Multicultural Harmony?
Mirpuris and Music in Bradford

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Abstract

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Focusing on Mirpuris and music in Bradford, this doctoral thesis offers an ethnomusicological dimension to continuing debates on multiculturalism in Britain, within the fields of anthropology, sociology and political science. I engage ethnographically with three spaces of Mirpuri music making – the mehfil, the street, and the festival – in order to develop a ground-level perspective on what it means to live in an increasingly diverse society. By paying close attention to intra-communal generational discourses and practices of music, a synchronic picture of multiculturalism is developed that takes into account local, national and transnational histories. I argue that discursive senses of belonging, articulated through and by music, offer alternative and more broadly inclusive insights into what it means to migrate to Britain, what it means to be born in Britain, and, ultimately, what it means to 'be' British. Drawing on theories of multiculturalism, music and migration, nationalism and segregation, my broad argument is that an ethnographic map of Mirpuri music making in Bradford provides a more contemporarily relevant picture of multicultural society than one drawn along racial, or religious, lines alone.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Introduction

I arrived at Mr. Khokhar's barbershop for the first time on a cold and dark winter night. The shop was still busy with customers, so I took a seat whilst Mr. Khokhar and his son finished cutting hair. Mr. Khokhar is from the Mirpur district of Azad Kashmir in Pakistan and came to the United Kingdom in the 1960s to work in the textile industry. I was, by this point, several months into my research, and yet I had not come across any Mirpuri musicians. A few weeks earlier, when asked why this was the case, a local Pakistani music producer laughed, saying: 'They're not interested in music. We call them "MPs" [short for Mirpuri]. They've got this village mentality, you see. When you said you were doing a PhD on MPs I thought you were joking! I've seen everything now'.[1]

This dismissal jarred with my own experiences of Mirpuris and music in Bradford. The city's curry houses have the constant hum of bollywood music in the background; a mixture of Imran Khan and the late Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan will, more often than not, accompany a late night taxi ride;[2] and the Bradford Mela, one of Europe's biggest multicultural music and arts festivals, draws over 150,000 visitors to the city every year. And yet, the dismissal also did something else. It highlighted a tension that had been preoccupying me for the first few months of fieldwork: I was in Bradford to learn more about Mirpuri discourses and practices of music, but, three

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[1] Philip Lewis (2007: 22) has noted that, 'the category "Pakistani" encompasses distinct regional and linguistic groups: Pathans distinguish themselves from Punjabis, with young Mirpuris – a group to which some two-thirds of all British Pakistanis belong – re-categorise themselves as "ethnic Kashmiris" to distance themselves from Pakistan'.

[2] Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan (1948 to 1997) is a popular and influential qawwali singer from Faisalabad, Pakistan. Imran Khan is a Dutch Pakistani rap singer/songwriter and producer.

months down the line, my enquiries had been met with incredulity among South Asians and blank looks in the local council. In terms of population size, Mirpuris account, proportionally, for not only the largest number of any South Asian group living in Bradford, but the United Kingdom as a whole (McLoughlin 2006; Lewis 2007). How could it be that such a large number of people were supposedly without music?

Throughout my fieldwork in Bradford, I came up against similar dismissals and assumptions. I heard from people across Bradford that Mirpuris are backward and self-segregating. I read academic accounts that described young Mirpuris as failing at school, embroiled in crime, and increasingly turning to more radical forms of Islam (Lewis 1994, 2007; Bolognani 2005, 2007). Reports commissioned by the British Government warned me that Mirpuris refused to integrate and were not contributing to society (Cantle 2001; West 2005; Phillips 2005). And against this backdrop, the very idea of multiculturalism was seemingly crumbling (Vertovec 2010).[3] Britain was becoming divided, with Mirpuris living 'parallel lives' (Phillips 2005) and only interacting with other communities 'when forced to'.[4]

In short, Mirpuris in Britain live in an extremely marginalised position.[5] Not only are they marginalised through the range of media, political and academic discourses described above, but they also live in the margins of what is already a marginal city.[6] However, whilst this social positioning might suggest a kind of

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[3] Over the past decade there has been a widespread denunciation of multiculturalism by politicians across Europe, and in the press. Some of these denunciations will be outlined later in this chapter.

[4] *The Telegraph & Argos*, 'What's Wrong with Bradford?' 11 July 2001.

[5] Tahir Abbas (2009) claims that Pakistanis and Azad Kashmiris, more so than other South Asian migrant groups, live 'excluded lives, existing near or at the bottom of local area economic and social contexts'. Abbas cites the higher number of men employed as taxi drivers as evidence of their 'marginal nature'.

[6] Since its heyday in the Industrial Revolution of the late nineteenth-century, Bradford has seen its fortunes decline dramatically. Recently, the city has been the focus of numerous government-led

peripheral invisibility, Mirpuris are, on the contrary, at the forefront of debates about multiculturalism and Islam in Britain. Indeed, this contradictory aspect of Mirpuris' experience of marginalization provokes the need for a critical reflection on broader themes of diversity, inclusivity and migration in Britain.

These themes have been well discussed in anthropology, sociology and political science, particularly under the terms of (super)diversity and transnationalism (Cohen 1997; Gidley 2007; Vertovec 2007); multiculturalism and the regulation of diversity (Taylor 1994; Baumann 1999; Back et al. 2002; Parekh 2006; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010); and in diaspora studies (Tölölyan 1996; Turino 2000; Werbner 2002; Cohen 2007; Knott and McLoughlin 2010). Barely heard, in all the debates and discourses cited above, however, are the voices and opinions of Mirpuris themselves. They are, in this respect, an absent presence. This is surprising when one considers that Mirpuris account for over two-thirds of all Pakistanis living in Britain (Lewis 2007).

Ralph Grillo recently called for more research to be conducted on what he termed 'actually existing multiculturalism', suggesting, that as it stands, multiculturalism is 'poorly documented' and there is 'ignorance about what is happening on the ground' (2010: 33). I am going to follow up on this call because, throughout my fieldwork, it was evident that there was a gap, or tension, between how multiculturalism was debated as a concept, and the intricate interactions that happen between people at ground level in Bradford. This thesis represents an effort to contribute to the multiculturalism debate by finding out how Mirpuris experience living in multicultural Bradford. The thesis shows that Mirpuris in Bradford are

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'regeneration' initiatives but has struggled to attract new business. The recession of 2008 compounded Bradford's economic woes and, in its city centre, high numbers of shops remain vacant.

acutely aware of, and talking about, issues at the heart of the multiculturalism debate, and that, contrary to the above assertions, music is one of the few methods through which these issues are being openly discussed and contested. I am particularly interested in the spaces in which Mirpuri music making takes place. What do they look like and how do they sound? How do these spaces map onto the ways Mirpuris understand their own place within the city? My broad argument is that a map of Mirpuri music making provides a more relevant picture of multicultural society than one drawn along racial, or religious, lines alone. Indeed, the way that I approach these questions is to think critically about how spaces of Mirpuri music making in Bradford might afford a new perspective on how we understand diversity, migration and multiculturalism in the UK.

