



UNIVERSITY  
*of York*

*Is British Indian A Redundant Term? A Case Study on Indians in  
England.*

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## Abstract

Conversations on ethnicity and belonging are current, which is why this research looks at why the term British Indian is redundant. Through using ethnicity from a cultural perspective, with little focus on race to answer the question, topics of colonialism and control are addressed; how the Indian diaspora ‘fits’ into modern British Society – and discrimination faced, and how unrepresentative BAME (Black, Asian Minority Ethnic) is. This research is necessary because British Indians are a under researched group, and the 1928 Institute have started to uncover who British Indians are, but ethnic categorisation – which varies by generation - has come into question by academics such as Peter J. Aspinall and Anne Berrington.

As this research was conducted during the Coronavirus pandemic, participants were recruited via snowball and purposive sampling and invited to take part in an online questionnaire and interviews held over Zoom. This breadth of research means the results of this research are valid and reliable – as a total of 245 people participated with the variables were gender, generation, and religion. Given the wealth of data, and how under researched British Indians are, thematic analysis was used to code the data.

From the use of thematic analysis, trends included generational *and* religious difference in attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter movement and voting behaviour. This in turn impacted the results on how people feel about the term British Indian; but a general consensus is that British Indians are proud of their heritage but do recognise it might be time that this description of the community to adapt as generations become increasingly integrated.

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## List of Abbreviations

BAME – Black and Minority Ethnic

CRED – Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities

EU – European Union

GE – General Election

NRI – Non-Resident Indian

OCI – Overseas Citizenship of India

ONS – Office of National Statistics

## Glossary

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Culture War	A conflict or struggle for dominance between groups within a society or between societies, arising from their differing beliefs, practices. (Dictionary.com)
Diaspora	Inherently geographical, implying a scattering of people over space and transnational connections between people and places (Blunt, 2003, p. 282).
Echo Chamber	A situation in which people only hear opinions of one type, or opinions that are similar to their own. (Cambridge Dictionary).
Hinduphobia	Emerges from colonial depictions of indigenous Indic knowledge and culture, can manifest as misrepresentation, exclusion, mockery, derision and violence. It depicts the indigenous cultures and spiritual practices of the Indian Subcontinent, along with the people who identify with it as inherently inferior. (Manku et al, 2021, p.16).
Race Relations	The relationship between the members of different races. (Cambridge Dictionary).

## Chapter 1 – Introduction

The role of post-war migration from the Commonwealth, has had a tremendous impact on British society, this includes adding a tremendous amount of wealth to the economy British Culture. Yet for second and subsequent generations there is much confusion when it comes to where they truly feel that they belong, in a world that has taken their two identities – British and Indian – and merged them into one, informing the term ‘British Indian’, which this research will show is now a redundant term. This research discusses the background of the nature of this research through the work of academics such as Aspinall (2000; 2009; 2012) and Manku et al (2021), highlights the research problem which justifies the rationale for the project before explaining the structure of the rest of the research.

### **1.1 Background**

The relationship between the British and Indians has been more positive in comparison to Black Africans and Caribbeans. With England being a white-majority nation, it was common to label everyone non-white as ‘black’ Modood in Rex and Drury (1994, p.87). This later changed to Black Minority Ethnic (BME) in 1987 and ‘Black Asian Minority Ethnic’ (BAME) appeared in 2004 (Aspinall, 2020, p.107). Yet, discussing all non-white people as a homogeneous bloc has faced further criticism, as it fails to recognise diversity within. One idea is the better integrated, the less ascriptive characteristics matter – an idea developed in the United States (US) by Marrett and Leggon (1980).

Several key pieces of research can be drawn on; *'Research in Race and Ethnic Relations'* by Marrett and Leggon (1980), *'Do the 'Asian' Categorise in the British Censuses adequately capture the Indian Sub-Continent Diaspora Population?'* by Peter. J Aspinall (2013), *'Ethnicity in England: What Parent's Country of Birth Can and Can't Tell us About Their Children's Ethnic Identification'* by Meenakshi Parameshwaran and Per Engzell (2015), *'Social and Political Participation of Indian Diaspora in the UK'* by Sheetal Sharma (2017), *'Discrimination, Social Relations and Trust: Civic Inclusion of British Ethnic Minorities'* by Muhammed Rakib Ehsan (2019) and *'Identity, Political Representation and Policy Priorities: The British Indian Experience'* by Manku et al (2021).

## **1.2 Research Problem and Value**

When this research began, conversations on race and clashes of identity were being discussed in depth, as indicated by the release of Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities (CRED) report (2021). Conversations have been heavily skewed by discussing BME experiences as one, and whilst this is important; large areas of research still need to happen. One area – which this research covers – is the aspects that are unique to the British Indian diaspora – include rediscovering religion and the importance of culture.

This research is valuable because it examines the British Indian community more carefully, as most research in academia tends to focus on all ethnic minorities. This restricts how much attention gets paid to important differences, leaving vital information to remain covered.

### **1.3 Rationale**

The rationale for this paper is to show who British Indians are, the 1928 Institute released a report in May 2021 which highlighted “there is a demand to understand what the blanket term of ‘British-Indian’ encapsulates, especially given many of us, over time, now have fewer direct familial ties to the Indian sub-continent” (Manku, 2021, p.12). This is important as ascriptive characteristics - such as race – decline in relevance and achievements increase in dominance (Marrett and Leggon, 1980, p.10).

### **1.4 Structure**

There are seven chapters.

Chapter 2 is a literature review, sources used have been from the University of York’s online library, with a specific focus on journals in the *Journal of Race* and *Journal of Ethnic Migration Studies* along with books that specifically trace the impact of Indians in Britain. Themes of *Colonialism and Race as a hierarchical system of exclusion*, *Ethnicity*, and *Official Categorisation and Discrimination in the United Kingdom* have been drawn which highlight problems caused by mass generalisations in having a limited perception of ‘diversity,’ which informs the research objectives.

Chapter 3 provides the reader with the methodology of this research, explaining the use of grounded theory and justifying having taken a qualitative approach for interviews and the questionnaire to gather datasets, but also identifying the limitations. This chapter also takes into consideration the completion of the University of York’s Ethics Form, which influenced

how I decided on forming the questions for the chosen research methods. Furthermore, this methodology takes into consideration restrictions in place due to the completion of this research during the Coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic.

To thoroughly analyse the data, Chapter 4 introduces the discussion and analysis, explaining the use of thematic analysis rooted in grounded theory and using triangulation. Chapter 5 discusses the demographics of the participants, for both the questionnaire and interviews and how this impacted the results, with a particular focus on generational differences. Chapter 6 uses thematic analysis to analyse questionnaire data to investigate the varying perceptions British Indians have of the race relations debate in Britain. Chapter 7 continues the use of thematic analysis and will discuss and analyse the results of identity; specifically, how the participants for this research perceive themselves and what 'British Indian' means to them.

Chapter 8 concludes the paper, which details the key findings from the research and reflects on the contributions of this research and gives recommendations and acknowledges the need for further areas of research.



## Chapter 2 – Literature Review

*“The study of ethnic relations in England is the study of a continuing interaction between the dominant ethnic majority and the subordinate ethnic minorities”* (Khan in Husband, 1982, p.197).

The academic literature on the settling of migrants from the Commonwealth focuses heavily on both the discrimination faced and the opportunities people had to create a better life for themselves. Discrimination is largely discussed from the perspective of black Africans and Caribbeans in Britain, as this area began in the US (Aspinall, 2009, p.1418), and is yet to fully expand on the impact on Indians. This has led to second and third-generation Indians questioning their own identity, because despite growing up in Britain, the problems faced by British Indians are still side-lined, along with feelings of struggling to navigate between the two cultures: British *and* Indian culture.

Having examined the existing literature, themes of *Colonialism and Race as a hierarchical system of exclusion, Ethnicity, and Official categorisation and discrimination in the UK* have been drawn out.

### **2.1 Colonialism and Race as a Hierarchical System of Exclusion.**

Previous literature has generally been framed through the white British experience of imperialism and the empire. One author, Hudson (1996) explains how European scholars and

explorers believed white people were the “superior race” yet, this “sense of superiority was founded not on a race hierarchy but on the belief that Europeans had achieved a level of civilisation unknown in other nations” (Hudson, 1996, p.250). Rich (1990) is supportive of this as “single idea of ‘race’ thus took over in imperial discourse and tended to embody both a biological and eugenic conception of promoting race, fitness as well as a historical view of its own past based upon ideas of spreading ‘Anglo-Saxon’ civilisation to other parts of the globe” (p.15). Understanding this and the impact it still carries on society today is imperative because the values of the past still inform the present, as ‘other’ civilisations are still seen as backward. Thus, within this self-righteous belief, it was determined by the British Parliament that it was the duty of those of the Anglo-Saxon race under the “British imperial mission to spread freedom and justice to other, more backward parts of the world” (Rich, 1990, p.13).

One of the reasons for this can be found in an influential essay, written by David Hume is *Of National Characters*, published in 1748. This essay, has its limitations in the modern-day, such as the Empire no longer exists and society is much more inclusive, this essay provides a useful insight into how people thought themselves superior at the time; Hume declared that he suspected “the negroes and in general all other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites” in (Hudson, 1996, p.257), which reinvigorates sentiments of control and ‘othering.’

Control through a hierarchical system was later justified by A. V. Dicey in 1897, in Rich (1990) through “the enforcement of the Pax-Britannica throughout the British Empire’... ‘and the maintenance of civilised order throughout the length and breadth of the United States... is the main service which Anglo-Saxon race renders to civilisation” (p.13). This highlights control through “the arrogance of the colonial period and the racist theory that was

often developed to rationalize it (Bloom, 1971, p.115)” (Schaefer, 1976, p.306) and the Victorian era in which black people were stereotyped as both helpless beings *and* “savage and bestial figures who need to be controlled at all costs” (Rich, 1990, p.12). For the colonisers, it has been argued by “some modern scholars have argued that the doctrine of ‘race’ was contrived *deliberately* to justify slavery and imperialism” (Hudson, 1996, p.252). Of course, this in itself is rather contested when talking about Indians because the first record of an Indian in England was noted on “22nd December 1616: An East Indian was christened by the name of Peter” (Visram, 2002, p.1). As this shows, whilst the British glorified themselves in the riches of India and thought up a system of exclusion; Indians have a long presence in England.

Despite this long presence, Hiro (1979) highlights Indians were not excluded from unwelcoming attitudes from native British people, after India gained independence on 14th August 1947; and there was an influx of migration from India and East Africa. In an attempt to keep Britain white, the “British government began to regulate the supply of labour from commonwealth countries” (pp.218-9) in 1962. This is where we can see the system of deploring the racial hierarchy, that existed during the British Empire – only it was repurposed to fit the modern narrative.

## **2.2 Ethnicity**

Having seen ideas of race as a hierarchical system being deeply rooted in thinking from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries, ideas surrounding ethnicity are more about celebrating differences than control. There are many different definitions of ethnicity, for Barth (1969) there are four criteria:

1. “Largely biologically self-perpetuating
2. Shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms
3. Makes up a field of communication and interaction
4. Has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same” (pp.10-1).

Jenkins (2008) builds upon these criteria with internal and external ideas:

“Internal Definition: Members of a group signal to fellow group members or others as a self-definition of who they are, their identity.

External Definition: These are directed processes, during which one person or set of persons defines the other(s) as ‘X’, ‘Y’” (p.55).

For Indians in Britain, and building an ethnicity focused on culture was important because there is much variety between; culture, religion and socio-economics (Ranasinha, 2012, p.8). Additionally, there remains “the memory of the origin of a community by peaceful secession or emigration” (Hutchinson and Smith, 1995, p.36) with shared components of “history, language, cultural traditions, attire or religion (Bhopal, 2004)” (Parameshwaran and Engzell, 2004, p.400). Thus, it is the focus of culture that informs ethnicity that this research will focus on when referring to ‘ethnicity,’ as race is considered less important with cultural ethnicity being more important as it is something communities have as their own; especially as populations are separated “into distinct communities or groups [with] links to closely political agendas” (Aspinall, 2009, p.1418). This will be explored upon in the following section.

## 2.3 Official Categorisation and Discrimination in Britain

A theme throughout the literature is the role that the Empire and enlightenment have on the frameworks on society, with some white people – carrying on ideas of Hume (1748) – that they are superior (Hudson, 1996, pp.257-9). In the modern-day, this is inflicted by categorises developed by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), which is not an independent body, as the agenda is set by the government (GORS: Home - Departments - Office for National Statistics, n.d.). This enables the Government to fulfil their political agendas (Aspinall, 2009, p.1418) which are, “bureaucratically rational strategies of government and social control’ (Jenkins 2008, 45)” (Parameshwaran and Engzell, 2014, p.401).

*“The ethnic group options presented to the respondent are not completely ones of self-identity, since the respondent is likely to have had no say in the names or the number of the different alternative ethnic groups in the ‘menu’. Therefore, the freedom the respondent has to select their own group is constrained and influenced by the options on offer” (Aspinall, 2013, p.180).*

The quote from above is taken as a description from the Census and simplifying ethnicities via of the sub-continent disregards and ignores the differences within ethnicities, from religious to cultural differences. This does not consider the balance of cultures that is relevant to British Indians.

The clash of cultures, heavily influenced by assimilation theories (Alba and Nee 1997; Portes and Zhou 1993)” explain the role of family and impact upon generational differences

(Berrington, 2020, p.914). This internal struggle has been portrayed in British culture, through films such as *Bend It Like Beckham* (Chadha, 2002) and in podcasts, such as the *Masala Podcast* (Pillai, 2020) as the second generation is known as “The Insecure” due to trying to grapple a sense of belonging between the two cultures, Hiro (1979) highlights “even if you are a Hindu, your attitudes become Western” and “confusion arises because Western society affects the five major elements of the identity of a human being: his name, religion, food, dress and language” (pp.220-1) Balancing this confusion in the societal frameworks still in place from the Victorian Era is outdated.

The impact of this on Indians essentially places an unconscious limit on enabling individuals to reach their full potential. One way this has been done is through the terms such as BME and ‘BAME’ which were first used in healthcare but introduced by the government into public discourse as an “adjective for communities, groups, households, people, populations, [and] staff” (Aspinall, 2020, p.107). These terms are problematic because they imply all non-white people are a homogenous bloc and governments introducing ‘one size fits all’ measures in dealing with discrimination – this means problems do not get the attention they deserve, but this is starting to change.

In 2021, the Governments CRED report was released as was the 1928 Institute ‘Identity, Political Representation and Policy Priorities: The British Indian Experience’ (Manku et al, 2021). These reports along with academics such as Rakib Ehsan are shining a light on the importance of understanding variations between ethnicities, including “high levels of female activity – which ranks far higher than other sizeable ethnic groups in the UK” and “Indian-heritage pupils have one of the highest ‘Attainment 8’ scores in England” (Ehsan, *Eastern Eye*, 2021a). This highlights the decline in ascriptive characteristics, this is known as less of a

focus on race and ethnicity as achievements, such as academia are more focused upon (Marrett and Leggon, 1980, p.10).

## **2.4 Concluding Thoughts**

Britain's memory of the former Empire still runs in the veins of society today. Second, and subsequent generations are dealing with sorting out the frameworks that are still based on the Victorian ideals – which see white people as superior – along with dealing with existing between and within two cultures – British *and* Indian.

A limited amount of work has been done on this, from the 1928 Institute to the Governments CRED Report, which has shone some light on how communities co-exist with one another, the literature on British Indians is very limited.

From this, the objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To examine the lasting impact of colonialism on British politics and society.
2. To investigate the outdatedness of BAME.
3. To examine the impact of socialisation and cultural integration of second and third generations on their sense of belonging.

To gain a detailed understanding of the findings to these objectives, this research will focus upon the thoughts and feelings of second and third-generation British Indians – whilst also comparing these views to those of the first generation. By 'opening up the historical views that are embedded within society that we can begin to understand where second and third generation British Indians 'come in;' and determine why the term British Indian is redundant.

## Chapter 3 – Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

The literature review revealed a gap in addressing the usefulness of ‘British Indian’ and revealed it is a broad term and may no longer be relevant today. As there is little research in this area, I undertook the research using grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967. This is an approach which “emphasises the importance of empirical fieldwork and the need to link any explanations very closely to what happens in practical solutions in ‘the real world’” (Denscombe, 2010, p.107).

