach is ethnographic and qualitative; my interviewing style best described as directed conversation. My initial questioning was informed by the findings of a changing identities study, conducted for the Policy Studies' Institute in 1994 (Modood et al.). This found a 'marked difference' between first and second-generation responses; that community language fluency was related to ethnicity; that religion provided rules and moral structure; and that marriage was a principle way of drawing and maintaining ethnic boundaries. Perhaps, most importantly for my research, the earlier study determined how:

People...seek some psychological security in affirming an alternative identity to the one they are being excluded from, and a solidarity with a culture or community that they know something of and that is part of their biography, even if it is not an accurate description of their current way of living...By asserting a valued non-white identity and demanding some respect for it, minorities seek to bestow some status upon themselves.

The Changing Identities study became an important motivation for the direction of my enquiry, evidenced by the emergent thematic areas – outlined above – which I analysed in my data chapters (6, 7 & 8).

I underpin my ethnographic approach with critical realism, searching for deep, thick data to explain how mechanisms comprising ethnic identity can challenge cohesion (Bhaskar, 2008), and how agential choice may overcome structural tendencies to constrain societal engagement (Archer, 2003). I also adopt a Life Course Dynamics approach - in order to contextualise the cohort geographically and historically, and ensure a naturalistic, whole-cloth perspective (Elder, 1985a) - and utilise person-centred counselling strategies, of empathy, congruence and unconditional positive regard, during interviewing (Rogers, 2001). There is more on my methodology in Chapter 4.

Terminology

Bradford District

I sometimes shorten Bradford District to Bradford, but in practice this term also refers to the surrounding area, including the nearby town of Keighley, where **Mr C0127K** lives. There is more on the composition of the District in Chapter 3.

Asian communities

The plural term Asian communities is used to reflect the non-homogenous nature of the South Asian communities in Bradford (Hussain and Bagguley, 2005 p.412). The term Asian was used for the first time in 2001 census, for people of the Indian subcontinent, notably Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups, and East African Asians – although others, such as Sinhalese, Sri Lankans and Tamils, were also included in the census categorisation (Aspinall, 2002). However, South Asian refers to the Indian sub-continent; it is more precise than Asian (Hussain, 2000). I use this term primarily to describe people whose families came to Bradford from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, although in the cohort there are only people of Pakistani and Indian heritage.

Identity

That is, the total sum of essential attributes and constituent parts of an individual (Klapp, 1969 in Hussain, 2000).

Social identity

Social identity is defined as ‘...that part of the individuals’ self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership,’ (Tajfel, 2010; 1982). Social identity matters because it provides a prism through which we perceive the world, experience events, decide how to act, and understand our relationships to other people. It tells us who is and who is not of us, who is for us, and who is against us; and it constitutes collectivities and guides collective action. It is, therefore, a social force capable of shaping the nature of society (Reicher and Hopkins, 2013).

Ethnic group

An ethnic group is defined as a community whose heritage offers important characteristics in common between its members and which makes them distinct from other communities (Modood et al., 1997). More generally, Brown describes a group as being a source of social identity, contributing in a major way to our sense of who we are; providing a sense of common fate; involving the existence of formal or implicit social structure; involving people in face to face interaction with each other (Brown, 2001).

Ethnic identity

There is a distinction to be made between ethnic identity – that is sense of ethnic consciousness – which is persistent and ongoing, across different generations and within different contexts (environments) and cultural identity – that is shared values, beliefs, traditions, history, behaviour – which change over time, due to contact and the impact of different contexts (Hussain, 2000). This enables British cultural identity to include Asian (and other minority communities) ethnic identity.

Minority

A wide range of terminology is used to describe, in a collective or overarching context, the segment of the population which encompasses people who belong to minority ethnic groups (Aspinall, 2002). The most common are ethnic minority and minority ethnic. The first is utilised in this study, not intending in any way to imply inferiority, but rather only relative community size. Hussain says overwhelmingly the identity of minorities is influenced by the immigration process – especially their new status as a minority, compared to their previous status, within the Majority, in their homeland (Hussain, 2000).

Community cohesion

The term community cohesion is a highly contested, challenging concept, meaning different things to different people. In its Community Cohesion and Inclusion framework Bradford Council describes community cohesion as a means of ‘...building a shared vision and values and a sense of belonging for all within a culturally rich and diverse environment.’ The aim was for Bradford to become, ‘...a place where people from different backgrounds and communities are valued, and can live together in mutual respect, understanding and tolerance’ (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2009). But as well as a tool, community cohesion can be seen as the outcome of endeavour, I would contest not only in its own right but also for the earlier multicultural approach. When community cohesion is referred to in this research I distinguish between minority community cohesion and wider societal cohesion.

Conclusion

In this Chapter I have introduced my hypothesis and the direction of my research, importantly, explaining how conclusions are premised on cohort responses.

In Chapter Two, Literature Review: The greatly exaggerated reports about the death of multiculturalism, I explore literature, which framed my engagement with the cohort.

In Chapter Three, Context: *No one is an Island: the enduring quest for contact and communication*, I explore the current and historical context of Bradford, situating the cohort.

In Chapter Four, Methodology: *Ways and Means: weaving knowledge from personal narrative*, I explain how I recruited the cohort and the approach I used to engage with them and analyse their responses.

In Chapter Five, Introducing the cohort: *Direction of travel: gravitating towards a theory of relativity*, I profile first the cohort as an entity and then individual cohort members.

In Chapter Six, First data chapter: *Mind the gap: bridging the space between here and there*, I explore cohort responses in five thematic areas (mechanisms): distance of the heart, sense of home, sense of belonging, parallel living, and identity. These thematic areas combine to reveal a trans-national sense of home, which extends beyond the local and the present.

In Chapter Seven, Second data chapter: *The art of feeling comfortable: instruments which orchestrate engagement*, I explore cohort responses in four thematic areas: religion, marriage, language, and caste & biradari. These thematic areas can inform, frame, facilitate and constrain identity and Asian communities' engagement in Bradford.

In Chapter Eight, Third data chapter: *Mixing it up: the home we build together*, I explore cohort responses in five thematic areas, which reflect the nature of relationships within the minority communities in Bradford. These thematic areas are: sense of community; associations; friendship and occupation; all for one and one for all; and frees and falling apples.

In Chapter Nine, Conclusion: *Back to the future: rescuing the baby from the bathwater*, I review the contribution of the previous chapters; reflect on how there is a return to a prioritisation of commonality over diversity; consider

how the multicultural approach may yet prove useful; outline my key findings and conclusions; evaluate the contribution of my research; and make suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review.

The greatly exaggerated reports about the death of multiculturalism.

Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this research was framed by three reports, which were published 20 years ago; namely the Parekh Report (Runnymede Trust, 2000), The Ouseley Report (Ouseley, 2001); and the Cattle Report (Cattle, 2001). Since I have already examined these reports, I will simply record here that they became instrumental in directing my earlier research, entitled *How can theories of intergroup relations add to an understanding of conflict in Bradford within the framework of Azar's model of Protracted Social Conflict* (Wall, 2003). At that time I concluded that more work was needed to explore how the ethnic minorities in the District, in particular those with South Asian heritage, perceived their identity as time passed. This conclusion, then, led directly to this current work.

I have also mentioned two older reports, which were invaluable to this study, that of Mohammad Anwar's 1977 thesis, *A sociological study of Pakistanis in a northern town in England. Sponsorship and patronage in the formation of social networks and the role of ethnicity in the community* (Anwar, 1977) and Modood et al's 1994 study about changing identities (Modood et al., 1994). Both provided insight for the construction of the core questions I would use when approaching members of my cohort. There is more on my methodology in Chapter 4, and the nature and characteristics of the cohort in Chapter 5.

How this chapter contributes to my research questions

Importantly, this chapter explores the emerging literature around so-called superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007b) – which recognises the new kind of cultural complexity emerging in our multicultural towns and cities, including Bradford. This complexity reflects the engagement and dynamic interplay of cultural and demographic variables, capable of creating a constantly fluid and,

potentially, ever-deepening challenge to cohesion; a multi-dimensional layering which signals a one-size fits all approach is not good enough.

Using the superdiversity lens enables identification and more useful consideration of the variables, or mechanisms, which may continue to impede the integration of Asian communities in Bradford - or, at least, encourage an appreciation among their 'members' of the value of the traditional over alternative life styles.

There is more on the contribution of this chapter in Chapter 9.

The evolution of my review of literature

An important point to make here is that because I adopted a grounded theory approach to my research (Bryman, 2001) I allowed my literature review to be directed by data, which emerged from the cohort's responses (see Chapters 6, 7 & 8). While this was a somewhat iterative approach, it was very much, primarily, a process of data leading literature, influencing further engagement with cohort members *ad infinitum*. This approach enabled me to minimise any pre-conceptions I may have had about which literature might or might not be useful; it also permitted surprising literature to emerge, which I may not have anticipated – contributing to my overall analysis methodology. There is more on my methodology in Chapter 4.

I also previously explained how a cohort member inspired the entirely appropriate title of this thesis, *Distance of the Heart*. Importantly, from that elegant description emerged the idea that ethnic identity may challenge cohesion in Bradford. My enquiry, then, was into factors, which might constitute and frame the construction of that ethnic identity, providing the underpinning, or foundation, for any challenge. This search for deep data reflects the critical realist approach I adopted to this study. There is more on this in Chapter 4. These questions are important, says Brah, because they can help to explain people's 'tenacious investment' in notions of identity, community and tradition (Brah, 1992). However, it's also important to keep in

mind that any explanation may be fleeting as identities are never completed, never finished, and always a process (Hall, 1997).

In time, fourteen thematic areas (or factors) emerged out of the 58 hours of interviews I conducted with the cohort, between May 2006 and November 2009. Their responses inspired my continuous review of relevant literature throughout this period, and beyond, until I completed my thesis in August 2018. The thematic areas, and their associated literature, in which the cohort responses are respectfully embedded, became known as: distance of the heart (reflecting the title); a sense of home; a sense of belonging; parallel living; identity; religion; marriage, language; caste & biradari (brotherhood); sense of community; associations (including Muslim funeral clubs and death ritual); friendship and occupation: all for one and one for all (collectivism v individualism); trees and falling apples (generational relationships and change). Faithful to the grounded theory approach, the cohort responses became indivisible from the literature they are embedded in, and vice versa. Together they offer a much more comprehensive picture of local experience + theoretical knowledge, than either could have achieved alone. There is more on each of these thematic areas in Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

In the next chapter, I provide a profile of Bradford, in order to offer an understanding of the context, which situates the lives of cohort members. Exploring the policy narrative contributes to that contextualisation.

Exploring the development of the policy narrative is also important because it came to direct my later engagement with the cohort, in response to their insight during early interviews. In this regard the superdiversity perspective is particularly relevant, because it best reflects the varied nature of the cohort's inter-cultural engagement, across different aspects of their lives. I return to literature on superdiversity below.

Informed by the turn of the century reports of Parekh, Cantle and Ouseley (see previous chapter), the primary intention of this research was then to consider factors which might contribute to the so-called parallel living they

described in northern towns, including Bradford, which might constrain or hinder the integration of post-migrant Asian communities, and individuals therein, with wider society. In this way, the thematic areas, which emerged from the cohort responses, can be seen as factors, which offer insight into how the cohesion project might be hindered in areas of multicultural superdiversity, like Bradford.

Throughout our engagement, the cohort demonstrated the presence of a tangible and ongoing sense of what might be described as the *call of home* - characteristic of distance of the heart, hence this thesis title - experienced not only by those who migrated but also, importantly, their children and grandchildren. Nevertheless, younger members of my cohort expressed views which reflect Ballard's finding, nearly 30 years ago, that the so-called rising generation is acutely aware of how much they differ from their parents and the surrounding majority population, and how strongly they are committed to 'ordering their own lives on their own terms' (Ballard, 1994 p.34). During our conversations we were able to explore whether, how and to what extent this sense of home was sustained, for example, through local and national kinship ties in this country; family relationships in Pakistan and India; the ongoing normalisation of traditional practice, religion and language; and the exclusivity of kinship clubs and association.

There is more on this in the three data Chapters, 6, 7 and 8.

A case of life after death

During the evolution of my research – over a long period of time, from 2003 - 2018 – the national, and consequently, local rhetoric around the integration of migrants and post-migrant communities changed, from one of multiculturalism to cohesion. This is reflected in the sub-title of my thesis, originally intended to be *How ethnic social group identity may challenge multiculturalism*. I changed multiculturalism to cohesion, partly in response to the new focus on cohesion, but also because I came to understand, as a result of what the cohort told me, that seeing multiculturalism as the goal was suspect. Rather, cohesion – embedded in a community of unity - had been

the goal all long, multiculturalism only being the tool to achieve it. Cautiously as a result, in Chapter 9 I advise against *throwing the baby out with the bathwater* – especially since any super-ordinate community comprised of sub-ordinate communities (and individuals) – following Parekh - necessarily implicates the diversity of its construct. Multiculturalism then becomes, I conclude, a verb, a way of achieving if you will, the noun, or the outcome of cohesion (community).

This thought appears to narrow much of the discussion, academic or otherwise, which has occurred over the past decade, following the declaration, in 2004, by the then Head of the Commission for Racial Equality Trevor Phillips, that multiculturalism was dead (Phillips et al., 2004). There has been a raft of literature on both multiculturalism and cohesion since this declaration, further stoked by British Prime Minister David Cameron's speech at the Munich Security Conference in 2011 (Cameron, 2011). Generally the debate is polarised, between those who think multiculturalism was always doomed, those who think, like Phillips, it has *had its day*, and those for whom, including me – influenced by cohort responses (see below) – who think there is yet life left in it. Those of the latter persuasion may be concerned that there appears to be an absence of a constructive alternative approach to community-building; that community cohesion is ill-conceived - see Singh's *Age of Confusion* in Chapter 3; and that there is, anyway, little discernable difference between the approaches of multiculturalism and cohesion. Below I will consider some of these conflicting views, but, before doing that, I want to situate this debate within the more long term migrant assimilation/integration frame provided by Jenkins, Rose and Parekh. This will further assist in contextualising the cohort, within its historical perspective.

The journey of three wise men

This story begins in 1962 with the appointment, by the Institute of Race Relations, of former British intelligence officer, journalist and campaigner Jim Rose to direct a five-year study into race relations in post-war Britain. This seminal study - published in 1969 as *Colour and Citizenship. A report on*

British race relations - warned of increasingly separate, self-sufficient communities (Rose and associates, 1969). Referring to Bradford specifically, the report spoke of sub-groups within the Pakistani community divided by regional identity, village and kinship groups and religious affiliation.

The report also contained an early prediction – later echoed by Bradford Council's 1981 study *Turning Point* ((CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1981)) – that there were signs the, then, new communities from the Asian sub-continent were not following the paths of economic and geographical dispersal of previous immigrants (ibid p.677)¹⁰. The report recommended policy to ensure equality under the law; measures designed to 'compensate' minorities for disadvantages 'peculiar to them,' rather than coercion into abandonment of their identity, culture and customs. In doing so it added to the new approach - first elaborated by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins three years earlier – which would culminate in the development of the multicultural approach in the 1980s.

Jenkins made his landmark speech in May 1966 at a meeting of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants. Providing what was probably the first definition of the goal of integration, he warned of the cost of racial discrimination and described what the government had to do to promote racial equality (Lester, 1967). His words not only effectively launched Britain's multicultural approach but also led directly to development of the 1976 Race Relations Act.

Importantly, Jenkins saw integration not as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture, nor the need for a melting pot, which would '...turn everybody out in a common mode...' but rather as provision of equal opportunity and cultural diversity...in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (Lester, 1967). It is difficult to see how the goal of cohesion today would be any different, regardless of how the terminology may have changed along the way.

¹⁰ There is more about *Turning Point* in Chapter 1, and Chapter 3.

The year before publication of the 800-page Colour and Citizenship report Rose co-founded, with politician Anthony Lester, the think tank the Runnymede Trust, as an educational charity opposed to racial discrimination (Lester, 2006). In the 1990s the role of the Trust shifted, from providing interpretive papers to working more closely with government in an advisory capacity (Jisc Archives Hub, no date), and in 1998 it commissioned a two year study which culminated in publication of *The Future of Multiethnic Britain*, under the Chairmanship of Lord Bhikhu Parekh - hence commonly known as the Parekh Report (Runnymede Trust, 2000).

It is important to consider the roots of multicultural policy in Britain for two reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates the durability of the approach, the death of which, rightly or wrongly, was pronounced 38 years after Jenkins' speech. And, secondly, it forms the national narrative, which provides the backdrop to the arrival of the older members of my cohort in Britain – the first arriving in 1962, followed by a further 10 between 1963-68 and one in 1974.

The Future of Multiethnic Britain, which was published in 2000, can be seen as an audit of policy, which had framed the lives of older cohort members, who migrated to Britain, and those of their British born children. The aim of the study, which could have come straight out of the Rose report, was to analyse the state of the country, to propose ways of countering racial discrimination and disadvantage, and make Britain a vibrant multicultural society at ease with its rich diversity (Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.1). The similarity of its goal to that of the earlier report seems to both challenge any assumed success thus far without offering a vastly different vision. In Chapter 3 I explore the local narrative framing the lives of the cohort – the metamorphosis from multiculturalism to equality to cohesion. Importantly, Bradford jettisoned multiculturalism, in favour of equality, ten years before Parekh published, and nearly 15 before Phillips announced its demise. This may demonstrate how the local can be more responsive than the national; it may also demonstrate how Bradford is, in these matters, at the *cutting edge*.

But if the goal remained the same, cohesion, the methodology had changed. There was a clear move away from the old mantra that ethnic minority communities should celebrate their diversity, and, in the process, some backtracking on Jenkins' earlier promise about what integration would mean. The shift was subtle, no one was denying the right of communities to continue to express their particular distinctiveness, but now the narrative demanded more '...interacting and overlapping' – what became known as a super-ordinate community of communities and individuals (Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.11). The essential task, the report said:

...is to move away from multicultural drift to a purposeful process of change...Many reforms are needed to convert multicultural drift into a concerted drive towards a Britain with a broad framework of common belonging...(Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.11).

Importantly, Parekh said, cultural diversity should continue to be cherished and celebrated, but a balance had to be struck between cohesion, equality and difference; effort had to be made to engender a sense of common belonging, to be part of and to be accepted. Referring to the Vienna Declaration, from the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, Parekh said that while:

...minorities have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess their own religion, and to use their own language in private and [importantly] public, freely and without prejudice of any form of discrimination...(Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.94).

A society, he said, "...has the right to prevent practices that would lead to its disintegration or change it into a different kind of society..." (Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.52)

However, the report's acknowledgement that no society is static, its survival requiring it to continually define its identity and modify its customs and

practices, may have both offered useful wriggle room for change, while also mudding the waters, so far as what Britain expected of its minority communities.

Within months Bradford Council published its first significant race review for 20 years, the Ouseley Report, *Community Pride not Prejudice* (Ouseley, 2001). It painted a picture of a fragmented district with communities polarised along social and religious lines. See the previous chapter and following chapter for more about the context and impact of the Ouseley Report.

What a difference a decade makes

Before moving on to examine literature which has informed debate over the past 20 years or so, I want to briefly explore how the Parekh Report was viewed in 2010, ten years after its publication. This can be done by considering two events that year, firstly the Runnymede Panel at Surrey University's Cronem Conference, *Living Together. Civic, Political and Cultural Engagement among Migrants, Minorities and National Populations: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (29-30 June), and five months later the 5th Jim Rose lecture at the London School of Economics, where Lord Parekh was the key note speaker.

Parekh was not present at the Cronem Conference but contributed to the event programme. He said, with hindsight, that his report should have placed more emphasis on integration and made a stronger case for cultural diversity and what minority communities could do for themselves. The focus, he said, had been too heavily on how British society could accommodate ethnic minorities. Equal citizenship or equal rights and opportunities formed the basis of a liberal and stable society, he said, but that was not enough – a modern, democratic society also had to foster a sense of common belonging. It is this sense of belonging which, Weeks says:

... at its most basic it gives you a sense of personal location, and the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your social

relationships, your complex involvement with others (Weeks, 1990).

Interestingly, panellist Tariq Modood, who was an advisor to the Parekh Commission, said that had the report been published post 9:11¹¹ it would have been different; there would have been more focus on integration, “We took commonality for granted but post 9:11 we would not have done that,” he said (Modood, 2010b). After the attack in New York, and disturbances in northern towns the same year, including Bradford, Modood said the government tried to ‘rebalance multiculturalism.’

Speaking at the Jim Rose lecture, later that year, Lord Parekh referred to the extensive literature his report had spawned, and, contrary, to other commentators he said that multiculturalism did not have to result in fragmentation of society – rather the opposite, because the idea behind it was to ease the transition of minority culture and facilitate their integration into wider society. This seems to reflect the Jenkins’ approach of over 40 years earlier (Parekh, 2010).

He defended multiculturalism, saying it had served Britain well, but called for a better way of balancing the demands of unity and diversity (Parekh, 2010). Lord Parekh’s take on multiculturalism is at odds with the view that as a policy it did more harm than good, leading to a wider gap between the indigenous host society and ‘immigrant’ communities. With regard to the claim, by then, that multiculturalism was dead, Lord Parekh said some people who refused to use the term just ended up ‘...recommending the same kind of policies as the multiculturalist.’ This is a point made by Singh in this thesis, in Chapter 3 (Singh, 2001). The challenge, he said, was how to create a Britain in which the spirit of civic partnership and identity and common belonging goes hand in hand with respect for diversity.

¹¹ When the attack on the Twin Towers in New York occurred History.com editors (2019) *September 11 Attacks*. A&E Television Networks. Available from: <https://www.history.com/topics/21st-century/9-11-attacks> (Accessed 22 Apr 2020).

Local perspectives

In May the following year (2011), the Consortia of Ethnic Minority Organisations (CEMO) hosted a *Discussing Multiculturalism* seminar in Bradford, as part of its Community Cohesion Programme. This seminar became important to this research because, along with the views of the cohort (elaborated in chapters (new) 6, 7 & 8), it helped satisfy my intention to ground my understanding in what I was told was happening in local communities, rather than providing – as Rowntree advised against – a rehash of existing studies (Darlow et al., 2005).

The aim of the seminar was to explore whether multiculturalism and faith were hindering cohesion in the city. The day before, the seminar generated an energised online debate in the local newspaper (Baker, 2011) – including these two contrasting views:

Multiculturalism is working and I am all for this summit, more talking is what is needed for further progress.

Multiculturalism doesn't work and never has worked, ever since it was named it has been doomed to failure...there has been no attempt to get on.

These comments reflect the inherent difficulty of multiculturalism (cohesion); how it is experienced in different ways, making it difficult to determine what needs to be done and how to measure its success.

Chairing the seminar, CEMO's Chief Executive, Mohammed Salam, said whenever central government wanted to know anything about multiculturalism they turned to Bradford. This meant people in the District were not living their lives only for themselves but also for those outside. He challenged the notion that multiculturalism had not been effective, saying while it may not have produced what was expected the District had a very positive history of intercultural interaction. However, local activist, Naweed Hussain, was more cautious, saying that while Bradford was considered a role model for multiculturalism, "...this does not mean we have the perfect

model.” Panellist, Reverend Canon Dr Arun John, Chair of Bradford District Faiths’ Forum, said he doubted whether Bradford could ever become truly multicultural, “...because we all live with our [own] cultures and colour...”

The Bradford seminar came just three months after British Prime Minister David Cameron’s speech at the Munich Security Conference, when he lamented the divisive failures of multiculturalism (Cameron, 2011). He said:

We have allowed the weakening of our collective identity. Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We’ve failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they [British-born terrorists] want to belong. We’ve even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values... This hands-off tolerance has only served to reinforce the sense that not enough is shared...

Cameron’s words served to fan the fire, which Trevor Phillips helped to set some seven years earlier (Phillips et al., 2004).

Multiculturalism, the root of all evil?

This was the question posed by Rob Berkeley, Director of the Runnymede Trust, following David Cameron’s speech in Munich (Berkeley, 2011). He said the widespread political view that multiculturalism had encouraged the living of separate lives, is *an old chestnut*. The real problem, he said, was that multiculturalism meant different things to different people, some believe it promotes separate and religious identities at the expense of common values, while others believe it means the existence and recognition of different identities in a shared political space within a framework of human rights (the Runnymede view). Referring specifically to Cameron’s speech, Berkeley said:

...[he] has failed to offer any credible alternative to multiculturalism. He speaks of the importance of collective identity, of common British values, but does not outline how these values will be determined, and who will decide that these values are...multiculturalism has been a convenient whipping boy (Berkeley, 2011).

This, says Singh, has resulted in an Age of Confusion (see Chapter 3), when the failure – or limited success – of old-style multicultural policy is lamented, but no one knows what to replace it with, or how to proceed (Singh, 2001).

A prominent critic of multiculturalism is former Chief Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks. He says multiculturalism created a society where everyone was a hotel guest; nobody was 'at home;' and where every ethnic and religious group became a pressure group putting its own people's interest ahead of the national interest (Sacks, 2013).

This led, says Sacks, to lack of emotional investment in society building, and a drift away from activity in the national interest. To govern this drift Sacks advocates the construction of a covenant society, where diverse communities recognize they can achieve more when they work together - that is integration, without assimilation, prioritisation of the common good – encapsulated in his home-we-build-together model. There is more on this in Chapter 9.

Kundnani says the Cattle report (Cattle, 2001) signalled that the 'multicultural settlement' which dominated race relations thinking in Britain for two decades was no longer working – the summer riots of 2001 in towns in the north of England providing a wake up call, and the terror attack in New York the same year, the death knell for multicultural policy (Kundnani, 2002). He described the Cattle report as the government's blueprint for community cohesion, its 'race manifesto,' which provided a new formula, in which the separate cultural development that had been encouraged for decades would be subsumed by a new set of core values which would require greater

acceptance of the principal of national institutions. However, although he identified the Cantle report as a kind of turning point, he was critical of its detail, describing its local solutions to segregation as 'banal;' not so much celebrating diversity as kissing and making up – just more neighbourliness (Kundnani, 2002).

Multiculturalism was blamed, say Lentin and Titley, for 'an impressive range of cultural cleavages, social fissures and political dilemmas;' the irony being that it became the central site for coded debates about belonging, race and legitimacy (Lentin and Titley). Singh says cohesion is going the same way, its definition confused by a broad focus on the economy, financial cuts and regeneration, which obscures its true, intended nature (interview 8.9.09). I explore this criticism further in Chapter 3.

The death of multiculturalism, say Lentin and Titley, required the rehabilitative discipline of integration, and a return to confidence in values, without apologies– a jettisoning of everything we don't want (Lentin and Titley). This thought led to the title of my final chapter, *Back to the Future* – reflecting the reprioritisation of community over diversity, of integration without assimilation. In many ways we are back where we were at the end of the 1970s.

Or, are we just heading towards assimilation, in another guise, a more acceptable label? (Vasta, 2007) In Chapter 6 I explore, with the cohort, the nature of the so-called parallel living, identified by the turn of the century reports of Ouseley, Parekh and Cantle, and consider to what extent 'social distancing' can evidence a lack of society cohesion. From their responses, it seems clear that a key factor distinguishing integration from old style assimilation is personal choice.

Vasta says in the Netherlands there's been a discernable shift from multiculturalism to assimilation – the result of widespread moral panic about immigration and ethnic diversity (Vasta, 2007). The new policies are designed, she says, to ensure immigrant integration, even if this involves

coercive measures. This marks a significant move, says Banting & Kymlicka, away from the multiculturalism the Netherlands had been practising since the mid-1990s (Banting and Kymlicka, 2004). It seems to me, based on my findings in this research, that the UK is on the same trajectory.

Key questions immigrants must ask themselves, say Van de Vijver et al, are, do I find it important to maintain positive relationships with my original culture? And, do I find it important to maintain a positive relationship with other cultures and mainstream society (Van de Vijver et al., 2006). Answers, they say, can only be yes or no, and there are only four possible outcomes:

- Integration – which amounts to the combination of maintenance of the original culture and adaptation to the host culture – also known as bi-culturalism
- Separation – also known as segregation or exclusion – in which immigrants maintain good relationships with their ethnic culture and do not find it important to adapt to the host society
- Assimilation – in which immigrants fully adapt to the mainstream society and gradually lose their ties with the ethnic culture
- Marginalisation – also known as individualism – in which immigrants do not find it important to have good relationships with either group.

But, the cohort responses, in Chapters 6, 7 & 8, seem to indicate that the situation is more nuanced than this, with different areas of their lives indicating different acculturation orientations. This reflects the complexity of superdiversity, explored below. Importantly, in Chapter 8, *Trees and Falling Apples*, the cohort identifies different ways in which intergenerational shifts in attitudes are evident in their families. How mothers and children can have different first languages and cultures; how middle generations act as conduits between parents and children; and how children are striving to balance finding their own way while retaining respect for traditional norms and values.

As a baseline for successful multiculturalism, Berry and Kalin say, there are five core conditions which society must satisfy (Berry and Kalin, 1995).

- There should be respect for the uniqueness of all cultures and unity – that is a sense of belonging to the wider, plural society. There is more on the cohort's sense of belonging (along with sense of home) in Chapter 6.
- Support for the ideology of multiculturalism, which requires contact between ethnic groups and agreement that they should maintain their culture. As the cohort responses indicate, in Chapters 6, 7 & 8, contact between different ethnic groups in Bradford, originating from the Asian sub-continent, continues to be problematic.
- Tolerance for all ethnic groups and an absence of discrimination. While legislation enacted over the past 30 years or so has done much to reduce overt prejudice and discrimination (see Chapter 3, appendix 3), some cohort members report having opportunities limited because of their ethnicity, or, importantly, particular clan association – see Chapters 6, 7 & 8.
- Ethnic groups should have positive attitudes towards each other. See reference above to the Parekh Report, in the section entitled *The journey of three wise men*.
- All individuals should feel attached to wider society. At best the cohort seems to indicate, in various ways, that their integration into wider society remains a work in progress. However, they also demonstrate how feeling a sense of attachment to their particular ethnic community does not prevent them feeling attached to wider society. See Chapters 6, 7 & 8.

Of particular value to this study, is Kleinpenning's concept of ethnic hierarchy – that is the idea that some ethnic groups may be 'placed' further away from the ingroup than others, on the basis of their characteristics (Kleinpenning, 1993). Groups, or communities, with characteristics in common with the ingroup will likely be evaluated more positively than groups without commonality. And, importantly, in a multicultural environment, says Kleinpenning, this equation can be multiplied over and over – resulting in

relationships between any two or any one and the mainstream host community differing greatly. There is more on this in the next chapter.

This ethnic hierarchy arrangement is important because there is evidence (from the Netherlands) that groups higher in the hierarchy feel more at home, have less discrimination, and have a less positive attitude towards cultural maintenance, than those lower in the hierarchy (Kleinpenning, 1993). The cohort seems to evidence how higher education and status, vis-à-vis membership of high profile organisations (eg to improve race/community relations) and leading community roles (eg Lord Mayor, and Magistrate), might serve to improve the status of the group and/or enable individuals to 'out-perform' their ethnic communities, so far as the hierarchy is concerned.

The premature demise of multiculturalism

Levey provides a useful critique of what has occurred over the past 20 years, with regard to the official move away from multiculturalism, in many Western states (including Britain), to adoption of the community cohesion approach (Levey, 2009). Declaring announcements of multiculturalism's demise to be 'decidedly premature' he says:

....liberal democracies today seem to be in something of a state of limbo regarding multiculturalism; retreating from it in certain policy respects and suspicious of the word, but, at the same time, institutionally and attitudinally reshaped by its commitments and norms; reaching for a new idiom and renewed emphasis on commonality, yet reluctant to quash diversity and re-inscribe brute assimilation (Levey, 2009 p.77).

This is starkly reminiscent of what Singh told me. Levey's claim that the 'boundaries of tolerance' - stretched so far in the past - are now snapping back in the opposite direction, to some unknown future, are a reflection of Singh's description of the Age of Confusion (see Chapter 3).

What is clear, Levey continues, is that the multi in multiculturalism continues to live – the real difficulty being the ‘conundrum of national identity’, which must be part of the multicultural debate (Levey, 2009 p.90). This research aims to contribute to this debate, as I said before, not through a rehash of existing literature, but rather engagement with people whose loyalties might seem, from the outside, to be conflicted.

Modood also questions whether the multicultural approach has had its day, as maintained above by Sacks. Taking the Parekh Report’s challenge as his starting point – that is how to balance the need to treat people equally, but differently (Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.40) - Modood says none of the criticisms of the approach, including how it contributed to disturbances in northern towns or, indeed 9:11, should signal the end of multiculturalism. However, he says, while strong multicultural, or minority identities, ‘are a good thing’ they must be framed by ‘vibrant, dynamic, national narratives; with national identity woven into the debate (Modood, 2008). This, say Kalra et al, poses a persistent challenge; ‘...the impossibility of fulfilling the fantasy of the one-nation-one-people couplet’ (Kalra et al., 2005 p.32); a challenge which requires nothing less than a redrawing of the national community’s lines of inclusion and exclusion (Gilroy, 1993).

This returns us to the community of communities (and individuals) model, mentioned in the previous chapter. The difficulty has always been how to achieve this goal; how to rebalance the political multiculturalism of the 1990s, to achieve what Modood describes as second level multiculturalism - based on national citizenship rather than segregation (Modood, 2010a).

However, Bagguley and Hussain are sceptical about the question of segregation, insofar as it is blamed for the riots in northern towns 20 years ago, saying the tunnel vision focus on ethnicity has, crucially, ignored other kinds of segregation, for example, based on class. They say:

...the official reports have constructed segregation as pathological, as evidence of a dysfunctional community, in

contrast to the integrated community characterised by social cohesion...The theme of segregation directs attention away from economic inequalities, lets the authorities off the hook...and effectively shifts the blame for the riots and the futile search for ultimate causes on to South Asian communities themselves (Bagguley and Hussain, 2006).

Interestingly, this view is somewhat had odds with that of Bhabha who a decade earlier noted that the move away from the 'singularities of class and gender' had resulted in more awareness of other subject conditions - such as gender, generation, location, geo-political locale and sexual orientation, and how they impact identity (Bhabha, 1994 p.1).

I explore questions around segregation, in particular how indicative of a lack of cohesion living on the edge can be, with the cohort in Chapters 7 & 8.

Certainly, the definitions of cohesion appear to be woolly, at best. From the government in 2008, it's described as '...what must happen in all communities to enable different groups of people to get on well together (DCLG, 2009). Again the goals were clear, people from different backgrounds must have similar life opportunities, know their rights and responsibilities; and trust each other and their local institutions to act fairly (DCLG, 2009 p.9). This was to be achieved through a shared future vision and sense of belonging; a focus on what new and existing communities have in common; and strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds.

Although this document was, again, short on detail, it did highlight the Integration and Cohesion Commission's recommendation, from three years earlier, that there should be more understanding of the barriers and opportunities for people mixing or being brought together.

This research strives to contribute, specifically, to that understanding.

Superdiversity

So far as the extent of ethnic variance within the Bradford District is concerned the most useful literature to emerge during this project was that which elaborated the narrative around superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007b). This term was coined in 2007 by Stephen Vertovec to describe a new kind of complexity, which recognised the dynamic interplay of variables, including country of origin (with subset traits, for example, ethnicity, languages, religions, regional and local identities, cultural values and practices); migration channel (including social networks and labour market niches); and legal status. (Vertovec, 2007a). These variables emerged as the 'face of Britain' changed, thanks to the end of Empire, globalisation, and Britain's decline as a world power (Runnymede Trust, 2000). The superdiversity approach became so popular that it was dubbed the new multiculturalism of the 21st century (Foner et al., 2019). It's nuanced methodology is much more useful than the stereotypical blunt instrument of multiculturalism in the last century.

Considering this myriad of variables reveals the true complexity of diversity in a multicultural environment like Bradford, and, by inference, how any one-size fits all approach to cohesive community-building is inadequate. This new approach informed my later interaction with the cohort, as we explored some of the subset traits identified by the Commission, including migration and settlement history; community structure; the nature of transnational engagement; sense of belonging and attachment: and the development of deep and meaningful inter-cultural friendships. The cohort's views on these issues can be found in Chapters 6, 7 & 8.

Because of the transformative diversification of diversity (Hollinger, 1995), which has occurred in Britain since the 1990s, due to the nature of migration, it is no longer enough to see diversity only in terms of ethnicity. This is the challenge inherent in superdiversity.

But, importantly, in a multicultural environment superdiversity also identifies another significant factor impacting cohesion, how inter-cultural relationships

are characterised not just by that between a single ethnic group and the host, but also between ethnic groups. This is something I return to repeatedly throughout this thesis, as cohort members refer to tension between local people of Pakistani and Indian heritage and, particularly, between Hindus and Sikhs and Muslims (more on religion in Chapter 7). There is a limited literature on these, what might be called, horizontal relationships with most academic study focusing on ethnic community-host community-ethnic community engagement, or lack of it. By exploring inter-ethnic community engagement with the cohort I contribute to this field of study.

The presence of a multiplicity of different ethnic communities in one place, such as in Bradford (see my demographic profile in the following chapter), necessarily increases the number of variables to be considered. If anything, this directs us to a kind of superdiversity, distinct from that which exists in a less demographically diverse environment, with fewer different ethnic groups.

There is more on this in Chapter 3, along with two models which elaborate this point – my Common Area Model of liminal space - where meaningful cross-connection dialogue occurs - and my Cohort Impact Matrix, which audits a range of factors with the potential to influence cohort members.

One question critical for this research is does superdiversity lead to the normalisation of diversity or add to hostility to, and conflicts among, those in different ethnic, racial and religious groups? Another, is what impact superdiversity has for the so-called native population? And, a third, how does diversification of diversity affect social life at the local level? (Foner et al., 2019) These three key questions came to direct my engagement with the cohort.

Another issue I explore with the cohort concerns the diversification *within* ethnic groups, especially (though not exclusively) in the second and third generations. See, especially, Chapter 8.

Blommaert and Maly argue that studying superdiversity results in a higher level of analysis (Crul, 2016). This kind of interrogation naturally emerges from the critical realist approach I adopted for this study, where surface data is enhanced by more in-depth, inquisitorial study. There is more on this approach in Chapter 4, where I argue that it is the cohort's tacit knowledge of their experience which can best generate thick data, through the exploration of mechanisms which underpin their diversity.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the literature which emerged from the early responses of the cohort, and which framed my later research as interviewing with them continued.

Of particular interest is the literature on superdiversity, which emerged from 2007 onwards. This literature identifies how diversity cannot be considered as one standard block of difference, rather emphasizing how engagement inter-culturally, in a multicultural environment, will likely occur in different ways and to different degrees in different areas of daily life.

At around the time of the emergence of the superdiversity literature – in 2007 – cohort members were already identifying how they were, indeed, less or more engaged with the Other in different areas of their lives. This is reflected across their responses to be found in my data Chapters, 6, 7 & 8.

Taking the idea of Distance of the Heart - which, as I explained in the previous chapter, was described by one of the cohort - as my starting point, the literature I have reviewed in this chapter, particularly that around superdiversity, led me to explore the interaction between the cohort's so-called call of home and their feeling *at home* in Britain. Adopting a critical realist approach (there is more on this in Chapter 4) I examined with the cohort the mechanisms, or factors, which were framed by this call of home and whether, and in what way, they might constrain emotional investment in life in this country. In the search for effective community-building it is simply not enough to construct policy on the assumption of single units of diversity.

Over the years I consulted a raft of literature, books, academic papers, reports and policy documents, and attended local and national seminars and conferences, which informed my enquiry and helped explain what the cohort was telling me. For obvious reasons it has not been possible to reference all these works, but they have contributed to my understanding and knowledge.

In the next chapter, *No one is an island: The enduring quest for contact and communication*, I profile Bradford District; consider mechanisms which may have impacted – directly or indirectly – cohort identity formation; and review Bradford Council's race relations' approach since 1960.

Chapter Three: Context.

No one is an island:¹²

The enduring quest for contact and communication.

Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw that Archer's morphogenetic approach demands an examination of the nexus between agency and structure - dictating the necessity, if we are to understand experience and behaviour, for exploration of the situational context of the individual. Context is best understood by examining historical, as well as current factors, which may constrain or foster particular responses. In multicultural cities like Bradford, McLoughlin says, this long view is critical for evaluation of the reality of contemporary dilemmas (McLoughlin, 2006). My intention then is to explore the environment where the cohort lives.

How this chapter contributes to my research questions

It is only by considering the cultural context of the environment within which the Asian communities live that one can understand how personal and intra-cultural choices may be impacted – dictated, constrained and fostered – by wider (external) considerations. There is a cyclical re-enforcing of factors (mechanisms), which can make it difficult to determine what becomes the primary instigator of motivation to engage/integrate or, indeed, to remain disengaged – the private, culturally discrete or societal. Importantly, this chapter considers how, in a multicultural environment like Bradford, cohesion may be impacted by the variable quality of meaningful relationships between different ethnic communities. This is less well appreciated than the binary relationship between discrete ethnic communities and the 'host.'

Importantly, in this chapter I consider the ethnographic and demographic profile of Bradford District, demonstrating how it provides for a useful study of

¹² Corruption of 'No man is an island' from Meditation XVII by John Donne. Donne, J. (1624, 1997) *No man is an island - A selection from the prose of John Donne*. London: Folio Society.

this nature. This includes how national identity is perceived (first evidenced by the Census of 2011); the diversity of languages spoken and religions practiced; local levels of deprivation; the state of the local economy; local government cohesion policy; national legislation; and local, national and international events – factors, all of which may have impacted the integration of Asian communities in Bradford. I also consider data on people’s sense of home and belonging, which I explore further in Chapter 6, and how the Asian communities may be changing over time, more in Chapter 8.

In addition to models I borrow from elsewhere, in this chapter I also construct two of my own, my common area model – which demonstrates how the quality of inter-community relationships may be variable - and my cohort impact matrix, which demonstrates how local, national and international factors may impact the cohort, or, at least, its individual members.

Finally, I consider how cohesion can be measured. This is important not only because it is a desire to better understand what constitutes and grows (or stagnates) cohesion that has motivated my enquiry, but also because it demonstrates how fragile and incomprehensible the project may be.

Alongside Chapters 4 & 5, where I introduce the cohort, as a collective, and its individual members, this chapter provides the first of the three pillars underpinning consideration of influential factors (mechanisms) - impacting integration of the Asian communities in Bradford - which emerge later in the data Chapters (6, 7 & 8).

There is more on the contribution of this chapter in Chapter 9.

The value of the cohort

There is a wealth of literature, generated by commentators, researchers and Bradford Council, which can be added to the personal views of the cohort to form an overarching perspective of the multicultural experience in Bradford over the past half century. The views of the cohort are of particular importance - their positioning at the centre of this research in response to

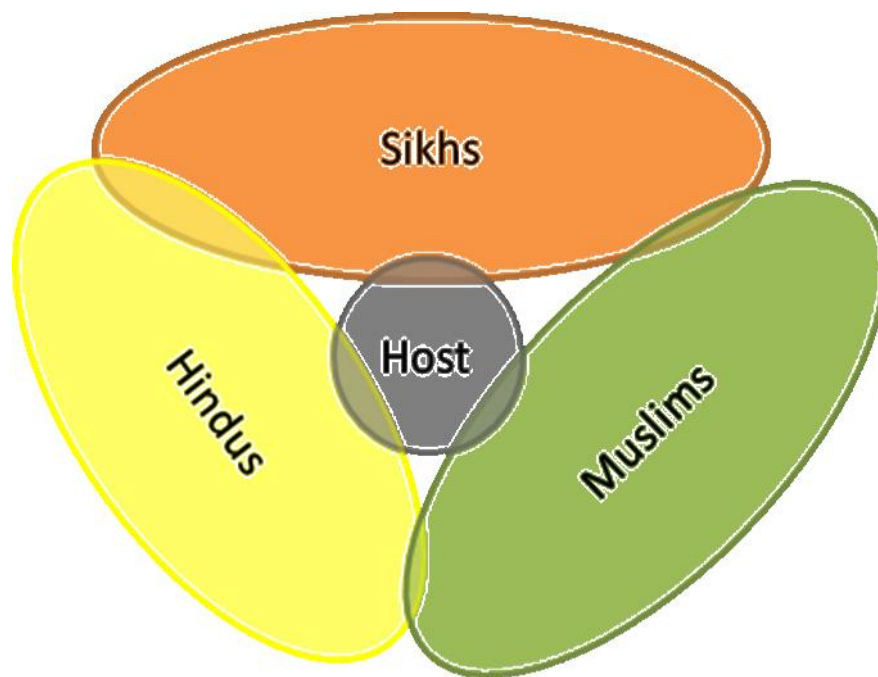
conclusions of a Rowntree study that much investigation in the city lacked empirical foundation, reflecting only the views of its authors (Darlow et al., 2005). This led, say Darlow et al, to cyclical reinforcing of views, without the empirical data to back up conclusions; I wanted to avoid this. I also wanted to explore the interaction between different faith groups within the Asian communities, identified by Darlow as an area largely under-researched. With Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims in my cohort I was able to identify antagonism between the first two communities and the latter – exemplified within the family of **Mrs C0086/2**, whose son relinquished his Hindu faith in order to marry a Muslim.

This tension is likely rooted in a multiplicity of factors – including residual animosity over the terrible events surrounding Indian Partition in 1947; persistent poor relations between India and Pakistan; the perception of Sikhs and Hindus that they are of a higher social class than Muslims; the belief that Bradford's large Pakistani Muslim community has received a disproportionate amount of local and national funding; and linguistic differences. More recently, Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism has fuelled the fire. Azar would identify these as preconditions providing fertile ground for protracted social conflict - making achieving cohesion more problematic (Wall, 2003 p.89).

In a multicultural environment, then, communication is not easy. Relationships between some communities may be better than between others. The baggage each brings to the table, and the willingness to even enter the room, may be affected by who else has been invited. Sikh and Hindu cohort members say they would not object to their children marrying a Christian, or a white person, but several say they would discourage a marriage with a Muslim. Muslim cohort members say they expect their children to marry within their faith, their children feeling this to be a reasonable expectation.

The diagram below depicts the degree of engagement between the Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and host communities in Bradford District. The host is situated

in the centre for convenience, but also represents the avenue through which ethnic groups may be anchored to British society. The overlap between Sikh and Hindu is deliberately greater than that between each of these and the Muslim community. Religious identity is utilised to identify these minority communities, rather than country of origin, because it poses the greatest challenge to their engagement.

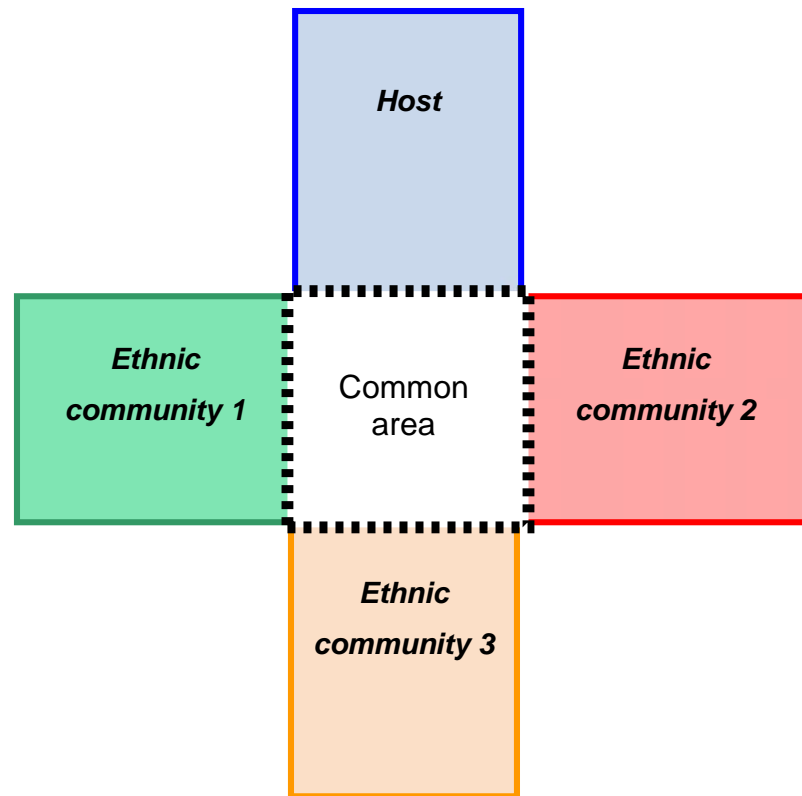


Admittedly, this model oversimplifies, as it does not demonstrate either the myriad of in-groups within each community, or the other minority communities present in Bradford, which are also variously engaged.

Inconsistency in relationships means no standardised approach can be adopted to encourage engagement within the community of communities (Runnymede Trust, 2000) – rather there must be informed tailoring to accommodate the layers of mechanisms which construct barriers or encourage engagement, in order to even reach a level playing field (Walayat, 2008). This requires acceptance that the means may need to be manipulated, involving a degree of inequality, to achieve the desired end.

Finding common ground

My Common Area Model (CAM), below, portrays this inherent challenge by bounding its central intra-space – where meaningful dialogue is encouraged – by flexible distorted lines.



This model is reminiscent of Euler's diagram of overlapping collectivities, each with their own discrete mutually incompatible interactions – that is norms and values – and a central area, where all common or compatible interaction takes place (Buckley, 1967). Importantly, Modood says, engagement with mainstream society may result in plural, overlapping forms of integration, but not the disappearance of difference (Modood, 2007 p.118). Two further complications are that, firstly, the nature of engagement likely fluctuates over time, impacted by local, national and international events, which influence willingness to advance towards a friend or retreat from a foe. And, secondly, migrant groups will settle and integrate at a different pace – impacted by specific entry differences, present on arrival, and longitudinal differences, persisting over time (Martinovic et al., 2009). These differences

include: age at migration; migration motivation; prior education; migrant community size; arrival employment rate; and host attitudes towards immigration.

The central Common Area of my model is best considered liminal space - the threshold where transition can occur. According to Nag, citizens who actively inhabit this space need to become liminal – perceiving themselves as being on the margin of their group; their liminality enhancing the possibility for meaningful cross-connection dialogue (Nag, 2005). She says it is necessary to construct common modes of thinking and temporal alliances of interest, without betraying one's particularity or positing an illusory universality (Nag, 2005). **Mr C0101/S** says he inhabits this liminal space, mediating between friends of different ethnicities.¹³

This construction reflects the essence of pluralism, considered by Jagdish Sharma, the Chair of the UK Hindu Council, to be the natural progression of multiculturalism – a state of society where different cultures exist side by side, recognised in their own right, regarded as being of equal importance, not just tolerated (Sharma, 2009). Although pluralism is challenged by intergroup relations' theories, like Tajfel & Turners, which stress-in-group bias (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), it underpins Parekh's community of communities (Parekh, 2007).

The CAM is complicated by the vested interests, and varied external relationships, of sub-groups within Bradford's heterogeneous Asian communities, which further distort the liminal space. And another dimension must be added, that is the oft-strained relationship between the generations - naturally occurring but perhaps enhanced by the migration-settlement experience (Crul, 2016). This means that CAM is necessarily multi-dimensional - the nature of the different hierarchical marginal-dominant relationships more identifiable (Dickie-Clark, 1966 p.30). The flux this maelstrom of interwoven relationships produces is, finally, complicated by

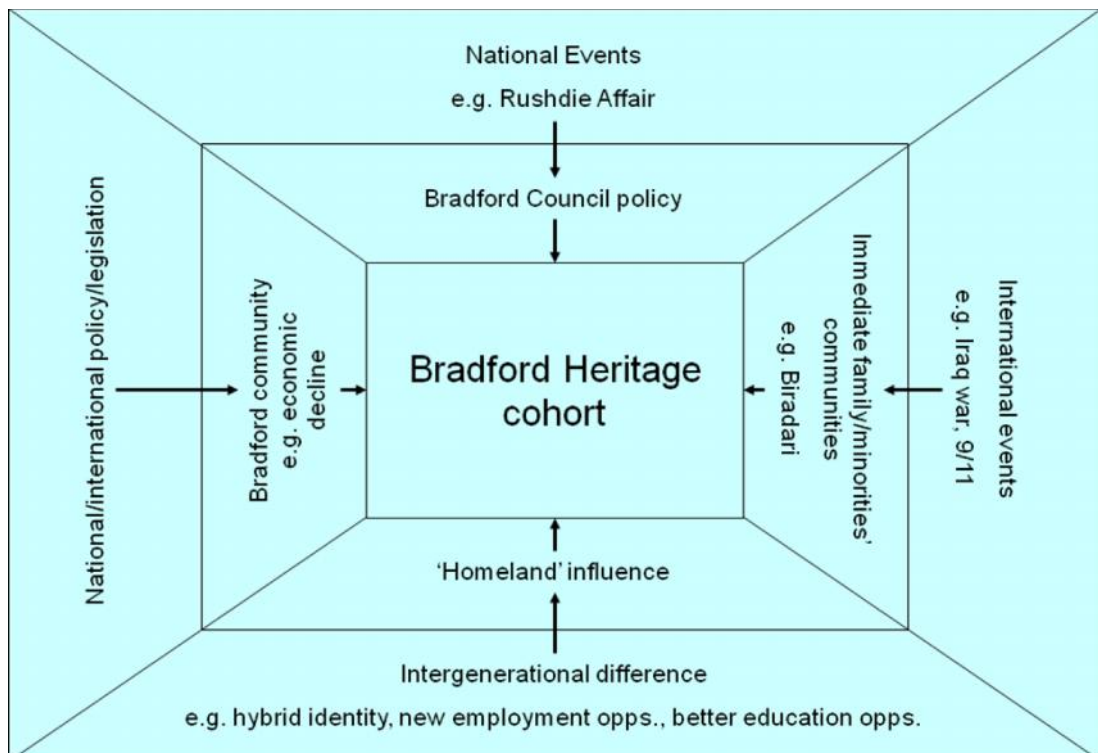
¹³ There is more on this in Chapter 7.

the structural environment, which constrains or is constrained by it. Consideration of these dimensions informed my engagement with the cohort.

My Impact Matrix (below) compliments the CAM, auditing a range of factors, which may influence cohort members. How their Bradford experience might be different if any of these factors were not present is unclear, but to my hypothetical question about what her life might be like had she been born white, **Mrs C0059** replies:

I would have been a company director of a massive white organisation, a charity, somewhere in London long ago...there's been a massive glass ceiling...It's bullet proof...The white community are very much wanting to keep their own to their own.

Bradford cohort impact matrix



Erlandson et al advocate this whole cloth approach because all aspects of reality are interrelated; if one attempts only to focus on selected portions of reality the whole falls apart (Erlandson et al., 1993 p.11). An examination of some of the factors in the impact matrix follows my profile of Bradford.

Profile of Bradford

Bradford District is situated in West Yorkshire (map below). It covers an area of approximately 370 square km, and contains five parliamentary constituencies and 30 wards. Most of the cohort resides in Bradford's inner wards 11, 12, 18, 19, 24 (Chapter 3, Appendix 1: Bradford Wards); although more commonly they refer to their postcode (Chapter 3, Appendix 2). **Mr C0127K** lives in ward 15, Keighley Central. The cohort also includes **Dr C0009**, who lives in Leeds; his daughter **Dr C0009/D** who lives in London; her brother **Dr C0009/S** who lives in Bath; and **Mrs C0086/1** and her daughter **Miss C0086/1/D**, who live in Somerset. Ethnicity varies significantly by ward – some of the outlying wards are over 95% white British, while some inner city wards are less than 15% white British, for example City (14.5%), Bradford Moor (14.4%) Toller (10.3%) and Manningham (9.9%) (ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2011).



In 2012 the population of Bradford District was 524,619 (ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2018) – making it the 4th largest metropolitan district in England, after Birmingham, Leeds and Sheffield. This was an increase of 2,148, or 0.4%, on that recorded by the Census on 27th March the year before (ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2011).

Between the censuses in 2001 and 2011 the population increased by 54,787 (12%) – the largest increase in West Yorkshire and higher than the national average of 7.1%. The population is expected to increase by a further 44,400 (8.5%), from 522,452 in 2011, to 569,000 by the next census in 2021 – representing a higher rate of increase than the English average (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2013).

Between 2001 and 2011 there was a 62.2% increase in the number of non-UK people living in Bradford District, giving it the highest number – as well as highest population share – of foreign-born residents in the Yorkshire and Humber region. In 2001 there were 55,258 non-UK born people in Bradford, by 2011 that figure was 89,601 - representing 17.2% of the population. Bradford is the youngest English city outside London – nearly a quarter of the population aged below 16 years (23.5%). Over the next decade the number of under-16s is expected to increase by 13,200 (10.7%).

The White population in Bradford remains the largest group at 63.9%, however, between 2001–2011 this population - as a proportion of the total population - fell by 3.7% (13,724). Over the decade 2001-2011 there was a 56.8% increase in the number of Pakistani origin residents – who now represent 20.4% of the population. This means Bradford has the largest percentage of people of Pakistani origin in England, over 60% of who were born in the UK. Similarly, more than 50% of the Indian and Bangladeshi population in Bradford were born in the UK. Together the White British and Pakistani ethnic groups make up 84.3% of the District population. The remaining 15.7% is made up of smaller ethnic groups – which have increased by 6% since 2001 (ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2011).

Population in 2011

Bradford District population	2011 % of total	2011
Total population	100%	522,452
Total White	67.4%	352,317
English/Welsh/Scottish/N Irish/British	63.9%	333,628
Irish	0.5%	2,541
Gypsy or Irish Traveller	0.1%	433
Other White eg Polish	3.0%	15,715
Total Mixed/multiple ethnic groups	2.5%	12,979
Total Asian British	26.8%	140,149
Asian Indian	2.6%	13,555
Asian Pakistani	20.4%	106,614
Asian Bangladeshi	1.9%	9,863
Asian Chinese	0.4%	2,086
Other Asian	1.5%	8,031
African/Caribbean/Black British	1.8%	9,267
Arab	0.7%	3,714
Any other ethnic group	0.8%	4,026

(ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2011)

Over the previous 50 years Bradford's South Asian communities (Indian, Pakistani and Bangladesh origin) progressively increased in size. See tables below.

Bradford District population - ethnicity	2001
Total population	467,665
Bangladeshi	4,968
Indian	12,504
Pakistani	67,994
White	366,041

Bradford District population - ethnicity	1991
Total population	457,344
Bangladeshi	3,653
Indian	11,713
Pakistani	45,280
White	386,025

The ethnicity category was introduced in 1991, so comparison with earlier years¹⁴ – when only country of birth was recorded – is problematic. However, figures for country of birth seem more reliable than those for ethnicity; someone reporting their ethnicity as Pakistani in 1991 and 2001 may have reported British in 2011. On the other hand, the country of birth category in the 2011 census obscures the ethnicity of British born children of migrants. There is not an easy solution – although the introduction in the last census of the new National Identity category may assist.

Bradford District population – ethnicity	1981
Total population	454,198
Bangladeshi	1,305
East African (could include people of Indian origin)	1,733
Indian	6,379
Pakistani	17,668
White – not recorded	-

Comparison with data from the 1971 census is also problematic because in 1974 there was a major restructuring of local government boundaries.

¹⁴ Comparison between 2011, 2001 and 1991 must be viewed with caution, because in 2001, for the first time, the Office for National Statistics added numbers to allow for people who had not completed the census form. This exercise was repeated in 2011, although methodology changes were made ONS (Office of National Statistics). (2013) *2011 Census Statistics for England and Wales: March 2011: Quality and Methodology Information*. ONS, .

Bradford Urban District population	1971
Total population	461,775
UK residents from new Commonwealth countries	22,815 ⁵
White – not recorded	-

In 1961 the total number of people in Bradford from the New Commonwealth countries¹⁵ was 6,814 (5,612 men and 1,202 women), increasing 16,061 by 1971. At this time migration to Bradford from overseas was almost entirely from the Indian subcontinent – 80% from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Only around 10% were men, marking the period when families were joining relatives who migrated earlier.

A figure more useful than ethnicity is that prompted by the National Identity question – introduced by ONS for the first time in the 2011 census. It did, however, come with the caveat that national identity is ‘a subjective self-identifying measure, which may or may not relate to a person’s ethnic group or country of birth’ (ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2012). Notwithstanding, it is significant because it encouraged respondents to express which country they felt most affiliated with. However, their motivation for this association is unrecorded.

Table showing national identity

National identity	2011
All categories	522,452
English only	280,710
English & British only	43,376
No English identity	196,224
British only	146,201
British & other identity	47,956
No British identity	328,295

(ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2011)

¹⁵ Including Pakistan and India.

Although the new National Identity question proves enlightening, a note of caution must be sounded – because respondents were free to indicate more than one affiliation. If the total white figure of 352,317 is deducted from the total population of 522,452 this leaves 170,135 non-white people able to select *British only*, *British and other identity*, *No English identity* and *no British identity* (probably not *English*). That multiple selection happened is evidenced by the 1,043,262 total number of selections – double the population of the District. A somewhat surprising figure is the 328,295 selections of *no British identity* - although it is impossible to know how many of these were made by White people feeling more regionally affiliated to England (or Wales, Scotland or Ireland), or people from the ethnic minority communities either doing the same or who felt more affiliated to their family's country of origin.