This introductory chapter will continue by outlining the broad conceptual issues that are addressed in this thesis (multiculturalism, migration and transnationalism, music and identity), before looking at the methodological approach, ideas of 'the field' and my own place within it. Chapter 2 contextualises these issues in Bradford by looking in more detail at the social history of the city. In particular, the chapter looks at the history of migration from Mirpur to Bradford, before painting a more detailed, ethnographically informed picture of the city, and Mirpuris' place within it, today. Central to this chapter are the places and circumstances under which Mirpuris engage with music. These contexts, represented by me as three 'nexuses', provide the means by which I have derived many of the questions posed above, and so time is taken to outline how these musical activities might actively contribute to conversations – in anthropology and ethnomusicology – about music and migration, nationalism and multiculturalism. These musical nexuses include places where music is performed (local concerts, living rooms, rehearsal spaces, festivals, rapping on

street corners, schools), places where music is listened to (in barbershops, taxicabs, nightclubs, restaurants), as well as the more mundane, every day conversations about music that occur in locations, and in transit, across Bradford. By building up this detailed picture of Mirpuris and music, the chapter provides a platform from which I approach questions about integration, segregation, inclusivity (and, by extension, exclusivity) and education. What follows, in chapters 3, 4 and 5, are a series of case studies that bear out these themes, and which provide the main ethnographic bases for this thesis.

Chapter 3 looks closely at what might broadly, but loosely, be described as the musical interests and activities of first generation migrants. The chapter looks at the performance and reception of Patwari *sher khavani* – a traditional form of sung poetry from the Patwar region of northern Punjab – among Mirpuris living in Bradford. I focus ethnographically on a series of all-male concerts held in the north of England that are regularly attended by significant numbers of Mirpuris. This experience of Patwari sung poetry involves exhibiting very public displays of patronage, wherein complex interactions and exchanges between audience, performers and music take place. It is argued that through acts of patronage during a Patwari gathering, certain types of Mirpuri value, subjectivity and hierarchy are constructed and negotiated. The chapter thus builds upon recent writings on the roles of money, exchange, patronage and status among migrant groups (Mauss 1967; Qureshi 1986; Waterman 1990; Stokes 2002; Brown 2006; Schofield 2010) in order to advance theories of connoisseurship and classicisation (Brown 2006; Marsden 2007) among Mirpuris in the UK.

Chapter 4 moves on to look at Mirpuri youth culture. The chapter focuses ethnographically on three 'sites' of music making – school, youth centres and the

street – in order to develop an understanding of how young Mirpuris experience living in Bradford and the social pressures they face. On street corners, violence and rap music is used to mark out territories from rival gangs; in youth centres, rap workshops are organised by social workers to discuss crime, education, racism and religion; and, in schools, despite a growing anxiety among teachers about music's permissibility in Islam, young Mirpuris are utilizing recording studios to create their own raps. What is rap music doing in each of these three contexts? What is at stake? In each 'site', different responses to these questions are brought to bear, but all point to new understandings of the ways rap music is being utilised by post-migrant groups, and the state, in urban contexts.

Having established these sites and spaces of Mirpuri music making in Bradford, the final chapter more firmly ties together the previous two by looking at how the musical activities – in their broadest sense – of Mirpuris are catered for and taken into account in local government policy. Focusing on the Bradford Mela – a large multicultural music and arts festival held annually in Bradford – the chapter first outlines how multiculturalism is understood by the council, and then identifies how this is articulated and implemented by the festival's production team. By focusing on the ways in which Mirpuris understand and experience this localized manifestation of multicultural policy, the chapter challenges negative segregationist discourses (Cantle 2001; West 2005; Phillips 2005) and contributes to theories of multiculturalism that question the privileging of 'culture' over other intractable social issues (Baumann 1996; Back 1996).

Whilst each is given full attention in its own right, they are not intended to be entirely discrete, isolated chapters. On their own, each chapter presents a generational snapshot of Mirpuris and explores the role of music in their lives. In each case, the

music is widely different – traditional sung poetry in one, rap music in the next – and so linking the chapters together coherently may appear a complicated abstraction. My purpose isn't simply comparative, or, as an ethnomusicologist, to merely suggest that music is an interesting way to 'unpack' social issues. Rather, it is to show how, in their particular ways, Mirpuris' engagement with music and music making constitute a discursive part of their complex sociality; that, collectively, their experiences with music also inform, and are informed by, their wider experience of living in multicultural Bradford, and, by extension, of their experience of multiculturalism, citizenship and nationality.

Held together, then, the three ethnographic chapters build up a rich picture of Mirpuri music and music making that takes into account their intertwining histories as well as the social and cultural context of Bradford. Before arriving at these chapters, however, it is first worth proceeding by looking at the history of multiculturalism in the UK, why it is my contention that it is still central to an anthropological understanding of diversity (not as opposed to transnationalism or cosmopolitism, but in conjunction), and why it is my contention that Mirpuris are central to the multiculturalism debate today.

1.2. Multiculturalism, Music and Mirpuris

Over the past twenty years, multiculturalism has come under serious criticism and scrutiny from the public, media and politicians. Early criticisms levelled along lines of racial xenophobia gave way to attacks on multicultural policy and are now, arguably, a combination of the two. Most recently, it has been accused of raft of failings, from refusing common values, to encouraging segregation, to harbouring

terrorists (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010). Sociologists and anthropologists have criticised multiculturalism for essentialising cultures; transgressing liberal democracy; being apologetic for the subjugation of women and perpetuating patriarchy; and for reifying cultures as singular, homogeneous, unchanging entities.[7]

Instead, a range of alternative terminology has been advocated to describe and analyse the movement of people, how they settle in new surroundings and how governments regulate diversity. Cosmopolitanism (Turino 2000; Vertovec & Cohen 2002), interculturalism and transculturalism (Gundara 2000; Gundara & Jacobs 2000; Emerson 2011; Modood & Meer 2012) have all been proposed in the wake of multiculturalism's supposed demise.[8] Whilst these terms are useful – all deal with the way migrant and post-migrant groups forge multiple, often transnational, ties across a range of cultural influences – there is still conceptual and political mileage in discussing diversity and cosmopolitanism (of individuals and groups) under the rubric of multiculturalism. The reasons for this are two-fold. First, because political multiculturalism is ultimately about how people live together within a nation-state, any discourse surrounding it should be rendered comprehensible to those it concerns. In this sense, multiculturalism still serves a purpose; partly because it is already so firmly embedded in the public's imagination, but also – and this is my second reason – because it provides a bridge between public discourse and the more esoteric

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[7] These issues have been discussed by, among others: Žižek 1994; Modood and Werbner (eds.) 1997; Grillo 1998; Modood 1998; Baumann 1999; Parekh 2000; Watson 2000; Gilroy 2004; West 2005; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010.

[8] The recent re-emergence in academia of 'cosmopolitanism', as a means of thinking and writing about transnational identities, allegiances and interests, has offered a new framework for understanding migrant and 'native' populations that avoids the pitfalls of Orientalism identified by Edward Said (1978) and doggedly advocated by Sharma et al. (1996). Vertovec and Cohen state (2002) that cosmopolitanism suggests something that simultaneously: '(a) transcends the seemingly exhausted nation-state model; (b) is able to mediate actions and ideals oriented both to the universal and the particular, the global and the local; (c) is culturally anti-essentialist; and (d) is capable of representing variously complex repertoires of allegiance, identity and interest. In these ways, cosmopolitanism seems to offer a mode of managing cultural and political multiplicities'.

language of sociologists. Only through an understanding of the intimate interactions between people in culturally complex settings – in their own right – should policy makers and academics formulate questions and discourses about migration, secularism and the nation-state. In other words, if multiculturalism as a concept is to survive, it must be able to incorporate the views of those 'on the ground', as well as theories and policies projected 'from above'. This is no easy task, and so I wish to proceed by developing an understanding of both these perspectives, as well as provide a history of the term.