Using a questionnaire and interviews to investigate this area, this chapter discusses how effective the research methods were and why adopting a positivist philosophy has benefited the researcher, to identify how Indians in Britain feel they should be discussed in politics and society. To do this, a consideration of my existing research skills was crucial because the research should be designed in line with the “research and training skills of the researcher” (Burnham, 2008 p.44) and considering the impact of the Covid-19 restrictions upon the research.

#### 3.1.1 The Problem

Verstehen, as postulated by Max Weber (Martin, 2018) is the understanding of human behaviour, and since the aim of this research is understanding how British Indians feel about being labelled ‘British-Indian’, finding Verstehen is the goal of my research. The social



climate is right to investigate this, following the BLM movement encouraging such conversations; and with the increased use of the internet which continues to bring people together - the researcher who is a third-generation migrant felt it necessary that now is the right time to look at why British Indian is a redundant term.

Typically, within the social sciences it is important that the researcher be objective, yet I decided on a positivist approach. Kirk and Miller (2011) explain the positivist approach as denying objectivity because a researcher does not have to be independent of the research to be able to have a full view of it (p.14). Furthermore, as this is a sensitive area “the interviewers identity assumes particular importance” (Denscombe, 2014, p.216) meaning the researcher was at an advantage in being able to relate to what interviewees were saying by using their own experiences to prompt deeper answers.

### **3.2 Approach and Choice of Method.**

Investigating why British Indian is a redundant term, meant the chosen research methods had to be valuable enough to provide the researcher with as much detail as possible. It is for this reason there was a combination of one-on-one interviews and a questionnaire. At the time of planning the dissertation - April 2021- the UK Government had not removed all legal limits on social contact. This impacted how the researcher decided to collect the dataset – using Zoom and Google Forms which will be explained in the following section.

The primary reason for choosing one-on-one interviews was they enabled a qualitative approach. As previously mentioned, there is little research in this area therefore a qualitative approach enabled me to collect in-depth data from a small sample (Burnham, 2008, p.40). This meant I could focus upon the “greater interest in the interviewee’s point of view; in quantitative research, the interview reflects on the researcher’s concerns” (Bryman, 2015, p.466), as the topics of the interviews are not “associated with normal conversation (Denscombe 1983; Silverman 1985, 2013)” (Denscombe, 2014, pp.254-8). Using a qualitative methodology ensured I could use multiple methods to examine “the accuracy of data and to verify that people behave in ways that they say they do whilst being able to make generalisations about the phenomenon as a whole” because of the depth of the research” (Burnham, 2008, pp.40-2).

The second research method utilised was a questionnaire. This allowed me to translate the “hypotheses into a series of questions designed to elicit the information needed to test them rigorously. The questions must be designed so that variations in responses reflect real differences between responders” (Burnham, 2008, p.113). In the provision of an accurate measurement of "people’s opinions [or] attitudes” (McNabb, 2015, p.110). Furthermore, I aimed to develop a high-quality questionnaire which provided “accurate data, but it must also relate to the needs to the users” (Erens, 2013, p.45). It is for these reasons questions were designed around current affairs.

Having decided on using a questionnaire and interviews, and to limit interruptions, the questions were prepared in advance, meaning I was able to contact as many organisations and individuals as possible. This was to let them know what the research project was about and be

informed whether they would be open to participating. Interview dates and times were agreed as soon as the ethics form received approval on 23rd May 2021 which can be located in Appendix I; as well as to accommodate last minute delays – if necessary. Nine of the interviews were held throughout June 2021 with the tenth being held in August; they lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. The Google Forms link was sent out on the 1st of June 2021 and the link was deactivated on 17th July 2021.

I contacted potential interviewees, initially by email, or if I did not have their direct contact details, they were contacted via Twitter. All interviewees were asked the same questions, which were developed by me, to ensure the authenticity of interviews. Furthermore, a written assurance of anonymity was sent to the interviewees ahead of the interview, via a Participant Information Sheet and Consent Sheet – a blank example can be found in Appendix I. All interviews were recorded and were professionally transcribed, using Trint. The transcripts were used to identify key themes and to cross-reference with the data recorded from the questionnaire.

### **3.2.1 Software**

Covid-19 restrictions impacted how data was collected, traditional methods were still used but it had to be conducted online.

Zoom has many benefits from removing the cost and time of travel for the researcher and saving consented audio recordings straight onto the researcher's external hard drive. The disadvantages of using Zoom came in the form of removing the ability to build rapport with interviewees and the risk of technical difficulties in “setting up and conducting the interviews

and uploading the interview recording” (Gray et al, 2020, p.1297). Covid-19 restrictions helped the research, because as Table 1 shows; interviewees were located in various locations throughout England.

The chosen platform for questionnaires was Google Forms, initially, the researcher had intended to use Survey Monkey however as this particular area is under research, the questionnaire needed to be rigorous, which necessitated more than 10 questions, and thus made Survey Monkey a financially inviable option for conducting the research. In using Google Forms, I was able to guarantee anonymity for participants which were important because this is a sensitive discussion. The traditional method of sending a paper questionnaire was ruled out because this would not have guaranteed anonymity and it would have been inefficient as the questionnaire would have had to be quarantined for 3 days when the participants used them and then another 3 days when the researcher received them filled in, due to complicity with Covid-19 regulations. Furthermore, this would have come at a great financial cost, and thus was considered inviable.

### **3.2.2 Reproducibility**

This research was made to be reproducible to ensure if the project was to be completed again, there would be a confirmation of results – therefore making the conclusion of this research, accurate. However, due to the research taking place during a political and social climate that is openly discussing ethnicity and identity – if the study were to be repeated, the researcher would need to consider that.

### 3.2.3 Reliability and Validity

In determining whether the methodology is reproducible, anticipating reliability and validity is important. Due to the nature of the research was based on people's feelings and opinions, qualitative research methods were chosen for their reliability and validity.

Reliability *"is concerned with the question of whether the results of the study are repeatable"* (Bryman, 2015, p.41), and within this is the requirement of representative reliability. This is explained by Neuman (2013) as "reliability across subpopulations or different types of cases" (pp.212-3). One measure is taken during the research to ensure reliability was recruiting as many participants as possible, for the questionnaire. This meant the results could be cross-referenced with the one-on-one interviews, which were held with people who either have a specific research area interest or their experiences could be drawn upon.

Validity *"refers to whether 'you are observing, identifying, or 'measuring' what you say you are' (Mason, 1996, p.24)"* (Bryman, 2015, p.383), and this is important because it "suggests truthfulness." Without it, "the ideas we use to analyse the social world and what occurs in the lived social world is poor" (Neuman, 2013, p.212). Having stressed how under-researched British Indians are, it was important to have valid results as "the results of the investigation can be generalized beyond the situation in which the study was conducted" (Taylor, 2013, p.10). A total of 245 participants strongly indicates the findings of this research are, reliable, valid, and representative.

## **3.3 Strategy and Research Design**

### **3.3.1 Hypothesis**

The hypothesis is ‘*Second and third-generation British Indians have more negative thoughts associated with the term British Indian.*’ This hypothesis has been designed to uncover the extent of how much the identity has changed or if it is in the process of changing.

### **3.3.2 Sampling**

To recruit interview participants, snowball and purposive sampling were used. Snowball sampling is described by Vogt (1999) as “a technique for finding research subjects. One subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third and so on” (Atkinson and Flint, 2001, p.1). Purposive sampling is when the researcher deliberately picks people based on “their relevance to the issue/theory being investigated; knowledge: privileged knowledge or experience about the topic” (Denscombe, 2014, p.73). These were the strongest sampling methods because it complements the qualitative research as highlighted by various authors in Noy (2008) that can “lead to dynamic moments where unique social knowledge of an interactional quality can be fruitfully generated” (p.328).

Additionally, “due to its networking characteristics and flexibility, snowball sampling has become a popular means of recruiting research participants when seeking access to hard-to-reach populations (Parker et al, 2019, p.4). It is for this reason that the importance of the researcher’s background of having previously studied in Leicester and being politically active

was important because of the meaningful connections made. This meant I was able to gain access to privileged information, from a range of interviewees. In addition, the participants were people who have worked within this area, it meant if they were to start “rambling” (as often is the case with qualitative interviews) because they felt comfortable with the researcher it means deeper insights were provided – something heavily discouraged in qualitative research (Bryman, 2015, pp.466-8).

Snowball sampling was also used to recruit participants for the questionnaire. This was answered by 235 participants from 1st of June 2021 to 17th July 2021 and participants ranged from people who work in large organisations to friends and family members of the interviewees. To utilise the power of the internet and connectivity, the meme page ‘GujuMemes’ was contacted, a popular social media page, with over 100,000 Instagram followers, aimed at sharing and creating content relevant to the diaspora in the UK.

### **3.3.3 Questions**

The literature review informed the questions asked in the questionnaire and interviews. As previously mentioned, Manku et al (2021) had released a report earlier in the year, which mirrored this research – if the existence of this report had been known about sooner, the questions for my research would have been constructed to uncover detail not touched upon in the report.

The following sections show the questions for the interviews and questionnaire, these questions mirror one another, which was done deliberately to enable me to cross reference and confidently assess why British Indian is a redundant term.

### 3.3.3.1 Interview Questions

The questions which can be found in Appendix III were split into four broad areas, with the following outline:

1. *The Individual*
2. *Thoughts on Race Relations*
3. *Indians in Britain*
4. *Impact of colonialism*

The first question elicited information on the individuals' background, as each of the participants has varying levels of interest and knowledge in this area – which impacts their contribution to the research. For three of the participants, they have a broad interest within this area and the remaining participants both have an interest but are also able to speak from personal experiences.

Questions two and four were intertwined as they focused upon the changing attitudes of the British state and how they are reacting to the current political and social climate. This was important to ask because there is a lot of tension within society, and it is time to work together and use lessons of the past to inform the present and future.

Question three asked about the story of Indians in Britain, following themes of integration and challenges faced by the varying generations in finding their own identity. There was also reference to what is going on in India because research has shown that there are still very



strong emotional ties to the country and this research has begun to assess the relevance of the continuation of the use of ‘British-Indian.’

### **3.3.3.2 Questionnaire Questions**

The questions which can be found in Appendix II were split into four broad areas, with the following outline:

1. *About you*
2. *Politics*
3. *Race relations*
4. *Identity*

Similar to the interviews, the first section of the questionnaire asked participants to give some details about themselves that would not reveal their identity. This basic information enabled me to establish trends and themes across different demographic backgrounds.

Question two asked participants if they have a strong political allegiance and how they voted in the 2016 Referendum on the UK’s Membership of the European Union (EU) and the 2019 General Election (GE). The reason for this, a correlation can be drawn between political and social attitudes, further allowing me to draw links between demographic backgrounds from question one and voting behaviour.

Question three focused on reactions to the BLM movement and its impact on society. This question was asked because there are clear divides in how people feel about the movement,

and for this piece of research which looks at a combination of race relations, society, and self-identity it was important to lightly discuss. Question three also drew on the CRED Report and asked participants about their views on Recommendation 24 which was to stop using the acronym 'BAME' due to its lack of usefulness. This question allows me to draw links between the demographic and voting behaviour found in questions one and two, to participants social attitudes towards BLM.

Question four was set to find out how a vast group of British Indians felt about the label which had been assigned to them. Participants were asked because the label 'British Indian' had been assigned, by the ONS in 2001. Furthermore, given how under-researched the community is – due to being inaccessible in the past; the use of modern technology means that individuals are now more in charge of their future. This final question allows me to bring together the findings from questions one to three and draw a link to *why* the term British Indian is redundant.

### **3.3.4 Precedence**

The precedence for this research derives from research papers including *'Race' in Britain* by Charles Husband (1982); *Discrimination, Social Relations and Trust: Civic Inclusion of British Ethnic Minorities* by Muhammed Rakib Ehsan (2019), which used interviews and *'Designing High-Quality Surveys of Ethnic Minority Groups in the United Kingdom'* by Erens (2013) which emphasises the benefits of using a questionnaire.

### 3.4 Ethics

Before commencing the study, ethical clearance was sought from the University of York's, Department of Politics. The ethics form gave great consideration in the prevention of harm to participants. For this research, emotion harm was identified. The reason being participants may have had to relive racist abuse. The ethics form can be found in Appendix I.

Firstly, only participants aged 18 and over were encouraged to participate. This was achieved was through the provision of an information sheet and consent form as can be seen on pages 12 to 17 in Appendix I. The information sheet provided links to useful websites to organisations to contact if participants felt they required help with their mental health. In preparation for the interviews, the provision of the consent sheet before the agreed date and time ensured the interviewee had enough time to ask the researcher any questions if they had any. During the interview, I stressed that the interviewee need not answer questions if it was too distressing.

Additionally, to ensure it was completely ethical – the interviewees were asked about their age, ethnicity, religion, location, and occupation. This was important because they are in control, and the researcher did not want the participants to feel uncomfortable, and to anonymise them. Whilst Appendix VI to XV provides the transcripts, parts of the transcript have been redacted to protect the identity of participants.

Before starting the questionnaire, participants gave a code or a unique word on the Google Form, because if they wanted to withdraw their responses, they would simply have to contact the researcher before 6th August 2021 and their responses would no longer be included in this research. When sending out the link, the researcher ensured email addresses would not be recorded to ensure anonymity. To ensure anonymity, the codes have been removed from the provided dataset

Finally, as Appendix II shows, on all questions there was the option for participants to record 'prefer not to say' if something was particularly distressing. All but one of the questions were mandatory. The reason for this was due to British Indians being an under-researched group, I needed to maximise the volume of data collected in order to gain an insightful snapshot.

### **3.5 Limitations**

One of the limitations in using grounded theory is the generalisations that are made from the findings, these generalisations could be misunderstood as "they are 'abstractions' from the data that are concepts, and which are used to construct theories" (Denscombe, 2010, p.123).

Thus, as there was a language barrier, as I am unable to speak Gujrati/Hindi fluently, interviewees were invited to participate on the basis that they can speak English fluently.

The second limitation was not knowing people around the UK; therefore, the findings of this research is limited to Indians in England. If, for example, there were no Covid-19 restrictions

in place, I would have been able to meet people around the UK and gather deeper insights into this research area, by building rapport.

The same limitation applies to the questionnaire. Receiving responses meant the researcher had to remind organisations to send the questionnaire to members and by not being able to build rapport with potential respondents, it meant there were low levels of trust thus meaning people were less likely to answer sensitive questions. It is for this reason that if circumstances were different (no Covid-19 restrictions) focus groups could be used – these focus groups would have people who identify as ‘British Indian’ of different religion, from across the UK being proportionate to the British Indian population in the region.

## Chapter 4 – Discussion and Analysis

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results from the questionnaire and findings from the interviews will be analysed and the findings will be discussed to test the hypothesis “*Second and third-generation British Indians have more negative thoughts associated with the term British Indian.*” The key questions to be answered are

1. To what extent are attitudes towards the social climate impacted by generation, gender, and religion?
2. Is there a relationship between voting behaviour and attitudes towards social movements?
3. Is there still value in the Indian identity amongst the diaspora?

There are five key findings:

- Clear divide along with gender, generation, and religion when it comes to voting behaviour and attitudes towards BLM.
- The importance of religion, values and family are really important to the Indian community.
- Assimilation Theory has resulted in British Indians being proud of being both British and Indian.
- The experiences of second and third generations are unique.
- People who are British Indian have a right to assert how they want to be identified.

## 4.2 Method of Analysis

Using grounded theory, to analyse the data, a thematic analysis will be used to analyse questionnaire and interview data – because the interviews were semi-structured, and the questions aligned with the questions asked in the questionnaire. Denscombe (2010) explains are assigned to the raw data, which will at first be very descriptive – which is known as *open coding*. Following this, links will be formed and there will be some codes that appear to be more important than others, this is understood as *axial coding*, before being able to be selective with the most significant categories and being able to focus just on these, which are “vital to any explanation of the complex social phenomenon” (p.115).

To ensure a good quality analysis; triangulation with sources read to inform the background reading.

## 4.3 General Findings

The general findings surround variations in opinions based on; gender, generation, religion, and voting behaviour. Two of the most impactful findings are, firstly; second-generation females tend to be more receptive to political and social change whereas older males are not. This is significant, as Figure 1 shows overwhelming participation from second-generation females. Secondly, culture is one of the utmost important factors, which is due to individuals being able to use religion (for example), as a building block for their own identity.