Despite their limitations census figures provide insight into the changing environment of Bradford over the last half-century. When Bradford Council published its first race relations' strategy, Turning Point (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1981) in 1981, there were 17,668 Pakistani people in the District. By 2011 this had increased six-fold to 106,614. Similarly, in 1981 there were 6,379 Indian people; by 2011 this had increased by 112% to 13,555. In total, including those from Bangladesh, in 1981 there were 25,252 people from the Asian subcontinent in Bradford. By 2011 this had increased more than five-fold to 130,032. However, assuming this accounts for the way Bradford's Asian 'community' is able to sustain a parallel lifestyle is to simplify the matter - the significance of cleavages between the various ethnic in-groups cannot be overlooked. It is also interesting to note, given preoccupation with the Pakistani community, that between 2001-2011 the Bangladeshi community nearly doubled.

In 2017, Bradford Council's new Stronger Communities Together strategy revealed, a 16th of Bradford's population was estimated to have been born outside the UK, with Pakistan, India and Poland being the predominant countries of birth among this group of people. Many people born outside the UK were, by then, longstanding residents and British citizens. That year

(2017) 3,781 new arrivals came to Bradford from 68 different countries; the top three nationalities being Pakistani, Polish and Romanian. Fifty-seven percent of new arrivals came from the EU (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2018).

Language

Eighty-five languages are spoken in Bradford. English is the *main* language of 85.3% of people (over three years old), and 95.2% of people either have English as their main language or speak it *well* or *very well*. 0.9% do not speak English. 9.5% of people have a South Asian *main* language – predominantly Punjabi or Urdu – and 2.4% another European language (ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2011).

Table showing main languages, 2011

Main language	People
All categories	497,608
English	424,527
French	443
Portuguese	133
Spanish	213
Total other European language	11,970
Polish	5,526
Any other European language	6,444
Non European language	1,202
Arabic	2,398
West/Central Asian language	5,521
South Asian language total	47,290
Punjabi	19,842
Urdu	16,550
Bengali	4,743
Gujarati	2,638
Tamil	140
Any other South Asian language	3,377
East Asian language total	2,391
Chinese	1,244
Any other East Asian language	1,147
African language	1,170
Other language	350

(ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2011)

It is interesting to consider this table alongside the next, which reflects how English proficiency is self-evaluated. However, self-assessment of proficiency is subjective; individuals can over-estimate or under-estimate their proficiency for various reasons, including over- or under-confidence. Muslim cohort members professed Arabic proficiency, later admitting while they could recite Quranic passages they didn't understand meaning. Just 23,051 people (over three years), for whom English was not their main language, said they could speak it *very well* – meaning a third (23,965) could not *speak English well* or could *not speak English*. What this answer does not reveal is the number of people in the Asian communities for whom English is *parallel* to an Asian language - that is they have two main languages. It also cannot distinguish between passive understanding and active fluency, which critically impacts on good communication – a pillar of cohesion. There is more on language in Chapter 7.

Table showing English proficiency, 2011

English proficiency	People
All categories	497,608
Main language is English	424,527
Main language is not English	73,081
Main language not English. Can speak English very well	23,051
Main language not English. Can speak English well	26,065
Main language not English. Cannot speak English well	19,424
Main language not English. Cannot speak English	4,541

Religion

In the 2011 census 45.9% of the population of Bradford identified themselves as Christian – a fall of 14.7% since 2001 (from 281,236 to 239,843), representing a 17.25% decrease within the Christian category. Nearly one quarter of the population identified themselves as Muslim – an increase of 71.6% since 2001 (from 75,188 to 129,041), representing a 41% increase within the Muslim category. This means the District has the fourth highest percentage of Muslims in England. By comparison the number of Sikhs and Hindus, even taken together, is small - 9,987. Their population

increased little between 2001 and 2011, up only 782 from 9,205. What these figures cannot account for are people born into a particular religion who may no longer consider themselves affiliated – although parents and extended family may think otherwise. They also cannot account for degrees of devotion or adherence to religious practice or ideals. There is more on religion in Chapter 7.

Table showing religious affiliation, 2011

Religion	Number	%
All categories	522,452	100
Has religion	381,876	73.1
Christian	239,843	45.9
Buddhist	1,000	0.2
Hindu	4,862	0.9
Jewish	299	0.1
Muslim	129,041	24.7
Sikh	5,125	0.3
Other religion	1,686	0.3
No religion	108,027	20.7
Religion not stated	32,549	6.2

Demographics

The Index of Multiple Deprivation identifies Bradford District as the 32nd most deprived – that is in the top 10% - in the country (DCLG (Department for Communities and Local Government), 2007). It was also the fourth most income-deprived district in the UK in 2007 – in relation to families out of work and families in work on low earnings. One in four children (36,080 0-18 year olds) in the District live below the poverty line – that is in households with less than 60% of average income. There is a wide variation between wards; just over half the children living in poverty reside in eight of the District’s 30 wards – Bradford Moor, Little Horton, Bowling and Barkerend, Manningham, Tong, Toller, Great Horton, and Keighley Central (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2013). Life expectancy in the District is 77.88 years, compared to the national average of 79.58 years, and the District had

the highest infant mortality rate in England - 8.15 per 1,000 live births, compared to 4.84 for England and 5.92 for the Yorkshire and Humber region (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2010).

The Bradford economy is worth £8.3 billion – the second largest economy of all West Yorkshire districts (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2013). Between 2008-2011 Bradford's Gross Value Added¹⁶ grew by 5.5%, more than twice the regional average of 2.6% and higher than the UK of 3.8%. 20.4% (15,285) of all West Yorkshire businesses are situated in Bradford – up 370 (2.5%) between 2011-2012. But unemployment and worklessness are high – the employment rate is just 64%, well below pre-recession levels and regional and national averages. The situation is more severe in inner Bradford and Keighley, where some cohort members live. Rates of employment are lowest in the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities, and the gypsy and Irish traveller populations. The highest employment rates are in the *Other White*,¹⁷ *Indian* and *White British* groups (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2013). However, these official data may conceal true occupation, as Asian family businesses provide work opportunities.

In June 2013 19,259 people were claiming Jobseekers' Allowance – the number claiming for more than 12 months increased more than fivefold between June 2008 (940) and June 2013 (6,370). According to the 2011 census 32,398 (8.8%) of Bradford residents aged 16-74 years had never worked – more than twice the national average of 3.9%. Three quarters of them were women. 50,150 (15.1%) people of working age in Bradford claim key out of work benefits – higher than regional and national averages. Mean weekly full time earnings are £424 – well below regional and national averages. Qualification levels are also lower than regional and national averages – only 59.7% are qualified to level 2 (five good GCSEs) - considered entry level by most employers; 51,800 people had no qualifications (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2013).

¹⁶ The value of goods and services produced in the area.

¹⁷ Including European migrants.

Total crime reduced by 18% (9,051 offences) between 2008/09-2012/13. Burglary, serious violent crime and assault with injury fell over this period, while vehicle crime and robbery increased. An estimated 4,263 *problematic* drug users lived in the District.

Despite the difficulties highlighted above, in the three consecutive periods – 2010/11, 2011/12 and 2012/13 the number of people satisfied with their local area, as a place to live, remained constant at 70-71% (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2013). The percentage of people who said their local area was a place where people from different backgrounds and communities lived together harmoniously was also constant during these periods, at between 60-62% (West Yorkshire Police and Crime Commissioner, 2009-present). It is not clear if this reflects concern about inter-ethnic parallel living. For one thing, the figures for wards dominated by one ethnic group – white or non-white – may be skewed; and it is not known why the remaining 40% felt otherwise. However there is a strong relationship between sense of belonging and satisfaction with local area – those who speak highly of their area are more than twice as likely to feel a strong sense of belonging as those dissatisfied (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2013 p.58).

The future

Given that the population of Bradford is young there is potential for it to grow substantially by 2051 (Wohland et al., 2010). Nationally, the Pakistani group is expected to grow the most, followed by the Bangladeshi and *Other Asian* groups; the Indian group experiencing slower growth. Wohland anticipates that by 2051 the Indian community nationally will have increased between 2-2.7 times; its share of the population will have increased from 1.8% to 3.1-3.7% - that is about 1.9 times its 2001 share. In 2001 the Indian group was the third largest ethnic minority group after *Other White* and *White Irish*, by 2051 it is projected to be the second largest in the country (Wohland et al., 2010).

The Pakistani community nationally is expected to increase, compared to 2001, between 2.4 to 3.1 times by 2051. Its share of the population will increase between 1.3% to 2.6-3% - to about twice its 2001 share. In 2001 the Pakistani group was the fourth largest ethnic minority group in the country; in 2051 it is projected to be the third largest (Wohland et al., 2010). If these increases were replicated in Bradford, that would mean a local Indian community of up to 33,760 people, and a Pakistani community of up to 210,781 people. But it is likely that the Asian communities' migration to Bradford is more complete than elsewhere, so the increase locally will likely be lower than the projected national increase.

By 2051 ethnic minorities are predicated to have shifted out of the most deprived local authority areas into the least deprived – with the percentage of the Asian population in the most deprived quintile of local authorities reducing from 25 to 18%, and for the least deprived quintile increasing from 9 to 20% (Wohland et al., 2010). However, while this may assist/reflect the integration of established ethnic minorities it also means areas vacated may be utilised by new waves of migrants, needing to be accommodated.

Cohort Impact Matrix

This model, introduced earlier, provides a useful audit of mechanisms, which may have impacted – directly or indirectly – cohort identity formation. It is premised on the need to identify factors, which influence or govern agential response and locate research participants contextually.

The matrix was conceived before data collection began but its factors were informed by cohort responses during interviewing. Importantly:

- Some factors form background noise while others are more influential
- Factors may persist or be fleeting
- There may be differing generational responses
- Responses may change over time
- Responses may, or may not, be predictable

Matrix factors

i) Legislation

Designed to accommodate the needs of ethnic minorities, legislation provides an important frame for the cohort. It offered the promise of protection from prejudice and discrimination, and equal opportunity; guiding Bradford's local race relations' approach. Some in the cohort (**C0042**, **C0049** and **C0127K**) became actively involved in this process; in salaried and voluntary positions they worked to further the interests of their communities and build bridges with others.

Before the 1960s discrimination on the grounds of skin colour was not illegal and casual colour prejudice was accepted as being part of daily life (Museum of London, 2012), but by the time the cohort began arriving in Britain there was a growing sense of injustice. When the first Race Relations Act was introduced in 1965 five cohort members (**C0049**, **M0100**, **C0042**, **C0009**, **C0127K**) were already living here. **Mr C0127K** played a key role, after introduction in 1986 of new visa requirements for people from Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Ghana and Nigeria; on behalf of the London-based Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JSWI) he travelled to Pakistan to assess the effectiveness of the visa-issuing operation (JCWI (Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants), 1987). See Chapter 3, Appendix 3: Acts of Parliament.

ii) The national

An event with significant ramifications occurred in Bradford in 1989: the burning of Salman Rushdie's controversial book *Satanic Verses* (Rushdie, 1988). Five hundred Muslims, incensed by Penguin's publication of what they considered a blasphemous text, rallied in the city centre to hear Koranic readings and passionate speeches. Probably seized by the moment, a can of petrol was poured onto the only copy held by Bradford Council for Mosques and the book went up in flames. The act was seen as a way of bringing a collective hurt, it was felt was being ignored, into the public domain. The impact was immediate; according to eyewitness Ishtiaq Ahmed – who later became Bradford Council for Mosques' Press Officer - publication of the

book was the final straw that burst the bubble (illusion) of cohesion in the city. It led directly to Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini issuing a Fatwa on Rushdie's life (Woolbridge, 2009).

Young Muslims who had previously thought little about Islam, and did not practice their faith, as a result of the book – and the British government decision not to ban it – began to review their religious identity. Older Muslims, said Ahmed, felt let down by Rushdie – who had previously been a role model for them. Aside from the personal problem the Fatwa proved for Rushdie, the book burning is seen as a seminal moment for race relations in Britain. Ahmed says, it created a negative image of Muslims, stereotyping them as backward, emotional, and unable to adapt to modernity, and catapulted Bradford into the international psyche - demonstrating that you don't mess with Muslims and their prophets (Woolbridge, 2009). Alarm bells starting ringing; the fear being that the Fatwa – and transnational Islamic allegiance – threatened to trump British law (Werbner, 2000 p.310). A question mark hung over the Muslim sense of identity and place in British society (Baxter, 2006). The following year much of the accommodating multicultural machinery, instigated by Turning Point in 1981 (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1981), was dismantled - giving way to a more directed equality approach in Bradford. Instrumental in this was Eric Pickles, then Leader of Bradford Council, who later became Conservative Secretary of State for Communities & Local Government. From the sidelines Bradford's Hindu and Sikh communities looked on, apart from but usually misleadingly included in the Muslim epithet. It would be another 12 years - after events in the US on 9/11 - before the death of multiculturalism was officially announced¹⁸ but the writing was on the wall, and all eyes were on Bradford. There is more on religion in Chapter 7.

Interestingly, in February 2019 – during a BBC 2 programme to mark the 30th anniversary of the book burning in Bradford – Ishtiaq Ahmed said:

¹⁸ See Speech by British Prime Minister David Cameron at the Munich Security Conference in 2011 (Cameron, D. (2011) PM's speech. In: *Munich Security Conference*. 5 February 2011. Available from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference>)

Bradford is a place we feel positive about. I have five children and eight grandchildren. Bradford is our home and in our blood...There is [now] a different mindset to that in 1989, when we were trying to decide if we belong here. [But] we are a society still evolving and trying to anticipate the challenges in front of Bradford, regarding the demographics and social integration. The quest for social justice is still relevant...our community spirit prevents us from shying away from the challenge (Azhar, 2019)

iii) The international

If the Rushdie Affair ignited the embers of doubt about the liberal multicultural approach, the 9/11 attack on New York's Twin Towers (Schmemmann, 2001) – followed by the bombings in London on 7.7.05 (Campbell and Laville, 2005) - proved the final straw. Usefully, for the Hindu and Sikh communities the focus on Muslims in Britain might finally have driven home the message that the Asian 'community' was far from homogenous. Muslim cohort member **Mrs C0059** said all the attention following the attacks made her nervous – making it more important to hang on to family land in Pakistan, just in case Britain threw Muslims out. Her father expressed the same sentiment. There is more on how this may affect their sense of belonging in Chapter 6.

Interestingly, in February 2019 an event occurred which might have further cemented Mrs C0059's fears. The then Home Secretary, Sajid Javid, stripped 19 year old British born Shamima Begum of her citizenship after she tried to return to Britain, where she was born, following the collapse of Islamic State in Syria. Ms Begum left Britain three years earlier to join IS and subsequently married an IS fighter. Her citizenship was removed under the 1981 British Nationality Act, on the basis that it was not 'conducive to the public good' (BBC News, 2019).

iv) The local

The fortunes of Bradford District, since the decline during the 1970s and 1980s of its world-famous textile industry, are well documented (Hendrik, 1994). Men arriving from South Asia, seeking work in local mills, found thousands of workers had already been laid off. A flavour of the economic disaster which was unfolding at the time, can be gleaned from the fact that in 1945 two million were employed in the weaving sheds in Bradford, but by 1986 its workforce had reduced to 517,000 (Lewis, 2002). Now the acme of the industry is evidenced by huge, derelict mill buildings, with their distinctive Victorian architecture, that define the city skyline. Some attempt has been made to put them to use, for example, as apartments, shops and storage, but this cannot disguise their sad legacy of what Bradford writer J B Priestly described as one of the most cosmopolitan of English provincial cities (Halstead, 1988). Although the Times' *Business Insight* supplement on Bradford ([no author], 2014) predicted a bright future for the city, 'the dark horse coming up on the outside,' this has not yet translated into significantly greater employment and the city centre is populated by closed businesses.

Bradford's Asian communities are affected by the economic fortunes of the District, along with everyone else - but some cushioning may be possible through employment of young people in family businesses, and, increasingly, in Pakistan. **Mrs C0059** spoke of her son travelling to Pakistan to set up a business with cousins and of her plans to invest in properties along a major highway there. This demonstrates how, for the migrant community, opportunities exist far beyond those available locally. It also questions the validity of the so-called myth of return (Anwar, 1979), whether the grandchildren of the pioneers are finally realising the family desire to go home. Bolognani observed, informed by research in Bradford, that when children returned from a trip to Pakistan they had changed – they walked differently, had different attitudes, had grown in self-esteem and were more confident in their role of belonging to a biradari (Bolognani, 2007 p.60). These journeys of knowledge (Bolognani, 2007 p.63) - for exploration of ancestral roots and bonding with family - could be fuelling some kind of inherited return to a place, which provides a welcome alternative to Britain

(Bolognani, 2007 p.73). The decision to go, however, may be motivated more by pragmatic entrepreneurial opportunism than the sentimentalism of their grandparents. How this might impact sense of identity and societal cohesion here is unclear. There is more on myth of return in Chapter 6.

v) Home from home

Cultural norms continue to demand loyalty to structures imported from the Asian sub-continent, such as caste, clan, and extended family. This may impact significantly on the individual freedom of cohort members, but also has implications for Bradford at large. A key example of this is the tendency of Pakistanis to vote in elections along biradari lines - supporting people important to one's family or community, irrespective of their politics. This has skewed election results in wards and constituencies, for example Bradford West. Cohort member, **Mr C0127K** speaks bitterly of the impact of the constraints of biradarism, the inequality it creates, and how able people are held back because they belong to the wrong biradari. And **Dr C0049** recalls how he failed to be elected a local councillor in 1971, when he stood against other candidates who had biradari support. There is more on homeland and sense of home in Chapter 6, and caste and biradari in Chapter 7.

vi) Generations

Members of the cohort demonstrate intergenerational differences commensurate with their age and experience. Perspectives are not only affected by time but also by place – with ongoing obligations to institutions, such as caste, having less relevance for younger people born in Britain; although that does not mean they are ignored. The cohort provides the opportunity to consider the views of three generations – some of whom were born overseas, coming to Britain as children or adults, and some born here. For **Mr C0121** the middle generation is the arbiter, the middle gap generation (**Dr C0049**), which has to balance parental aspirations with growing concern for children and grandchildren, they may find increasingly difficult to connect with. Importantly, and unsurprisingly, there is a marked difference between older and younger people, with regard to their sense of belonging in/to Britain. If younger generations are becoming progressively isolated from the

minority in-group this likely reflects an inherent confidence in their British birth. There is more on intergenerational relationships in Chapter 8.

Bradford Council's race relations' approach since 1960

With the benefit of hindsight it is possible to see how Bradford Council's first race relations strategy, Turning Point (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1981), might be considered counter-intuitive to what is now termed cohesion. Public policy during the 1960s and 1970s focused on anti-discrimination, evidenced by the 1965, 1968 and 1976 Race Relations Acts. The 1971 Census recorded 27,820 people in Bradford born, or whose parents were born, in the New Commonwealth (Pakistan, India and the West Indies) – more than four times that of 10 years earlier (1961 = 6,814). By 1979, when Bradford Council published District Trends (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1979) the figure for the three communities was estimated to be 47,000. By far the biggest increase was in the number of people of Pakistani origin, rising from 14,000 in 1971 to 30,000 in 1979 – an increase of more than 114%; compared to an increase of 50% in the Indian population and an increase of 11% in the West Indian population.

However, by the late 1970s it was clear that the Asian communities in Bradford, particularly the Pakistani, were not integrating in the way that previous migrant communities had. At the same time integration was considered condescending, old fashioned and out of touch (Greenhalf, 2002). Why should immigrants learn to speak English and adapt to the ways of the indigenous population? It was for the host community to adapt to the customs and habits of the new arrivals and those ethnic minorities born here. It would be more than 20 years before this accommodation was seriously challenged. The 1981 census, which revealed that one in ten people in Bradford were born outside the UK, led to development of Bradford Council's first race relations' strategy. Seen as marking the Asian communities' coming of age Turning Point recognised they were not merging into the scenery, becoming 'black English men' - they were in society but not of it, creating a 'condition of cultural and ethnic pluralism,' part Asian and part British, which

generated new lifestyles as the original settler traditions were reworked, modified and refined. This new 'dual society,' looked outwards to mainstream Britain for jobs, schools and services and inward for values, traditions, family life, language and religion. The result, the report said, was that the Asian and white communities lived separate and pluralistic lives – a situation which could not be sustained (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1981).

Multiculturalism, that is multicultural strategy, was seen as the answer – the means of exposing Asian culture and lifestyles to the outside world, and of governing the development of isolated pluralism – minimal contact giving way to interaction. Critics might say this was misguided, that something went wrong, and that the Rushdie book burning demonstrated that the multicultural approach was not the answer after all. If Britain had adopted a more single-minded integrationist approach in the late 1970s, and not been concerned about how condescending it might have seemed, extreme, fundamentalist behaviour may have been mitigated.

Bradford Council struggled to accommodate its evolving customer-base. Three years after the publication of *Turning Point* the Council recognised it could no longer see itself as simply a service provider. Its employees should be aware of the repercussions of its work for the ethnic communities; there should be 'quality of esteem and social justice for all' (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1984). There was recognition that local government would never be the same again.

Soon after, Bradford Council published *Race Relations in Bradford* - its goal being to create a co-operative and peaceful society; based on mutual respect for differences; genuinely multi-racial; unified but not uniform (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1985?). The key aim was to construct a framework, which eliminated racism, harassment and discrimination, and ensured equal access to Council services and job

opportunities. Graham Mahony¹⁹ said the goal was to achieve a multicultural integration, which encouraged ethnic minority autonomy and joining in (interview 19.1.06). That sounds eerily like what Parekh described 20 years later as a community of communities. Seemingly, the goal had not changed, and neither had the uncertainty over how to achieve it.

Throughout the 1980s the Council strove to make the multicultural approach work in Bradford; to lead by example – introducing positively discriminating policies to encourage recruitment of people from the ethnic communities to Council jobs and ensure equal access service delivery. Soon after publication of *Turning Point* it established the Race Relations Advisory Group (RRAG), which had a fundamental impact on the way the Council was run and how it engaged with external bodies, like the Commission for Racial Equality and the Home Office, and ethnic communities.

Comprised of Councillors and co-opted members, RRAG met monthly between its inauguration in October 1981 and its dissolution at an acrimonious Council meeting in October 1988.²⁰ RRAG was primarily charged with identifying the ‘obstacles for the attainment of greater racial harmony and equality’ and to explore how Council policies might help overcome them. It was also tasked to ensure ethnic minority viewpoints and values were given ‘fair and adequate expression.’

RRAG was important because it provided the ethnic communities with an inroad to the centre of local government, actively seeking views on how the District might best accommodate their specific need. It was a powerful, influential body - supported by an ambitious group of young mainly male council officers, including Graham Mahony and David Kennedy,²¹ who later became Chief Executive - able to hold Council Directorates accountable for the way they practiced race relations and equality. In the end, RRAG may

¹⁹ Bradford Council’s first Principal Race Relations Officer. Mr Mahony is not a member of my research cohort.

²⁰ Minutes of RRAG meetings, along with those from other Council meetings, are held in Bradford Central Library.

²¹ Mr Kennedy is not a member of my research cohort.

have been a victim of its own success - hated by officers, Mahony said, because it provided a way to the Council's 'soft under belly' (interview 19.1.06). Council Leader Eric Pickles said it spent too much time discussing apartheid.

The October 1988 changes swept aside much of the Council's old race relations' machinery, replacing it with a new Equal Opportunities Committee (EOC), tasked with helping disadvantaged people²² get work – with the long term goal of reducing poverty. A secondary role was to ensure disadvantaged groups had equal access to Council services. This represented a seismic shift away from race relations to a more inclusive, level playing field agenda and renewed focus on traditional Council operations. Within a couple of years the primary focus changed again. In June 1992 the EOC was replaced by an Equal Rights sub committee, with the expressed role of ensuring everyone had equal access to Council services and jobs (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1992). This approach was more defined, but also more parochial, in house, less concerned with intercultural engagement. Council policy officer Diane Fairfax was critical of how race relations were sidelined by the equality agenda. In 1988, she says (interview 15.8.06), the Council was at the 'forefront of equality in West Yorkshire' but a decade later it was 'eons behind, a wasteland,' with no managerial race relations training programmes, people playing the race card, and a director who talked about coloured people; the Council had regressed.

The 9/11 attacks, and publications around the turn of the century by Ouseley, Parekh, Denham and Cattle, provided a wake-up call – demanding renewed focus on cultural diversity + cohesion (Ouseley, 2001), (Runnymede Trust, 2000), (Denham, 2001), (Cattle, 2001).

²² Defined as women, the disabled and ethnic minorities.

While the Council continued to prioritise getting its own house in order, its Local Strategic Partnership Bradford Vision²³ encouraged other agencies to promote equal rights and diversity. The local incarnation of the national community cohesion agenda was the Shared Futures programme – which emphasised commonalities between communities, in order to combat differences (Hardisty and Hanney, 2006). The overriding concern was that economic progress was being retarded by Bradford's tarnished reputation - resulting in business and investment going elsewhere and opportunity and life chances being limited. Hardisty & Hanney said the term Shared Futures was adopted because many people didn't understand what cohesion meant (Hardisty and Hanney, 2006 p.3). The new focus was on building tolerance and mutual respect, based on 'clear rights and responsibilities' and facilitated by communication and interaction (Hardisty and Hanney, 2006 p.4). These clear rights and responsibilities were a response to 9/11 and 7/7 – enshrined in the need to abide by the law; reject extremism and intolerance; and make a positive contribution to society. They mirrored national rhetoric, which had shifted from the rights-based approach of old multiculturalism to emphasise the contractual nature of the deal – premised on responsibility. However, aside from that Shared Futures offered little that was new – reflecting the long established goals of providing opportunity for all; building trust between different communities; and celebrating the district's rich diversity. It also spoke of fostering a common identity, but did not elaborate what that would look like or how it could be achieved.

Confusingly, having determined that cohesion was a misunderstood concept, the Council continued working to construct a community cohesion and inclusion framework. In 2008 a new Council report identified inter-group tension in the District to be undermining cohesion (Ullah, 2008). But responses were, again, not particularly innovative – support for migrants; elimination of inequality in education, health, housing and employment; and utilisation of community networks to address fears.

²³ Now defunct.

But there was an effort to define the characteristics of an integrated and cohesive community:

- Where there is a clear and widely shared sense of the contribution of individuals and communities to a future vision
- Where there is a strong sense of individuals' rights and responsibilities of living in a particular place
- Where those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities, access to services and treatment
- Where there is a strong sense of trust in local institutions to act fairly when arbitrating between different interests.
- Where there is recognition of the contribution of those newly arrived
- Where there are positive relationships between people from different backgrounds (Ullah, 2008).

Measuring cohesion

Measuring cohesion is a challenge. For commentator Ramindar Singh²⁴ it's complicated by the varied pace of adjustment in different communities and the diverse response in different spheres of life (Singh, 1992) – neither of which were incorporated into cohesion strategy until 2018. Bradford Council's Speak Out residents' survey, conducted annually between 2002-2007, attempted to determine degrees of cohesion (Ullah, 2008). The 2007 study findings are below:

Question 1: how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your neighbourhood?

²⁴ Mr Singh is not a member of my research cohort.

	Year	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
This is a close-knit neighbourhood	2006	7%	41%	34%	16%	2%
	2007	7%	36%	35%	19%	3%
People in this neighbourhood can be trusted	2006	9%	52%	28%	8%	3%
	2007	10%	49%	31%	8%	2%
People in the area are willing to help their neighbours	2006	10%	61%	20%	7%	2%
	2007	10%	58%	23%	8%	1%
People in the neighbourhood do not share the same values	2006	4%	23%	34%	35%	5%
	2007	4%	23%	34%	35%	5%
People in this neighbourhood generally don't get along well together	2006	1%	6%	23%	56%	14%
	2007	1%	8%	25%	52%	14%

Generally, people thought that others who lived in their area could be trusted; that they were willing to help their neighbours; and that they got along well together. Black and Asian respondents were most likely to think they lived in close-knit neighbourhoods (50%), compared to 42% of White respondents. 64% of White respondents *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that people in their neighbourhood could be trusted, compared to 52% of Black and Asian respondents. 71% of White respondents *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that people in their area were willing to help their neighbours, compared to 62% of Black and Asian respondents. 60% of respondents said their neighbours were nearly all from the same ethnic group; 21% said the majority were from the same ethnic group but a significant minority were from other backgrounds; and 19% said their area contained a mix of people from different ethnic groups.

Question 2: do you think that the increase in the number of people with diverse lifestyles and cultures has made the Bradford District a better place to live?

	2006	2007
A much better place to live	7%	5%
A better place to live	19%	18%
Makes no difference	29%	28%
A worse place to live	33%	36%
A much worse place to live	13%	13%

Views varied by ethnicity. Over half the Black and Asian respondents said Bradford had become a *better* or *much better* place to live, compared to 15% of White residents.

Question 3: how would you describe the way in which residents from different ethnic backgrounds get on together?

	In your Neighbourhood		In the Bradford District as a whole	
	2006	2007	2006	2007
All residents mix well together and there are few problems	31%	38%	8%	8%
Residents generally mix ok but there are some tensions	14%	13%	38%	37%
Different groups keep themselves to themselves but there are few problems	25%	22%	33%	37%
Residents from different ethnic groups are antagonistic to each other	2%	1%	21%	18%
There are no residents from other ethnic backgrounds	28%	26%	n/a	n/a

Most respondents didn't experience problems with neighbours from other ethnic groups, but they did have a more negative view about people of other backgrounds elsewhere in the District. Young people and those from Black/Asian backgrounds were most likely to say that all residents mixed well in their neighbourhoods. Only 6% of Black/Asian respondents said residents from different ethnic groups were antagonistic to each other. Respondents living in areas where there was a mix of residents from different ethnic groups were more likely to think that residents across the District mixed well

together (16%) and less likely to think that residents from different ethnic groups were antagonistic (14%).

Question 4: how has the relationship between residents from different ethnic backgrounds changed over the last 12 months?

	In your Neighbourhood		In the Bradford District as a whole	
	2006	2007	2006	2007
Relationships have generally improved	6%	4%	9%	7%
Relationships have generally stayed the same	59%	60%	61%	62%
Relationships have generally got worse	6%	8%	28%	30%
Don't Know – new to neighbourhood / Bradford District	2%	2%	2%	1%
There are no residents from other ethnic backgrounds	27%	26%	n/a	n/a

Black and Asian respondents were most likely to think that relationships had improved across the District (17%), compared to 6% of White respondents.

The Speak Out data can be compared with that of a Home Office citizenship survey - two years earlier - of 1,007 adults in the densely Asian-populated Bradford wards of Manningham and Toller (Home Office Communities Group and National Centre for Social Research, 2006). The demographic profile of the wards was: White British 23%; White Irish 19%; Black Caribbean 1%; Black African 1%; Asian Indian 5%; Asian Pakistani 61%; Asian Bangladeshi 5%; Mixed 1%; Other 1%. 71% of the population was Muslim; 23% Christian; 1% Sikh; 1% Hindu; and 3% had no religion. 65% were born in the UK. Findings included:

- 80% of respondents said people from different backgrounds got on well together

- 82% said they felt they belonged to the neighbourhood – compared to 75% nationally
- 35% said ethnic differences were respected – compared to 15% nationally
- 71% said neighbours could be trusted – compared to 84% nationally

But more people, than nationally, were concerned about how they would be treated by the police, courts and the local council and only 32% (compared to 39% nationally) said they felt they could influence local decisions. There were also concerns about safety at night, the prevalence of illegal drugs' activity, and other anti-social behaviour. Despite that 55% said they enjoyed living in their neighbourhood (compared to 66% for England as a whole), and 77% said they were proud of their neighbourhood.

A tale of two worlds, at least

Usefully, Singh provides a critical review of Bradford's race relations' approach over the last 50 years. He says, the 'cherished view' three decades ago that the two worlds of the White and Non-White peoples of Bradford would fuse into one, once the minority groups had passed through an initial short phase of adjustment, has proved a myth (Singh, 2001). The effort, Singh says, to facilitate South Asians into mainstream society in Bradford has heightened minority communities' consciousness about their rights as equal citizens, and reaffirmed and consolidated their cultural and religious identities. He foresees a White population increasingly fearful of being 'swamped by foreigners', coupled with a crystallising of distinctive identity within the Asian communities - culminating in deepening polarisation, particularly along religious lines.

Singh categorises Bradford Council's race relations' approach over the last 50 years by four phases (Singh, 2002b):

Phase 1 (1960s – 1980s) no policy

During this phase new arrivals were expected to assimilate; separate social policies to deal with migrant issues were thought unnecessary – even

counter-productive, as they might cause resentment within the wider population.

Phase 2 (1980s – 1991) race relations policy (multiculturalism)

This phase was dominated by the interests of the Pakistani Muslim community, and the White population and new communities occupied two separate worlds. It was recognised – for the first time - that machinery was necessary to ensure equal opportunity and fight racial discrimination, but respect for different communities was superficial (Singh, 2006). As the Council became more accessible to the ethnic communities, they realised they had a role in shaping local race policy (Singh, 2006), but co-operation was difficult to sustain; there was resentment in City Hall; racist political parties were attracted to Bradford; expectations were not met; and prioritising race meant class and gender issues were sidelined. McLoughlin describes the Council's approach at this time as a 'trail-blazing but ill-fated, experiment in multicultural policy-making' (McLoughlin, 2006) – reflecting Fairfax' comments above.

Phase 3 (1991 – 2000) race becomes part of equal rights

Singh says momentum was lost at the end of the 1980s; there was complacency; no ethnic monitoring was done after 1986; and the policy 'went into limbo' (Singh, 2002a). This view is supported both by Fairfax and Graham Mahony, who believes the Council 'lost touch' with what was happening on the ground (interview 19.1.06). Although there was consensus that the old RRAG had outlived its usefulness, there was a dearth in the 1990s of effective means to conduct inter-cultural work and the Council's equality policy was in disarray; after a series of successful claims against it of racial discrimination, Mahony says, it began to 'drift.'

Phase 4 (2001+) Cultural Diversity + Community Cohesion

During this phase cultural diversity has been used to disguise race; there have been no clear policies – other than those directed by Ouseley (Ouseley, 2001). Singh labels this phase *The Age of Confusion* (interview 8.9.09). He says in 2001 multiculturalism was replaced by the highly confused term

community cohesion - which was interpreted differently. Its definition, proposed by the Integration Commission, was, he says, muddled by the introduction of the controversial Prevent Agenda (Home Office, 2011), and the Bradford & District Safer City Project, with its focus on the economy, financial cuts and regeneration, further obscured the nature of cohesion.

Singh says the division between the 'brown, black and white worlds' in Bradford is becoming ever sharper and more visible. The local authority has no idea what it is doing, he says (interview 8.9.09). However, he recognises the job of reconciling all interests is not easy. On the one hand, the Council must meet the diverse needs of ethnic employment; the social mobility of minority groups; and their expectations of respect, dignity and social status; and, on the other, they have to avoid providing privileged treatment to ethnic minorities (Singh, 2001).

Conclusion

Importantly, Bradford did not intend to become a multicultural city, it simply happened (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1981). The growth of the Asian communities meant more school places were required; competition for jobs - particularly as mills closed – was fierce; inner city housing prices rose as supply ran out; and there were new generations of Asians with higher expectations and more knowledge of western society. If anything, multiculturalism ran into trouble because it failed to anticipate the degree to which these new British Asians would choose to celebrate their diversity. It's clear that implicit in the agenda was the unwritten understanding that ethnic minority communities would somehow limit their difference.

Thirty-five years ago Bradford Council predicted there would be a transition period, that over the years there would be gradual integration (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1979). Today it's clear that the pace of transition - within the various ethnic communities and between different spheres of life - has been variable. For Mohammed Ajeeb,

Bradford's first Asian Lord Mayor,²⁵ the short-and-medium views adopted towards race relations were problematic; a more long-term approach was needed (Ajeeb, 1986).

However, criticism of Bradford Council's strategies should be tempered by the understanding that failure to achieve [more] cohesion might have less to do with effort and more with factors beyond the control of the Council. Cohesion may have been derailed, indeed if it was, by intra-ethnic differences between the District's South Asian communities, and within the communities themselves. It may also have been impacted by external factors, beyond the district – for example, international terrorism. The Council could not have predicted or accommodated these internal or external factors. If Bradford's cohesion strategies could be assessed, in isolation from internal strife between the District's Asian communities and external structural mechanisms, over the past 20-30 years, it might be possible to detect a degree of success.

In the next chapter, Ways and means: weaving knowledge from personal narrative, I explain the philosophical and methodological approach to my research.

²⁵ Who became Chair of RRAG in July 1986.

Chapter Four: Methodology.

Ways and means:

Weaving knowledge from personal narrative.

Introduction

This research builds on a study conducted in the 1980s by Bradford Heritage Recording Unit (BHRU). Jointly funded by Bradford Council and the old Manpower Services Commission²⁶ this earlier project resulted in a unique snapshot archive of memories, reflections, contemporary attitudes and images of Bradford at that time (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council)). Unemployed people were recruited to interview over 900 participants and copies of their recordings are stored in Bradford Central Library and Bradford Industrial Museum. One category of people interviewed then was those who migrated to Bradford District from the Asian sub-continent and the Caribbean. Information gleaned from the interviews was used by Bradford Council to forecast minority cultures' needs.²⁷ Eleven of the men and women I interviewed over 20 years later, were included in this earlier project. Because they were interviewed before, although I was not involved then, my study has longitudinal characteristics; it is also longitudinal because I conducted interviews over four years returning to most individuals two or more times.

The BHRU interviews, with people who would later join my cohort, were conducted between 14th March 1985 (**Dr C0009**) - November 1987, my interviews between May 2006 - April 2010. In both studies interviews took place in interviewees' homes, and places of worship, work and leisure. By the time I carried out my research some interviewees had moved away from Bradford so I also conducted interviews in Leeds, Somerset and London. Dr Rob Perks, BHRU project co-ordinator,²⁸ said BHRU interviewees were

²⁶ See Oxford Index (undated-b) *Manpower Services Commission*. Oxford University Press. Available from:

<http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100131636>

²⁷ City Librarian Carol Greenwood fellow Librarian Barry Smith. Greenwood, C. (1986) Undated letter to city librarian Barry Smith. In: Smith, B. (Ed.)..

²⁸ Now the Oral History Curator of the British Library Sound Archive

contacted through a leafleted public appeal, newspaper articles, and personal contacts (interview 11.11.2010). One of my interviewees, **Mrs C0086/2**, and her daughter **Mrs C0086/1**, were approached in their temple; she was later interviewed in the mill where she worked, see below.



Photo credit: Bradford Heritage Recording Unit. Picture supplied by **Mrs C0086/2**.

In its first year BHRU conducted 278 interviews with textile workers and Eastern European immigrants; interviews with people from the Asian sub-continent were conducted later, between 1984 -1988. By the end of the project the collection had become one of the top ten of its kind in the country - its immigrant archive unrivalled.

I understand I was the first person to conduct further research with the BHRU cohort. I also interviewed seven of their children who were not involved in the earlier project.

How this chapter contributes to my research questions

In this chapter I explain my methodology, how I contacted and worked with the cohort and what informed my core questions, which I prepared before interviewing began. These core questions were framed by my primary research question, that is: what factors, or mechanisms, inherent in ethnic social group identity and elaborated by the term *distance of the heart*, may have shaped the experience of integration of the Asian communities in Bradford? My task was to try to identify an approach, which would secure the optimal contribution of the cohort to this study. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, secondary questions, in support of the primary, only emerged from the responses of individual members of the cohort as the project progressed.

Alongside my introduction in the following chapter to the cohort, as a collective, and its individual members - and my description of the context of Bradford in the previous chapter – this chapter helps lay the groundwork for consideration of cohort responses in data chapters (6, 7 & 8). In this way, this chapter and Chapters 3 & 5 respectively assist analysis by grounding the cohort in their surroundings, offering insight into how and why they may have particular views or behave in a particular way. The data chapters alone, without this grounding, could provide incomplete or, at best, skewed understanding of what mechanisms may impact integration in Bradford.

In this chapter I also consider my methodological approach, which combines grounded theory with critical realism (Archer, 1995), and the extent to which my data, and therefore my findings, can be relied upon to address my research questions.

There is more on the contribution of this chapter in Chapter 9.

Contacting the cohort

I first heard about the BHRU interviews in 2004. At the time I was looking for a way to develop my earlier research, *How can theories of intergroup relations add to an understanding of the conflict in Bradford within the*

framework of Azar's model of Protracted Social Conflict? (Wall, 2003). When I viewed the collection for the first time, on 14.11.05, I identified 101 people from the Asian sub-continent - interviewed by BHRU between 29.7.84 - 7.3.88 – who I would like to contact. Forty-one of them were women and 60 men, who, by then, were between the ages of 32 - 85 years. They variously stated 'country of origin' as: Kenya (Punjab), India, Pakistan, Kenya (India), Muslim, Punjab, India, Lahore (Pakistan), Kashmir, Bradford (India), Amritsar (Punjab), Karachi (Pakistan), Mirpur, Rawalpindi, Bangladesh, Bradford (Pakistan), Glasgow (father Pakistan), Bradford (Kashmir), Bradford (Punjab), India (Kenya, England), Bradford (father Punjab), Sikh, Madras (India), England (India), England (Sikh), Kampala (India), Bradford (Bangladesh).

My schedule for contacting the BHRU cohort is at Chapter 4, Appendix 1. Because of an anonymity clause, contact was a lengthy process - taking from November 2005 until October 2007 to secure the consent of 11 interviewees. Letters, requesting participation in my research, were sent on my behalf by Bradford Library and Bradford Industrial Museum; see Chapter 4, Appendix 2. I began interviewing respondents on 5.5.06 and completed the process on 21.4.10. In total I conducted just over 58 hours of interviews with 11 original BHRU interviewees and seven of their adult children. I decided to expand the cohort to include the children because the original group seemed small, and I wanted to compare responses across generations.

My cohort includes two three-generation familial groups of grandparent – child – child; four two-generation familial groups of parent – child; and three men whose relatives were not interviewed, one because he died before this could be arranged, and two because they felt their children/parents would not be interested. My interview schedule is in Chapter 4, Appendix 3. I refer to original BHRU cohort members by their BHRU numbers, in order to provide

continuity and emphasise the longitudinal nature of my enquiry; their children are referenced by an additional S (son) or D (daughter).²⁹

The BHRU interviews informed the core questions I prepared for my interviews, see Chapter 4, Appendix 4; they were also informed by Modood's research, *Changing Identities*, 10 years before (Modood et al., 1994) and my earlier research into *Protracted Social Conflict in Bradford* (2003).³⁰ However, these core questions offered only a loose structure - providing discipline and rigour for my work - as research progressed I adapted my questions in response to what I was being told (Bryman, 2001). This was particularly valuable, given that I was conducting research with people from communities different from my own, making me the other. This responsiveness enabled participants to correct inaccurate assumptions and identify other avenues, which should be pursued. My informal, guided conversation approach³¹ created and sustained what Fetterman describes as a completely open forum, ripe for discovery and balanced by an implicitly shaped structure designed to explore specific issues and concerns (Fetterman, 2009). In this way I became Agar's professional stranger, spending a lot of time establishing trust with interviewees and pulling pieces of interviews together to construct categories for analysis (Agar, 1980).

Consequently, no two interviews were the same. I encouraged interviewees to guide our conversation - while this approach extended the process it also created a more relaxed interviewing style, which prompted greater disclosure than might result from inquisitorial questioning. My journalistic experience proved invaluable, as I was able to gently steer interviewees back to core questions if they digressed too far.³² I used a mixture of open and closed questions (Bryman, 2001 p.129), adapting them for use with different interviewees - sometimes abandoning lines which seemed inappropriate on a particular day or in particular circumstances. This flexibility requires a certain

²⁹ Some in the cohort later waived their anonymity.

³⁰ See Chapter 1.

³¹ My term.

³² A subjective judgement based on experience and my research focus.

adeptness, and confidence, which I had acquired during my earlier journalistic career.

As I live in Bradford I could conduct several interviews with cohort members over a number of years; enabling me to reflect on earlier encounters and ground later conversations in what I had learnt. Bryman describes this iterative process as weaving back and forth between data and theory (Bryman, 2001 p.10). Conducting inductive research can be problematic and time-consuming, as interviewees have the freedom to digress from or redirect conversation, but this can also be the value of the approach.

Challenges of working with the BHRU cohort

Aside from the issue, mentioned earlier, regarding BHRU confidentiality - which was overcome by the library posting my introductory letter to interviewees - there were other problems, which had to be overcome before I could begin interviewing. Firstly, it was the intention in the 1980s that two sets of audio recordings would be kept³³ - alongside abstracts and full transcripts. Unfortunately, many transcripts had disappeared, and although abstracts were available for some of my cohort's original interviews, transcripts were not available for any. This meant, in order to conduct analysis, the BHRU interviews had to be transcribed. I had some assistance with this, but the work was, nonetheless, time consuming. Secondly, both the reel-to-reel tapes and copy cassettes of the 1980s' interviewees had degraded, making listening and transcription time consuming. Also, neither the library nor Bradford Industrial Museum had machines capable of playing reel-to-reel tapes. Initially, I borrowed a player from the National Media Museum in Bradford, but it broke down and could not be repaired. Laboriously, I digitalised all the recordings I wanted to work with; some sections, however, remained unintelligible. I augmented some poor quality recordings by summary information, but other conversation was lost. Finally, the response rate to my initial mail shot was poor – only nine people replied

³³ In Bradford Central Library and the city's Industrial Museum.

agreeing to participate. Some letters were returned 'moved away.' I assumed given the ages of the BHRU cohort that others had died.

Mrs C0059 subsequently told me her father (**Mr M0100**) was also interviewed by BHRU - so he was included in my study. From respondent, **Mrs C0086/1**, I discovered that her mother (**Mrs C0086/2**) had been interviewed by BHRU. She was initially unable to participate because she was unwell, but a year later agreed to participate. When I decided to extend my research, making it inter-generational, **Mrs C0059** introduced me to her daughter; **Mrs C0086/1** to her daughter; **Dr C0009** to his son and his daughter; **Mr C0074** to his son; and **Mr C0101** to his son. This totalled a cohort of 18 people from three generations.

My approach to interviewing

Using interviews as my main data collection methodology was influenced by the nature of the BHRU project. I also felt interviews would be the best approach, as my aim was to acquire deep, tacit knowledge, that is about motivation and feelings, not easily acquired from language during more superficial engagement. I wanted people to be able to say what they felt, not simply responding to questions about what I considered the most appropriate enquiry. This was important because my ethnicity is different from theirs; I haven't experienced immigration (although I did live abroad for 10 years); and, I might not know the right questions to ask.

Importantly, my aim was not only to discover what people thought but also what caused them to think that way; culturally the other, their motivation might otherwise elude me. In this task I was guided by Bhaskar's Critical Realist search for internal mechanisms – that is the deep motivation for observable, empirical surface events (Bhaskar, 2008).³⁴ This necessitated an exploration of reasons, which might account for the quality of inter-group relationships; that is barriers to, and facilitators of, engagement (Wall, 2004).

³⁴ There is more on this below.

By the time Bradford Council published *District Trends* in 1979 (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council)) the BHRU project had been underway for over a year. Much of the focus of questioning in those interviews was on racism, prejudice and discrimination – reflecting the issues of the time. By 2006, when I began interviewing, the focus had shifted to issues related to what **Mr C0121** eloquently terms distance of the heart.³⁵ This idea was echoed by others who expressed their desire to find new ways of nurturing ties with the Asian sub-continent in their British born children (**Mrs C0059** & **Mr C0042**), for example, by buying holiday homes or investment property there for them to inherit

Below is a developer's drawing of an investment property purchased in Delhi by **Mr C0042**, for his British-born daughters to use for holidays.



Picture supplied by **Mr C0042**.

I adopted a psychosocial interviewing approach (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013), which imposes little structure on the process, and encourages free association; the aim being to create the conditions necessary for the emergence of narratives of participants' lives. Holloway & Jefferson say the

³⁵ That is how migrants experience the closeness of a place far away – measured not by miles or how long it takes to get there but rather by a calculation based on an ephemeral sense of belonging. There is more on this in Chapter 1.

free association narrative interview is based on four principles: the use of open ended questions; the aim to elicit a story; making use of the respondent's ordering and phrasing; and trying to avoid asking why questions. However, I did not abide by their final principle, feeling the reason for behaviour or perspective is important.

This approach was particularly useful when commencing interviews with an individual, as it engenders trust - probably motivated by the belief that the interviewee was in control. It also complimented my view that interviews are most productive when conducted as a conversation with a purpose (Agar, 1980 p.90); conceiving the interview as a two-person (or more) relationship (Dexter, 1970). The impact of this purpose is best illustrated by Spradley, who identifies differences between conversations and interviewing, saying in interviews the relationship between researcher and interviewee is asymmetrical, researcher asking questions; repeating replaces normal conversational rules of non-repetition; the researcher expresses interest and ignorance more often than in normal conversation; and there are fewer abbreviations and researcher encourages more expansion (Spradley, 1979 p.67).

Most participants were interviewed more than once, but the five not living in West Yorkshire were each interviewed only once. This may have changed the nature of encounters, as all the material I wanted to address had to be covered in one interview. Only one of the four in the south of England was a BHRU participant, with whom I had to review her 1980s interview. Generally, with BHRU participants I spent one hour reviewing their earlier interviews - for three reasons: to enable me to check what collaborators had said in the 1980s; to remind collaborators what they had said; to help establish rapport. In the one-off interviews, where time was limited, this process was accelerated.

After earlier material had been reviewed I questioned collaborators about their lives since the 1980s. Three of the four who lived in the south of

England came to England as children in the 1960s³⁶ - additionally I interviewed **Mrs C0086/1's** British-born daughter. Two interviews were not recorded; **Dr C0009/S** requested no recorder be used during our one-off interview (29.9.09) and I decided not to record one interview (9.12.08) with his father **Dr C0009**, because he seemed uneasy. Both men were more comfortable with me taking notes. This intuitive flexibility reflected the naturalistic nature of my interviewing approach.³⁷

Interviews lasted between half-an-hour to two-and-a-half-hours - determined by a number of factors: availability of collaborators, although appointments were always made sometimes interviewees were busy and only had limited time; collaborator mood, sometimes they appeared too upset, angry or distracted to effectively contribute; my mood, sometimes I was not in the right frame of mind. It was then better to keep interaction to a minimum and return another day; suitability of environment, sometimes there were distractions, which slowed or curtailed interviews, eg, the presence of relatives.

My concern was not interview quantity but rather quality, and I did not try to ensure all interviewees were asked exactly the same questions - rather I wanted to create the opportunity for individuals to tell their own stories. Instead of considering individual interviews and comparing them to others, a more satisfying analysis is achieved by viewing them holistically, as a collective – what insight they together offer.

My interviewer limitations

There were three key impediments to my role as interviewer: firstly, two years before I began my study Ouseley identified that parallel living was evident in Bradford (Ouseley, 2001). This observation categorised me as being culturally different from my interviewees. However, it should be said that, given the heterogeneity of the cohort, they would also be variously categorised. Differences between them included: nature of their migration

³⁶ Only one of the three, **Mrs C0086/01**, was an original BHRU interviewee. The others were brother and sister, **Dr C0009/S** and **Dr C0009/D**.

³⁷ There is more on this below.

experience; date of their arrival in Britain/birth in Britain; country of origin; ongoing ties with country of origin; religion; cultural background and traditions; sense of ethnic community affiliation; age; gender; ethnic background of friends; education and social status; individual tastes and preferences. Their heterogeneity seemed to minimise my difference. Secondly, I had lived in Bradford for a much shorter time than most interviewees, so I had less knowledge of the environment. Lastly, I do not speak most interviewees' first languages or mother tongues³⁸ – meaning I missed nuances and hidden meanings, and sometimes struggled to comprehend the exact nature of feelings. However, it would be too simplistic to assume this was always because of my different ethnicity; matters may sometimes have been too private to discuss.

The English language capability of most cohort members did not prove a challenge. The BHRU interviews were conducted in English, and the children of the migrants all had native fluency. However, difficulties sometimes arose from poor communication between BHRU interviewer and interviewee, with questions asked not being the ones understood. Given the inter-cultural nature of my study, I was aware of this pitfall, alert to signs that I may have been misunderstood, and ready to ask interviewees to clarify responses. This required that I sustain cultural competence (Martin and Vaughn, 2007), enabling me to interact effectively with people from cultures different from my own. I was aware of non-verbal signals and signs, which were unfamiliar because of my different cultural background - including body posture, facial expression, gesture, spatial behaviour, gaze and eye contact, and touch. I initially found the lack of eye contact between myself and men I was interviewing, and sometimes their reluctance to shake hands with me, challenging. These various challenges were met by: firstly, enlisting another family member to assist with interviews, if my collaborator was unable to express clearly in English. **Miss C0059/D**, for example, assisted my interview with her grandfather, **Mr MO100** – resulting in the development of an interesting dynamic. Secondly, double-checking information, especially about

³⁸ There is more on language in Chapter 7.

traditions and religious practice unfamiliar to me. This prolonged my study, but was essential. Mostly interviewees were patient, with what must have seemed naïve enquiries, but sometimes it was difficult to persuade them to elaborate. Thirdly, by ‘allowing’ the wives of interviewees, reluctant to permit me, as a woman, to be alone with their husbands, to attend interviews. Usually, this was not particularly intrusive and not necessary during follow-up interviews.

Notwithstanding, as it was not possible for me to set aside my identity, this research is tainted by my gender and race. This reflects the socially constructed inevitability of research, which Archer recognises as the factor responsible for the selection and conceptualisation of topics for enquiry, formulation of research questions, interactions between researcher and participants, and analysis and representation of research (Archer, 2002).

My interviewer advantages

Despite these disadvantages I also had advantages: importantly, my outsider status allowed some interviewees to discuss sensitive issues because I had no close familial or friendship ties to their ethnic community – it gave them confidence what they said would not get back to people they knew. This was especially important when I interviewed several generations within one family. I emphasised to each person I would not break their confidence with relatives. When family members asked me to break this trust, I politely refused. Secondly, I am a trained and experienced journalist, used to conducting interviews, often on sensitive issues, with people of different backgrounds. I was able to approach the task with minimal prejudgement – and no expectations of outcome, other than attempting to address the hypothesis. Also, I had completed counselling training,³⁹ and practiced empathy and unconditional positive regard – especially useful given the inter-cultural nature of my enquiry. And, I had already conducted research in Bradford, which provided an introduction to the District’s multicultural make-

³⁹ The Carl Rogers’ technique. See below, in this chapter.

up. Finally, I live in Bradford, so could easily access my participants – although this also provided a temptation to prolong the study.

The reliability of personal narrative

Notwithstanding, interviews have a major drawback, so far as the collection of reliable data is concerned. Interviewees may mislead (unintentionally or deliberately). Factors which affect recall reliability include: length of recall period; nature of the event, both positive and negative events are recalled better than neutral events; conditions of the interview, recall is best in face-to-face interviews; increasing age; the more salient the event the less recall error there is; reducing the difficulty of questions and using logical question sequencing improves recall (Dex, 1995). Personal narratives may also not be reliable because respondents are unwilling or unable to convey meaning to a stranger; don't understand motivation for their own behaviour or views; or may simply lie, for whatever reason (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013). Additionally, over time focus and versions of stories can change, which happened frequently during the course of my study.

It is important to root snapshot recollections, in response to specific thematic questioning, not only in their context but also to the interviewee's perspective of events. The answer to the question how did you feel about X becomes as important, possibly more, than recording actual facts of life – enabling, meaningful felt identity to emerge. Maynes say personal narratives serve to reorient theories about the relationship between individuals and the social by calling attention to the dynamics through which individuals construct themselves as social actors (Maynes et al., 2008 p.1). Despite its shortcomings this validates the personal narrative as the optimal methodology for an exploration in Bradford's multicultural environment of mechanisms, which impact social cohesion. Further reassurance is provided by Holloway & Jefferson, who say a good reason for believing what interviewees say is that they best know their own lives (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013 p.9). Adopting a deep investigative, grounded approach helped ensure my study became a true reflection of cohort accounts.

The long and short of it

I wanted to work with the BHRU cohort because they afforded the opportunity to consider whether their felt sense of identity was different from when they were interviewed 20 years earlier. This transformational opportunity is of interest because it may identify mechanisms underpinning change, which impact intercultural engagement. Park and Burgess coined the term marginal man, to describe someone who crosses cultures, 'becoming a micro-level force for macro-level change' (Atkinson et al., 2001 p.17). I wanted to discover how evident the marginal (wo)man was in the cohort.

My research can be considered longitudinal because it encompasses data collected during two distinct periods; the subjects analysed are the same, or at least comparable, between the first and second periods; and analysis involves some comparison of data between the periods (Ruspini, 2000). However, there are qualifications: firstly, I did not conduct the 1980s interviews and BHRU is not involved in my research; BHRU did not intend its research would be longitudinal and the original interviewees did not expect to be interviewed again; my research focuses on only c10 per cent of the original cohort – however panel attrition is, anyway, characteristic of longitudinal research (Bryman, 2001 p.47). Given that the original interviewees were not expecting to be re-interviewed it is surprising that so many were prepared to collaborate, so long after the first project. de Vaus says people are more likely to participate in research if they feel their participation is important and constructive, so I made my purpose clear in my introduction letter (de Vaus, 2001 p.139). This approach was more successful with original BHRU interviewees than with their children, who were sometimes reluctant to participate – perhaps indicating that BHRU interviewees were motivated because they had invested in the earlier project.

Even if the longitudinal aspect of this research is questionable it does have longitudinal characteristics – because of the length of time since the original cohort was interviewed; the duration of my study (May 2006-April 2010); and the multiple number of interviews I conducted with most participants. My

interviewing took four years to complete, often with long gaps between interviews with the same individual. This meant I could analyse each interview and ground follow-ups, both in what I learnt from the first, and subsequent interviews with others.

Utilising the BHRU cohort meant I might map change, gain insight into the time order of variables, and reach causal inference (Bryman, 2001 p.47). Including younger people in the cohort helped me to determine if Bradford's Asian communities adhered to community development standards, for example, for how quickly older members acquire reasonable English, or how long children find it difficult to attain at school. Much concern about immigrant communities failing to integrate can be explained by timeframe - perceptions of cohesion strategy resistance explained by a forcing of the agenda. Perhaps Bradford Council was guilty of this, when - at the start of the 1990s - its race relations' work was subsumed (job-done) into the wider equality agenda. The Asian communities might not have been ready to be treated as part of the whole, or, more likely, they were by then increasingly less interested in integration, than they might have been earlier, and more in distinction.

Along with evidence of long-term transmutation of identity I wanted to explore with the cohort their sense of belonging and home. Making my research inter-generational also meant I could examine how the views of the children differed from their parents, and grandparents.

However, a key drawback of longitudinal research is panel attrition, which I experienced in two ways. Firstly, when I approached the original 1980s interviewees⁴⁰ few responded. I also experienced attrition when an original interviewee **Mr C0074** died and his son withdrew him, and himself (**C0074/S**), from my research. When a second original interviewee (**Mr C0121**) died his family allowed him to remain in my cohort. Losing three people from such a small cohort was difficult - their 'withdrawal' represented

⁴⁰ Via the library because initially cohort addresses could not be released to me.

a loss of 17%, although I was able to use material from my one interview with **Mr C0121**.

Validity challenge

Aside from attrition, there are validity problems inherent in the longitudinal approach, relevant to the 1980s' cohort. Firstly the different ages of participants made comparison between earlier and recent views problematic. Some were young adults the first time; when I interviewed them they were mature men and women with life experience. Secondly, the interviewees' environment had changed. Although most still lived in Bradford, the District had changed. In the 1980s **Mr M0100** spoke movingly of his bad experience of racial discrimination, but when I interviewed him he said it didn't happen any more. Thirdly, I experienced the common longitudinal studies' problem of selective survival (Woolf) - only 11 (around 10%) of the BHRU participants agreeing to re-interview. There is no way of knowing how, or whether, their views are representative of those of the original cohort. Notwithstanding, Hindley says, use of the small longitudinal sample is vindicated when the aim is to study the processes of development; the focus then being not on representative sampling but replicating important findings (Hindley, 1970). Finally, revisiting informants occurs at specific points of time, so the course of events between these discrete points remains unknown (Ruspini, 2000). Although I asked collaborators to recall their lives since the 1980s it is not clear how reliable their recollections were. I adopted a strategy, suggested by Sudman & Bradburn, to reduce recall distortion, which encourages interviewees to utilise event markers – focusing on what happened rather than when (Sudman and Bradburn, 1982).

Care was taken when considering views expressed during the early stages of my research; when I returned for follow-up interviews two years later I sometimes found they had changed. For example, **Miss C0059/D** spoke passionately about discovering deep Islamic faith, which involved praying five times a day and wearing a closed scarf. This marked a new chapter in her life, she said. However, a few months later she had changed; the scarf

was off and the level of her demonstrable religious adherence altered. This development would not have been identified by a one-off encounter.