1.2.1. Multiculturalism and music

It is first worth pausing here, however, to think about what perspective music might offer to this discussion. Whilst there has been a great deal of attention paid in ethnomusicology to music and migration (Lomax 1959; Allen 1988; Gross 1996; Baily 1996, 2006; Turino 1999; Schade-Poulsen 1999; Toynbee & Dueck 2011), and music and cosmopolitanism (Turino 2000; Stokes 1994, 2004, 2007; Werbner 2008),[9] there has been surprisingly little consideration paid specifically to how music, and those who practice it, might contribute to understandings of multiculturalism. Two notable exceptions are Lornell and Rasmussen's (eds.) (1997) *Musics of Multicultural America: a study of twelve musical communities*, and Kira Kosnick's (2007) *Migrant Media: Turkish broadcasting and multicultural politics in Berlin*. Both these volumes provide ethnographic insights into how migrant and post-migrant groups use music to

[9] This literature will be explored in greater detail later in the chapter. For now, my focus is on the concept of multiculturalism and the anthropological, sociological and ethnomusicological literature that surround it.

understand and traverse their experience of living in multicultural societies. But what of the UK?

The past 60 years have seen an unprecedented amount of migration to Britain. In a society that is becoming increasingly diverse—to the extent that the term 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007) is now being employed to describe it—how do existing, new and 'post migrant' groups experience multiculturalism? What is their understanding of it? How do different groups understand 'Britishness'? Where and how do recent studies of folk music and ideas of nation (Brocken 2003; Gammon 2008; Sweers 2005) intersect with discourses on 'non-indigenous' music making in Britain, the World Music industry, globalisation and empire (Banfield 2007; Zuberi 2001)?

Increasing levels of migration and technological communication in Europe, and elsewhere in the world, have led to a growth in anthropological enquires as to how states regulate and respond to diversity (Goldberg 1994; Bennett 1998; Baumann 1999; Modood 2000; Kosnick 2007; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010). Armed with a highly developed theoretical language that deals with musical cultures, ethnomusicologists are in an ideal position to contribute to these conversations, but there is, at present, a dearth of literature specifically dealing with multiculturalism and music. This is surprising, as ethnomusicologists have been able to demonstrate, through music, the limits of sociological theories that reify cultures as fixed, and, instead, shown that people - like music - both define and cross cultural 'boundaries'

and landscapes. How these insights speak back to sociological debates about multiculturalism has been left largely unexplored.[10]

Recent studies, for example, have shown that, for migrant communities in 'the West', music is a crucial way of understanding and negotiating new surroundings whilst retaining ties to a homeland (Baily 1996; Gazzah 2008; Gross et al 1996; Sharma et al 1996; Solomon 2005). Bound up within the practices of music and music making are complex and discursive interactions between 'here' and 'there', 'now' and 'then'. These transnational and historical connections are important not least because they carry deep senses of identity and belonging, but also because they present what is arguably the most fluid, contextual and current picture of what it means to live in an increasingly multicultural society.

More recent accounts of Pakistanis in Bradford have re-approached discourses of self-segregation (Phillips 2006) and focused, in detail, on inner-city crime (Bolognani 2007, 2007a), but the ways in which Mirpuris articulate themselves through and by music (in the face of the issues raised by Bolognani and Phillips) have been largely overlooked. Surely these are the crucial voices if we are to have an informed debate about multiculturalism in the UK? Indeed, multiculturalism has become so synonymous with Muslims that it is hard to think of in any other way. What is multiculturalism? Is it a policy? Or is it the physical condition of people of many cultures living in the same place? Or is it a more personal, intimate condition? Or perhaps a combination of the three?

This section will continue, then, by looking at some of the ways multiculturalism has been understood politically, and debated in the public realm. I

[10] Two notable exceptions are Lornell and Rasmussen (1997) and Kosnick (2007). This literature will be reviewed later in this chapter.

then move on to look at the anthropology and sociology of multiculturalism, as well as outlining Mirpuris' place within these discourses. I would like to make clear, however, that it is not my intention to provide a new definition of multiculturalism, or to advocate one particular interpretation of the concept and/or policy over another. Rather, one of the purposes of this thesis is to find out how Mirpuris themselves experience and understand living in ethnically diverse urban centres through and by music today. To a large degree, in the ethnographic chapters that follow, this has more or less meant leaving the politics of multiculturalism behind, or at least putting it to one side.

There is, at present, a dialectical disjuncture between politics and academe around what multiculturalism is or should be. As a political slogan it has been largely discredited, and, partly as a result of this, sociologists and anthropologists have scrambled to find alternative terminology. Continuing below this, at times, incoherent debate, however, are a multitude of different cultures and people going about their lives. It is to some of these lives – Mirpuris in particular – to which this thesis ultimately turns. Does ever-increasing ethnic and religious diversity (and all the inherent transnational ties of belonging and identity that this entails) mean that multicultural centres, like Bradford, are now in a post-nation-state context? Does this necessarily lead to the end of multiculturalism, or could an understanding of Mirpuri diasporic experience lead to new ways of understanding nationalism in post-migrant contexts?

1.2.2. Multiculturalism: the public debate

At the risk of invoking an anachronism, the British Isles have been multicultural for millennia. In other words, these isles have always been subjected to flows of people from other lands: through migration, invasion, and, more darkly, through the slave trade. Asari et al. (2008) suggest that, in terms of its modern understanding, the history of multiculturalism in Britain begins in 1066 at The Battle of Hastings. They argue that the positivistic way in which The Battle of Hastings is presented in schools as a defining moment in English history reveals much about the pathology of English identity versus civic nationalism. It was a moment, after all, when 'a foreign force defeated and subjugated a local, indigenous one' (2008: 8). As Benedict Anderson (2006) has noted, this history of mongrelisation is one that is inextricably intertwined with the history of nationalism, which, by extension, is also part of the more recent history of multiculturalism.[11] Back (1996) emphasises this by pointing out that even such quintessentially English institutions as a cup of tea, or fish and chips, are, in themselves, products of intercultural influence that are bounded up with the history of empire and imperialism. In sum, national identity in the UK is, and has always been, 'multicultural'.

Multiculturalism as a policy in the late twentieth/early twenty-first century, however, can be understood in relation to migrant and post-migrant populations within national context.[12] One of the first 'official' recognitions, at policy level, of Britain as a multicultural society came in 1966, when the future Labour Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, announced that the UK government did not believe in 'a

[11] Anderson, in a humorous aside at cultural absolutism, points out that 'the British Empire has not been ruled by an 'English' dynasty since the early eleventh century: since then a motley parade of Normans (Plantagenets), Welsh (Tudors), Scots (Stuarts), Dutch (House of Orange) and Germans (Hanoverians) have squatted on the imperial throne' (2006: 83).

[12] It is important to recognize that the history of migration itself stretches back beyond the birth of multiculturalism. This is important because it distinguishes between the physical movement and settlement of people from one place to another, and the conceptual way in which we describe these movements and subsequent settlements.

flattening process of uniformity, but cultural diversity, coupled with equal opportunity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance'.[13] Inherent in this vision, however, was the presupposed duality that equal citizenship exists mutually in both the public (education, health, employment etc.) as well as the private realm. It had been widely accepted that the expression of a difference of culture could occur within the private realm, but it was not until 1984 that the first major public debate occurred on the implementation of multicultural policy in the public sector.

