NEW SOCIETY 1 JUNE 1967 e, collectively and openly, the obedience on which any regime, even a rebel milinately depends. been written about coups: about their nditions in which they can occur, the factics employed, and the consequences is gaining power. But practically nothing hen about how to resist coups, with the hat, even when they occur in societies itical traditions and reasonably responting on the about how to resist coups, with the hat, even when they occur in societies itical traditions and reasonably responsical traditions and reasonably responsite on the areas, the possibilities of solicy of civilian, non-military, defence sion have been too little explored. The at destructive war and acquiescence are natives persists, and in Greece is used, ly, as an argument (or at least a conjour was distinguished from the Kappe Generals Revolt by its far greater usands of public figures and political rrested in the early hours of the coup glought remains that, had a clear call advance that all citzens—king, politicants, soldiers, church, trade unions and ciations—were to defend the constitue obedience to any usurpers, the coup.

NEW SOCIETY 1 JUNE 1967

ASIANS OF BRITAIN YOUNG

Their expectations

a call have succeeded? The possibility. There have been many signs that the not behind the coup, and it is signiwas led by the colonels, not by the coup leaders have of course tried to army is united, but this claim has not pnvincing. In one of their first radio they declared that "the chief of the will broadcast a message later," but eferred to, the broadcast in question made. Just as some senior officers may it the coup, so too may the very large in the coup, so too may the very large in the professional soldiers—are potenter and a force on the side of constituere the conscripts in Algeria. Population at large there is further position to the coup. The insurgent only had to clamp down on the ational organisations and political as even had to suspend the constitutions for the election of local officials, the has, by and large, been as opposed that the left: and the right-wing papers is the left: and the right-wing papers is the left: and the right-wing papers is the left: and the right-wing avgiver in the left: and the right-wing and a large the left: and the right-wing appears the left: and the right-wing application fine themselves to publishing official

Those who came when very young (four to seven years) had no idea of what to expect. Only those who were already ten or more had some knowledge, or tried to acquire it. "When I heard I was going to England I asked my friends about it," Rasheed, a 15 year old East Pakistani from Croydon, said, "but none of them knew, because they hadn't been to England." It was the same with the girl Usha. But Prestam's case was different because he was a boarder at a Jesuit school in India and had seen some films set in England. Shiv learnt about England from his grandfather who had, many years ago, visited England on-business. "My granddad told me two things: I the weather was very cold, and women were free and

easy."

Recalling his arrival at Gravesend, Deepak Singh said: "Somehow it wasn't what I had expected. It was depressing. My mood was off. I wanted to go back." Rasheed, on the other hand, was quite impressed." The airport was so big. And all smart people smartly dressed." Travelling by a taxi from Heathrow airport, Vallabh—another boy who was then eight and fresh from an Indian village—could not understand why the town of London did not end."

The facets of life that impressed them most during I their first days in Britain varied greatly. Town dwellers like Preetam, Shiv and Deepak Singh noticed the general quietness and orderliness that prevailed. Akram and Rasheed noticed that milk bottles were delivered at doorsteps, and that they were not stolen or broken. "You couldn't expect that sort of thing in Karachi or Lahore." Akram said.

Shiv was soon disappointed. "We came in winter. If wasn't very cold... no snow. I like snow. As soon I sas I returned home from school, it got dark. I got stuck in the house all the time. In Jullundur I was been at used to playing out in the streets until ten, eleven at

ditions for successful resistance are seive legitimacy by virtue of royal enat it should receive international suport of a principled refusal of foreign recognise the present Greek regime; to carefully planned and organised; and be timed to begin throughout baye been theld, would have been a

The lesson

of these conditions being fulfilled is m. It may now be too late. In a ally works on the side of the insuras easy to organise resistance after a led as it is to prepare such resistance ay be that from the Greek coup we arned the sad lesson that next time moratic and advanced society is military coup, it ought to be predy of Greece is that civilian resistitary coups, the value of which has other situations, has not yet been

night. It was a big change for me, here. Life was all boring. I had no friends. My sisters and I sat inside and watched television. We didn't understand what they were saying. We watched the photos." Deepak Singh, too, was disappointed, but in a different way. "My father had told us that he had paid 70,000 rupees (£3,500) for his house. I expected to see a bungalow for that price. But it was a poor house... no plaster on the walls... bare bricks."