My attempts to contextualise the cohort in Bradford's unique environment - geographically, demographically, and historically - is assisted by the nature of my enquiry. Longitudinal study, says Gershuny, provides causal links between two interviewee encounters and links individual dynamics with situational and social structures (Gershuny, 1998). That makes it possible, Ruspini says, to fit events both into individuals' biographies and into the family and social contexts they are part of - permitting in-depth analysis of choices and factors underling behaviour (Ruspini, 2000).

This reflects the agency v structure interplay, inherent in the morphogenetic approach,⁴¹ and begs the question whether contextualisation should be considered a two-way street. Firstly, to what extent participants were influenced by environment, for example Bradford Council attempts to accommodate immigrant community needs. And, secondly, to what extent did the Council formulate policies in response to minority community demands, which is what former Chief Executive David Kennedy said happened (interview 15.8.2006). The experience of the cohort would likely have been different had they lived elsewhere - especially somewhere with a smaller Asian population.

Validity can be viewed in two ways: internal validity is concerned with whether a conclusion that finds a causal relationship between two or more variables holds water. Implicit in this thesis title is such a relationship, between ethnic social group identity and cohesion. Utilisation of the critical realist approach, see below, which searches for deep knowledge through consideration of mechanisms which tend to influence behaviour, makes data from this study more internally valid. External validity is, rather, concerned with whether the results of a study can be generalised beyond the specific research context (Bryman, 2001 p.32). There is no claim that my findings can

⁴¹ There is more below on this approach.

be generalised, which, anyway, Gurney says, is not the task of the ethnographer (Gurney, 1997). Rather, the data that emerge are entirely cohort-context-time-specific. The value of this study is, then, limited and two-fold: firstly, it offers insight into the impact of ethnic social group identity on societal cohesion in Bradford, at a specific point in time. Secondly, it offers insight – a ‘best outcome’ working hypothesis (Guba, 1981) - which may inform examination of multicultural environments elsewhere.

The science of storytelling

This study adopts a typically phenomenological philosophical approach (Bryman, 2001 p.14), my intention being to secure an emic account rooted in the views of the cohort (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975 pp.13-14) - enabling knowledge to emerge from personal narrative. It was essential that I adopt a phenomenological approach - which placed the cohort at the centre of my research because - as Reeves says, self-experience can only be healthily processed cognitively and emotionally by the individual whose experience it is (Reeves, 2018). I needed cohort members to light my way.

How I set out to achieve this, outlined above, reflects Fetterman’s view that naturalistic ethnographic study is as much about storytelling as science (Fetterman, 2009 p.2). With a journalistic background I had re-told stories long before I came to this study; so my methodology was significantly impacted both by my experience and my belief that deep information is best acquired through face-to-face interviewing.

My approach is then ethnographic (Gurney, 1997) and qualitative⁴² however, additional rigour is achieved by applying the tenets of critical realism, in particular Archer’s morphogenetic perspective (Archer, 1995) and utilisation of Roger’s person-centred counselling technique (Rogers, 2001), in which I am trained. My enquiry is also framed by the Life Course Dynamics

⁴² Qualitative research adopts a strategy that emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. It aims to generate theory out of research and rejects the practices and norms of the natural scientific model (positivism) and instead focuses on the ways in which individuals interpret their own social words. And it accepts social realities will be constantly shifting (Bryman, A. (2001) *Social Research Methods*. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.).

approach, which required contextualisation of the cohort geographically and historically (Elder, 1985a). This reflects the naturalistic 'whole cloth' perspective, which views all factors of reality to be inter-connected and indivisible. There is more on these three tools below. For now, suffice to say, doing research with people of cultures different from my own without employment of, particularly, critical realism – which demanded that I looked beyond apparent surface meaning - and Rogers' techniques – which demanded that I respond non-judgementally – would have significantly limited my understanding of the cohort's personal narratives and, likely, have impeded meaningful engagement. The ethnographic approach is often dismissed as being anecdotal but if the words of those researched come out of the page they can have a long-term effect (Bentley, 2016). I then conceived my role as being a conduit between the cohort and the reader; my responsibility viewed with a caution arising from my position as other.

Trying to secure in-depth, thick data was time-consuming, repeated interviewing of the same participant necessary (where possible) to put them at ease, build rapport, and encourage frank and, hopefully, honest disclosure. To this end I conducted most interviews in cohort homes, and dealt with challenges inherent in doing so as they occurred - for example lack of privacy, family interruptions, and the distraction of familial duties.

I find Erlandson's advice that researchers should share in the construction of human settings they investigate problematic – because I was of a different culture to my interviewees (Erlandson et al., 1993). Being able to step out of myself, as a white, middle-aged woman, and view life through the eyes of a young Sikh man, for example, was impossible. However, utilising Carl Rogers' techniques assisted (see below) – helping me to listen to and respect views which were new, or even objectionable, to me

My enquiry was fraught with the potential for misunderstanding, and even the causing of offence (Hammersley, 1994). Fetterman warns ethnographers researching with people of cultures other than their own can wander through a multicultural wilderness, on paths that often lead nowhere (Fetterman,

2009). Without doubt I did some of this wandering, pursuing avenues of enquiry that I thought were important but which turned out not to be. It is also entirely plausible that I missed opportunities to pursue matters, which I did not realise might be important – because my cultural competence was insufficient to recognise signs. This is an inherent potential unpredictable, and incalculable, failing of this research. In the end, all I could do, as Hammersley advises, was to constantly keep digging deeper, lifting the veil, getting close to what might be a truth (Hammersley, 1991 p.44). The relatively small size of my cohort, at its largest only 18 people, reflects Wolcott's person-centred ethnographic approach (Wolcott, 1999 p.156) - reminiscent of the Chicago School's early 20th century passionate ethnography (Van Maanen, 1988 p.17) - which advocates that researchers work with only a few informants (Wolcott, 1999 p.156). This offers, says Hammersley, the best opportunity for the emergence of depth of knowledge (Hammersley, 1998 p.19). However, the size of my cohort was not planned, but rather naturally evolved from the invitation to participate; having only 18 members did afford me the opportunity to meet most several times - although the degree to which I came to know them varied.

My ethnographic methodology is underpinned by two important approaches: Archer's morphogenetic critical realism and Roger's client-centred technique. It is also informed by Life Course Dynamics. I will now explain how I utilised these three tools.

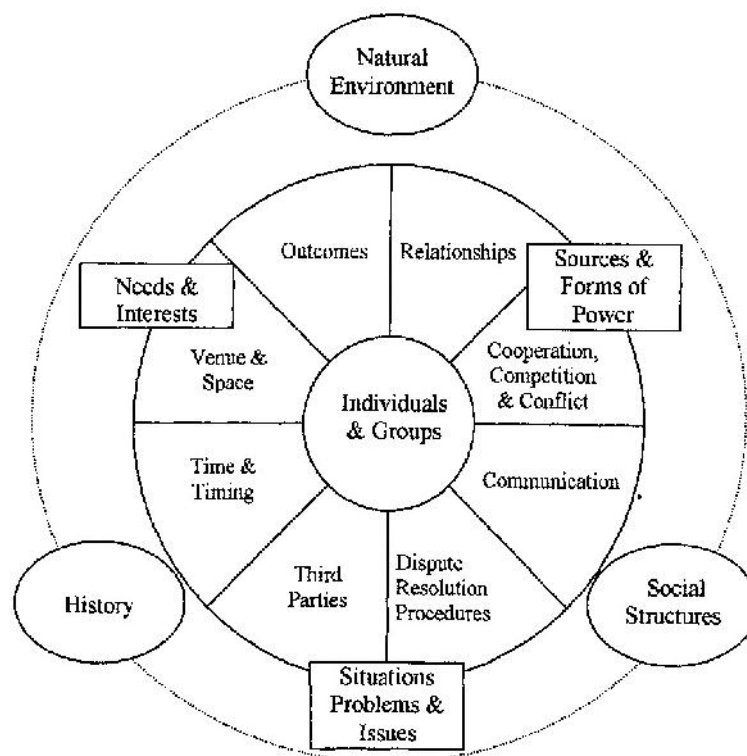
The morphogenetic key

Given the aim of generating thick data - grounded in the cohort's tacit knowledge - Archer's morphogenetic approach (Archer, 1995) provides a useful tool to scrutinise the mechanisms at work in Bradford society, which enable ethnic social group identity to challenge social cohesion. Her recognition that social identity is formed and maintained at the apex, or interplay, of structure (Scott and Marshall, 2009) and agency (Sewell, 1992) led me to explore factors (mechanisms), which might perpetuate parallel living across the District. For this purpose social identity, underpinned by the

social group, is seen as the structure with the potential, nothing more, to constrain agential behaviour.

My earlier research into Bradford conflict (Wall, 2003) identified persistent conditions, which, when triggered, led to disorder and unrest. I concluded, generative mechanisms - characteristic of critical realism - which predispose given behaviour within a particular environment and set of circumstances, could provide insight into the nature of interaction between social groups and, possibly, enable prediction of interaction outcome (Wall, 2004). The pertinent question, then, is in what way might ethnic social group identity tend to inhibit social cohesion in a multicultural environment? This led to an exploration with the cohort of factors, which could structurally constrain their inter-cultural engagement – and to consideration of how such constraints might be circumvented, reconciled or overthrown by individuals.

Considered alongside my Impact Matrix (see Chapter 3), Moore & Woodrow's Wheel of Culture (below) provides insight into structures, which tend to constrain, or facilitate, inter-cultural interaction (Moore and Woodrow, 2002 p.154).



The hub represents the space where interaction takes place; the inner rim identifies needs and interests, which drive negotiation, and the sources of power and influence which impact engagement. The outer rim identifies broad external factors, which influence a group's cultural approach to negotiation, such as history, and inherent intellectual and physical social structures, which tend to govern behaviour. The spokes of the wheel represent specific culturally-based patterns of belief and behaviour that influence interaction (Moore and Woodrow, 2002 p.156). These patterns impact, for example, how: relationships are established and maintained; co-operation is encouraged, competition accommodated, and conflict handled; appropriate and effective communication is achieved; problem solving and negotiation is resolved; and, consensus on the preferred outcome is reached.

As my Common Area Model demonstrates (see Chapter 3) this approach is necessarily complex and multi-dimensional in multicultural Bradford. For example, while the local Pakistani Muslim community and Indian Sikh community may have reasonable relationships with the indigenous White community, antagonism still exists between these two communities. The importance groups attach to agential autonomy is critical, Hofstede says, and defined by how much emphasis they put on the individual versus the collective - placing them on an individualism/collectivism continuum of orientations (Hofstede, 1980). Cultures, which tend to be individualistic, value individual autonomy, initiative, creativity and authority in decision-making (Moore and Woodrow, 2002 p.154), while collectivists value group cohesion, harmony and consultative decision-making (Davies, 2003 p.117). Reminiscent of Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity distinction (Lukes, 1973), these orientations impact on attempts to build societal cohesion in multicultural environments. It is tempting to see a clear collectivist (mechanical) v individualistic (organic) divide in Bradford – regarding the Asian communities, with their extended families, clans, biradari, and religious adherence, to be in the mechanical camp. But this

would be misleading, for a number of reasons: firstly, Bradford's Asian communities are heterogeneous; the transformation from mechanical to organic proceeding at different paces in different communities; also, account must be taken of intergenerational differences, which mean young British-born people have a more modern (individualist) perspective than their parents or grandparents; also, it is simplistic to assume the mechanical v organic response is uniform, in relation to all collectivist/individualistic tendencies; and, the response may not be consistent over time; finally, fluctuations in mechanical/organic response may be obscured by an apparent collectivist tendency – for example, an individualistic desire to garner support for one's personal agenda.

For the purposes of this research culture is defined, broadly, as the cumulative result of experience, values, religion, beliefs, attitudes, meaning, knowledge, social organisations, procedures, timing, roles, spatial relations, concept of the universe, and material objects acquired or created by groups of people, in the course of generations, through individual or group effort and interactions (adapted by (Moore and Woodrow, 2002) from (Samovar and Porter, 1972)). But this definition begs several critical questions: firstly, about the acquisition process - how a culture accommodates new products and ideas, the result of new interaction; also, how a culture mediates between conflicting products – the old giving way to the new; the nature of compromise; and, how cultures in a multicultural environment construct a society where everyone can live together.

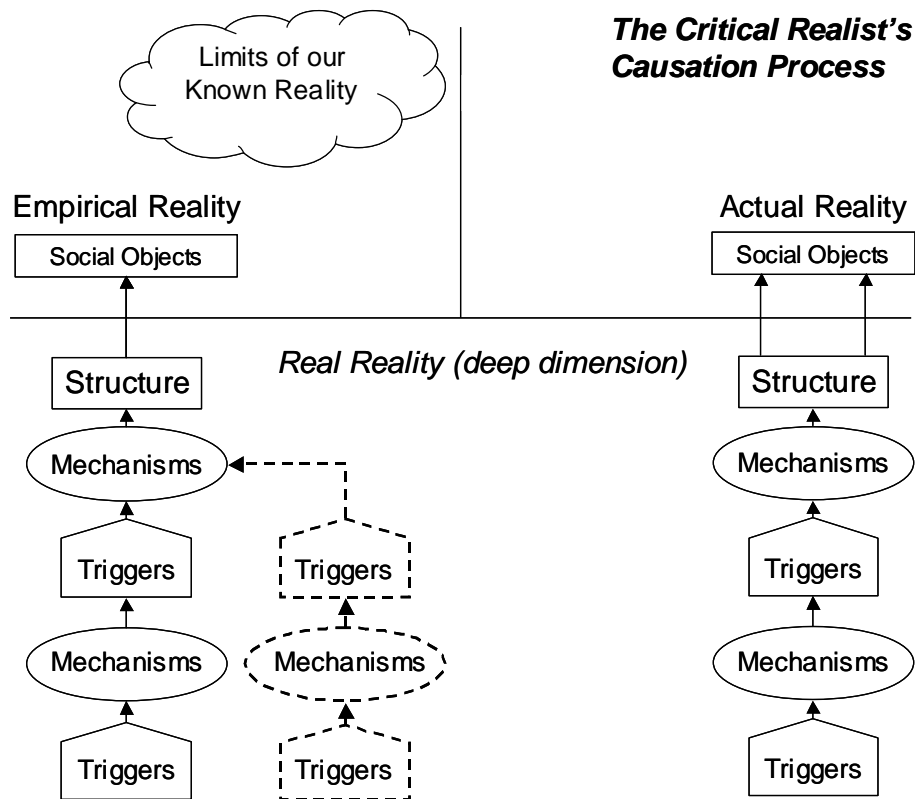
A considerable challenge to social cohesion in Bradford is that adaptation and transformation of Asian communities is occurring alongside, and parallel to, other local communities. This is not to say that their internal cohesion is not threatened - for example by the views and behaviour of British born descendents – but it is ironic that 50+ years post migration the Asian communities remain cohesive in a way which eludes policy-markers intent on society-wide cohesion. Hence the question must be, to what extent does internal cohesion of the ethnic group – glued together, and perpetuated by its social identity – challenge wider society cohesion?

Critical Realism (CR) (Bhaskar, 2008) is a useful methodology, which directs us to underlying mechanisms contributing to perpetuation of ethnic identity, strong enough to challenge societal cohesion in Bradford. This is because CR searches for unobserved, deep dimension mechanisms, which drive behaviour (Wall, 2004). For critical realists it is not enough to know that B follows A – a scientific explanation should explain how and why this happens. While CR does not deny the autonomy of individuals it stresses the need to recognise power structures at work, with the tendency to shape behaviour in specific circumstances. The uniqueness of CR is that it identifies a deep third domain of reality (known as Real), where mechanisms exist which generate events (Danermark et al., 2002 p.21). Danermark says it is in this Real domain where knowledge is to be found – without which we are reduced to the acquisition of experiences and facts; to repeating the interpretation and explanations that people themselves have of various social phenomena (Danermark et al., 2002 p.36). This, they say, is not enough; while it is necessary to understand the meaning people assign to their actions – in order to understand those actions – it is the business of science to dig deeper into the reality independent of our knowledge to search for subconscious mechanisms directing events/behaviour (Danermark et al., 2002 p.39); not to take anything at face value, even that genuinely proffered.

Investigating how a mechanism works, involves identifying the causal conditions and causal power required to activate specific events (response). CR recognises that social objects have the powers they do because of their structures – which, in turn, cause powers to be exercised, once triggered. Without triggers there may be a tendency for something to happen, but it remains dormant. In this way, Azar searches for triggers, which activate his four preconditions for intensification of conflict (Wall, 2003).⁴³ This cause-and-effect-process is depicted below.⁴⁴

⁴³ See Chapter 1.

⁴⁴ My construction.



Consideration of this process directed the iterative approach of my study; collaborators responding to, and elaborating on, initial questioning - informing my consideration of how to respond and encourage further discussion. In this way it was possible to explore group and individual motivation, or generative mechanisms and triggers, which undermined or fostered conditions necessary for good intergroup interaction. Importantly, evidence of a feedback loop emerged, which identified the pivotal role of ethnic social group identity both as a tool - enabling production of cohesive strategies (mechanisms), such as perpetuation of heritage language - and as a mechanism, helping to sustain collective cohesion.

The aim of work with the cohort was, therefore, two-fold: to determine what, and to what extent, structures and/or mechanisms – underpinning ethnic social group identity – have impacted on societal cohesion in Bradford. The 14 emergent thematic areas, outlined in Chapters 6, 7 & 8, are an elaboration of structures and mechanisms identified by the cohort, which may both impact their sense of identity and be constrained or nurtured by it.

It is worth considering how structures have the tendency to influence agents; for in a multicultural environment it is useful to understand the nature of mechanisms with the potential to hinder social cohesion. Archer says an internal conversation links structure and agency – governing an agent's response to social conditioning (Archer, 2003). Contrary to other realist theory – which offers no explanation of the interplay between structure and agency – Archer adopts a transcendence approach, which conceptualises these factors as being ontologically inseparable (Archer, 2001). Critical to the degree to which structures can influence agents, she says, is the nature of their causal powers – which tend to constrain or enable. The internal conversation occurring at this point involves a consideration of the mitigation of poor outcome, exploitation of good outcome, avoidance of difficulties, and recognition of the need to accept a second best outcome. When migrants engage in cherry picking, as the cohort does, between what's on offer within the ethnic community and that in wider society, they are engaged in this conversation.

In a multicultural environment, cohesion must be contingent on an understanding of the nature of the different, culturally-relevant, internal conversations present, dependent on their weighing up of mitigating options – along with their various enablements and constraints - which impact on perspective and behaviour. Pronouncement of the death of multiculturalism (Philips et al., 2004), 20 or so years ago, may simply demonstrate that this understanding was never reached – leading to inaccurate and inflated expectations of what could be achieved.

Under certain circumstances, Sayer says, social structures can become invariant, that is, they continue to exist long after their constituents undergo change (Sayer, 1992 p.93). This may result in a time lag, during which individuals begin to adapt while their structures remain traditional and entrenched. Within migrant communities, this may be responsible for intergenerational rift. Therefore, any agenda designed to encourage cohesion must: accommodate this rift indefinitely; understand how some individuals may choose to embrace change but be restrained structurally;

embrace the need for patience – be capable of waiting until there is more enthusiasm within ethnic groups for external engagement; and, appreciate how some inter-group relationships may, overtime, become less (or more) necessary (internal) and more (or less) contingent (external).

For Bakewell reconciling the structure v agency impasse is critical to an understanding of the relationship between migration and social change (Bakewell, 2010). He offers Archer's dualism approach, which recognises the mutual dependency of agents and structures, as a much more sophisticated theoretical basis for understanding this process (Bakewell, 2010 p.1705). The only difficulty this presents this study is the uncertainty over whether the cohort, after all these years in Britain, resides within its migration. It is debateable whether a group, or individual, so long after arrival can continue to be described as migrant – even if its members are identified as living lives parallel to the mainstream. But there may be a quantity continuum inherent in the conundrum, which continues to view the ethnic group as migrant long after an individual sojourner has settled. That may mean while groups appear to remain superficially discrete and identifiable, their constituents have moved on. Viewing the Asian communities in Bradford as immutably cohesive may obscure the reality of the tears at their seams – undermining analysis on the basis of collectivity.

The fundamental challenge when using CR to determine causality is knowing when the search has bottomed out; that the ultimate level of explanation has been reached (Bhaskar, 1998 p.68). This imponderable contributes to discussion about research validity. CR can make us more aware of different perspectives and paths but it cannot produce the right path or understanding - it may simply illuminate more options. The critical realist would also say it is important, in a multicultural environment, to determine, within the different groups two critical factors: firstly, the varying degree of structural and cultural morphogenetic and morphostatic development present, in order to properly understand the appetite for, and challenges to, societal cohesion; and, the varying impact of the opportunity costs – that is the predisposition towards different projects, which can account for divergent social response.

Rogers' contribution

Psychotherapist Carl Roger's three-pillar client-centred counselling approach⁴⁵ – of empathy, unconditional positive regard and congruence – proved an invaluable tool in my engagement with the cohort. It was especially helpful because I was conducting research with people whose cultural backgrounds were different from my own. Empathy involves stepping into the other's shoes,⁴⁶ trying to see the world through their eyes; unconditional positive regard emphasises consistent, unbiased behaviour; and congruence relates to how behaviour genuinely reflects (the counsellor's) feelings towards clients (Rogers, 2001 p.61). I was able to utilise these tools when interviewees spoke about experiences unfamiliar to me, or expressed views I did not share. In some circumstances maintaining unconditional positive regard was particularly problematic for me, but I had practiced it elsewhere, and found it invaluable. Rapport with interviewees was established through prolonged engagement, this was easier to achieve with local interviewees, who I returned to for follow-up interviews, but more difficult with the three in Somerset and the one in London, who I interviewed only once. When speaking to older women⁴⁷ I developed rapport based on shared life experience - despite our different cultural backgrounds. With middle-aged Asian men it was, initially, more difficult – but permitting their wives to sit in on first interviews helped. This was also an effective strategy because sometimes wives contributed by recollecting dates or information about events their husbands had forgotten – albeit sometimes in Urdu or Punjabi, which necessitated their husband's translation.

Roger's approach is particularly useful to a phenomenological study, such as this, as it recognises that the individual exists in a continually changing world of experience (the phenomenal field) of which they are the centre. Individuals, therefore, construct their selves through interaction with the environment; the intent being to maintain or enhance experience (BAPCA). It

⁴⁵ In which I have been trained.

⁴⁶ So far as possible.

⁴⁷ Similar to my own age.

is, then, clear to see how members of the cohort may live on the edge of wider society, to various extents, and yet are also part of it. Understanding that, dictates how important it is to keep in mind Rogers' tenet triad during cross-cultural engagement.

Reflection

Counselling training⁴⁸ also introduced me to the value of reflection (Jasper, 2005), which, Jasper says, heightens a writer's critical thinking and analytical abilities; contributes to cognitive development; enables creativity and unique connections to be made between disparate sets of information; and facilitates new perspective. This was reassuring for work with people from cultures different to my own - during which I anticipated new ways of seeing things to emerge. After each interview I wrote a reflection about our interaction, providing a useful space for me to consider everything, which had occurred. I was acutely aware of the challenge of inter-cultural communication; this was obvious if an interviewee's English was limited, or less obvious - the result of invisible cultural barriers. I had to develop the cultural competence to interact effectively with participants – to understand how their values, norms and traditions affected the way they interacted, behaved and viewed their world (and me) (Oxford Index, undated-a). I had some prior understanding, as I live in Bradford, but I gained deeper understanding during my study.

In my reflection I considered, for example: participants' behaviour during interview; my behaviour during interview; how our behaviour was impacted if third parties were present; how the environment challenged our engagement; the nature, and cause, of mood changes during interview, and how this impacted information credibility; and the cause of any tension between us during engagement (see reflection extracts in Chapter 4, Appendix 5).

My reflections should be seen as an integral part of my research, and are also subjected to analysis. Scanlan says reflection enables practitioners to

⁴⁸ With Bradford Bereavement Support Group and at Bradford University as part of my first degree course.

tap into knowledge gained through experience (Scanlan et al., 2002) while Erlandson maintains that reflexive journals can support not only the credibility of the study, but also its transferability, dependability and confirmability (Erlandson et al., 1993 p.143). Without my reflective log I would have missed or forgotten useful material, which emerged during exchanges, for example how easily interviewees changed between languages as they interacted with different family members. I found some replies to be shocking or disturbing; but I remained professional and moved on with the interview. Later I recorded my feelings and, analysed alongside the interview transcript, they contribute to the interview context. My reflections were also useful when preparing for subsequent interviews, either with the same participant or another. I was also aware of this reflective voice during interviewing, constraining or urging me to delve a little further, as appropriate.

Life course dynamics (LCD)

My research is framed by the LCD approach, which advocates consideration of the impact on individuals of changes in their social roles (McClanahan and Soerensen, 1985). Pioneered by the Chicago School early in the 20th century (Elder, 1985a) interest in LCD was renewed in the 1960s, due to growing awareness of links between social change and an individual's life. This reflects both the Structure v Agency debate and the Critical Realist imperative to discover thick knowledge causation.⁴⁹ These processes contribute to contextual situation - where people are 'coming from'. For example, construction of the Mangla dam near Mirpur was a significant life-changing event for Kashmiri farmers whose land was flooded; as a result they migrated to Bradford, to find new livelihoods (Greenhalf, 2002).

As LCD describes a process, which takes place over an extended time span (Elder, 1985a),⁵⁰ it compliments the longitudinal approach. The inter-generational cycle, says Elder, adds a distinctive feature to the life course perspective - by connecting the lives of parents and children each generation

⁴⁹ See above.

⁵⁰ Although how long is not clear.

is bound to fateful decisions and events in the other's life course (Elder, 1985a p.40). **Mrs C0059**, who came to Britain as a baby, spoke movingly of the first time she returned to Pakistan when she was 26, and met her two older sisters who had remained there with grandparents. Her story demonstrates how life course decisions can impact those who do not make them, particularly the next generation.

The Chicago School determined that individual lives, families and communities are mutually dependent in a process of change (Elder, 1985a p.29). This validates efforts to locate the cohort within their environment, not only in the present but historically. Importantly, Elder warns, there may be a waiting time between events and a state change (Elder, 1985a p.32). This means migrant communities may require considerable time to adjust; to realise they are not going home – how long cannot be predicted. Immigrants from the Indian sub-continent intended to stay in Britain only long enough to make enough money to improve family life back home. Then there was an awakening, usually after children were born, that a return was not feasible. It is said the intention to return became a myth (Bolognani, 2007) - although I would question this conclusion, given how many elderly people are now returning to home villages post-retirement.⁵¹ **Mr M0100** is one such returnee - travelling to Pakistan each year with his wife to spend up to six months living with extended family. He might stay longer were it not for the limit his Bradford doctor places on bulk supplies of his medication and the time he can stay out of the country before affecting his British pension. Does his annual trip to Pakistan belie the notion of the myth of return? Is he now primarily based in the UK holidaying in Pakistan or he is now again based in Pakistan holidaying in Britain? And another challenge to the myth of return is emerging, as British born grandchildren of migrants travel to the Asian sub-continent to set up businesses with their cousins. Are they fulfilling the return pledge their grandparents made?

⁵¹ There is more on this in Chapter 5.

Waiting time is a useful tool for investigation of the period when immigrants seem to be not entirely here nor there – when their sense of belonging to the place of emigration may be diminishing, but not yet replaced by affiliation to their new home; however, it is complicated by the eventual return of the migration generation. LCD offers a window onto a continuum, which stretches from the push-pull event – triggering migration – to a change in state. But waiting time raises questions, for example, how is it identified, when does it begin, how long is it, when does it end? What occurs during this time? How does one reach a change in state, what does that mean, how is it identified? What are the mechanisms underpinning state transformation? Can waiting time provide a general migration model, or are variables between immigrant communities too numerous? How does waiting time impact on the descendents of migrants? And, importantly for this research, how does waiting time impact on sense of identity and belonging?

The interview I conducted with **Mr M0100** and his grand daughter **Miss C0059/D** (interview 26.6.2008) provides contradictory evidence about their family waiting time. For her, change of state, characterising its end, is nothing more than the norm; while his frequent return to Pakistan may, for him, evidence its persistence.

If cohort members are somewhere on the waiting time continuum, it is not easy to say where. A pivotal consideration seems to be the depth of one's feeling at home in – belonging to – Britain, and one's attachment to country of origin. How waiting time might impact one's sense of identity is a key question. Inherent is this challenging conundrum: if waiting ends when one's identity enables navigation of life in a new environment, and that is premised on one's sense of belonging, and that is dependent on a sense of fitting in, what triggers the mechanism kick-starting the process? It is likely that the presence of large numbers in the waiting time, such as Bradford's Asian communities, challenges efforts to create cohesive multicultural environments.

Analysis

I did not conduct analysis within a specific period during this research, but rather throughout – in accordance with the grounded theory approach, developed in the 1960s by sociologists Glaser and Strauss and based on the work of Park and Mead of the Chicago School (Glaser and Strauss, 1964). This process began before I started interviewing with analysis of interviews conducted in the 1980s. That analysis informed development of my core interview questions, which framed my enquiry. After each interview I reviewed the recording and my notes, wrote my thoughts and observations in my reflection log, and prepared for further interviews – with the same collaborator and others. I also began transcription of my interviews at the earliest opportunity - seeing the conversation in written form better enabled me to identify core emerging themes. These themes were triangulated (Bryman, 2001 p.274) by responses in later interviews and/or desk research (my research schedule is in Chapter 4, Appendix 6). This time-consuming approach to data management eventually resulted in the 14 themes analysed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

I resisted the practice of coding sections of data using an electronic qualitative analysis programme in favour of the Gestalt approach, as manually coding data likely yields more fruitful results because the researcher is more immersed in the process (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013). Turner says this thematic approach promotes the development of: theoretical accounts and explanations, which closely reflect the situations being observed - making theory intelligible and usable (Turner, 1981). The reflexive and iterative, grounded process can flexibly amend, elaborate or eliminate themes as emerging data dictate. Glaser & Strauss say this is important because new perspectives may emerge even on the last day of study; they see publication not as the final word, but a pause in a running theoretical discussion (Glaser and Strauss, 1967 p.40). Resident in my research location, and in ongoing contact with participants I become aware of the transient nature of this pause; and some post-data-collection information is included.

I believe, as Gestalt-proponent Wertheimer (Brownie, 2006), that it is impossible to understand a whole structure only by looking at its constituent parts; rather, the parts are defined by their holistic relationship with the whole system in which they are functioning, in this case Bradford's multicultural environment. Computer aided qualitative data analysis provides an external storage facility, from which information is retrieved only in small parts – with the potential to blur the whole picture. Another way to put this is know your data inside out, so analysis becomes the result of total immersion and a more in-depth reading between the lines is possible.

Doing unto you

I conducted my research in accordance with the University of Bradford's good research practice standards, enshrined in its ethics, which stresses the dignity, rights, safety and well being of participants must always be considered, respected and safe-guarded (University of Bradford, 2010), To that end, I strove to conduct my research with honesty and integrity. Confidentiality was a major concern, especially since I interviewed several generations within one family; this makes further ethical demands (Hollway and Jefferson, 2013 p.84). I made it clear to participants that I would not discuss with them what others had said.⁵² The BHRU cohort's anonymity was protected by utilising their original access numbers, however, some cohort members later waived this anonymity, which means their contribution to the BHRU project is revealed. They are aware of this. Interviews were conducted in private, with only the participant present – with the one exception of the interview with **Mr M0100** and his granddaughter, **Miss C0059/D**, with their agreement. If during interviewing someone came into the room, I stopped the interview, and switched off the recorder. If participants asked relatives for advice, e.g. regarding dates – as **Dr C0049** often did of his wife – I noted their response. But I was disadvantaged during these exchanges if participants spoke to relatives in minority languages.

⁵² The interview with **Mr C0101/S** only proceeded on this basis.

The interview with **Mr C0101/S** took place in a Young Offenders' Unit. Access was conditional on my submission of the interview recording to the prison. At the start of the interview I informed **Mr C0101/S** of this condition and offered to take notes instead of using a tape recorder. He agreed that the recorder could be used.

Consent for participation in this study was obtained from the 1980s cohort via the mail shot letter, distributed on my behalf according to the British Sociological Association's principle of voluntary, informed consent, which explains what the research is about, who is financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be promoted (British Psychological Society, 2017). Initially, I was not given direct access to BHRU cohort names and addresses, although later Bradford Library offered me contact information for cohort members who had not signed an anonymity clause. I contacted the BHRU cohort's children via email addresses and telephone numbers their parents gave me. In this way, their parents acted as gatekeepers, which was problematic when they made decisions regarding participation of their children.

A major difficulty arose, regarding consent, after the death of **Mr C0074**. His son, who I also interviewed, contacted me to say his family wanted to withdraw **Mr C0074** from my research. This was surprising, given the enthusiasm **Mr C0074** demonstrated for participation, and his encouragement of my work. Because he had given no indication that he wanted to withdraw, I was reluctant to acquiesce. However, Bradford University Ethics' Committee advised that I should remove **Mr C0074**, which I reluctantly agreed to do. However, I remain uncomfortable about this decision – his withdrawal seeming unethical. **Mr C0074/S** also withdrew himself.

A few months later I heard that a second member of the cohort had died, **Mr C0121**.⁵³ Mindful of what happened after **Mr C0074's** death I visited

⁵³ Who coined the term, critical to this research, Distance of the heart.

Mr C0121's family, meeting his wife, brother, mother and sisters. I had previously met his brother, who was able to explain my research to his relatives, whose English were poor. They graciously agreed to permit **Mr C0121** to remain in my study; his brother even offering to take his place. I considered this offer, but did not take it up.

As I was conducting research with people of cultures different from mine, I was aware that I might not appreciate how I could offend. I believe adopting a grounded data generation methodology, and framing my enquiry by Roger's techniques – in a way which Denzin might regard reflects the *Feminist Communitarian Ethical Model* (De Laine, 2000; Denzin, 1997 cited in) – minimised the risk of my causing offence. I also took advice from gatekeepers within the same communities, on how to approach people, and question them about issues, which might prove sensitive in ways I could not anticipate.

On reflection, I realise that this inter-personal consideration served to demonstrate how similar care is needed at the macro-level, during inter-group communication; that is moral relativism. In practice, I was exploring an issue key to the idea of parallel living - how to accommodate in a multicultural environment the values of peoples of different cultural backgrounds (Singer, 1993 p.442).

With regard to the original intention of providing recordings of interviews to Bradford Central Library, as an adjunct to its earlier BHRU collection, it became clear that this objective was negatively impacting the quality of emerging data. When some collaborators said they were unwilling to discuss issues useful to the research – because the recordings would join the BHRU collection - I reconsidered whether donation would be possible. I explained the difficulty to the library, and it was agreed that I would instead offer transcriptions, which interviewees would have the opportunity to censor.

Disengagement

I found it difficult to end my data collection (Bryman, 2001 p.306) – mainly because I live in Bradford and remain in contact with participants. Their lives went on, and I have continued to be influenced by local events and conversations I have overheard or been part of – that is every day life. When encountering cohort members - since the end of interviewing in 2010 - I have sometimes had to remind them that I am no longer their researcher. This was also useful for me to understand.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the method undertaken to generate data for this study - primarily through collaboration with the cohort – and the methodological approach, which underpinned that process. I have also reviewed the work of the old Bradford Heritage Recording Unit, which introduced me to my cohort. I adopted a naturalistic ethnographic approach, assisted by Archer's critical realist morphogenetic perspective, to identify mechanisms, which tend to drive agential and group behaviour. My method was essentially informal, by guided conversational interviewing, informed by the life course dynamics approach and Rogers' techniques. Analysis was grounded in the data, generated by the cohort – which necessitated simultaneous and ongoing processing.

In the following chapter I will outline the cohort's characteristics and profile individual cohort members.

Chapter Five: Introducing the cohort.

Direction of travel: Gravitating towards a theory of relativity.

Introduction

Often when multiculturalism in Bradford is discussed there is reference to a homogenous Asian community. This is unhelpful - nothing short of a disaster, Cattle says - disguising the extent of diversity rather than acknowledging it (Hill, 2018). It is more appropriate to speak of Asian communities, recognising the different geographical roots, cultural traditions, caste and clan loyalties and religious affiliations of families who hail from the Asian sub-continent. To fully appreciate the fragmented heterogeneity of Bradford's Asian communities it is necessary to look beyond the local context⁵⁴ to their homelands on the sub-continent – which continue to produce mechanisms tending to impact on life here. This heterogeneity is reflected in the study cohort, where there are Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus – whose families come from the Punjab in Pakistan, the Gujarat and the Punjab in India, Azad Kashmir⁵⁵, and Kenya. Huge distances divide these places, as do numerous languages, and the different communities have brought their particular cultures, traditions and norms to Bradford. It is also necessary to consider caste, kinship and clan allegiances - so strong they dictate whom people should socialise with, marry and vote for in British elections. Relationships conceived years ago, thousands of miles away in India, Pakistan and Africa, are sustained today by associations and clubs and extended family networks which stretch across Britain, and which continue to have relevance, even for people born here (Anwar, 1979 p.13).

It is important to appreciate the extent of the diversity within the Asian communities in Bradford because history, life experience, and cultural resonance create discrete mechanisms with the potential to impact on attempts to foster cohesion. For policy makers to assume that a one-size-fits-all will result in widespread co-operation is naïve (Runnymede Trust, 2000).

⁵⁴ Outlined in Chapter 2.

⁵⁵ AJ&K Information Technology Board (2018) *AJ&K at a Glance*. Muzaffarabad: Available from: <https://www.ajk.gov.pk/ajk-at-a-glance> (Accessed 20 November 2018).

How this chapter contributes to my research questions

In this chapter I examine the diversity of the cohort and how this diversity may impact findings and conclusions I reach which address my research questions. For example, had the cohort contained only a single ethnic community, with common religious practice and heritage language, the nature of my project and its outcome would have been completely different. Rather this chapter demonstrates how my research explores, with the assistance of the cohort, merely a moment in time, in a particular place, Bradford.

Also, in this chapter, I explore the nature of *distance of the heart*, through a map, which charts the places of origin and journeys cohort members took to arrive in Bradford. The hundreds of miles separating their birth homes, or those of their parents and grandparents (in the case of younger cohort members) are mirrored in how they live largely separate lives, albeit on a smaller scale, across the district. This evidences the heterogeneity of factors/mechanisms - inherent in the various diverse manifestations of ethnic social group identity, present within the relatively narrow geographical limits of the District - which may impact the cohort's experience of integration.

Evidencing further diversity with the potential to variously impact the experience of integration – even within the numerical confines of the cohort – I explore their religious affiliations (more on this in Chapter 7), their use of heritage languages (more on this in Chapter 7), and how their sense of home and belonging (more on this in Chapter 6) may be impacted by the places they, or their parents or grandparents (in the case of younger members of the cohort) left behind when they migrated.

Of particular value in this chapter are the introductions I make to individual members of the cohort. This is of particular value as we start to see how the individual experience may differ from that perceived, or to be in reality, from the ethnic community as a whole. This evidences how useful it is to consider the impact of agency, within the confines of structure – which is further ably demonstrated by cohort member responses in Chapters 6, 7 & 8.

This individual diversity, overlaid onto discrete ethnic community identity, can only serve to dispel the myth of a homogenous Asian community in Bradford. It demands that I temper my findings and conclusions and how data can be relied upon to address my research questions with as much caution as I can muster.

There is more on the contribution of this chapter in Chapter 9.

The cohort profile

- 18 people were interviewed between May 2006 – April 2010
- Over 58 hours of interviews were recorded
- Two interviewees died during the research
- Two people were withdrawn from the research
- 11 of the 18 were interviewed by BHRU⁵⁶
- Only one of the original 11 was born in Britain
- Of the remaining 10 of the BHRU cohort, six were born in Pakistan, three in India and one in Kenya⁵⁷
- Seven children of the BHRU cohort were interviewed
- Of these, two were born in India and five in England
- Of the six BHRU cohort born in Pakistan, five were born in the Punjab and one in Kashmir
- Of the three BHRU cohort born in India, two were born in the Indian Punjab, and one in the Gujarat
- 11 of the cohort lived in Bradford, one in Keighley, one in Leeds, one in Manchester,⁵⁸ one in London, one in Bath and two in Somerset
- Of the 12 who were born outside Britain, nine were direct migrants from India or Pakistan. Two were indirect migrants from India, arriving in Britain after living in Kenya (Nairobi and Mombassa). The other was born in Mombassa and came here when she was nine months old
- Of the 11 BHRU cohort born outside Britain, the first came here in 1962 and the last in 1974

⁵⁶ Bradford Heritage Recording Unit

⁵⁷ Whose family was from the Indian Gujarat

⁵⁸ Interviewed at her family home in Bradford

- Eight of the cohort are Muslim, five Hindu and five Sikh
- Six of the Muslims revealed their clan affiliation
- Seven of the Hindus and Sikhs revealed their caste affiliation
- Eleven men and seven women were interviewed
- The oldest was born in 1930, the youngest in 1992
- Of the 12 people who live in Bradford District, six live in postcode BD8; two in BD9; one in BD7; two in BD10; and one in BD21 (Keighley)⁵⁹
- Languages spoken by the cohort include: Pakistani Punjabi, Indian Punjabi, Urdu, Gujarati, Hindi, and English
- Nine families were involved in this research – two provided three generations for interview; four, two generations for interview; and three, one person

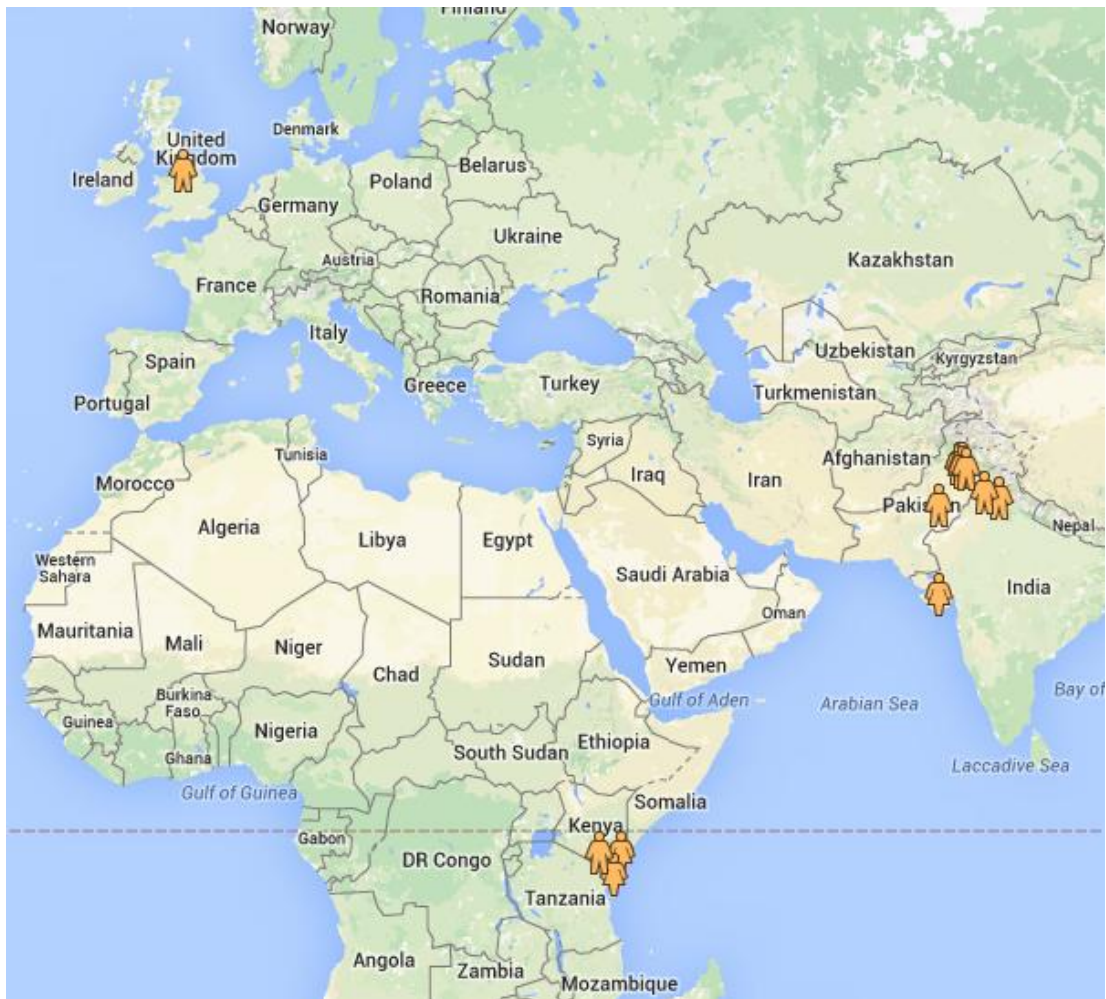
Five of the BHRU interviewees came to Britain as children.⁶⁰ **Mrs C0059**, **Mr C0121**, **Mr C0127K**, **Mrs C0086/1**, and **Mr C0074**; three were young men with wives and small children: **Dr C0009**, **Dr C0049** and **Mr M0100**; one was a single man, soon to be married: **Mr C0042**; and one a young woman with a husband and baby: **Mrs C0086/2**. Most of them travelled directly to Britain from India or Pakistan, but **Mrs C0086/2** migrated to Britain with her family from Mombassa, Kenya, where she had been living since a child. And **Dr C0009**, who was born in the Indian Punjab, migrated to Britain from Nairobi, Kenya, where he had been working. His family came from India to join him in Britain the following year. Of the seven adult children interviewed, five were born in Britain: **Miss C0059/D**, **Mr C0101/S**, **Miss C0086/1/D**, **Miss C0042/D**, and **Mr C0074/S**. Siblings: **Dr C0009/S** and **Dr C0009/D** were born in India. The children's different places of birth reflect the ages of the original interviewees when they migrated; the two siblings, who came to Britain as children are older than the other children, who were born after their parents emigrated (see migration table in Chapter 5, Appendix 1). The original cohort compliment was 18, but two men died during research; one remained in the cohort (**C0121**), the other (**C0074**) was removed by his family. His son

⁵⁹ See Chapter 2 Appendix 2, a postcode map for the Bradford District. This should not be confused with the ward map in Chapter 2 Appendix 1.

⁶⁰ That is, under 18 years old.

(**C0074/S**) also withdrew himself (see the cohort family tree in Chapter 5, Appendix 2).

Below is a map showing the departure points of the original BHRU cohort. **Mrs C0086/2** is situated both on the west coast of India, where she was born, and in Kenya where she lived before coming to Britain. **Dr C0009** is situated both in the Indian Punjab, and in Kenya, where he worked.



Credit: Googlemaps

India is large,⁶¹ the distance between **Dr C0009's** home in the Punjab and **Mrs C0086/2's** village in the Gujarat around 1,000 miles. Their religions and mother tongues are different: **Dr C0009** is Sikh and speaks Punjabi, **Mrs C0086/2** a Hindu who speaks Gujarati. Both describe themselves as

⁶¹ Some 1,300,000 square miles

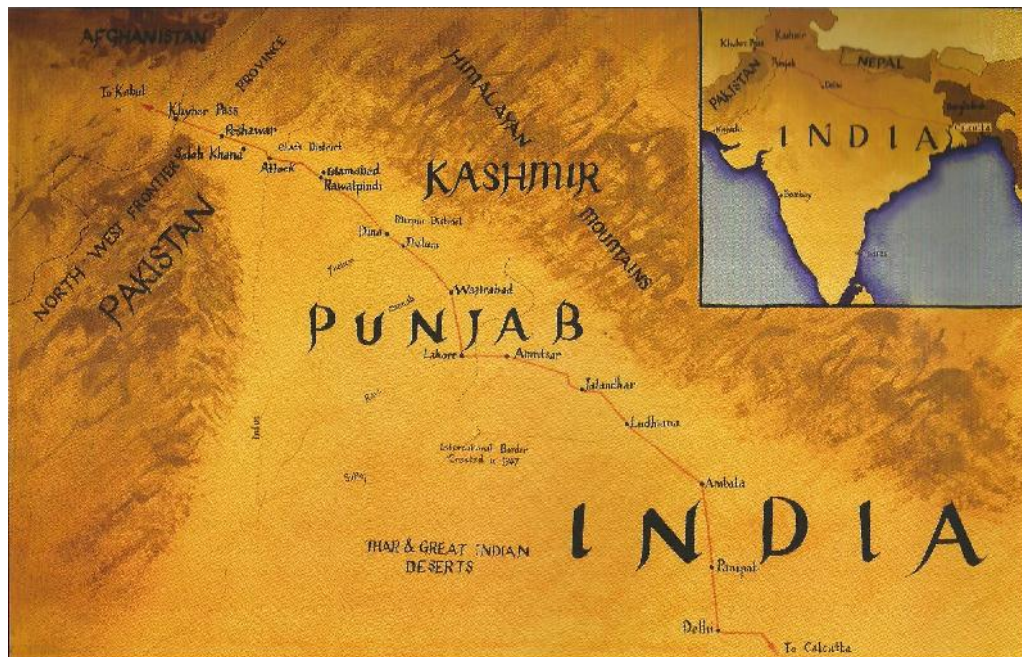
Indian, but their regional affiliations to the Punjab and Gujarat provide more accurate identification. Their distinct cultural and ethnic roots make the 15 miles they now live from each other in Yorkshire seem greater.

Four cohort members were born before the Partition of India in 1947, **Mr C0042** (1939), **Dr C0009** (1930), **Mrs C0086/2** (1944), and **Dr C0049** (1934). A fifth, **Mr C0127K**, was born in 1947. On Partition, **Mr C0042** (Hindu), **Mrs C0086/2** (Hindu), and **Dr C0009** (Sikh) remained Indian, while **Dr C0049** and **Mr C0127K** – both Muslims – became Pakistani.

Smith⁶² identifies that most Pakistanis and Indians in Britain come from towns and villages along the Grand Trunk Road (GTR) – which stretches 1,500 miles from Calcutta in the south to Kabul in Afghanistan (Smith and Qureshi, 2011). The importance of the GTR to British migration from the Asian sub-continent has, says Smith, been overlooked. He estimates it travels through the homelands of over 90% of British Pakistanis and the majority of British Sikhs and Hindus. People living along the GTR developed a more cosmopolitan outlook than those elsewhere, because contact with travellers broadened their horizons (Smith and Qureshi, 2011 p.5). Seven of the nine cohort families originated from along this route. The remaining two are **Mr C0121** (Kashmir) and **Mrs C0086/2** (Gujarat). If Smith is correct, this explains the different migration experience between Kashmiri migrants and those from more connected places in the Punjab. People who came from rural, farming backgrounds, whose education was poor and command of English limited, had more difficulty adapting to life here than educated migrants, who could speak English before coming to Britain, such as **Dr C0009**.

⁶² Tim Smith is a Bradford photographer who has for many years documented the lives of people from the Asian sub-continent. He was a key figure in the BHRU project.

Below is a map showing the route of the Grand Trunk Road through northern India and Pakistan (Smith and Qureshi, 2011).



Punjab, India - Bradford

Dr C0009⁶³ and **Mr C0042**,⁶⁴ and **Mr C0101**'s family,⁶⁵ come from the Indian Punjab; **Dr C0009** and his family from Jalandhar; **Mr C0042** from a village near Chandigarh, the capital of the Punjab; and **Mr C0101**'s family from a village near Garshanker in Hoshiarpur District.⁶⁶ Below is a map of the Punjab, with a circle around the area where most Indian Punjabis in Bradford originate (Singh, 2000 p.20).

⁶³ His Indian born children, **Dr C0009/S** and **Dr C0009/D**, are also cohort members.

⁶⁴ His British born daughter, **Miss C0042/D**, is also a cohort member.

⁶⁵ He was born after his family arrived in Bradford. His British born son, **Mr C0101/S**, is also a cohort member.

⁶⁶ During the 1960s most families in Hoshiarpur sent at least one family member to Britain. In Bradford they settled first in the Frizinghall area but now live mainly in the BD2, BD3, BD4 and BD5. There are also sizeable communities of people from Hoshiarpur in Southall, Leeds and Sheffield.



Gujarat - Mombassa - Bradford

The only Indian family in the cohort that did not come from the Punjab is that of **Mrs C0086/2**. She was born in the Gujarat, near Surat, some 300 miles north of Mumbai. In 1952,⁶⁷ when she was eight, she moved to Mombassa, where she lived for 14 years before travelling to Bradford after Kenyan independence.⁶⁸ Her daily life in Kenya was dominated by a unique blend of Indian and British culture and traditions; preparing her for life in Bradford. This means her British Indian (Gujarati) identity was forged long before she came to Yorkshire. Her daughter, **Mrs C0086/1**, was born in Mombassa, and came to Britain when she was nine months old. These two women are part of

⁶⁷ People from the Gujarat travelled to Kenya on British passports, issued in India.

⁶⁸ Asians were offered Kenyan nationality, but most turned it down. They began arriving in Britain from East Africa at the rate of 1,000 a month - causing a crisis for Harold Wilson's government. The 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act, hurriedly introduced to curb the flow, demanded that migrants demonstrate close connection with the UK. This requirement led to widespread claims of colour discrimination, and ultimately to Enoch Powell's infamous *Rivers of Blood* speech (Powell, E. (1968) Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech. *Daily Telegraph* (6 Nov 2007). Available from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643823/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html>).

the largest expatriate Gujarati population in the world.⁶⁹ Alibhai-Brown, herself born in East Africa, says Asians in Britain who have experienced double migration live as ‘global citizens in motion’ – ever ready to move on if the wind changes (Alibhai-Brown, 2008). This sentiment was expressed by people in the cohort, who referred to the transitory nature of their lives, and fears that if the [political] wind changed they would have to return to where they came from. **Mrs C0059** says this is why people who left Pakistan half a century ago retain land and, as soon as funds permit, build ‘honour palaces’ – constructed to fulfil promises made to family before migration (Hirsch, 2018 p.214)

Below, is a photograph of a large so-called honour palace, built on the main road between New Mirpur and Chakswari in Kashmir (Imran and Smith, 1997).



Punjab, Pakistan - Bradford

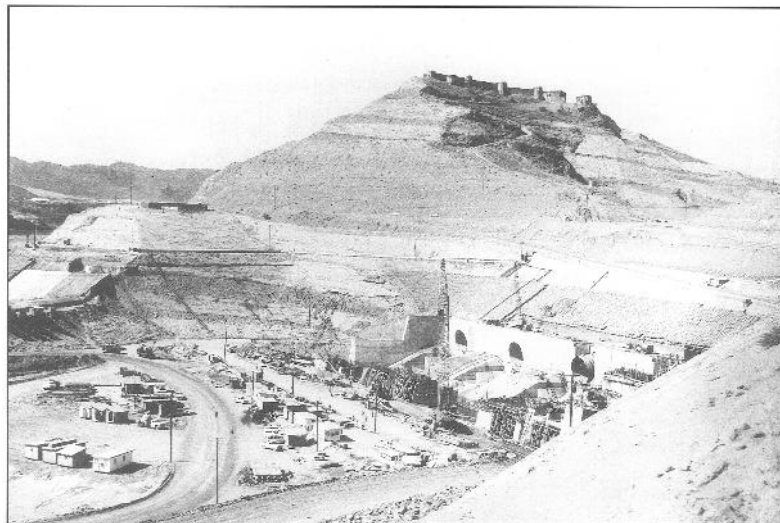
Mr C0127K, Mr M0100, Mrs C0059 and Dr C0049 come from the Punjab, in Pakistan. When the Radcliffe Line was drawn to partition India in 1947 it cut through the Punjab, putting about 40% of it in India and the remainder in the newly formed Pakistan. Punjabis are the largest ethnic group in Pakistan,

⁶⁹ There are other major Gujarati communities in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, South Africa, Madagascar, Mozambique, Malaysia, the USA and Canada.

comprising many different tribes or clans (Qaum).⁷⁰ The ancestral home of **Mr M0100's** family is a village on the southern slopes of the Himalayas in Rawalpindi District; **Mr C0127K** comes from Gujar Kahn, also in Rawalpindi; and **Dr C0049** comes from Gujrat District, 70 miles south of Rawalpindi. It is estimated between 150-200 families in Bradford have roots in the Rawalpindi Town area. Most of them live in Bradford postcodes BD3, BD7, BD8 and BD9. Other people from this area live in Leeds and Sheffield.

Mirpur - Bradford

Mr C0121 came from Mirpur, Kashmir; in 2006 it was estimated there were 40,000 people in Bradford with roots in Mirpur (Walton, 2006). Nationally, there are thought to be around 300,000 people of Mirpuri origin in Britain (Wall, 2003 p.7, ref.7) - three quarters of the entire Pakistani population here. Most can trace their origins to a surprisingly small area 30 x 50 kilometres, either in Mirpur district, or its neighbour Kotli. So many people came to Britain from Mirpur that New Mirpur City is known as Little Britain, and both Mirpur and Kotli have formal friendship ties with Bradford, and other places in the north of England - including Rochdale, Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds.



⁷⁰ These are closely linked to traditional occupations such as blacksmiths and artisans - reminiscent of the Indian caste system - and based on a complex biradari (brotherhood), which links people descending from a common ancestor. Important Punjabi Qaums, of people sharing common language, ethnicity and history, include Aheers, Arains, Swans, Dogars, Gakhars, Gujjars, Jats, Kambohs, Khokhars, Mughals, Rajputs, Sheikhs and Syeds. There is more on the impact of clans and biradari in Bradford in Chapter 6.

Above, is a picture taken in the 1960s during construction of the controversial Mangla dam, on the Jhelum river in Mirpur (Imran and Smith, 1997). The project, designed and supervised by London-based Binnie & Partners, submerged over 280 towns and villages, displacing 110,000 people. Many migrated to Britain in search of work, including in Bradford's mills. In 2000, Kalra estimates, almost one quarter of the population of Mirpur District lived abroad – many of them taxi drivers in Bradford, sending remittances (money) home to support families (Kalra, 2000).

Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism

Muslims in the cohort are from families who came to Yorkshire from Pakistan and the Hindus and Sikhs from families who came from India, either directly or via East Africa. Evidence of these three major faiths can be seen across Bradford, through the preponderance of places of worship. In 2011 there were estimated to be 75 mosques in Bradford, three Hindu temples and six Sikh Gurdwara.⁷¹ Among festivals celebrated in Bradford are Holi, Vaisakhi, Diwali, and Eid. Vaisakhi is an important Sikh festival in mid-April - marking the Sikh new-year. To commemorate the day a procession wends its way through the city for around four miles, stopping to worship at all Gurdwara en route; below is a picture of the 2010 procession (own photo).

⁷¹ Figures supplied by Bradford Council for Mosques, Bradford Hindu Cultural Society and Bradford Guru Gobind Singh Gurdwara.



Diwali, the festival of lights, is celebrated by Sikhs and Hindus in October or November. It symbolizes the victory of good over evil and lights are strung across city centre streets signifying hope for mankind. Eid Al-Fitr is the Muslim holiday, which marks the end of the month long Ramadan fast. The dates of Ramadan vary, moving by 11 days each year, dependent on the new moon. Ramadan marks the time when the first verses of the Qur'an were revealed to Prophet Muhammad.

Mosques, temples and Gurdwaras are more than places of worship, providing support and cultural activities - including elderly day care, ethnic minority language classes, crèches, keep fit, religious studies, and advice on passports and getting married - which fosters sense of community. **Mrs C0086/2** and her husband attend centres in Lidget Green - an area populated by people who migrated to Bradford from Kenya - four days a week, socialising with Hindus who speak their native Gujarati. While providing a valuable service, these centres have the potential to perpetuate a separateness, underpinned by ethnicity, cultural roots, language and religion, which can sustain parallel living (Ouseley, 2001 para 4.16.1). Religious

differences provide a source of friction in Bradford, particularly between Muslims, and Hindus and Sikhs. **Mrs C0086/2**, a Hindu, speaks passionately about her fears for her son who converted to Islam to marry. Her daughter's marriage to a Christian is not problematic, she says; the tension concerns Islam. Underpinning her concern is the fear that her son will be 'sucked into fundamentalism.' **Mr C0101/S** also speaks of religious tension; none of his Sikh friends have Muslim friends. And he speaks about a past friendship with a Muslim girl, which he had to end because his family disapproved and her family 'threatened violence.'⁷²

Key ethnic languages spoken by the cohort

Punjabi

Punjabi is the main language of 13 of the cohort whose families come from the Punjab in Pakistan and India. **Mrs C0059's** family speak Potwari and **Mr C0121** Mirpuri, both Punjabi dialects. Since Partition, Punjabi has deviated, and Indian Punjabi now relies more heavily on Sanskrit (through Hindi).

Urdu

Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, although only about 8% of Pakistanis speak it as their first language; it is also the official language of five Indian states. **Dr C0049**, an Urdu speaker, describes it as a contact language, which emerged from Muslim invasions of the Indian subcontinent by Persian and Turkic dynasties in the 11th century. In Bradford it is little used for day-to-day exchanges, being less commonly spoken than Punjabi, although there are numerous Urdu writing circles in the District, which continue to champion its use, and middle class families are now encouraging children to learn it.