In 1984, Ray Honeyford, the head teacher of Drummond Middle School in Bradford, published an article in the conservative periodical, *The Salisbury Review*, entitled 'Education and Race – an Alternative View'. In the article, Honeyford attacked what he perceived as misplaced use of multiculturalism in schools, which he believed contributed to a lack of integration and a bias against the native white population. The article attacked the privileged status of ethnic minorities – in particular Mirpuri Muslims – in schools, citing the provision of special food (i.e. *halal* meat), language and dress code as examples. The Honeyford affair sparked the first, large-scale public debate about multiculturalism, assimilation and integration in schools.[14] Subsequent events such as the Rushdie affair, when Pakistani Muslims in Bradford burned copies of *The Satanic Verses* (1988) in protest at the way Salman Rushdie had portrayed the Prophet Mohammad, kept the multicultural debate – and Mirpuris – at the forefront of the public's imagination and sparked heated debates about the limits of secularism and liberalism in the UK.[15] Urban inner-city violence

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[13] Roy Jenkins (1967) *Essays and Speeches*, London: Collins. 267. Quoted in Lewis 1994: 3.
[14] These debates have recently been rehearsed again following the death of Ray Honeyford on 5 February 2012. Many newspaper reports and obituaries suggested the recent backlash against multiculturalism, discourses of segregation, and a resurgence of the language of assimilation (often in the form of integration) has vindicated Honeyford's views. See *The Daily Telegraph* (8 February 2012) and *The Daily Mail* (20 February 2012).
[15] It is often assumed that secularism simply means the removal of religious authority from public policy. However, I follow Asad (2003), who shifts attention away from 'secularism' as a reified

throughout the 1970s and 1980s meant that the multicultural debate was most often focused on African-Caribbean communities. In places like Notting Hill and Brixton in London, Toxteth in Liverpool and Chapeltown in Leeds, Black British identity began to emerge as a response to both institutional and everyday racism. In this sense, much of the debate, in academia at least, was concerned with ethnicity and identity. By the end of the decade, however, the events above combined to shift political attention towards Islam and Muslim. Religion now began to take centre stage, and Muslims have remained at the heart of the multicultural debate ever since.[16]

In terms of political rhetoric, 2001 signalled a re-assessment of multiculturalism by the New Labour government in Britain. Urban disturbances in 1995 and 2001 involving Pakistani Mirpuris in northern mill towns, including Bradford, prompted the then Home Secretary, David Blunkett, to express the need for immigrants to learn English as part of a citizenship test, as well as a denouncement of 'forced marriages' and female circumcision. The emphasis here was centred on British Pakistanis, particularly when Blunkett insisted that South Asian communities should only organise arranged marriages amongst those already living in the UK, rather than

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political state towards the 'idea of the secular'. By doing this, he argues that we cannot invoke secularism as a political norm without first questioning its meaning in relation to the sacred. Indeed, Asad argues that a secular and a sacred realm cannot be thought of separately, i.e. the secular cannot be thought of, and therefore promoted, as a space completely released from the influence of religion, and visa-versa. Rather, it should include a combination of human practices, politics, religion and ethics. This move away from a teleological argument, that the world is under a process of 'secularization', has important bearings for the study of Mirpuris in Bradford (the vast majority of whom are Muslim) as it encourages a more nuanced approach to the understanding of Islamic cultural practices within a so-called 'secular' society. The furore that arose from the burning of Salman Rushdie's novel reveals a tension between this kind of secular, liberalist recognition of difference on the one hand, and the tolerance of what that difference means on the other. For more on the Rushdie affair and its legacy, see Modood (1990) and Parekh (1990).

[16] In many ways, bracketing together all people who practice Islam as a single, coherent body of Muslims is issue that still pervades sociological and political literature on multiculturalism in the UK. There is an interesting comparison to be made between how Western scholarship approaches the study of 'Christians' and 'Muslims'. The idea of crudely binding cultures and societies together solely as 'Christians' is seen as reductionist, yet this is often what happens when it comes to Muslims. There have been sizeable communities of Muslims in the UK for over half a century now – communities that are varied in the culture, history, ethnicity and piety – and yet much of the multiculturalism debates is levelled on the level of Muslim.

transnationally (Back et al. 2002: 2.2). This shift in public debate coupled together the rhetoric of 'recognition of difference' with a desire for a nationalist identity and sense of belonging. Inherent within this change in the public debate on multiculturalism is a movement towards assimilationist ideology: one that, in the early twenty-first century, emphasises 'integration'. In other words, the language of assimilation has more recently been diluted by the invocation of a 'neoliberal multiculturalism', but the implicit message is much the same: migrant and post-migrant groups ('they') must subscribe to 'our' values (Phillips 2006: 37). The current emphasis is thus to value cultural difference whilst also subscribing to a common set of values. These values are rarely defined, however, as became clear during a conference organized by the Runnymede Trust, *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society* (Home Office 2005).[17] During one workshop, a member of the audience quizzed a panel of MPs and academics on the topic of integration:

> I would like to know how I can prove that I'm a Muslim and I have integrated into society. Look at me. I wear British clothes. I speak broken English but, still, I speak English and I have got a beard. That gives away my identity. Some people would recognise who I am. Now, people ask me 'Why don't you integrate?' and I say, 'How do you mean?' And they can't answer me back because I go to schools, give talks about how to deal with racist incidents and very often the teachers ask me, 'Why don't Muslims integrate?' I say, 'What do you mean? I pay tax. I obey the laws of the land'.[18]

This quotation succinctly sums up the present incoherence that surrounds multiculturalism in both politics and academe. There is an implication that British Muslims must 'opt in' to the obligations of Britain's multicultural citizenship, as

[17] The following is drawn from Ralph Grillo (2010) 'An excess of alterity? Debating difference in a multicultural society' in Vertovec (ed.), *Anthropology of Migration and Multiculturalism*. 22-23.
[18] Ibid.

defined by New Labour.[19] By 2010, the language of 'us' and 'them' – separating migrant and post-migrant (them) groups from 'host' societies (us) – culminated in an almost European-wide denunciation of multiculturalism. Indeed, the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, declared that, in Britain, "we have failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values".[20]

Subsequent chapters in this thesis will show, however, that local government initiatives towards inclusion and integration have not been sufficiently nuanced to account for the socio-economic position of Mirpuris and that, more broadly, anti-multiculturalism discourses have effectively contributed to their marginalization. Important factors in this marginalization, in spite of a more local government led program of inclusion, include, primarily: a lack of representation in positions of power within Bradford Council; an internalising of familial issues and problems, which are encapsulated within kinship groups (*biraderi*);[21] low educational achievement; and, a dynastic style of self-appointed 'community leadership', or representation, that has little to do with the majority of Mirpuris and that is perpetuated through nepotism, rather than democratic election.

For many policy makers in Britain and, indeed, some people on the streets, then, political multiculturalism has become discredited. It is important to note that

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[19] In his preface to the 2002 White Paper on *Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration and Diversity in Modern Britain*, the then Home Secretary David Blunkett writes: 'To enable integration to take place and to value the diversity it brings, we need to be secure within our sense of belonging and identity and therefore to be able to reach out and to embrace those who come to the UK [...] Having a clear, workable and robust nationality and asylum system is the pre-requisite to building the security and trust that is needed. Without it, we cannot defeat those who would seek to stir up hate, intolerance and prejudice'. Quoted in Back et al. (2002).

[20] British Prime Minister David Cameron (2011) 'Prime Minister's speech at Munich Security Conference', *Speeches and Transcripts*, London: British Prime Minister's Office <http://www.number10.gov.uk>.