## Chapter 5 – Demographics

### 5.1 Questionnaire

A discussion of the demographics is necessary, as the findings from the data provide a generalised snapshot of thoughts and feelings.

#### 5.1.1 Gender and Age

The age profile of participants is significant, as Graph 2 shows, 147 of the participants from the questionnaire were aged between 18 to 34 and the majority of participants were females. It should be noted that our non-binary/other respondents constitute <1% of this data, meaning a generalisation cannot be made for this group, by taking note of this, their thoughts are still incorporated in this research.



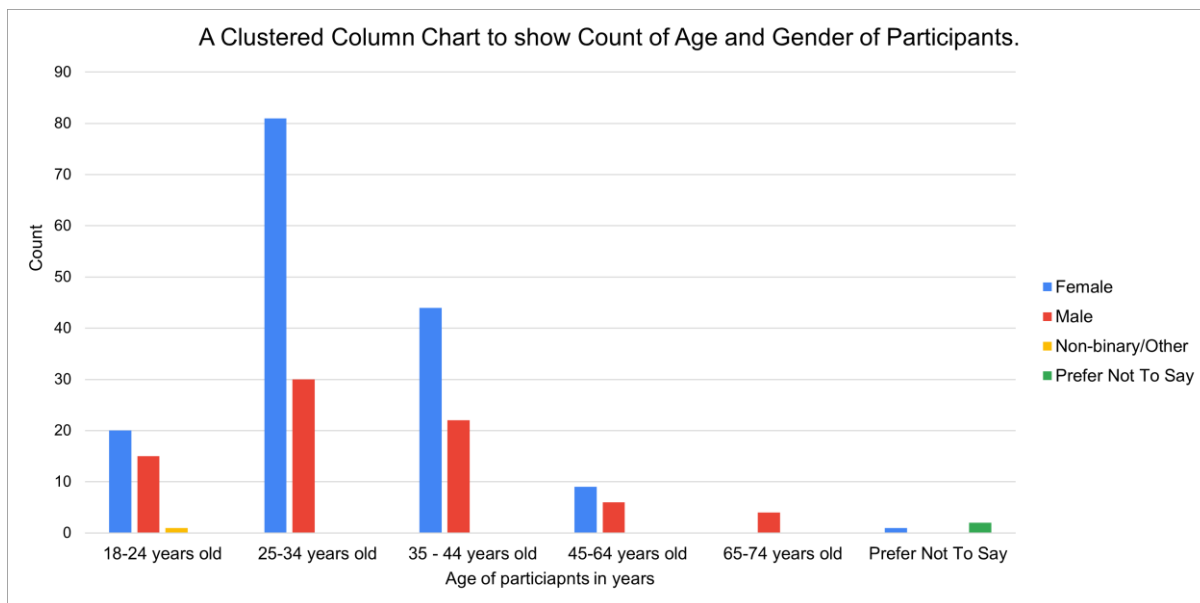


Figure 1

A relatively young demographic is unsurprising, as according to Gov.UK “18- to 34-year-olds made up one third (33.4%) of Indian people,” and a similar result was found in Manku et al (2021) as 54% of the participants “were born in the UK, with 10% having roots in this country for over 60 years. Just over half of those surveyed (51%) stated that their families first came to the UK in the 1960s and 1970s” (p.14). The impact of this is second generation females are more likely to be open to discussing societal problems of today.

## 5.1.2 Religion

The role of religion in the results was significant, Figure 2 shows a breakdown of religious identity based on gender and generation. Chapter 6 will expand on how religion has impacted the findings from “immigrants in post-war Britain [having] created an ethnicity revolving around religion, politics, and culture (Panayi, 1999, p.20). Whilst this directly impacted the first generation, religion is also important for subsequent generations to ‘find themselves’ as confirmed by participants VII and IX. The role of religion is specifically important for Hindus; how they perceive social movements and the breakdown of voter trust with the Labour Party due to a rise in ‘Hinduphobia’ – this definition can be found in the glossary and will be discussed further in Section 6.4.

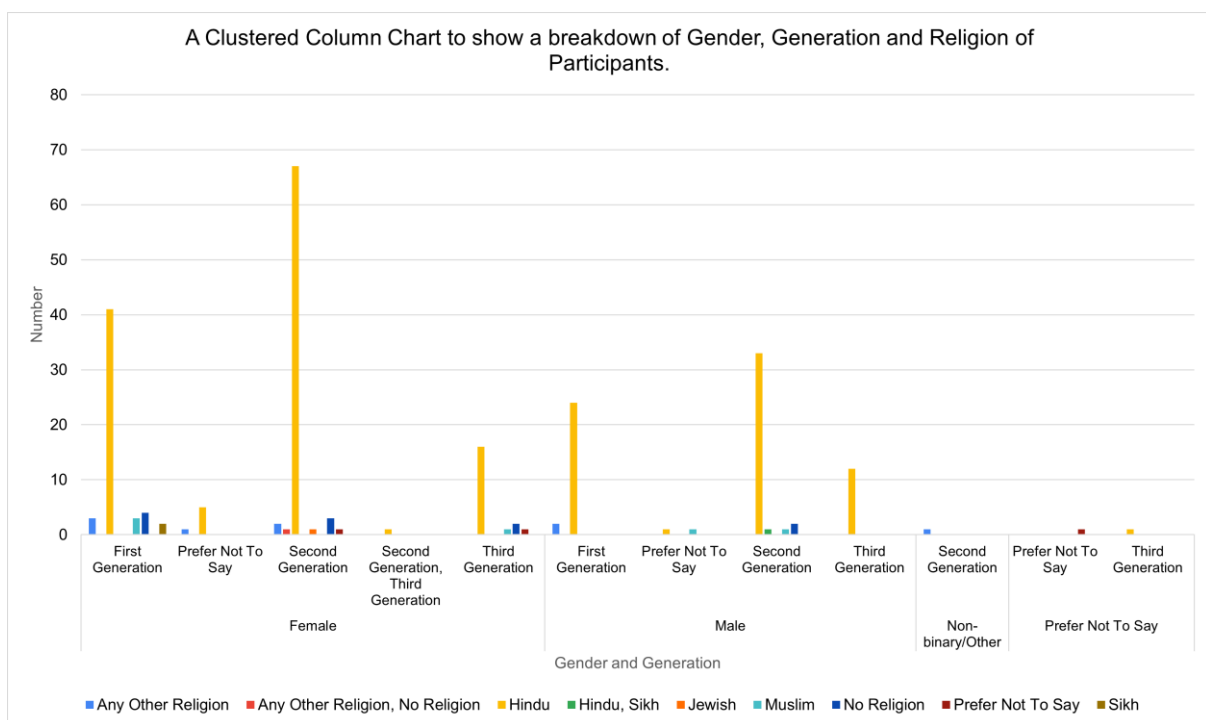


Figure 2

### 5.1.3 Education

Graph 3 provides a snapshot of the educational levels of the participants. The British Indian community are highly educated, with “more than 50% of Indians in the UK are qualified to degree level” (Grant Thornton, 2020, p.9) or having a professional or vocational equivalent, as shown in Figure 3. This is not unusual seeing as most of the participants were second generation females and the pursuit of education is encouraged Berrington (2020, p.916; Ehsan, Eastern Eye, 2021a). The impact of this on the current political and social climate is participants are more aware of what is going on around them and are more willing to voice their opinions.

One thing that can be taken away from this, which impacts the rest of the findings is Indians not being engaged in the culture war, which has – to some – swarmed the UK, from the US. This definition can be found in the glossary and will be explored further in Chapter 5.

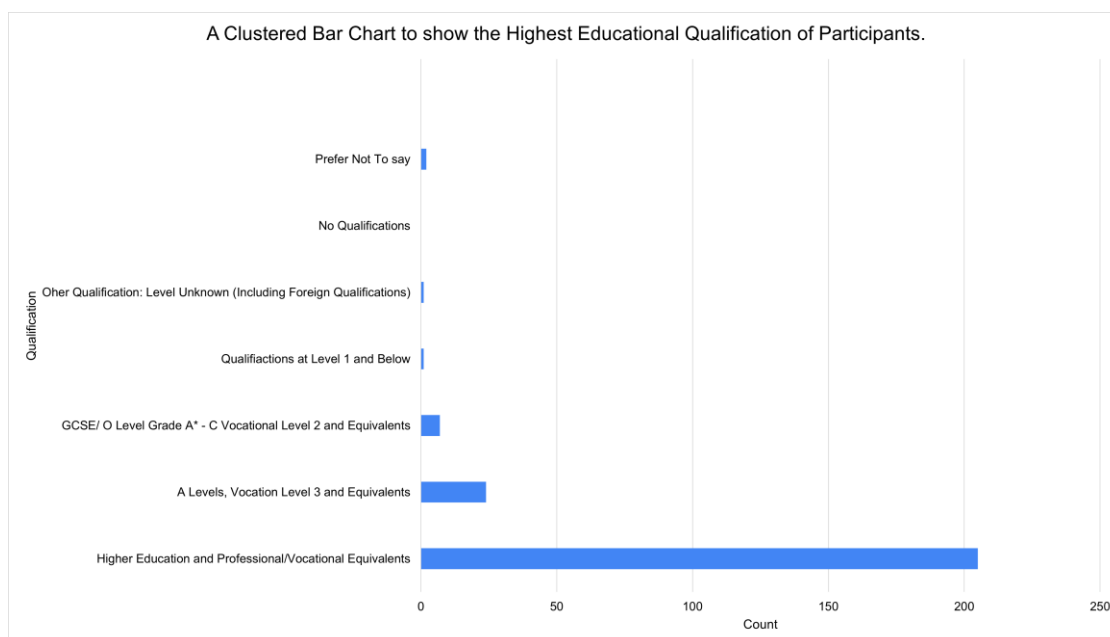


Figure 3

## 5.1.4 Location and Voting Behaviour

### Particiapnts

- London (113)
- South East (18)
- South West (11)
- East of England (12)
- East Midlands (42)
- Yorkshire and the Humber (4)
- West Midlands (23)
- North East (2)
- North West (11)
- N/A

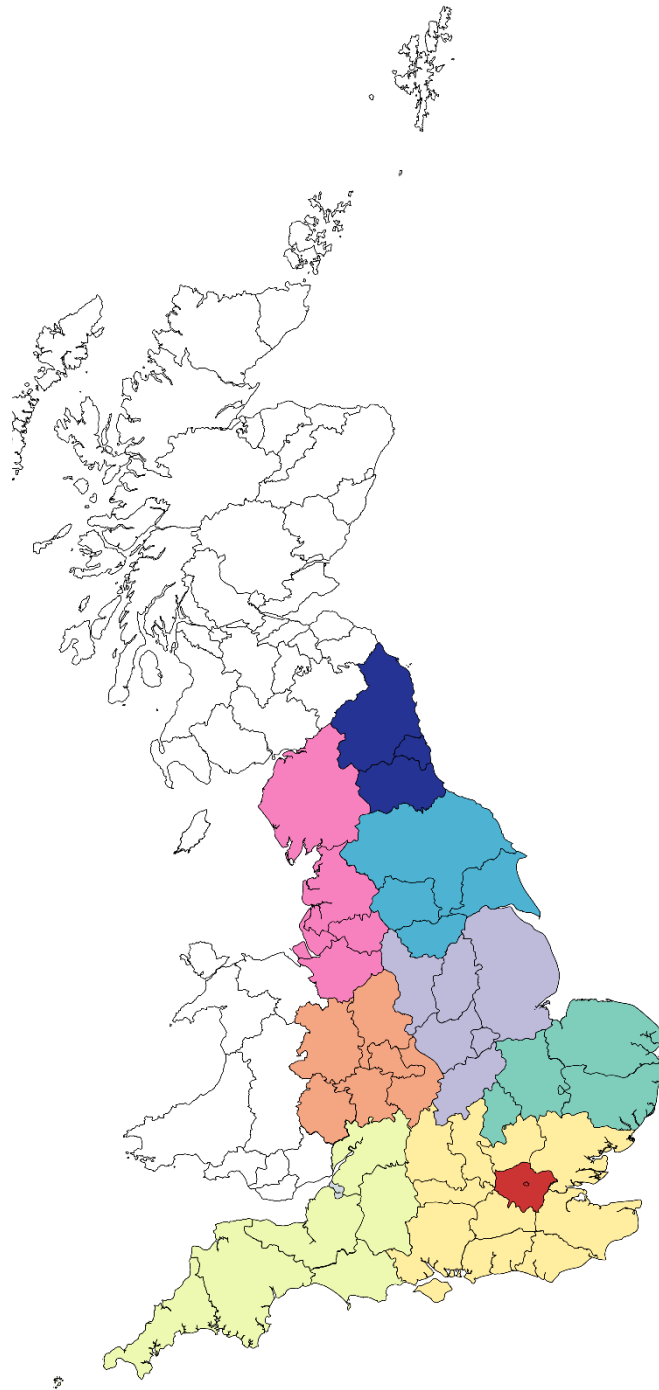


Figure 4

This map combines the location of interviewees and participants of the questionnaire, and the majority of participants came from London and the East Midlands. This is unsurprising as a report by Grant Thornton (2020) found that over half a million people of Indian descent live in London (p.16), and a reason for this is the result of chain migration. Moffett (2018) explains this as moving “to places where they feel comfortable. Those places often are home to previous generations who share the same culture and nationality,” thus reinforces why an online questionnaire was most suitable – to get the most accurate of results.

This is supported further by Aspinall (2009) as the “geographical sparsity of the minority ethnic group population (and, indeed, of such data in some surveys and administrative sources) making hierarchical classifications attractive” (p.1421). The impact of location upon voting behaviour should not be understated as the Labour Party in the 1970s worked with

minorities to address their concerns, particularly in addressing racism (Peace and Meen, 2020, p.6) yet this is slowly changing.

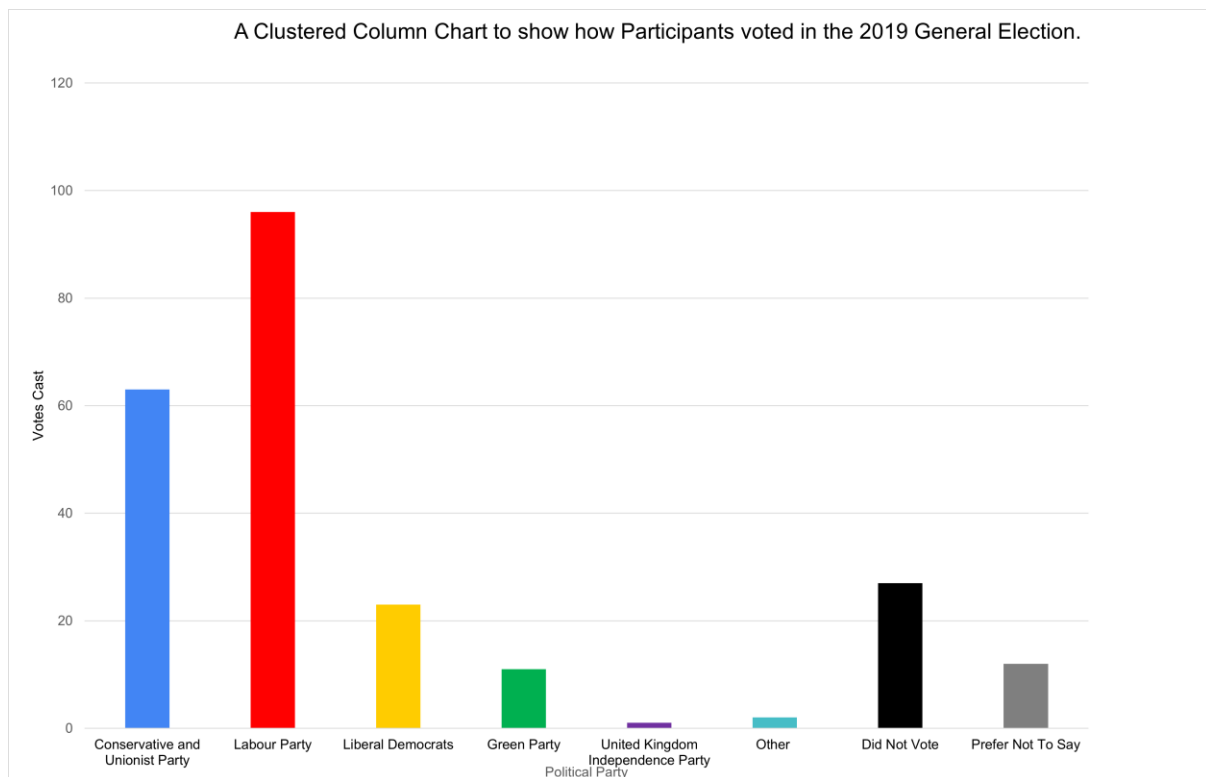


Figure 5

This is confirmed by Manku et al (2021) as they found “the majority of the respondents either voted for the Labour Party (36%) or the Conservative Party (30%).” (p.17). Whilst this questionnaire was answered by participants from England, the constituencies of Leicester East and Batley and Spen will be discussed in Chapter 5, to highlight the decline in the relationship between Indian voters and the Labour Party who, under Jeremy Corbyn, this decline began with values no longer lining up and the party fuelling religious tensions between Hindus and Muslims. What is most interesting is Figure 5 showing the clear difference in support on religious grounds – as will be expanded on further in Section 6.4.