Gujarati

Gujarati is spoken by the **C0086** family, which originates from the Gujarat. Gujarati remained **Mrs C0086/2** first language when she lived in Kenya. Her daughter, who was born in Kenya and came to Britain as a baby, also

⁷² There is more on religion in Chapter 6.

speaks Gujarati, as does her granddaughter – although with less fluency. There is more on language in Chapter 7.

Collaborator profiles

The profiles, which follow, are based on analysis of the BHRU interviews, interviews conducted for this study, and my reflections. They provide overviews of an individual's life experience, and do not record events post-April 2010, when interviewing ended. The profiles are included to demonstrate, at a personal level, the diversity of Bradford's Asian communities. In family trees, attached as Appendices, close relationship status is given, while for more distant relatives gender is used.

Interviewee C0074

Ethnic roots: Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Religion: Muslim

Clan: not discussed

Date of Birth: 1954

Gender: Male

Arrived in Britain: 1968

Bradford location: BD8

BHRU interview date: 4.7.86

My interview dates: 5.5.06, 13.6.08

This man sadly died in June 2009 and was subsequently withdrawn from my research after his son said he had been intending to withdraw himself. This raised an interesting question about whether third parties should be able to withdraw people who consented to participate. By this time I had over two and a half hours of recorded interview with **Mr C0074**, which I was reluctant to discount. However, on the advice of the Chair of Bradford University Research Ethics' Committee, I reluctantly withdrew him. I was able to pursue matters he raised with other cohort members, which was helpful. His son, **Mr C0074/S**, also withdrew himself.⁷³

⁷³ The impact of study attrition is discussed in Chapter 3.

Interviewee C0121

Ethnic roots: Mirpur, Kashmir

Religion: Muslim

Clan: not discussed

Date of Birth: 1963

Gender: Male

Arrived in Britain: 1974

Bradford location: BD9

BHRU interview date: 25.8.87

My interview date: 19.5.06

Mr C0121 was born in a small village in Mirpur, Kashmir in 1963. He came to Britain with his father when he was 11 years old. When I interviewed him he was running a catering business with his brother, mainly supplying Pakistani weddings. Previously, for ten years, he had worked as an environmental development worker for the Bradford Community Environment Project (BCEP), of which he was a Director and Trustee until 2006. BCEP was tasked with improving the local environment by upgrading school grounds and teaching children about recycling and growing food. **Mr C0121** also took children on environmental field trips and set up a tool library. Prior to working for BCEP **Mr C0121** managed a sports' centre. He left BCEP to open a city centre restaurant, later selling the business to buy a café – which, when I met him, he had been running with his brother and their sons for four years.

Mr C0121 was also a Trustee, and Vice Chair, of Bradford Nightstop,⁷⁴ set up in 1993 to provide temporary emergency accommodation for young homeless people. Its work was recognised in 2005 when the Duke of York presented **Mr C0121**, on behalf of Nightstop, with a Community Initiative Award.

⁷⁴ www.bradfordnightstop.org.uk

In 2009 when I tried to contact **Mr C0121** to arrange a second interview, his brother told me the sad news that he had died earlier that year. **Mr C0121's** family generously agreed that he could remain in my research (Chapter 5, Appendix 3, family tree).

Interviewee C0101

Ethnic roots: Punjab, India

Religion: Sikh

Caste: Jat

Date of Birth: 1966

Gender: Male

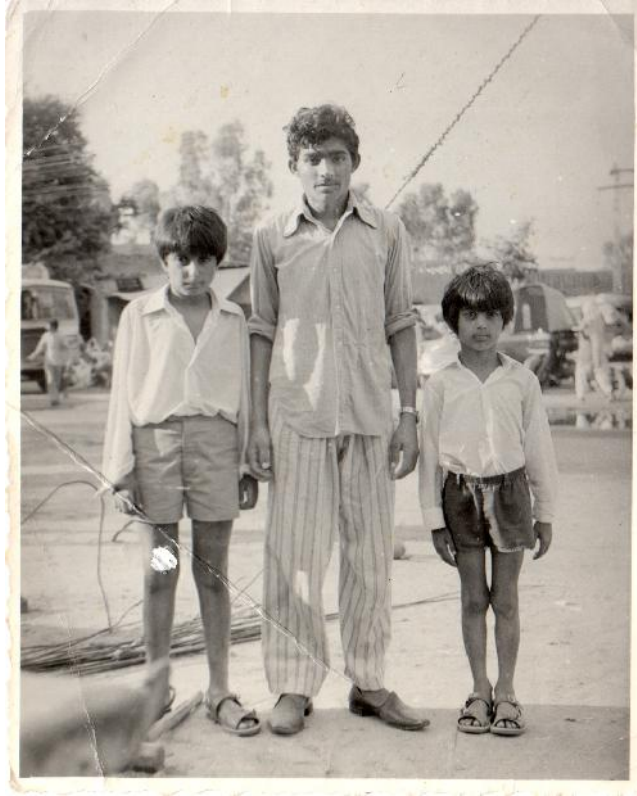
Born here

Bradford location: BD10

BHRU interview dates: 17.3.87 & 7.4.87

My interview dates: 31.5.06, 21.6.06, 31.10.08

Mr C0101 was born in Bradford 2, making him the only original BHRU interviewee born in Britain. His father came to Britain in search of work in a textile mill, four years before he was born. He is pictured, below, as a child on holiday in India.



Pictured supplied by **Mr C0101**.

When I met **Mr C0101** he was a charge hand at British Bakeries in Bradford, where he'd worked for over 10 years. His wife was a medical secretary and his two sons were nine and 16 years old. His daughter died in childhood. After the BHRU interview in the 1980s he went into business with his brother, running a shop near Doncaster; soon after he married and his first son, then daughter were born. After the death of his daughter the family returned to Bradford. A year later his second son was born.

During our interviews **Mr C0101** was pre-occupied with his eldest son's future. When we first spoke in May 2006 his son was having problems at school; when we spoke again, he had become involved in criminality. **Mr C0101's** disappointment about this dominated our conversations. By 2008, when we spoke for the third time, the family had moved from Bradford 2 into the more affluent Bradford 10, a leafy suburb on the outskirts of Leeds. **Mr C0101** said they moved home because they needed a change, and space to 'spread our wings away from family.'

Mr C0101 spoke of his parents' new home in India. He said building it was the fulfilment of a 45-year dream, which had motivated their original migration to Britain.

In 2009 **Mr C0101's** son was arrested on drugs-related offences; he was later convicted and sent to prison. In August that year I accompanied **Mr C0101's** wife to visit their son. He agreed to participate in my research and I conducted an interview with him on 17.11.09 in a Young Offenders' unit near Durham (Chapter 5, Appendix 4, family tree).

Interviewee C0101/S

Ethnic roots: Punjab, India/born in Britain

Religion: Sikh (non-practising)

Caste: Jat

Date of Birth: 1990

Gender: male

Born here

Bradford location: BD10

BHRU interview dates: none

My interview dates: 17.11.09

Mr C0101/S is the eldest son of **Mr C0101**. I first met him in his family home, when I interviewed his father. When I initially wrote to him requesting that he also participate in my research he did not reply. By mid-2009 he was in prison on drugs-related offences and I again asked him, through his parents. He agreed to meet to discuss my request. Eventually we recorded our interview in a Young Offenders' unit.

Mr C0101/S began by speaking about his happy early childhood in South Yorkshire, where his parents ran a corner shop. After the death of his sister his family moved back to Bradford and lived with his grandparents, before getting their own home. He said his life started going wrong when he was about 16 years old, when he met a Muslim girl whose family disapproved of

their friendship. After that he became involved with drugs, which, ultimately, led to his arrest, conviction and sentence to over a year in prison.

He spoke eloquently of the ethnic and caste divisions in Bradford society, which impeded on his relationships, constraining who he could socialise with and marry. Despite that, he said, he had Pakistani and white friends, as well as friends from his own Indian community – an eclectic mix he considered unique for a young Sikh man in Bradford.

He also spoke of his 'heart-break' shame of his family seeing him in prison and his plans to go back into education when he was released; to have a fresh start away from Bradford, where no one knew about his criminal activities.

Interviewee C0059

Ethnic roots: Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Religion: Muslim

Clan: Choudry Rajput

Date of Birth: 1966

Gender: female

Arrived in Britain: 1969

Bradford location: BD8

BHRU interview date: 7.4.86

My interview dates: 14.12.07, 7.3.08, 19.9.08, 10.10.08, 8.10.09

Mrs C0059 was born in a small village in Rawalpindi. She was three years old when she came to Britain with her mother, to join her father (**Mr M0100**) who had migrated here six years earlier, in 1963. Her two older sisters were left in Rawalpindi to be raised by relatives, until their planned return. This was a source of some distress for **Mrs C0059** as she grew up, culminating in her emotional return to Pakistan - when she was 26 - to see her sisters again.

By the time I interviewed her **Mrs C0059** was a busy mother of three, running a training business, in offices near her home in Bradford 8. In addition to English language and citizenship classes, her business ran seminars on the barriers to Asian women gaining employment; the Home Office gun crime reduction programme; working with young Asian people at risk; Islam and islamophobia; and forced marriage. Below, she is pictured with her office staff and volunteers.



Picture courtesy of **Mrs C0059**.

In addition to **Mrs C0059's** training business the family has a clothes shop in the same street, run by her husband. Her two daughters have completed Masters degrees and her son helps run her business. He is married to his cousin from Pakistan and they have a daughter.

Mrs C0059 is interested in the welfare of Pakistani women; she ran a refuge in Bradford years ago. She completed a degree in Organisational Studies, before conducting research into issues such as forced marriage, and the local drugs culture, for organisations including the Children's Society, the

Open University and the old government Department for Education & Skills. In 2009 she spoke about her experiences of so-called honour-based violence at a seminar in Bradford to examine the impact of the Forced Marriage Act.

In *Our Stories our Lives: Inspiring Muslim Women's Voices* (Shaffi, 2009), **Mrs C0059** spoke of how her family had mainly grown within Britain, rather than through the 'importation' of relatives from Pakistan. She said they owned 10 or 15 houses in Bradford.

She also spoke of her disgust when, as a child, she was labelled an immigrant or Paki. She said: "I didn't know what a Paki was until I was 13, or the significance of what that meant." Now, she says, her husband tells their children "As long as you're steady in your faith, you'll never lose sight of who you are."

I also interviewed her father, **Mr M0100**, and daughter, **Miss C0059/D** (Chapter 5, Appendix 5, family tree).

Interviewee M0100

Ethnic roots: Pakistan

Religion: Muslim

Clan: Choudry Rajput

Date of Birth: 1935

Gender: male

Arrived in Britain: 1963

Bradford location: BD8

BHRU interview date: 8.7.86

My interview dates: 9.5.08, 26.6.08

Mr M0100 was born in Rawalpindi. He still clearly remembers coming to England on April 17th1963, leaving his job in Pakistan with the British company Steel Brothers to join his friends who had already made the move to Britain. His intention was to make enough money here to build a good family life in Pakistan. Initially his wife and three daughters remained in

Pakistan, but he found the wages in Britain too low to enable him to save and six years later his wife and youngest daughter (**Mrs C0059**) joined him. The two older girls grew up with relatives in Pakistan.

The first interview I conducted with **Mr M0100** alone, but our second interview was conducted with his grand daughter (**C0059/D**). This seemed prudent as **Mr M0100** found it difficult to express his feelings and opinions fluently in English. Interestingly, by comparing his BHRU interview with those I conducted it became apparent that **Mr M0100's** English was better in the 1980s than it is now. Likely this is due to the fact that he is now retired and seldom needs to speak English;⁷⁵ he also now spends more time in Pakistan. Below **Mr M0100** is pictured with his granddaughter.



Picture courtesy of **Mr M0100** and **Miss C0059/D**.

When he first came to Bradford **Mr M0100** worked in local textile mills, as a labourer and storeman. Later he worked as a driver for local taxi firms and ran his own company.

Interviewing him with his grand daughter afforded the opportunity to view the interesting dynamic between them, and to observe how she responded to family history she was previously unaware of.

⁷⁵ **Mr M0100** was later diagnosed with dementia – which may have impacted his English.

Although this approach was reasonably successful it did present a few challenges:

- Sometimes they forgot to translate into English, resulting in lengthy exchanges in Punjabi
- Sometimes **Mr M0100** forgot which language he was speaking and addressed me in Punjabi
- I had to rely on his granddaughter's interpretative capabilities, in Punjabi and English, and her faithful reproduction of what her grandfather and I were saying
- As the interview progressed **Miss C0059/D** became more engrossed and participative in the process, making this as much an interview with her as her grandfather

Interviewee C0059/D

Ethnic roots: Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Religion: Muslim

Clan: Choudry Rajput

Date of Birth: 1985

Gender: female

Born here

Bradford location: BD8

BHRU interview dates: none

My interview dates: 28.3.08, 11.4.08, 11.9.08, 29.1.09, 21.7.09

When I interviewed **Miss C0059/D** she was completing her studies, first a Peace Studies' degree at Bradford University and then a Masters degree in Conflict, Development & Security at Leeds University. She was also working part time for an organisation, based in Leeds, which recruits doctors and teachers to work in deprived areas of Pakistan. She also did charity work, raising money for Islamic Relief and selling *United with Gaza* T-shirts.

A significant event, which occurred during our interview period, was **Miss C0059/D's** study trip to Israel – the impact of which she spoke at length.

In an unpublished paper entitled *Keeping Hope?* she wrote “*Sat on a cramped Thomson-fly plane from Manchester to Tel-Aviv... 95% of the passengers were orthodox Jews. I felt a little out of place, in my bright orange headscarf...I anticipated being stared at, to feel like a threat, because I was so obviously a Muslim.*” And “*Even some of the most prominent academics in the University of Haifa lack objectivity when lecturing us on the history of Israel... I think it's time for a new education based on human rights, dignity and freedom, regardless of class, colour or creed*” (6.2.09).

When we first spoke **Miss C0059/D** told me she had recently experienced a deeper connection to her Islamic faith, but later, after her trip to Israel, she said she was struggling to maintain her devotion. The middle of three children – she has an older brother and younger sister – when interviewed she lived at home with her parents, but as a teenager she studied law in Birmingham. Being away from home had a profound effect on her; she became homesick, abandoning her studies incomplete, to return to Bradford.

Miss C0059/D spoke passionately about her love for her family, especially her maternal grandparents who live a few doors away. She said she found it easier to make friends with people from the Pakistani community, as they understood her way of life. She spoke of her visits to Pakistan and how close she was to cousins there. But she also identified huge differences between their ‘different worlds’ - how she had more freedom to be independent.

Interviewee C0042

Ethnic roots: Punjab, India

Religion: Muslim

Caste: Brahmin

Date of Birth: 1939

Gender: male

Arrived in Britain: 1964

Bradford location: BD9

BHRU interview date: 12.9.85

My interview dates: 2.11.07, 27.11.07, 10.12.07, 6.6.08

Mr C0042 was born near Chandigarh, the capital of the Indian Punjab, in 1939 - the son of a policeman and the second youngest of eight children. He is Hindu, of the (high) Brahmin caste. He came to England in 1964, and is married with two daughters, both born in Britain, who are professional women, living in Manchester and London. His wife is a retired teacher.

Before migration his knowledge of Britain came from history books, which painted a picture of a paradise of great wealth and 'hospitable Lords and Ladies'. He was only eight when India became independent from Britain but he wanted to see for himself what the country, which had ruled India, was like. Abandoning his idea to join the Indian Army he came to Britain and began work as a machinist at Turner Machinery in Leeds. After winning a competition run by Yorkshire Art Association, for an essay about his experience, **Mr C0042** got a job as a cost clerk and later joined the Civil Service, working for the Inland Revenue in Bradford.

Mr C0042's English was good when he arrived; he was well educated in the Punjab, and had a degree in English and History. But this was not helpful, he said, because of the prejudice and discrimination, which existed in Bradford at the time. He said it was not unusual to find Asian men with Masters' degrees working on the buses. Within months of arriving he joined the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination in Leeds, "...to help make people more aware of the nature of what was going on."

Alongside his work for the Inland Revenue, as a tax officer (1969-87) **Mr C0042** was active in the community. In 1971 he joined the Bradford Hindu Cultural Society and held a number of offices including President, General Secretary and Chairman of its Trustees. During this time he was instrumental in raising millions of pounds to build a new temple in Leeds Road, pictured below (my photo).



For over 20 years **Mr C0042** also served as ethnic minority representative for West Yorkshire Police, advising on recruitment of Asian officers, and liaising between the police and disaffected youths from the local Asian communities. He was also Honorary Treasurer of the Bradford Racial Equality Council (1992-2000), a member of Bradford Council's Race Relations Advisory Group (mentioned earlier), and a member of the Bishop of Bradford's Inner City Faith group. In 1987 he founded and became Director of the Institute of Asian Business, which promoted the image of Asian companies and provided opportunities for joint ventures. And he was Director of the Kirklees Asian Business Association and Chief Executive of Euro Asian Resource, which encouraged equal opportunities in business and employment. He is an active member of the Bradford Conservative Association, and in 2010 it's Vice President, assisting local MPs to campaign within the Asian communities. He is also a Trustee and Vice Chairman of the Dickie Bird

Foundation, a high-profile charity founded by the former cricket umpire, which helps disadvantaged children to fulfil their dreams to become sports stars. In 2006 **Mr C0042** launched, and became Chief Executive of, a new Centre for Politics and Public Participation, whose remit is to encourage young people to become interested and active in politics. He said his aim was to help "...make them honest, dedicated and a serious type of citizen." The centre has hosted conferences for young people on climate change and knife crime.

For many years **Mr C0042** was a presenter and producer of ethnic minority programmes for Pennine Radio, hosting a weekly Asian magazine programme, which explored a plethora of current affairs' topics. He also interviewed many prominent figures, including political heavyweights Ted Heath, Neil Kinnock and Margaret Thatcher.

In 2007 he was given the MBE in the Queen's Birthday Honours list for his services to the Bradford community – he is pictured below receiving his award from Prince Charles. The same year, he received a lifetime achievement award from Bradford Council, in recognition of his contribution to community harmony in the District, and the Minorities Police Liaison Committee commendation in recognition of work over 10 years. He also has an honorary degree from Bradford University (Chapter 5, Appendix 6, family tree).



Picture supplied by **Mr C0042**.

Interviewee C0042/D

Ethnic roots: Punjab India/born in Britain

Religion: Hindu

Caste: Brahman

Date of Birth: 1977

Gender: female

Born here

Location: lives in Manchester

BHRU interview date: none

My interview date: 6.12.08

Miss C0042/D is the eldest daughter of **Mr C0042**. She was born in Bradford in 1977 and is a dentist in Manchester, where she now lives. I interviewed her once at her parents' home in Bradford. She began by speaking about her childhood in Bradford and how when she was very young most of her friends were white rather than Asian. She recalled all the Indian cultural events she attended with her parents and how she always considers herself to be Indian, despite being born in Britain. She said she picked up Hindi at home, because her parents spoke it to each other, but she wouldn't

consider herself to be fluent; it is her second language. This made it difficult for her to speak to her grandmothers when she visited India.

She has travelled extensively and says she would be happy living in another country. She is particularly drawn to India because her family live there.

When she was growing up in Bradford she said she was aware of her father's involvement in community affairs, that he was "...kind of special." She said she was trying to think about how she could actively get involved in the community, and was thinking of joining Amnesty International or volunteering for Shelter.

She said she chose to go into dentistry over her other two interests, architecture and engineering, because she was advised by family friends who were dentists that she would be able to get a good job and have a good quality of life. She said she loved her job because she has to use her hands, and because of all the people contact.

Today, she says, she has a good mix of friends, some Indian and some white. She's often mistaken as being Italian: "I don't fit a stereotype of being Indian..." When growing up her parents had friends of 'every ethnicity', so, she says, she was never discouraged from integrating with people of different backgrounds.

Interviewee C0009

Ethnic roots: Punjab, India

Religion: Sikh

Caste: Shudra

Date of Birth: 1930

Gender: male

Arrived in Britain: 1965, via Kenya

Location: lives in Leeds

BHRU interview dates: 14.3.85 & 21.3.85

My interview dates: 4.7.08, 18.9.08, 9.12.08

Dr C0009 was born in the Jallunder district of the Punjab, India in 1930. In 1947 he moved to Kenya to join his father, who was working for British Rail, but later returned to India to complete his studies, before moving to Kenya again, and then to England in 1965. I interviewed him three times; the last encounter was not recorded.

In *Moving Here* (Kalsi, [no date]) **Dr C0009** said he was determined not to become a carpenter like his parents and ancestors. As a young man he got involved in politics in India, meeting many people who fought for independence and were imprisoned by the British Raj.

He trained to be a solicitor and a teacher in India and then returned to Kenya where he applied for an employment voucher to come to England. He first worked as an unskilled labourer in London for Jeyes, the disinfectant company, and then moved to Leeds, where he worked, somewhat ironically given the family trade he was trying to escape from, as a joiner with his cousin.

Dr C0009's greatest advantage when he arrived here was his good command of English, which enabled him to complete a teacher training course at Bradford College and get a job in a Dewsbury school - where his skill in Asian languages and his experience of migration was indispensable to his work with Pakistani and Indian Gujarati and Punjabi families.

He and his wife became members of the local Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, set up by the Home Office, which later became Leeds Community Relations Council. When, in the 1970s, Sikhs were banned from wearing turbans at work on the buses, **Dr C0009** campaigned to reverse the ban.

Also during the 1970s **Dr C0009** initiated the popular Sikh Christmas dinner project in Leeds, when people of other denominations were invited to sample traditional Punjabi food, entertainment and music. These dinners prepared the ground for interfaith dialogue in the city and the formation of the CONCORD Leeds Interfaith Fellowship, which **Dr C0009** was Chair of for several years.

Of particular interest is **Dr C0009's** 1992 monograph, *The evolution of a Sikh Community in Britain. Religious and Social Change among the Sikhs of Leeds and Bradford* (Kalsi, 1992). In this work he distinguishes between Sikhs who migrated directly from India and those who came via East Africa. He says East African Sikhs were experienced migrants, who had considerable community and technical skills they reproduced in Britain. But for direct migrants the move from rural India to urban, industrialised northern England was more problematic.

Soon after **Dr C0009** arrived in Britain his wife and two children came from India to join him and they settled in Leeds. After working in Dewsbury for eight years he returned to Bradford College, to become one of its first ethnic minority lecturers. He was a Lecturer in Immigrant Education - tasked with guiding immigrant and overseas students through their studies. He also taught trainee teachers how to teach students with English as a second language, and began to formulate a research proposal for his own research. When we met in 2008 **Dr C0009** had recently retired from his job as a lecturer in Sikh Studies in Leeds University's Theology and Religious Studies department. Although **Dr C0009** has never lived in Bradford he was included

in this research as an original BHRU interviewee, who spent many years working in the city (Chapter 5, Appendix 7, family tree).

Interviewee C0009/S

Ethnic roots: Punjab, India

Religion: Sikh

Caste: not discussed

Date of Birth: 1959

Gender: male

Arrived in Britain: 1966

Location: lives in Bath

BHRU interview dates: none

My interview date: 7.8.09

Dr C0009/S is the son of **Dr C0009**. He was born in the Punjab, India, in 1959 and came to Britain with his mother and sister in 1966. He now lives in Bath with his wife and two sons, and runs his own IT company in Bristol, providing support systems to the insurance industry. He was not part of the original BHRU cohort. Like his father, he was uncomfortable about the interview being recorded and instead I took notes during our meeting, which took place in a café in Bath.

Before forming his IT company two years earlier, **Dr C0009/S** was Chief Executive and part owner of a global company selling internet-based systems to the insurance industry. Before that he worked for an American company, based in Uxbridge for 10 years, and as a Project Director for a Bristol insurance company. He achieved both his first degree in Electrical Engineering and doctorate in Nuclear Physics from Surrey University.

His wife, who is a nutritional therapist, comes from an Irish family, and she is a non-practising Catholic. They met while undergraduates at Surrey. He has two sons aged 20 and 16 years.⁷⁶ **Dr C0009/S** vividly recalled his life in

⁷⁶ Unfortunately, I could not interview either of his children.

the Punjab, prior to his move to Britain when he was seven years old. He said they had a good life with a large house, and he attended a private school. He said he rarely saw his father when he was a child, because he often worked away from home and was busy with trade union and community work. On the journey to England he remembers his mother being upset, because she did not want to leave her life in India and her job as a head teacher.

He said he found his new home in Leeds 'like the UN', full of people of different cultural and racial backgrounds, visiting his parents, seeking their advice and assistance. He said his parents were not very traditional and that when he and his sister were growing up they did not attend temple regularly. They lived in areas of the city, which were not 'typically Indian', and most of his school friends were White English. He said from an early age he was aware of his parents' political interest and their belief in equality.

Interviewee C0009/D

Ethnic roots: Punjab, India

Religion: Sikh

Caste: not discussed

Date of Birth: 1957

Gender: female

Arrived in Britain: 1966

Location: lives in London

BHRU interview dates: none

My interview date: 25.10.09

Like her brother, **Dr C0009/D** began our interview at her home in London by speaking about childhood memories of life in India, especially the time she lived with her grandmother, while her parents were working in the city. She said she yearned to be part of a close nuclear family, living with her parents rather than members of her extended family. When she was nine she came to England with her mother and brother. At first she was shy of her father because they hadn't seen him for a few years. When they arrived she hated

Leeds, and living in a 'horrible small house', after her large home in India. She said she was afraid of everything and, because she couldn't speak English, didn't understand what was going on. Her confidence returned as she learnt English.

After leaving school she did a Peace Studies degree at Bradford University. Following teacher training she got a job at Walthamstow College of Further Education teaching sociology and politics.

She has married twice, first to a Punjabi man she met while doing a masters degree, and then to a white British man she met at work. She now works as a Senior Lecturer at London Metropolitan University's Business School, where she teaches and researches organisational behaviour, cross-cultural management, human resources, and development. Her doctorate, through the University of Lancaster, focused on Asian women entrepreneurs and she has recently been involved in a research project looking at older women in the workplace.

In an article published in 2005 on interfaith marriage. *Where Rivers Meet (Kalsi and Holden, 2005)*, **Dr C0009/D** spoke about the challenge of marrying outside her faith, and of how Sikhism could be made meaningful to a second-generation migrant like herself. In a talk in 2007, entitled *Challenges and opportunities facing second generation Sikhs in Britain* (Kalsi, 2007), **Dr C0009/D** said Sikhs wanted to integrate not assimilate into British society. She said:

...to be assimilated means you actually lose something of yourself and become something else... I think a person needs to hang on to their identity because that's what makes you unique.

Interviewee C0086/1

Ethnic roots: Gujarat, India

Religion: Sikh

Caste: not discussed

Date of Birth: 1966

Gender: Female

Arrived in Britain: 1966, from Kenya

Location: lives in Somerset

BHRU interview date: 3.12.86

My interview date: 8.11.08

Mrs C0086/1 was born in Mombassa, Kenya in 1966, but came to Britain nine months later with her family who originated from the Gujarat in India. Below, is a picture of **Mrs C0086/1** as a child, with the neighbour who cared for her while her mother was at work in a mill.



Picture supplied by **Mrs C0086/1**.

I interviewed **Mrs C0086/1**, at her home in Somerset, where she lived with her husband and two children. I also interviewed her mother, who lives in Bradford's Lidget Green area, and her daughter, **Miss C0086/1/D**.⁷⁷ The

⁷⁷ I also attempted to interview **Mrs C0086/1's** brother, who converted to Islam to marry a Muslim woman. He could have provided useful insight into marrying outside of one's faith but, although he initially agreed to be interviewed, he unfortunately could not find a convenient time for us to meet.

experience of seeing her brother marry into a Muslim family has influenced **Mrs C0086/1's** view of who she would like her children marry. She said:

I would not want them to marry... a Muslim... they could marry a black, white, Chinese or other, but a Muslim would be just.... if they wanted to marry someone who's Muslim, they would have to change their religion, to be accepted...

When interviewed by BHRU in 1986 **Mrs C0086/1** explained that her culture required she marry someone of the same surname of Mistry,⁷⁸ but who was unrelated.⁷⁹ She spoke of how, through her name, she could identify with other Mistry people in Bradford, elsewhere in Britain, and the Gujarat.

When she left school **Mrs C0086/1** worked for Bradford Council's ambulance service, transporting disabled children and pensioners to schools and centres. After that she did a nursery nurse course at Bradford College and worked for the college Play Care scheme, which provided crèche facilities for Asian women who wanted to learn English. She also became a Special Constable in Bradford, one of few Hindu women in the city to volunteer.

Mrs C0086/1 defined the advantage of being brought up in England as being able to get a better education and job, but she also spoke of her affection for Kenya, despite having lived there only a few months as a baby. Her feelings about Kenya are stronger than those she has for India. Below, is a picture of **Mrs C0086/1's** home in Somerset, adorned by African artefacts, reflecting her Kenyan roots.

⁷⁸ She approved this disclosure.

⁷⁹ She explained how she met in Bradford and married, by chance, a Mistry man who was born just down the street from her old home in Mombassa.



Picture courtesy of **Mrs C0086/1**

By the time of our interview **Mrs C0086/1** had been in Somerset for 10 years; she worked as a classroom assistant and her husband ran a care agency. Her daughter was still at school and her son at university. She spoke at length about the impact of the move away from her extended family in Bradford.

She has visited India only once, when she was seven years old, but would like to go again with her children; she would also like to visit Mombassa. She visits family in Bradford about once every six months (Chapter 5, Appendix 8, family tree).

Interviewee C0086/2

Ethnic roots: Gujarat, India

Religion: Hindu

Caste: not discussed

Date of Birth: 1944

Gender: Female

Arrived in Britain: 1966, via Kenya

Location in Bradford: BD7

BHRU interview date: 3.12.86

My interview dates: 27.11.08 and 12.2.09

Mrs C0086/2 was born in the Gujarat, 300 miles north of Mumbai, in 1944. She moved to Kenya when she was eight years old; her father worked there for British railways. She married another Gujarati in Kenya and had her first daughter (**Mrs C0086/1**) in 1966. A few months later she moved to England. She is pictured, below, with her husband, now a retired mechanic, and daughter on the doorstep of their home in Bradford.



Picture supplied by **Mrs C0086/2**.

When **Mrs C0086/2** was interviewed by BHRU in 1986 she worked for Allied Industrial Service as a piece worker, sewing coats, boiler suits and jackets. At first, when she arrived in Britain she was homesick for Kenya, hating 'Bradford's black buildings, dark weather and the cold.' Throughout our conversation she reiterated that her home was Kenya, rather than India – because that's where she spent her 'formative years.'

Mrs C0086/2 said Hinduism was her life - bringing her great comfort. She spoke about the marriage of her youngest daughter to a 'white Christian man' and her son, to a Muslim girl. She contrasted how these two marriages, to people of different faiths, impacted on her family. She praised her Christian son-in-law and the way he had learnt about Hinduism; going to temple with her family. Conversely, she spoke passionately, and sometimes fearfully, about how her son had converted to Islam, in order to marry, and how he was raising her grandson as a Muslim. She said this was especially difficult for her husband:

It's not as easy as English getting married with English, because it comes to religion more, religious conflict, like terrorism... comes into your mind straight away... there's too much difference from their culture to ours... this marriage has caused a war in my family.

Mrs C0086/2 also spoke of her upcoming trip to see her sister in India, her first visit in 15 years, and how she was afraid her health would not hold up. She said she tries to help her sister's family financially, because they are poor, and she contrasted the life she has with that of her sister, who didn't move to Kenya.

Interviewee C0086/1/D

Ethnic roots: Gujarat, India via Kenya

Religion: Hindu

Caste: not discussed

Date of Birth: 1992

Gender: Female

Arrived in Britain: born here

Location: lives in Somerset

BHRU interview date: none

My interview date: 20.2.09

Miss C0086/1/D is the daughter of **Mrs C0086/1** and the granddaughter of **Mrs C0086/2**. She was born in Bradford but moved to Somerset with her parents and older brother when she was seven. When we spoke she was 17, my youngest research participant. I conducted one interview with her, at her home in a small town between Bath and Bristol. I previously met her when I interviewed her mother.

She began by speaking about a school trip to Poland, part of an A-level history project on Nazi Germany. She spoke about her experience of visiting the Krakow death camp, and of a school trip to Istanbul, the previous year - which her mother also went on. She was studying Politics and Business Studies.

She contrasted her old life with her new life in Somerset; how it might be different if she still lived in Bradford, close to extended family. She said she has more freedom in Somerset than she would have had in Bradford, where she would have been more constrained by traditional Indian cultural norms. She also spoke of her Indian identity:

Well down here I feel it is like, sometimes I have it, and sometimes I don't...because down here you're just sort of there, whatever, and now I don't know any Asian people, if any down here...well

you don't feel any different, like talking to a white person, black person.

With less opportunity in Somerset to socialise with Asian, or more specifically Indian, people, she has integrated easily - in an area where her family are quite distinct. Her experience could evidence how the problems of integration escalate in relation to the size of the ethnic group, and how tempting it may be, when one is part of a large ethnic community, to live alongside, parallel to, the rest of society.

She said she felt rooted to India, and proud of her heritage. Despite being born in Britain, and never having visited India, she said she tells people she is Indian, "...because even though we live here we still have Indian influences, like even the food and the clothes and the language."

She might become a teacher, and is planning to go away to university – but definitely not to Bradford, which is "quite backward." She is interested in educational and developmental psychology, in particular disorders such as autism and dyslexia. In her spare time she has taken part in several public speaking competitions, volunteered in charity shops, and worked as a mentor for the student-based organisation Teen Support.

Interviewee C0127K

Ethnic roots: Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Religion: Sunni Muslim

Caste: Awan

Date of Birth: 1947

Gender: male

Arrived in Britain: 1965

Location: Keighley

BHRU interview date: 20.11.87

My interview dates: 21.11.08, 15.1.09, 18.3.09, 27.7.09, 6.10.09

Mr C0127K was born in Rawalpindi, Pakistan the year the country was created, 1947. He spent his childhood in Pakistan, coming to England in 1965 to join his father, who came here two years earlier. The suffix K appears at the end of his original BHRU access number because he lives in the Yorkshire town of Keighley, seven miles from Bradford. I also wanted to interview his mother and one of his daughters, but they declined.

Mr C0127K's family had long-standing close ties to Britain, prior to migration. As a young man **Mr C0127K's** father was a decorated soldier in the British Army, who served, and was wounded, in Burma. After he retired he had a series of jobs, including in hospitals, the post office, a shoe factory, and textiles. At the relatively advanced age of 53,⁸⁰ he came to Britain to work in the mills, leaving his wife and children in Pakistan.

Mr C0127K was 17 when he joined his father, who was struggling with the British climate and life without his family. When he arrived there were only three or four extended families from Pakistan, totalling around 200 people, in Keighley. When **Mr C0127K** was interviewed by BHRU he said this figure had risen to around 4,000. At first he worked as a mill labourer, then moved into textile quality control at the old City of Bradford Conditioning House (below, my photo) where he tested materials for flammability. He worked

⁸⁰ Most men who came to Britain from the Asian sub-continent were in their 20s and 30s.

there for about 12 years, until the textile industry started to decline, when he left to do an engineering (milling) course in Leeds, which enabled him to get a job at Bernard International Limited in Halifax.



Mr C0127K has been active in the Keighley community, initially in an ad hoc, informal way, helping Pakistani neighbours to complete forms and deal with life here. In 1981 - at the height of National Front activity - he became the Racial Equality Council's Senior Officer in Keighley, tasked with improving relations between the indigenous population and the Asian communities; advising on immigration, health, equal opportunity, and racism. Since 2000 he has worked for a law firm; he also became a non-executive Director for the NHS. In 2002 he was elected to Keighley Town Council and, in 2007, to Bradford District Council. He was Keighley's first Asian JP, sitting in Magistrate and Crown Courts.

Mr C0127K worked in a number of voluntary capacities, notably initiating, in 1975, the construction, in Keighley, of the first purpose-built mosque in Yorkshire. The Jamil Mosque, pictured below (my photo), is near **Mr C0127K's** home. It was completed after the local Asian community raised £80,000 in just 12 months.

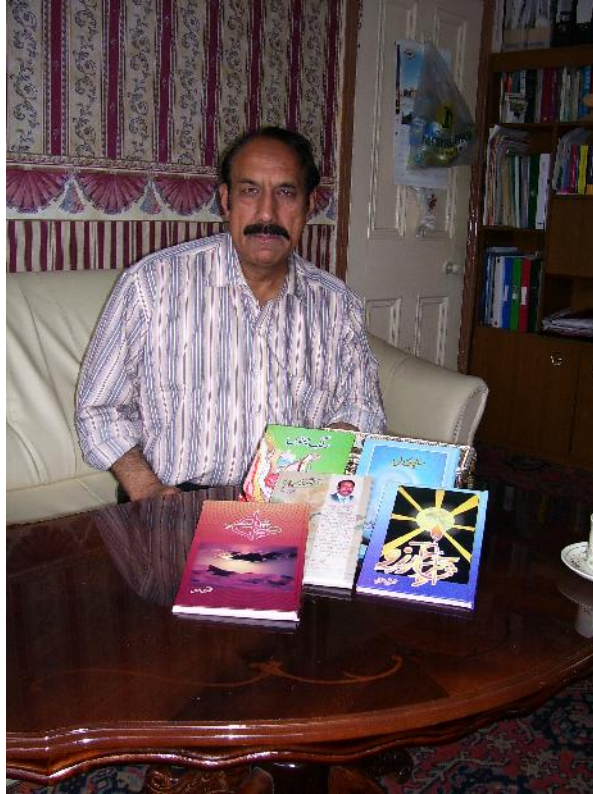


Mr C0127K also helped establish the Bangladesh Youth Movement in Keighley, the Keighley Asian Women’s Centre, and a local community centre. Interestingly, he now regrets helping to establish these centres as he feels they have marginalised the Asian communities – their exclusivity hindering integration. He is now involved in a housing advice project and volunteers for Victim Support.

He lives in a terraced house within a collection of streets just off the town centre, which are populated predominately by Pakistani people. Within walking distance are specialist Asian grocery shops and several mosques. He said there were only two white households in the neighbourhood. The population of Keighley Town ward, where he is a local councillor, is about 10,000; 50% Asian and 50% non-Asian. He said one of his goals is to eliminate biradarism – encouraging Pakistani people to fully participate in elections, voting for the best person for the job, rather than the man with the same old village ties. There is more on this in Chapter 7.

Mr C0127K, pictured below, is a poet; he has published six books of romantic poetry, which explore the ‘ups and downs’ of relationships. He started writing in Pakistan, and then took it up again about 15 years ago. He writes exclusively in Urdu for people in this country and in Pakistan; mostly his characters live in Britain. He gets his inspiration from the streets near his

home, and writes about the challenges faced by Asian people living here. He is a member of a local poetry circle, called Safina-I-Adab (Chapter 5, Appendix 9, family tree).



Picture courtesy of **Mr C0127K**

Interviewee C0049

Ethnic roots: Punjab, Pakistan

Religion: Muslim

Clan: Wadhera

Date of Birth: 1934

Gender: male

Arrived in Britain: 1962

Bradford location: BD8

BHRU interview date: 19.9.85

My interview dates: 25.3.09, 2.4.09, 9.4.09, 13.8.09, 12.11.09

Dr C0049 was born in 1934, in the Gujrat District of the Punjab, in what was then India but was to become Pakistan. He went to school in Delhi and

Shimla, but in 1947, one month before Partition, he fled north with his mother into territory, which became Pakistan. It was a time of upheaval for his family, which **Dr C0049** recalled over half a century later with a sense of enduring sadness.



Dr C0049 is pictured in the back row (standing left), aged 9, with his family in Pakistan. Picture supplied by **Dr C0049**.

An internationally renowned Urdu short story writer, **Dr C0049's** literary career began when he edited his school magazine, *Fanoos*. After school he worked as a clerk for the Indian Army in Rawalpindi, and established a monthly magazine *Naghmat* (Lyrics), to promote the Urdu language and Pakistani culture. Keen to improve his education he began a degree in Islamic History and Psychology in Karachi. This meant closing down the magazine and putting his journalistic ambitions on hold. After graduating he worked first for a testing laboratory in Karachi and then in Public Relations for the oil company, Caltex. By then he was married with three young children. When his wife became seriously ill in 1962, he moved his family to Britain, in search of treatment. Sadly three months after arriving she died. Despite family pressure to return to Pakistan he remained in Britain and worked for the National Bank of Pakistan in London, before moving with the

bank to Bradford in 1965. In 1971 **Dr C0049** remarried, and the couple now have two more children, and 14 grandchildren.

In 1971 **Dr C0049** became a representative of the London-based Urdu language newspaper, the Daily Jang. A year later he became a Founding Director of the Urdu newspaper, the Daily Millat, and in 1975 Editor-Manager, and subsequently Managing Director, of RAVI (*Narrator*), the only Urdu language newspaper published in the north of England. Together **Dr C0049** and his wife published the newspaper, which had a wide circulation in the north of England and the Indian sub-continent, for 25 years, until they retired in 1999.

Dr C0049 is a prolific Urdu language short story writer, publishing nine books of collections of his stories since 1966. One book has been translated into Punjabi and another, *Leaves in a Storm*, is an English adaptation of eight of his stories (Hussain, 2002). He has also written two novelettes. His collection of stories, published in 2011, *Pop Kahaniyan*, introduced the new genre of popular mini-stories to the Urdu world. His stories provide insight into the challenges of migration and life in new cultures, and explore how traditional Asian values are tested by Western life styles. He writes from personal experience and his observations of the lives of Pakistani people in Bradford.

As a short story writer **Dr C0049** enjoys international acclaim, and his effort to support the work of other Urdu writers across the globe, through his Makhzan annual compilation of short stories and poems, was rewarded in 2008 by the President of Pakistan's *Tamgha-I-Imtiaz* (Medal of Distinction) for Excellence in Literature. This was announced on Pakistan's Independence Day, 14th August, 2008, and awarded the following year at a ceremony in London, for the first time to an Urdu writer living outside Pakistan. Below, **Dr C0049** is pictured receiving the President's Medal of Distinction.



Picture supplied by **Dr C0049**.

This was just the latest award **Dr C0049** has received for his contribution to Urdu literature. Others include: Best Journalist of 1992 (Islamabad); Best Short Story Writer of 1993 (Lahore); and Best Urdu Stories book 2002, for his book *Man Darpen* (Los Angeles). Bradford University also awarded him an Honorary Doctor of Letters; he is pictured below (centre) during his graduation ceremony in 2013.



Picture courtesy of **Dr C0049**.

In 1965 **Dr C0049** founded, and became the first President of, the Bradford Pakistan Society, the first Pakistan Society in Britain. Three years later he became the first Pakistani member of the Bradford Lions Club, and in 1970

Bradford's first Pakistani JP. In 1992 he established the *Sherdil* (lion-hearted) lunch club, encouraging cross-cultural business community interaction (Priestley, 2003).

When we spoke **Dr C0049** peppered his conversation with vivid tales of his childhood in India and Pakistan and his adult life in Britain. He said his 'beloved Urdu' was a 'link language', born out of interaction. The cover of his final copy of *Makhzan* (below), published in 2011, reflects both the essence of Urdu and his desire to build bridges between communities (Chapter 5, Appendix 10, family tree).



Picture courtesy of **Dr C0049**.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced the cohort, and its individual members. This provides a complimentary adjunct, to the situational context of participants, outlined in Chapters 3 & 4. Together these chapters offer the frame, within which the responses and insight of the cohort can be explored in the next three chapters. Their diversity of background and experience belies the

notion that the Asian communities in Bradford can be considered homogenous – critically, both demanding tailored responses to ensure cohesion, and demonstrating how parallel living should be considered a permanent feature of life in multicultural environments.

Chapter Six: First data chapter.

Mind the gap: Bridging the space between here and there.

Introduction

In this and the following two chapters I explore responses from participants during 58 hours of interviews, which I conducted in Bradford, Leeds, London, Bath and Somerset between May 2006-April 2010. These responses are categorised into 14 thematic areas and grouped as:

- Chapter 6: those reflecting the idea of identity framed by a dual sense of home, or more usefully, one cohesive transnational, polygamous sense of home
- Chapter 7: those reflecting key mechanisms which frame minority community boundary formation
- Chapter 8: those reflecting the nature of relationships within the minority communities studied

How this chapter contributes to my research questions

Five thematic areas are considered in this chapter: distance of the heart; sense of home; sense of belonging; parallel living; and identity - the aim being to examine the nature of what Knight describes as the aggregative environment (Knight, 1994), which stretches from Britain to the Asian sub-continent.

These emergent thematic areas (data-led) contributed to the construction of my first two secondary questions, they are: To what extent may an enduring sense of home in country of origin and sense of belonging elsewhere, have impacted the development of sense of home in Britain and sense of belonging here for Bradford's Asian communities? And, secondly: To what extent, and in what way, may the so-called parallel living of the Asian communities in Bradford have challenged their meaningful integrate into the District?

Importantly, this chapter also explores the idea of *distance of the heart*, which arises from a strong sense of ethnic social group identity – offering a valuable understanding of the direction of my primary research question. It is this fundamental appreciation - elaborated by the cohort - which facilitates exploration of other factors/mechanisms, in Chapters 7 & 8, which may have impacted meaningful integration of the Asian communities in Bradford.

There is more on the contribution of this chapter in Chapter 9.

Distance of the heart

Forty-five years ago, when Saifullah-Khan conducted research in Bradford, she concluded migrant status was dependent on both worlds, and that having a limited claim in both restricts involvement and hinders total identification in either (Saifullah Khan, 1974). My aim was to determine how true this is for Bradford's Asian communities today – the concern being that a limited claim can cause distracted commitment, which, in turn, can constrain cohesion by perpetuating parallel living.

The term distance of the heart, coined by **Mr C0121**, who was born in Mirpur, Kashmir (Pakistan) and came to Britain when he was eleven, describes such an intimate sense of belonging to another place that geographical distance is collapsed. He says for him Pakistan and Britain feel so close they are like two neighbouring villages:

It is like, I've got a café over there⁸¹ and this business here...these are distances in terms of the mileage, but in terms of your heart everything is close.

This sense forms the essence of the transnational community, which all of the cohort continues to inhabit, to varying degrees. They maintain strong links with the sub-continent through visits; transcontinental marriages; business links, including investment opportunities, the renovation of family

⁸¹ The other side of Bradford from the location of his business, where our interview was conducted.

properties and purchase of homes; and the maintenance of extended family networks in this country and overseas.

For **Mr C0101**, who was born in Bradford, India is a holiday destination, its 'more relaxed atmosphere' providing respite from the stresses of life here. It's also a retirement home for his parents:

My dad's developing a small house...I think my mum and dad will go back to India and spend a couple of months there, have a holiday and come back to England...they can talk their language and communicate with people. It's nice to see your family and friends.

He says now his family in Bradford is more affluent a corridor has opened up between India and Britain. This is a useful way to envisage **Mr C0121's** distance of the heart between here and there. Seven of the eight families in the cohort have houses in Pakistan or India, some of which have been in families for years, others new builds. Several speak of wanting to spend long periods of time there but only two expressed the wish to return permanently, **Mr M0100** and **Dr C0049**. **Mr C0101** speaks about the topping out ceremony of his father's new home in the Punjab, saying it was 'akin to a rebirth or fresh start.' Having fulfilled their long-held dream to have their own place in India his parents can draw a line under the reason for their migration to Britain, demonstrating to family who supported their move years ago their trust was not misplaced (Hussain, 2008).

But **Mr C0121** doesn't view a visit to Pakistan as merely a holiday:

Most of time in Pakistan you spend with family, visiting relatives...it isn't a holiday home because there's the graveyard with my grandfather, my school, and the town I used to live in. So it's not a holiday.

Mr C0127K, who was born in Pakistan and came here aged 18, agrees, visiting Pakistan is not a holiday:

I only go there if I need to really...maybe a wedding or somebody died, maybe an uncle...I couldn't adjust myself to life there...I'm sort of alien there, because all those people who were students with me, they've grown up, moved away, and their children don't recognise me. I don't feel comfortable there...

But **Mr M0100**, a pensioner who was born in Pakistan and came here as an adult, spends up to six months a year in Pakistan. His prolonged visits challenge the old myth of return (Bolognani, 2007) – the dream that was unfulfilled for decades. Today, with children and grandchildren here and there he is 'badly divided, missing them, dreaming about them, wishing they were here.' He says he feels better in Pakistan, only occasionally having to go to the doctor. Diabetic and on 13 tablets a day, prescribed by the NHS, **Mr M0100's** trips to Pakistan are governed by the size of the supply of medication he can secure before he goes, sometimes supplemented by family visiting from Bradford while he's there. A further practical consideration is that index-linked British pensions and benefits are dependent upon 183 days residency here each year. There are significant financial implications for people who spend longer in Pakistan and India, including restrictions on NHS treatment and British state pensions frozen at their value on the date of departure (Khan and Mawhinney, 2017).

Mr M0100 has been living the transnational lifestyle for decades – meaningful relationships at both ends of his journey - but his retirement enables a split circulation, accommodating longer and more frequent visits to Pakistan. (Mawhinney and Khan, 2011). This begs the question whether he is living here and holidaying there or vice versa – a conundrum characteristic of Saiffulah-Khan's limited claim. In Bradford **Mr M0100** has five children, and a host of grandchildren; in Pakistan, two daughters with their families. Importantly, he says, in Pakistan are the graves of his ancestors, safe on his land, and the grave of his son – who died in Bradford and was taken home.

He says Britain is the place where he worked, where he lives; Pakistan is his 'born place', his home. This may reflect the distinction between functional and emotional place attachment – the first relating to practical considerations such as satisfaction of physical needs, the second to how well self-esteem and identity are nurtured (Livingston et al., 2008 p.12).

For **Mr M0100** his transnational existence represents a compromise between conflicting desires, demands and interests – something he has been struggling with since migration. It also challenges the long-held notion that return was a myth, both because he now appears to have fulfilled his dream and also, maybe, because he never really left. His lifestyle has been sustained by the idea, implicit in distance of the heart, that *there* is not far away from *here*.

Robinson maintains the myth of return, harboured by the migrant generation, resulted in a lack of commitment to British society, fostered by a transient mentality which strove to maintain original culture – in preparation for acceptance, after return. This, says Kalra, led to a positioning of the significant social and moral framework elsewhere – which created a sense of being trapped, unable to settle here or there (Kalra, 2000). The reasons for and against return are premised on one's sense of belonging – no one wants to feel out of place, particularly when they are older – a time when familiarity and comfort contribute to a better quality of life (Mawhinney and Khan, 2011).

When I interviewed the cohort their ages ranged from 17 years (**Miss C0086/1/D**) to 75 years (**Dr C0049**) – five of the them were born in Britain, five came here as children, the remaining six as adults.⁸² They have all lived here longer than they have lived anywhere else. The transnational experience of children is not well documented but, Haikkola says, they continue to act within the field of relations that their family's migration

⁸² This 16 excludes **Mr C0074** and his son who were withdrawn.

produced – a persistent legacy which frames their identity by the traveller episode (Haikkola, 2011).

Younger members of the cohort demonstrate how the second+ generation are socialised into the norms and values of the transnational social field – prepared to utilise useful connections, even if they rarely visit the homeland (Levitt, 2009). Importantly, these connections may just as likely be here as overseas, stretching across the country, anchoring the British end of the transnational community. **Miss C0059/D**, who was born in Bradford and aged 23 when interviewed, refers to the ‘Asian bubble’ young Pakistani people are afraid to step out of:

...a kind of Pakistani mentality...you should always stick with your family, with the Pakistani community, we should help each other and there is an insider-outsider, in-group type of thing going on.

Some in the cohort expressed frustration about their transnational lifestyle. **Mr M0100’s** daughter **Mrs C0059**, who came to Britain as a child, says she is made to feel she does not belong here or there:

In Pakistan they call you England, and here they don’t see you as English. I kept my faith, my culture, my identity, but I also took on the host’s culture, some of the values and some of its identity.

Although, she also takes advantage of family connections in Pakistan to stock her husband’s dress shop in Bradford and plans to purchase land to develop businesses there for her children (Osaghae and Cooney, 2019). From an external perspective this may seem she sometimes ‘cherry picks’ from what is on offer there and sometimes from what is on offer here. But, it is more likely she is utilising tools from one box which contains everything available to her.

She explains that maintaining close ties with Pakistan is important for her family because 'you need your own home, where your body can be laid.' Pakistan also provides insurance, she says:

There's this ideology that if things get bad [here] we can go back...my dad talks about when I get my house in Pakistan I'm going to move there.

But she's sceptical, because he's worked all his life here, so he's definitely 'got a stake in it here.'

Like **Mrs C0059**, **Dr C0009/D**, who was born in India and came to Britain as a child, feels rootless:

I don't really feel that sense of being settled anywhere...over the years I began to see my identity as being more rooted in myself, rather than in a place. I just think you take your identity with you.

She says her parents don't understand how much she has changed:

...I have a very precarious relationship with India, it feels familiar but quite different as well. I am Anglicised, and find it difficult to fit in there. A trip with my parents proved I am very British.

Other cohort members feel 'uncomfortable' in their family homeland. Having diabetes makes it difficult for **Mrs C0086/2** to travel to India. She was born in the Gujarat but came to Britain after years in Kenya. After being away so long she can't remember everyone in India. Nevertheless:

I am rooted to India...I'm proud of my heritage...it's just your background, like other people say they are proud of being English.

The transnational experience may also be nurtured by a hankering for what used to be. For **Dr C0049**, who came to Britain from Pakistan as an adult, it is the time when he lived in Delhi with his mother:

I would like to go back to Delhi...to live, because it's my childhood...I have soft corners for Delhi...the time we were all Indians, before Partition.

Conclusions

The transnational experience of the cohort is eclectic, but, nonetheless, something they share. Their reasons for sustaining transnational community may be felt (emotional) or functional - including a desire to reconnect with family left behind; to fulfil promises of return; to reclaim rights to land or property; and to invest there in businesses and houses. Having somewhere else to go also provides insurance, if things go badly wrong here – a safe haven. Importantly, this process, half a century post migration, is being bequeathed to new generations, who are encouraged to see the value of maintaining ties with family overseas and contact with the homeland. It's worth considering how British-born children may be impacted by the migrant generation living abroad for 20-30 years in retirement. This may (re)strengthen ties with homeland, in a way not possible before. Bolannani describes how trips to Pakistan instil more self-esteem and confidence in young people's sense of belonging and place in the biradari (Bolognani, 2007). Clearly this cannot be described as return for British born, unless they are considered bearers of the collective dream. In any case their journey of knowledge, to discover ancestral roots, is likely different from that of their grandparents – a more transient, irregular and intrinsically Western experience. Rytter says the second+ generations see Pakistan as a new Klondike – mirroring the land of opportunity their grandparents once regarded Britain.

It is tempting to conclude the cohort possesses portable identities, which challenge the traditional idea of identity grounded in one place and a common culture and language (Vertovec, 2001), But rather the idea of distance of the heart implies they inhabit an arena which transcends physical territoriality, framing an amalgam of identity, culture and language suited for the purpose. If that's the case their ethnicity should be seen as an integral part of Britishness, not an appendage to it.

A sense of home

The two senses of home and belonging are intrinsic to identity (Rapport and Overing, 2007). Often considered interchangeable, I distinguish between these two concepts because while older cohort members and their British-born children can feel a sense of home in more than one location, their sense of belonging (that is, feeling *at home*) is more rooted in ancestry. Although home appears self-evident, it can signal a domain of problematic assumptions, methodological complexities, hegemonic discourses and ideologies, which are magnified by processes of movement and displacement (Aguilar, 2002). Importantly, migrants may experience a long period of adjustment revolving around where home is - ties to land and nature and memories proving stronger than the number of days spent in a particular place (Cooper Marcus, 2006): This reflects the prolonged impact of what **Mr C0121** describes as distance of the heart.

Definitions of home are ambiguous; variously implying a shorthand for homeland, that is country of birth; the place where one makes one's home (after movement), where one has lived for a long time; a physical structure; and an environment offering security and happiness. These descriptions were all utilised by the cohort, who responded in different ways when I asked where their home was or where they felt most at home, that is, where they felt they belonged. It became apparent these were two very different questions. Also, concomitant with their presence within the transnational field, some defied the uni-notion of home by expressing a sense of home both here and there. This, says Rapport, reflects a state that transcends traditional definitions of identity, in terms of locality, ethnicity, religiosity, and/or nationality - resulting in paradoxical identity (Rapport and Overing, 2007 p.176).

Sense of home here can continue to be conflicted by loyalty to ancestors who anchor migrants elsewhere, in **Mr C0121** case, to Kashmir:

I would classify Bradford as more of my home, but you can't separate your ancestors...it's completely different over there, a different way, a different culture, different timing, everything...So now you've settled in this way of life when you go over there you miss this side.

His comment reveals an inherent tension between what he actually feels and what he thinks he should feel, that is, what is expected. This tension may challenge, as Saiffulah-Khan says, one's ability to totally identify with any single location – one's sense of belonging torn in both directions.

An option is to feel your home is everywhere or nowhere. **Mr C0101** roots his sense of home in himself:

I never use the term home. It's an awkward question. It's how you're brain-washed. I think where you've been brought up for 20 years, you're always going to have a bit more love...[but] I don't want to say I'm Indian and I'm going to live in India when I retire, or I'm English and I'm going to live in England...don't feel at home anywhere...I feel myself...I feel settled as me.

However, he also admits:

Bradford does have a feeling that it's different, if you've been brought up here. I've talked to a lot of people who've moved on and they say the minute we're coming up the M606 we smell Bradford. It's just a feeling and I know what they mean. It could be a coming home feeling.

His parents' new (holiday) home in India, means he has two homes, and he's now committed to two ways of life. He says, 'It's nice to have both worlds.'

He now has the chance to explore more of his heritage in the Punjab - denied when his family moved to Britain before his birth. When he finds life in

Britain difficult, as when his elder son got involved with drugs, he retreats to India - a haven away from the stress of daily life here.

Other cohort members speak of not being entirely accepted here or there. This can impact affection for homeland. While **Mrs C0059** is passionate about her birthplace in Pakistan, the family village where she spent her early childhood, her sense of homeland is ambiguous. Her discomfort makes her feel Britain is her home, but she has no sense of being at home here, of belonging, and this blurs her identification with place at both ends of her journey. She says:

I feel more English now than Pakistani. I've a deep love for this country. I strongly believe what the Koran says, when you are a minority in a country you have to follow their rules, their way of life, to integrate with them, to keep your faith but don't trample on others; to respect and have some empathy with people you're living with.

However, her father, **Mr M0100**, has never lost his sense of Rawalpindi being home. He describes Britain as his 'second home', where his family lives, 'but my head and my heart mostly in Pakistan.' This reflects Bhupinder Kler's distinction between her *jenam bhumi*, birth home, and her *karam bhumi*, the place where she has made her life (Sardar, 2008 p.6).

For **Mr M0100's** granddaughter, **Miss C0059/D**, the reverse is true; Bradford is her 'first' home, Pakistan her 'second', holiday home – 'a home, but not a home.' Her mother, **Mrs C0059** typifies the transformation, second generation, one foot there and one here, not truly belonging anywhere. Attached to family land in Pakistan in a way her daughter is not, she regards Britain as her home, in a way that her father does not. If the two women speak at all of Pakistan as homeland they are likely attaching different emotions. This is probably because **Mrs C0059** has strong memories of growing up there, while her daughter's childhood memories are all about

BD8. This evidences the ambiguity of language between generations, within the migration narrative, which compromises comparison.

Siblings, **Dr C0009/S** and his sister, **Dr C0009/D** came to Britain from the Punjab as children, but they have a different sense of home. He says he feels at home here, she is less convinced. She says she will never feel really rooted in place:

I don't really feel that sense of feeling settled anywhere. I grew up in Leeds, then moved to Bradford, went to university, then Coventry, and my first job was in London. Now I've been here a long time...in some ways I feel London is where I feel most rooted...everyone else is a foreigner as well, so in a way you feel you're all together.

This evidences how similar experience, even within the same family, between people of a similar age, is subject to individual, agential, interpretation, likely framed by personal characteristics and outlook.

As **Mr C0101**, **Dr C0009/D** has come to see her identity as being more rooted in herself than location - a convenient, pragmatic response if a sense of home in place is somehow elusive.

However, **Dr C0049** does not have that problem, rather, like **Mr M0100**, he feels he has two homes:

I have made my home in England, and I am settled here. Home is where the heart is, and I have cautiously adopted this country... for 45 years I have loved Britain and Pakistan.

But his relationship with Pakistan has changed over the years. If anything, he loves his homeland more now than when he lived there, 'like a father loves the grown up child more than the infant.' He says, this makes him lonely for

his old values; he wants to return but his wife wants to remain here, near their children and grandchildren.

