

Cinema and the Indian Diaspora: Tradition, Identity, and Conflict Through the Films of Gurinder Chada by Anne Herteis

— fourth year English and anthropology

The study of diaspora is becoming increasingly important as the world's populations are moving between countries as never before. The ease of travel and communication, combined with an increasingly global economy, have changed the nature of international movement including economic, educational, and forced migration. As one of the world's most populous countries, India also has one of the world's largest and most widely spread diasporas. Its British colonial history and years of indentured labour throughout the empire spread the Indian population across the world centuries ago. Today, these global Indian populations have become settled diaspora communities, which continue to draw immigrants from India to partake in different opportunities from those available in the homeland. One of the oldest and most well settled diaspora communities is the Indian population in Britain. This group has created a place for itself in British society and is now an important force in British culture.

While a fixture in British popular culture for decades already, Britain's Indian diaspora is beginning to assert its place in the mainstream entertainment by producing its own media. One of the most well known filmmakers of the Indian diaspora is Gurinder Chadha, whose two mainstream films *Bhaji on the Beach* (1993) and *Bend it like Beckham* (2002) gained international attention from not only the Indian community, but from audiences around the world. Her work, while fictionalized and light-hearted, is a valuable study of life as a woman in the Indian diaspora, the conflicts of hybrid identity, and the challenges of being a second or third generation member of Britain's Indian community. By critically reading Chadha's films through the viewpoint of diaspora theory and cultural studies, it is possible to understand not only the experiences of Indian women in Britain, but the methods and motivations behind diaspora pop-culture.

The notion of diaspora has changed considerably over recent years. Stemming from the Greek *speiro*, "to sow" and *dia*, "over," the term originally referred only to the Jewish and Greek populations forced from their traditional homelands (Sheffer, 2003: 9). The scope of the concept has grown, however, with the growth of international migration and enclaves of distinct national and ethnic groups in countries other than their homelands. The Indian diaspora in particular has a long and diverse history. Because of Britain's colonial presence in India, South Asians have been visiting the British Isles since 1720. In the late 19th century, Indians began coming to Britain to study British business practices or to receive formal education before returning to India. A few Indian sailors made their home in Britain in later years, but the group did not have any recognizable identity or presence in the country until after the Second World War and India's independence. In the 1950s and 1960s, large groups of Indian immigrants began travelling to Britain to seek employment and usually worked in low-paying industrial labour until South Asians from Africa fled to Britain and began successful entrepreneurial careers (Hinnels, 2000: 77-79).

Struggling against prejudice, racism, and often language barriers and economic hardship, the Indian diaspora in Britain has formed an integral and productive part of Britain's population. The Indian diaspora asserted its rights in Britain alongside other racial minorities and with a united "black identity," which was "directly influenced or modelled on forms of 'Black pride' and black hip-hop music" (Tariq Modood, 2001: 68). While racial activism still occurs within the Indian diaspora, it now asserts itself in different ways, for example through the media and popular culture such as that produced by Gurinder Chadha. While acting as a form of protest against British hegemony and prejudice, Gurinder Chadha's films are also an illustration of a number of different aspects of diaspora. They portray identity, generational conflict, the appropriate role of an Indian woman, and a heteronormative view of social

relations. By releasing films that not only satirize the diaspora group to which she belongs but also expose the racism faced by Indians in Britain, Chadha asserts the diaspora's agency over creating its own identity to both Indian and non-Indian audiences. By including these diverse themes in her films, Chadha not only criticises the British population for their racism, but also exposes the hypocrisies within the diaspora itself.

Hybridity and Media

One of the most important themes in the study of diaspora is identity. Identity as a citizen, identity within a family, national identity, ascribed identity, chosen identity, and fluid identity all must be negotiated. The films of Gurinder Chadha discuss the creation of hybrid identity more than any other of these aspects. Hybrid identity is created through "intensive exchanges between various social and cultural actors" (Sheffer, 2003: 169). These exchanges act in multiple ways, facilitating the creation of a hybrid identity with elements of Indian, British, and other qualities that influence an individual. The cultural exchanges can also work in the creation of multiple and culturally discrete identities that are all used in different scenarios. In this sense, identity is used and changed situationally; "the individual carries a portfolio of ethnic identities that are more or less salient in various situations" (Song, 2003: 17). Diasporic media illustrates this phenomenon in countless situations with portrayals of changes in language, dress, and manners when it is deemed most advantageous or acceptable. Georgiou (2006) explains this trend in linguistic terms, labelling it "code switching" (63).