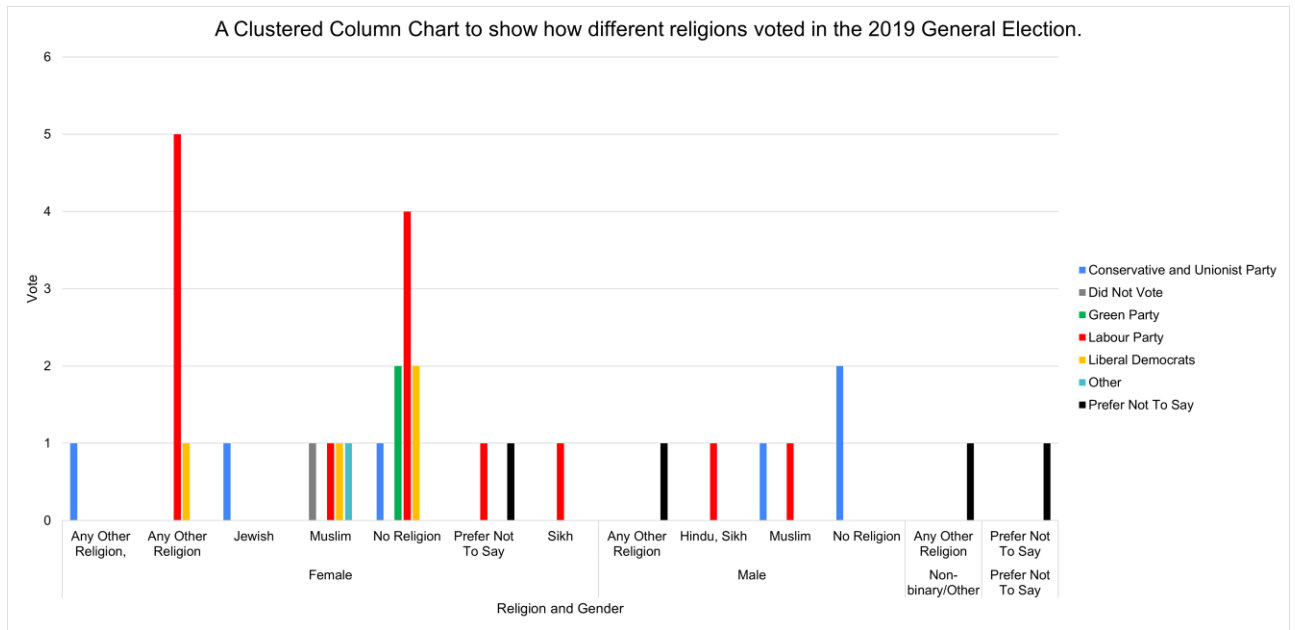


Figure 6

The data provided convincing evidence in favour of the argument that Indians were the main ethnic minority group to vote to *Leave* as shown in Figure 7. Some research has been done into this, with reasons being Indians are more entrepreneurial-minded and the EU curbs this, and Indians feel the historic relationship between Britain and the Commonwealth means more, as there is a shared history and respect. It is this historical relationship that had impacted the way participants voted in the 2019 GE, as shown in Figure 5.

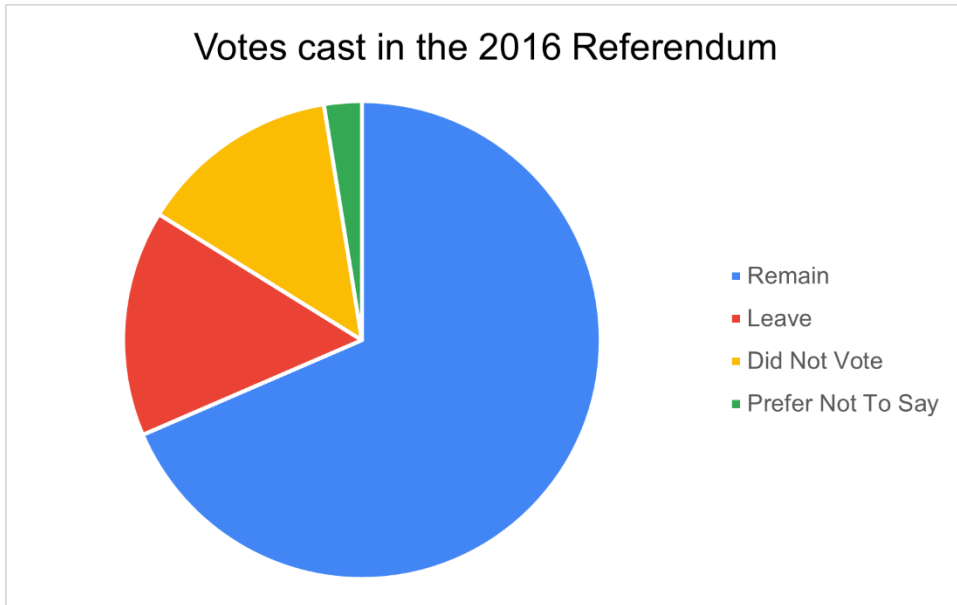


Figure 7

It is worth drawing out how different religions voted in both the 2016 Referendum Figure 8 and 2019 GE (Figure 6). It clearly shows participants who are not Hindu tended to vote to Remain in the EU and were more likely to vote for the Labour Party, these reasons will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

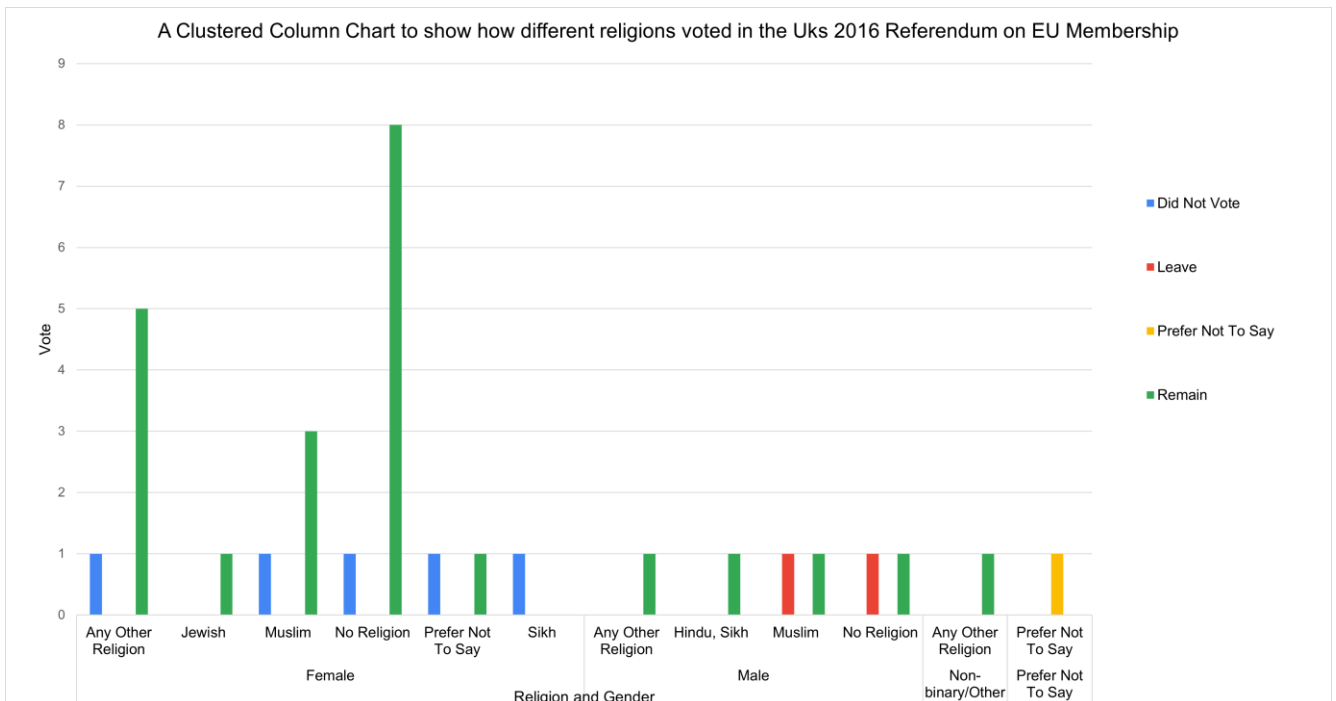


Figure 8



## 5.2 Interviews

Table 1

Participant	Gender	Age	Religion	Ethnicity	Location	Occupation
I	M	31	Muslim	British	Bedfordshire	Academic
II	M	35	Sikh	British	Leicestershire	Parliamentary Researcher
III	M	59	Hindu	Indian	Lancashire	Professor
IV	M	39	Hindu	British- Indian	Leicestershire	Law
V	F	40	No Religion	British- Indian	Buckinghamshire	Relations Manager
VI	M	58	Greek Orthodox Christian	Greek Cypriot	Leicestershire	Professor
VII	M	43	Sikh	British - Indian	London	Journalist
VIII	F	35	No Religion	English	Gloucestershire	Domestic Abuse Worker
IX	F	22	Sikh	Punjabi	London	Writer
X	F	48	Hindu	Indian	London	Podcaster/Activist/Writer

When discussing parts of the interview in Chapters 6 and 7, a distinction will be made between those who have a vested research interest and those who have been directly impacted, furthermore it will add depth to the findings because it will draw upon different age and genders perceive race relations and identity.

## Chapter 6 – Race Relations

*Britain remains one of the most successful examples of a post-World War two diverse democracy, a multi-ethnic white majority democracy”* – Participant I, Appendix VI at 00:10:45

The definition of Race Relations can be found in the glossary and has been the focus of attention since May 2020 following the death of George Floyd which witnessed “a wave of civil unrest” in the US, followed by a growth in the BLM Movement (Ehsan, 2021b, p.6). The UK was also impacted as the death of George Floyd was the “stimulus for heightened racial consciousness” as it “raised issues of racial inequality and institutional discrimination” (Ehsan, 2021b, p.6). Whilst the movement aims to improve racial equality, there is an unequal discussion with British Indians not being ‘in’ the conversation, as discussions are predominately led by Black Caribbean and African as ‘black’ remains the hegemonic term in these conversations ([Ali, 1991, p.195]in Rex and Drury, 1994, p.87).

This chapter will focus on feelings surrounding the Culture War, BLM and consequently the breakdown of the relationship between the Labour Party and British Indians – who are no longer the “correct type of ethnic minority” (Shah, The Spectator, 2020). This will answer the first research objective *‘examine what the lasting impact of colonialism on British politics and society’* and begin *‘to investigate the outdatedness of BAME.’*

## **6.1 Culture War**

The correlation between the culture war and the rise in connectivity via social media has been a part of our lives and exacerbated since 2020. According to a poll by IPSOS Mori, which looked at Culture Wars in the UK (Duffy et al, 2021a) when 2,834 adults were asked about the issues they associate with ‘Culture Wars’, race, ethnicity and racism received 14% of the responses (p.14). One of the reasons for this, is due to Covid-19 restrictions, people were limited to their echo chambers for the majority of the year and this point was raised by Participant IX, Appendix XIV at 00:10:49 who said she “I think a lot of social media conversations are just performative. You should be posting what’s happening, but I think the black community has tried to do the most behind the scenes.” As this is a social issue, the importance of groups to be engaged in achieving change is imperative and can be successful, as was the case of first generations working with Labour to tackle racism, in the 1970s.

## **6.2 Black Lives Matter**

The culture war can be linked to the BLM Movement, and as Figure 7 indicates Indians do not fully support the movement, as one of the aims is to enforce the idea of ‘white privilege.’ This does not value hard work, which is embedded in the British Indian community and challenges the notion as this community “have managed to thrive” (Ehsan, 2020).

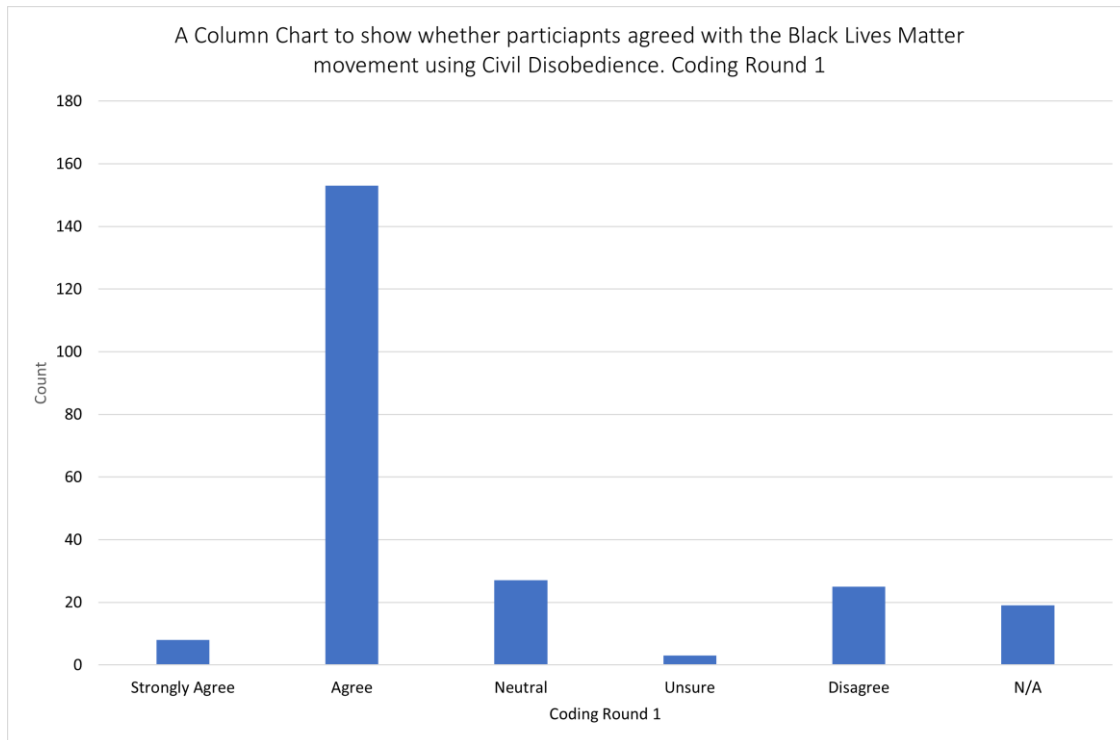


Figure 9

Figure 10 shows the 32 participants of a non-Hindu religious background, overwhelmingly agreed with BLM using civil disobedience. There are many reasons for this, but one correlation can be drawn to, from those of a different religion voting for the Labour Party where Hindus voted for the Conservative Party, as shown in Figure 6.