Conclusions

Sense of home has a symbiotic relationship with identity, both deterministic and framed by it. However, the cohort's responses reveal the difficulty inherent in any evaluation of the impact of sense of home, on the formation and maintenance of identity, because the concept is both nebulous and fluid. At best, sense of home can be seen as one of the pillars, or mechanisms, under-pinning ethnic social group identity. Because of the transnational field inhabited by the cohort, it is necessary to accommodate their uni-loci understanding of home, and to understand that the migration-settlement process, over decades, may have substituted home rooted in place for a home rooted in community.

Ager & Strang say a feeling at home is fostered by the friendliness of people migrants encounter on a daily basis, and being recognised and greeted in neighbourhoods. Small acts of friendship, they say, have a disproportionately positive impact on perceptions, making people feel more secure and persuaded they are not resented (Ager and Strang, 2008). This evidences the importance of the contextual environment of the ethnic community.

The cohort's sense of homeland is a different matter. While home can be functional, feelings about homeland seem more elemental, more emotional – laden with historical reference and inheritance. Some members of the cohort have a sense of homeland being there, others of it being here, but for **Mrs C0059** it has been lost in the migration experience. This sense of homeland is important as it underpins one's sense of belonging, which is explored in the next section.

A sense of belonging

Feeling sense of belonging to a particular place indicates psychological integration, that is the highest level of integration (Ramadan, 2007). While a sense of home can be ambiguous and changeable, sense of belonging is

more rooted, constant, and enduring. It is infused with commitment to unknown ancestors and territory, and collective historical investment in what has gone before. For younger members of the cohort their sense of home, in a place where they have never lived and seldom, if ever, visit, likely emanates from this more grounded sense of who they really are, deep down – an understanding which may conflict with their primary sense of home here, but nonetheless co-exists.

The difference between sense of home and sense of belonging may be characterised by the difference between culture and ethnicity. The former is constructed by, for example, tradition, values, and norms of behaviour, while the latter by a sense of “ethnic consciousness,” which persists over time and space and which can be bequeathed to the descendants of migrants.

Sense of belonging is best described as feeling at home, comfortable in one’s environment; accepted, despite difference; and secure in one’s right to be there; part of, included. Goodhart warns that after migration this takes time to achieve, as new norms and unspoken codes are absorbed, and it cannot be legislated for (Goodhart, 2008). Because transference of old sense of belonging elsewhere to new sense of belonging here is impacted by many factors,⁸³ including widespread prejudice (by the host community) and desire of migrants to perpetuate minority community cohesion, the timeframe for this process is indeterminate. If epithets are indicative, the cohort demonstrates not only that this process may span decades at least, but also be gifted to subsequent generations. It was most common to hear them identify themselves as British plus Pakistani or Indian, but also, interestingly, British plus regional Indian affiliations, such as Punjabi, or British plus a religion indicative of their family roots, such as Sikh.⁸⁴

Feeling part of, belonging to, appears to be a critical mechanism driving the desire to participate (Sveinsson, 2010), implying efforts to encourage participation, ahead of the development of sense of belonging, are impeded.

⁸³ See my impact matrix earlier.

⁸⁴ There is more on this later in this chapter.

In this way, sense of belonging, as an element of identity, becomes an important factor underpinning, or constraining, cohesion.

Mr C0042, a British Indian Hindu, who came here from the Punjab, says he has 'a British way of life.' As 'British as anyone else', he says he's proud of his Indian origin but also feels he belongs here. To prove his point, he lists what he has achieved since coming to Britain in the 1960s - including raising money to build a temple in Bradford; campaigning in the Indian community for the Conservative party; and encouraging Asian teenagers to become more interested in British politics – as evidence of his commitment to Britain and the way of life.

Two fundamental questions about sense of belonging, with regard to community cohesion are, firstly, the extent to which making a contribution to one's local environment arises from a sense of belonging, or engenders it. This is a complex tri-partite equation. And, secondly, can (former) migrants, and their descendents experience a sense of belonging, being at home, in more than one place, in a way similar to their sense of home? It's likely that sense of belonging is inherently different from the multi-faceted and flexible sense of home, in that it can reflect attachment to only one place at a time.

Another consideration is that transmutation of sense of belonging may be delayed when many people migrate around the same time, essentially as a group. The sheer numbers enable cohesion of the group to persist, reducing the necessity to quickly adopt local norms and unspoken codes, maybe indefinitely.

On the contrary, when she moved away from Bradford to Somerset, **Mrs C0086/1**, an Indian Hindu, who came to Britain from Kenya as a baby, left the so-called Asian bubble in Yorkshire. She had to make an effort to fit in:

When we first moved here I used to always class Bradford as home, but as time's gone on...we have been accepted here.

We've made so many friends, we don't feel like outsiders. We feel part of the community here.

Active involvement, that is deliberate not automatic, evidences a group's commitment and genuine interest in its surroundings (Van Rijswijk et al., 2009). But showing levels of commitment to the national group does not necessarily lead to higher levels of in-group inclusion – it might be one-way, requiring the ethnic group to complete a 'probation period', during which members are repeatedly required to demonstrate commitment to society before they are recognised. This may explain the 'unsettling and unresolved concerns and complex belongings and relationships' that Herbert found Indians, who migrated to Britain from Africa, harboured about Britain, India and Africa after 35 years (Herbert, 2009) – intentions, on their part, governed by local reciprocation. Blackburn Council's Charter of Belonging, a core feature of its cohesion strategy, provides a model encouraging citizens to be collectively responsible for the future of the area (Blackburn with Darwen Borough Council, 2004). However, it does not resolve how those feeling marginalized might respond.

Mr C0121 and **Mr C0127K** appear to support Saifullah-Khan's contention about limited claim at both ends of the journey. They say developing a sense of belonging here requires a lessening of ties with Pakistan; implying a clear inverse proportionality trade-off. **Mr C0121:**

Fifteen years ago I would have gone over there, but now I would be more willing to stay here. This is as good as any other place. I'm used to living here, I've lived here most of my life.

Over the past 45 years, **Mr C0127K** says, he has spent less than six weeks in Pakistan, 'no one knows me there.' This, he says, makes him feel like he belongs here; evidencing rather a kind of passive, or negative, sense of belonging - by default, maybe weaker than when actively pursued, and reminiscent of Khan's limited claim.

Interestingly, when **Dr C0049** was awarded a medal by the President of Pakistan, for his contribute to Urdu literature, he insisted it be presented in London, because 'I am from Britain.' He says:

Then my wife and my whole family could be invited, so that second and third generation could watch. It is a kind of history. I am the only person from my generation who has settled down here. When I am gone my child will take whatever he could, how I came and settled down, and this is my home. I want my children to remember that day...my daughter keeps photographs and cuttings. You know, they don't have to go away to find their roots. It is important for the link to go on, and the family name...this is our family tradition, brought here from Pakistan.

His desire to anchor his children both here and there may reflect Khan's limited claim but it also evidences something else – the construction of a family narrative, which embraces the realities of both the past and present, there and here. It seems to be a pragmatic response to the consequences of his decision to migrate and, importantly, remain here, in a way which offers the possibility, nothing more than that, that maybe sense of belonging should, like sense of home, be seen as being ingrained in more than one place (Hau Ling, 2005). In the end, one's sense of belonging can only be rooted in personal or ancestor memory. Beyond that, we could belong anywhere.

Conclusions

In order to effectively manage the process of living in two, or more, cultures an individual must possess knowledge of both cultures' beliefs and values; positive attitudes towards both majority and minority groups; bicultural efficacy, that is the belief that one can live effectively in a satisfying manner within the two or more cultures; communication ability, relating to both cultures; role repertoire, that is knowledge of the functional response (the way people act in given situations) within the cultures; and a sense of being grounded in some form of stable social networks in both cultures

(LaFromboise et al., 1993). This seems to be the minimum requirements for ethnic minority communities to develop a sense of belonging here. But this sense is not only nurtured by positive action, on the part of the minority, but also that of the majority – and the absence of negativity towards difference. It is also important to point out that in multicultural communities, like Bradford, the ‘them’ are not a single entity – from anyone’s perspective. This complicates cohesion-building. While there is much discussion about the cultural competency of people in minority communities there is less about the reciprocal cultural competency of people who would describe themselves as members of the majority.

Because of the important differences between sense of home and sense of belonging it is necessary to search for mechanisms, which hinder or foster more meaningful, deeper attachment to wider society in Bradford (Britain). However, the limitations of what can be achieved, in this regard, by social engineering must be recognised – exactly because factors, which underpin sense of belonging are fundamentally meaningful and deeply ingrained; an integral part of who we are. Maybe transmutation should not be easy, if sense of belonging is to stand as a tribute to our ancestors.

And, if it is as difficult to achieve as it seems, psychological integration is challenged, meaning it may be necessary to accept a degree of parallel living between communities as a permanent feature of life in multicultural environments.

Parallel living

Over the last 20 years there has been much criticism of how old-style multiculturalism has deepened cleavages between communities and created parallel living (Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.72). The assumption being that parallel living, traditionally characterised by separate schools, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language and social and cultural networks, evidences lack of society cohesion.

Terrorism in New York, and closer to home,⁸⁵ has re-enforced concerns that the liberal, if pragmatic, approach to the integration of new communities during the 1980s and early 1990s was inadequate, placing too much emphasis on diversity and not enough on commonality. But if extremism - which may be otherwise explained, for example, by criminality – is excluded we are left with a complex, diverse web of intersecting relationships within context-specific, multicultural communities, which demand tailored examination. It may be true that many White/Asian people in Bradford do not have Asian/White friends, or even acquaintances, save in the work place or at school, but this does not provide a reliable measurement of intentional segregation. Instead it may simply evidence lack of opportunity, or the exercising of personal preference. Importantly, it is also not clear how detrimental this is for society cohesion, so long, as Cantle says, it doesn't lead to ignorance and fear (Cantle, 2001). Certainly, **Mr C0127K** doesn't 'see any problem,' despite the different cultures and religions in Bradford. A more pragmatic approach to parallel living may provide the answer to Cantle's question about how much distinctiveness is acceptable (Cantle, 2005), balancing the valuing of cultural difference with promotion of inter-community commonalities and societal cohesion, and reliance on new integration indicators which focus on immigrant agency, and actions taken by minorities to participate in wider society.

Together the cohort has around 650 years of experience of living in Britain – acquired since the arrival of **Mr M0100** in 1963. This makes them a valuable resource, whose experience of living in Bradford spans three generations.

There is general agreement among the cohort that the District remains segregated along country of origin lines, 'pockets of communities living in their own little worlds' (**Mrs C0059**), and that attempts to encourage cohesion have largely failed. Since Bradford published its first race relations policy, Turning Point, in the 1980s (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 1981) the focus has primarily been on the relationship (one way or

⁸⁵ See Chapter 1.

reciprocal) between migrant (minority) communities and the indigenous (majority) white population; the intention being to encourage everyone to fit in. The turn of the century reports, examined earlier, had a similar focus, and relationships between the various minority Asian communities seemed less of a concern. Intra-group relationships within specific Asian communities, between people of different clan/village/caste/religious affiliation backgrounds, are even less visible – making the usual dialogue about parallel living incomplete.

Several of the cohort speak about tensions between the various Asian communities in Bradford, often referencing their comments by animosity caused by religion.⁸⁶

Mrs C0059 is critical of the local Pakistani and Bangladesh communities, which, she says, think they can solve problems themselves:

They are very insular; they're inward looking all the time. They are not able to expand any further. Any work they want to do has to be within themselves; anything they develop has to be within themselves. It's a different ball game in Leicester, because the Hindu and Sikh communities there are not insular.

She blames local politicians for maintaining the status quo, by funding single-community projects, which failed to encourage inter-cultural engagement (Ouseley, 2001):

The have killed race relations. There isn't community cohesion, nothing's going to change, people aren't willing to change. The alienation of all these communities is the by-product of all the politics of this county...it was like, OK as a Christian you have a right to Christian-only classes...well the Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus are going to want that for their children, so your collective teaching of all religions went out of the window.

⁸⁶ There is more on this in Chapter 6.

The government, she says, has neglected the white community, 'on the back of equality and the race agenda:'

If I was a white person I'd be well pissed off...a white person asking for the same level of commitment, same investment into their community doesn't make you a racist; but the political machinery has labelled them a racist...this causes division...right extremism.

Her interpretation is best explained by Burton's Human Needs Theory (Burton, 1990), which establishes a link between deprivation and violation of human needs, and violent conflict – forming a precondition for Azar's Protracted Social Conflict (Wall, 2003). She also reflects the views of white and other ethnic communities in Bradford who feel they have been disadvantaged by initiatives to address the needs of Pakistani Muslims. But, any bias may be explained by a pragmatic striving to accommodate the needs of the largest minority community. Whatever the motivation this has created a tension, which perpetuates a sense of them and us, hindering Ouseley's vision of a corporate identity for the District (Ouseley, 2001 p.1).

Mrs C0059 says when her father (**Mr M0100**) came to Britain Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus lived together, supporting each other - but this has now gone:

It was safety in numbers now there's all this stuff around Muslims and Hindus...the bitterness between India and Pakistan; that antagonises it all.

Historical antagonism appears difficult to overcome but given the supportive environment in Bradford 50 years ago - less than two decades after Partition - it is difficult to view this as a credible cause of tension between Bradford's Asian communities today. Rather, it may be a convenient trigger of other underlying mechanisms - animosity fuelled by competition for resources and status, engendered, for example, by Section 11 development funding which

was perceived to support targeted minority communities to the detriment of others (Local Government Act 1966)

Other cohort members referred to this tension. **Mr C0101** is also critical of single community organisations, which promote individuals to the 'pinnacle point.' He says:

This is definitely adding to the segregation problem...priest leaders in our community need to mix more...I think over time it will change, maybe in the next five or ten years.

He also refers to the 'big difference' between Indian and Pakistani Asians in Bradford:

The Indian Asians are more improved as a society, whereas the Kashmiri and Mirpuris are still backwards thinking. They're in England but they're living probably 40-50 years [ago], they think in their minds they're still back in Pakistan...when a young child is going to mosque, they're sort of brain washing them, burying a stone in their head...In the Indian community we said, right we're going to have small families, we're going to have a better way of living, we're going to work...bringing people from Pakistani to Bradford in marriage, to people born here, is making the situation worse.⁸⁷

Miss C0059/D is so concerned about the friction between Muslim and Hindu communities she doesn't want her children growing up in the city. She says, 'it's not just between white people and British Asians, there's no cohesion between Asians themselves.'

An issue, often avoided, is that of colour - described by **Mr C0042** as the 'biggest problem'. He says:

⁸⁷ Interestingly, when his marriage to a British born Sikh ended, he married a woman he met in India.

We call it a multicultural society, but it isn't, when Asian families moved into our street all the English moved out, and it's still happening. They are also coming from other countries, like Polish, but they have the advantage, they can be lost in the crowd because of their colour. I have been here 40-50 years but I'm still called an immigrant, I'm still called an Indian.

He criticised the 'lack of engagement of white people,' who 'failed to adopt' the Asian communities, encouraging them to live in 'protected areas'. In future, he says, there should be more civic engagement and a debate about citizenship not race.

The cohort also expressed concern about how integrated minority communities could be before they became assimilated, which, **Dr C0009/D** says, is undesirable, because you lose something of yourself:

A person needs to hang onto their identity because that's what makes you unique. I am already integrated, I wouldn't want to be seen to be English or something I'm not. To assimilate, not to speak Punjabi, not to visit India or celebrate Dwali...I wouldn't want to give that up.

Choice may represent the difference between integration and assimilation, however, how close communities can be before they are too close seems as difficult to determine as the limit of viable distance between them.

The cohort is generally sceptical about attempts to encourage cohesion across the district. **Mr C0127K** says cohesion is a 'posh word' that doesn't have any value:

Bradford is supposed to be multicultural, but I don't think we've got that. Being multicultural would mean we whole heartedly accept one another, but not interfere with their life, we work for the betterment of the community, be proud of being Bradfordian.

He says while people in different communities talk to each other they don't socialise together, 'some factions don't like one another, it's a natural thing.' Cohesion in the work place and schools is essential, he says, but in the communities 'it's tough. They don't have cohesion in that sense.'

But it is about time, he says, that people understand the Asian communities are here to stay:

They have a right to be here and they're not bloody going away, they want to live here, they're part and parcel of your [white] community, they're third generation, they've been brought here, you need to accept that.

Conclusions

Parallel living in Bradford appears to be a given, however, it is not clear how concerning this should be. It may evidence the success (rather than failure) of earlier multicultural policy – resulting in empowered minority communities eager to celebrate their diversity. That, of itself, need not be an issue if there is enough flexibility in the mix for the majority (and other minorities) to adapt. The difficulty, then, seems to be not that communities are living in parallel but our response to the fact. This may be for perfectly reasonable, lawful reasons, as much as due to discrimination or prejudice.

If we accept that parallel living is a multicultural fact of life; we can then focus on the gaps between the communities, what occurs there, and how they are impacted negatively and positively by underlying mechanisms, which act as barriers or facilitators of engagement. This is more about quality than quantity.

Importantly, it is essential that relationships between minority communities be examined more closely, as animosity particularly between people of different faiths may be governing the development of society cohesion. It may also assist if we stop viewing communities as entities, which need to be

integrated, and we rather, as **Dr C0049** suggests, wait for friendships to develop naturally between individuals. This might be a more lengthy process but ultimately one which is more resilient.

Since parallel living is premised on in-group-out-group preference, that is emotionally significant ethnocentrism (Sumner, W. in Brewer and Miller, 1996 p.22), it is useful to consider how the cohort see themselves, and how their identification with minority communities impacts their sense of affiliation to wider society.

Identity

Sardar's ghostly ancestors, who continue to 'form an invisible chain of being' long after migration (Sardar, 2008 p.374), elucidate Saifullah-Khan's idea of limited claim, considered earlier (Saifullah Khan, 1974). When minority communities are sizeable, as in Bradford, they nurture this situation, by providing safe, largely self-sufficient spaces for those who identify with the in-group. The impact on society cohesion of this identification, with an in-group alternative to the majority, is core to my enquiry.

The heterogeneity of the Asian communities in the city is reflected in the different ways the cohort describe themselves - identification prioritising faith; nationality (British, Indian, Pakistani); regional affiliation (Punjabi, Gujarati and Yorkshire); local affiliation to Bradford; and caste. Distinction is also made between 'born' and adopted identities, and between passport and felt national identities. In all, to the question 'how would you describe your identity?' the cohort responds in a total of 19 different ways. Additionally, one (**Mrs C0059**) prioritises 'woman'; two prioritise family name Mistry (**Mrs C0086/2** and her daughter **Mrs C0086/1**); one 'just me' (**Mr C0101**); and another 'Child of the Empire,' eloquently reflecting his on-going, yet historical, relationship with India (**Dr C0009**). The variety of their responses defies any accurate census identification and belies an impressive complexity of emotional attachment, likely subject to some context-specific flexibility.

Their full responses can be seen in the table below.

Respondent	Description
C0121	Muslim British Asian Pakistani
C0101	Me
C0101/S	British English Bradfordian Yorkshire Indian Jat Sikh
C0059	Woman Pakistani British/Muslim
M0100	Muslim Pakistani British
C0059/D	Muslim British Pakistani Asian
C0042	British Indian Asian Hindu Brahmin
C0042/D	Indian
C00009	<i>Child of the Empire</i> Shudra Sikh
C0009/S	Punjabi Indian English
C0009/D	Sikh Punjabi Indian British
C0086/1	Hindu British Mistry Indian English
C0086/2	Hindu British Mistry Gujarati Indian
C0086/1/D	Hindu British Indian Gujarati
C0127K	Muslim British Muslim Born in Pakistan
C0049	British Pakistani British Muslim

The constancy of their prioritising, and the weight given to each descriptor is not clear. Similar to the way bi- or tri-lingual cohort members switch languages descriptions of identity also change, partly dependant on the person they are speaking with or the occasion.⁸⁸ Thirteen of the 16 in the cohort mention their faith; eight of them prioritising religion over other aspects of their identity. However, little can be read into the positioning of faith for the remainder of the cohort, since religion is considered to be such a 'given' that sometimes it is not mentioned.

Fourteen of the 16 reveal their ancestral identity, referencing Pakistan or India; for **Dr C0009** this is implied by 'Child of the Empire.' Twelve of the 16 identify themselves as British; of those, nine prioritise British over ancestral identity. Three others prioritise their ancestral identity (Pakistani or Indian) over British. One (**Mr C0101/S**) describes himself comprehensively as

⁸⁸ There is more on language in the next chapter.

British, English, Bradfordian, Yorkshire, Indian, Jat (caste) and Sikh. He says he's a British citizen 'but my ethnic origin in Indian Sikh.' However, when he was in prison he identified himself as a 'Yorkshire lad', pragmatically distinguishing himself from other 'Scouser'⁸⁹ inmates.

Only two other members of the cohort (**Mr C0042** and **Dr C0009**) identify themselves by their caste; Brahmin and Shudra respectively. And only two (**Dr C0009/S** and **Mrs C0086/1**) identify themselves as English, although **Mr C0101/S**, additionally, says he 'sometimes feels British, sometimes not.' While most say they cannot feel English, because of their colour, one (**Dr C0009/S**) says he feels unequivocally English and not British – because he doesn't want his identity to encompass other British nationalities. However, this claim is contested by **Mr C0127K**, who says to qualify as English 'generations and generations' of your ancestors have to be born here.

Interestingly, prioritising similarity is detected within families, for example, the three **C0086** women (grandmother, daughter, granddaughter) all state Hindu followed by British. The two older women (**C0086/2** & **C0086/1**) then mention their family name Mistry, while the youngest (**C0086/1/D**) substitutes her ancestral identity, despite never having visited India. Like her grandmother, she mentions her regional ancestral identity, the Gujarat, while her mother is the only one among them to identify herself as English. Unlike **Mr C0042**, also a Hindu, none mention their caste.

Likewise, **Mr M0100** and his granddaughter, **Miss C0059/D**, prioritise their faith (Islam) over their nationality, however here their primary identification changes unsurprisingly, from Pakistani for the Pakistan-born grandfather to British for the British-born granddaughter. Interestingly, her mother, his daughter, **Mrs C0059** (who came here as a child) also prioritises Pakistani over British nationality, and over her faith.

⁸⁹ People from Liverpool.

The **C0009** family (of three people in two generations) prioritise different aspects of their identity. **Dr C0009** (senior) is the 'Child of the Empire', followed by his caste and faith. While his son (**Dr C0009/S**) prioritises Punjabi, Indian and English, and his sister (**Dr C0009/D**) her faith, Punjabi, Indian, British.

There appears to be no particular significant gender split identification differences or conformity with regard to age. Of the four youngest in the cohort (under 30 years), **Mr C0101/S** prioritises British: **Miss C0059/D**, Muslim; **Miss C0042/D**, Indian; and **Miss C0086/1/D**, Hindu – although this difference in itself may be significant. Only two (**Mr C0121** and **Miss C0059/D**) identify themselves as Asian – both are Muslim, British, Pakistani, but their age and life experience is quite different. That the remaining 14 fail to identify as Asian may demonstrate, firstly, how redundant this term is, and, secondly, how they are keen to distinguish themselves, and their communities, from others from the sub-continent.

The cohort frequently describes religion as 'real identity' – British, Pakistani, Indian being place identity; **Mr C0121**:

My real identity is Muslim. Religion is one side of your identity and the place you live is another. I see myself as Muslim first of all, whether I'm British or Pakistani. I was born in Pakistan, I've got a relationship with Pakistan, I've got a relationship with Bradford.

He is critical that after living in Britain for decades he is still pigeonholed; 'no matter how hard you try to settle in you're still seen as a foreigner, not part of this society.' And that, he says, goes for his British-born children too.

His sentiments are echoed by **Dr C0009/S**, who says while he feels English, 'English people don't feel I'm English'; he continues to be defined by his colour. Both call for a new focus on commonality, rather than difference, 'seeing each other as a people rather than ethnicities (**Dr C0009/S**), as human beings on an 'earth made for everybody' (**Mr C0121**).

Several in the cohort say their identity is impacted by others; when **Mr C0101/S** is 'with Asian people he feels more Asian, when he's with English friends, more English.'

Similarly, **Mrs C0059**:

There might be a change between British and Muslim, depends what mood I'm in. If you ask where I come from I say Pakistan. In Pakistan if they ask you say British.

This might imply a tension, but there is a clear distinction between maintaining identification related to where her family originates (place), and British identity (citizenship) related to where she lives.

Like others in the cohort, she cherry picks 'good things' from different cultures:

It's important for minorities to follow the rules of the majority in the country where they live, to integrate with them. I kept my faith, my culture, my identity, but I also took on the host's culture, some of the values and some of its identity.

Both **Dr C0009/D** and **Miss C0059/D** say they feel 'more British' when they are in India or Pakistan. Despite being born in the Punjab, and coming here in childhood, **Dr C0009/D** says:

Now I find it difficult fitting in there. I've become quite individualistic, English culture is individualistic, more hands off, whereas Indian culture is very collective. When I was in this group situation [in India] I found it really irritating, I wanted more freedom...

Notwithstanding, both women identify themselves as Pakistani or Indian, in addition to British – recognising origin as an inescapable given, like their

faiths. This may change over generations, but so long as their colour persists, and they continue to be questioned about where they come from, their descendents may feel obliged to reference the homeland of their ancestors over any stronger feelings they have about Britain.

Even after living here 50 years **Dr C0009/D** says her identity as a British citizen remains impacted by her migration experience, influencing her outlook and the way she sees herself.

Miss C0059/D says clothing and cultural symbols provide important drivers, and evidence, of in-group solidarity, confirming belonging and affiliation. This implies the wearing of traditional dress may be as much about demonstrating distinctiveness and minority cohesion as modesty. Wearing the closed scarf, she says, changed the way young men reacted to her, seeing her as more respectable and deserving of their protection. She says:

This experience brought home to me ideas of identity and respecting who you are, the importance of not losing your roots, your culture.

Culture and religion are interwoven, and often interchangeable, in Bradford – an indivisible ‘heritage package’ (**Dr C0049**). If your family comes from the Indian Punjab you are likely Hindu or Sikh – more specifically, Jallunder (Sikh), Chandigarh (Hindu); in Pakistan and Mirpur (Kashmir) you are almost certainly Muslim; in the Indian Gujarat you will be Hindu. When Hindu **Mr C0042**, whose roots are in the Punjab, speaks about his temple on Leeds Road, and **Mrs C0086/2**, whose roots are over 1,000 miles from his in the Gujarat, speaks about her day centre in Lidget Green, they both reference faith and culture (and language) to demonstrate exclusivity. He says the business of the temple is as much about welfare as it is religion.

The three women in the **C0086** family provide particularly useful insight into identity development. When **Mrs C0086/1**, and her daughter **Miss C0086/1/D**, moved to Somerset relatives in Bradford, including her

mother **Mrs C0086/2**, feared they would lose their Hindu/Gujarati identity, becoming more Westernised. When I interviewed the grandmother I asked how British-Gujarati she thought her granddaughter was. She estimated 90-10%. However, when I interviewed her granddaughter she said she felt 25-35% Gujarati:

Obviously I feel British because I'm here, but I do [also] feel Gujarati. In a way I have two identities, because you're like two different people. Sometimes certain bits comes out, and then certain bits of the other. When you're with Asian people you act in a different way.

She says her grandmother underestimates how Gujarati she feels because she rarely speaks Gujarati. This may imply families, fearful of children losing their ethnic identity, have less to be concerned about; younger generations may not consider heritage language fluency to be a critical pillar of ethnic identity.

This may also be true for **Miss C0086/1/D's** uncle, her mother's brother, who converted to Islam to marry his childhood sweetheart. Still distressed by his decision a couple of years earlier, **Mrs C0096/2** says he is now 'more Muslim, more British, he's not hardly speaking Gujarati', and he can't speak to his in-laws, she says, because they speak Urdu.

Dr C0049 also refers to generational change. Describing himself as an 'east with a high blend of west' British Pakistani; his children are 'more British than the British'. He says culture, religion and language reinforce identity, but the opposite may be true – one's sense of identity reinforcing lifestyle choice.

Interestingly, younger people in the Pakistani community are replacing 'Pakistani' with 'Muslim', giving them a hyphenated British-Muslim identity.

Mr C0127K says this is progress:

Just because your grandfather was born in Pakistan you can't say you are Pakistani. This generation is now labelling themselves British Muslim, which is good...forget about Pakistan because you have no connection.

Local attractions

The Bradford Race Review (Ouseley, 2001) offers an alternative to forever focusing on national identity. It concludes fostering local identity, a strategy adopted by **Mr C0101/S** while in prison, is key to reversing them and us between different communities, and promoting a sense of local pride. Like it or not, the review says, all residents are Bradfordian - a single common identity for a diverse population.

Since Ouseley published, Pearce⁹⁰ says, the Bradfordian component of South Asian identity has strengthened – evidenced by the local response when the English Defence League came to Bradford and ‘all cultures and religions rallied together to prevent another riot’. Some young South Asian men, Pearce says, have a stronger sense of being Bradfordian than some white people.

While only **Mr C0101/S** mentions Bradfordian, when asked how would you describe your identity? others spoke of their affinity to the District and their sense of belonging to the local community. **Mr C0121** says he is ‘part of society over here’ – a Bradford city supporter and businessman, he invested in the local community; was on the homeless shelter management committee; and was a school governor.

Mr C0127K says acquiring local identity is ‘non-negotiable.’

Whatever nationality you are, for God's sake you are Bradfordian, and you should be proud of it. I [have] lived in Keighley⁹¹ for 45

⁹⁰ Professor Jenny Pearce was a key member of the Ouseley Commission. I interviewed her in 2012 about her work on the Commission.

⁹¹ Keighley is part of the Bradford District

years, my children were born and brought up here...they are proud of Keighley.

However, if the implication is that local identity may compensate for any deficit in national identity the cohort's sense of being Bradfordian does not impede their sense of ethnic identity, and everything that implies. This cannot be, if we accept that their British national identity, felt, passport or both, is heavily spiced with an inherent ethnic identity component – integral rather than add-on.

Any comparison between strength of local and national identity is, therefore, likely circumstantial and subject to change. For example, pragmatically, to ensure his safety in numbers, in prison **Mr C0101/S** described himself as a 'Yorkshire lad.'

Furthermore, importantly, most of the cohort (with the exception of **Miss C0042/D**, **Dr C0009/D**, **Dr C0009/S**, **Mrs C0086/1**, and **Miss C0086/1/D**) live in Bradford, Keighley and Leeds, where there are large South Asian communities. On a daily basis they engage, to a larger or lesser degree, with other people whose families originate from the Asian sub-continent. This means their Bradfordian experience is an Asian experience, in a way it is not for me.

Mr M0100 and **Mrs C0086/2** allude to this. When he arrived in Bradford, **Mr M0100** says, he was greeted with the sight of 'a thousand people' he knew from Pakistan walking down Manningham Lane. He did a 'double take, was this Britain, India or Pakistan?' He couldn't believe it, he says, 'I met 15 people from my village.' Far from home he found a ready-made community transplanted in Yorkshire; for him Bradfordian is Pakistani. Similarly, **Mrs C0086/2** says a 'large part of the Gujarat came to Bradford,' replicating what happened when they migrated to East Africa years before; Patel families alone number 400. Because of the size of the Asian communities their Bradfordian identity necessarily includes a Pakistani or Indian (and associated, religious) persona (Parekh, 2007) – this makes local identity

acceptable because diversity is inherent in the term. In time, Bradfordian identity may replace attachment to old family villages in the Asian sub-continent; a process facilitated by the increasingly popular practice of burial here – transferring ancestral roots to Bradford.⁹²

Conclusions

While the identity of the cohort appears ambiguous, it becomes less so if it is accepted that rather than cherry picking from different identities they are describing elements of single, inclusive identities. This is encapsulated by **Dr C0009/D**, who says she is Indian British, ‘strongly Punjabi with very British sensibilities and tastes.’

The distinction between passport identity and more rooted felt identity undermines concepts of conflicted hybrid identity, which usually implies some kind of tension. Both apparently co-exist amicably within individuals who consider themselves Pakistani or Indian – by birth or resulting from rooted sense of belonging - and British, resulting from migration. It is unclear how necessary to the cohesion agenda the transfer of felt identity allegiance is. If one accepts parallel living is an intrinsic element of, rather than a barrier to, cohesion, this is less troubling.

Viewing local identity as being diverse, and encompassing of ethnic identity, has significant implications for the identity of everyone living in Bradford (Britain); if for someone of South Asian heritage Bradfordian (British) includes Pakistani/Indian, that may mean the Bradfordian (British) identity of the majority – and all other minorities living in the District - must also include Pakistani-Indian. It is a challenging notion, that in a multicultural community the identity of everyone must expand to include the identities of all ethnic groups.

Identity emerges as both the driver of mechanisms of minority community cohesion, such as sense of home and belonging and the notion of distance

⁹² There is more on this in Chapter 7.

of the heart, as well as the outcome of these factors. This cyclical reinforcing of parallel living may be a migration paradox. Considering ways in which cohort members identify themselves does not resolve questions about the degree to which ethnic identity may challenge cohesion but it does give us a platform from which to view, in the next two chapters, mechanisms which can inform, frame, facilitate and constrain identity and engagement.

Chapter Seven: Second data chapter.
The art of feeling comfortable:
Instruments which orchestrate engagement.

Introduction

In this, and the following chapter, I explore mechanisms, which can, if triggered, inform, frame, facilitate and constrain the cohort's identity formation and engagement. In this chapter, these are mechanisms with the potential to exclude from the minority, through the gate-keeping of ethnic community boundary formation: religion, marriage, language and caste & biradari. They might be described as 'push' factors. In Chapter 8, I explore mechanisms, which reflect the nature of relationships within the minority communities I have studied: sense of community, associations, friendship and occupation, collectivism, and intergenerational relationships. These might be described as 'pull' factors.

How this chapter contributes to my research questions

The four emergent thematic areas (data-led) in this chapter contributed to the construction of my third, fourth, fifth, and sixth secondary questions. They are:

3. To what extent may religion, or religious affiliation, have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford?
4. To what extent may the continued widespread use of heritage languages have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford?
5. To what extent may the persistent, widespread practice of cultural endogamy have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford?
6. To what extent may the persistence of caste and clan allegiances in Bradford's Asian communities have impeded the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford?

Importantly, this chapter also contributes to an exploration of my primary research question, insofar as it considers additional key factors/mechanisms – identified by the cohort - which both adds to an understanding of ethnic social group identity and are derived from it. These mechanisms are used by Asian communities in Bradford to sustain their exclusivity, and sense of community – which has the potential to challenge cohesion in the District.

There is more on the contribution of this chapter in Chapter 9.

Religion

A plethora of reports and academic research over the past 20 years have identified religion as a key challenge to social cohesion in Bradford. Along with ethnicity, religion is seen as the cause of the self-segregation of communities, which has, says Ouseley, ‘clear adverse implications’ for the future of the District (Ouseley, 2001 p.18)

In Bradford religion is overt; perhaps in the way it can only be in a multi-faith-cultural community. Shops shut at noon on Fridays, while their owners attend mosque; city centre streets are closed one day in April while the Sikh community wends its way from temple to temple in celebration of Vaisakhi;⁹³ the Meuzzin’s call to worship reverberates across the back-to-backs in Manningham; modestly dressed Muslim women shopping in Morrisons challenge Western notions of freedom of choice; banners celebrating Christmas and Diwali flap in the wind above city centre roundabouts; and social enterprises fund-raise to open mono-religious day care services for the elderly.

In this section I will consider how religious identification can serve as a mechanism, which constrains the Asian communities’ engagement with the other(s) in Bradford; and the implication this has for society cohesion. Later in this chapter I will consider other potential mechanisms – marriage, language, and caste, clan & biradari - which can act in a similar way;

⁹³ Sikh New Year, the most important festival in the Sikh calendar.

encouraging an exclusivity, which marginalizes out-groups and frames minority community boundary formation.

However, while religion clearly drives parallel living in Bradford it is not clear how, or even if, this has contributed to the fulfilment of Ouseley's prediction. If we accept the premise, posited earlier, that parallel living is a feature rather than barrier to cohesion we must embrace religious difference, along with cultural difference. The challenge then is, as it is with all elements of cohesion, to strike the balance between respect for difference and need for community. The conundrum, again, is to establish the acceptable limit of difference, without denying choice - the question always, how accommodating a culturally diverse environment can be. This task seems amplified when the need is to accommodate something so fundamentally personal as faith. It is further complicated when religion is used, as it is by elders in Bradford's Asian communities, to shore up ethnic solidarity – risking characterisation of efforts as an unseemly struggle of God v State (Platt, 2013).

The cohort evidence that division along faith lines continues to persist in Bradford, at both the macro (community) and micro (individual-family) levels. We have already heard of **Mrs C0086/2's** distress when her son, brought up a Hindu, relinquished his religion to marry a Muslim. **Mr C0101/S**, a Sikh, also speaks of personal inter-faith tension; when the family of a Muslim girl he was friendly with at school warned him off:

I got involved with a girl, young and stupid...our cultures were different. She was a Muslim girl and obviously I'm a Sikh, and between our families that would never, ever, ever have been allowed. You always hear stories of young lads disappearing. Her parents came to see us, to find out what was going on. I knew I had to back off; when her cousins found out they gave me a bit of a beating.

'Gutted' by the experience, he adds:

It makes me sad that people of different religions can't get married. It's more like the Muslim culture, their background. If I came home with a white girl or half-caste girl my parents wouldn't be fussed.

There is more on this in the following section on marriage. Their experience reflects the primary religious tension in the District, that is, between Islam and the other two Asian faiths, Hinduism and Sikhism. Marriage, and personal relationship/friendship between people of these faiths are rare – less common than marriage and personal relationship/friendship between people of these faiths and the District's white population. It is unclear whether or to what extent this tension is rooted in cultural difference, historical antagonism, a clash of religious ideology, or more pragmatic considerations such as competition for wealth and status, and access to limited resources (Burton, 1990) – the common belief, voiced by **Mr C0042**, being the Muslim community gets more than it's fair share. Likely there is no simple explanation, but rather it results from a combination of factors which frame multicultural life in a defined environment. Two things, however, are clear; firstly, that religion provides a critical pillar of identity in Bradford, which impacts engagement, despite a general secular propensity. And, secondly, the Asian religions are bequeathed to younger (British-born) generations, accepting of the legacy.

We have seen, in the previous chapter, that some of the cohort fail to mention their faith when describing themselves, not because it is not a core element of their identity but because it is so elemental, it is a given; framing everything they do. It is also, says Pearce and Bujra, indivisible from culture (Bujra and Pearce, 2011) – a package rooted in tradition and territory as much as religious philosophy. **Mr C0042** says his Hinduism is 'part and parcel of my life.' However the Bradford Hindu Cultural Society, of which he was President four times, is 'not about religion, but social function.'

The line between religion and culture is particularly blurred for **Mrs C0086/2**. Several times a week she goes to the Anand Milan Day Centre in Lidget Green with other Hindus; its exclusivity guarded by the Gujarati language. She spends most of her time socialising with people who share her faith and regional Indian identity, and who speak Gujarati; many also lived near her in Kenya and share her surname. Her life trajectory rarely brings her into contact, except in a superficial way, with non-Hindus or non-Gujarati speakers. Importantly, this symbiosis between religion and culture means multi-faith is implicit in multiculturalism, and any cohesion strategy must be accommodating. When **Mrs C0086/2** describes herself as Gujarati she also means she is Hindu.

Some in the cohort speak about religion being a private issue; **Mr C0101** says, 'Faith should be hidden inside your body, not on display to the world.' But, because it underpins everything it cannot be consigned to the private sphere. This challenges the idea of public v private boundaries. For the collectivistic Asian communities in Bradford religion is used to help sustain solidarity, perhaps even more enthusiastically than before - as there is greater fear that purchase on ethnic community cohesion, based on tradition and old in-group allegiance, is diminishing. This is something Bradford's Muslim, Hindu and Sikh communities have in common – however, it is unlikely to be enough to overcome differences. Their interaction, Singh says, remains 'coloured by the legacy of historical events' (Singh, 2000 p.99). He is also not optimistic about interaction between Punjabi Sikhs and Gujarati Hindus in Bradford, saying despite their common Indian origin, their cultures, life styles and languages are different. They also live in different areas of the city and contact is limited (Singh, 2000 p.97). Although **Mr C0101**, a Sikh, lives no more than a couple of miles away from **Mrs C0086/2**, a Hindu, their worlds rarely overlap.

The table below shows the faith of respondents, and whether they are regular practitioners. Five are Sikh, five Hindu, and six Muslim. Eight of them are not regular practitioners, that is, they do not regularly attend places of worship. However, this is not an indication either of their degree of devotion

or identification with their religion. Several speak of having inherited their religion from their parents, implying it is an inescapable feature of their persona - this was common for Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims. **Miss C0042/D**, 'Whatever my parents were, I would probably have adopted that religion.'

Name	Religion	Regular practitioner
C0101	Sikhism	No
C0101/S	Sikhism	No
C0009	Sikhism	Yes
C0009/S	Sikhism	No
C0009/D	Sikhism	No
C0042	Hinduism	Yes
C0042/D	Hinduism	No
C0086/2	Hinduism	Yes
C0086/1	Hinduism	Yes
C0086/1/D	Hinduism	No
C0059	Islam	No
C0059/D	Islam	Yes (later no)
M0100	Islam	Yes
C0127K	Islam	Yes
C0049	Islam	Yes
C0121	Islam	No

Miss C0059/D, a Muslim, is a particularly interesting study; when we first met she had recently experienced an 'unbelievable, religious enlightenment,' her new devotion including praying five times a day, dressing modestly and wearing a Hijab (closed scarf). Religion was a big part of her life, rooting her identity and keeping her mind 'open to all kinds of things.' She felt she was 'carrying Islam on my shoulders'. She described her transformation as an internal step, 'to settle myself down,' her scarf not only her identity but emblematic of her relationship with her God.

However, 16 months later she was different; her decision to remove her scarf significantly impacted by a trip to London for a job interview. She says:

I realised if I moved to London I wouldn't wear it...in Bradford there are so many girls with the scarf you just mix in, but I can

imagine me sat on the tube with the scarf on, and I'd feel really nervous. People look at and behave towards you differently.

She is confused about how to 'progress' herself:

Sometimes I feel it's best to assimilate into society, just be as everyone else...I feel I'm really judged wearing the scarf outside of Bradford...pretty much as soon as I started feeling uncomfortable I took it off.

Notwithstanding, she says, she continues to think about everything in two ways, Islamically, and 'like the rest of the world.'

Her experience elaborates several useful points. Firstly, how comfortable she is within her 'Asian bubble' of Bradford. However, the boundary of that bubble is unclear – she is likely referring primarily to the local Pakistani, Muslim community specifically but she may also be reassured by familiarity with other Asian communities in the District and the wider environment of the place she calls home. Secondly, how she is affected by stereotypical expectations of Islamic terrorism. And, thirdly, how her belief is compromised by her desire to 'fit in,' her behaviour constrained by her appearance. There is, however, another point to be made, for all the division alluded to, she appears, most comfortable, most able to be herself, in Bradford. This may belie Ouseley's warning about the 'adverse implications' of self segregation, along religious lines, or otherwise, of communities in the District.

It's also important to say that religious tension in Bradford District exists not only between people of different faith but within religious communities. **Mr C0127K** showed me a new mosque being built near his home in Keighley. Two streets away another mosque was being built by 'another group of Muslims,' intimating some conflict between the two groups; but, discretely, he does not elaborate. This may not be the concern of anyone other than those directly affected, but it does, again, demonstrate the

unreliability of assuming the homogeneity of any kind of grouping in Bradford – an oversight with potential to negatively impact cohesion strategies.

One answer may be, says **Dr C0009/D**, to prioritise an encompassing spirituality over religion. In her article, *When Rivers Meet* (Kalsi and Holden, 2005) she writes about the challenge of interpreting Sikhism in the ‘here and now’, making it meaningful to a second-generation migrant, as she might consider herself. She says:

I think that spirituality transcends all religions so I might sit in a Sikh temple or a church, somewhere quiet, and at peace, to meditate.

This approach could provide a pillar for Parekh’s ‘community of communities’ model (Runnymede Trust, 2000); it might also reflect **Dr C0049’s** belief in a somewhat minimalist proposition, ‘don’t kill anyone, don’t lie, if your neighbour is hungry you are answerable.’ He says:

The real Islam is to be a good man. I want my [future] generations to come to be Muslim as well as Pakistani, so they should have a link with their language, culture and religion. It doesn’t matter how loose it becomes, they will be Muslim...

But he is pessimistic about how accepting Britain will be of Muslims in the future. He says:

I’m sorry to say, this society will never accept them. In India we have been living side by side for centuries but still Hindus are Hindus and Muslims are Muslims.

Conclusions

This final comment may demonstrate how unrealistic expectations of religious integration in Bradford are – however that is conceived. And yet, faith is so integral to identity for the cohort that they use the terms culture and religion interchangeably, so its impact cannot be ignored. Along with

minority language – more on this later - these three concepts form a triumvirate of mechanisms, which reference the essence of identification, particularly for older members of the cohort. In this way religion, or at least religious affiliation, can be seen as a powerful tool with the potential to challenge cohesion in the District. And, assuming this is more about affiliation than religion, we can conclude that difficulties are between individuals of faith, rather than a particular religion per se. This seems an important distinction. Religious and religious institutions serve as a critical means for shaping the identity-construction processes of immigrants and their descendents, as well as aiding in community formation and the transmission of home country culture and values (Karam, 2019).

If the authenticity of devotion is questionable for some, this is not particularly relevant so far as group boundary exclusively and maintenance is concerned. As discussed earlier, simply considering oneself to be a member of a group is enough to elicit discriminatory behaviour towards out-groups (Reynolds and Turner, 2001). This primordial in-group preference (Bangura, 1994) may be enough at the best of times but within the wider context of Islamic extremism, and even resulting from local tension between people of different faith – especially fuelled by resource envy – it likely becomes more resilient to manipulation.

The situation in **Mrs C0086/1's** family demonstrates how the macro may impact the micro – concerns about global conflict and terrorism constraining her response to her son's marriage. This indicates it is necessary to situate any religious tension between the Asian communities' in Bradford not only historically but also within a geographical frame, which extends way beyond the District. To do otherwise would be naïve and likely compromise attempts to grow social capital; that is the social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that derives from these attempts (Putnam, 2001).

Marriage

Intermarriage between members of minority and majority cultures is usually regarded the surest index of assimilation (Marcson, 1950) - the final stage of

the process (Qian and Lichter, 2001), and a catalyst for change with the potential to blur ethnic distinctions in current and future generations (Wigfall and Robinson, 2001 quoted in (Leonard, 2009)). By the second or three third generations intermarriage between minority and majority cultures is expected to be high (Marcson, 1950); however this has not occurred in the Asian communities in Bradford. If there is a evolutionary lag this is partly explained by the size of these communities – creating a luxury of choice not available for smaller groups - and the number of intercontinental marriages, familial or otherwise, which persist.

However, in multicultural environments it is not just intermarriage between minority and majority cultures, which needs to be considered, but also between people of minority cultures - all inter-group relationships contribute to the success of cohesion. Although there are Asian minority/majority intermarriages in Bradford those between people of Indian (Sikh and Hindu) and Pakistani (Muslim) heritage are rare. This ethnic endogamy evidences one of the most overt examples of parallel living – alongside the impact of religion and language.

In the absence of official records of spousal faith in Bradford the cohort provides insight into prevailing attitudes and practice. Repeatedly members, including the youngest, spoke of familial expectations that they would marry within their faith - doing otherwise, says **Miss C0059/D**, would be ‘against the fundamental principles of my life.’

Mr C0101/S speaks, somewhat disturbingly, of young Sikh lads ‘disappearing’, after they formed romantic relationships with Muslim girls. And the marriage of **Mrs C0086/2’s** son to a Muslim girl, necessitating that he convert from Hinduism to Islam, became a ‘family tragedy;’ compounded by international events, which made her fearful he would be ‘sucked into Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism.’ Her fears seem to evidence the validity of Azar’s concerns about how external factors can impact, or exacerbate, fragile relationships between local communal identity groups (Wall, 2003). As we speak in her home the television streamed live images of

Islamic terrorists from Pakistan bombing the Taj hotel in Mumbai (Page, 2008), fuelling her distress about her son's inter-community marriage. She says:

There's too much difference from their culture to ours...we don't even talk with their family...they just took our son and made him Muslim without us. We didn't want him to become a Muslim because we didn't want him to become a terrorist...If he did not convert then they would kill him...they don't talk to us...when my grandson was born they gave him a Muslim name. My son doesn't want to know about our religion any more.

His marriage, she says, created a problem for her whole family:

They are very angry; they don't even call his name any more...like he doesn't exist. Every day news comes in...my husband says he's one of them now, what has he done? It gives me tension [but] it's not my fault.

Interestingly, one of **Mrs C0008/2's** daughters (not **Mrs C0086/1**) also married outside her faith, to a Christian. She is full of praise for the way her son-in-law embraced his wife's Hinduism, while continuing to practice his own faith. The difficulty, therefore, appears to be not inter-faith marriage, per se, but rather the requirement for her son to relinquish his faith in order to marry, and that he married a Muslim. This seems to evidence how tension between the Hindu and Sikh communities and the Muslim community in Bradford, discussed earlier, can be responsible for, and/or indeed driven by, tension of a very personal, and profound nature. This would likely challenge even the liberal community of communities' cohesion model, with its inherent parallel living, since it seems to demand not only an embracing of religious difference but acceptance that faith may be permitted to separate. Notwithstanding, it is difficult to see how the nature of intimate, inter-personal relationships can be directed.

The table below depicts the marriages of cohort members and their children, indicating if they are inside or outside their ethno-religious grouping.

Cohort	Inside or Outside	Children
C0009	Inside	1 st child inside/outside 2 nd child outside
C0009/D	First marriage inside Second marriage outside	No children
C0009/S	Outside	No married children
C0042	Inside	No married children
C0042/D	Single	N/A
C0049	Inside	Inside & outside
M0100	Inside	Inside
C0059	Single	Inside
C0059/D	Single	N/A
C0086/2	Inside	1 child inside 2 children outside
C0086/1	Inside	No married children
C0086/1/D	Single	N/A
C0101	Inside	Inside
C0101/S	Inside	No married children
C0121	Inside	No married children
C0127K	Inside	Inside & outside

The cohort demonstrates a preference for marriage within the ethnic in-group - all, even younger members, saying this was primarily for religious reasons. Of the 16 cohort members, 11 are married to someone of the same ethnicity and faith. Children of four of the original BHRU members – **Dr C0009** (a Sikh), **Mr C0049** (a Muslim), **Mrs C0086/2** (a Hindu), and **Mr C0127K** (a Muslim) - married outside their ethnicity/religion. All of these, bar one (**Mrs C0086/2's** son), married white British people. Interestingly, most of the cohort born abroad married people also born abroad – that is, **C0127K** (Pakistan), **C0042** (India), **C0049** (Pakistan), **C0059** (Pakistan), **Dr C0009** (India) **C0121** (Pakistan Kashmir), **C0086/2** (Kenya, originally Gujarat, India), **C0086/1** (Kenya, family originally from Gujarat, India), and **M0100** (Pakistan). Of the cohort who migrated to Britain only **Dr C0009's** two children - who migrated as children - are married to people not from where they were born.

The only original BHRU cohort member born in Britain, **Mr C0101**, married a woman also born here.⁹⁴ His son, **Mr C0101/S**, the only second-generation British-born person in the cohort,⁹⁵ also married a woman born here. The birth of his son marked the arrival of a still rare third generation British-born child of an immigrant family from the Indian Punjab.

Eight of the 13 married cohort members say their marriages were arranged by their families; of the others, four introduced their spouses to their families and one was introduced to his wife by friends in India. When parents in the cohort speak of their children's marriage partners their concern, predominantly, is that they be of the same religion. However, **Mr C0101** (a Sikh) and **Mrs C0086/2** (a Hindu) are prepared to accept a (white) Christian daughter-or son-in-law much more readily than they would a Muslim. Pakistani cohort members speak of giving their children choice of marriage partners, meaning they would not be forced to marry, but they were expected to marry a Muslim.

Dr C0009/S says initially his parents were disappointed when he introduced his wife; they would have preferred her to, first, be Sikh, then Punjabi, but they 'quickly came round.' His sister, **Dr C0009/D**, recorded her concerns about the challenge of marrying outside her faith in an article, *Interfaith Marriage. When Rivers Meet* (Kalsi and Holden, 2005). She describes her civil marriage to a 'white, British man' as:

Like two rivers meandering along the same path, merging here and there, diverting here and there, and coming together now and then.

The three single people in the cohort (**Miss C0059**, **Miss C0086/1/D** and **Miss C0042/D**), all say they would likely marry within their faith, embracing the idea to different degrees. **Miss C005/D** is the most enthusiastic, unwilling to marry a non-Muslim. **Mr C0101/S**, single at the start of the study,

⁹⁴ Although they later divorced and he married a woman in India.

⁹⁵ In the sense that his parents were born here.

accepted he would have to marry a Sikh, although he was 'sad that people of different religions can't get married.' He says:

I think it's probably more a problem with the Muslim culture, their background. If I came home with a white or half-caste girl my parents wouldn't be fussed, but they've always told me to stay away from Muslim girls, don't ever get involved with their families, cus they don't take kindly to boys outside their culture. We haven't got a choice, have we? Inside I think it's crazy, but I'm the outsider.

Whether this reveals a glimpse of an envisioned catalyst of change remains to be seen. In any event, during the course of the study, he married a British-born Sikh whose family came from the same part of the Indian Punjab as his grandparents.

The pragmatism of younger cohort members, regarding the suitability of partners, reflects what Leonard found when she questioned Catholic and Protestant teenagers in Northern Ireland about marriage choice (Leonard, 2009). She found they were less prejudiced than their parents - in principle, more receptive to the idea of cross-community union – but they were deterred by 'practical dilemmas' from marrying outside their community, such as on-going bigotry. Interestingly, the majority said they might consider marriage outside their faith if they moved away. This point is also made by **Miss C0086/1/D**, who feels less pressure to marry a Hindu now she lives in Somerset, 'outside the ethnic enclave.' She says:

For generations they've married other people in the same sort of situation, but I think that's changing. They have to deal with the fact that being moved here [Britain] it's a different society...the family in Bradford want me to marry an Indian but down here [Somerset] it's not really an issue.

As with the Irish cohort, **Miss C0059/D's** reluctance to marry outside her faith is driven by practicalities. She says:

If a [Muslim} girl married a non-Muslim she would go into his family, and it would be humiliating, she'd get a lot of grief...her whole way of life would be different, if she was praying five times a day and fasting...it would be hard for the family...and like a burden upon her to be a Muslim.

Mr C0121 and **Mr C0127K**, speak of the need for their children to marry Muslims. For **Mr C0121** there is 'room for compromise' on interfaith marriage, but he wouldn't be happy if his son wanted to marry a non-Muslim:

I've got to look after my son's interests as a Muslim, in terms of what's best for him. If she's not Muslim that would be a conflict for me...[but] if she becomes a Muslim what's the difference? But my mother and my wife would have difficulty accepting that and their relationship with my son might be quite badly damaged.

Several of **Mr C0127K's** children married their cousins in Pakistan. Marriages will continue to be arranged, he says, although in future spouses may be sought outside immediate family, and in the UK - but 'no matter where they come from they must be Muslim.' He says that two of his sons' marriages to white women, caused 'a bit of a problem:'

Children from those marriages are not complete Muslims...I am sad about that, it's giving me too much pain [but] I have to accept it.

He feels he has 'lost' the older son; the younger later divorced and remarried his cousin in Pakistan.

Conclusions

If most people in the Asian communities in Bradford continue to marry within their faith, and it may also be true that people from other communities are

also reluctant to intermarry, we must consider how this impacts social cohesion. The idea that intermarriage is the best indicator is now being questioned – it should be seen, Song says, as the outcome of integration rather than the final step in the process towards it (Song, 2009). Marcson agrees, saying a group may become assimilated, acquiring the memories, sentiments and attitudes of others, while restricting mate selection – consequently, intermarriage cannot be a reliable measure of the degree to which new and old culture groups interact (Marcson, 1950). Identifying conditions necessary, for the facilitation of intermarriage is difficult; it is easier to identify the mechanisms, such as religion/culture, community and family pressure, and language fluency, which encourage people to marry within the group. However, it may be both true that intermarriage is not the surest index of assimilation, and that persistent endogamy helps perpetuate parallel living. Or it could be that intermarriage is no longer a reliable measure because the goal is no longer assimilation. This is helpful as it may enable us to accept mono-religious marriage as a feature of a cohesive society – again, an inherent element of parallel living, rather than a barrier to it. If intermarriage becomes more common, maybe even the norm, this can then be seen as a by-product of integration in a cohesive society, rather than a pre-requisite for it.

Language

English is the single most important factor with the potential to inhibit or encourage cohesion in a multicultural environment; the fundamental common currency, says Phillips, which contributes to the stable of British values and creates a homogeneous cultural ideal (Alexander et al., 2007). A common language reflects a common identity, which is capable of overcoming difference, binding a nation together, and creating a collective sense of who we are (Alibhai-Brown, 2000 p.162) – fluency suggesting authenticity, loyalty and commitment (Jaspal and Coyle, 2009c). Without fluency, people from settled communities are prevented from integrating or developing a sense of belonging (Commission on Integration & Cohesion, 2007 Section 36), but, more than that, linguistic diversity is perceived as a threat to national unity – use of a different language an act of defiance (Jaspal, 2009). It is then

important to consider both the capability of everyone to communicate in English, and the impact on cohesion of the ongoing practice of minority communities to speak other languages.

The Asian community,⁹⁶ says Jaspal, utilizes heritage language to maintain a sense of distinctiveness - excluding others and fostering minority belonging (Jaspal and Coyle, 2009b); conversely, wider society views its excessive use as a barrier to Britishness. In a similar way, heritage language capability is seen as a prerequisite for authentic minority group membership, and English language capability as a prerequisite for authentic wider society membership.

This means, apart from the obvious communication benefit of linguistic competency in a common language, there is a more nuanced message about an individual's worth for national inclusion (Crick, 2003). Davies says being perceived as a native speaker - with insider knowledge of the 'truth' of the language, including the normal range of behaviour, the essence of chat and gossip, and the 'to and fro' of communication - is key to membership of the group; bestowing a sense of power, not available to non-native speakers (Davies, 2003). Those who don't acquire native fluency may be undervalued, their language inadequacies making them not good enough for inclusion, somehow inferior (Davies, 2003).

If the door closes (or never opens) this likely makes identification with the community you can better associate with even more important. A push-pull situation results, the majority community sidelining those without native language fluency, and the ethnic community utilising heritage language as a tool to sustain its cohesion. In a multi-lingual environment this process is multiplied - occurring within each linguistic community and across wider society. This demonstrates how critical language is to the success of any cohesion agenda.

⁹⁶ Accepting the Asian community is not homogenous.

Being included, then, not only depends on one's use of English, but also one's level of competency. That begs a couple of questions about cohesion-building. Firstly, can native speakerness negate the negative impact of other differences, for example of culture and faith? (Jaspal and Coyle, 2009a). Secondly, how divisive is less than native language acquisition of English? Acquiring native language fluency is setting the bar high – beyond the level of the old English language programmes of the 1980s, and the citizenship test requires only the capability to respond to and express oneself in English, not native speaker competency. There is widespread agreement about the importance of acquiring English but not much attention paid to the implication of speaking it with less than native competency.

The two approaches to English language acquisition – that is, for practical communication, and as a means of demonstrating belonging - reflect the formal, institutional (rights and responsibilities) v. felt (and perceived to be) citizenship narrative. Attempts to encourage members of ethnic communities to learn English, do not address the concerns raised by Davies, about how people may still be perceived as outsiders if they do not acquire native speakerness. Alexander says, this provides a cultural boundary marker, which both defines minority ethnic communities and excludes them from the re-imaged national community (Alexander et al., 2007).

Eighty-five languages are spoken in Bradford - English being the main language of 85.3% of the population (ONS (Office of National Statistics), 2011).⁹⁷ However, the definition of main language, and the fluency with which it is spoken, is unclear. In the 2011 census some people identified more than one main language – revealing a tension between majority language being the most fluent and native, heritage language – even if spoken badly (Jaspal and Coyle, 2009c).

Having children starting school without English as their main language likely has little effect on cohesion in the District, providing by the time they reach

⁹⁷ That is 424,527 of a total population (over the age of 3 years) of 497,608.

adulthood they have acquired native speakerness. Thirty-eight percent of the District's school population speaks English as a second language, including those who are fluent as well as those beginning to learn (CBMDC (City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council), 2018).

Older migrants, whose English may not achieve native speakerness, are more of a concern – as, if Davies is right, they will never be considered legitimate members of the dominant socio-linguistic in-group. If they accept that, they could look back to homelands for significance, which may impact their sense of belonging here. And this inclination may contribute to the ethnic legacy they bequeath to their children.