Dilip Hiro

An awareness of social differences usually came when they began attending school. Methab of an 18 year old girl who has lived in Wembley for 11 years now) registly who has lived in Wembley for 11 years now) registly who has lived in Wembley for 11 years now) resided that her mother was opposed to her waening a skirt; but when her father told her mother that it was the same were other girls with me—Indian and Pakis. It al. Also some Jews. Wed sit out in a classroom." It was the same with Noor, a frail West Pakistani boy of 14 from Islington. But Preteatm told me that even if his parents had asked for exemption, he wouldn't have got it. "Mine is a grammar school," Pretam wert on. "I don't mind assembles or the Bible class. But I call myself a Hindu. I keep reminding myself of the tales of Rama and Krishna that my mother has rold me. I like Krishna the most. He was such anaughty boy: he'd steal butter and his mother would force him to open his mouth. Then she'd look inside and see visions. .. No, English boys are not interested ... all they're interested in is sports.

I found that most of them hold tolerant views on religion. Deepak Singh, a turbaned Sikh, put it this way: "I've been attending assemblies since I joined my school. If my father asked me now not to attend my school. If my father asked me now not to attend my school. If my father asked me now not to attend my school. If my father asked me now not to attend my school. If my father asked me now not to attend my school. If my father asked me now not to attend was quite unconcerned about religion. "T've been to a mosque maybe half a dozen times in all these years in mother reads Sish scriptures every day." Deepak you're all added, smiling.

Their parents, however, are more particular. "My mother reads Sish scriptures every day." Deepak you're all added, smiling.

Their parents, however, are more particular. "My mother reads Sish scriptures every day." The beginning to forget the Sish payers! I used to know in India. .. No. I can't read Publish, and how i

Of the Commonwealth immigrants, the Indians and Pakistanis suffer the sharpest "cultural shock." The teenagers especially—of whom there are 30,000 to 35,000 here—live in a split world.

During the past few weeks I have talked in Urdu, Punjabi, Gujrati and English to various Sain teen Punjabi, Gujrati and English to various Sain teen Punjabi, Gujrati and English to various Sain teen Sain teen Sagers living in the Home Counties and the middrates have been here for as long as ten years or less; some have been here for as long as ten years or less; some have been here for as long as ten years or less; some have been here for as long as ten years or less; some have been here for as long as ten years or less; some have been here for as long as ten years or less; some have been here for as long as ten years or less; some have been here for as long as ten years or none. All of them, say on the sain divers in Hampsted we have attended secondary modern sation near Delhi, India, and lives in Hampsted where his mother runs an Indian dance school. He walls ... bare bricks."

Religion

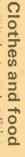
Akram, for example, is a youth of 19, who has goo to a boarding grammar school in East Anglia. Akram, for example, is a youth of 19, who has goo to a boarding grammar school in East Anglia. Akram, for example, is a youth of 19, who has long her in the some memories of his life there. He now lives in Birmingham where his father works in a say, and has fond memeries of his life there. He school "law." her mother yielded. However, now lives in Birmingham where his father works in a say, and has since her father father for his most of the full with the seriagers I followed a consultative state of the seriagers I followed a consultative was the most. He most, He was the and the week there; what do they think of their present environ ment; and what are their evergenesely ment; and what are their evergenesely. Religion

The young Asians of Britain

Brahmin. "So we have religious ceremonies at home ... Weil, there's no Hindu temple in all of London. I've heard they'll open one. When, I don't know." Usha's family has a simple Hindu altar over a mantelpiece at home: a few idols and pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses. "We celebrate important Hindu gods and goddesses. "We celebrate important Hindu festivals and religious days with a simple puja," she said.