It is primarily the second generation of Indian immigrants, those either born or educated in Britain, that have these ethnic options and engage in "code switching"; they are those who are responsible for the creation of its diasporic media and those who are trying to negotiate ethnic hybridity. Those belonging to this generation have a "greater array of ethnic options than their parents" (Song, 2003: 104), and it is notable in the films how much more cultural knowledge of Britain, their home-towns, and diasporic life these young British Indians have than their parents.

Media created by and for diaspora populations play a specific and important role in identity formation and preservation within diaspora groups. The specific national and cultural identities portrayed in diasporic media are depictions of "a holistic, essential quality of life." These media sources "repeatedly project particular perceptions and values that ascertain commonality and community" (Georgiou, 2006: 30). Diasporic media is, at its heart, essentializing. It takes what the authors, producers, and creators believe to be central tenets of the culture of the homeland and of the host country, and magnifies them as traditions to be fostered in a new nation; adopted for survival; or ridiculed as archaic customs that limit integration, modernization, and change. These media creations "can become powerful mouthpieces of the community they represent and they can create powerful images of self-representation for the group" (Georgiou, 2006: 13). Despite the prominence and power of such images, there is often disagreement across an entire diasporic group of how its identity should be represented.

Media is a commercial enterprise, and must therefore have enough appeal to reach a wide audience. Regardless of its social import, its role in community building, dissemination of information, creation of awareness, or provision of tools for identity formation, profit is the ultimate goal of any form of popular media. Popular culture of the diaspora faces even more of a challenge from these commercial motivations than media of the mainstream. Thus, the films of Gurinder Chadha are intended for a wide and culturally heterogeneous audience, not just members of the diaspora. The films face the challenge of trying to remain true to the themes of diaspora, identity, and feminism, while ensuring they have enough mass appeal to be widely received. Stuart Hall recognizes this problem of essentialism, mass appeal, and commercialism in a study on black media of the Caribbean diaspora: he argues that "[t]here is always a price of incorporation to be paid when the cutting edge of difference and transgression is blunted into spectacularization" (1996: 468). While it is possible to think of this "spectacularization" as simply selling out or pandering to mainstream popular culture, there is more at stake in the case of diasporic films such as Chadha's, which are viewed by the public as representing a population, as opposed to just telling a story.

A more critical viewpoint on this kind of diasporic media sees the creation of “stylish hybridity” – an intentional incorporation of essentialized, stereotyped minority characters and themes into mainstream media with little consideration of the realities of the minority populations presented (Giardina, 2003: 67). If this is in fact the case, diasporic film loses much of its objectivity and rebellion in an attempt at being incorporated into mainstream media; as Hall wrote, “by definition, black popular culture is a contradictory space” (1996: 470). The challenge is to maintain a media identity that is outside the mainstream of hegemonic cinema, but one that can still receive attention and reach its intended audience.

What makes the films of Gurinder Chadha so interesting in this respect is their similarity to mainstream popular culture. While the themes do deal with some issues that are almost exclusive to the Indian diaspora, the themes, plot, and characters are easily accessible to audiences of any culture and background. Instead of acting as an alternative to hegemonic western media, her films feature resistance and protest as internal. They show a revolt against traditional Indian diasporic culture in a popular format that has been widely released and received.

“This country has cost us our children”

Generational conflict is the most easily accessible theme in both *Bend it like Beckham* and *Bhaji on the Beach*. In her work on media of the South Asian Diaspora Pnina Werbner writes at length about the conflicts that can be created and publicized by diasporic media. She believes that most of what is considered the “new wave” of media of the Indian diaspora is focussed predominantly on generational conflict and an archaic cultural identity that is reproduced by a tradition-bound first generation of immigrants. According to Werbner, this new wave of literature, film, and popular media is “clearly and publicly aim[ed] to debunk sacred religious or South Asian traditionalist, sexually conservative, or ethnically chauvinistic values” (Werbner, 2004: 99).

While their shared Indian culture is mostly a uniting and positive force among the characters in these films, there are deep negative undertones that criticize blind adherence to tradition and a cultural past in a country most British Indians have never visited. Since 90 per cent of all of Britain’s ethnic minority residents under the age of 14 were born in Britain (Song, 2003: 104), they cannot be assumed to adhere to or understand the application of homeland practices. They are likely to know more about British, American, or French popular culture, laws, and social practices than those of India. This phenomenon is exacerbated by the fact that most of the second generation of Indian immigrants attend the British school system with its emphasis on the “development of the autonomous critical individual – a concept that both in theory and practice challenges... their parents’ expectations” (Nielsen, 2000: 115).