It was frequently evident, during my interaction with the cohort, that although we could converse relatively well, some deeper nuances of English were absent, for example, with some people I found myself using contractions (can't, isn't) and idioms less often, in order to clarify meaning - a strategy I adopted while teaching English in Germany. Fluency, in the sense of not having to think about the way narrative is constructed, was also sometimes an issue. An absence of understanding of language nuances can lead to ambiguity and compromise engagement – importantly, in ways not always appreciated. This gave me the impression that sometimes I had stepped into another world. From their responses, I found the nine youngest cohort members to have native level English fluency.

Below is a table of the languages spoken/understood (to varying degrees) by the cohort.

Name	Mother tongue	First	Second	Other
C0121	Punjabi	Punjabi/English	N/A	Urdu
C0059	Punjabi (Potwari) / English.	Same as mother tongue	N/A	<i>Pink Urdu</i>
C0059/D	Potwari (Punjabi)	English	Punjabi	Arabic
M0100	Potwari (Punjabi)	Punjabi	Urdu	English
C0101	Punjabi	English/Punjabi		Urdu, Gujarati, Hindi, French
C0101/S	Punjabi	English	Punjabi	French
C0042	Punjabi	English	N/A	Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali
C0042/D	Punjabi	English	Hindi	Spanish, French, Russian
C0009	Punjabi	Punjabi, now English	English	Urdu, Gujarati, Hindustani
C0009/S	Punjabi	Punjabi (originally), now English	N/A	Hindi
C0009/D	Punjabi	Punjabi (originally), now English	N/A	Not known
C0086/1	Gujarati	English	N/A	Urdu, Punjabi
C0086/2	Gujarati	Gujarati	Hindi	English, Swahili
C0086/1/D	English / Gujarati	English	N/A	French
C0127K	Punjabi	Punjabi	Urdu	English
C0049	Punjabi/Urdu	Punjabi	N/A	English, Arabic, Persian, Hindi

All cohort members speak more than one language – their main languages being English, spoken by all 16; Punjabi, spoken by 14; Urdu, spoken by 9; Hindi, spoken by 7; and Gujarati, spoken by 6. As a group they variously demonstrate what Jaspal & Coyle describe as balanced bilinguals, those fully competent in both languages, and dominant bilinguals, those more comfortable in their dominant language (Jaspal and Coyle, 2009d).

The cohort distinguishes between mother-tongue (native) – literally their mothers' language, traditionally used to pass on and retain religious and ethnic customs and identity - and first language, that is the one they use most frequently and feel most comfortable speaking. This distinction is useful, as it identifies what Turin describes as generational language shift

(Turin, 2015), the cohort's mother tongue being primarily a heritage language (Punjabi, Gujarati and Urdu), while their first language is primarily English, with four exceptions: **Mr M0100** (Punjabi), **Mrs C0086/2** (Gujarati), and **Mr C0127K** (Punjabi), and **Dr C0049** (Punjabi), who all say their first language is the same as their mother tongue. Additionally, the three people in the **C0009** family evidence how first language may change within a lifetime - the original becoming less useful – in their case Punjabi to English (Davies, 2003).

Thirteen people in the cohort say their mother tongue is Punjabi, although **Mrs C0059** and **Dr C0049** say they have two mother tongues – she, English and Punjabi and he, Urdu and Punjabi. The two older **C0086** women say their mother tongue is Gujarati, while the youngest (**Miss C0086/1/D**) also says she has two mother tongues, English and Gujarati.

The cohort define their first language – their language of choice - in a number of ways: first learnt; language most used now (maybe different in the past); most comfortable language; and thinking language. Some cohort members find it difficult to identify one first language, equally comfortable speaking, for example, Punjabi and English. They choose to speak one or the other, depending on the circumstances and preference of the person they are talking to. **Mrs C0059**:

I don't decide, it's automatic...I think in English all the time, I speak a bit of Punjabi, a bit of Urdu...I start a sentence in one language and finish in another, all the time. If you speak Punjabi you're speaking at the grassroots levels, as you would with someone in your family. They understand the terms and everything that's being said. But my first language is English.

Only one of the Muslim cohort members (**Miss C0059/D**) considers English, unequivocally, to be her first language, while only one of the Hindu members (**Mrs C0086/2**) doesn't consider English to be her first language. All the Sikh members consider English to be their first language, although **Mr C0101**,

says Punjabi is also his first language. This may reflect different engagement patterns between the three faith communities; although it is not clear to what extent maintenance of heritage language responds to the nature or quality of engagement facilitated/constrained by other mechanisms.

The dual first language responses (English and Punjabi), from **Mrs C0059**, **Mr C0121** and **Mr C0101**, may challenge the notion of a clear progression over time for migrant communities, from mother tongue to comfortable (first) language more suited to the new environment. Continuing to reference mother tongue as first language – albeit alongside a second first language – can, says Turin, reveal the desire to make a statement about origin and distinction (Turin, 2015). While this may not be problematic per se, it could challenge cohesion agendas antithetical to the idea of persistent heritage language use, which is inherently exclusionary. Whatever the motivation for learning a heritage mother tongue, by the third generation, Kymlicka says, it is like learning a foreign language (Kymlicka, 1995 p.78). That is borne out by the four youngest cohort members, who express a preference for speaking English and, bar one (**Mr C0101/S**), have limited mother tongue skills.

The longitudinal nature of my research, building on the earlier BHRU project, enabled me to compare English fluency then and now. Unexpectedly, **Mr M0100's** English in the 1980s seemed better, in the sense that he had a weaker Pakistani accent and wider English vocabulary then - likely because he has retired from taxi driving and now rarely speaks English.⁹⁸

Somebody want to talk English, I can talk English...nobody came today to speak English...somebody came the day before about the television, English yeah. Most of the time, Urdu.

The impact of reduced use of English in retirement, as people engage less with other communities, and take longer trips to their homeland, requires

⁹⁸ However, some months later he was diagnosed with dementia, which may also have impacted his fluency.

more consideration; however, this phenomenon is likely finite and limited to the migrant generation which continues to feel the draw of another place. Present when her grandfather was interviewed, **Miss C0059/D**, was surprised at how poor his English was; they usually converse in Punjabi. She says:

If people aren't learning the language they have major issues integrating into society. I am really surprised that he has gone by so many years with his English not being that good.

Miss C0042/D says widespread reluctance or inability to speak (fluent) English becomes a problem for society:

The indigenous population see immigrants coming over and not making an effort to integrate at all...that's going to fuel a lot of racial tensions that are bad for both parties.

We have already seen that most cohort members consider themselves British, rather than English. Hall says the 'mongrel idiom,' which emerges in migrant communities accounts for this – being English situated at the interplay between native and host language; a contested concept at the heart of the transition process (Hall, 2002). However, younger cohort members demonstrate fluency in more than one language⁹⁹ rather than the hybridised 'arche-English' identified by Hall. Maybe their claim on Englishness will encompass their various identities, framed by different languages, rather than delineating between them.

Mr C0101 and his son demonstrate the language diversity, typical in the cohort, which occurs within one family. With his father, who came here from the Indian Punjab, **Mr C0101** speaks English and Punjabi, with his mother Punjabi, 'although she understands English'; he usually speaks English with his wife¹⁰⁰ and children, unless he is angry, then it's Punjabi. His mother

⁹⁹ With the proviso that I do not understand or speak the heritage languages mentioned in this study, so my judgement regarding their fluency may be flawed.

¹⁰⁰ During the course of this study the couple divorced.

tongue is Punjabi, his first language a mixture of Punjabi and English; his says his children's Punjabi is 'quite weak.'

However, his son (**Mr C0101/S**) says he speaks Punjabi 'quite fluently' with his grandparents, but with all his friends, white or Asian, he speaks English. His mother tongue is also Punjabi, but his first language is English – evidencing Turin's generational language shift.

Mr C0042 and **Dr C0009** speak of prioritising the learning of English, so their children could 'stand on their own feet.' **Mr C0042**:

Their first language was English. We used to take them to India to learn Hindi...so they could communicate with older people. [Now] they can move freely and their linguistic, cultural, is far, far better than us...they're settled here.

Dr C0009's children were 'automatically going to be bilingual,' English their dominant language, 'whether anybody like it or not.' Some Sikhs, he says, feared the loss of their language but he was pragmatic, 'if you want to achieve something special you must have English.' His children (**Dr C0009/S** and **Dr C0009/D**), who came here with their parents from the Indian Punjab, both say their first language has changed, from Punjabi to English.

However, this pragmatism can be tinged with sadness and regret; **Mrs C0086/1** speaks of her sense of guilt that she does not speak more Gujarati with her children; **Mr C0127K**, of his 'upset' about his children's poor Punjabi; and **Dr C0049** of his distress about his children's loss of Urdu, 'an important part of their culture.'

Conclusions

Heritage language is the most obvious and enduring manifestation of the essence of 'distance of the heart,'¹⁰¹ reflecting both its treasured status for minority communities and the challenge it poses for cohesion. In the past

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 1 for an explanation of this term

language assimilation was conceptualised as a one-way, three-generation process, whereby members of immigrant ethnic groups acquired English and abandoned their mother tongue, the end point being English monolingualism (Tran, 2010 p.260). However, Tran says, there is evidence that in large post-migrant communities a critical mass point is reached, enabling maintenance of heritage language skills alongside acquisition of dominant language (Tran, 2010 p.261). This has happened in Bradford. While the cohort demonstrates there are different generational perceptions of mother tongue and first language, the third generation¹⁰² is far from being monolingual. This is likely due to, for example, familial persistence; intercontinental marriages; intercultural, religious and clan/ethnicity/religion marriages in Britain; regular visits from relatives in Pakistan and India to Bradford and regular visits by families in Bradford to Pakistan and India; and the size of the Asian communities in Bradford.

How long Bradford's Asian communities will remain bi-lingual(+) is unclear; as the migrant generation passes there will likely be less incentive to sustain heritage language fluency, even in the private domain. This process - already underway in the cohort - challenges the idea that, even in large ethnic communities, heritage languages will be sustained in daily use in the long-term. It is important, in the meantime, that this is an organic process, the state guaranteeing the right for minority communities to use their own languages in both the private and public spheres (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2005 p.31), even if their accommodation is problematic, because they may be exclusionary.

During the course of this research I experienced numerous occasions, often mid-sentence, when I was excluded from conversations because participants switched from English to heritage languages to speak with family - emphasising my otherness. Key to negating this is the quality of social capital, which can be nurtured, not only between the majority and minority communities but also, Bradford evidences, between the minority

¹⁰² Based on the premise that the original migrant is the first.

communities themselves. This becomes proportionately more problematic as more diverse peoples are involved - underlining the importance of having a common language of interaction. Absence of a sense of belonging to the dominant culture – which is both fostered by, and sustains, the prevalence of heritage language – underpins the process, which perpetuates perceptions of the other. This, in turn, provides the impetus for the antithesis of a sense of belonging.

The debate about native speakerness is important, as it is premised on the resolution of issues of power, which are integral to the goals of cohesion. If parity is to be achieved it is necessary for minority communities to develop the confidence to linguistically assimilate, without fear of losing heritage identity; their Britishness able to embrace their linguistic legacy.

Caste & biradari¹⁰³

These associations continue to play an important role in Bradford's Asian communities, directing social and economic networking. Alongside religion, they underpin the parallel living, experienced both between and within the different Asian communities - constraining or encouraging interaction. From the outside their complexity is generally impenetrable, their ongoing significance underestimated. However, at another level they demonstrate how Asian communities in the District cannot be viewed as a homogenous grouping. In the 1970s Jeffrey concluded that Pakistani populations in Britain should not be seen as communities but rather collections of mutually exclusive overseas satellites of Pakistan (Jeffrey, 1971). While ties with the sub-continent may now be more elastic, biradari remains a significant source of community capital under-pinning discrete intra-in-group networks here.

The original caste system dates to around 1,600 BC, when the Aryans¹⁰⁴ migrated from the North into India. In order to establish social order they

¹⁰³ Brotherhood – originally divided into three groups: those who owned land, those who tilled land, and those who had no connection with land.

¹⁰⁴ Aryan is the self-designation of the Vedic Indic who migrated onto the Indian subcontinent, from modern Iran – inter-marrying with peoples of the Indus Valley Civilization, beyond the Hindu Kush Mountains Encyclopædia Britannica (online) (2017)

formed three castes: the Khashtriya (administrators and military), the Brahmana (priests), and the Vaishya (traders, merchants, businessmen and farmers); local people were known as Shudras. Ahmed & Nassem define caste as a rigid social system, in which social hierarchy is maintained generation after generation, allowing little mobility out of the position one is born into (Ahmed and Naseem, 2011). Caste is seen as an extension of kinship – the philosophy being a man’s brother is his friend, his friend is his brother, and both enjoy equal access to his resources ([no author], 1986-1998). This interdependence is evident in Bradford - some Asian shops offering lower prices or special services to people whose families come from the same place, or belong to the same caste or biradari group, as the storeowner. Biradari networks, framed by old Indian caste alliances are common in Bradford’s Pakistani population - anchored by funeral clubs, literary groups and a brotherhood of men, now mostly pensioners (Ahktar, 2013). Inter-caste/biradari rivalries are common, for example, within the management of Gurdwaras, Temples and Mosques, which restrict membership to people of a common geographical heritage and/or kinship. Of ongoing significance to second+ generation British Asians, is the expectation they will marry within their caste or biradari – representing a pillar of endogamy, along with religion, which was discussed earlier. Marriage is still commonly viewed as an alliance between families; a means of upholding reputation, status, and family *izzat* (honour), and protecting family wealth; intermarriage considered ‘polluting.’ Notwithstanding, **Mr C0101/S** – a Jat Sikh and one of the youngest cohort members – married a woman of a lower caste, indicating that rules can be broken. He says he and wife laughed about their different castes:

It’s an achievement for a daughter to marry a lad who’s a Jat...I know she thought, oh what if your grandma has a problem with what caste I am? Obviously she’s been worried about it.

Aryan. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Available from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Aryan> (Accessed 1 September 2018).

Dr C0009, who has written extensively about the local Sikh population (Kalsi, 1989 p.23), says it was assumed caste would be left behind in India, but that didn't happen. It's like a shadow, he says, adapting to life in Britain:

I am very interested in how caste is being revived, its traditions, in an environment which is not Indian...The Sikh tradition does not agree with caste divisions, but it is still very important. You can go to any Gurdwara [temple] but the fundamental issue is whether you are allowed to take membership. At the time of Gurdwara elections caste is important. Most castes have their own Gurdwara.

People encountering caste prejudice seem to accept it, he says; 'it's their reality'. There are few inter-caste marriages, but this may be changing as more people meet partners away from home. Both **Dr C0009's** children are married to non-Sikhs; but if they had married Sikhs, he says, they would have married within their caste.

However, his children say caste is of little importance to them. **Dr C0009/D:**

I wouldn't put myself in a category or caste or look at people in terms of caste. I just don't think it's important...it's more marked in India, much more obvious. It's just not an issue for me.

But, interestingly, she adds:

If I had married a more traditional Indian guy, been part of the community, I might have objected if my kids had gone out with a Muslim or a lower caste person. I think those kind of things are very active in the [British] Indian community.

Below is a table of key caste & biradari affiliations. This was not discussed with all cohort members.

Name	Caste & biradari	Religion
C0121	Not discussed	Muslim
C0059	Rajput	Muslim
C0059/D	Not discussed	Muslim
M0100	Rajput	Muslim
C0101	Jat	Sikh
C0101/S	Jat	Sikh
C0042	Brahmin	Hindu
C0042/D	Brahmin	Hindu
C0009	Shudra	Sikh
C0009/D	Not discussed	Sikh
C0009/S	Not discussed	Sikh
C0086/1	Not discussed	Hindu
C0086/1/D	Not discussed	Hindu
C0086/2	Not discussed	Hindu
C0127K	Awan	Muslim
C0049	Wadhera (Rajput)	Muslim

The cohort reflects caste hierarchy: **Mr C0042** (and his daughter) are Brahmin, the highest caste in Indian society; **Mr C0101** (and his son) are Jat, traditionally the ‘overlords’ of the lower castes in the Punjab; and **Dr C0009** (and his children) are Shudra, the lowest of the four Indian Varnas (but ‘above’ so-called Untouchables). In Pakistan caste distinctions emerge through an array of tribal (clan) groupings. **Mr M0100** and his daughter **Mrs C0059** are Rajput, the largest tribe in Rawalpindi, known for its military prowess; **Mr C0127K** is Awan, thought to be descended from Prophet Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law Ali; and **Dr C0049** Wadhera, a Rajput clan from the Punjab and Sind. Tribes are reflected in Bradford shop names – see below, the Awan Textile store in Manningham (my photo).



While these caste and biradari divisions are generally unappreciated by the wider Bradford community, they become more apparent during British elections, when so-called biradari voting occurs - skewing results in favour of the man (usually) with the most kinsmen in the ward. Kinship networks and associations, in the Indian and Pakistani communities, stretch across the country, and beyond - continuing to support and encourage exclusive interaction in a range of everyday activities from festivals and funerals to sporting events, and weddings. Religion and language provide the foundations for the superstructure of this exclusivity, which results in (and is nurtured by), for example, marriage between kin from the same area or other places across Britain (and overseas); joint economic ventures involving kin, also funded by kin; provision of goods and services to kin at in-group rates; kin-based social activities and support in times of need; ongoing use of local kin-based heritage dialects, eg Potwari (**Mrs C0059 & Mr M0100**); support of kin electoral candidates; and kin-based membership funeral clubs. Perhaps the single most startling factor evidencing the ongoing significance of biradari ties in the Pakistani community is the impact they have on blood donation. In 2011, Mumtaz et al found 'knitted relationships' to be responsible for a

preference for so-called 'kin blood' donation – causing problems for extraction and storage systems (Mumtaz et al., 2012).

Two members of the cohort are vociferous in their opposition to biradari – **Mr C0127K** and **Mrs C0059**.

Mr C0127K says biradari voting is evil because it governs progress. He became a councillor, he says, through hard work not biradari connections:

I have only two brothers, but there are people who've got many relatives, maybe 100, a lot of biradari...a lot of these biradari support me because of my previous work in race relations. But if I'd been solely elected because of my biradarism that [would be] a great loss to British politics.

As a Muslim, he says, he doesn't believe in class, 'it's total nonsense and shouldn't happen here. I think four generations, it might die down.'

Reflecting Jeffrey's findings 40 years ago, he is especially critical of un-elected leadership in the local Pakistani community:

They'll be some part played by the elderly because of their family background set-up, because of the village they come from [in] Pakistan...what happened in your village is there, it shouldn't be the concern of people here [but] it's still passed on. When they grow up their children they will still inherit that philosophy...all the Pakistani councillors in Bradford are being elected to develop that.

Which, he says, is a 'disgrace' and 'total hindrance to the multi-ethnic community, morally wrong.' Good people are sidelined because they are not biradari;' he says:

You talk about equality [but] you have no bloody equality among ourselves. The respect comes from biradarism not moral, high

standards they have. They may be bloody drug dealer but biradari, that's what it is.

Also highly critical of biradari voting, is Bradford's first Asian Lord Mayor Mohammed Ajeeb - who the UK's first Pakistani MP, Barry Malik, said failed to be selected as a parliamentary candidate in Bradford North in 1990 because 'he comes from a lower caste' ([unknown], 2009). Twenty years later the practice was still common, Muslim biradari voting helping to elect Respect MP George Galloway in the 2012 Bradford West bi-election. Biradari politics must not be allowed to flourish, says Mr Ajeeb, because it is 'wrong in every sense;' and 'the Muslim community should get out of their shells and mainstream themselves in all aspects of their lives' (Ajeeb, 2012).

However, **Mrs C0059** feels biradari support is waning - as elders age, return to Pakistan or die She predicts a loosening of social ties between Pakistani people across Britain and already no longer feels obliged to invite biradari to family weddings. Nonetheless, she recalls how a relative recently tried to pressurise her into voting for the biradari candidate:

Instead of actually electing somebody that is good at their job, they're electing somebody that probably hasn't got a clue about politics...[they say] oh, my son is going to stand for a councillor, and I've got more family members and I'll make sure he gets all the votes.

Conclusions

A comprehensive examination of caste and biradari is beyond the scope of this study, but this research has shown that these associations still have a significant impact on engagement within and between Bradford's Asian communities. This is an issue more for intra-Asian communities' engagement rather than between them and the indigenous host and other ethnic populations in the District. Nonetheless, because of the size of the Asian communities, especially, this poses a challenge worthy of more widespread attention. Although, primarily, cohesion is viewed as a binary

process, between ethnic, post-migrant communities, and the host, as we have already seen this is an inadequate perspective.

For the Pakistani community biradari continues to underpin the collective; close-knit and insular it prioritises the demands of extended family and subordinates individuals – in a way reminiscent of Tajfel’s minimal group paradigm, discussed earlier - by regulating behaviour through honour and shame. This is very different to Britain’s individual-oriented social structure, with the nuclear family at its core (Mondal, 2009) The cohort demonstrates that, although younger people may appear to be jettisoning caste and biradari, they are still constrained by them – both through a sense of loyalty to their family (and ancestors) and because they appreciate, as did their parents, how the networks these associations produce can further personal agendas. According to Fukuyama, human beings are rational utility maximisers, who use their cognitive abilities to benefit their self interest (Fukuyama, 2018). Recognition of this provides traditionalists with the leverage to continue to exercise influence. Key to this process is maintenance of a strong sense of collective identity – which both services kinship and results from it. How long this system is sustainable remains to be seen, but it has likely persisted so long because while it imposes a burden it also offers reassurance.

However, the benefit of biradari is challenged by the popular, and growing, emphasis on individual success. Akhtar says while biradari was invaluable in helping his parents settle in Britain, more recently old negative rivalries have re-emerged, causing divisions of the kind referred to earlier by **Mr C0127K** and **Mrs C0059** (Akhtar, 2003). This entrenched rivalry is impacting younger people – caught in the fallout from the battle between biradari diehards and those who believe it has no place in modern Britain. It may also, importantly, challenge any cohesion agenda, which assumes Asian community homogeneity. Ironically, these divisions may have been exacerbated by the old 1980s and 1990s ‘celebrate your diversity’ multiculturalism, which, inadvertently, likely pit discrete groupings against each other in their quest for limited resources.

Chapter Eight: Third data chapter.

Mixing it up: The home we build together.

Introduction

In this final data analysis chapter I consider factors, which reflect the nature of relationships within the minority communities I have studied. Together they form the foundation of mechanisms with the power to foster or constrain engagement with out-groups; framing the potential of what former Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks describes as the home we build together (Sacks, 2007 p.115) This model, says Sacks, replaces the earlier country house approach to society-building, typifying assimilation, where strangers were invited to stay as long as they liked, but they remained guests; the house always belonging to someone else. And it replaces, he says, the more recent hotel model, typifying multiculturalism, where strangers were free to do anything, so long as they didn't disturb other guests; their relationship with the hotel contractual. Instead, Sacks advocates a covenant society, in which diverse parties come together to achieve what they cannot achieve alone - that is integration without assimilation - prioritisation of the common good compensating for the absence of shared religion or long association. The question then is, to what extent ethnic social group identity is antithetical to the creation of Sacks' home. One option is to consider social cohesion as one of the Commons – accessible by all and, importantly, the responsibility of everyone. Fukuyama's definition of human agency, underpins the idea of responsibility being considered a right. He says:

Freedom typically means more than being left alone by government; it means human agency, the ability to exercise a share of power through active participation in self-government (Fukuyama, 2018).

The notion of the Commons, rooted in the 18th century English enclosure acts, usually refers to issues around sustainable development or the economy, but there seems no reason why it should not be applied to

cohesion. The tragedy of the commons, says Hardin, is that resources (or could it be social capital?) are depleted by acts of individual self-interest, at odds with the long-term interests of the group's common good (1968pp 1243-1248). This reveals the tension at the heart of Parekh's community of communities (Runnymede Trust, 2000) – the challenge of both minority commitment and individualism.

How this chapter contributes to my research questions

The five emergent thematic areas (data-led) in this chapter do not directly address any single secondary research question (as the preceding two chapters did), rather they contribute to my exploration of how the cohesion of the Asian communities has been, and continues to be, sustained by generations of people who migrated to Britain and who, more recently, were born here.

This is achieved through consideration, informed by cohort responses, of how a sense of minority community has survived, some may say flourished, over the past 60 years. This has been facilitated by, for example, exclusive intra-cultural services, amenities, opportunities and practices, which serve to persistently re-enforce a sense of them and us, for example funeral arrangements; mono-cultural clubs and associations; and the common, although likely diminishing, practice of seeking occupation within the minority community, or working on behalf of it.

This chapter's real value is its contribution, in a general way, to the primary research question, by its exploration of how minority cohesion may be challenged over time, especially by younger people (demonstrated by younger cohort members), born in Britain, whose identity, rather than being hybrid, is singular and encompassing of their families' heritage and their own aspirations. Interestingly, some cohort members mourned what they perceived to be regrettable change, while others felt this was inevitable, even desirable.

How this may have impacted, or been constrained by, the idea of *distance of the heart* is a key consideration in this chapter.

There is more on the contribution of this chapter in Chapter 9.

Sense of community

Sarason says, reminiscent of the Chicago School (Van Maanen, 1988 p.17), it's not enough to work in a community, to pay taxes and to vote, one must also feel part of it, a member of the 'readily available, mutually supportive network of relationships' it offers - which enable 'avoidance of loneliness, anxiety and anguish' (Sarason, 1974). To feel included, one must feel needed, able and keen to contribute to the solution of community problems. There is an inherent contract in community – recompense for collective support being contribution to the needs of the many, and vice-versa. Only then can one experience a psychological sense of community (Nowell and Boyd, 2010).

A potent sense of ethnic identity helps facilitate societal engagement (Alexander et al., 2007 p.785), but that is not the dominant assumption regarding Britain's minority communities. Rather, the understanding, enshrined in policy, is that they choose to self-segregate and live parallel lives outside mainstream culture and society – language serving as a key marker and facilitator of difference. Only through dissolution of difference, it was assumed, could ethnic minorities become part of the nation, people who think and behave like us (Alexander et al., 2007 p.787). The multicultural 'celebrate your diversity' approach of the 1980s and 90s undermined that assumption, but over the past 20 years there has been a growing tendency to readopt the earlier mantra, in a *deja vu* 'back to the future' kind of way. This thought informs my concluding chapter. However, the current approach is more nuanced than before – it is not acceptable to demand all signs of ethnicity be eliminated, the great challenge being where to draw the line, or, more usefully, how cohesion can be achieved, and sustained (Social

Cohesion Network, Government of Canada, 1996 in Cattle, 2001), within a parallels' paradigm.¹⁰⁵

For members of ethnic communities in multicultural societies solutions must satisfy their demands at three levels; individual, minority group and wider society. How responses to these, potentially, conflicted but at least overlapping, interests are managed, both from the majority (out-group) and minority (in-group) perspectives, are critical to the success or otherwise of societal cohesion.

Dialogue with the cohort was, initially, informed by the Sense of Community Index 2 (SCI-2), which identifies community as having four elements: membership; influence; the meeting of needs; and shared emotional connection (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). However, the cohort demonstrates that SCI-2 is of limited value in a multicultural environment as community is conceived in different ways – variously referencing the whole of Bradford, heritage, faith, and caste and biradari. Any assumption this indicates the degree to which they feel integrated into the host community is unreliable – since definitions changed, even within the same conversation. One way this uncertainty may be framed is by the old *gemeinschaft* v *gesellschaft* (community v society) debate – the difference being the degree of intimacy attached to social interaction and roles, values and beliefs (Weber, 1968). Those more personal (and subject) are best described as *gemeinschaft*; those more impersonal (rooted in mutual consent) as *gesellschaft* (Loomis, 1957). This explains how most in the cohort feel British (*gesellschaft*) but not English (*gemeinschaft*) - reflecting the challenge inherent in the creation of the overarching community (*gesellschaft*) of communities (*gemeinschaft*). Consequently, realistic cohesive society goals must settle for meaningful engagement of different peoples within parallel *gesellschaft* relationships - rather than striving for those more personal, and reserved for us. This releases 'us' from the need to encompass 'them', so energy can rather be

¹⁰⁵ For more on parallel living see Chapter 5.

expended on building bridges between different peoples who will likely never be the same.

This reflects what Alexander et al advocate – a looser chain of individual bonds of association or networks, replacing the classical, pre-modernity notion of community, which encompasses land and homestead and dense networks of collective social relations, anchored by kinship and religion (Alexander et al., 2007). Thus, the community of communities mirrors Parson's idea of a social system as 'a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect; motivated to optimise gratification' (Parsons, 1951). However, applying this description to a collection of communities, demands recognition of a duality, that interaction is taking place both between individuals and between groups - which, says Parsons, may simply become an instrument for realising personal agendas (Parsons, 1951 p.41). Usefully, he identifies a step between self-interested membership and collectivist solidarity, through which members engage in actions in the interests of systemic integrity - likely signifying transition from *gesellschaft* into *gemeinschaft*.

If a psychological sense of community is lacking across Bradford it is difficult to determine how much this results from the failure of ethnic groups to engage and how much to a more general, single-minded pursuit of individual interests, resulting from de-homogenisation (Goodhart, 2006). Sarason roots this individualism in the failure of a psychological sense of community, but it may also be facilitated by an egotistical drive to be more successful, to outshine others. This seems strong in Bradford's Asian communities, within and between different biradari and cultural and religious groupings.¹⁰⁶ Reconciling this tension is critical to the creation of cohesive society. Unfortunately, Sarason doesn't offer a formula for the inculcation and maintenance of a psychological sense of community; he says it's obvious when it's absent - its dearth manifesting as a destructive force (Goodhart, 2006 p.276), and its best motivator being external threat to the reference

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 6, in the caste and biradari section, where **Dr C0009** talks about caste divisions, which continue to determine Sikh Gurdwara membership.

group. This may explain how Asian migrants, initially inclined to fit in here, become less so over time as they perceived their way of life to be endangered. However, the threat to ethnic community cohesion may come as much from inside, as from anywhere else, not least because of the fierce competition between communities for limited resources (Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994).

Importantly, in their study on the interplay between ethnic heterogeneity (underpinned by ethnic identity) and sense of community (underpinned by multiculturalism) Castellini et al found high ethnic heterogeneity reflected a lower sense of wider community, while people living in lower ethnic heterogeneity neighbourhoods reported closer contact opportunities with the wider community (Castellini et al., 2011). This evidences a clear inverse relationship - the former driven by the push of marginalisation, the latter by the pull of inclusion – but it does not resolve whether these factors are responses or determinates.

The comments of the cohort evidence a clear cyclical link between sense of belonging and sense of home (discussed earlier) and sense of community – the first two feeding the last and vice versa. The conundrum, then, is how to devise a cohesion approach, which accommodates this interdependence without assuming one triad element has primacy.

The intergenerational characteristic of the cohort permits consideration of how sense of community might expand or change over time, and, because some cohort members have moved away from West Yorkshire, over distance.

Mrs C0086/1 says she experienced a shift in her sense of community when she moved to Somerset:

If I'm here, this is my community, where I'm living my daily life...[white] English friends come over...having Asian people as part of my community [now] is not a big deal. But when I go to

Bradford the Indian community, my extended family, is my community up there.

On the face of it, this appears an interesting, yet unsurprising comment - given her family background of migration from the Indian Gujarat to Kenya then Bradford - about the adaptability of sense of community, which bodes well for cohesion. However, it appears that some kind of motivation is required to trigger transition - for **Mrs C0086/1** this was her move away from the Asian bubble. By comparison, when her mother **Mrs C0086/2** moved with the Gujarati community en masse from Kenya to West Yorkshire there was no necessity for her to seek engagement with the Other. Even today she remains 'tight' with people from 'back home' in her Indian village and the street where she lived in Mombassa. She says, 'It's like a piece of the Gujarat come to Bradford.' Being part of a large minority community seems to mitigate the need for sense of community transition – however, the tipping point is unclear.

Mr M0100 also speaks of feeling he is living in his [Pakistani] village in the middle of Bradford, alongside 60 other families from Rawalpindi; 'I can't see English people walking round here.' He defines his community by the membership of his funeral club – people from his home village now scattered across the north of England, in Leeds, Manchester and Stalybridge, as well as Bradford. Contributions of £2 a month pay for funerals in Pakistan and, increasingly, here. This reveals a pragmatic approach to community; the funeral club re-enforcing the geographical roots of the collective, while acting as a tool to perpetuate ethnic community cohesion here. He says the graves of his ancestors anchor him to Pakistan but, 'it's natural to feel a connection with the community you're living in.'

His daughter, **Mrs C0059**, has a more philosophical approach to community – she says we (she and I) are creating a new one together. **Dr C0049** agrees, we (he and I) share a community because we live in Bradford, he says, 'it's only that you are white, I am black.'

Mrs C0059 says, although ties to villages remain ‘very strong, and there’s an ongoing obligation to invite them to functions, they no longer have to be in cahoots with you.’ Notwithstanding, when a relative died in Pakistan people paid their respects at her home in Bradford - validating **Mr C0121’s** distance of the heart. On her fingers she counts off the houses in her street and those nearby where close relatives live; when her children marry she expects them to live ‘two or three streets away.’ Although she doesn’t see a big change, she does feel her community will ‘mould into something different:’

The kids will have to find a better life style. You can’t expect them to be around you 24:7, that’s gone out of the window. When my son gets married I don’t expect his wife to wait on me.

Her daughter, **Miss C0059/D**, speaks of the physical and psychological reassurance she continues to derive from the Asian bubble:

I think we’re pretty safe in Bradford, like it’s OK to be Muslim and wear a head scarf, because everyone here does...I’ll always blend in. Outside Bradford it’s completely different, you feel a bit isolated and looked at, you stick out a lot.

She considered moving to London but was afraid she would be viewed as a terrorist.¹⁰⁷

However, reliance on safety in numbers may not be as important for all Asian communities; recent international events likely mean Muslims feel more vulnerable than Hindus and Sikhs, who can be more outward-facing, engaged with wider society, and less reliant on ethnic community.

Dr C0009 says he has a strong sense of belonging to the Sikh community in Leeds, but he also gets involved in the wider community as well. He describes as ‘a great headache’ the scrutiny of the Sikh community of his

¹⁰⁷ However, she did later make the move south and now lives there with her sister and brother-in-law.

behaviour, because, as he's well known, he's a 'symbol of community honour.'

His children, **Dr C0009/S** and **Dr C0009/D** now live in the south of England, he in Somerset, she in London. **Dr C0009/S** says if he'd stayed in West Yorkshire he would have had more interaction with the Sikh community – but he would have resisted living in an extended family situation. **Dr C0009/D** says, growing up she yearned to be part of a close-knit nuclear family, with just her parents and brother – she also resists the idea of living with extended family. Her parents' community in Leeds is her community only 'by default.' She doesn't 'mix with them really,' and, interestingly, she also doesn't feel part of her own neighbourhood in London – her community more located in friends, than place. Since moving south she feels she has lost her sense of 'we' – which she worries about, but also says the traditional community 'gets on my nerves...I think, oh God, haven't they moved on? You know, their attitude towards women, they're still very patriarchal in the Sikh culture.'

When **Mr C0101** speaks about community he refers to the whole of Bradford. For him, community encompasses different groups of people, so his affinity to the local Indian Sikh community is not at odds with his sense of belonging to Bradford. His son, **Mr C0101/S**, shares his view:

Obviously I'm my own person. I do what I want. To some people communities is a strong word, you can have loads of communities, like groups of friends. Then you can go down the lines of religion, as in Indians and Pakistanis, and that's their community. I'm not from one community.

Conclusions

A psychological sense of community is difficult to define, as it refers more to an individual's perception, understanding, attitudes and feelings of belonging than to anything tangible such as structure, formation or setting (Sarason, 1974). This ambiguity is present in the cohort, which defines community in

different ways, referencing family, extended family (ethnic community), friends, heritage and religion. The more mobile we become it seems the more flexible, and less place-based, community is – which explains how sense of community can span distance, between here and Pakistan and Somerset and Bradford. Sense of community also appears to be inherently fluid – the importance of aspects of it, or people/place, fluctuating over time, as circumstances change. There appears to be a tension between recognition of the value of transition and the need to nurture the familiar – which reflects conflict intrinsic to the sense of belonging and sense of home narratives discussed earlier.

Conceived in the 1960s, in an attempt to prevent what was perceived as further social disintegration of ‘community interrelatedness’, acquiring a psychological sense of community is, the cohort evidences, demanding. This is probably because for decades, maybe generations, minority communities are deficient in the resources necessary for full participation in the host community. This provides a powerful push mechanism, arresting development of engagement in Parekh’s overarching community.

On the other hand, clear in-group borders, physical and ethno-cultural, make members feel physically and psychologically safe (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). This provides a powerful pull mechanism, restraining deviation from the norm. The only surprise, then, about parallel living in Bradford is that it is considered surprising. Rather it seems a natural response to the nature of a multicultural environment, to be embraced rather than eliminated, as evidencing how ethnic heterogeneity negatively impacts sense of community. The challenge, posed to cohesion by ethnic social group identity seems, therefore, premised more on an inability to accept change – on the part of minorities and majority - than the change itself. This is not to say that ethnic social group identity does not challenge cohesion but rather that the response to the challenge is more problematic.

According to Carroll the 1950s and 60s were the golden decades of American community – the decline in social capital beginning in the 1970s,

with the trend for people to socialise less often and refrain from joining clubs and associations (Carroll, 2010). If the same can be said here, Asians arrived in Bradford at the moment when the receiving community was becoming less inclined to mix – which was probably not helpful.

Associations

Immigrants set up associations to create, express and maintain a collective identity; studying them enables us to make better sense of the complex and dynamic developments that take place within immigrant communities during the resettlement process (Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005). The character, number and size of associations indicate the extent to which immigrants want to profile themselves as being different (Cohen, 1985); by forming in-group associations immigrants fence off their ethnic or national identity, creating exclusivity (Marquez, 2001).

As we have seen, sense of belonging and sense of home foster and are fostered by community – this is underpinned by a complex network of associations, providing mechanisms for engagement, which are facilitated and constrained by agents and structures (Jenkins, 1988). This transaction frames every day life in Bradford, including day care centres, religious schools, employment agencies, business and interest clubs, and religious and cultural organisations – admission premised on specific ‘qualifications’, including ethnicity, geographical family origin, language, and religion. Among them is **Mr M0100’s** home-town association Muslim funeral club, with members across Britain whose roots are in Rawalpindi (Moya, 2005).

Roberts & Clifton say that, during the adaptation process, associations act to best optimise their individual and collective interest in host society (Roberts and Clifton, 1990). This must, necessarily, be a dual approach, requiring both internal and outward looking change on the part of the in-group, and, additionally, out-group(s) change. Associations offer minority communities the chance to socialise with people of similar backgrounds and to access emotional and financial support – combating homesickness (Ryan et al., 2008). They provide a comfort blanket – reminiscent of homeland support

systems - and help sustain transnational ties with family (Moya, 2005 p.847). Importantly, they shore up the treasure chest of social trust, norms and values, which sustains minority communities, protecting them from intrusion or fragmentation (Geys and Murdoch, 2010).

Ethnic associations, then, offer a window onto the migration experience; how migrants organise themselves and how the material and emotional needs of communities are met. They provide insight into the strength of affiliations and the desire for cultural maintenance and a distinct profile (Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005), which may reflect willingness or need to engage with wider society. People who join associations demonstrate a sense of ethnic identity they feel is important to sustain; through membership and participation identity is reinforced (Moghaddam and Perreault, 1992) – making associations significant conduits between the past and future.

It is useful to view associations through the social network theory lens, because it focuses on the relationships and networks between actors rather than their characteristics (Borgatti and Halgin, 2011). Social capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), which binds association, is embedded in these relationships – making it possible to consider not only the cohesive competence of associations within communities, but also how they challenge the formation of meaningful relationships with the other. The cohort says there are woefully few grass route avenues of communication between different communities in Bradford, which means many have only superficial experience of the other. While choice is an important factor, lack of opportunity impacts choice – although, vice versa, is also true. This emphasises, again, the need to see parallel living as a feature of cohesion.

Distinction should be made between bonding and bridging ties – the former identificational and cohesive, characteristic of homophily within the ethnic group whose members share common values and interests (Kadushin, 2004). The latter enabling loose knit solidarity and a common interest shared by different ethnic groups (Putnam, 1995). Bridging ties frame Parekh's

enveloping community of communities – each component community united by bonding ties.

Muslim funeral clubs' membership is exclusive, reserved for people who demonstrate lineage, heritage language fluency, and religious observance – although others who marry into the group are admitted they may never be considered full members. **Mrs C0086/2's** son converted from Hinduism to Islam on marriage, but his interaction with his in-laws is constrained because he speaks neither Urdu nor Punjabi. Membership of the receiving community seems more prescribed - although formal entry does not necessarily engender a sense of felt belonging, which means the migrant may remain the stranger for years.

The difference between intra-group bonding ties and inter-group bridging ties, seems premised on relationship quality (Kadushin, 2004 p.34). Opportunities may be created for inter-cultural engagement but society-wide cohesion requires a degree of bonding generally absent from bridging networks. And, while the old style-celebrate- your-diversity multiculturalism of the 1980s (Farrar, 2012) did not strengthen inter-group bridging it also failed to encourage intra-group bonding - British born descendents feeling less committed to the collective. Younger cohort members demonstrate respect for cultural traditions and norms, and respect and loyalty to immediate family, but they appear disconnected from extended family and ethnic community.

A healthy network of ethnic community associations may compensate for a lack of mainstream social, cultural and economic resources and mainstream social capital (Anthias, 2007 p.801) but it may also successfully cater for needs to such an extent that it discourages minorities from meaningful inter-cultural engagement (Owusu, 2000). **Mrs C0086/2** derives her psychosocial support almost exclusively from the Indian Gujarati community in Lidget Green. Why would she abandon the comfort of her day centre, where she socialises with people who share her language, religion, tastes, and experience, to seek out new friendships with people who don't? For

Mrs C0086/2 the size of her ethnic community in Bradford is a blessing, for societal cohesion it may be a curse (Ryan et al., 2008). Similarly, **Mr C0127K** says, regrettably, community centres he helped develop in Keighley enabled Muslims to avoid engagement with wider society.

Considering minority associations is useful because they reflect the exclusionary nature of mechanisms underpinning Bradford's ethnic communities, but also the potential for bridge-building. **Dr C0049** hosts an intercultural business lunch club, which has met monthly in a local curry house for over 20 years. He marked the courage required to establish the venture in its name: Shirdil (lion-hearted) (Priestley, 2003). In contrast to groups, networks do not have natural boundaries, so there is potential for relationships to narrow parallel living by, over time, developing intercultural friendships. But patience, and a tailored, gate-keeping approach, may be required to reach everyone. Kasarda & Janowitz distinguish between informal friendship ties and formal organisational membership ties; community attachment, they say, is enhanced by the first but unaffected by the second (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). If true, that might counter concern about the impact of the exclusivity of Asian associations, were it not for the fact that they operate within a community within a community – offering duality of attachment not present in mono-cultural environments. Crowe says friendship is a strong determinant of community attachment – length of residence and individual ties more influential than the social capital identified by Putnam (Crowe, 2010). This is useful given the limited success of the groups-based approach to cohesion in Bradford; however, the challenge may be no less great. **Dr C0049** is frustrated and 'saddened' that after half a century he has few personal friendships with white people. This has implications for the way the cohesion agenda is progressed; rather than trying to engineer community-wide integration there must be recognition of the need for friendship to flourish organically over time.

In the remainder of this section I consider, in more depth, Muslim funeral clubs – as an example of association - and then the final journey, that is

death and funeral ritual, with regard to insight this provides into sense of home (Runnymede Trust, 2000 p.51).

Muslim funeral clubs

The death of an individual is a social and ritual event of prime importance, in which transnational connections and networks within Britain are reasserted (Mascarenhas-Keyes, 1986). Muslim funeral clubs evidence how networks are sustained – providing assistance in time of need, while continuing to nurture an identificational sense of community, based on old home-town association. This implies common bonds, reminiscent of Toennies' *gemeinschaft* by blood - the recognition of communal sharing - and *gemeinschaft* of locality, related to collective ownership of land (Loomis, 1957). But there is something else, *gemeinschaft* of experience, rooted in the commonality of migration and the effort to settle in a new land. These relationships are, at the same time, both transcontinental and embedded here, fostered by echoes of the past and present realities. Toennies says common fear and common honour ensure peaceful living and co-operation with greater certainty; the spirit of kinship thriving on memory and overcoming any distance by its imagination of nearness and commonality - encapsulating **Mr C0121's** Distance of the Heart.

Mr M0100 refers to the pivotal role of the funeral club when asked about the nature of his community. Speaking through his granddaughter (**Miss C0059/D**) he says he regularly attends funerals – and weddings and other social occasions - of people living across northern England and the Midlands whose families come from Rawalpindi (Ryan et al., 2008). Providing support when someone dies is just one role of this community of association - which has survived both time and distance.

Literature about Muslim funeral clubs is scarce; although fleeting reference is found in work on the importance attached to being laid to rest in a place of special affinity, one's home (Rowles and Comeaux, 1987). There is no record of the clubs in Bradford District – membership managed by word of mouth, common knowledge within eligible communities. **Mr M0100's**

daughter, **Mrs C0059**, explains the club is insurance against funeral costs. She says her husband wants to be buried in Pakistan:

He wants to go back to his own village, where he was born. That's a bugger for us, isn't it? I mean, where do I want to be? I just don't feel like I belong anywhere. I would say bury me where my children would be happier.

People are also afraid, she says, of being buried here in case 'another Serbia happens' and graves are desecrated.

Mr C0127K speaks about the funeral committee he set up in 1971; it differs from a home-town association because membership is open to any Pakistani Muslim. Its 8,000 members, throughout the UK, pay £15 a year subscription. He estimates the fund pays out around £20,000 a year for funerals. It's difficult, he says, to say how many funeral societies there are in Britain, because some are embedded in families, available only to relatives. He thinks there are 'quite a few of those' in Keighley – with maybe 70 family members each; others are biradari-based. He is critical of restricted membership, saying it encourages exclusivity. This is also criticised by **Dr C0049**, but other cohort members saw this as a strength; enabling people to keep in touch with extended family and old neighbours.

Bradford-based funeral director Sher Azam - who serves the Pakistani Rawalpindi community – said more Muslims are choosing to be buried in Britain. He repatriates only 10 bodies a year (telephone interview 15.6.12) – compared to 50 ten years ago – with most clients being buried in Scholemoor cemetery in Lidget Green, in an area managed by the Council of Mosques. The decision to return a body generally depends on whether a relative in Pakistan wants burial there.

Pictured below, the Yorkshire Muslim Funeral Services' office in Bradford, showing the cost of funerals in Yorkshire, Pakistan and Bangladesh, in 2012 (my photo).



The expense and inconvenience associated with repatriation can be negated by the belief that the deceased gains more religious merit from a home village burial (Shaw, 2000). The custom of village burial provides, Shaw says, a concrete symbol of the importance of kinship, each biradari in Pakistan having its own carefully tended graveyards, where everyone reassembles after death – providing strong physical expression of the biradaries' corporate behaviour, and strong sense of rootedness.

Hindus and Sikhs prefer cremation, with their ashes scattered on water; **Mrs C0086/2** has instructed her family to scatter hers on the River Ganges in India. Attempts were made in 2002 to designate a scattering place on the River Aire at Apperley Bridge, near Bradford, but permission was refused after residents complained they didn't want to see funeral pyres. There are, therefore, no official scattering places in Bradford District but unofficial scattering takes place in the North Sea at Scarborough, and elsewhere on the River Aire.

So, to what extent can changes in funeral and burial/scattering practice provide insight into one's sense of home/belonging?

The final journey

Rowles & Comeaux say the old American folk song, *The Dying Cowboy* reflects an important theme in human experience - to be laid to rest in a place which holds special affinity; many societies have a cultural imperative to remove human remains from the place of death to a preferred burial site (Rowles and Comeaux, 1987 p.114). This practice is underpinned by an attachment to place, which means migrants – decades after migration – can go home to die or instruct that their remains are returned after death. **Mr M0100** says, 'No need to tell lies to you, when I died please take me to Pakistan, that's my own land, outside my house.'

This final wish, says Sack, reflects an intense 'inter-treading' between place and self, an inherent sense of being at one with place – sustained by memories of landscape and belief that one's ancestors' spirits reside there (Sack, 1997). It may also be seen, says Rowles & Comeaux, as a temporally delayed reversal of migration streams of the living (Rowles and Comeaux, 1987 p.115) – challenging the notion of the myth of return.

Sense of home can be defined in two broad ways: firstly predicated on a bond with land, mother earth – reflecting the Islamic belief that a person is made from the dust of a particular place and that, prior to death, the dust draws him/her home. The other defines home as the place where significant life events have transpired (Rowles and Comeaux, 1987 p.115). It is easy to see how migrants, after spending years in Bradford, might be challenged by these conflicting interpretations: do I stay or do I go? Older cohort members, who migrated to Britain, described their emotional ties to land in Pakistan or India – but their British-born descendants, and those who came here as children, did not. Bollig says being interred in a grave on one's own land provides future-proof ownership of that land (P. Laurentius Bollig (O.M. Cap.), 1927 p.123) quoted in (Rowles and Comeaux, 1987) - a pragmatic consideration for people, like **Mr M0100**, who value their association with a place where ancestors are buried and relatives continue to live. Retaining ownership of land overseas, or regaining land previously lost, which

Mrs C0059 refers to, becomes important in order to secure a safe and peaceful resting place.

The general theory of removals expects migrants in societies where burial is the preferred norm – and technology of removal permits – for there to be a significant flow of remains back to the place of origin; locations engendering primary emotional allegiance (Rowles and Comeaux, 1987 p.118). It also expects that, as time passes and length of residence fosters attachment to new locations, the draw of home will weaken – resulting in lower rates of return. This may indicate that the idea of home is relocated. The practice of pensioners taking long holidays in the homeland is seen as an exception - essentially turning it into a retirement centre, offering them opportunity to reacquaint with mother earth and experience new significant events. To what extent this is happening to Bradford's Asian pensioners is unclear – although, anecdotally, a significant number, including **Mr M0100** and his wife, regularly commute between there and here, spending up to half a year in each place. Their visits are more than holidays; they renovate family properties, build new homes, invest in businesses, and engage with the local community. However, likely, within the next 20 years, this generation will become too infirm to make this inter-continental commute – they will have to decide where to live out their old age.

Meanwhile, the increase in burial here has contributed to the establishment of a rooted Muslim presence in Britain, turning Muslim cemeteries into places of personal pilgrimage - invoking a sense of community and communal continuity (Ansari, 2007). The choice to be buried here provides the opportunity for construction of another pillar of community, which, in turn, enables the choice to be replicated. It is the rootedness, which results from this process, which helps to establish emotional ties between people and place (Ansari, 2007 p.547) – underpinned by ritual. A collective cultural, religious and social memory of past generations is constructed, instilling an ongoing sense of community belonging (Durkheim, 1915), which anchors the deceased and the bereaved in a specific value system and world-view. Rituals then are powerful, proactive re-enforcers of difference (Reimers,

1999), and burial an exercise in place-making and identity-construction (Ansari, 2007 p.547). By studying changes in choice of final resting place insight can be gleaned into the ways in which communities see themselves and their surrounding world.

Gardner predicts over the 'next generations' British burial sites will become increasingly Islamicised (Gardner, 2002) – however, more research is needed, both into numerical trends and implications. Notwithstanding, there seem to be pull factors - like religious practice – and push factors – like fear about grave security - which impact decisions about final resting place. While burial here may be a pragmatic, convenient alternative, it is also a means of staking a claim to a small piece of land – seemingly demonstrating a degree of affinity and sense of belonging to Britain, while also reflecting ancestral ties to another place, eloquently expressed in Rupert Brooke's 'corner of a foreign field.'¹⁰⁸ As time passes it also becomes a place where ancestors are buried – offering a new anchor for home. Graves then become both boundary maintaining and boundary reducing – depicting differences in style and tombstone wording, but present in adopted lands (Reimers, 1999). This allows migrants to become part of the soil (Ansari, 2007); although this may result more from the practical considerations of the bereaved than the deceased's felt sense of belonging.

¹⁰⁸ https://www.rupertbrooke.com/poems/1914/v_the_soldier/

Below is a table summarising the cohort's final resting place wishes.

Cohort member	Resting place wishes	Origin
M0100	Pakistan	Came here as adult
C0059	Don't know	Came here as child
C0059/D	Near children	Born here
C0121	Here	Came here as teenager
C0101	Not an issue	Born here
C0101/S	Not discussed	Born here
C0009	Where I die	Came here as adult
C0009/D	Here	Came here as child
C0009/S	In water somewhere	Came here as child
C0086/2	India	Came here as adult
C0086/1	Kenya	Came here as child
C0086/1/D	Don't know	Born here
C0042	Don't know	Came here as adult
C0042/D	Not an issue	Born here
C0127/K	Up to children	Came here as teenager
C0049	Where I die	Came here as adult

Only three of the cohort, **Mr M0100** (Pakistan), **Mrs C0086/2** (India) and **Mrs C0086/1** (Kenya), want to be laid to rest in their homelands. **Mrs C0086/2** (Hindu):

A family member will put my ashes in the river Ganges, same for my husband. I would be very peaceful, there's deep meaning. If your ashes [go] to the Ganges, your afterlife is better. A lot of praying is done, it's a serious matter. This is nothing to do with Britain, how much I been here, and no matter how much you [British] look after me till I die in old age, it's nothing to do with that.

Mr C0042 also wants his ashes to be scattered on water but, like **Dr C0009/S**, this could be in Britain – 'maybe the Thames.'

Seven people in the cohort essentially say 'don't know' (some because final resting place has not been discussed); while two (**Dr C0009/D** and **Mr C0121**) say 'here' – although both originate from the sub-continent.

Dr C0009 and **Dr C0049** say ‘where I die;’ one (**Mrs C0059**) ‘near children’, and one (**Dr C0009/S**) ‘in water somewhere.’ There seems no preference split, for final resting place, between people who came, and those born, here. The four youngest show little interest in the subject.

However, **Mr C0101** identifies a clear inter-generational shift in his family, when his grandfather died he took his ashes back to India, ‘a formality for the oldest son.’ His parents also want to have their ashes scattered in India, but the cost might deter them. He’s not interested in where he will be buried, but his daughter was buried in Bradford, likewise his granddaughter.

Mr C0127K identifies a similar shift in his family; his father returned to Pakistan just before he died; he knew he was seriously ill and wanted to be buried there:

It was easier for us to take him while he was alive. My mother went with him and after a traditional burial she came back. His two daughters were there as well.

His mother, he says, wants to be buried in Pakistan because her parents and other close relatives are buried there. As for himself, he will leave that decision to his children, he says. They will ‘definitely’ be buried here.

Conclusions

The location of relatives is a key factor influencing choice of final resting place. As a pool of relatives, and then ancestors, is established here, over time, there becomes less need for remains to be taken elsewhere (Ansari, 2007 p.558). This marks a significant shift in attachment to place – with potential, eventually, for a revision of homeland as territory in Britain is recognised as belonging to ethnic communities (Smith, 1986); the tangible presence of graves rooting the genesis of new heritage.

In the meantime, as the pioneer generation and their children age, there is a choice to be made about final resting place. Aside from location of their

children and extended family (both here and there) the cohort evidences other important factors influencing choice. In favour of return includes: ongoing primary identification with homeland, even after decades here; a wish to be laid to rest on one's own land, alongside ancestors; frequency of return visits during retirement, which may renew familiarisation with homeland (**Mr M0100**); the fulfilment of a long-held desire to return; religious considerations (**Mrs C0086/2**); and the fear of desecration of graves in Britain.¹⁰⁹ In favour of here includes: the increase in the number of Muslim cemeteries and places where ashes can be scattered in Britain; the wish of Muslims to avoid the Islamically haram¹¹⁰ practice of embalming, necessary for the long return journey; the cost of return; and indifference.

It seems, whatever their choice, the Muslim community continues to value the support offered by the Muslim funeral club, as new generations of young men, especially, sign up to become members. This is likely because it offers outstanding value for money, and enables members to seek support and guidance, which extends well beyond that related to funeral arrangements. The clubs also continue to service the community, sustaining ties across time (with ancestors) and space (here and there, and throughout Britain). However, because of their exclusionary nature, they may be perceived as contributing to the challenge posed to societal cohesion. As **Mrs C0086/2** says, non-Gujarati speakers/Hindu devotees can attend her day centres in Lidget Green but 'they won't enjoy it, as they wouldn't understand what's going on.'

Friendship and occupation

In this, and the next two sections I explore the nature of the cohort's meaningful relationships with friends and family.

¹⁰⁹ Memories linger of the desecration, in May 1991, of more than 60 Muslim graves in Scholemoor Cemetery, Bradford.

¹¹⁰ Prohibited.

Even after being here 50 years, **Mr C0049** says, most people he associates with are Pakistani. English (white) people are aloof, he says, so his association with them is formal:

They don't speak to you...I am taking the initiative, my friends are taking the initiative, to invite friends for curries, but how many of you have taken the initiative to invite us to your homes? It's a shame, centuries old prejudice.

Laws against racism and discrimination are all very well, he says, but the government should encourage more grass roots interaction, more inter-cultural friendship. But, to what extent can interaction be encouraged by the state? Gay says interaction skills should be taught in school – making learning a cultural process that takes place within a social context (Gay, 1994) The goal of multicultural education, she says, should be to instil multicultural social competence - enabling children to interact with and understand people who are ethnically, racially and culturally different. Such an education can ease tensions which otherwise stymies attempts at cross-cultural interaction, because of negative attitudes, cultural blunders and the tendency to impose one cultural system's rules of social etiquette on others (Gay, 1994 p12). However, this approach is likely to be more successful if premised on an understanding that this is not a one-way process – from majority to minority community, but also involves development of social competence to aid the engagement of minority communities with the majority and, importantly, with each other. There also needs to be acceptance of a degree of parallel living as the norm, and clarification of the nature of the skills, which can contribute to the social competence required to foster inter-cultural friendship in multicultural environments (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1999). Notwithstanding, there appears to be an application deficit – choice (agency) about whom we make friends with constraining the transformation of understanding into practice.

Miss C0059/D, interestingly one of the youngest cohort members and British-born, says it's easier to make friends with 'people like you,' who

understand your way of life and family obligations. With them, she says, you develop a 'kind of shorthand,' which speeds up the process:

I had quite a good mixture of colleagues, but the white people – maybe chill out with them in lectures [but] not who I could consider friends...you tend to drift towards people who are like you, for me the girls, if they're Muslim, Asian or ethnics, cus I've grown up with Asians around me.

However, 'most friction,' she says, is between Asians rather than between white and Asian people. When she lived with an Indian girl, she was asked *why do you hang out with a non-Muslim?* She says her best friend, 'a sister,' is a Sikh girl, 'me and her have been best friends for the past ten years.'

However, several in the cohort, including **Miss C0059/D**, say their most significant relationships are with family. She says:

I'm close to my brother, sister, mum and dad. I see my grandma and granddad, on mum's side, every day. I adore them, and auntie and her husband and son. Across from her I have the family we've grown up with, they're distant relatives. Then there's my father's sister and her family, and my mum's other sister and her family; my dad's brother and his family seven doors up from us; my dad's uncle about five minutes away, and dad's mum at her younger son's house.

Mr C0101 also says most of his friends are close family – brothers and cousins, but generally, 'I just like keeping to myself.' His son, **Mr C0101/S**, has a much wider, more culturally-diverse social life – interestingly, he 'compartmentalises' his friends according to ethnic and/or religious background. He says their differences are unimportant, but they do make him feel more or less English/Indian:

If I'm with my white friends then obviously I do feel English then. I won't think to myself, oh I'm an Indian...with my Asian friends I'd feel more Indian, more Sikh.

This ability to fit in is a mechanism of acculturation - premised on a toolbox of skills, including language fluency and sense of belonging. But, **Mr C0101/S** says, possession of these skills doesn't necessarily lead to inter-cultural friendships; many of his Asian friends don't have white friends, and there is 'conflict between Sikh and Pakistani lads.' He says his eclectic mix of friends is due to his upbringing in South Yorkshire, where there were few Asian families and all his friends were white. He says, when he moved to Bradford his life changed - his cousins became his best friends. Growing up in BD2, a 'mixed area', gave him the chance to make friends with people of different backgrounds; 'I was the only Asian in school, the only Asian lad on the cricket team.'

In Bradford, he says, there are Asians, racist towards white people, and vice versa, but:

I've got more white friends than anyone else I know...they talk to each other. I'm the link. I don't know anyone else in my position.

However, he says, if he were Pakistani, living in Manningham, he wouldn't have Indian or white friends. He refers to a street code, which distinguishes between Pakistani lads living in inner city Bradford and the lads from BD2:

It comes down to the colour of the tracksuits. In Manningham they like to wear white and red Lacrosse tracksuits. I can pick them out by the way they dress, the way they talk.