There are, of course, a few teenagers who feel strongly about their religion. 'I read the Holy Koran as often as I can,' Noor said. "There's a copy at home, in Arabic, with pronounciations in Urdu written under each line. I believe in the Holy Koran and the Prophet Mohamed. Our Prophet makes many references to Mary and Jesus and Abraham. I tell this to my religious teacher and English boys, but they don't bother. People don't care for religion in this country."

I often asked those who attended scripture classes which story or fable impressed them the most. Roop chose the Good Samaritan, whereas Shiv singled out Noah's Ark, because "it's like Maha-praliva in our Hindu books—the Great Flood."



Their generally tolerant attitude toward religion often extends to dressing and eating habits. Almost all the boys were wearing "knickers" at school in India or Pakistan. The switchover to trousers in Britain was expected, and was accepted without a murmur. The crucial thing for a Sikh boy is the turban. It is no longer universal. My Sikh respondents put the number of those Sikh boys who have removed their turbans at 40 per cent to 60 per cent of the total. I asked Roop why he had removed his turban and long hair. "I was in a chain store once," Roop replied, hair. "I was in a chain store once," Roop replied, a girl. That upset me, I wouldn't eat until they had my hair cut off. Of course, my father had removed his turban some time ago. In those days there was a lot of prejudice against turbans."

The girls' dressing problems crop up when they mature. When Mehtab recently joined a technical college, her mother insisted that she wear the Indian salvar because "she said that I was a grown-up girl, and that I was going to a coeducational college. I had to submit to her wishes." At one time Usha wanted to have short hair, but her mother thought it unfeminine. "Long hair is an object of beauty in a girl, she told me. I had to go along with her views," Usha said. "After all, she's my mother."

As a rule, boys are less respectful of their parents' wishes and habits than girls. Akram found school lunches a "welcome change from the rich and spicy food I have to eat at home. Yes, I've eaten pork and bacon. I don't like it. It's too greasy. Of course, my parents don't know. They'd be appalled if they knew. They don't even buy margarine because someone told them it had pig's fat in it."

The parents of one Hindu boy feel differently. "They know I eat meat at school lunches," he said. "They don't mind as long as it's not at home. We are vegetarian—at home. . . I guess I must have eaten beef, because I eat what's given. It doesn't matter." But to Preetam it does. "I avoid beef," Preetam said solemnly. "All religions have some sacred animal or something. If Hindus have cow, I should respect it, shouldn't 1?" Roop would not, or so he told me. "If I were about dying, I'd kill a cow and eat it. Religion did not make man. Man made religion. India could earn a lot by exporting those skinny things, Chop them off, and sell their skins abroad. My Indian friends don't agree; they get the motional . . . "

On the whole, Muslim students such as Rasheed Noor and Mehtab tend to follow Jewish students on

food restrictions at school.

Conflicts arise in schools on such subjects as history.

Most of the older Indian students arrive in this country with some knowledge of modern Indian history. Consequently they find the British version of history, where it pertains to the Indian subcon-



the situation:

"My history teacher was telling us how Clive the victorious went and conquered India," Deepak Singh said. "So I got up and told him that if it hadn't been for some of our clots the British would have been thrown out. He said 'Get lost.' I was taken to the headmaster. I told him too. The history books here say all the good things the English did in India not a word about all the bad things they did. What about that Jalianwalla Bagh in Amritsar? That orchard... they closed the gates and shot at our people... the English generals did. I've seen the bullet marks on the walls with my own cyes. Not a word about that in English history books. Not a word about all the gold the English took from our country." In contrast, Akram had no previous knowledge of Indian/Pakistani history, and seemed under the concerned.