[21] Issues surrounding *biraderi* (kinship) groups are explored more extensively in chapter 2.

these are not simply local concerns, but national and European. Heads of State across Europe have queued up in support of these views, proclaiming that "under the doctrine of multiculturalism", different cultures have been encouraged to live separate lives (British Prime Minister David Cameron),[22] that it is "too concerned with the identity of person arriving and not enough about the identity of the country" (French President Nicolas Sarkozy),[23] and, as a result, "society is too watered down" (Dutch Deputy Prime Minister Maxime Verhagen).[24] In other words, multiculturalism has "utterly failed" (German Chancellor Angela Merkel).[25] It is pretty clear to whom these proclamations are directed: such statements are almost ubiquitously qualified by a perceived need to tackle Islamic extremism and terrorism.

1.2.3. The Anthropology and Sociology of Multiculturalism

It worth pausing at this point to critique some of the political criticisms outlined above. This section looks at the body of sociological and anthropological literature on multiculturalism, and considers how they might contribute to a more nuanced understanding of diversity in Britain. Over the past three decades there has been an enormous amount of sociological and anthropological interest in multiculturalism. Sociologists have attempted to conceptually define, divide and deconstruct what multiculturalism 'is' in order to develop a theoretically informed picture of diversity in the UK and how it is politically regulated. Anthropologists, on the other hand, have

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[22] David Cameron (2011) 'Prime Minister's speech at Munich Security Conference', *Speeches and Transcripts*, London: British Prime Minister's Office.
[23] Nicholas Sarkozy, quoted in *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 February 2011.
[24] Maxine Verhagen, quoted in *Crethi Plethi*, 18 February 2011. For an anthropological analysis of neonationalist integration policies in the Netherlands, see Oskar Verkaaik (2010). Verkaaik, looks at how local bureaucrats look upon the introduction of 'naturalization' ceremonies - for new migrants wishing to become Dutch citizens – with a degree of embarrassment, and considers some of the effects this has on how nationalism is understood in the Netherlands.
[25] Angela Merkel quoted in *The Guardian*, 17 October 2010.

sought to find out how migrant and post-migrant groups understand their experience of living in multicultural contexts. How do these perspectives differ? What do they have in common? How, indeed, might they complement one another? Additionally, what insights are available from the perspective of music and its anthropological mode of inquiry, ethnomusicology?

In the UK, Muslim (self)segregation, fundamentalism and violence are routinely cited in the press and government reports (Cantle 2001; West 2005; Phillips 2005) as evidence of multiculturalism's failure.[26] Invariably, at the forefront of these debates are British Pakistanis, particularly those who have origins in the Mirpur area of southern Kashmir.[27] Sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists have suggested that Mirpuris are frequently dismissed by other British Asians as backward (McLoughlin 2006), of a low social status (Ballard 1994) and as adhering to orthodox forms of Islam (Baily 1996). Despite the centrality of Mirpuris to these debates, however, many sociologists (Sharma et al. 1996; Modood 1997; Hyder 2004; Din and Cullingford 2004; Kim 2011) problematically subsume Mirpuris into the broader category of a Pakistani, Asian or South Asian diaspora. Much less heard are the

[26] Following the 2005 London bombings, the head of the Commission for Racial Equality, Trevor Phillips, went so far as to suggest that the term multiculturalism should be abandoned. In his 2005 paper, "After 7/7: Sleepwalking to segregation", Phillips argued that, whilst the origins of political multiculturalism are grounded in a positive desire to recognize difference and diversity through and by the qualities newcomers bring to the UK, in reality, it has resulted in, or caused, alienation, isolation and separation between communities. Worse still, Phillips suggests, it has become a 'dangerous form of benign neglect and exclusion'. The conservative think-tank, *Civitas*, supported this critique. In their 2005 report, *The Poverty of Multiculturalism*, the author, Patrick West, suggests that the reason that a sense of unity has not been established in Britain has been directly because of the implementation of multiculturalism. Instead of promoting unity, multiculturalism encourages 'racial hatred and sectarianism, ultimately causing segregation when members of a given society, rather than subscribing to a set of core values are instead encouraged to see themselves as separate'. These critiques point towards the role of governmentality in the public shift against multiculturalism.

[27] More broadly, as Vertovec and Wessendorf suggest, central to all these criticisms are immigrants and, in particular, Muslims (2010: 4). Tariq Modood also makes this point, saying that 'even before September 11, it was becoming evident that Muslims, not blacks, were being perceived as "the Other", as most threatening to British Society (2005: 186).

voices and opinions of Mirpuris themselves. Multiculturalism has simply failed and they are to blame (Phillips 2005; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). This section aims takes step back from these assertions, looking instead at how anthropological studies of Pakistanis in the UK might re-frame the multiculturalism debate.

The patterns of how Pakistani migrants settle and develop in the UK and interact with those around them has been scrutinised in various fields of study other than ethnomusicology: from anthropology, sociology and geography, to think-tanks and government reports.[28] This has particularly been the case since urban disturbances involving young British Asians occurred in the northern cities of Bradford, Oldham and Burnley. In the late 1970s, Verity Saifullah Khan's (1977) contribution to James Watson's edited volume, *Between Two Cultures: minorities and migrants in Britain*, was one of the first anthropological studies of Mirpuri settlers in the UK. The volume approaches the study of migrant 'communities' by comparing their lives in Britain to their country of origin. For Khan, this duel-site analysis spans and connects British Mirpuris in Bradford, with Mirpuris in Azad Kashmir.[29] Through comparison, Khan is able to demonstrate how some of the Pakistani village's institutional and social structure has not simply continued in the UK but adapted and developed in new surroundings (often through the perpetuation and strengthening of *biraderi*, or kinship groups). This nuanced and in depth study provides critical insights into socio-economic development, patterns of settlement and experiences of racism that, as McLoughlin (2006: 118) notes, is 'so often missing from contemporary accounts of 'segregation' in Bradford'.

[28] See, for example, Shaw 2000; Anwar 1979; Baumann 1996; Lewis 1994; Modood 1997; Werbner 2002. For government reports, see The Runnymede Trust 1980, 2000.
[29] On 4 March 2012, a video report on the BBC News website offered similar comparisons, from the perspective of Mirpur. The report emphasised the strong business and cultural connections between Mirpuris in Bradford and in Mirpur, which have been strengthened by new laws in Pakistan allowing British Mirpuris to vote in local elections. See: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-17249424 [Last accessed: 5 March 2012].