The literature and films of the diaspora give truth to the common stereotype that British Indians are more traditional than anyone in India. As Georgiou concluded in her case study of the Armenian diaspora, “attitudes to the diasporic culture are often negative among youth” (Georgiou, 2006: 62). Yet “for the first generation, being part of a diasporic community is considered and experienced almost as natural” (Georgiou, 2006: 59). A similar idea is illustrated in *Bhaji on the Beach*. An exchange occurs among a number of the women about how to raise children with proper morals so they will not be corrupted by British values. Three women — Asha, a married woman born in India, Simi, the young group leader, and Rekha, a rich, stylish tourist from Mumbai — discuss how to raise Indian children in England:

Asha: “I’ve been teaching morals from back home.”

Rekha: “Home? What home? How long is it since you’ve been home? Look at you. Your Clothes, the way that you think!”

Simi: Auntie-ji, you try and teach them something, but you’ve got to learn to listen. Your daughters are doing their best.”

Rekha: Oh, come on. You’re all 20 years out of date.” (Chadha, 1993)

Asha does not perceive Rekha as an acceptable embodiment of Indian values, while Rekha, a woman still living in India, sees these women trying to nurture an Indian identity — one that has not existed for

decades in India — in Britain. The implication here is that it is inevitable for children of the original immigrants, who suffer from outdated and repressive demands, to only disappoint parents who are trying to recreate a lifestyle that is not only impossible in Britain, but that in reality does not exist anywhere.

Echoes of this frustration can be found in Chadha's later film *Bend it like Beckham*. Jess (Jesminder) Bhamra faces the brunt of her parents' displeasure by choosing to lead a life that to them is distinctly un-Indian. Jess's football playing and close friendship with Jules — unconventional, British, and white — are considered inappropriate for an Indian girl. They are perceived to lessen her parents' status in the community and degrade their skills at Indian parenting. When discussing Jess's behaviour with his future in-laws, Mr. Bhamra tries to excuse her behaviour: "you know how hard it is for our children over here, sometimes they misjudge and start behaving like the kids here" (Chadha, 2002). As a parent he has admitted the difficulties of preventing the Western influence from changing his daughter's values. Jess herself notices the conflict she has caused; she explains to Jules, "Anything I want is just not Indian enough for them!" (Chadha, 2002).

All three of these scenes and exchanges speak of the disconnect between generations, an inability of those of the first generation to understand the needs of their children, and the impossibility of living a completely Indian life outside of India. Chadha illustrates the ridiculousness of ignoring the influence of the culture with which one is surrounded. In her writing on the subject, Werbner posits exactly what Chadha has illustrated in her two films; this easily accessible diasporic pop-culture "has as its mission to persuade a younger generation of British South Asians to be less compliant and submissive to their parents" (Werbner, 2004: 903). These unconventional female characters in diasporic media are in fact meant to be instructional.

However, generational conflict is not exclusive to the diaspora community, nor is it necessarily caused by living in a country with different values. This important aspect of generational conflict is neglected entirely in *Bhaji on the Beach* and in most of the literature on the portrayal of women in diasporic media, but is given significant consideration in *Bend it like Beckham*. Jess's friend Jules Paxton and her mother consistently misunderstand each other over appropriate behaviour and what is expected of a young English woman. The conflict in the Paxton family almost directly parallels that in the Bhamras'; generational conflict is not unique to the diaspora. As the films portray, families of the Indian diaspora find it easier to blame the negative influence of the host country's culture than to recognize that conflict will naturally occur as children seek independent lives in a world different from that of their parents — different due to either a change in location and culture or simply the passage of time. It is not considered in either film that conflicts over values, lifestyle, and tradition undoubtedly take place among families in India, especially if India has changed as drastically in the past 20 years as Rekha suggests. This failure to recognize that conflict is an inevitable part of growing up and is not brought about by the challenges of cultural hybridity are again examples of idealizing the home country. These first generation immigrants have formed a "rosy picture of the country they have left" (van der Veer, 1995: 7) and forget about any conflicts or problems that undoubtedly existed.