Colour consciousness voided any mention of colour, but

I scrupulously avoided any mention of colour, but invariably my respondent introduced the subject in our conversation. It seems to me that colour consciousness in an Asian child begins in one or more of the following ways:

that his father had made 200 applications for an office job during his first four weeks in England, and had secured one interview. (His father now works as a moulder in a Birmingham rubber factory.) Such parental experiences leave a mark on their children.

2. Through personal (or a close friend's) experience: This is the most common. On the very first day Deepak Singh went to the senior school, a white boy called him over, shouted "You fucking wog!" and punched him. Deepak Singh felt very bitter. Later on, when he found out that the white boy was indeed a Maltese immigrant, Deepak Singh's feelings against the white [English] boys did not change. "The point is that that boy had grown up in English society," Deepak Singh explained. "He had Jearnt their attitudes. Besides they're all the same: the Poles, the English, the Greeks. Same religions, same food, same stoms."
Shiv had felt no distinction against being an Indian

in a predominantly English school ting incident happened. One morning pushed him on the way to assembly him back. "The English boy hit me back," Shiv said. "And so it was goir English boys attacked me. I fell on the I didn't know what happened. I was added by many English boys. That was also be many English boys.

sides by many English boys. I got ve all over my face. A teacher came at medicine. Then I went to my class. Look, he got beaten, but nothing h boy who beat him].' After that I kel self, If English boys were playing play on another. I had nothing to do A different norm exists in Roop? Indian and English boy get into a takes them to a gym to have a fair to Girls' experiences are no differ "When I have a quarrel or someth mate, the first thing that comes out is 'You black bitch!' "Usha said. "I have the first thing that comes out is 'You black bitch!" Usha said. "I have the first thing that comes out is 'You black bitch!"

you treat as friends. This colour this Noor had had the worst experied evening I was passing an alley and stopped me, and said. 'I want to fi asked 'why?,' He said. 'Because bastard.' At once he drew a knife. I scared. Then I just ran. He ran afte After that, for many days I'd no streets, not even in daylight."

3. Through indirect social reaction illustrates this. "Everything is all right grammar school. I'm the only It Every Saturday afternoon we wate vision, and then one of the Pop sl Indian boy in the dancing crowd. N pans on him, a cry of disgust ge English boys in my hall. That's who they really think of me. It could be reaction of me and the white boys by asking them, "If y in America, whose methods wou Malcolm x's or Dr King's?" A majority chose Malcolm x. "His Shiv assured me. "After my beatin, don't we Indians form our own conumber in the school was growing with Indians and Pakistanis. Then back. Now if some English boy some small Indian boy, we get the him. We don't wait for him to acce We hit him right away: that way he Now the English boys respect us." Dr King. "In the long run, non-viol what you want."

Further, I asked if it were possible about colour. Even the most a

then. One day I was standing near a Suddenly a ball hit the car. An Engrushing out of a house, and sho bastard!' I had absolutely nothing ball. It was some English kids play you be neutral? It's they who have us. The working class adults are the others are any better. I went to agency once. The woman there said ment store in Oxford Street want music shop.' Backroom job, mind she picked up the phone. The next the staring at me and saying on the phright... he's not dark at all... nut colour. Even the most maded pessimistic. "No," he range of the range of the range of the street. I y Asian house in the street. I n. One day I was standing near

parts.
Watching television is popular. The leisure activities of Asian tee television, reading comics or no music, visiting friends or clubs and much different from those of their



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NEW SOCIETY 1 JUNE 1967

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him back." Shiv said. "And so the was going—and in the
fight how yat nateked me. I fell on the ground. Then
I didn't know what happened. I was kicked from all
saides by many English boys. I got very sore bleeding
all over my face. A tracher came and applied some
how, who beat him!. Affer that I kept myself to myself. It English toys were playing on one side. I'd
play on another. I had nothing to do with them."