Several important works over the past two decades, however, have emerged that have attempted to engage with the politics of multiculturalism by paying particular attention to ground-level experiences of people that challenge such fixed notions of 'culture' (e.g. Asad 1990; Baumann 1996, 1999; Watson 2000). Gerd Baumann's (1996), *Contesting Culture*, provided one such approach. By expanding his study across a geographical area, rather than one *a priori* ethnic group, Baumann was able to incorporate a range of discourses and ethnicities that, in their different ways, revealed a variety and plurality of identities and belongings that cut across cultures and communities (1996: 10). Through this ethnographic account of lived-in cosmopolitanism, Baumann was able to explicitly demonstrate the limits of such terms as 'community', and, in doing so, identified a gap between a theoretical, or political, multiculturalism, and the more nuanced Barthian experiences of peoples' everyday lives.[30]

As Vertovec (2010: 7) has suggested, 'multiculturalism' in this kind of context can thus mean many possibly related, but nevertheless discrete things, including, 'a demographic condition, a set of institutional accommodations, objectives of a political movement or a broad body of state principles'. Ralph Grillo (2010: 27), on the other hand, sees multiculturalism as best understood as 'a political project, involving strategies, institutions, discourses, practices, seeking to address a multicultural

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[30] As Fredrick Barth (1969) argued four decades ago: 'Categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained *despite* changing participation and membership … One finds that stable, persisting, and often vitally important social relations are maintained across such boundaries, and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomised ethnic statuses. In other words, ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built' (Barth, 'Introduction', in Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, 1969). Inherent in Barth's writing is the assertion that, because social boundaries are continuously being permeated by people both from within the social group and from without, it is increasingly problematic to distinguish and define a person as belonging to any one unchanging ethnicity.

reality'. Les Back (1996) negotiates this dynamic – of the physical versus the conceptual – by talking about physical urban multiculture, as opposed to the concept of multiculturalism. This is an important distinction because it recognises that, historically, the application of multiculturalism as a concept by policy makers has had profound, ontic effects on individuals and groups. This is because, Back says, an uncritical understanding of multiculturalism risks perpetuating 'simple cultural archetypes that reify "minority" and "host" cultures respectively' (1996: 8). Indeed, for Parekh (2006), multiculturalism should, ultimately, be about valuing cultural diversity, rather than simply the rights of minority cultures.[31]

This emphasis on 'valuing' cultural diversity is one that Charles Taylor (1994) seeks to explore and critique in his sociological study of multiculturalism. Taylor highlights two fundamental contradictions inherent in the way multiculturalism was conceived by politicians in the late twentieth-century. The first, he argues, lies in a tendency towards treating people in a 'difference-blind' fashion,[32] which pushes against the second: a liberal need to recognise and foster particularity. Inherent in this duality are several issues, namely, that 'the reproach the first makes to the second is just that it violates the principle of non-discrimination. The reproach the second makes to the first is that it negates identity by forcing people into a homogeneous mould that is untrue to them' (1994: 43). Taylor goes on to state that, in practice – and this is what is particularly relevant to Mirpuris in Bradford – it is only the minority cultures in a society who are expected to submit to these formulations, which, ultimately serve to render them as 'alien'. Taylor questions Dworkin's (1978)

[31] Tariq Modood (2005: 173), drawing on Parekh, goes further by suggesting that 'the value of the presence of a variety of cultures in a society cannot be understood as increasing our options, for other cultures are rarely options for us. Rather, their sense of contrast gives us a deeper understanding of our own culture and makes us reflect and learn about the diversity of humanity'.
[32] In a Hegelian sense, this would go along the lines of a society in which there is a "'we' that is an 'I', and an 'I' that is a 'we'". Hegel, *Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1977: 110).

claims that a liberal society is one that, as a society, adopts no particular substantive view about the ends of life (i.e. about what constitutes a 'good' life). 'The society is, rather, united by a strong procedural commitment to treat people with equal respect'. (1994: 56).

Thus, in 'valuing diversity', liberal multiculturalism makes some profound ideological assumptions. The power to denote which aspects of culture are valued and which are less valued is never distributed equally among the populace, regardless of how equally it is set out in the constitution. This facet of multiculturalism is what Taylor has called *procedural* liberal multiculturalism, which is based on the primacy of the individual and the regulative authority of an unbiased judicial system. Procedural multiculturalism is thus limited in its scope, as it can only account for constitutional equality (i.e. all are equal under the eyes of the law). Unanswered in this formulation is the question of assimilation and integration. How do migrant cultures, or aspects of cultures like music, survive in diasporic settings? This question cuts to the core of many of the anxieties surrounding multiculturalism across Europe today.[33]

In Britain, this anxiety takes many forms. One example could be, say, a fear that the Welsh language is dying out, which could be read as just one facet of a peripheralised, 'Celtic' struggle for cultural survival against a perceived English, or London-centric hegemony. In England, too, similar anxieties surrounding multiculturalism among politicians have emerged, crystallising around the perceived threats of Islamist fundamentalism, the subjugation of women, forced marriages etc.

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[33] See Nicholas Sarkozy's and Angela Merkel's criticisms above that, because of multiculturalism, society is becoming too watered down.

that are associated, and blamed on, segregation and Muslims living 'separate lives' (Phillips 2005).

Phillips (2006: 36) has shown, however, that in inner-city areas of Bradford, such as Manningham, with a predominantly (Mirpuri) Muslim population, 'complex multiple identities, competing personal choices and family obligations, and varying levels of association with other group members [have] emerged. These differences were based on class, gender, and age differences amongst others, just as might be expected within the diverse white population'. Many of the issues that Mirpuris face today are not simply reducible to 'race' or racism, but bound up with years of disinvestment, education, health and crime.

One of the main convictions of this thesis is that, within Britain (i.e. the nation-state), Mirpuris are marginalized through the collapse of multiculturalism into a neo-assimilationist, or 'integrationist', discourse that pits 'them' against 'us'. 'They' need to subscribe to 'our' values. This is a complex issue because, rather than taking a balanced view of the UK, these dichotomies are frequently associated with, and focused on, British Muslims in places like Bradford. They are based on the duality of an (imagined) immigrant/minority ethnic group and the (equally imagined) national subject (see also Grillo 2010: 32). As Phillips (2006: 34) suggests, the 'use of the term "self-segregation" within the context of racialised political and media discourses implies that ethnic minorities are choosing to opt out of British society; that British Muslims in places like Bradford are withdrawing from active citizenship, sustaining cultural *differences*, and choosing not to mix'.[34] Politicians and sociologists simply labelling this as problematic – which of course it is – does not

[34] Phillips's empirical research, however, challenges this myth and shows that spatial segregation in Bradford is a multifaceted process that need not necessarily be thought of in negative terms.

actually address the issue: it circumvents it. What is needed is the development of a language about the nation-state that is not limited by the physical boundaries of the nation. A language of multiculturalism based on a more inclusive, permeable notion of the nation-state has to take into account and, crucially, accept, the transnational social, economic and cultural ties of those living in Britain, whatever their ethnicity(s). A post-nation-state model, therefore, is alive not just to a multiplicity of identities and cultures that cut across nation-state boundaries, but is able to incorporate this movement – this discursiveness – into the fabric of a national narrative.

But this critique, I would argue, cuts both ways. From a Mirpuri's point of view, as will be shown throughout this thesis, the choice to live in predominantly Mirpuri areas of Bradford, the freedom to pursue particular cultural conventions and practices (language, music etc.) is seen in generally positive terms. These practices are also seen in terms of cultural 'survival' and thus deviate from the procedural models of multiculturalism described above. The overall point I want to make, about all the above discussions surrounding multiculturalism, is that they all very much operate within a 'top down' view of how diversity should be regulated within a constitutional democracy. In light of more recent interventions by politicians across Western Europe who have denounced multiculturalism as a 'failed' project, there is a renewed need to look again at how diversity is understood at policy level and experienced on the ground. It is this latter position – the 'bottom up' perspective – that this thesis aims to explore.

1.2.4. An alternative perspective?

As I see it, then, the problem here lies in the reification of 'us' and 'them', or 'host' and 'minority', dichotomies. This thesis builds on this observation by arguing that the complex interactions that occur between people in everyday life ensure that cultures cannot be thought of as homogenous, separate, hermetically sealed entities.[35] As Cherribi (2010: 231) points out, 'only an inclusive "we" can lead to higher levels of integration without destroying the individual'.[36] So-called 'host cultures', as well as minority groups, are not unchanging, inflexible entities. Rather, they constantly evolve in complex ways through interacting within and among one another. Urban multicultural centres, such as Bradford, are thus a locus for the re-imagination, re-interpretation and re-invention of cultural traditions and norms.