"Indian girls aren't supposed to play football"

A continuous focus on appropriate gender roles is inherent in the generational conflict within the immigrant families portrayed in Chadha's films. These roles are made very obvious in *Bend it like Beckham* as it follows a number of gender-based conflicts both inside and outside the family. *Bhaji on the Beach* treats the subject differently, as the film tells the story of a group of women who interact mostly with each other. However, a number of general themes arise through both films.

Gender in *Bend it like Beckham* is tied to the discourse of honour and the deep fear the Bhamras feel about bringing shame upon their family; according to their future in-laws, "children are a map of their parents" (Chadha, 2002). Jess's football playing is considered a deeply shameful act for its sheer lack of femininity, which in its very nature it contravenes doctrines of modesty that a woman is supposed to embody. While Mrs. Bhamra occasionally mentions Jess's studies as a reason to quit football, her objections are usually based on gender roles and the notion that football and femininity cannot overlap.

The idea that football is not an appropriate pastime for an Indian woman is brought up in the film's first scene – a fantasy football game played by Jess and David Beckham. During Jess's daydream of playing a tournament-winning match for England, her mother evaluates her game. When her mother appears with the sports announcers, instead of praising Jess's excellent game she informs viewers that by "running around with all these men showing her legs to 70,000 people" (Chadha, 2002) Jess is bringing shame on the family. The football uniform and the skin it exposes are themselves enough reason to persuade her family that Jess should not be playing football. This same criticism is made multiple times later in the film. In an almost direct echo of this opening scene Mrs. Bhamra objects again to Jess's desire to play: "I don't want you running around half naked in front of men" (Chadha, 2002). As her mother sees the fact that football is played in shorts and in front of a mixed audience as a reason not to play, Jess tries her best to overcome the discomfort of showing so much skin in public. She asks her coach if she can play wearing track pants, she never joins the scrimmage team playing without shirts, and does her best to change privately in the change room full of girls.

Jess's reluctance to expose herself in these situations is not given much weight or discussion. It illustrates an important concept, however; Jess has not turned away from all of the fundamental aspects of Indian culture that her mother is attempting to instil in her. This adherence to ideals of modesty could in fact be something of which her mother could be proud; however, since football is considered in itself deeply unfeminine, Mrs. Bhamra cannot fathom anything positive about Jess playing, even though Jess acts in a way her parents would deem most suitably Indian.

There are two different ideas that may explain Jess's actions. The simplest may be that Jess has adopted a hybrid sense of identity; this element of Indian culture — her modesty — has become one way in which she represents herself. In this situation she is not using "code switching" as described by Georgiou (2006), or choosing her British identity from her "portfolio of identities" to use in front of her English soccer team, as Song (2003) would posit. Rather, she assumes traits of both cultures in daily life, whether intentionally or not. The second reason is that Jess appreciates this aspect of her Indian heritage. This explanation would be in line with Georgiou's conclusions about youth in diasporic communities who "grow to appreciate... [diasporic] culture as they age" (Georgiou 2006: 62).

Jess's modesty makes up one of the most interesting aspects of the theme of appropriate gender performance, and reaffirms the exchange in *Bhaji on the Beach* between Asha and Rekha; the assertion that Indian parents are so bound by tradition that they do not listen to their daughters. That Jess is the most conservative of all the second generation Indian women portrayed in the film escapes her parents' notice. Jess's football playing is an issue with which Mr. and Mrs. Bhamra assume they would never be faced in India. While Jess tries to use her conservatism and traditional views of the body to convince her mother to let her continue playing, it does not make up for all of the other norms Jess transgresses.

This plot device sets up an interesting contrast between Jess and her sister Pinky. Pinky and her friends all wear western and frequently revealing clothing, makeup, and spend time alone with men. While this behaviour is certainly not acceptable to Mrs. Bhamra, and contravenes many of the ideals she attempts to instil in her children throughout the film, they are suitably feminine and do not garner the same kind of anger and criticism as Jess receives. Their gender-appropriate actions, as opposed to Jess's lack of femininity, are seen as preferable to Jess's innocent yet culturally inappropriate interest in sports. Jess is portrayed as an outsider in the Indian community. While they are undeniably attempts to challenge her parents' enforcement of tradition, Pinky's parents interpret her transgressions as simply girls being girls. Jess, on the other hand, is not just a rebel, but a cultural anomaly. Her family cannot understand what motivation she could have to play sports; it does not conform to a gender normative worldview, and in their eyes will not get her a husband.