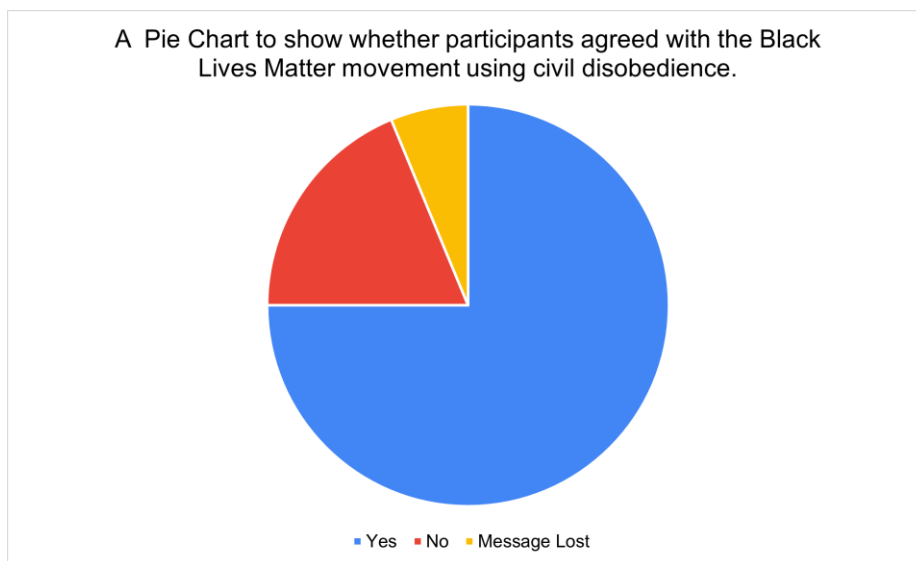


Figure 10

As Figure 11 shows, there is a strong mix of participants agreeing with the use of civil disobedience but at the same time finding it ‘complicated’ and ‘misguided.’ A reason for this is, the movement has been found to have been hijacked by “far-left revolutionary activity within racial-identity [which]... has the potential to disrupt community relations and undermine social causes which command considerable public support” (Ehsan, 2021b, p.57).

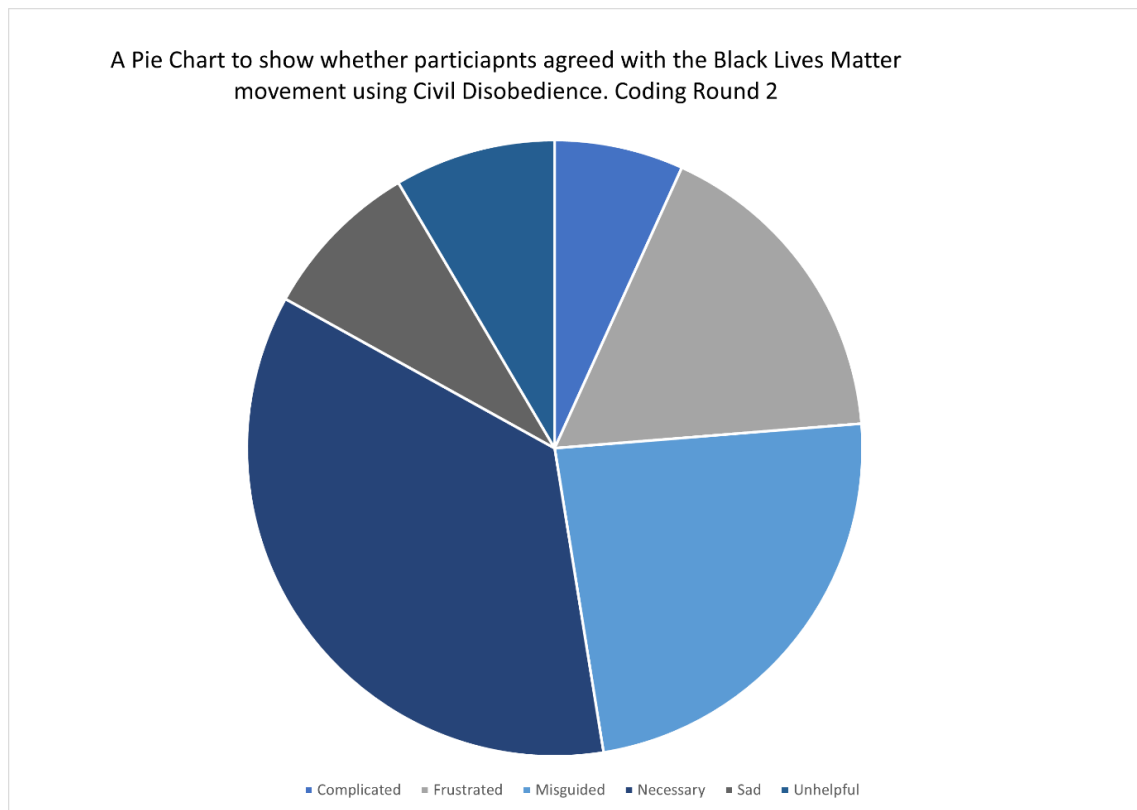


Figure 11

‘Frustration’ can also be coded from the interview with Participant VIII (Appendix XIII at 00:39:05), as the use of civil disobedience was because of racial injustices from the past – and trying to make up for it. She stressed that in her line of work there is a lot that goes wrong but the “foundations and laws and the policies of its application might not be right all the time. We might mess things up quite often, and we do... However, because some activists need to justify their hysteria, what they tend to do is use historic issues to justify their activism today, so that you see the same with sexism, racism, colonialism.” This shows

conversations need to be had about the present, if we want to improve society, otherwise we will not progress.

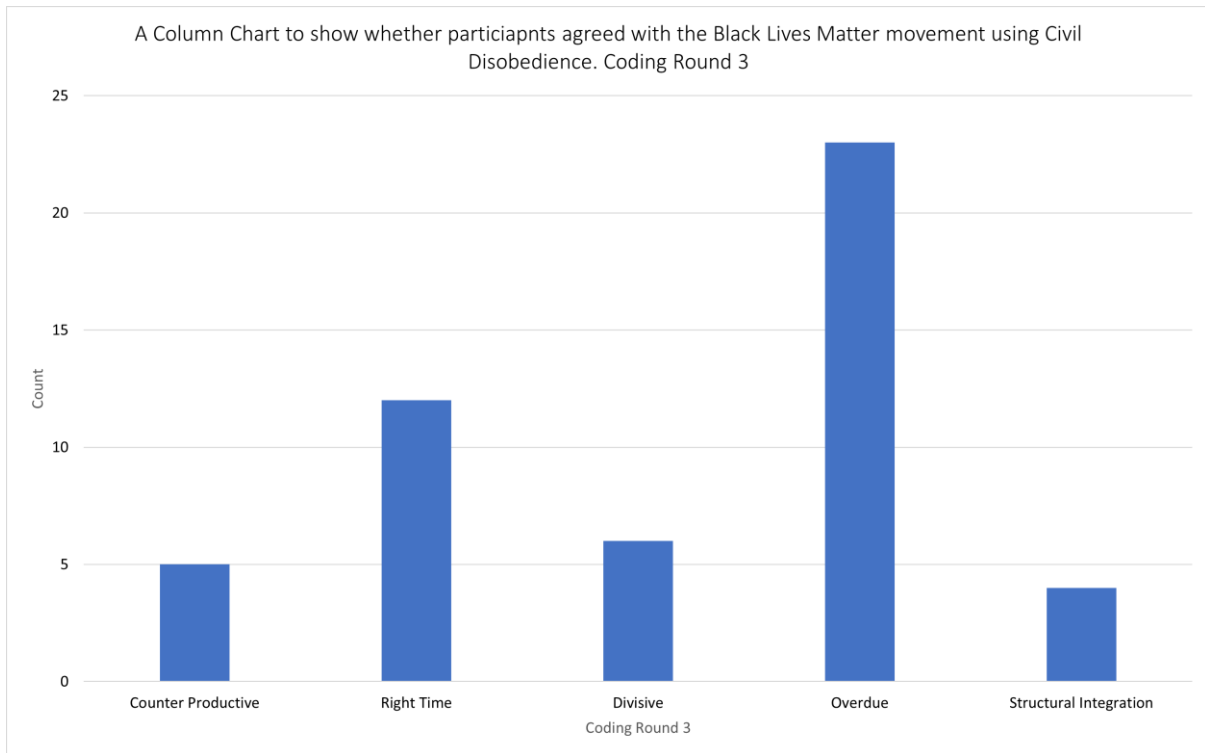
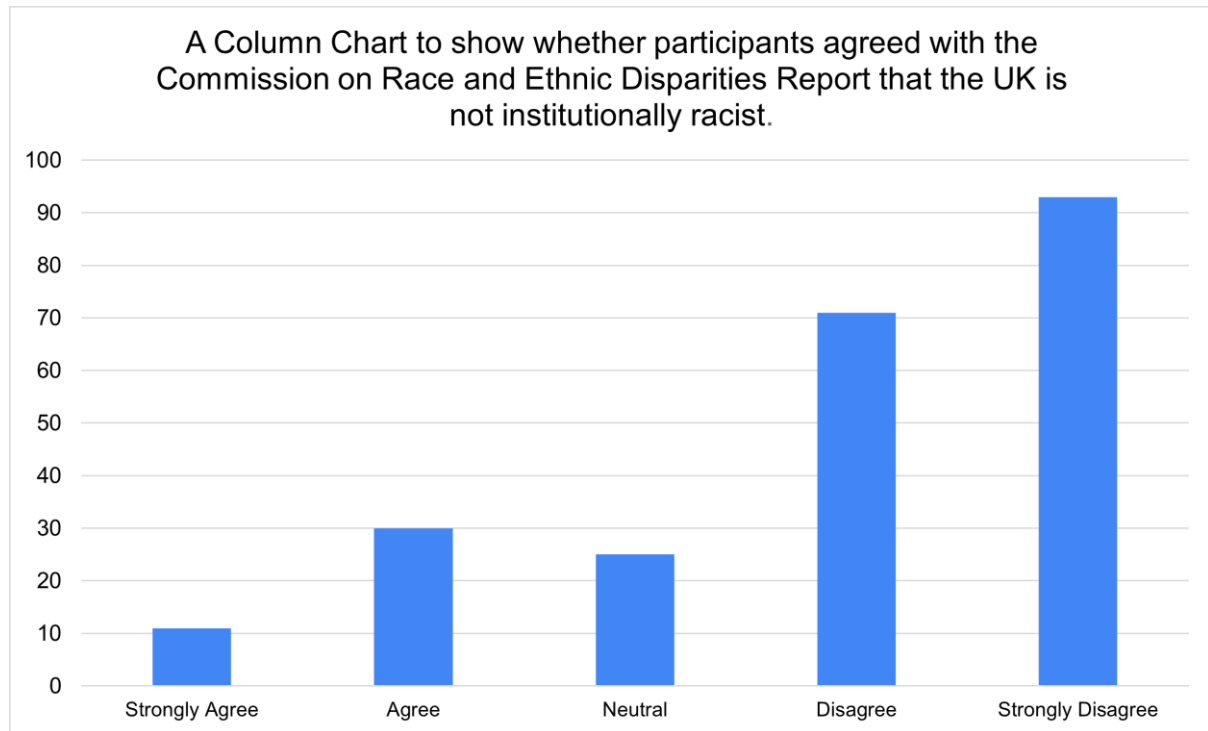


Figure 12

For Figure 12, ‘Divisive’ and ‘Counterproductive’ were coded because the use of civil disobedience, in the eyes of some, has redacted the progress that has been made in conversations on race relations. For Participant I Appendix VI at 00:10:45 “I think much of the progress made has been reversed and I think that’s largely because the anti-racism cause has been hijacked and colonised... often their language is exclusionary and divisive as opposed to being reasoned and inclusive.” This concern has also been echoed by a political commentator who described the tactics as damaging and dangerous because of a “minority using racism in an attempt to destabilise society and further their own Neo-Marxist agenda” (Mistry, 2021a). These ideas are expanded on in the following section.

### 6.3 Race Relations

There is a distinct correlation between the impact of colonialism on British society and politics and generations. This was tested by the thoughts and feelings of second and third



generations on whether they agreed with the Government’s CRED Report finding that the UK is not institutionally racist and “is a more open society” (p.8). Figure 8 shows participants strongly disagree, this can be put down to the fact a lot of raising of awareness of racism is done on social media, this tied with the implication of having been under Covid-19 restrictions meant people were limited to their echo chambers. When asked in interviews, Participants VI, IX and X (Appendices XI, XIV and XV) disagreed with the finding. Participants I, II and VIII (Appendices VI, VII and XIII) on the other hand largely view Britain as a very welcoming, diverse, and tolerant place. All participants did however recognise racism continues to exist.

Figure 13



A further breakdown of results in Figure 13 shows people who are not Hindu strongly disagreed. One reason for this is different religions are treated differently; for example, there is scepticism around turban-wearing Sikhs, in which Participant II in Appendix VII at 00:03:52 mentioned he would have had different experiences – if he wore a turban - because of the scepticism of the Sikh community following 9/11; which has been reiterated by SikhPA (2021).

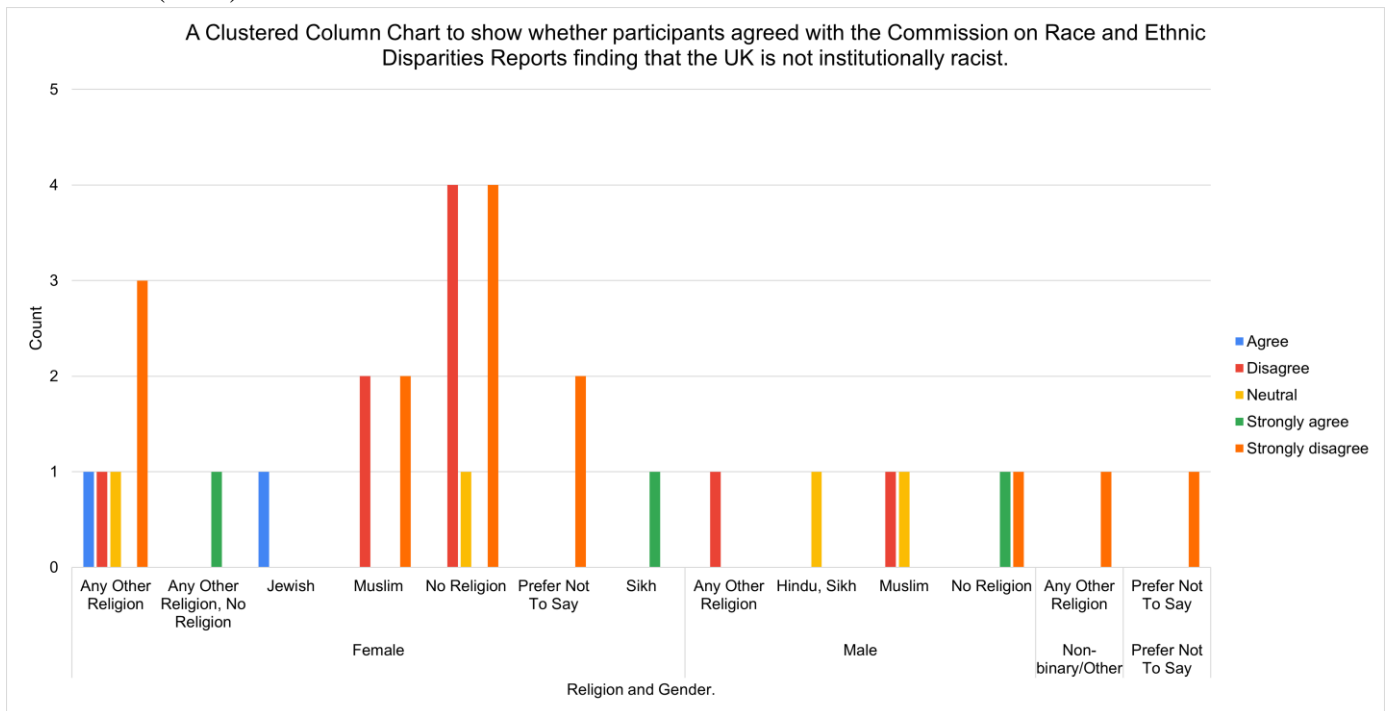


Figure 14

In terms of how British Indians feel concerning race relations in Britain following the death of George Floyd, in Round 1 of Coding, Figure 14 shows the majority have a greater ‘Awareness’ followed by feelings of ‘Anger’. These two codes firstly highlight how well integrated British Indians are because they do not recognise discrimination, but they remain angry because it is still happening. Interestingly, Participant VII, in Appendix XII at 00:38:18

noted the rise in the conversation surrounding colourism and anti-black attitudes within Indian communities, indicating the BLM movement has been good for everyone.