Following on from Baumann (1996), and drawing on the theories of Back (1996, Vertovec (2010) and Grillo (2010) outlined above, I want to propose two distinctions between how the term multiculturalism is to be understood and applied both in this thesis, and, potentially, in broader academic and public debate. To do this, I wish to distinguish between 'multiculturalism' and 'multiculture'. At its simplest, this distinction represents a difference in perspective. If multiculturalism is understood as a top-down view of how society looks and (should) behave, then multiculture provides the opposite, bottom-up perspective: the physical condition of a multitude of, at times overlapping, cultures inhabiting or cohabiting within a nation-state. But how do the two perspectives relate to one another? In the previous section

[35] Paul Gilroy (1993) emphasizes this point, saying that 'The politics of multiculturalism is a matter not of somehow simultaneously understanding and tolerating "foreign cultures" but of factoring an imperial history that has brought people from around the globe into intense and sometimes terrible contact. In this sense the history of Europe is profoundly multicultural'. Quoted in Back (1996: 8).

[36] This follows on from what Parekh has argued should be the preconditions of multiculturalism: 'freedom of expression, agreed procedures and basic ethical norms, participatory public spaces, equal rights, a responsive and popularly accountable structure of authority, and empowerment of citizens' (2000: 340). This framework, Parekh argues, should allow minority cultures, who suffer from marginalization, to resist the pressures of assimilation and instead interact with dominant culture. N.B. The concept of 'integration' is one that should not escape critical engagement. The ideas of (self)segregation and integration will be looked at more closely later in this thesis.

I outlined how the top-down perspective has been understood in anthropology, sociology and in the public debate. What follows is a closer examination of the ground-level perspective.

For example, this thesis is, ostensibly, about Mirpuris and music. Rather than encompassing a geographical zone, like Baumann's (1996) Southall district, my thesis takes a broader historical and multi-generational approach to Mirpuris living in Bradford. In doing so, I have attempted to capture a range of voices, discourses and everyday experiences of music that in their own way reveal a plurality of identities, belongings and histories, which manifest through music differently for younger and elder generations. By paying close attention to these intra-communal generational discourses and practices of music, a synchronic picture of multiculture is developed that takes into account broader local, national and transnational ties and loyalties. It is this thesis's contention that these histories and musics should not simply be thought of in a migrant or post-migrant context. Doing so has the potential to implicitly reify 'us' and 'them' dichotomies. Instead, highlighting how discursive senses of belonging, articulated through music by different generations, offers alternative and more broadly inclusive questions as to what it means to migrate to Britain, what it means to be born in Britain, and, ultimately, what it means to be British.

In a sense, then, my broad argument is that a multiculturalism that is more effectively informed by the practices, views and experiences of people on the ground must reflect and incorporate the cosmopolitanism and transnationality of multicultural society. Drawing on a plurality of cultural references and practices to articulate identity and senses of belonging, multiculturalism, in this formulation, is thus not bound by nationalism but is inherently transnational and cosmopolitan.

There has already been a great deal written in anthropology and sociology about cosmopolitanism (Cheah and Robbins 1998; Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Stokes 2007). However, much of the literature surrounding cosmopolitanism derives from North American debates about diversity and individual identity. Whilst many of the formulations of cosmopolitanism are still useful in a British context, many of the issues surrounding multiculturalism are quite particular to the UK. In this sense, multiculture links cosmopolitanism more emphatically to the multiculturalism debate in Britain. This is important both for the multiculturalism debates in British academic writings (anthropological, sociological and political), and also for people on the ground who have the physical, day-to-day experience of living in a multicultural society. Indeed, the multiculturalism debate is something that is, in one way or another, something that is relevant to all people living in the UK, and Europe more broadly. Because of this, rendering the debate intelligible for a non-academic audience must be centrally important (hence my avoidance of the slightly more esoteric language of 'interculturality' and 'transculturality' (Gundara 2000; Gundara and Jacobs 2000; Emerson 2011; Modood and Meer 2012)).

To summarise, then, this section has shown that the way in which state multiculturalism has been developed and understood in the UK has largely been based on a 'top-down' model, whereby policy makers, politicians and the media have developed local and state policies in response to increasing diversity and political events (such as the Honeyford affair). As with the case of the Runnymede Trust conference quoted above, however, the section has also aimed to show that migrant and post-migrant groups often 'push back' at state led policies by asking critical questions about integration, diversity and nationhood; questions that are based on their experience of living in multicultural society. It is this perspective that, this thesis

argues, is continuously marginalized. As an ethnomusicologist, I am particularly interested in how this kind of 'bottom-up' understanding of multiculturalism might contribute to, and potentially reframe, debates about nationalism and 'Britishness'. I have argued elsewhere that any discussion about multiculturalism, nationality, or the 'Big Society', in Britain must include the positive values and experiences of those who are currently excluded by anti-multiculturalism discourses; namely, Pakistani Muslims.[37] It is my contention that music provides unique insights, which will be explored in this thesis, into how migrant and post-migrant groups experience living in a multicultural society. By paying attention to the ways Mirpuris engage with music and music making, commonly held assumptions and prejudices (that they are 'backward', self-segregating, potentially 'radical Muslims', not interested in music, not contributing to society etc.) can be challenged and replaced with a more informed and inclusive picture of multicultural Britain.

1.3. 'Mirpuri' identity: transnationalism, diaspora and belonging

In the introduction to her book, *Diaspora Youth and Ancestral Homeland*, Gill Cressey (2006) runs through and dismisses a list of academic terminology that is used to describe the identities of British Kashmiris and Pakistanis. For Cressey, 'hybridity' (Werbner 1997; Hall 1996) won't do, as it 'implies a binary starting point and it [is] too easy to fall into the trap of contesting binary models whilst continually to impute them with choices of language and metaphor' (Cressey 2006: 4). The idea of 'new ethnicities' (Hall 1988; Back 1996) wont do either, as it is believed by Cressey to be 'problematically associated with categorisation and minority status within the nation

[37] See Tom Hodgson, 'Multiculturalism v the "big society"', *New Statesman*, 30 April 2011.

state' (2006: 4). Instead, she settles on diaspora, because it 'more truly retains the idea of continuity between the past, the present and the future, along with dispersal, movement, development and change' (2006: 4).

As a concept in musicology, diaspora was developed greatly by the work of Paul Gilroy (1993). Gilroy saw diaspora as a critical means of discussing issues of identity, unity and differentiation for African-Americans. Gilroy uses the Atlantic Ocean, the 'Black Atlantic', as a metaphor for the critical bond between a sense of historical tradition that is attached to African origins, and their contemporary lives in modern America. Diaspora opens up a site of discourse whereby trans-generational migrants are able to imagine and reify a collective history (often one interlaced with colonial oppression) alongside bonds that continue to connect them genetically, politically and ideologically. This continuity is represented by a teleologically imagined historical timeline, linking the past to the present and future, or, as Gilroy deftly puts it, signifies both the both the historical roots of the community, and the routes they have taken. Music thus allows people to conceive, rehearse, and articulate historical continuities and, importantly, discontinuities, particularly in the representation of race and identity; both of which contribute fundamentally to the issues of belonging and ownership that music articulates (see also Radano and Bohlman 2000: 6).