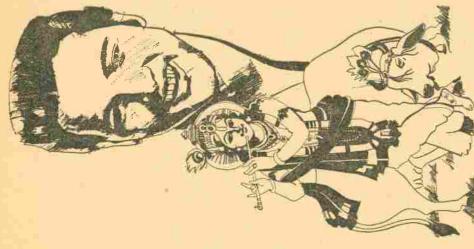
A different norm exists in Roop's school: "I'd an
Indian and English boy get into a fight, a teacher
takes then to a guarrel or something with a class
met, the first thing that comes out of her mouth
is "You black bitch!" "Usha said." I mean gris whom
you treat as friends. This colour thing is very deep."

Nor had had the worst experience of all. "One
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passed, many and and all 'thin the only indian boy there.
Surface that, for many days I'd not walk alone in
S. Through indirect social reaction. Pretam's case
illustrate shis. "Everything is all right in my boarding
grammar school. I'm the only Indian boy there.
Every Saturday afternoon we watch sports on television, and then one of the Pop shows. There's an
indian boy in the dancing crowd. When the camera
grammar school. I'm the only Indian boy whose in firm and the one
in Anorrica, whose method be well which the boys to sake the ready
and an America, whose method who we had the had be an indian boy, we get there a

Time off

The leisure activities of Asian teenagers—watching television, reading comics or novels, listening to music, visiting friends or clubs and cinemas—are not much different from those of their English counterparts.

Watching television is popular, Even the parents



at way," Noor said.

who do not u pick up many All of my r cane, Horne,

All of my respondents had read comics like *Hurri-*All of my respondents had read comics like *Hurri-*cane, *Horne*, *Supernam*, *Captain America or Bannan*at one stage. None of them does so now. Very few

read any magazines like *True Romances* and *True Stories*. Those who read English novels tend to read

thrillers. Most of them read Urdu, Hindi and Gujrati

novels. They also read other Hindi and Urdu books,
like the biographies of their national leaders.

Social visits among boys of the same group are

very common. When large numbers of Indians or

Pakistanis live in an area or go to the same school,
there is a tendency for the same language group—

Punjabi, Gujrati, Bengali—to congregate. Social con
tacts between Asian and English boys outside school
are minimal; though Asian and English girls tend
to develop closer relationships. Such sentiments as
"Most of my friends are English" tend to be expressed with a false sense of bravado.

Almost all my respondents go to Indian (Pakistani
films in Hindi/Urdu. The frequency varies from once
a week to once a month. There are exceptions, like
Akram. "I don't understand Urdu," he said. All my
respondents go to English-language films as well.

Their preferences vary. Some, like Shiv and Deepak
Singh, feel that "Indian films shave a moral,
off somewhere." However, even they agree that "production standards of English films are very high."

Valiabh, 16, who proudly calls himself a "brown
Brummie," prefers English films are based on love sort
of thing. Not much variety." Roop went further,
when he said, "In Indian films when someone dies
the majority of Indian films are based on love sort
of thing. Not much variety." Roop went further,
when he said, "In Indian films are based on love sort
of thing. Not much variety." Roop went summie, gene me to tears."

Usha, however, is very fond of Indian film songs,
because she thinks "there's so much feeling in them,
the words are poetic, not like this yéyé type." Adfilms brone me to rears."

Usha, however, so like

The young Asians of Britain

NEW SOCIETY 1 JUNE 1967

pondents were appreciative of "background" western music but derisive of the lyrics.

Views on Britain

All of them have, by now, formed opinions about the British people and environment. I found nothing soriginal in them. There were the usual remarks about the weather—its "constant changeability"—and the people—"cold and reserved." Most of them had some unjustifiable notion that the British people were "nice chaps, really cooperative"; but it had not turned out that way. As a rule, they find the British very polite. "In fact too polite. Yes, sir' and 'No, sir' in your face; and then read the letters they write in I local papers; 'Send Indians back home; they smell'—that sort of thing," Shiv said. "I tell you they're dirty. They never bathe; they cover up their smell with all the perfumes and smelling salts."