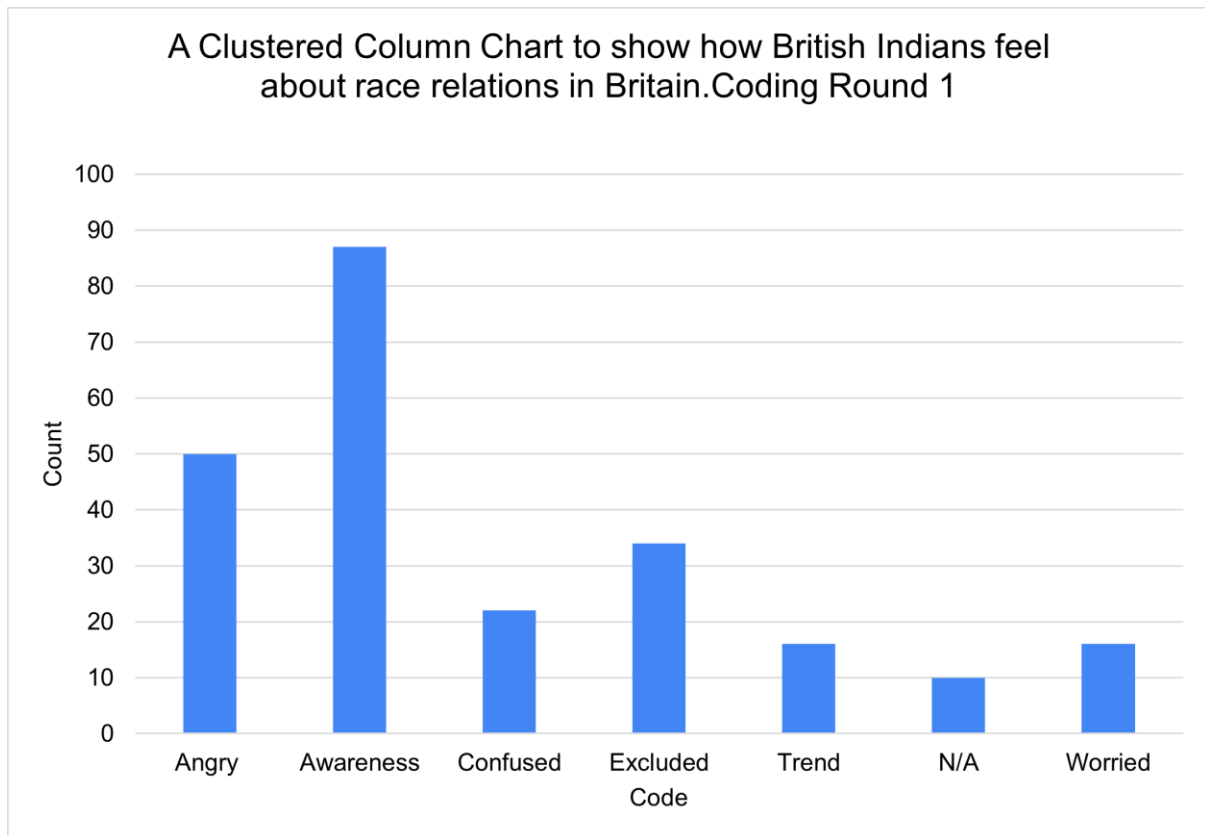


Figure 15

In Round 2 as shown in Figure 15, there was a mixture of feeling slightly positive about the future of race relations through ‘Empowered’ to speak up against it and ‘Recognition’ because of more integration. Participant II who works for a Member of Parliament, when asked if there had been an increase in conversation on race relations in Parliament; said it has not been raised by constituents, but also urged caution when thinking about race relations in the UK and not to be as swept up in it because in Britain we tend to get “give ourselves a harder time” – when comparing ourselves to America (Appendix VII at 00:13:02). This

reinforces the idea that this has been imported from across the US, and activists look elsewhere to justify their anger, as has been discussed in Section 6.2.

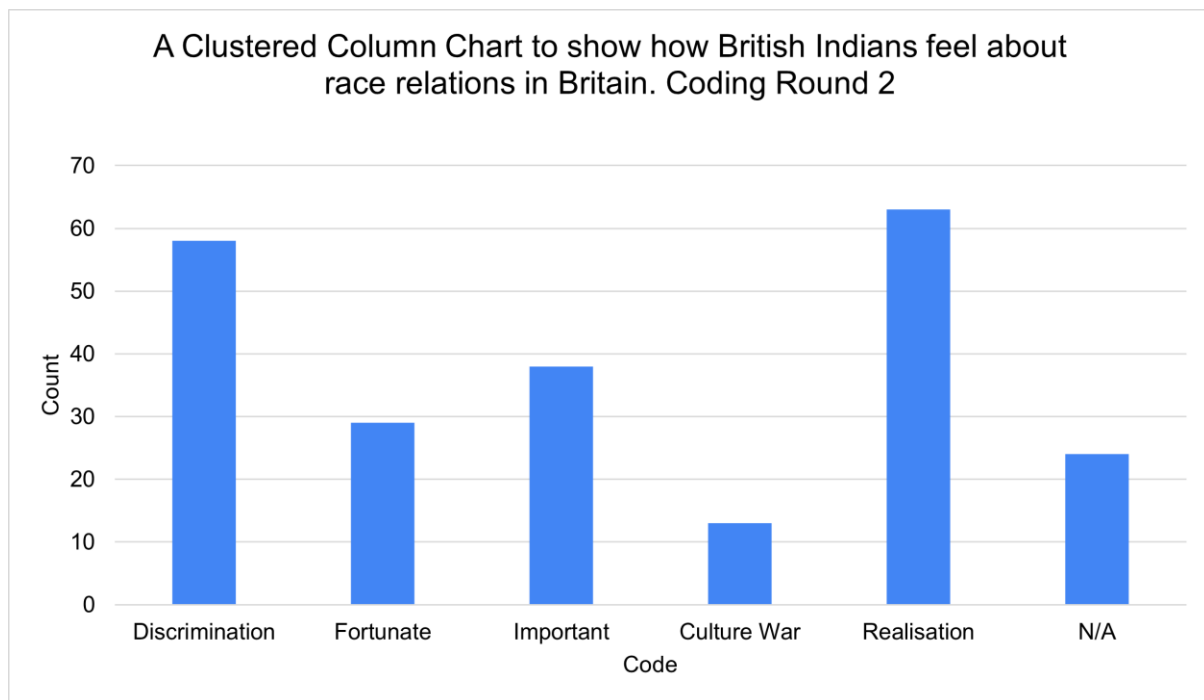


Figure 16

Figure 16 shows the themes ‘sad and ‘self-reflection’ were the most common code. In this instance, “self-reflection” is the most interesting because it has made people think a lot more about racism, instead of suppressing feelings. It is also important to remember the vast

majority of participants were aged between 18 to 34 years old, thus meaning increased awareness and desire to change present wrongdoings.

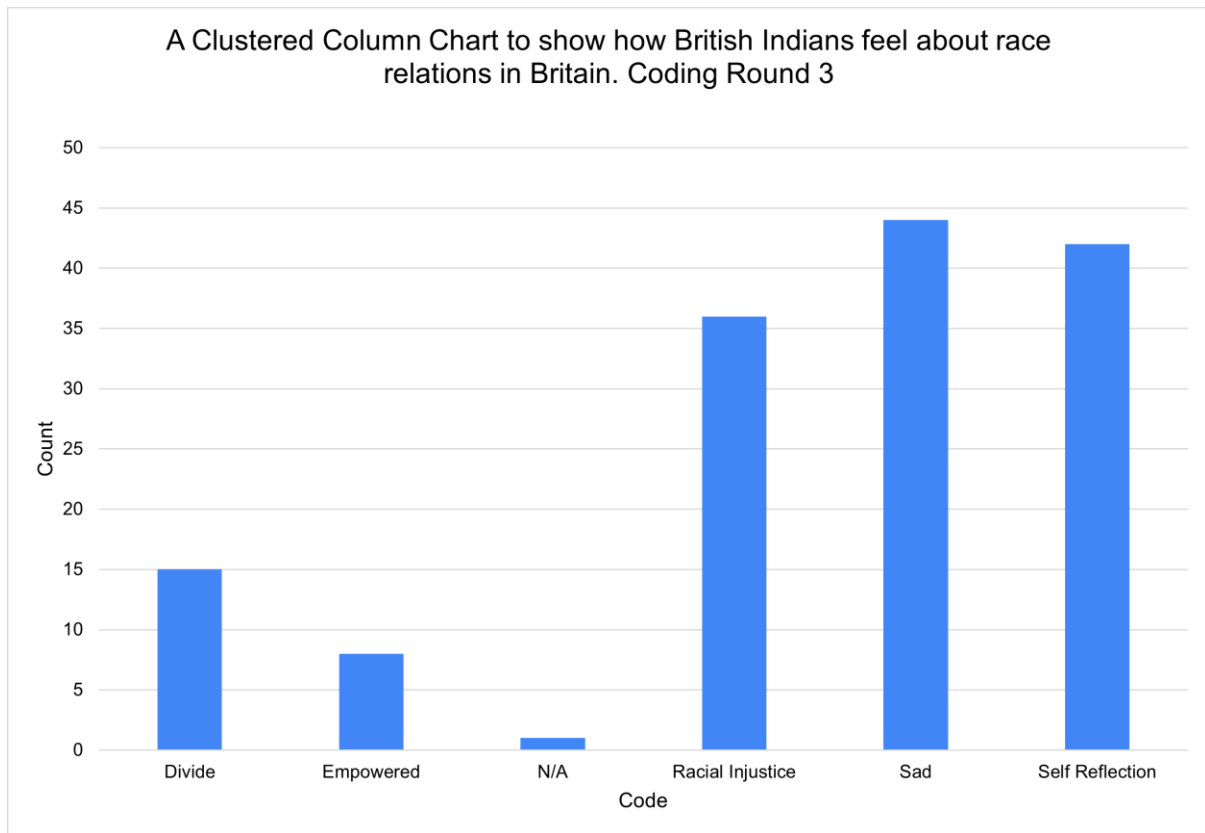


Figure 17

‘Divide’ was coded in Round 3 but was a sentiment shared in the interviews. Participant II, Appendix VII at 00:08:14 highlighted “I don’t have as much time or as much sympathy for the victimhood elements of things, whether they’re black or Asian.” This can be linked to BLM using civil disobedience as a tactic to raise awareness; for the most part, the majority agreed, to see Figure 15. There is a correlation between ‘awareness’ in racial divisions and support for the use of civil disobedience, consequently, the current attitudes of the Labour Party are supportive of this.

## 6.4 The Labour Party

Figure 4 shows that whilst the Labour Party received the most votes in the 2019 GE, it was not as high as it once was whilst the vote for the Conservative Party is on the rise. Indians recognise previous Labour Governments have legislated to protect the interests of minorities in Britain (Sobolewska et al, 2013). This had secured the Labour Party votes but due to a breakdown in relationship grown deeper since the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn (Atara, BackBench, 2020), which some commentators have put down to the Labour Party taking the votes of the Indian community for granted.

Consequently, there has been a rise in contradicting values from; the party playing on religious tensions between Hindu and Muslim voters and a rise in Hinduphobia. This was experienced by Participant IV who was previously a member of the Labour Party and saw the decline in the relationship between the Labour Party and British Indians, during and post Corbyn's leadership. Participant IV's understanding of Hindutva, in Appendix IX at 00:49:39, is from his view that socialists are “fundamentally racist to their core and they pretend not to be, they think that people who are bi-racial; British Indians or British Jews, for example, might have hidden agendas, hidden loyalties or hidden allegiances.” Whilst Sir Keir Starmer has attempted to fill the void left by Corbyn, he – so far – has been largely unsuccessful; probably because his leadership has largely been undermined by supporting BLM – whom British Indians do not fully support, as shown in section 6.2.

Chapter 5, Figure 4 highlighted there were some votes for Leave; and according to Leidig (2019), it is estimated 40% of British Indian voters, voted Leave. Reasons included the

history between Britain and the Commonwealth being stronger than the EU, and the EU is perceived as being nothing more than a “political project” and EU migrants are not seen as “part of the fabric of Britishness” (Leidig, 2019). Building on ties with the Commonwealth, Priti Patel had argued that leaving the “EU will give Britain the opportunity to boost commercial links with India” (Whitehead, *The Wire*, 2018). This is important because as Section 7.2 will show, British Indians are proud of their roots to India, therefore by ignoring this, it revealed itself to be consequential for the Labour Party in the 2019 GE.

It was this election which the religious tensions were exasperated; particularly in Leicester East which, used to be a super safe Labour seat; but with Claudia Webbe being the candidate – this was hugely problematic. She had (earlier in 2019) chaired a motion on Kashmir; this was seen in meddling with affairs that did not concern the Labour Party, which was problematic considering the constituency has a strong British Indian-Hindu population (Politics Live, 2019, 01:38). What was once considered a Labour stronghold diminished, as the majority reduced from 24,000 to 6,000 (Woodfield, BBC News, 2019).

This trend continued in 2021 Batley and Spen had a by-election the culture war was dominant. The Labour campaign tapped into ‘Islamic solidarity’ by attacking Prime Minister Modi, knowing this would not “go down well among British Indian Hindu voters” (Ehsan, *The Spectator*, 2021c). This declining relationship shows a clash in values and misunderstanding of the British Indian voters from the Labour Party, and also indicates why it is wrong to assume Indians are a homogenous bloc, as will be explored in Chapter 7.

## Chapter 7 – Identity: “Culture, Diverse, Family and of course... Food!”

The third objective of this research was to *examine the impact of socialisation and cultural integration of second and third generations and their sense of belonging*. To do this, this chapter will look at reactions to the CRED Report, what Indian means to participants and finally how participants from both the questionnaire and interviews felt about the term ‘British Indian.’

### **7.1 Black Asian Minority Ethnic**

‘BAME’ was created out of the ‘political black’ movement in the 1970s, to include Asian communities (Aspinall, 2020, pp.2-4) yet fails to consider the differences that exist throughout and between. This desire for acknowledgement was taken into consideration in the CRED Report (2021) as Recommendation 24 was to “disaggregate the term ‘BAME’ as this would enable us “to better focus on understanding disparities and outcomes for specific groups” (p.14). Participants from the questionnaire strongly agreed, as can be seen in Figure 18; but there was also a significant proportion of participants who noted their response as ‘neutral’ or ‘disagreed.’ Having a mixed response was also echoed in the interviews, particularly by Participant VII in Appendix XII, 00:25:34 who emphasized he has “no problem BAME, back in the day, people used to have a problem with Asian because it groups together Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims.” One interpretation of this, is communities still have shared struggles, and the need to continue to work together is still present.

A Pie Chart to show feelings towards 'Black Asian Minority Ethnic' be disaggregated.  
Coding Round 1

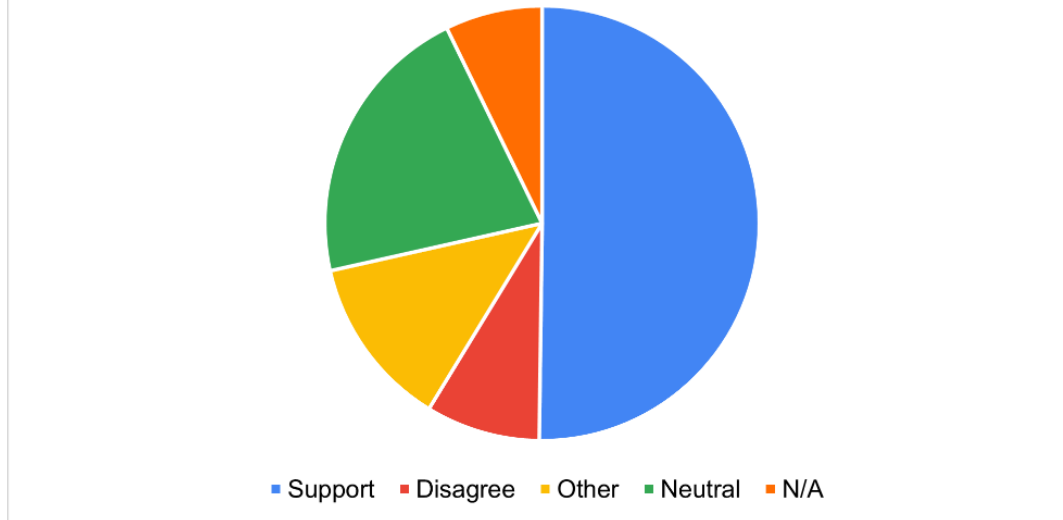


Figure 18

In Round 2, as shown in Figure 15, 'Limited Use' was the most common code which can be linked to interviews. Particularly Participant III, Appendix VIII at 00:35:18 "the best example is this: interactions with the police. I think black people have a tougher experience than Indian people. So, in that context, BAME is not a particularly helpful acronym." An example of this is the murder of Stephen Lawrence in a racially motivated attack in 1993, and the reluctance of the police to fully investigate the murder due to police corruption and institutional racism (Institute of Race Relations, 2013). It is for this reason 'Limited Use' can be linked to 'Differences.'