Dr C0009/S also speaks of growing up surrounded by people of different cultural and racial backgrounds, 'our house was always full of people, like the UN.' He says his parents have friends from all over the place, they think of

themselves not as being from one place but rather 'world citizens with English tastes.'

Some cohort members, including his sister **Dr C0009/D**, speak of the impact on their social lives of moving away from the Asian bubble:

My friends can see beyond culture and religious boundaries, and you're seen for what you are. So you just engage with the world at that level and don't go into those dark spaces where it becomes difficult.

Mrs C0086/1 says before moving to Somerset three-quarters of her daughter's school friends in Bradford were Asian, 'a good mixture, not just Gujarati or Muslim children.' This contrasts starkly with their new life. She recalls how she met a Gujarati woman in Tesco, 'I just sort of smiled and started speaking Gujarati.' Aside from her sister, who lives nearby, **Mrs C0086/1** has no other Indian friends in Somerset. She says:

We have some English friends over for curry, and we go to their house. In Bradford socialising was more to do with a family wedding, or an engagement or someone passed away...now there are more...friendship groups we go out with.

One way people socialise is through occupation, but poor language skills and religious obligations limit opportunities for ethnic minorities (Clark and Drinkwater, 2000); those not fluent in English forming a linguistically isolated labour pool, which can be exploited by co-ethnic entrepreneurs (Evans, 1989 in Clark and Drinkwater 2000). Although second+ generations, born in the UK, are less likely to be self-employed than the migrant generation, they may still be inclined to seek work, and volunteer, inside their ethnic communities – limiting opportunity for inter-cultural workplace friendships to flourish.

The occupation audit below, of six cohort members, reveals a strong preference for engagement within the Asian communities; a focus on

provision of in-group services and support; and out-group engagement which furthers the interest of their primary in-groups.

Collaborator	Occupation
C0121 Muslim Kashmir	Asian wedding catering business Owner of city centre Asian restaurant Director/Trustee of Bradford Community Environment Project Trustee/Vice-chairman of Bradford Night Stop for the homeless Sports Centre Manager (in predominantly Pakistani area) Community Development worker Pakistani Community Centre Bradford Festival organiser
C0059 Muslim Pakistan	Business woman employing many young Pakistani staff ESOL/citizenship/business courses mainly for Pakistani community Seminars on Islamophobia, forced marriage/honour-based violence Research on subjects related to above Work in Asian women's refuge Family shop selling Asian women's clothing
C0042 Hindu India	Member of Campaign Against Racial Hatred President, Bradford Hindu Cultural Society Ethnic Minority representative for West Yorkshire Police Treasurer of Bradford Racial Equality Council Member Bishop of Bradford's Inner City Faith Group Founder/Director Bradford's Institute of Asian Business Director of Kirklees Asian Business Association Chief Executive of Euro Asian Resource Vice President (2010) Bradford Conservative Association Chief Executive of Centre for Politics and Public Participation Broadcaster of ethnic minority programmes on Pennine Radio Recipient of MBE for services to Bradford community Recipient of Bradford Council's community harmony award Recipient of Minority Police Liaison Committee Commendation Honorary degree from Bradford University
C0009 Sikh India	Teacher working with Pakistani and Indian pupils and families Lecturer in Immigrant Education, Bradford College Teacher trainer, Bradford College (English as second language) Lecturer of Sikh Studies, Leeds University Theology department Sikh interdenominational Christmas lunch project Chair of Leeds CONCORD Interfaith Fellowship Assistant Secretary of Gurdwara Member of Leeds Commonwealth Immigrants' Association Doctoral dissertation: The evolution of a Sikh city in Britain

Collaborator	Occupation
C0127K Muslim Pakistan	Volunteer community worker, advising Pakistani community Racial Equality Council's Community Relations Officer, Keighley Non-executive Director local NHS Trust Keighley Town Councillor Bradford District Councillor First Asian JP in Keighley Fund raiser for construction of Jamil Mosque, Keighley Established Bangladesh Youth Movement in Keighley Established Asian Women's Centre in Keighley Urdu poet, inspired by life in his neighbourhood in Keighley
C0049 Muslim Pakistan	Representative of London-based Daily Jang Urdu newspaper Founder/Director Urdu Daily Millat newspaper Editor/Manager of Ravi newspaper Editor/Contributor of Mahkzan series of Urdu literature Writer of short stories in Urdu which explore challenges of migration Founder/first President Bradford-based first Pakistan Society in Britain First Pakistani member of Bradford Lions Club First Pakistani JP in Bradford Established Sherdil club to encourage cross-cultural interaction

Choice of occupation (in the broadest sense) can then, be seen as a mechanism, which helps sustain minority community cohesion, another way in which the boundary between them and us is delineated. Importantly, younger (British-born) cohort members may make similar choices; after graduating **Miss C0059/D** secured a job working for an organisation in Leeds which recruits British Pakistani medical professionals to work in Pakistan.

Many reasons may account for the preference for in-group occupation, including: familiarity - it is easier to work with people who understand the constraints on one's life and family obligations; cultural or religious reasons for not engaging in wider community market practice; communication - people whose English is limited may prefer to work in a minority language (self-employed or for a co-ethnic); kinship - exploitation of networking opportunities for customer base and supply lines, both in Britain and overseas; loyalty to family businesses – sustaining family ties within the UK and between the UK and the sub-continent; kudos and status - within the ethnic community here and abroad; desire to contribute to the prosperity and

stability of the minority community; job security - you are less likely to lose your job if you have close ties with your employer; ease of recruitment - employment obtained informally through word of mouth and personal recommendation; co-ethnic commercial finance and funding opportunities, at preferentially low rates, which enable Asian businesses to better-weather recession; exploitation of one's ethnicity to satisfy personal agendas and service a captive co-ethnic market; fear that prejudice, discrimination, alienation and residual recruitment racism will prevent acquisition of jobs in the wider community or make employment difficult; habit - relatives and friends work within the minority community.¹¹¹

Conclusions

Although some cohort members say they have friends from other cultural backgrounds, generally their most significant relationships are with close family or people like themselves. **Mr C0127K** distinguishes between friendships he has with people outside his ethnic community and those with Pakistani people, with the same faith, colour and identity. He seems to be referencing the difference between friendship and acquaintance or, at least, to a friendship continuum, reflecting degrees of closeness. A key factor - enabling the perpetuation of mono-cultural friendships is the size of Bradford's Asian communities - making it unnecessary to seek friendship, perhaps more time-consuming to nurture, with out-groups. Some cohort members evidence how this changed when they moved away from the Asian bubble.

Meaningful friendship between members of the Asian communities and the indigenous host may be easier to forge than between the Asian communities themselves and with other local minority groups. This poses a significant challenge to society cohesion, which requires a focus reorientation. Exclusionary mono-cultural clubs and interest groups, based on aspects of ethnic identity, for example, language, can be a distraction.

¹¹¹ This list was drawn up with the assistance of **Mrs C0059**.

Importantly, as **Dr C0049** implies, friendship is not a one-way process. There are two critical pre-requisites for the emergence of meaningful friendship, opportunity and mutual enthusiasm – seemingly truer of friendship between diverse people(s). But **Miss C0059/D** identifies a key problem, how organic and enduring friendship, based on familiarity and mutual understanding, can be nurtured in a multicultural environment divest of that familiarity and common appreciation. This demonstrates, again, that parallel living must be considered a multicultural fact of life, rather than a barrier to cohesion.

Dr C0009 says migrants utilise their kitty to reach their goals – that's a reasonable strategy to ensure you gain best purchase in your new home. However, difficulties arise if the kitty is so exclusively rooted in the minority that it hinders engagement with wider society. Whatever the motivation, some cohort members have made, and continue to make, occupation choices, which limit their opportunity to make work-place friendships with people from other cultural backgrounds.

All for one and one for all

Bradford's Asian communities are described as collectivist – that is, tending to emphasise interdependence and prioritise maintenance of the group above individual interests (Freedom Keys, no date). But, as no single Asian community exists, collectivism extends only to the boundary of each discrete ethnic grouping – and is impacted, internally, by fractures between extended family groupings, clan loyalties and village allegiances.

Mechanisms, including religion and language, perpetuate collectivist ideology, and vice versa; but what happens when the collective is challenged by individualism? Younger generations born here, and feeling British, are increasingly individualistic in outlook, prioritising their own interests over those of the ethnic group – this is both an element of so-called hybrid identity and its by-product. This transmutation from collectivism to individualism has the power to blur community boundaries, narrowing gaps between parallel lives. As such individualism should be considered part of the natural

progression of minority ethnic communities, or at least individuals of minority ethnic heritage, towards external integration.

Implicit in the collectivist v individualist struggle (Tsuladze, 2012) is privacy; to what degree the intervention (or interference) in your life of extended family, clan (biradari) or community can be tolerated. The continuum, which has emerged to describe the nature of marriage within the Asian communities - encompassing love matches, fully consensual arranged marriage, persuasive arranged marriage, and forced marriage¹¹² - evidences growing resistance to acceptance that your life is not your own, and the individualist impulse to act only in what you deem your best interests.

Miss C0086/1/D says:

For generations they married other people in the same sort of situation as them, but I think that's changing. They have to deal with the fact that being moved here, it's a different society and people are going to marry who ever they want.

A pre-migration sense of belonging provided Bradford's Asian communities with security, a culture of in-group interrelatedness (Kâ itçiba i, 1994). Half a century on, their confident British-born descendents are jettisoning this security blanket; instead of providing reassurance it is smothering. Collectivism has become a synonym for outdated traditionalism while individualism is considered modern (Tsuladze, 2012 p.4). But there is a dilemma – networks ties may be useful for the realisation of personal goals.

Today, individuals choose the groups they want to belong to, rather than involuntarily joining them (Camilleri and Malevska-Peyre, 1997 in Tsuladze 2012 p.5); this may foster more commitment, since one does not simply sleepwalk into the prescribed. Leaving family behind has required cohort members to start afresh, forging common interest association, rather than inheriting membership. **Mrs C0086/1**, who moved to Somerset, says:

¹¹² Illegal here since 2014 (*Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014*. Available from: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2014/12/contents/enacted>).

We have some English friends and they come over...and we'll go to their house. Sometimes I go out with friends from work...and have dos from my husband's work. There are more family-friendship groups that we go out with now, because we're so far away from family.

However re-entering the collective, during family visits, can be challenging. **Dr C0009/D** laments her loss of privacy when visiting relatives in India and the USA.

We were in California, one of my cousins was supposed to be getting married...there was a lot of coming and going...all these people, it was a like a real headache, just very, very suffocating, boring, why don't you just leave me alone?

She says her parents worry that, now she lives in London, she is out of the Sikh comfort zone, of temple and community:

They worry about what's going to happen to you. You're not part of a group, what's the future of my generation and the next generation? They are critical...that the second generation has lost its way [but] I don't feel we have...I think you create your own way.

Where personal boundaries are drawn, within Bradford's various communities, is central to the cohesion debate. In my Common Area Model¹¹³ there is space for wider society interaction - but the dimensions and characteristics of that space are only determined after the communities collectively decide how open and receptive they can be. This is challenging, given that the process requires a degree of social capital – that is trust - which may not be possible until after agreement has been reached on what cultural norms and values must be relinquished and what can be retained; classic *chicken and egg*.

¹¹³ See Chapter 2.

There is, at the same time, an intra-narrative within each sub-community and an inter-narrative between them to contend with. In a multi-cultural environment this is multi-dimensional, since relations between any two communities may be better and more conducive to harmony, than between any two others. This may be dependent on the degree to which individuals in different communities possess collectivist or individualist tendencies. Generally, collectivists tend to perceive themselves as part of the in-group, prone to emphasising commonalities and sacrificing personal goals to in-group goals, while individualists tend to want to be unique and self-reliant, competing with others for distinction and status (Singelis et al., 1995). Ironically, the collectivist may be best equipped, in the long run, to sustain meaningful ties with other communities, but the individualist may be best equipped to take that first step away from the original in-group.

A complication is that personal individualistic and collectivist tendencies are not static; we can be individualistic in some situations, while collectivist in others. Goodwin says while people may be individualistic in their attitudes most adhere to norms (Goodwin, 1999 p.33). Sinha & Tripathi concur saying collectivist and individualistic orientations may coexist in individuals and cultures. Importantly, they highlight India where instead of assimilation and integration of diverse cultural influences, there is co-existence of disparate elements without synthesis (Sinha and Tripathi, 1994). This lack of homogenization is the result of a process of enfolding or engulfing, leading to what we may recognise as parallel living. If this Indian co-existence migrated to Bradford the Asian communities here might ask why is it necessary to engage with a cohesion agenda.

Kim says Sinha & Tripathi's co-existence model separates public from private self - enabling the former to become enmeshed with collectivist values, such as family loyalty, in-group solidarity, and national identity, while the latter maintains individualistic values of self-cultivation and personal striving (Kim, 1994). This compromise offers collectivist community individuals wriggle room, reflecting the experience of cohort members who

have moved away from families. However, in a multicultural environment national identity cannot simply be an ethnic in-group matter, since the collective resides within wider society. In effect, for ethnic communities the public-private commitment is two-fold, as individuals are also required to be part of society. This may mean they have a truly private self; a semi public-self, accessed only by minority in-group; and a truly public-self, accessed by everyone. The idea of a semi-public self helps to elaborate the challenging complexity of life for minorities in a multicultural environment.

Dr C0009/D, who lives in London, says she likes to have the option to 'close the door and be left alone', avoiding the 'suffocation and boredom' of extended family life. Living again in West Yorkshire would have its advantages, she says, but there would also be 'more demands on my time.' If she had stayed in Leeds, and married an Indian she would have been 'very much part of that Indian scene,' but she would still have had a career.

It would be hard to move back to Bradford, **Mrs C0086/1** says, because in Somerset she has her independence. Her family life is more private, she says, 'nobody's going to knock on the door, hello we're here.' Although they were nervous about moving, it was like another journey,¹¹⁴ they have no regrets. She says, 'It's quite exciting, cus we know that this is our home [in Somerset], we have two homes, but this is my main base.'

Her family, she says, didn't want them to move south, afraid they would fundamentally change, but 'It's what's inside, the way we've been brought up, we'll never forget that.' She's proud when people in Bradford say 'you haven't changed at all.' But she disagrees, moving has made her stronger, 'there's no pressure.'

Her daughter, **Miss C0086/1/D**, says she's glad they moved to Somerset; she has more opportunities than her friends in Bradford. She found it hard at first, 'we were the first Asians. They looked at us like we were some sort of

¹¹⁴ She and her husband were born in Mombassa, Kenya and moved to Bradford as children.

aliens.' She has more freedom, she says, than she would in Bradford; it's nice to live further away.' If they lived in Bradford they'd have to attend more family get-togethers; but she misses having an Asian friend to chat with in Gujarati.

Conclusions

The single outstanding feature, which contrasts individual and single family moves now with the intercontinental movement one or two generations earlier, is the sheer number of people who came to Britain. As **Mrs C0086/2** says, this enabled the supplanting of whole streets and villages into the centre of Bradford, making it easy to maintain cultural norms and traditions and avoid the pitfalls of living here - fashioning a life on the edge. Moving away from Bradford inevitably involves a loss of the safety net provided by the collective, but it can also broaden horizons and offer scope for more individual choice.

If the narrowing of parallel lives best occurs at the individual level, that is bottom up through personal friendship, society cohesion may be more viable after traditional collectivism has given way to modern individualism – making Parekh's community of individuals more fit for purpose than his community of communities (Runnymede Trust, 2000). There is, however, tension inherent in this model, in that it strives to convince individualists to prioritise the common good. Notwithstanding, in the long run, a more individualist approach – anyway naturally occurring - could reduce, or even, eliminate the challenge to cohesion, posed by ethnic social group identity. Hussain says the second generation will likely retain a recognisable ethnic identity, but may develop a new cultural identity, which is different from their parents and grandparents (Hussain, 2000). This may well lead to collateral damage, as minority cohesion is caught in the crossfire.

Trees and falling apples¹¹⁵

Key to acculturation (Organista et al., 2009 p.105) is consideration of how individuals from different cultures interact and share a common geographical space over time. This means it is important to view not only how immigrants themselves adapt to the move but also how their descendents are impacted. If society cohesion is the goal, it is necessary to understand how the process is prolonged beyond the event – for some indeterminate timeframe – and how it likely results in both external challenges, beyond the ethnic community, and internal challenges – including those which present in inter-generational familial relationships. Indeed, Mondal has identified intergenerational conflict, between elders and offspring, to be more problematic than any culture clash around British values (Mondal, 2009). This concern is long-standing; during a Commons Debate in 1995 on community relations in Bradford District – after three days of rioting - differences between the generations in the Asian communities were identified as ‘part of the problem’ (Hansard: Commons, 1995). The suggestion was the ‘internal private challenge’ was spilling over into the public arena.

Two inter-generational relationships in the cohort were previously explored by BHRU: **Mr M0100** and his daughter **Mrs C0059**, and **Mrs C0086/2** and her daughter **Mrs C0086/1**. By expanding the cohort, by interviewing other younger people, I was able to capture six additional inter-generational relationships: **Dr C0009** and his children; **Mr C0042** and his daughter; **Mrs C0059** and her daughter; **Mrs C0086/1** and her daughter; and **Mr C0101** and his son. In two families three generations were interviewed: **Mrs C0059**, her father **Mr M0100** and daughter **Miss C0059/D**; and **Mrs C0086/2** her daughter **Mrs C0086/1** and granddaughter **Miss C0086/1/D**. The purpose of expanding the cohort was two-fold; firstly, to determine any generational shift in views, and, secondly, to determine how such a shift might impact society cohesion. This approach identified inter-generational differences throughout

¹¹⁵ Hodson, G. and Hewstone, M. (Eds.) (2012) *Advances in Intergroup Contact*. London: Psychology Press.

the study – including, in relation to language use and feelings about homeland.

Popular at the start of the 20th century was the linear, unidirectional model of acculturation (Park and Burgess, 1925), which recognises change occurring only as migrants move away from their original culture towards the dominant group. But, in the 1990s, an alternative segmented acculturation theory emerged (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), which argued that starkly different outcomes are possible for the second generation (Waters et al., 2010). These outcomes are determined by the nature of the relationships the second generation have with their parents and wider ethnic community. The outcomes are described as consonant acculturation, which occurs when children and parents learn the host language and adopt the dominant culture at the same pace, gradually abandoning their home language and old ways; dissonant acculturation, which occurs when children learn the host language and adopt the dominant culture faster than their parents; and selective acculturation, which occurs when parents and children gradually learn the host's ways while remaining partly embedded in their ethnic community. This last outcome is characterised by preservation of parental authority and little or no intergenerational conflict (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Child puts this another way, the second generation can desire majority acceptance, rejecting the minority; or minority acceptance, rejecting the majority; or develop an apathetic attitude, avoiding conflict, desiring compromise (Child, 1943).

Importantly, children of immigrants, the heir generation, do not follow a single trajectory – their paths highly contingent on context (Waters et al., 2010), and, I might add, the nature of the community from whence they (or their forefathers) came. One key factor, which impacts trajectory, is higher education. Rytter identified, a sharp distinction between families where second generation children pursued higher education and those who didn't (Rytter, 2010); education conceived as progressive, Western and modern – as opposed to being backward and traditional. Education becomes a family project, says Rytter, parents providing opportunities for children to study; in

expectation they will perform well, and later be in the best position to support them. This intergenerational contract obliges children to fulfil not only their own ambitions but also their parents – not easy when they have other plans. This tension is demonstrated by **Mr C0101's** disappointment that his son didn't take full advantage of the opportunities he was afforded. He compared his son's attitude to that of children he'd met in India, 'education to them it's a meal ticket, they work hard.'

The approach adopted to assist the integration of original migrants to Bradford will not satisfy their children – because they consider themselves to be different from their parents. They have acquired a mixed set of values and behaviours, both different from the original culture and the dominant group (Organista et al., 2009) – affecting the way they act and speak, what they eat, how they dress, who they associate with, and how they perceive their identity. This has resulted in, for example, a schism emerging within the British Sikh community between those born here and those born elsewhere (Singh, 2007).

The cohort identified different ways in which intergenerational shifts in attitudes were evident in their families.

Mr C0121 says his mother and children have different cultures; people now are not only more westernised but have different thinking;

I don't see much tension between my mother, me and my children but my mother and my children have two different cultures...before Asian parents used to demand that their children should be doctors and things like that [now] it's entirely up to them.

He acts as a 'conduit' between the old world of his parents and the new world of his children, who, he says, face different problems from when he was young; 'the same problems as white people.'

Mr C0101/S also says lots of things have changed:

Nowadays kids have got a lot more freedom, whereas my grandma, she got married at the age of 14. My dad is quite old fashioned...all he wanted me to do was sit at home and work. He didn't understand he had to give me time to relax my mind, go out to see my friends. He thought I'd be led astray, he's got to let me live my life.

I interviewed **Mr C0101/S** in a Young Offenders' Unit, where he was serving a sentence for drugs' offences. His father, **Mr C0101**, describes him as the black sheep of the family, his behaviour causing embarrassment. He blames the way he was brought up here, with everything so easy. **Mr C0101's** wife¹¹⁶ says their son might have received a better education in India; staying with her uncle, who could keep an eye on him. **Mr C0101** says he is has to call in favours to help keep his son on the straight and narrow. His son's generation is confused, he says.

His concern for the younger generation is echoed by **Dr C0009**, but his daughter, **Dr C0009/D**, denies there is anything to worry about, 'you have to find your own way;' as **Mr C0101/S** says, 'make your own mistakes.'

For **Mrs C0059** it is the opportunities her daughter, **Miss C0059/D**, has which make her life different from her own, 'she has a wider picture, she has opportunities I never had.' Her daughter speaks about wanting to study away from home, 'I thought I'd have to put up a fight, but they were really supportive.' Her relationship with her parents is less formal than friends have with theirs, 'I find my views clash with quite a few of the girls.' She is close to her grandparents, she says, but their views are very different from hers – except where religion is concerned. Her grandfather, **Mr M0100**, says change has to be expected, people are more independent nowadays, 'that's their own life, we are past now.'

¹¹⁶ Not a research participant.

Mr C0042 says he feels his two daughters, who were born here, have more sense of belonging to Britain than he does:

They can move more freely and their linguistic, cultural is far, far better, they're settled in here, they know here, they have friends. India is very alien to them.

His daughter, **Miss C0042/D** feels her father's sense of being Indian is different from hers, 'He lived there so long, soaked up more of the culture.' She thinks her parents would like her to become more involved in her religion – they would love her to marry a professional Hindu and bring her children up as Hindus.

Although **Dr C0009/D** first married a Sikh, she is now married to a Christian. She says, despite her parents' cosmopolitanism, they are quite traditional and she senses criticism, because she's done her own thing, because she lives outside her parents' comfort zone.

Mrs C0086/1 says she has a more open outlook than her parents, especially towards her children. She doesn't have any of the expectations of her children, her parents had of her:

Mum and dad are modern for their era, but we're more open-minded...Mum and dad are proud of what we did but I was brought up, at a certain age you'll be married, you'll have children. Your life is mapped out. Me mum will often say, have you taught them to cook yet? But I'm not going to shove it down their throats.

Like others in the cohort of the migrant generation, her mother, **Mrs C0086/2**, says things are changing. Twenty years ago, she says, she would have asked Hindu girls wanting to marry white men, why can't you marry an Indian? Now, she says, 'It's really nice; parents are more agreeing to mixed marriages.' However, this tolerance conceals her angst about her son marrying a Muslim.

Mr C0127K was fearful the generation gap would lead to younger people not 'toeing the line', and a religious vacuum, but, he says, this is not happening, because of Western attitudes towards Islam:

Teenagers are much more aware of their religion, reading books in English, debating, going outside, putting more effort into their religious identity. They know what their religion is...the first generation hadn't the ability to debate, whereas this generation can tell you what it means.

His children, he says, feel they have clear rights as British citizens:

Their attitude is very different because they've been born and brought up here. When I came here I was nearly 18 years old, I were in both worlds really, whereas these kids they have only this world. They're not prepared to accept racism, they're not going to take no for an answer, they'll fight for their rights.

This reflects, he says, a maturity occurring in the District's Muslim community, fostered by greater confidence in British citizenship, better education, and more articulate expression. Less effort is now being made to fit in, more assumption of the right to acceptance. Although naturally occurring, this confidence was likely nurtured 30 years ago by 'celebrate your diversity' old-style multiculturalism.

Hussain captures the inherent tensions of the generational shift in Bradford's Asian communities; parents not fluent in English, overwhelmed by the confidence their children have in dealing with their lives, can feel alienated, keen to retain old customs and ways of life (Kamal Hussain in Chattoo et al., 2004). While younger generations arbitrate between the old and life here, their role may be compromised by a breakdown in communication with parents, over issues like arranged marriage and autonomy (Chattoo et al., 2004 p.9).

In addition to the usual tension between generations in all communities, British-born children of Asian immigrants have to contend with issues they consider not of this time or place, or their concern; while older people must relinquish fundamental values to accommodate lifestyles they thought they aspired to half a century ago. Hussain says, continuity and change represent ‘ the creative dynamic at the heart of who these young people are’ (Chattoo et al., 2004), but the challenge may be no less demanding for older people. **Dr C0049**, a grandfather in his 80s, says:

At times they say I am out of date...they are Pakistanis so they respect me. They say give up this business of writing,¹¹⁷ it has been nothing, you should sit down, what shall I do?

Only one BHRU cohort member, **Mr C0101**, was born in Britain; two others, **Mrs C0059** and **Mrs C0086/1**, came here so young they have scant memory of living elsewhere. Their children, **Mr C0101/S**, **Miss C0059/D**, and **Miss C0086/1/D**, can be considered second-generation British-born - however, their responses demonstrate tensions were not resolved by their parents’ generation. This is likely because collective obligations continue to constrain individualism (Melucci, 1997 p.61) – although the cultural now presents as the religious. There is a marked difference between those who remain within the Asian bubble and those who move away, like **Mrs C0086/1**, **Miss C0042** (Hindus) and **Dr C0009/D** and her brother (Sikhs); who seem less influenced by their Asian heritage, and more integrated into wider society. The only Muslim who moved away was **Miss C0059/D**, who returned after two years.

One source of tension between cohort generations is how younger people view the early battles of migration: **Mr C0101** feels his son takes his comfortable life for granted, failing to appreciate how lucky he is. But Zhou & Xiong say this is to be expected, children of migrants are unlikely to be mollified by reminders of how much worse things were in the old world.

¹¹⁷ He is a well-known author of Urdu language short stories.

Instead they evaluate themselves, and demand to be evaluated, by the same standard their peers in other communities aspire to (Zhou and Xiong, 2005). They have uncontested citizenship by right of birth to protect themselves from the precarious circumstances their parents faced, or the fear of being sent back. **Mrs C0059** says it is this fear, which encourages people to build new houses in the homeland, and her father's desire to be buried there.

Referring to the Sikh community, Singh says the changing attitudes of British born children occupy a major proportion of time in *mehfals*¹¹⁸ (Singh, 2007) - a love-hate narrative emerging as academic and employment achievements are praised, while individualism is deplored. Like **Mr C0101**, many Sikh parents feel their children are unconcerned about their future or what their community thinks about their behaviour - but this is not borne out by **Mr C0101's** son's concern about how his imprisonment impacted his family. He says he will move away from Bradford on release to avoid their further humiliation.

The Indian-Muslim community in South Africa provides insight into how Bradford's Pakistani-Muslim community may develop over the next 100 years. In Durban ties with homeland have greatly diminished - giving way to a strong South African identity; a 1997 study of teenagers revealed 80% didn't know where their ancestors came from (Landy et al., 2004). Regional affiliations are significant for older Indian cohort members - **Mrs C0086/2** (Gujarat) and **Mr C0101** (Punjabi) - and older Pakistani people, **Dr C0059** (Punjab) and **Mr C0121** (Kashmir). However, for the four youngest - **Miss C0086/1/D**, **Mr C0101/S**, **Miss C0059/D**, and **Miss C0042/D** - homeland affiliation is de-regionalised, local heritage evidenced only through particular ethnic language.

Hirji suggests we need a new description, which recognises the particular challenges of second and third generations (Hirji, 2009), however, where you draw the line under the migration process, people becoming considered

¹¹⁸ Sikh gatherings

wholly citizens, is unclear. In the meantime the descendents of Asian migrants struggle to be regarded as British and capitalise on their difference by exploiting their ethnic experience. An important conclusion must be that, for them, British identity includes Pakistani and/or Muslim, Indian and/or Hindu/Sikh – rather than these variations being contextual add-ons. This is a critical multicultural message, while the rhetoric continues solutions are emerging organically.

Conclusions

This intergenerational study demonstrates that the final stage of Atkinson's Minority Identity Development model is evident in Bradford's Asian communities, that is synergistic articulation and awareness (Atkinson et al., 1998). Individuals in this stage strive to eliminate all forms of oppression and develop positive self-image and strong sense of self-worth and confidence - selecting elements from both minority and dominant cultural values to construct a personal cultural identity. They have appreciation for their heritage but also sympathy towards other groups.

This ethno-genesis results in the development of a new culture combining old and new (Anwar, 2002 p.189) – which has implications not only for individuals but also both minority communities, as they adjust over time to their new surroundings, and receiving societies (and other local minority communities), as they shift to accommodate newcomers.

In Bradford's Asian communities religion is an important tool, which demands on-going parental obedience and allegiance to the heritage in-group. However, the collectiveness it is designed to perpetuate can be at odds with prevailing tendencies of self-interest and the desire to cherry pick the most self-serving cultural values and characteristics from everything on offer.

Intergenerational change must, then, be seen as another characteristic, which belies the assumption that the Asian communities, or even a single Asian community, is homogenous – evidencing how attempts to encourage

societal cohesion, or narrow parallel lives, must be nuanced, tailored, and responsive to the evolution of the home we build together.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion.

Back to the future: Rescuing the baby from the bathwater.

Introduction

In this study I explored how ethnic social group identity can impact construction and maintenance of societal cohesion in the multicultural District of Bradford. I did this by examining whether there exists a relationship of inverse proportionality between sense of belonging to a minority and sense of belonging to wider society. This idea was inspired by the first person I interviewed for this project, Bradford Council's Race Relations' Officer, Graham Mahony,¹¹⁹ who said, 'the stronger your own ethnic social identity... the longer it's going to take for you to integrate' (interview 19.1.2006).

My primary research question was, what factors, inherent in ethnic social group identity, and elaborated by the term *distance of the heart*, may have shaped the experience of integration of Asian communities in Bradford? The cohort's responses in Chapters 6, 7 & 8 collectively addressed this question, by identifying factors (or mechanisms), which framed ethnic social group identity and helped sustain the exclusivity of minority communities. These mechanisms provide insight for my six secondary questions, about how sense of belonging and home, parallel living, religion, heritage language usage, cultural endogamy and cast and clan allegiances may impact integration. There is more on this below, in my summary of the contribution individual chapters have made to this research.

I conducted this research with the assistance of a cohort of 18 people who migrated to the Bradford area of West Yorkshire in the 1960s and 1970s¹²⁰ from India, Pakistan and Kenya and their British born children and grandchildren. The cohort ensures my research has, what Rowntree describes as empirical foundation (Darlow et al., 2005); their experiential

¹¹⁹ He was recruited in the 1980s to be the Council's first Principal Race Relations Officer.

¹²⁰ With the exception of **Mr C0121** who came here from Kashmir in 1974.

insight, prompting my further consideration - reflecting an iterative, grounded methodology.

The 14 themes - which emerged during 58 hours of interviews with the cohort between May 2006 and April 2010 – evidence that parallel living (Social Integration Commission, 2014) is a fact of life in Bradford. These themes led to my secondary research questions. However, this does not mean that cohort members restrict their interaction to the ethnic in-group; all of them engage with the other but the quality¹²¹ and frequency of their engagement differs. Their activities and relationships reveal two-tiers of social engagement, the first with the (minority, ethnic) in-group, the second with wider society. Both are predicated on a process of cherry picking the strategy that best meets specific need at any given time. This is conceived, in Chapter 1, as a process of living on the edge, or the margin, of the mainstream (majority experience); of jumping in and out as desired. But, in practice, it may be more holistic, under-pinned by one encompassing super-ordinate sense of identity, capable both of spanning the local as well as the transnational space.

The contribution of my research

The primary value of my research lies in the fact that it offers insight arising from direct engagement with people within Bradford's Asian communities. While I cannot claim findings can be applied to other multicultural environments, given the specificity of the Bradford context – and the fact that cohort responses might be different if I asked the same questions today – hopefully there is enough enduring truth for my research to make a valid contribution to understanding the experience of the local Indian and Pakistani communities.

I have offered a longitudinal view, grounded in local, personal insight, into the ethnic and religious diversity of Bradford's Asian communities. Co-opting people, whose ages span 60 years (**Miss C0086/1/D** to **Dr C0049**), enables

¹²¹ A subjective measure, but intended to reflect relationships which are meaningful rather than of mere acquaintance.

an intergenerational comparison of views. The heterogeneity of the cohort, reflecting the heterogeneity of Bradford District, enables further experiential comparison, impacted by origin, faith and cultural practice. The overall aim was to explore the ongoing influence and persistence of distance of the heart – as a manifestation of tension between a sense of belonging here and there.

Use of a critical realist approach has enabled me, with the assistance of the cohort, to identify mechanisms, which may significantly impact sense of belonging and sense of home. These emotional ties are important because, as we have seen in Chapter 6, they both contribute to and derive from sense of identity. Understanding how they are formed and maintained is significant for societal cohesion (Taylor and Moghaddam, 1994 p.190).

Importantly, this research has demonstrated, by the diversity within my relatively small cohort, how Bradford's Asian communities cannot be considered homogeneous and that, consequently, a one-size-fits-all approach to cohesion-building is likely doomed.

Also, importantly, there must be recognition that minority communities may choose to continue to live on the edge of the mainstream, cherry picking from everything available to them; what Park describes as forever the 'marginal man' (Park, 1928). Significantly, the situation for the younger members of the cohort may be more problematic than for the pioneer generation because more opportunities open up – choice becomes both a blessing and a curse (Stonequist, 1935). One final point to make about marginality is the consensus among the cohort about how their family culture in Pakistan or India is different from their own in Bradford. Not only are they distinct from the local majority culture, and other local minority cultures, but also from their traditional cultures 'back home' (**Mr C0121**). Nevertheless, rather than seeing them as being adrift between the two it is useful to recognise how they have created identities - reflecting aspects of both their British and ethnic cultures – arising from, and designed for, life in Britain or, more specifically, West Yorkshire.

This means living in parallel should be seen as an inherent characteristic of cohesion, rather than a barrier to it – that difference must be accommodated, routinely and permanently, if it is to become a viable state. This accommodation will have implications for the identity of everyone within its sphere of influence; for people in the Asian communities being Pakistani or Indian is part of their British identity and vice versa. And the identity of everyone else is also changed by their presence; it is challenging, but Bradfordian identity now reflects the ethnicities of all minority communities living here.

By 2051 it is estimated that the number of people of Asian (Pakistani, Indian and others) heritage living in Britain will be 6,860,000 - representing 12.5% of the total population - compared to 2,373,000 in the 2001 census (Wohland et al., 2010). This makes understanding intergroup contact one of the most pressing concerns for academics and policy makers (Hodson and Hewstone, 2012 p.10). This research with a cohort of people from Bradford's long-established Asian communities contributes knowledge, which may prove useful to the accommodation of ethnic minorities here and elsewhere.

This study also contributes to an understanding of relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims. The cohort evidence how faith can significantly impact relationships between Muslims, and Hindus and Sikhs - as well as Bradford's indigenous population. Because of its large Muslim community, Carling says, Bradford will become a key place where relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims will be worked out in the future (Carling, 2008).

An analysis of the contribution made by the various chapters in this thesis follows below.

The contribution of my research to the superdiversity literature

My research contributes to the developing discussion, and emerging stable of literature, around what has been described as the new multiculturalism of the 21st century, Superdiversity – which advocates consideration of the

'...multiplication of social categories within specific locations...' which impact the migration-settlement experience (Foner et al., 2019). I have considered some of these social categories in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, and some of the existing literature in this field in Chapter 2. Interestingly, this approach, so far in its infancy, indicates over time diversity may be normalised, becoming an '...unremarkable fact of everyday life...' (Aptekar, 2019).

Importantly, when I began my work the term superdiversity was yet to be coined, but it perfectly describes the complex, multiplicity of diverse factors, or mechanisms, beneath the surface of the migration experience of the Asian communities in Bradford. This research, therefore, makes a valuable contribution to this fledgling field of study.

My primary task

My task was to evaluate the quality of cohort relationships, how meaningful their inter-cultural engagement was, and how it might be constrained by mechanisms framed by, and framing, their identity. Of all the emergent themes, or mechanisms, the most significant is Distance of the Heart (Chapter 6), conceived by **Mr C0121** to describe his attachment to homeland long after migration. This is significant as it anchors other mechanisms underpinning the cohort's identity formation, principally sense of belonging, sense of home and sense of community. These, in turn, both facilitate and result from other mechanisms, principally religion, language, and caste and biradari affiliation – evidencing a cyclical migration paradox of re-enforcement. Importantly, these mechanisms remain relevant not only for the migrant generation within the cohort, but also their children and grandchildren half a century after migration (Haikkola, 2011 Chapter 5). For example, **Miss C0059/D** frequently refers to the security she derives from life within the so-called Asian bubble of Bradford.

Cohesion is not a one-way street, as much dependent on the attitude of the receiving (majority) society, and the vagaries of the time, as the efforts of the newcomer. I reflected on this in my contextualisation of the cohort in Chapters 3 & 4, in particular in my impact matrix. However, my primary

concern is the duty of the immigrant, which, as mentioned in Chapter 1, is a key Council of Europe integration interest. There is, nevertheless, some interaction between that and the duty of the receiving society, with regard to integration of immigrants, as demonstrated by cohort members who retain homes and land abroad, just in case something goes wrong here and they are sent back (**Mrs C0059**). This practice, explored in Chapter 6, challenges the so-called myth of return and may have significant implications for the evolution of a sense of belonging here – a fundamental pillar of cohesion, given Saifullah Khan’s conclusion that having a limited claim at both ends of the journey hinders the migrant’s involvement in, and total identification with, either (Saifullah Khan, 1974). This is borne out by **Mr C0121** and **Mr C0127K**, who refer to the need for ties with Pakistan to be loosened before people in their communities can develop sense of belonging here, and by **Dr C0009/D** who implies the limited nature of the claim may be the price paid to ‘retain something of yourself.’

I will now review the contribution preceding chapters have made to this research, before moving on to discuss my key conclusions. I will also comment on the contribution my research can make to an understanding of cohesion, and identify other potential areas for study, which have emerged.

Chapter One: Introduction

Both feet in, then both feet out: Living on the edge

In this chapter I explained what motivated me to examine the proposed relationship of inverse proportionality between sense of belonging to a minority community and sense of belonging to wider society. This included my experience of living abroad; my study of theories of intergroup relations; my research into the application to Bradford of Azar’s theory of protracted social conflict; and my long friendship with a Muslim woman who lives in South Africa.

These experiences led me to my primary research question, what factors, inherent in ethnic social group identity, and elaborated by the team *distance*

of the heart, may have shaped the experience of integration of Asian communities in Bradford?

In this chapter I also reviewed the impact on my research of three seminal reports, published around the turn of the century, into the so-called parallel living of diverse communities in northern towns, including Bradford: the Parekh Report (Runnymede Trust, 2000), the Ouseley Report (Ouseley, 2001), and the Cattle Report (Cattle, 2001). And I explained how my work was informed by Muhammed Anwar's study of Bradford's Pakistani community in the 1970s (Anwar, 1977), and the Policy Studies Institute Changing Ethnic Identities study nearly 20 years later (Modood et al., 1994). I also referenced events, which occurred during the course of my study, which demonstrate its ongoing relevance.

Contribution of Chapter One

This was a chapter of introductions, to the nature of the direction of my study, the character of the cohort – and to some extent individual members - and the methodology I adopted to engage with them. It provided a prelude to further examination of the substance of my research, which followed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, and cohort responses, which were analysed thematically in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. My intention in Chapter 1 was to situate the reader within my research, to explain how I proceeded to examine my hypothesis, and to identify the particular value of my work.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The greatly exaggerated reports about the death of multiculturalism

As I began my research it became clear that there was a lack of empirical data about factors (mechanisms) underpinning ethnic social group identity, with the capacity to impact the migration experience of the Asian communities in Bradford. When data emerged from responses provided by the cohort I was able to utilise the growing literature on superdiversity to explain what had occurred during the post-migration/ settlement of these communities over the past 60 years. This was an iterative process, cohort revelation leading to a search for explanation in established literature around,

for example, multiculturalism, and that of the new field of superdiversity. Using the superdiversity lens enabled a more thorough and appreciative consideration of the variables identified by the cohort as impacting their lives in Bradford.

In this chapter I explored literature, which framed my engagement with the cohort. I explained how this process, although iterative was largely directed by the emerging data – a methodology typified by the grounded theory approach I adopted for this research.

I challenged the claims that multiculturalism was dead, concluding that this narrative only served to confuse, as cohesion was always the goal, even in the 1980s and 1990s. Multicultural policy should then, I maintained, have been seen all along as the tool (or the verb) to achieve the goal (the noun) of community cohesion. This contention led directly to my caution in this concluding chapter against throwing the baby out with the bathwater.

In Chapter 2 I also explored the contribution to the debate made by the *three wise men*, that is Jim Rose, Roy Jenkins and Bhikhu Parekh – and identified a clear continuum between the work of Rose, in the 1960s, and subsequent publication of his report on British race relations, *Colour and Citizenship*, and the Parekh Report, *The Future of Multiethnic Britain*, 30 years later. I also examined events in 2010, which marked the tenth year anniversary of publication of the Parekh Report, to discover how those involved in that report viewed their endeavour, with the benefit of hindsight. They are not without criticism.

In order to get a local perspective, I examined the nature of the *Discussing Multiculturalism* seminar, staged in Bradford in 2011, and considered contrasting views which, on the one hand, identified the success of multiculturalism, and, on the other, its failure.

Expanding on that, I considered responses to PM David Cameron's criticism that multicultural policy encouraged the living of separate lives, and Singh's

view that we are now living in the Age of Confusion, no one knowing how to construct cohesion policy fit for the 21st century.

Finally, in this chapter I explored literature around superdiversity – which describes a new complexity and the ‘interplay of variables’ which criss-cross multicultural society (Vertovec, 2007b). These variables could be directly related to the mechanisms, or themes, identified by my cohort as impacting their migration/settlement experience in West Yorkshire.

Contribution of Chapter Two

This chapter re-iterated that my review of literature was prompted by what the cohort told me. Most usefully it identified the new stable of superdiversity literature, which advances the debate about cohesion from that around multiculturalism to a new, nuanced perspective better able to appreciate the myriad of fluctuating variables present in a multi-ethnic environment, like Bradford.

Chapter Three: Context.

No-one is an island: The enduring quest for contact and communication

In this chapter I explored the current, and historical context of Bradford, in particular the multicultural experience of the South Asian communities who began migrating to the district 70 years ago. Importantly, I situated my research cohort at the centre of the study, in order to invest empirical rigour in my enquiry, and to minimise, so far as possible, the reaching of ill-informed conclusions.

I should say that although I began my work with a primary research question, that was, what factors, inherent in ethnic social group identity, may have shaped the experience of integration of Asian communities in Bradford? my six secondary questions (relating to the impact on integration of sense of belonging and home, parallel living, religion, heritage language usage, cultural endogamy, and caste and clan allegiances) only emerged as a result of my iterative interaction with the cohort and from their responses. Also the

reference in my primary question to *distance of the heart* emerged this way, the term usefully coined by one of the cohort as interviewing progressed.

In this chapter I examined the multicultural nature of Bradford, and mechanisms, such as diverse religious affiliation, with the potential to impact meaningful engagement and association. In my engagement model I demonstrated, albeit simplistically, the asymmetry of inter-community relationships, which exists.

My common area model (in Chapter 3) developed this idea, by depicting a central (for diagrammatic purposes only) inter-space, or liminal area, between different communities, where experiential commonalities could be located. The fragility and fluidity of this space and the extent and nature of engagement, which occurs therein, was emphasised by the model's serrated borders. I considered how engagement fluctuated over time and was impacted by the different pace at which migrant communities, and individuals settled and integrated, dictated by a number of factors. Cohort member, **Mr C0101/S**, validated the existence of this liminal space, through his mediation of relationships between his friends of different ethnic backgrounds.

My impact matrix (also in Chapter 3) offered insight into structural mechanisms with the potential to influence relationships within Bradford's Asian communities, including people of Indian and Pakistani heritage in my cohort. These mechanisms included legislation, the impact of international, national and local events, and ongoing influence from home(land). And I considered how inter-generational relationships within these communities could further complicate societal cohesion.

To further assist contextualisation I profiled Bradford, providing demographics which evidenced how the makeup of the district changed during the period between 1961-2011, and considered how the new census national identity question might be more useful than the old ethnicity question. As a prelude to specific cohort diversity, explored in Chapters 5, 6,

7 & 8, I considered the range of different languages and religions present in Bradford.

I then turned my attention to the future, and how the district is predicted to develop by 2051; how national predictions might play out, if on a similar scale, in Bradford.

To conclude the chapter I reviewed Bradford Council's approach to race relations since 1960, highlighting pivotal historical moments and events, such as the construction of its first local race relations' strategy, Turning Point, in 1981; the attempt during the 1980s to exemplify best practice employment equality and service delivery models; and the decision in 1990 to subsume race relations within the equality agenda, alongside disability and gender. I also examined how the raft of approaches, variously labelled, within the cohesion canon, were promoted by the wake-up call turn-of-the-century reports by Ouseley, Parkeh, Denham and Cattle, among others, which critically identified unacceptable parallel living in northern towns, including Bradford. I briefly considered the impact of these reports on local strategy, and how difficult it is to both define and measure what is meant by cohesion.

To assist analysis, I examined Singh's characterisation of the phases of Bradford Council's various race relations' policies – from multiculturalism, through to equal rights, and, finally, to what he described as the 'confusion' of the cultural diversity + community approach today.

Contribution of Chapter Three

This was a scene-setting chapter, which contributed to the thesis by describing the multicultural environment of Bradford district, within which most, although not all, cohort members live. It provided a frame and reference for cohort interviewing, reflected on in Chapters 5, 7 & 8 – the District's demographics prefacing introduction of cohort and individual profiles in Chapter 5. The examination in this chapter also demonstrated how findings, resulting from my study, might be difficult to apply elsewhere, because of the specifics of Bradford's multicultural context.

Importantly, the nature of, and mechanisms impacting, sense of belonging and sense of home were established as a core consideration of this research.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Ways and Means: Weaving knowledge from personal narrative

When I began this work I realised I would be challenged by my decision to research the migration experience of people with an ethnic heritage and culture different to my own – I became a so-called professional stranger (Agar, 1980). I needed the assistance of a cohort of people prepared to offer first hand insight into my primary concern, that was, what factors, inherent in ethnic social group identity, may have shaped the experience of integration of the Asian communities in Bradford. As I began looking for such a group of people I learnt of the existence of an old Manpower Services' collection of interviews, which was stored in Bradford Central Library and Bradford Industrial Museum. To my knowledge, no one had utilised this resource since interviews were conducted in the 1980s.

Only as time progressed, and I became more familiar with the cohort, analysing their responses, did I begin to understand what my secondary research questions should be. These then, about the impact on the migration experience of the local Asian communities of sense of belonging and home, parallel living, religion, heritage language usage, cultural endogamy, and caste and clan allegiances, were initiated not by me but by my research participants. Time and again individuals spoke about similar concerns, beliefs and experiences, enabling me to triangulate what I was learning.

In this methodology chapter I introduced the research conducted by the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit (BHRU) in the 1980s, members of whose cohort I recruited for my own research (2006-2010). I examined how re-visiting people interviewed previously, enabled my research to be considered longitudinal; affording the opportunity to map change. I also explained how, with the assistance of Bradford Central Library and Bradford Industrial

Museum, I contacted people of Pakistani and Indian heritage who participated in the earlier project. I explained my interviewing process – including how my core questions were informed by those asked by BHRU – and how my guided conversation interviewing approach, informed by grounded theory, was adopted to secure deep knowledge. The challenges of working with the cohort, and my advantages and limitations as a researcher were also explored.

I then considered broader questions about the reliability limitations of the personal narrative, and how best to negate erroneous recollection, the challenges of panel attrition – which I experienced – and other validity problems inherent in longitudinal research. I explained how my previous journalistic experience assisted me to recount cohort member stories, and how this background impacted my choice of data collection methodology.

Importantly, I reviewed how I underpinned my general ethnographic, qualitative approach with critical realism, in particular Archer's morphogenetic approach, which demands a search for deep, so-called Real dimension, mechanisms impacting behaviour – in this case construction and maintenance of aspects of ethnic identity which might challenge cohesion. In essence, how my study was broadly framed by the structure v agency interplay. Additionally, I explained how Roger's person-centred counselling technique and a Life Course Dynamics approach were helpful.

I spent a significant amount of time considering how I presented to my cohort as the other, coming from a culture different from their own; how this made me the so-called professional stranger (Agar, 1980), and how this might impact my research methodology and conclusions.

Finally, I outlined my approach to data analysis, how I utilised manual coding instead of an electronic qualitative analysis programme, because I was keen to acquire a whole cloth, holistic understanding of cohort responses. I also reviewed the ethics approach I adopted for my study, how I obtained consent

and maintained confidentiality, and the steps I took to disengage from the cohort at the conclusion of data collection.

Contribution of Chapter Four

This was the chapter, which explained how I conducted my research. It established how the study was led by the cohort, whose members dictated to a large extent its pace and line of enquiry. In this way, the chapter demonstrated the importance of the cohort, and their co-operation, candour and knowledge to the success of this project. This both complimented the contextual approach outlined in Chapter 3 and formed an introduction to cohort profiling in Chapter 5.

The examination in this chapter demonstrated how findings, resulting from my study, might be difficult to apply elsewhere - because data, which emerged was entirely cohort-context-time specific.

Chapter Five: Introducing the cohort.

Direction of travel: Gravitating towards a theory of relativity

Having introduced Bradford District, in Chapter 3, and the background to the old Bradford Heritage Recording Unit (BHRU) project and its connection to my work, in Chapter 4, in this chapter I profiled my cohort, as a group, and then its individual members.

I felt it important to provide these profiles to, firstly, demonstrate how the cohort reflected the heterogeneous nature of the local Asian communities. And, in order to provide individuals with specific ethno-religious frames, which might assist understanding of why they held certain views and motivation to behave in a particular way. People in the cohort were born in India, Pakistan, Kenya and Britain, and they are Muslim, Hindu or Sikh. Most lived in Bradford District but, at the time of interviewing, six lived elsewhere. The oldest was born in 1930 the youngest in 1992, and there are 11 men and seven women.

When I began working with the 1980s' cohort I hoped I would be able to recruit people to my research who could form a group representative of the demographics of the Asian communities in Bradford. However, this was not possible and many of the 101 people the library wrote to on my behalf either did not respond (the majority) or replied to say they were not interested. In this sense, then, my cohort became quite random, dependent entirely on who agreed to participate. My work could be criticised because there was only one participant whose family came to Bradford from Mirpur, where the families of most local people of Pakistani heritage come from. I had no control over this; it is what it is.

It is reasonable to assume that responses might have been different had the ethnic and cultural make-up of my cohort been different. It is also reasonable to assume that my triangulation of responses - and, therefore my understanding of the factors impacting integration - might also have been different if there were more men or more women, more people of a particular religion, more older or younger people, or more people born abroad or born here. However, whether any of this would have impacted my conclusions, motivated by my primary research question about what factors, inherent in ethnic social group identity, may have shaped the experience of integration of Asian communities in Bradford, is a moot point. I simply offered a snapshot, through a particular window in time, of a particular group of people who kindly volunteered for scrutiny.

Before profiling individuals in this chapter I profiled the areas where they, or their families, came from, their religions, and the languages they spoke. Each individual profile contained their ethnic roots, religion, clan/caste (if discussed), date of birth, gender, date of arrival in Britain, where they lived, BHRU interview date (if applicable) and the dates I interviewed them. If they were interviewed by BHRU I identified them by the reference number they were given then; their children were identified by the same number + s (son) or + d (daughter), to indicate relationships. An appendix table, summarising code name, birthplace, pre-UK location, migration year, and age at migration

can be found in Chapter 5, Appendix 1. Other Appendices contain cohort family trees.

Contribution of Chapter Five

This chapter added to the contextualisation of my research, begun in Chapters 3 & 4, and provided a frame for examination of cohort interview responses in the following three chapters. It told the stories of cohort members and identified key events which might have impacted identity formation – supplementing earlier attempts to locate individuals not only within their environment but also historically, in accordance with Life Course Dynamics' best practice (discussed in Chapter 4).

Chapter Six: First data chapter.

Mind the gap: Bridging the space between here and there

In this, and the following two chapters, I explored cohort responses, during interviewing between May 2006 and April 2010. In this first data analysis chapter I considered five of 14 thematic areas (mechanisms), which emerged: distance of the heart, sense of home, sense of belonging, parallel living, and identity. These thematic areas combined to reveal a trans-national sense of home, which extended beyond the local and the present – evidencing an enduring identity legacy, which frames sense of belonging here and/or there for post-migration generations.

In particular, this chapter served to answer the first two of my secondary research questions. Firstly, to what extent may an enduring sense of home in country of origin and sense of belonging elsewhere, have impacted the development of sense of home here for Bradford's Asian communities? And, secondly, to what extent, and in what way, may the so-called parallel living of the Asian communities in Bradford have challenged their meaningful (as in the sense of being more than superficial) integration into the District? These are key questions underpinning the essence of my primary research question, that is, what factors, inherent in ethnic social group identity, and elaborated by the term *distance of the heart*, may have shaped the experience of integration of Asian communities in Bradford?

In my three data chapters (6, 7 & 8) so-called thick understanding was provided by the inclusion of numerous and frequently lengthy direct cohort quotes. This was done so participants' voices could be heard, and what they said was untainted by paraphrasing.

Importantly, in this chapter, Distance of the Heart - coined early in my research by **Mr C0121** - directed my enquiry with cohort members into how they might feel conflicted by loyalties and associations back home and in Britain. This enabled consideration of whether there exists a balancing act of inverse proportionality with regard to sense of home, sense of belonging, identity construction, and, significantly, commitment at both ends of the journey.

Although the transnational experience of the cohort was eclectic it is something they share, broadening the horizons of even the only second-generation British born cohort member, **Mr C0101/S**.

Contribution of Chapter Six

The value of this chapter lies in that it offers primary source insight from people from the Asian sub-continent who migrated to Bradford, and their families; as does Chapters 7 & 8. The data, which emerged, is core to my research – providing direction, an underpinning for my examination, and evidence for my conclusions.

Collectively, the cohort demonstrated how the migration-settlement experience perpetuates long after the initial journey is completed, at least for the children and grandchildren of migrants. Also, how association with homeland might be subject to recurring peaks of interest, for example now as the migrant generation is spending longer periods abroad in retirement. This pensioner mobility, and the impact it may have on descendents, belies the idea of an identity rooted in one place or a parochial mono-loci sense of home.

The key findings of this chapter's thematic areas are summarised below.

Distance of the heart

- The cohort still lives within the transnational field
- A sense of living within the transnational field can be bequeathed to post-migration generations
- The so-called myth of return may be a myth
- Distance of the heart implies the presence of one all encompassing identity, demanding that Britishness includes ethnicity. See also Identity (4+5) below

Sense of home

- Sense of home is subject to a long period of adjustment post migration, reflecting distance of the heart
- The cohort has different definitions of home
- Sense of home here is challenged by sense of loyalty to ancestors elsewhere
- Home can be rooted in the person, as well as place
- Home can be functional, while homeland is closely allied to one's sense of belonging

Sense of belonging

- Sense of belonging is not easy to alter; this may be its intrinsic value
- Sense of belonging indicates the highest level of integration
- As a concept, sense of belonging is laden with symbolism, indicative of implication which stretches beyond the migrant and the present
- Like sense of home, maybe even more so, sense of belonging is gifted to successive generations
- Sense of belonging drives the desire to participate, which, in turn, underpins cohesion
- While sense of belonging is fundamentally anchored by place this may be supplemented by attachment to group
- Sense of belonging is contextual, impacted by mechanisms internal and external to the group – a cyclical re-enforcing

- A new sense of belonging here may develop as a default response to loss of a former sense of belonging there

Parallel living

- The cohort evidences the persistence of parallel living in Bradford
- Religion is the most significant distinction
- Lack of inter-cultural engagement may not be a reliable measure of segregation or the quality of society cohesion
- It is not clear how problematic parallel living is
- More attention needs to be paid to relationships between minority communities

Identity

- The cohort describe themselves in different ways, referencing nationality (British, Pakistani, Indian), regional affiliations to the Asian sub-continent, the local (Bradford and Yorkshire), faith (Hindu, Sikh, Muslim) and caste/clan
- Older people may underestimate how rooted to family origin younger generations are, because demonstration of affinity may be changing
- Identity definitions are context specific and changeable
- For the cohort, British and Bradfordian identity includes aspects of ethnic identity; minority identity is not an add-on
- The presence of ethnic minorities in multicultural communities impacts the identity of everyone living here
- Identity drives sense of home and belonging, and distance of the heart, and also results from it

Chapter Seven: Second data chapter

The art of feeling comfortable: Instruments which orchestrate engagement

In this, my second data analysis chapter, I consider four key thematic areas emerging from cohort interviews: religion, marriage, language, and caste & biradari. These mechanisms can inform, frame, facilitate and constrain

identity and Asian communities' engagement in Bradford. In turn, they are sustained by the mechanisms considered in the previous chapter.

This chapter contains, in tabular form, the cohort's religious affiliations, marital status, language capabilities, and caste and biradari allegiances. The cohort contains people of three different religions; who are variously married, single, and divorced, with partners from the same and different faith and ethnic backgrounds; who speak four key languages, including English; and who are affiliated with a number of different biradari clans (those of Pakistani heritage) and castes (those of Indian heritage). These differences within the cohort reflect the heterogeneity of Bradford's Asian communities, and, consequently, evidence the inherent difficulty of any one-size-fits-all cohesion approach.

In particular, this chapter served to answer four of my secondary research questions. Firstly, to what extent may religion, or religious affiliation, have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford? Secondly, to what extent may the continued widespread use of heritage languages have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford? Thirdly, to what extent may the persistent, widespread practice of cultural endogamy have created a barrier to the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford? And, fourthly, to what extent may the persistence of caste and clan allegiances in Bradford's Asian communities have impeded the meaningful integration of Asian communities in Bradford?

As in the previous chapter, these were key questions underpinning the essence of my primary research question, that is, what factors, inherent in ethnic social group identity, and elaborated by the term *distance of the heart*, may have shaped the experience of integration of Asian communities in Bradford?

Contribution of Chapter Seven

As in Chapter 6, the value of this chapter lies in that it also offers primary source insight from the cohort at the heart of my research.

Collectively, the diversity of the cohort personified the conundrum intrinsic to multicultural environments; how to strike the balance between acceptance of difference without denying choice, how to accommodate without division.

The key findings of this chapter's thematic areas are summarised below.

Religion

- ❑ Nearly two decades post-Ouseley religion continues to cause segregation in Bradford
- ❑ However, the extent to which this is detrimental to society-wide cohesion is unclear
- ❑ Culture and religion are indivisible, and interchangeable terms
- ❑ The principle tension in the District is between Islam and Hinduism + Sikhism
- ❑ However, this tension may be between persons of faith rather than religions – that is Muslims and Hindus + Sikhs
- ❑ The complexity of religious tension may be under-estimated. It is necessary to consider tension within, as well as between, faith communities
- ❑ Religious tension exists at the inter-community and personal (individual and family) levels, and may be impacted by macro factors

Marriage

- ❑ The expected high instance of intermarriage by the second or third generation, has not occurred between Bradford's Asian and host communities – ethnic endogamy remains the norm
- ❑ Intermarriage between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs in Bradford is also rare

- ❑ Religion is a key driver of spousal preference in the Asian communities, although other factors, such as family allegiances and the desire to ring-fence family wealth, also inform choice
- ❑ Ethnic endogamy both fosters religious identity and is perpetuated by it
- ❑ Ethnic endogamy helps boundary mark Bradford's Asian communities
- ❑ To negate the impact of ethnic endogamy in a multicultural environment it may be necessary not only to embrace religious difference but also accept that faith-based marriages will contribute to parallel living
- ❑ While ethnic endogamy assists in the perpetuation of parallel living the degree to which this negatively impacts society cohesion is unclear

Language

- ❑ Language is important for cohesion in two ways: firstly, the capacity of immigrants to acquire host language native speakerness, and, secondly, the extent to which minority communities continue to utilise heritage languages
- ❑ Heritage languages gate-keep minority community boundaries, providing a powerful tool which can exclude the other (indigenous and other minority communities)
- ❑ Being able to 'get by' in English may not be enough to ensure acceptance; perceptions of inclusion are premised on native fluency
- ❑ The cohort evidences, as time passes, greater fluency in English; reduced fluency in heritage language; and sustained commitment to heritage mother-tongue, whatever their first language
- ❑ By the third generation the cohort's engagement with the other is not constrained by their English language fluency, but their use of heritage language may, nonetheless, encourage the other to view them as outsiders

Caste and biradari

- Caste and biradari remain important to Bradford's Asian communities' engagement, not only within and between the various communities but also because of their cumulative potential to impact society-wide cohesion
- The networks, these associations produce, challenge not only the idea of a homogenous Asian community but also the idea that discrete Asian communities are themselves homogenous
- Although younger people appear to be less interested in caste and biradari, per se, they are willing to permit themselves to be constrained by these groupings, and to take advantage of benefits they offer.