As well as these ideals of shame and modesty, *Bend it like Beckham* is full of what can be considered instructions on how the first generation of Indian immigrant parents wants their British-raised children to behave. It is made painstakingly clear to both the audience and Jess that the intended result of following these instructions is to become a good wife. Throughout the film Mrs. Bhamra speaks a litany of observations to Jess about her future as a wife. They range from the specific: "[w]hat family will want a daughter-in-law who can run around kicking football all day but can't make round chapattis?" (Chadha,

2002) to slightly more subtle hints: "I was married at your age. You don't even know how to cook daal" (Chadha, 2002). While it can be easily noted that cooking is considered a valuable skill for any young Indian woman, the deeper message in these quotations is that marriage is the ultimate goal in perfecting any feminine skill. Jess herself recognizes the inevitability of her eventual marriage and the ways it will change her life: "I wonder if I had an arranged marriage, would I get someone who'd let me play football?" (Chadha, 2002).

On the other hand, *Bhaji on the Beach* discusses life after marriage and the sacrifices women must make to fulfil the expectations of marriage – they have to give up the kind of life Jess leads in Chadha's later film. Sacrifice is the most commonly mentioned facet of marriage in *Bhaji on the Beach*. The first scene of this film is as telling of later themes as are Mrs. Bhamra's comments in the first scene of *Bend it like Beckham*. Again, the film begins with a daydream. Asha has a vision while walking through the back room of her shop in Birmingham. A larger-than-life statue of a god chants to her "honour, duty, sacrifice...know your place" (Chadha, 1993). She is immediately accosted by her husband and children with demands that she clearly does not want to fulfil. Asha — as it becomes obvious throughout the film — regrets the sacrifices she made for her marriage. In her encounter with Ambrose Waddington, a British gentleman and "ancient Blackpudlian," Asha fantasises about a life without the demands of her Indian husband and children, who insist she act as a traditional Indian wife. The trip to Blackpool and encounter with Ambrose Waddington, who treats her as someone "Proud, exotic, fascinating" (Chadha, 1993) is a markedly different experience from the traditional and patriarchal life she leads in Birmingham. This encounter causes Asha to retort to the god who taunted her at the beginning: "duty, honour, sacrifice! What about me? I was a good singer at college. I never had headaches. And I wasn't born selling bloody newspapers" (Chadha, 1993). It appears from this outburst that Asha did not ask for the life she is leading; she felt bound by honour and tradition to lead the life that was expected of her.

The other character who does not want the pressure of traditional Indian family life is the young mother, Ginder. She broke with tradition and angered everyone in the community, including her parents, in order to divorce her abusive husband. The older generation of "Aunties" who travel to Blackpool with the women's group cannot understand Ginder's decision: "That Ginder, I hear she ran off, left such a decent family. Took her son. And she even chose the husband! Poor thing, the mother-in-law" (Chadha, 1993). Ginder's plight is considered minimal; she was allowed one British compromise — she could choose her Indian husband. The Aunties assume it was Ginder's fault her marriage fell apart:

"I hear her husband used to beat her."

"These modern girls can't adapt. And those with jobs are the worst. Asha, you know her in-laws, is it true?"

"No. She must have done something" (Chadha, 1993).

Like the explanations of generational conflict, Britain and a lack of tradition are blamed for Ginder's misfortune and poor decisions. The fact that Ginder is modern, has a job, and chose her husband for herself are all poor predictors for the success of her marriage. Her husband's character is not questioned, as he came from "such a decent family."

The conflicts and demands faced by the women in the films are tied both to the ideal traditional female role that the characters believe is never challenged in India, and the clearly demarcated role women are to play in diaspora contexts. In diaspora communities, women are responsible for maintaining something recognizable, such as an Indian household, educating children in Indian cultural practices, and hopefully preventing children from assimilating too much into the host country's culture (Punathambekar, 2005: 159). Diaspora communities set up the home and household as a microcosm of Indian culture (Gopinath, 2003; Georgiou 2006). Within the households of diaspora communities "immigrant women are positioned by an immigrant male bourgeoisie as repositories of an essential 'Indianness'" (Gopinath, 2003: 264). They play the role of "agents and catalysers of cultural reproduction" (Bachu, 1995: 234). Due to women's representation of the values of a culture they not only have more restraints placed upon them, but are also watched far more closely for any transgressions against morals or tradition.