'Differences' in round 2, was the most popular response, this is due to ignorance from the British state; having perceived all non-white groups as different from white people but the same as one another. Interestingly, Manku et al (2021) found "almost all British Indians



found the labels, either BAME or Asian as inappropriate or oppressive as it removes a sense of personhood and diversity” (p.30), and Aspinall (2020) supports this as he describes it as it raises “issues of exclusion and divisiveness” (p.107). Mistry (2021b) supported this, as “scrapping the term will open the floor to deeper and higher quality conversations and understandings about race.” In Chapter 6 the results shown a decline in support for the Labour Party, one contributing factor to this is, Labour being blind to differences that exist which is problematic on their behalf.

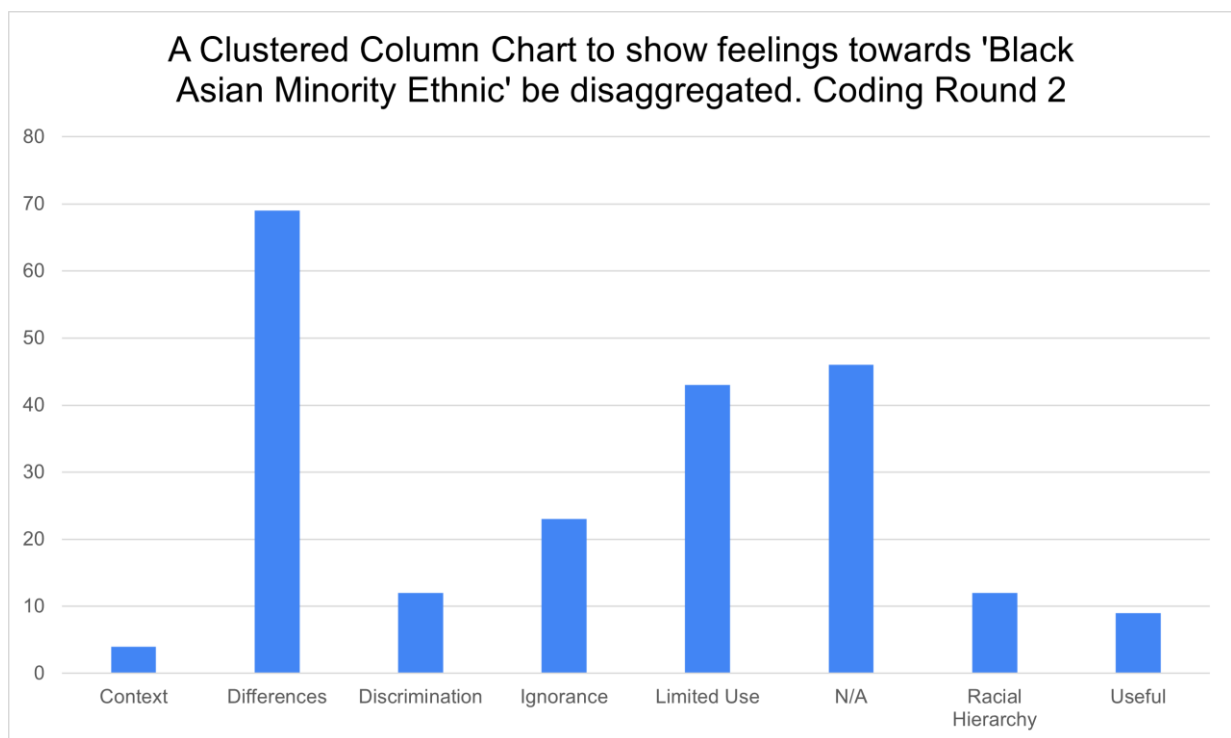


Figure 19

A Pie Chart to show feelings towards 'Black Asian Minority Ethnic' be disaggregated. Coding Round 3

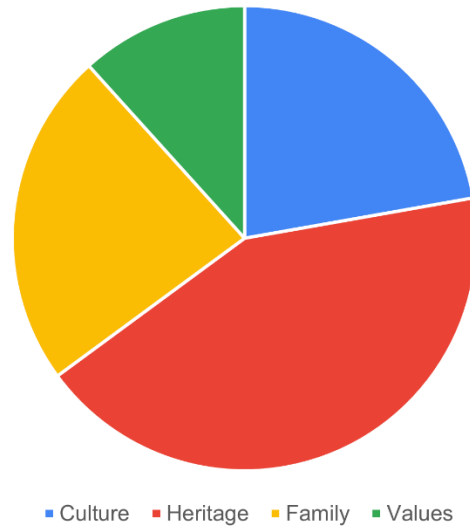


Figure 20

In supporting the disaggregation of the acronym BAME, Figure 20 shows ‘Culture’ and ‘Heritage’, and ‘Family’ to be important, and will be explained in the next section.

## 7.2 Indian

One of the aims of this study was to uncover how the second and third generation managed their sense of belonging because the transition and experiences are unique. Participants were asked what ‘Indian’ means to them. The reason for this is with people having less direct family links, the diaspora is cultivating a new understanding of what it means to be Indian. Graph 20 shows categorises derived from the answers provided by participants and will also be explored further in the following section.

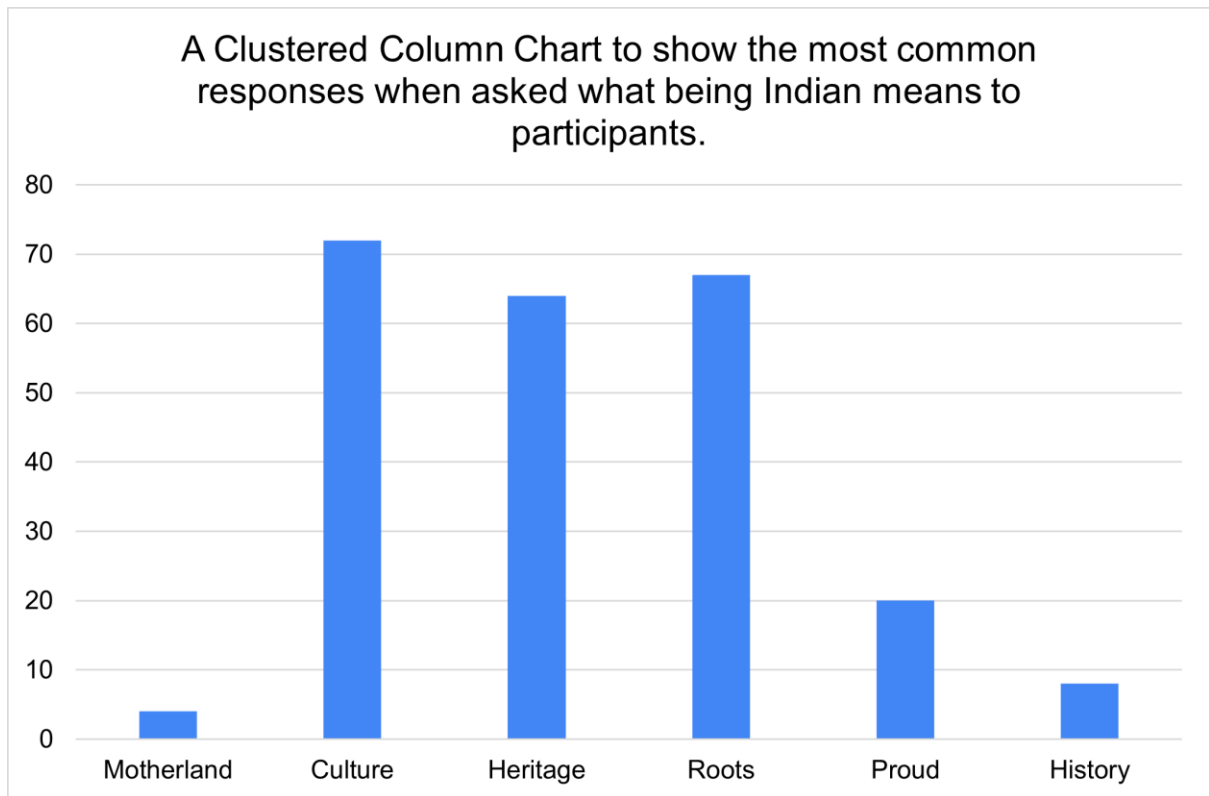


Figure 21

‘Culture’ was the most common response, one of the reasons for this is culture can come from anything – religion and the arts Participant IX in Appendix XIV at 00:19:54, is a writer who has reconnected with her Sikh faith stressed the importance of culture. She explained there is a Sikh community in London who are using art to re-define their identity; whether it be focusing on British identity or Indian identity (depends on the individual) and this will appear in the mainstream soon.

For the wider British Indian community, Berrington (2020) suggests a reason the importance of ‘Culture’ is due to assimilation theories (Alba and Nee 1997; Portes and Zhou 1993) which “explain how family formation behaviours of ethnic minorities change according to the

cultural distance between origin and destination country, time since arrival, and generation (Kulu et al. 2017)” (p.917). For British Indians, culture is at the centre of the way of life.

Heritage was the next common response, this is because despite the diaspora being born outside of India you still “belong’ to the village of the father or paternal grandfather” (Mattausch, 2001, p.70). Because it was mainly the second generation who took part in the questionnaire, being part of the diaspora, they must remember their roots, and this comes into extremely high levels of importance when forming a new identity. One way the Indian state has been able to ensure this is through what is now known as Overseas Indian Citizenship (OCI) previously known as Non-Resident Indian (NRI) and this was an initiative set up by Nehru. The aim was to encourage “persons of Indian origin who have taken foreign nationality should identify themselves with and integrate into the mainstream of social and political life of the country of their domicile” ([Modi and Taylor, 2017, p.5] in Salazar, 2020, p.3).

‘Roots/Ancestry’ was the third common response; even though we are integrating well – religion is still central and ‘proud’ was the next common response; this could be the way the first generation integrated and Ramiji (2006) provides an interesting thing when discussing Gujaratis who set up home in London as they “moved events, such as Holi, which would have been celebrated during daytime in India, to the nearest evening or weekend so as not to clash with working hours. Christmas was also recognized as a national holiday and celebrated” (p.646). This has led Indians to be a ‘model minority.’ There has been contention between balancing traditional Indian and British culture; Participant X in Appendix XV stated that she grew up in India, was from a very traditional family – to the point where she

was the first woman to get a job (00:00:28). Interestingly, out of all ethnic minorities, Indian women have the highest work rate, which is probably due to the impact of migration (the need to work) and high educational attainments (Berrington, 2020, p.916; Ehsan, Eastern Eye, 2021a).

‘Proud’ can also be linked to the ‘Motherland’ and ‘History’ because of the rich history and it is a powerful part of who we are. The idea of ‘History’ is also significant because of Indian soldiers participation in fighting for Great Britain during World War Two – Participant I Appendix VI at 00:37:41 indicated it would be good if there was more education in schools on their sacrifices. Furthermore, Participant VI, found in IX at 00:32:12 said “going back to the place of origin is important for cementing ties, [in] that diasporic identity.” This is something that will be discussed further in the following section.

### **7.3 British Indian**

Participants of the questionnaire were asked if they thought the term was still useful today. Given the volume of second-generation females; the main feeling was yes it is as useful and this was echoed in interviews. Participant IV, Appendix IX at 00:49:46 was asked this and his response was “I call myself British Indian, not Indian, not British. It’s ‘British’ first because I was born and raised here. This is my homeland. This is my country. And this is where my present and future is. And India is my past. It’s my heritage. My culture. My religion.” The importance of this should also be stressed because actor Dev Patel has spoken about the

resistance he has faced, with not being accepted for being British and Indian (Moshakis, 2021).

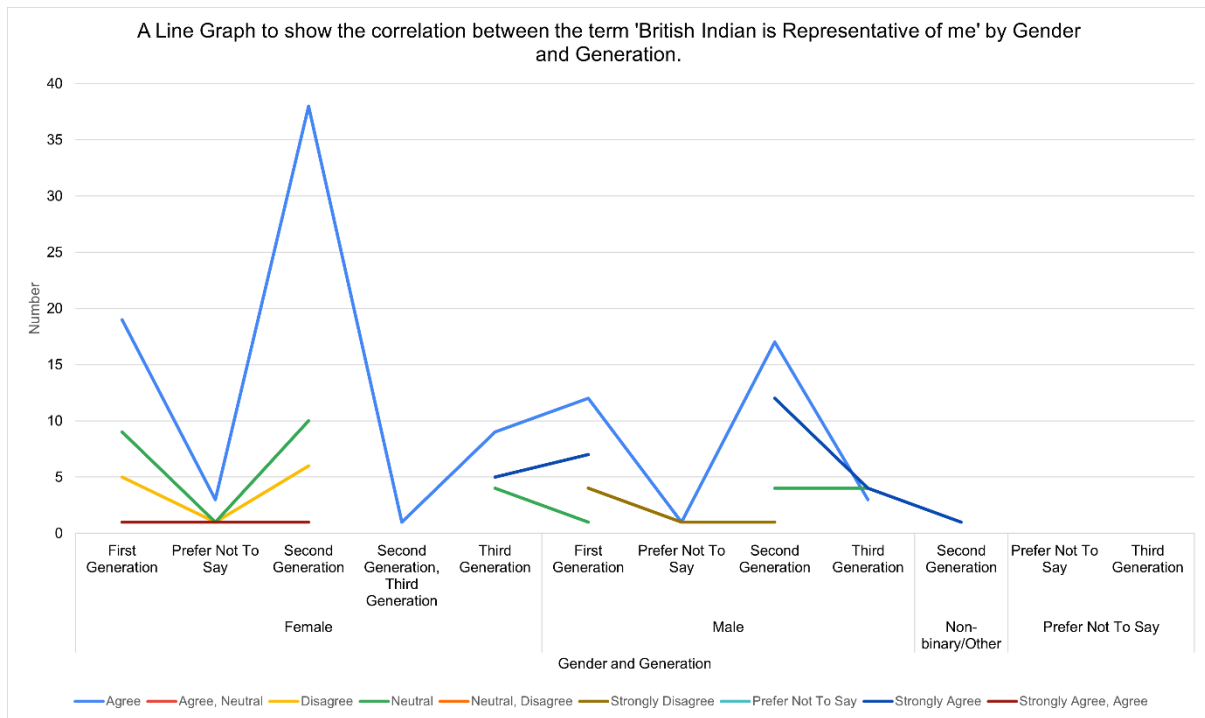


Figure 22

As Figure 23 shows, the vast majority of participants think the term British Indian is useful, although caution is urged as 72 participants did not think the term was useful. One of the reasons for this could be because some have a problem with the term ‘British Indian.’ Participant IX said she had a problem with the term because of Britain’s colonial past, and she perceives the phrase as “identifying with the coloniser that caused your community immense suffering.” This issue was addressed by Manku et al (2021) as the purpose of that research was to decolonise what it means to be British Indian.