Chapter Eight: Third data chapter

Mixing it up: The home we build together

In this final data analysis chapter, I considered five key thematic areas, which emerged from cohort interviews: sense of community; associations, in particular Muslim funeral clubs, and including death practices and final resting place wishes; friendship and occupation; *All for one and one for all*, the collectivist interdependence of Asian communities; and *Trees and falling apples*, intergenerational relationships within those communities. These factors reflected the nature of relationships within the minority communities I studied, and combined to form the foundation of mechanisms with the power to foster or constrain engagement with out-groups.

This chapter, then, served to directly answer my primary research question, that is, what factors, or mechanisms, inherent in ethnic social group identity, and elaborated by the term *distance of the heart*, may have shaped the experience of integration of the Asian communities in Bradford? It also contributed insight, helping to answer my six secondary research questions – which were variously and specifically addressed in the previous two data chapters. It did this by exploring other factors (mechanisms), which help perpetuate ethnic minority exclusivity and community, and a sense of 'otherness' within Bradford's Asian communities.

A significant contribution to this chapter was consideration of what Sacks describes as the home we build together (Sacks, 2007), which usefully parallels Parekh's community of communities and individuals, establishing diversity as an essential element of cohesive multicultural environments. These models are assisted by the promotion of cohesion as a Common – which everyone has the right and, importantly, responsibility to access.

Two tables were included, the first depicting cohort resting place wishes, and the second cohort occupation.

Contribution of Chapter Eight

As in the previous two chapters, the value of this chapter lies in that it also offers primary source insight from the cohort.

Collectively, the cohort revealed participation in a variety of activities, which evidenced the presence of individuals – both as group members and alone - on the edge of wider society, but also engaged with it, forcing a rethink of the assumption that this position is inherently conflicted.

Of particular interest were changing views on *the final journey*, that is funeral practice, and how this might impact sense of home(land) for Bradford's Asian communities – especially after several generations have been interred or had their ashes scattered here.

The key findings of this chapter's thematic areas are summarised below.

Sense of community

- ❑ The challenge posed by ethnic social group identity to cohesion is premised on our capacity to accommodate change
- ❑ Sense of community is inextricably linked to sense of home and sense of belonging
- ❑ Sense of community provides cohesion and results from it

- ❑ Viewing cohesion as a Common, a commodity the right and responsibility of all, could engender a sense of Parekh's overarching ambient community - encompassing of variants
- ❑ However, the viability of the community of communities' model may be challenged by the multi-layered characteristic of community in the multicultural environment
- ❑ The model must also recognise the fluid and changing nature of sense of community, and how transition requires motivation
- ❑ Parallel living is a natural response to the nature of the multicultural environment

Associations

- ❑ Associations can support the cohesion of the minority, while challenging societal cohesion, because of their identity-based boundary marking and exclusivity
- ❑ Muslim funeral clubs, an example of town-association, facilitate ongoing ties to ancestors and homeland and in-group across Britain – that it time and place
- ❑ Choice of final resting place can indicate sense of home/belonging – changes in practice over time reflecting new place attachment
- ❑ The intergenerational nature of the cohort indicates this process is underway – some wanting their remains returned, others wanting to be laid to rest here, and others indifferent
- ❑ This process may be impacted by numerous considerations, including the wishes of relatives and funeral costs

Friendship and occupation

- ❑ For most cohort members close friendships are with family and people from their cultural background
- ❑ In multicultural environments it is important to consider the quality of inter-personal friendship between majority and minority and between minorities
- ❑ A distinction can be made between in-group and out-group friendship

- ❑ It may be useful to teach multicultural competence in schools, in order to nurture intercultural friendship – notwithstanding, the will to engage is necessary
- ❑ It is easier to make friends with people who are like yourself
- ❑ The size of the Asian communities in Bradford helps perpetuate mono-cultural friendship
- ❑ Cohort members choose occupations associated with their ethnic background – limiting opportunity for the fostering of work-place inter-cultural friendship

All for one and one for all

- ❑ Individualism may offer a solution to the challenge ethnic social group identity poses to cohesion
- ❑ Parekh's community of individuals may have more to contribute to the home we build together than his community of communities
- ❑ Cohort members who moved away constructed more individualistic lifestyles – feeling less constrained by family and ethnic community

Trees and falling apples

- ❑ Acculturation does not only impact the migrant generation, but continues to have resonance for descendent generations for years to come
- ❑ The way descendents experience acculturation will be different from ancestors, unique in time and place
- ❑ For descendents, British identity includes Pakistani and/or Muslim, Indian and/or Hindu/Sikh
- ❑ Cohesion strategy must respond as minority communities, and those who identify with them, change
- ❑ A tailored intergenerational approach is part of the response necessary to address the needs of different minority communities, at any given time
- ❑ The cohort evidences segmented acculturation is occurring within the Asian communities in Bradford

- Intergenerational conflict may present in different ways – although it is generally fuelled by increasing individualism
- Moving away from the Asian bubble can foster individualism and reduce the influence of the collective
- Intergenerational changes within minority communities can facilitate societal cohesion

Curiouser and curiouser

Because my research was conducted over a long timeframe, I gained a unique perspective into how attitudes towards the integration of migrant, and post-migrant, communities, and social cohesion (in whatever guise), changed over that period. A significant turning point came in 2005, in the aftermath of the 7th July Islamist suicide attacks in London, which targeted morning commuters on a double-decker bus and the London Underground. Fifty-two people were killed, and hundreds more injured, making it the single worst terrorist atrocity on British soil.

While this attack did not spark concerns about the need to make more effort to integrate migrants, and post migrant communities, into mainstream life in Britain – the Rushdie book affair 16 years earlier did that - it did stoke the fire, which since then has been burning more brightly.

Importantly, this attack also abruptly changed the context of my research; the old multiculturalism approach – which I had been reviewing up to that point, and which had informed early incarnations of my thesis title - gave way, as liberal tolerance and accommodation, tainted with outrage and disgust, hardened almost overnight. As the focus fell on minorities across the country, and particularly in the north of England, including Bradford, there was an urgent and pressing need to gain more understanding of factors which might be fostering their persistent exclusivity. By stealth the agenda was changing from cohesion to integration.

All this gave my research more impetus, especially since my intention was to recruit a cohort of people who had experienced first hand migration and/or

settlement and who could provide valuable insight, which might assist understanding. It was then fortuitous that as the cohort began to tell their stories, and offer their particular insight, the superdiversity tool of analysis emerged, enabling me to move away from multiculturalism to a new way of looking at the breadth, and importantly, the depth of the diversity challenge they were describing.

Back to the future

The turn of the century reports, by Cattle, Denham, Parekh and Ouseley (Cattle, 2001), (Denham, 2001), (Runnymede Trust, 2000), (Ouseley, 2001) recommended a new approach to cohesion, which prioritised a sense of citizenship based on common, shared principles, alongside a respect for diversity. But while, at the macro level, it has remained difficult to balance the valuing of cultural difference with the promotion of inter-community commonalities and societal cohesion, at the micro level cohort members repeatedly evidence skilful navigation of conflicting demands and expectations. Notwithstanding, overall they give the impression of being geographically not quite here or there – their sense of belonging elsewhere, even if this is second hand, their cultural and religious norms and traditions, and, importantly, their appearance, specifically their colour, setting them apart (**Mr C0042 & Dr C0009/S**).

Undoubtedly, the commuter bombings in London on the 7th July 2005 skewed the rhetoric; concern that home grown terrorists would dare to strike at the heart of their capital led to a retreat from earlier promises about immigrant community maintenance (Gilroy, 2006 p.7). More recent events in Syria, and terrorist attacks by Islamist extremists at the heart of Europe – for example, Paris in 2015, Brussels and Nice in 2016, and Manchester in 2017 - have quickened the pace of this retreat from what is increasingly seen as a far too generous, misguided accommodation in the 1980s and 1990s of lifestyles deemed not to be British (Waite, 2008).

Furthermore, there is now a new (old) elephant in the room – the ‘a’ word. In March 2016, days before he resigned from his post as Work and Pensions

Secretary, Iain Duncan Smith argued in favour of controlled migration, saying the approach would ensure assimilation (Duncan Smith, 2016). This could simply have been a slip of the tongue or, more malevolently, represented a dusting off of this highly controversial approach, which demands much more of immigrant communities. Whatever the truth, refocusing on commonalities, edging away from a preoccupation with maintenance of diversity, reflects a return, Goodhart says, to a more liberal approach after a long detour of semi-separatist [strong] multiculturalism (Goodhart, 2013 p.178).

Babies and bathwater

Misgivings about the wisdom of multiculturalism, as a cohesion strategy, first surfaced about 30 years ago, but gained momentum ten years later: it had outlived its usefulness and, worse, it was counter-productive – encouraging minority communities to move further apart from mainstream (majority) society (Philips et al., 2004). Clearly, constructing a society of people who strongly identify with a minority, or even minorities (as in Bradford), is challenging. In a sense, ethnic group identity is better suited to old-style (strong/hard) multiculturalism (Hirsch, 2018 p.289), which was less preoccupied, than today's weaker version, with creating societal connectivity. However, it would be incautious to abandon multiculturalism altogether (Warsi, 2018 p.45). If a community of communities (and individuals) approach is to be adopted, distinctive minority groups are necessary to ensure the model's viability. Any debate about the value of multiculturalism may anyway be moot, since the goal has always been cohesion whatever the terminology. In that case it may be best to see the application of multiculturalism as, rather than an outcome, a verb rather than a noun.

The Chimera effect

Having identified, with the assistance of the cohort, mechanisms comprising, or resulting from, ethnic identity my second task was to consider how they might impact cohesion in Bradford. This has not been easy as the correlation between the two is not clear. Khan even suggests that separate identities present in northern cities, including Bradford, were erroneously diagnosed as the cause of disturbances in 2001 (Khan, 2007 p.42). It is, therefore, more

useful to view the mechanisms of ethnic identity, explored with the cohort, as merely having the potential to constrain wider societal engagement, once triggered. Although they can act as structural gatekeepers the cohort evidences how agential choice can bridge mechanisms, arising from different norms and practices, which cause difficulty. For Phillips multiculturalism is only defensible when human agency is at its core (Phillips, 2007). Parekh seems to agree, as his model of communities, also identifies the (often overlooked) need to accommodate individuals (Parekh, 2005).

If mechanisms are to be triggered, what might those triggers be? **Dr C0049**, for example, speaks about how his colour and religion has prevented 'the English man' from accepting him; **Mrs C0059** says her family have retained land in Pakistan, where they can go if something 'kicks off here.' It is not unreasonable to assume this ongoing insecurity impacts her sense of belonging to this place; unsure about the future, after 50 years living in Bradford, **Mrs C0059** is not prepared to put all her eggs in one basket (Warsi, 2018 p.xxviii). Other triggers include: competition for limited economic resources (Burton, 1990); discrimination, prejudice and racism; fear of a backlash against terrorism or the impact of migration on ailing British infrastructure, like the NHS; and fear of being excluded. These factors, which were all mentioned by members of the cohort, might be considered push triggers. Conversely, pull triggers include: fulfilment of old promises made to family left behind in Pakistan and India; familial and clan loyalty; and wealth aspirations, driving perpetuation (or newly formed) commercial links with the Asian sub-continent. The mechanisms arising from cohort responses may then be seen as the overt expression of motivational triggers.

However, ironically, the push triggers, which the cohort referred to, may result from a response by the other to the presence of the mechanisms in the first place. **Mr C0042** (a Hindu), for example, complains that the Muslim community in Bradford has had a too big slice of the funding cake. Mono-cultural day care centres, like the one attended by **Mrs C0086/2** - gate-

kept by language (Gujarati), religion (Hinduism), and shared experience (migration to Britain via north Africa) - can be perceived as exclusionary.

Principally, again, this emphasises how heterogeneous Bradford's Asian communities are, and how the one-size-fits-all cohesion approach - which fails to acknowledge how the journey towards integration is neither linear, nor completed at the same pace by different minority communities (and individuals) - simply will not do. And the assumption that the project can be finite is naïve, as ongoing migration continues to challenge the status quo of the melting pot.

Interestingly, there is a biological reference for Parekh's community of communities and individuals model: the Chimera, which describes a genetically modified single organism composed of different cells. Each cell keeps its own character – making the resulting organism a colloid of tissues of them all, either achieved through inheritance or acquired through transplantation or transfusion. Thubron describes such an amalgamation of different religions and cultures as a syncretic mix (Thubron, 2007 p.197). This means the minority community embracing the culture, norms and traditions of the majority, but also vice versa. The cohort demonstrates how this experience may be prolonged and painful, and entail a degree of loss.

Adopting the Chimera analogy for our purpose requires a depiction of multi-level creations, reflecting the different spheres of community-building occurring in Bradford. For minority communities Chimera integrity is best sustained by inheritance, while at the societal level Chimera cohesion is best seen to be occurring through processes of transplantation and transfusion. There are two significant implications: firstly, these processes co-exist within the host (Bradford), and, secondly, they are inherently parallel. Furthermore, in Chimera terms, when A and B join together, they are both changed forever, becoming C. Later when C is joined by D, they are both changed again, becoming E, ad infinitum. This is a reasonable depiction of what can be expected in multicultural environments, both newcomers and pre-existing communities changed forever.

The short answer

The cohort responses demonstrate that identification with their minority (ethnic) in-groups in Bradford (and to some extent elsewhere) remains strong – both for the migrant generation and their descendents - and that familial, clan/caste and religious loyalties, affiliations and commitments continue to offer the potential to constrain, or at least distract from, engagement with the receiving society and other local minority communities. On the face of it this could be a significant challenge to cohesion.

However, the challenge may be mitigated if expectations of what integration can achieve, and what cohesion will look like, are revised; moving away from perfect integration – in other words assimilation – to a more pragmatic version, accommodating of difference. This would be conceptualised by Parekh's community of communities and individuals and Sacks' covenantal home we build together. These models don't attempt to eliminate the different threads but rather endeavour to stitch them together into a patchwork society. There is some consensus this would be enough, as the real problem may not be parallel living per se but rather our reaction to it. Of some comfort, the cohort does not evidence what Cantle found, that is multifaceted separation with no contact between communities (Cantle, 2001).

It is not clear how wide the gaps between the parallels can be before society is unviable. But, conceivably, and somewhat ironically, the growth of individualism – with resultant independence from the collective – may govern further drift. It might be possible to distinguish between good and bad parallel living, the first premised on what is generally (and agreed to be) acceptable and the second on what is not. Whatever emerges, there needs to be recognition that there are limits to what the cohesion agenda, in whatever guise, can achieve. As **Miss C0059/D** says she always thinks two ways – like the rest of the world, and Islamically.

Suggestions for future research

A number of possible future lines of enquiry emerged during this study. Four areas of particular interest are:

- In Chapter 8 I explored the cohort's preference for final resting place and considered how the presence of increasing numbers of people, of Indian and Pakistani heritage, being buried or having their ashes scattered in Bradford offers the opportunity of being laid to rest near ancestors here. This is an important consideration, given Ziaddin's portrayal of the ghostly ancestors forming their invisible chain of influence long after migration (Sardar, 2008). If that chain can be rerouted to Bradford it may be easier for descendants to, literally, root themselves in the Yorkshire soil – creating the genesis of a new heritage narrative here. As literature in this area is sparse further ethnographic study could provide useful insight into how sense of belonging and sense of home may be impacted by this.
- In Chapter 6 I explored how in retirement the migrant generation can spend many months every year abroad, living in villages they left 50 years ago. Their regular trans-continental commute challenges the old idea of myth of return – as it could be said they finally went back (or maybe never really left). This could have implications not only for their own sense of belonging and sense of home, but also that of their British born descendants. An important aspect of this is how, as **Mr M0100** demonstrates, prolonged trips overseas coupled with a post-retirement reduction in need to speak English, may significantly impact fluency, which can also impact sense of belonging and sense of home here, and how people are perceived by others. Further ethnographic study, as the Asian communities age, could provide useful insight into this.
- Repeatedly the cohort demonstrated how mechanisms such as religion, language, marriage, caste and clan gate-keep their engagement with other minority communities, as well as the majority. However, most focus is on how the Asian communities have integrated into the receiving society as a whole, or how individuals in those communities engage with people of the (white)

majority. My research has identified how relationships between minority communities are also important, as they also have the potential to impede societal cohesion. Further ethnographic study on relationships in Bradford, between people of Islamic, Hindu and Sikh faiths, could provide useful insight into this.

- In Chapter 8 I explored how intergenerational conflict within Bradford's Asian communities may be more problematic than any inter-community cultural clash around British values. Further ethnographic study into the cause and nature of this conflict could provide useful insight into how it may impact, both positively and negatively, societal cohesion in the long term.

A related matter, which requires further investigation, is the possibility that social structures may take longer to adapt to change than individuals (Sayer, 1992 p.93). This time lag, briefly discussed in Chapter 4, may have implications not only for the minority community, as a structural entity, but also contribute to intergenerational rift, as younger people take small steps to distance themselves from the traditional norms and values their parents hold dear. This lag should be seen in tandem with Elder's idea of waiting time – that is the period migrant communities may require to adjust to the idea that they are not going home. While this may be more problematic for the pioneer generation than their descendents the impact on its viability, due to pensioners returning to homeland for long stays (**Mr M0100**) and younger people sourcing spouses and business and work opportunities there, (**Mrs C0059**) is unclear. The combined concept of time lag + waiting time offers a continuum, most likely populated at one end, generally, by the most-resistant-to-change migrant generation, and, generally, at the other by younger people eager to navigate a new way which takes full advantage of all on offer to them by virtue of their British birthright and ethnic heritage.

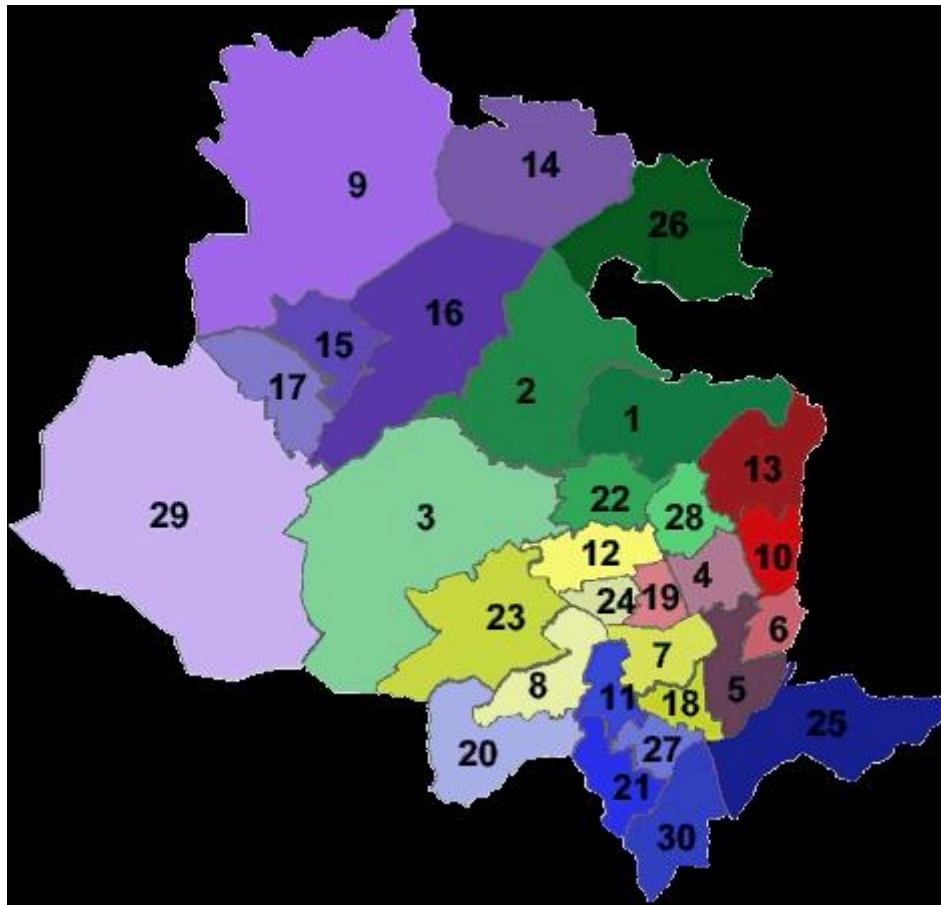
A final word on the cohort

Glaser & Strauss warn that publication is not the final word, because in qualitative research new perspectives emerge even on the last day of study - instead it should be seen as a 'pause in a running theoretical discussion'

(Glaser and Strauss, 1967 p.40). I paused my research, so far as interviewing the cohort was concerned, in April 2010 but because I live in Bradford, and am in ongoing contact with participants, I am very aware that anything I say cannot be the final word on the subject. There has been a strong temptation to include post-data collection information, which may elaborate. Sometimes this has happened, but not often, and I have always indicated when it did.

Since I disengaged, professionally, from the cohort there has been marriage and divorce, house moves, new jobs (here and abroad), children have been born; some participants have developed debilitating illness, and, sadly, two have died. Then, as this research drew to a close, one participant, **Mr C0127K**, became Lord Mayor of Bradford. This is, then, their story.

Chapter 3 Appendix 1: Bradford wards



List of Wards in Bradford District

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Baildon | 16. Keighley East |
| 2. Bingley | 17. Keighley West |
| 3. Bingley Rural | 18. Little Horton |
| 4. Bolton And Undercliffe | 19. Manningham |
| 5. Bowling And Barkerend | 20. Queensbury |
| 6. Bradford Moor | 21. Royds |
| 7. City | 22. Shipley |
| 8. Clayton And Fairweather Green | 23. Thornton & Allerton |
| 9. Craven | 24. Toller |
| 10. Eccleshill | 25. Tong |
| 11. Great Horton | 26. Wharfedale |
| 12. Heaton | 27. Wibsey |
| 13. Idle And Thackley | 28. Windhill & Wross |
| 14. Ilkley | 29. Worth Valley |
| 15. Keighley Central | 30. Wyke |

Chapter 3 Appendix 2: Postcode map

Below is a postcode map of Bradford District. Some cohort members moved from the city centre, where they originally settled, into areas populated by people of the same ethnic/religious background. Others are now living in more diverse neighbourhoods. The table provides cohort residence by postcode/location key.



Ordnance Survey and Royal Mail data © Crown copyright

C0009	Leeds
C0009/D	London
C0009/S	Bath
C0042	BD9
C0042/D	Manchester
C0049	BD8
C0059	BD8
C0059/D	BD8
M0100	BD8
C0074	BD8
C0074/S	BD8
C0086/1	Somerset
C0086/1/D	Somerset
C0086/2	BD7
C0101	BD2, then BD10
C0101	BD2/then BD10
C0121	BD9
C0127K	BD21

Chapter 3 Appendix 3: Acts of Parliament which frame the cohort's arrival

Date	Title	Provision
1948	British Nationality Act	Enshrined the right of Commonwealth citizens to enter UK, work, settle and bring families
1962		UK arrival of cohort member C0049
1962	Commonwealth Immigrants Act	British subjects no longer had automatic right to work in Britain and had to apply for vouchers. Reduced numbers of Commonwealth citizens entering UK
1963		UK arrival of M0100
1964		UK arrival of C0042
1965	First Race Relations Act	Outlawed discrimination in public places on grounds of colour race or ethnic or national origins. Became unlawful to refuse access to, eg, hotels, cinemas, & public transport. Also established Race Relations Board – predecessor of the Commission for Racial Equality – to deal with discrimination complaints, and National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants
1965		UK arrival of C0127K and C0009
1966		UK arrival of C0009/S , C0009/D , C0086/1 , C0086/2
1968	Race Relations Act	Aimed to enable more effective integration of immigrant communities. Provisions extended to cover housing and employment. Also created the Community Relations Commission – to combat discrimination and prejudice through education - and local Community Relations Councils
1968	Commonwealth Immigrant Act	Distinguished between Commonwealth citizens with a <i>substantial connection</i> to Britain, from those without. Those with <i>substantial connection</i> were automatically allowed to enter. <i>Substantial connection</i> was defined as having a parent or grandparent born in Britain. Act passed in just three days, in order to pre-empt influx of Asian people being expelled from East Africa, who were Commonwealth citizens with British passports
1969		UK arrival of C0059
1971	Immigration Act	Developed the idea of <i>substantial connection</i> . The status of Commonwealth citizens reduced to that of aliens, in attempt to stop immigration for settlement. Virtually ended all primary migration
1974		UK arrival of C0121 ¹²²
1976	Race Relations Act	Extended definition of discrimination to include <i>indirect</i> discrimination – that is any practice that disadvantaged a particular racial group. Also the Race Relations Board was replaced by the Commission for Racial Equality – which was to advise on how to combat racial discrimination and establish equal opportunity

¹²² The remaining five cohort members (**C0101**, **C0101/S**, **C0059/D**, **C0042/D** and **C0086/1/D**) were born in Britain.

Date	Title	Provision
1976	Motor Cycle crash helmets (religious exception) Act	Exempted turbaned Sikhs from having to wear crash helmets
1981	Turning Point: A review of race relations in Bradford	Published by Bradford Council, recognised that Asian and white communities in the District were living separate and pluralistic lives
1983	British Nationality Act	Defined who was British by birth and how people might become British by nationalisation or registration. People born in UK before 1983 were automatically British citizens. Anyone born after 1.1.83 were also British if, at the time of the birth, one parent was a British citizen or one parent was allowed to stay here permanently
1986	New Visa requirement	For people from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ghana and Nigeria. Between announcement on 1.9.86 and enforcement 15.10.86 there was chaos at Heathrow Airport, inundated by people trying to beat the new regulation
1988	Immigration Act	Made deportation easier. Withdrew the unconditional right of long-settled Commonwealth men to bring in their families. Amended 1981 Act to incorporate free movement provision of European Commission law
1989	Employment Act Section 11	Exempted turbaned Sikhs from having to wear safety helmets on construction sites
1994	Race Relations Remedies Act	Removed limit imposed by Race Relations Act 1976 on the amount of compensation which could be awarded for employment discrimination
2000	Race Relations (Amendment) Act	Extended the 1976 Act to the police (and other public authorities not previously covered) after the enquiry into the death of London teenager Stephen Lawrence (1993) identified <i>institutional racism</i> in the Metropolitan police. Race equality to be integral to way public organisations work
2003	Race Relations Act 1976 (Amendment)	Extended definition of <i>indirect</i> discrimination to cover informal as well as formal practice – that is, discrimination which <i>could</i> disadvantage particular groups, in addition to that which did. Introduced <i>genuine occupational requirement</i> rule, permitting recruitment of person of particular ethnic or national origin. Shifted the burden of proof to an alleged discriminator, who had to prove they did not commit offence
2005	Revised Code of Practice on Racial Equality in Employment	Published by Commission for Racial Equality
2006	Racial & Religious Hatred Act	Make it an offence to incite hatred against a person on the grounds of their religion
2007		Birth of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights

Chapter 4 Appendix 1: BHRU Contact Schedule

Date	Activity
14.11.05	Initial meeting with Bradford Librarian Carol Greenwood to discuss utilising 1980s interview cohort in my research. She asked me to email the list of interviewees I was interested in contacting. Because of the confidentiality clause she said the only way to proceed was for the library to contact the interviewees on my behalf
15.11.05	I emailed Carol Greenwood the list of people I was interested in contacting: these were the 101 people from India, Pakistan, Pakistan Kashmir and Bangladesh I had identified from the 'C' catalogue list the day before. I also sent her a draft letter, explaining the nature of my research, to be sent to interviewees, and my assurance that I would protect their anonymity by only referring to their original reference numbers
6.12.05	Carol Greenwood emailed to say she was having problems identifying addresses for all the interviewees, as many had only given organisation addresses or addresses of, for example, community centres. Some had given no address, only signing the bottom of their original copyright forms. Others had failed to return their copyright forms, and although they may later have been interviewed no address was ever registered for them. These problems evidenced my view that I was the first person to return to this group, since their original interviews. In the end she identified addresses for 49 of the 101 interviewees
6.12.05	I emailed Carol asking her not to post letters until after Christmas. I also asked if I could access the names of people for whom she did not have addresses, so I could try to track them down through the organisations and community centres they had given on the forms
8.12.05	Carol emailed to say she was not happy to give me the names, especially for people who had stated 'no name to be mentioned.' She asked me to provide stamped addressed envelopes for their replies. Respondents could either return a cut off slip from the bottom of the letter directly to Carol at the library, or they could telephone me directly on my mobile number. The return slip contained their original reference number, their name and addresses, and a cross-out option indicating whether or not they would be available for research with me
2.2.06	Carol confirmed the 49 letters had been posted
28.2.06	I contacted Michael Callaghan at Bradford Industrial Museum to see if he could track down the missing interviewees. The Museum had a duplicate set of the BHRU project

Date	Activity
14.3.06	I wrote to Carol Greenwood explaining that since I had received only nine responses from the Library mail shot, and was not optimistic that the Industrial Museum mail shot would add many to the cohort, I wanted to request that the library provide contact information for people who had been sent an initial contact letter but who had not replied. I suggested in exchange for this additional assistance I would offer the library all new interviews on cassette or CD, with transcriptions, free of charge. In essence the project would become more collaborative
20.3.06	I received a letter from Carol saying that after consultation with the Principle Libraries Officer for Information, Ronan O'Beirne, it had been agreed that the Bradford Council Department of Arts, Heritage and Leisure would collaborate with me in this project, along the lines I suggested on 20.3.06. Carol asked me to provide the accession numbers for people who had not responded so she could check if they had originally requested anonymity. Only if they had not would she be able to provide their contact information. Of the original 101, 14 had requested anonymity
30.3.06	Mr Callaghan agreed to post the same initial contact letter to any additional addresses he had identified. I provided him with the draft letter, which he posted to 34 people. That meant I was able to contact a total of 79 of the 101 people I was interested in interviewing. In the event, only two people responded to the Industrial Museum mail shot – but the extra effort involved in this process was rewarded when one of them became one of my research participants
2.10.07	It was over a year before I was able to utilise Carol's additional information, mainly because I was kept busy interviewing the nine people she had originally made contact with and one person contacted by the Industrial Museum. On 2.10.07 I wrote to the outstanding addresses, asking for assistance. In the event, I received no replies from this third mail shot, which is perhaps not surprising as they had been contacted earlier by the library, and had failed to respond

Chapter 4 Appendix 2: Interviewee letter

Addressee

Bradford Museums, Galleries,
and Heritage
Bradford Industrial Museum
Moorside Road
Eccleshill
Bradford BD2 3HP

Date

Dear

We are writing seeking your assistance. You may recall that in the 1980s you were interviewed by the Museum's Heritage Unit about your arrival and life in Bradford. This recording is now stored on audiocassette.

A researcher from Bradford University, Judy Wall, would like to interview you again, to update the information we have and ask about your life in Bradford during the past 20 years. These interviews would, of course, be confidential and your name will not be used in any published material. Judy is hoping to conduct the interviews between now and the end of June 2006. She could meet you in your home or any other convenient place, and at a time suitable to you.

When complete the interview will be added to the Heritage Unit collection and Judy may use some information in an academic paper she is writing. Please return the slip below saying whether or not you would be prepared to be interviewed. Or you can call Judy on XXX or email jwall1@bradford.ac.uk.

Thank-you for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Callaghan
Collection Officer

IF THIS PERSON HAS MOVED PLEASE RETURN THE SLIP BELOW GIVING THEIR
NEW ADDRESS. THANK-YOU.

Reference number:

I would/would not be available for the research interview with Miss Judy Wall.

Name:..... Telephone number:.....

Address:.....

Chapter 4 Appendix 3: Interview tables

The first table below shows the dates and duration of interviews conducted by BHRU with the original 1980s interviewees, who joined my cohort. Multiple entries indicate more than one interview was conducted. The second table shows the dates and duration of the interviews I conducted with the same people and their children.

BHRU interviews in 1980s

Code	Date	Duration
C0009	14/03/1985	0:58:48
C0009	21/03/1985	1:25:26
C0042	12/09/1985	0:38:29
C0049	19/09/1985	1:06:30
C0059	07/04/1986	1:02:44
C0101	07/04/1986	0:28:30
C0074	04/07/1986	0:22:15
M0100	08/07/1986	0:11:01
C0086/2	03/12/1986	1:35:29
C0086/1	03/12/1986	1:29:09
C0101	17/03/1987	0:57:54
C0121	28/08/1987	0:59:30
C0127K	20/11/1987	1:16:41
	Total	12:32:26

My cohort interviews

Code	Date	Duration
C0074	05/05/2006	1:33:37
C0074	08/05/2006	1:12:22
C0121	19/05/2006	1:44:47
C0101	31/05/2006	1:33:41
C0101	21/06/2006	1:27:34
C0059	25/10/2007	0:00:00 ¹²³
C0042	02/11/2007	1:30:30
C0059	16/11/2007	0:00:00
C0042	22/11/2007	0:00:00
C0042	27/11/2007	1:36:51
C0059	30/11/2007	0:00:00
C0042	10/12/2007	1:16:17
C0059	14/12/2007	1:31:41
C0059	29/02/2008	0:00:00
C0059	07/03/2008	0:36:06
C0059	27/03/2008	0:00:00
C0059/D	28/03/2008	1:28:39
C0059/D	11/04/2008	1:05:21
M0100	09/05/2008	1:28:09
C0042	06/06/2008	0:48:51
C0074	13/06/2008	0:00:00
C0042	13/06/2008	0:00:00
M0100	19/06/2008	1:33:16
C0074/S	26/06/2008	1:22:41
C0009	04/07/2008	1:13:37
C0074	04/08/2008	0:00:00
C0059/D	11/09/2008	1:25:19
C0059	12/09/2008	0:00:00
C0009	18/09/2008	1:01:09
C0059	19/09/2008	1:28:15

¹²³ Encounters which did not result in interview are logged as 0 duration.

Code	Date	Duration
C0059	10/10/2008	1:50:33
C0101	31/10/2008	1:12:10
C0086/1	08/11/2008	2:33:19
C0127K	21/11/2008	1:28:12
C0086/2	27/11/2008	1:12:09
C0042/D	06/12/2008	1:22:33
C0009	09/12/2008	0:00:00
C0127K	15/01/2009	1:46:39
C0059/D	29/01/2009	1:01:27
C0086/2	12/02/2009	1:32:45
C0086/1/D	20/02/2009	1:43:26
C0127K	18/03/2009	1:30:22
C0049	25/03/2009	1:41:48
C0049	02/04/2009	1:42:06
C0049	09/04/2009	0:45:13
C0059	31/05/2009	0:00:00
C0059/D	21/07/2009	0:44:02
C0127K	27/07/2009	0:27:31
C0049	28/07/2009	0:00:00
C0101	04/08/2009	0:00:00
C0049	13/08/2009	1:13:55
C0101/S	29/08/2009	0:00:00
C0009/S	29/09/2009	0:00:00
C0127K	06/10/2009	0:42:37
C0059	08/10/2009	0:55:09
C0009/D	25/10/2009	2:24:10
C0101	27/10/2009	0:00:00
C0049	12/11/2009	2:10:24
C0101/S	17/11/2009	1:18:17
	Total:	58:17:30

Chapter 4 Appendix 4: Core questions

Some general questions

- It is 20 years since your last interview, what's been happening in your life since?
- Who is now in your immediate family?
- What have you been doing since you were last interviewed?
- What do you do when you socialise? And with whom?
- Where do you holiday?
- Do you support any sports teams?
- Have there been any intergenerational problems in your family? If so, what were they about?

Some questions about sense of identity

- Do you feel at home in Bradford/Britain?
- What does home mean to you?
- Do you have a sense of belonging, if so, to what?
- What languages do you speak? When/what are you doing/who are you speaking with when you speak each of these languages?
- Do you wear traditional clothing – if so, when, why, and for what occasion?
- If you were outside of Britain, and someone said you could never return, would that be a big problem? If so, why?
- How would you describe your identity/ethnicity/nationality/yourself?
- Do you feel you belong to a particular group/community in Bradford, if so, which community?
- Could you choose three objects, which demonstrate your identity/who you are?
- Where will your body/ashes be buried?
- Where were your parents buried/where will they be buried?
- Where are your children likely to be buried when they die?
- What passport do you have?
- Would you say you are religious? Do you attend mosque/temple week? Do you celebrate religious festivals?
- What would you feel if one of your children wanted to marry someone of another religion?
- What would you feel if one of your children wanted to marry someone of another culture?
- How do your views on life in Britain/Bradford differ from those of your close family?
- How do your views on life in Britain/Bradford differ from when you were younger?
- Do you feel more or less British than you did 25 years ago? If so, in what way/why?
- Do you feel more or less Indian/Pakistani than you did 25 years ago?
- Do your views on religion differ from those of your parents and your children? If so, in what way?
- Do you feel more or less religious than you did 25 years ago?
- Do you vote in general/local elections? If so, have you ever voted along clan lines?

Some questions about ties with Asian sub-continent

- ❑ Do you go to Pakistan/India? If so, how often/where do you stay/what do you do there?
- ❑ If someone said you could never go to Pakistan/India again, would that be a big problem? If so, why?
- ❑ Do you have a home in Pakistan/India? If so, do you see it as a family home/somewhere you will retire to/a holiday home?
- ❑ Do you want to go to Pakistan/India to live one day?

Some questions about community

- ❑ Do you think there is segregation between the various communities in Bradford? Do these communities lead parallel lives?
- ❑ Do you think over the past 25 years communities in Bradford have become more or less distant and distinct from each other, in terms of social cohesion?
- ❑ What are your hopes and fears for the future of Bradford?
- ❑ What do you know of the efforts made by Bradford Council over the past 25 years to accommodate different ethnic communities?
- ❑ Do you think Bradford Council should be doing more to assist ethnic communities? If so, what?
- ❑ Do you think Bradford is multicultural? If so, what does that mean to you?
- ❑ Do you generally feel positive about living in Bradford?
- ❑ How would you like to see relationships between communities in Bradford develop?

* Questions were adapted for younger cohort members and those not living in Bradford.

Chapter 4 Appendix 5: Reflection extracts

7.3.08

Mrs C0059 arrived 40 minutes late; this was quite annoying. I don't think she forgets our meetings, I just think she is very busy and doesn't attach a particularly high priority to them. She was a bit flustered. Apparently two days earlier her mobile had been stolen and she suspected someone who had come into the office. We conducted a 30-minute interview but she was distracted throughout, keeping one ear on what was happening next door. Also a loud fire alarm battery beeped every few minutes, which will be audible on the recording. Although I think we covered some important material she did not relax, open up fully; this kind of piecemeal interviewing is unsatisfactory, but it may be the only way I can secure time with **Mrs C0059**. I will have to accommodate her.

1.5.08

I went to **Mr M0100's** house today but he was not in. I met his son-in-law in the street and he introduced me to his brother, sister-in-law and mother who were passing. He took me into his in-laws' home and said I could wait there but I felt uncomfortable, as I did not know them, so I waited in the car. He said they might have gone to vote. After half an hour I left a note in their letterbox saying I would call them tomorrow. I was disappointed that **Mr M0100** was not at home today, especially after the appointment was made only yesterday. I am wasting a lot of time reorganising missed appointments, but am at a loss to know how to stop this happening.

18.9.08

Dr C0009 seemed reluctant to speak with me today; maybe that was due to an argument I think he was having with someone when I arrived. After an hour he started looking at his watch and I had to wind up our meeting long before I had really finished.

2.6.09

Very upsetting news today: went to visit **Mrs C0059** and she told me that **Mr C0074** had died on Sunday of a massive stroke, aged only 58 years. She looked very upset and said she had never cried more for someone who had died. The families were very close and she and **Mr C0074** had grown up together.

27.7.09

It was very disappointing today, when I arrived to interview **Mr C0127K** at 11 as agreed there was a lot of banging upstairs and his son, who answered the door, told me they were preparing to go to a wedding. **Mr C0127K** had forgotten our appointment. **Mrs C0127K** came into the room several times to talk to her husband. I couldn't understand what she was saying but it was clear she was quite annoyed that we were interviewing right then. It was obvious that I was not going to get any quality material today so I curtailed the interview and arranged to call again.

6.10.09

I finally got around today to calling **Mr C0121** to arrange a follow-up interview. We first met in 2006 and he was very enthusiastic about participating in my research. However, as his mobile number was temporarily out of service I called the second number on his business card and his brother answered. He told me the shocking news that **Mr C0121** had died in February. I couldn't believe it, he was just 45 years old. Very sad.

Chapter 4 Appendix 6: Research schedule

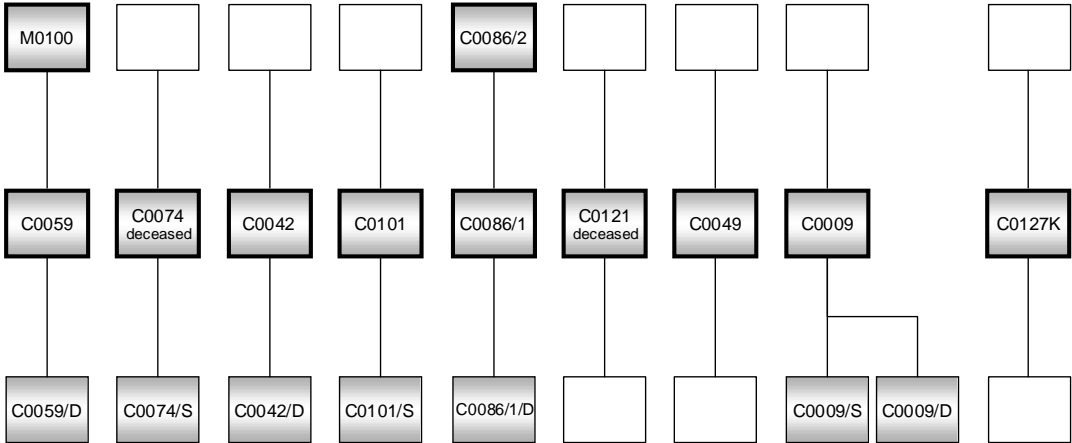
Date	Activity
2005/6	Began analysis of transcriptions of BHRU 1980s interviews.
2006/7	Cohort interviewing began. Registration suspension, for personal reasons.
2007/8	Began review of Bradford Council documents, including the work of Bradford Race Relations Group (1981-1990). Began elite (informant) interviewing. Cohort interviewing continued. Post-interview analysis began. Began literature review, informed by desk research and interviewee responses.
2008/9	Continued interviews with cohort. Continued transcription of interviews. Continued analysis of interviewee responses. Began identification of emerging themes. Continued literature review, informed by desk research and interviewee responses.
2009/10	Continued interviews with cohort Continued transcription of interviews. Continued analysis of interviewee responses. Continued identification of emerging themes and triangulation. Identify relationships between themes. Identify potential value of themes to thesis hypothesis Continued literature review, informed by desk research and interviewee responses.
2010/11	Completed cohort interviewing April 2010. Completed transcription of interviews. Continued analysis of interviewee responses. Continued identification of emerging themes. Continue identification of relationships between themes, Continue identification of potential value of themes to thesis hypothesis. Continued literature review, informed by desk research and interviewee responses.
2011/12 onwards	Writing up. Ongoing literature review. Ongoing analysis, informed by interviewee responses, new literature, changing multicultural climate Continue identification of relationships between themes, Continue identification of potential value of themes to thesis hypothesis.

Chapter 5 Appendix 1: Migration table

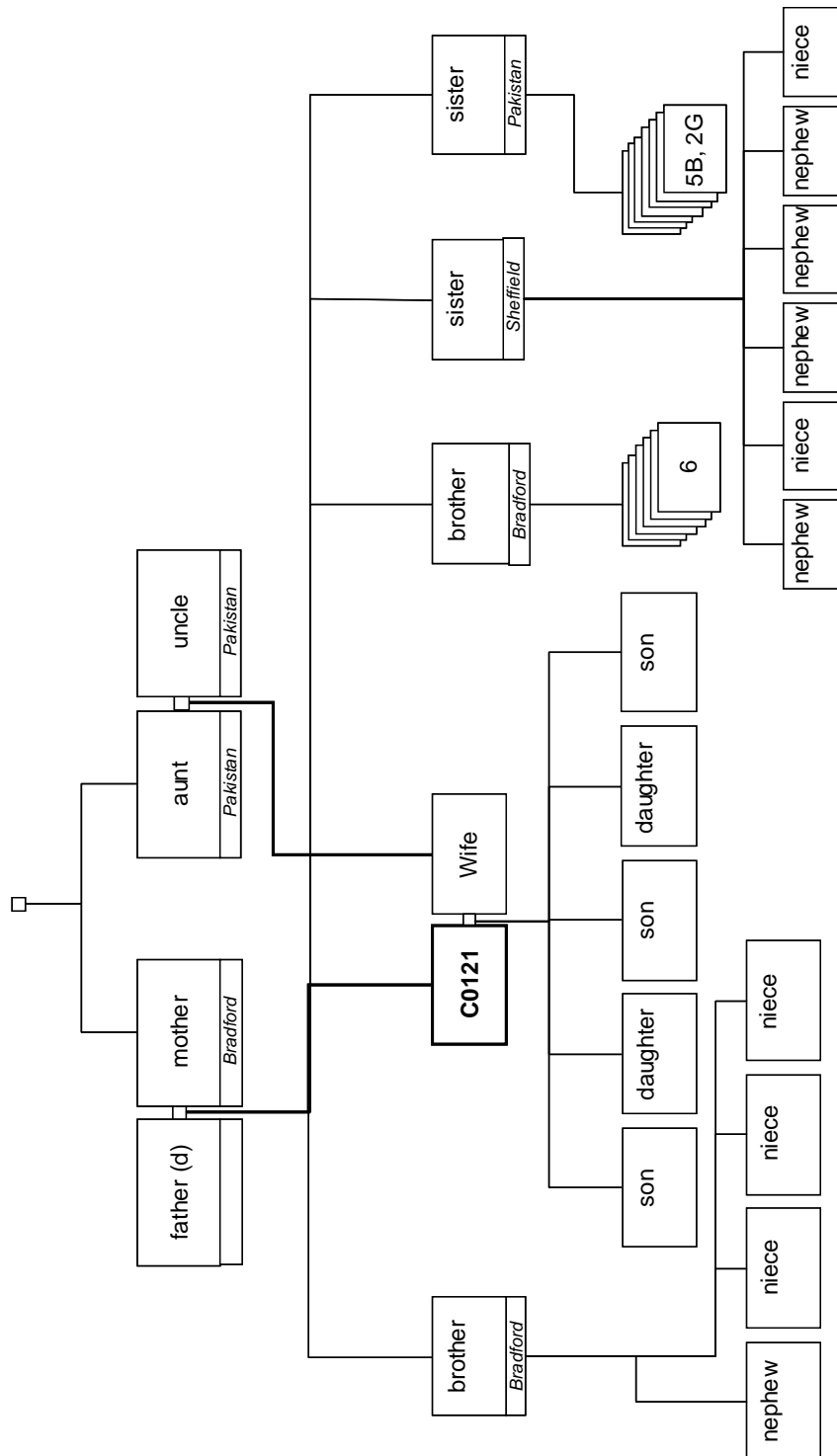
Code name	Birthplace	Pre-UK location	Migration year	Migration age
C0059	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	1966	3
M0100	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	1963	21
C0049	Gujerat, Pakistan	Gujerat, Pakistan	1962	28
C0127K	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	1965	17
C0086/2	Gujerat, India	Mombassa Kenya	1967	23
C0086/1	Mombassa, Kenya	Mombassa, Kenya	1967	9 months
C0009	Punjab, India	Nairobi, Kenya	1965	35
C0009/D	Punjab, India	Punjab, India	1966	9
C0009/S	Punjab, India	Punjab, India	1966	7
C0074	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	Rawalpindi, Pakistan	1968	14
C0042	Punjab, India	Punjab, India	1964	25
C0121	Mirpur, Kashmir	Mirpur, Kashmir	1974	13

Chapter 5 Appendix 2: Cohort family tree

Below is a depiction of the cohort, with inter-generational relationships. Members of the original BHRU cohort are edged in black.

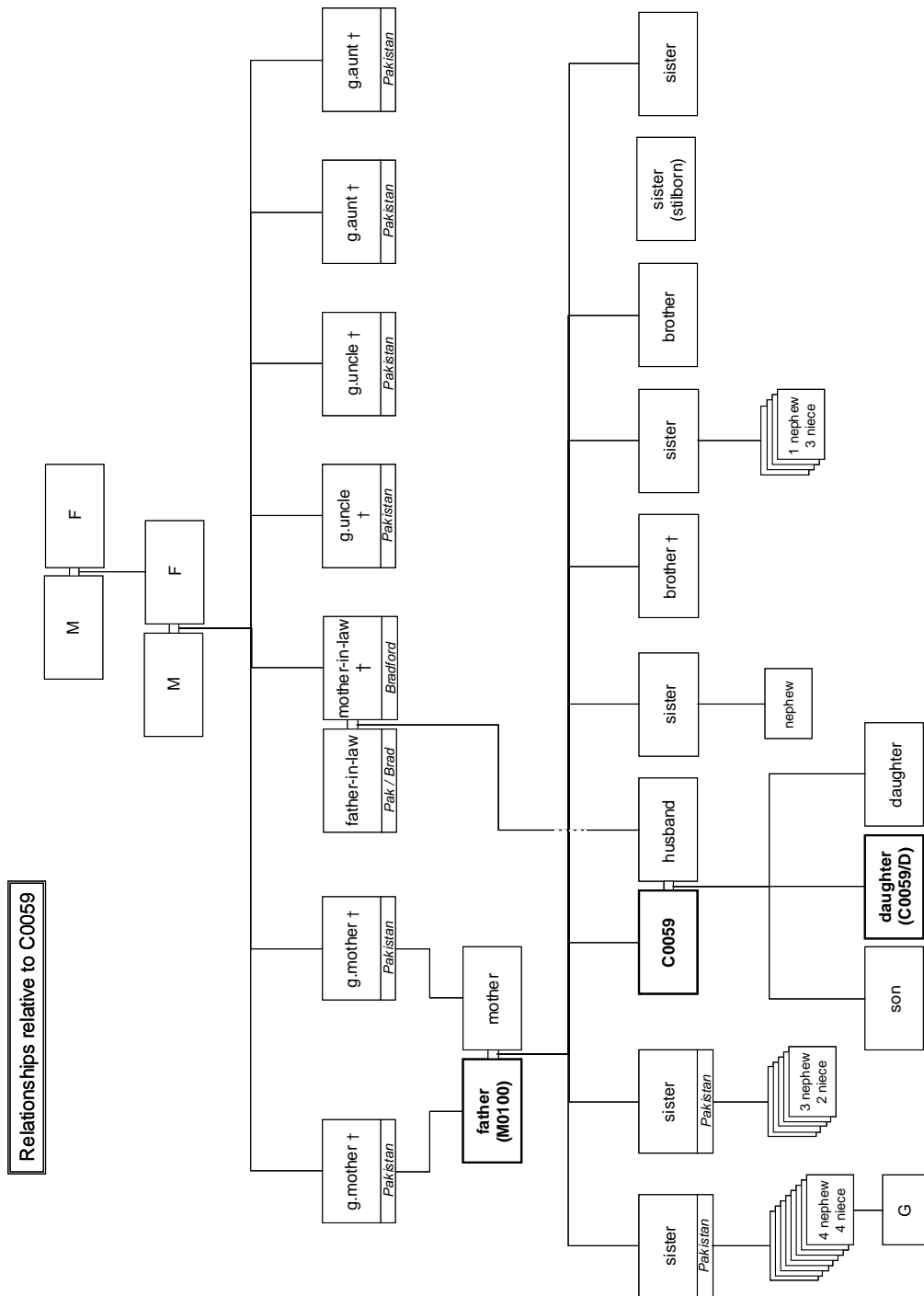


Chapter 5 Appendix 3: C0121 family tree



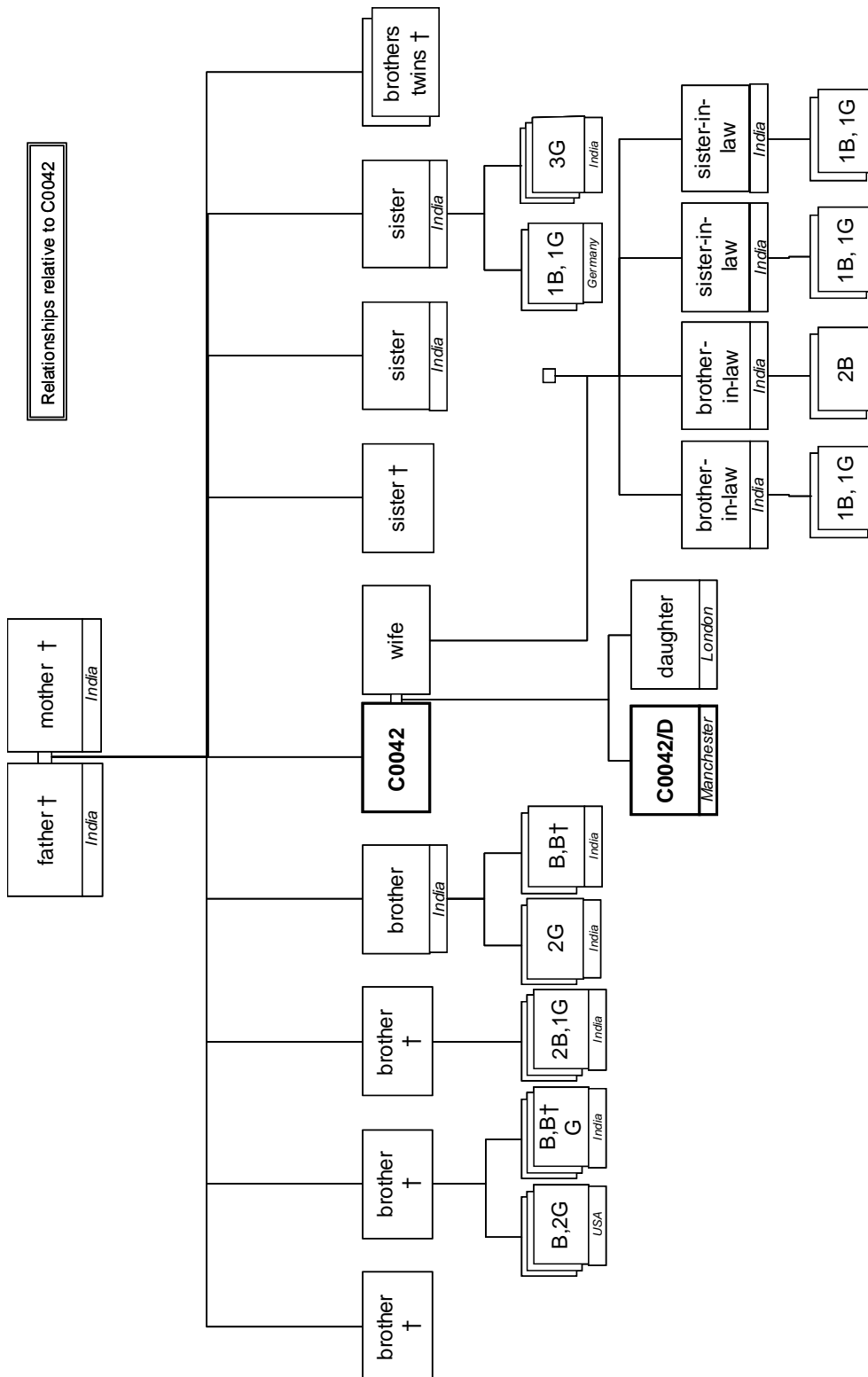
Mr C0121's family tree shows his immediate family living in Yorkshire and Pakistan. One of his sisters lives in Pakistan. His other sister recently moved from Pakistan to Sheffield - to join her husband who had been in Britain for 35 years.

Chapter 5 Appendix 5: C0059 family tree



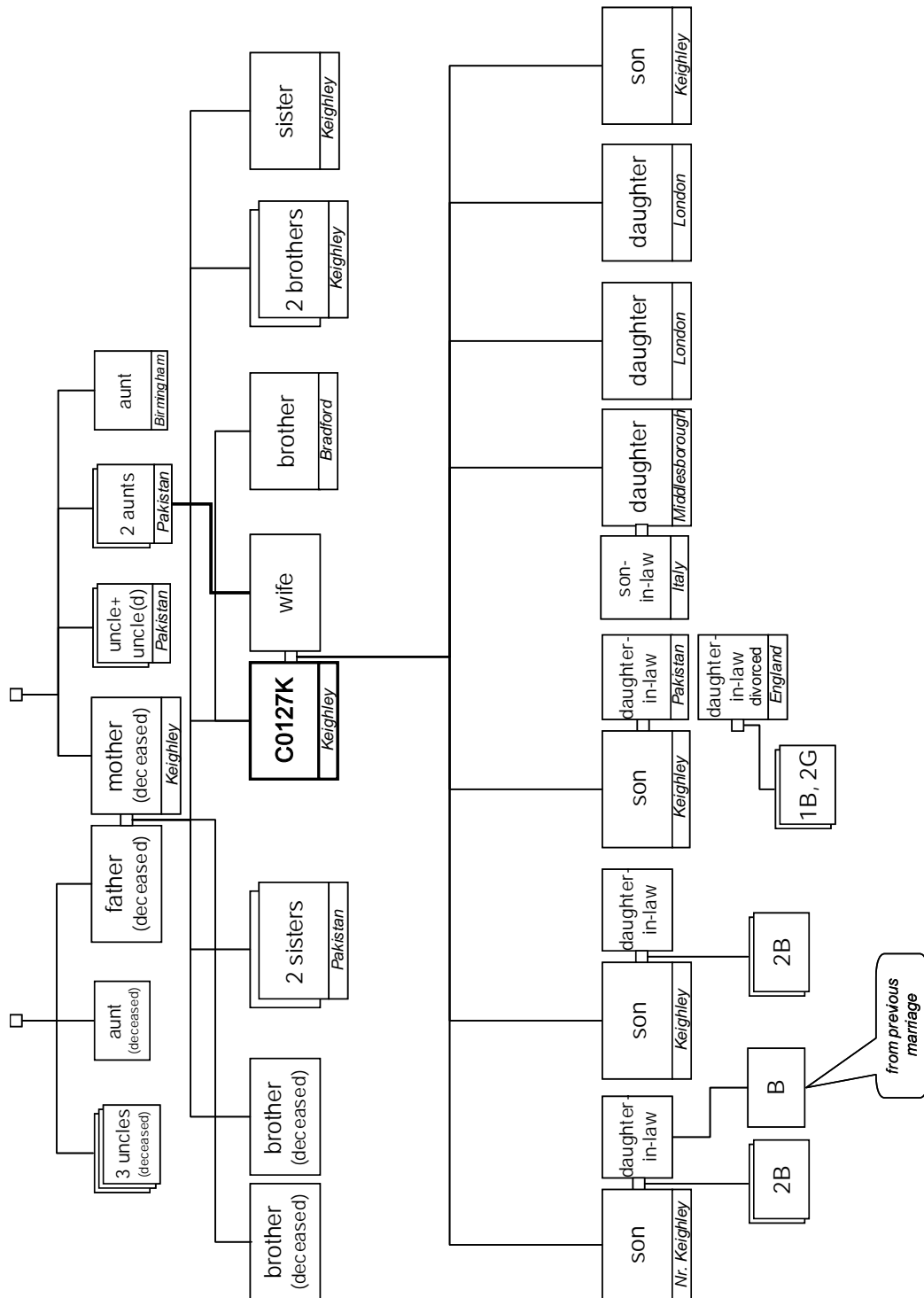
Mrs C0059's two sisters, who remained in Pakistan, are on the left. Her other six brothers and sisters were born in Bradford. Her husband's father was the brother of **Mrs C0059's** grandparents, on both her mother and father's sides. These close familial ties are reinforced by the marriage of **Mrs C0059's** son to his cousin (his father's niece).

Chapter 5 Appendix 6: C0042 family tree



Mr C0042 has three remaining siblings, all of whom live in India; most of the next generation also live in India. The same is true of his wife's family. His daughter, Miss C0042/D, is shown below her father in the centre of the tree.

Chapter 5 Appendix 9: C0127K family tree



Mr C0127K is married with seven children, four sons and three daughters, and seven grandchildren. Four of his siblings also live in Britain, two brothers and a sister in Keighley and a brother in Bradford. His other two sisters live in Pakistan. His four sons live in the Keighley area, one of his daughters is married and lives in Middlesbrough, and two live and work in London.

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