With these scenes Chadha is attempting to portray a reality felt by Indian wives both in Britain and in India. Yet it is easy to see that her goal is more than simply providing a description or inducing empathy in her audience. Chadha's films illustrate Werbner's (2004) theories on diasporic media as explained above – this media is instructional, transgressive, and anti-traditionalist. Werbner theorizes that this form of easily and widely accessible diasporic popular culture is directed to two different kinds of audiences within the diaspora. First, it is directed to people like the Aunties and a traditionalist, patriarchal community. These people are meant to see themselves satirised and to watch “the open public display of embarrassing, internally guarded ‘secret’ ethnic truths” that they are meant to feel is inappropriate for entertainment. However, if the film is correctly set up as criticism, this traditional group will hopefully recognise these “ethnic truths” as antiquated and ineffectual (Werbner, 2004: 902). The second group to whom this pop culture is directed is the young generation; in the characters of Jess and Ginder they are meant to see role models and a path to creating an independent life. As Georgiou explains, “in media cultures, audiences can... choose with whom and where they go” (Georgiou, 2006: 88). Chadha assumes, and hopes, that the young Indian women in her audience will choose to go with characters like Ginder and Jess.

Conclusion

The women's bus trip to Blackpool in *Bhaji on the Beach* begins with a speech by activist, advocate, tour guide, and friend, Simi: “It is not often that we women get away from the patriarchal demands made on us in our daily lives, struggling between the double yolk of racism and sexism that we bear. This is your day. Have a female fun time” (Chadha, 1993). Gurinder Chadha's films could easily be described as a “female fun time”; they are light-hearted, romantic, funny, and endearing. However, they expose a number of truths about the patriarchy, racism, and sexism faced by members of the Indian diaspora in Britain. It remains to be seen what kind of impact, if any, this new form of diasporic media will have on British popular culture, or whether it will influence those who face the same racism and sexism within their own cultures that Simi talks about. Regardless of their ultimate consequences, films like *Bend it like Beckham* and *Bhaji on the Beach* are a powerful tool for asserting both the presence of the Indian diaspora community in Britain and validating the changes the youth of this community are demanding in their homes. Gurinder Chadha's films, while perhaps not intended as an academic study, are surprisingly complimentary to diaspora theory and allow for a detailed analysis of the kinds of lives led by members of Britain's Indian diaspora.

Works Cited

- Bachu, Parminder. 1995. "New Cultural Forms and Transnational South Asian Women: Culture, Class, and Consumption among British Asian Women in the Diaspora." In *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora* ed. by Peter van der Veer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Chadha, Gurinder. 1993. *Bhaji on the Beach* [videorecording] UK: Channel Four Films.
 – 2002. *Bend it like Beckham* [videorecording] UK: Kintop Pictures
- Coward, Harold and John R. Hinnells, Raymond Brady Williams eds. *The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Georgiou, Myria. 2006. *Diaspora, Identity and the Media: Diasporic Transnationalism and Mediated Spatialities*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Giardinia, Michael D. 2003. "'Bending it like Beckham' in the Global Popular: Stylish Hybridity, Performativity, and the Politics of Representation." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 27(1): 65. Retrieved October 16, 2007 Available: Sage Online Journals.
- Gopinath, Gayatri. 2003. "Nostalgia, Desire, Diaspora: South Asian Sexualities in Motion." In *Theorizing Diaspora* edited by Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. Oxford: Blackwell
- Hall, Stuart. 1996. "What is This 'Black' In Black Popular Culture." In *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* ed. David Morely and Kuan-Hsing Chen. London: Routledge.
- Modood, Tariq. "British Asian Identities: Something Old, Something Borrowed, Something New." In *British Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morely and Kevin Robins. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nielsen, Jørgen S. 2000. "Muslims in Britain: Ethnic Minorities, Community, or Ummah?" In *The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States*, ed. Harold Coward et al. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Punathambekar, Aswin. 2005. "Bollywood in the Indian-American Diaspora: Mediating a Transitive Logic of Cultural Citizenship." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 8 (2): 151. Retrieved October 16, 2007 Available: Sage Online Journals.
- Sheffer, Gabriel. 2003. *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Song, Miri. 2003. *Choosing Ethnic Identity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- van der Veer, Peter, ed. 1995. *Nation and Migration: The Politics of Space in the South Asian Diaspora*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Werbner, Pnina. 2004. "Theorising Complex Diasporas: Purity and Hybridity in the South Asian Public Sphere in Britain." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(5): 895. Retrieved October 13, 2007 Available: Canadian Research Knowledge Network.