Most of them tend to view the British political parties in terms of their policies toward immigration I and immigrants. "My friend down the street tells me that if Tories came to power they'll chuck us out, but I said to him, 'The Tories were in power when my father first came in. They can't chuck us out like that. No,'" Rasheed said. Once again Roop had an original idea: "We had both Tories and Labour. Neither of them is any good. So I say give the Liberals a chance."

Most of my Indian interviewees were familiar with the names of Gandhi, Nehru, Bose and Patel. They had either read about them in history books or had heard them being discussed by their parents at home. Parents form a vital link to their past: their religion, shad either read about them in history books or had heard them being discussed by their parents at home. Parents form a vital link to their parents at home. Parents form a vital link to their past: their religion, shaded to choose the leader they most admired they chose Bose, Patel, Gandhi and Nehru—in that order. The Pakistani teenagers know Jinnah very well, but a not Liaqat Ali Khan. I did not discuss present-day datonal leaders in either country.

mother is in Pakistan, looking for a husband for me." Akram, on the other hand, has no desire to return to Pakistan: "I'll feel foreign there. I'm planting to be an actor. I've already joined a drama school. Acting is a serious business." Deepak Singht plans to be a fighter pilot with the RAF. "If that doesn't work out, I'll try the Indian Air Force. I'm in the Air Training Corps here." Vallabh is interested in business: "My uncle is minting money in shirt manufacture. He wants to take me on. This is the country for me. There's money here: pound-sterlings!" Roops is keen on education. "I'll go as far as I can in my education here. I've been back to India twice for holidays. I like it there. I'll go back." Noor e proposes to be an electronics engineer. "Yes, in this

How anglicised?

It is rare to find a totally orthodox or totally anglicicle ised Asian teenager: in my sample, Noor and Akram come nearest to these two types. In between there are three broad categories: semi-orthodox, like Rasheed, Usha, Mehtab and Deepak Singh; the middle-zoners, like Shiv and Vallabh; and the semi-anglicised, like Preetam and Roop.

The major factors that bear on anglicisation are:
1. Time of arrival. The early arrivals (of the mid-1950s) were more prone to anglicisation because they arrived when very young and they were totally surrounded by the British environment. In contrast, the late arrivals were older in age, and found themselves surrounded more and more by their compatriots.
2. Period of stay: Longer stay helps anglicisation, but only up to a point. The change is swift in the beginning, but soon tapers off.
3. The racial composition of school and residential area: Concentration of Asians in schools and residential areas tends to retard anglicisation.

I am, of course, using the term "anglicisation" in a neutral sense: it is neither good nor bad.

What W

Therapeutic communities or This is the question that has to residential work in the future. T committee, which has been the problem for five years, is proper recognition of the skill ar

who need group care, whether yot old. A proper training system is post basic to all kinds of residential wo specialising in various branches, priprofessional status and accompanishorter hours and recognition of preeds for privacy, space and time fuside interests like other people.

The three child care organisation Residential Child Care Association Association of Child Care Officers at Association of Child Care Officers, joint statement, have welcomed the but regretted that in some of their mendations the committee did not a enough. It is suggested that it was a prinstance, that they were not able to subject of salaries as an integral patheir terms of reference, and this cor is likely to be echoed by many both the service and outside it, in connected of work and interest.

How well known are the facts conc salary scales and hours of work in retail establishments of various kinds?

salary scales and hours of work in rut salary scales and hours of warious kinds? tial establishments of various kinds? appears to be a general lack of awa of conditions which in most occup would lead to either industrial actival almost total lack of recruitment. Puthe satisfaction which some residential feel in clearly observing how other beings have been assisted by their has made them relatively less aware insistent upon the need and means for preservation in their working lives most of their counterparts in the

munity.

Their salaries and emoluments and conditions of work at present are c by a variety of negotiating bodies r from the Whitley Councils to the Joi visory Committee and this has led to of anomalies and historical accidents make comparisons of one set of con with another very difficult. One of factor, however, with the exception of