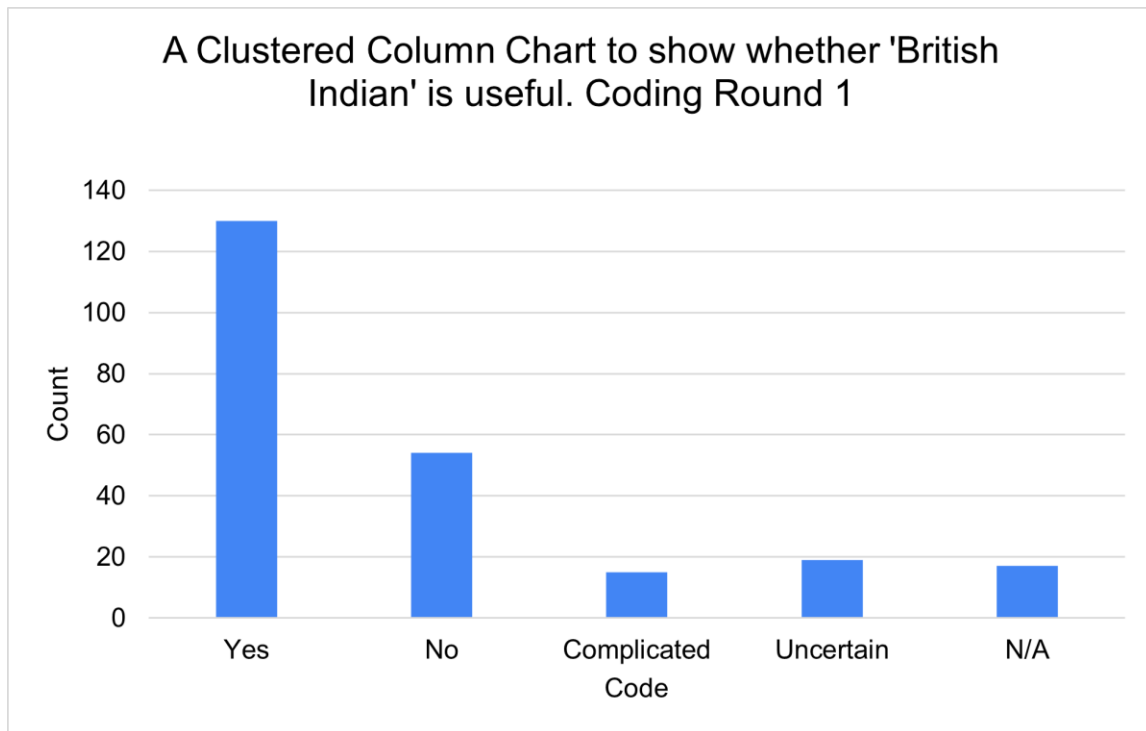


Figure 23

The impact of the demographic of the participants is important, as in Round 2 ‘English’ was able to be coded. This was reiterated in an interview with Participants VII Appendix XII at 00:18:43 “we should say we should call ourselves English because we are we're in England... why do in England, do we have a problem calling ourselves English? And people used to say, well, because of the English Defence League and all that. Well, yes, fine. But, the same problem existed 20 years ago with the British National Party that didn't stop us from identifying as British... I am English. But more than that, I also encourage others to say we shouldn't let the far-right define us.” Participant VIII Appendix XIII at 00:16:19 – despite not being British Indian - echoed this “I don't even I do tell people I'm British, I tell people I'm English, I'm English born and raised.”

On the other hand, Participant III Appendix VIII at 00:00:16 observed a ‘new’ concept called the ‘Sunak Syndrome.’ This, he explains as a “Hindu who is educated right, having been to public school and Oxbridge and you have the right accent, preferably you are well off” and by being these things, means white English people forgo the “racial hierarchy that arose during the British Empire.”

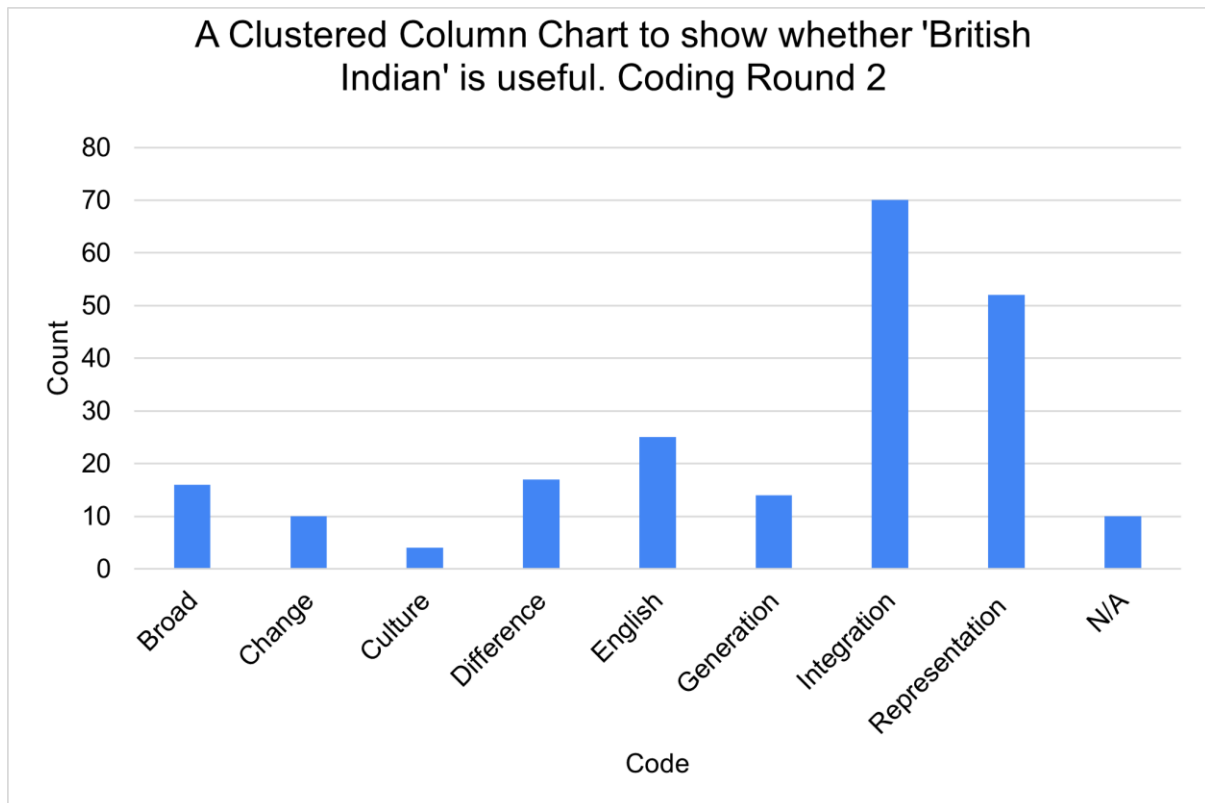


Figure 24

‘Generation’ has been coded because it varies on the strength of relationship with India; Participant V Appendix X at 00:26:35 who has children said “my children are born here as well, and they don’t know anything about India. My youngest has never been to India.”

‘Generation’ also had an impact on Round 3 of coding, as ‘belonging’ ‘dual identity and ‘pride’ was the most common. These are important because it was the second generation who determined and defined what ‘British Indian’ means. Participant VII Appendix XII 00:02:11



indicated one way ‘dual identity’ is achieved is through “mixing lots of Asian music with reggae and drum and bass and Bollywood with sort of new beats, that kind of stuff. So, it kind of felt like there was this new movement of people coming up who were creating sort of this hybrid British Asian culture and that.” For Participant V Appendix X at 00:23:20 and the idea of pride, “I think Indians in general are very proud of being Indian. We’re proud of our roots, very proud of being from India and I think that identity has always been there. But we’re just as proud of being British.” This can be linked to the importance of OCI, radio stations such as BBC Asian Network and moving religious festivals – if they fall on a weekday – to the weekend (Ramiji, 2006, p.646).

#### 7.4 The Future

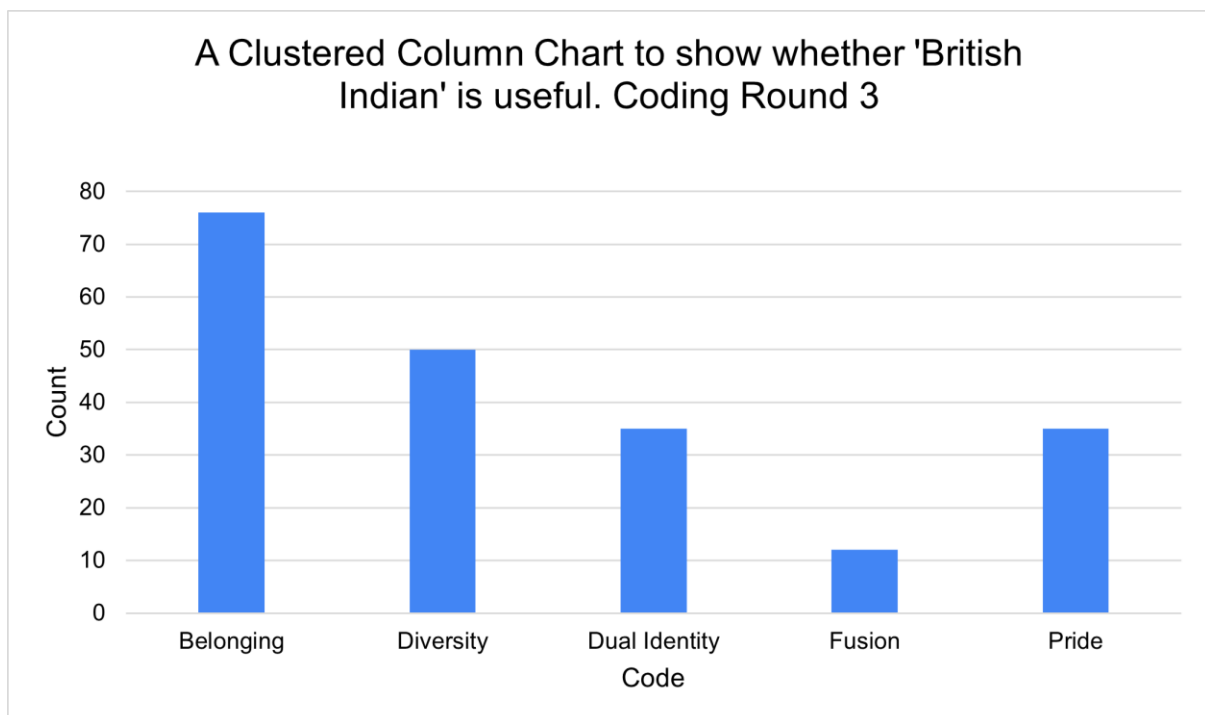


Figure 25

Finally, it is worth noting how participants from the questionnaire felt people would be grouped in the future, ‘Race’ continues to be the main way, followed by ‘values’ and ‘wealth.’ Wealth is an interesting one, especially considering Michael Savage in 2015 wrote a book called *Social Class in the 21st Century*. Furthermore, in a poll by IPSOS Mori which looked at ‘Culture Wars in the UK’ 48% of participants felt is a lot of tension between the rich and poor (Duffy et al, 2021b, p15).

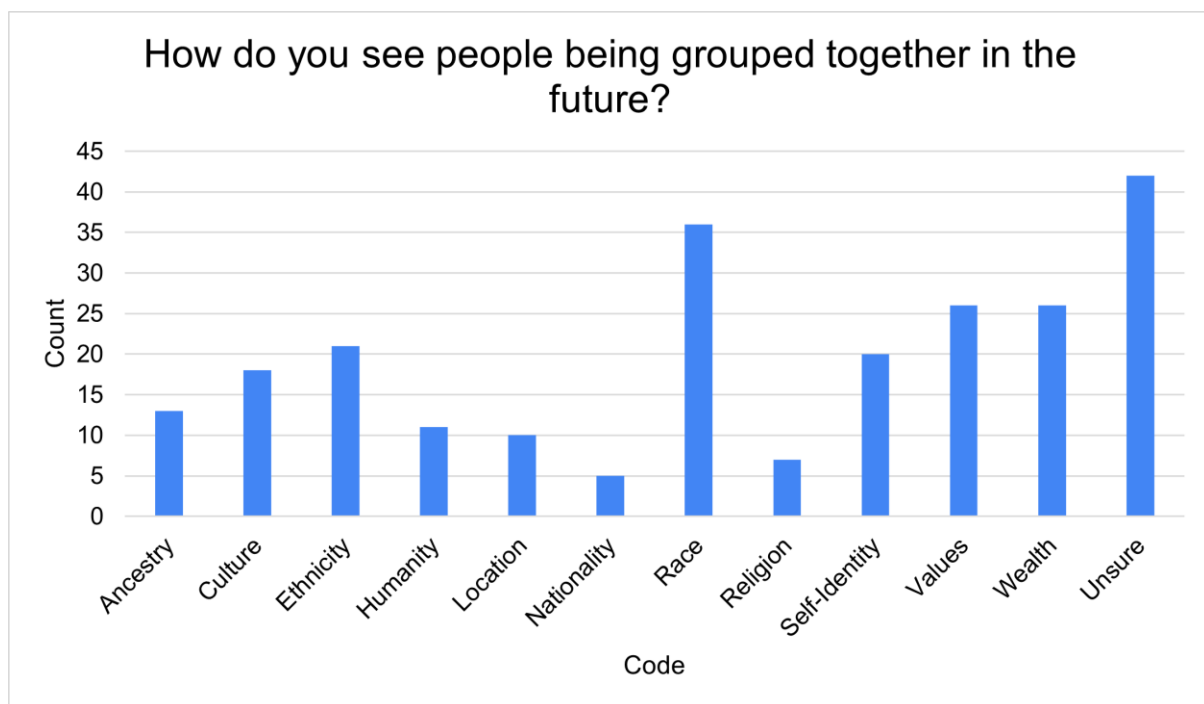


Figure 26

This research main focus was ethnicity; curiously, this was a less popular idea with participants. Whilst Barth (1969) had identified it as a share of “fundamental cultural values” and “superordinate to most other statuses” (pp.10-7), participants of this research did not agree. This is interesting because ‘Culture’ was one of the things that were most important to identifying as ‘British Indian’, but as culture changes from being based on race to something more and using Marrett and Leggon (1980) idea of ascriptive characteristics being less valuable, it provides interesting findings.

## Chapter 8 – Conclusion

This study set out to determine why British Indian is a redundant term and gain an insight into second and third generations sense of belonging. With the academic community providing little to no literature, it is encouraging to see this is not the only thing that has been published in this area, The 1928 Institute on 4th May 2021 published their report which looked at Identity, Political Representation and Policy Priorities: The British Indian Experience. Upon reflection, this research has a different hypothesis to Triemans' (1970), they have reached largely similar conclusions. Triemans' (1970) "during the course of industrialisation, clearly supportive thesis that ethnicity, and race, like all other ascriptive criteria, will become less important as determinants of socioeconomic achievements as economic development proceed" (Marrett and Leggon, 1980, p.10).

### 8.1 Overarching Conclusions

The research objectives for this research were:

1. Examine the lasting impact of colonialism on British politics and society.

This was answered in Chapter 5, there is still a colonial hangover in Britain but because of the BLM movement pushing conversations of race relations into the mainstream media, there is more awareness and willingness to discuss these things. If going off the argument made by Manku et al (2021) to start the decolonisation process.

2. To investigate the outdatedness of 'BAME'.

Chapter 6 answered this, second and found second and third generations are demanding that policymakers notice differences between communities, and the acronym 'BAME' is unsuitable because it fails to recognise distinct differences. This was emphasised in attitudes towards BLM and what people value. If policymakers and politicians want to solve problems, listening to the worries of communities is the way forward.

3. Examine the impact of socialisation and cultural integration of second and third generations and their sense of belonging.

This was answered in Chapter 7. It was discovered as generations become increasingly integrated, and the only thing younger generations have of their Indian heritage is weak links, it will no longer be feasible.

## **8.2 Contributions**

The hypothesis for this research was 'second and third-generation British Indians have more negative thoughts associated with the term British Indian,' therefore this research can conclude the term British Indian is redundant. As stated at the end of Chapter 7, 'ascriptive' criteria become less important, and this contributes to the academic community because the results are valid and consistent with wider academic reading, such as the 1928 Institute Report. It also shows that this sort of research can and should be conducted in 'other' communities.

### **8.3 Recommendations**

1. More research is to be done on this area because as this dissertation and the 1928 Institute have found, people are more willing to discuss this.

This could come in the form of using focus groups, identifying community leaders with whom the researcher could build a strong rapport with participants to understand how things are changing. The other option for further study is to complete studies on individual religious groups – instead of going in from a broad angle. For this research, because nothing like this has been done before; to set the groundwork – being broad had to happen to know where to go next.

2. Embracing an ‘English’ identity.

High levels of integration has meant for some second and third generations, they feel more ‘English’ than they do ‘British’ or ‘Indian.’ The term ‘English’ is becoming increasingly more inclusive and should not be feared like it was in the past.

3. The Labour Party and British Indians

A further and deeper investigation into what is causing a breakdown in the relationship.

### **8.4 Concluding Thoughts**

The purpose of this research was to identify why the term British Indian is redundant. Based on the analysis, it can be conveyed that the term still has its use but this conclusion should not be generalised for everyone, who identifies with the Indian diaspora. Britain is an advanced society, and this will be reflected as generations integrate further.

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