Seen in this light, diaspora may well indeed be a more appropriate way to describe the experiences of emerging generations. But whether such terms as 'migrant' or 'diaspora' are suitable analytical tools or not, is perhaps beside the point. The act of labelling, of continuously searching for more flexible and encompassing terms, also betrays an anxiety on the part of the analyst – whether academic, journalistic, political, or the lay person on a street corner – to categorize people. What

is at stake in this anxiety? In Bradford it might be to do with senses of belonging (and, by extension, not belonging), of a fear of the 'other', of change, of cultural pollution and purity, of us and them in a city of increasing diversity. 'How should we describe these people?' an anxious anthropologist might ask (Clifford and Marcus 1986). 'Why wont these people subscribe to our values?' is a familiar question posed by populist politicians from all over the political spectrum. Meanwhile, a public institution like, say, the BBC, might ask which groups of people fall within their publicly funded remit, and then make conscious decisions about who is included and who isn't (see for example Baily's 2011 chapter on the BBC World Service). So whilst I do agree that diaspora is a useful descriptive and analytical tool in this kind of context, I don't fully subscribe to the suggestion that it should necessarily be invoked at the expense of ethnicity and hybridity.

Neat and dichotomous categories of 'migrant' and 'host' come into question here, because senses of belonging and identity can be discursive and rhizomic (Deleuze and Guattari 1986) to the extent that the meanings that are generated through music can be at once local and transnational, without the physical act of migration. For young Mirpuris in Bradford, this renders the notion of 'migration' and 'migrant' problematic, primarily because, in a literal sense, they haven't really migrated anywhere. Nevertheless, the idea that they are, in some way, a 'migrant' community still pervades much contemporary literature, most recently through the language of 'us' and 'them' described above in the accounts and anxieties that surround the multiculturalism debate. But how do Mirpuris themselves understand their own position in British society? How is 'Mirpuriness' understood in a British context? What role does Bradford play in the shaping of these identities?

1.3.1. 'Mirpuri' identity

One of the main difficulties with trying to pin down a sense of 'Mirpuri' identity is that there is widespread disagreement as to the validity of the term. Whilst conducting research in Bradford, the majority of people I worked with referred to themselves as 'Mirpuri', but, in Walsall, I met strong resistance to the term. Instead, a strong sense of 'Kashmiri' identity was invoked, often in opposition to 'Mirpuri', which some believed to be false. One radio DJ, who will be introduced more thoroughly in chapter 4, went so far as to say to me, 'there is no such thing as Mirpuri identity!' Back in Bradford, this predicament was highlighted succinctly in *The Bradford Commission Report* of 1996 where one individual commented:

> I could view myself as a member of the following communities, depending on the context and in no particular order: Black, Asian, Azad Kashmiri, Mirpuri, Jat, Marilail, Kungriwalay, Pakistani, English, British, Yorkshireman, Bradfordian, from Bradford Moor ... I could use the term 'community' in any of these contexts and it would have meaning. Any attempt to define me only as one of these would be meaningless.[38]

It is this continuous interaction and evolution of people, emphasized by a range of facets of a composite individual identity that means that it is difficult to talk, or write, about a singular notion of group 'community' or individual 'identity' with any meaningful sense of totality. The important thing must be to understand how individuals interact with and form publics in relation to their surroundings. It is a point that has repeatedly been made by Gerd Baumann (1996; 2004), which I follow in this thesis, and signifies the importance of paying particular attention to the minutiae

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[38] Bradford Congress, *The Bradford Commission Report* (Bradford: Stationary Office Books, 1996). 94.

of individual and group behaviour when considering broader societal concepts, such as multiculturalism, and their implications.

'Mirpuri', or 'Kashmiri', identity in Britain is instead characterised by transnational connections performed in a local context. These intricate transnational loyalties and senses of belongings demonstrate that, rather than being fixed and homogenous, the identities of those who have migrated from the Mirpur area of southern Azad Kashmir are complex, plural and cosmopolitan. The frequency of *biraderi* cousin marriages with kin in Pakistan is one example of Mirpuris' physical transnationalism, but it is also evident on a more intimate, mundane day-to-day basis, both in Bradford and in Mirpur.[39] Transnational connections are informed and re-articulated by the frequent trips between Bradford and Mirpur by family members. On each occasion, the visiting person will bring many material gifts for each member of their family. In the direction of Pakistan, these include children's toys and garments and jewellery from high-street stores in Bradford, whilst, on the return leg, suitcases are filled with designer clothes from Mirpur's shopping malls.[40] These every-day encounters, in Bradford and Mirpur, show that, whilst transnational practices bring a range of diverse cultural practices to migrant receiving societies,

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[39] Whilst conducting research in Mirpur in summer 2010, I spent several evenings watching cricket on the television with Mr. Khokhar and his family. During my stay, both England and Pakistan were competing in the ICC World Twenty20 finals. After the initial group stages, England were set to play Pakistan for a place in the semi finals. In the preceding days there had been much joking between Mr. Khokhar's family and myself as to who was going to win the tie. As play was about to start I asked Mr. Khokhar which team he would be supporting. After a few seconds' thought, he said, 'I think this time I will support England'. I asked what he meant by 'this time', to which he replied: 'Well, last year, you know, Pakistan were champions, Pakistan won World Cup. This time, I think it's England's turn, so I will support them'. England went on to win the tie and the event's final, after which I was greeted by beaming grins and handshakes from everyone around me. At other times, we would walk through the bazaar (market) of a nearby town and would be frequently stopped in the street by strangers. 'Where are you from?', I would be asked. Upon replying 'Bradford', the stranger would exclaim, 'Aha! Bradford! I have many family there. Bradford is a very nice place'. A conversation in Urdu would then flow about the best restaurants in Bradford, whose family owned them and where they lived in relation to me.

[40] When I travelled to Mirpur I carried two suitcases packed with gifts for Mr. Khokhar, which weighed 20Kg each. The politics of these gift exchanges, or *lena-dena* (take and give in Urdu), has been explored, in detail, by Shaw (2000).

they also carry what Vertovec (2009: 162) describes as '"social remittances" and other reverse-cultural flows – of ideas, values and tastes, practices and material cultures – back to migrants' societies of origin'.

Back in Bradford, this sense of transnationalism is further articulated and diversified by the different ways in which Mirpuris interact with music. Through patronage of Patwari sung poetry, Mr. Khokhar keeps open and reinforces transnational ties. The concerts that he organizes and sponsors, which will be explored in detail in chapter 3, create a physical space within which 'Mirpuriness' is performed and reinforced. The concert hall is designated as an authentic arena of traditional Patwari sung poetry. The only music performed is Patwari, the language of dialogue and the banners dressing the venue are both Punjabi, and the audience is composed almost exclusively of Mirpuris.[41] Chapter 4, meanwhile, addresses this issue by looking at young Mirpuris and rap music. By paying particular attention to how local social issues – such as education, crime, drugs and racism – are discussed and challenged through rapping, the chapter emphasise how global styles and influences are transformed and regenerated in a local context (Taylor 1997; Stokes 2004), as an act of cultural translation (Toynbee and Dueck 2011: 8).[42]

Yet, it is impossible to understand the complex interactions that take place at these concerts without considering the broader political environment within which they take place. Whilst the concerts may appear mono-cultural, they nevertheless

[41] I say 'almost', as I was the only non-Mirpuri in attendance at any concert. Indeed, on the way to the first concert I attended with Mr. Khokhar, he laughed, saying, 'people will never have seen a *gora* (white man) at a concert before!'

[42] This is very much in line with Paul Oliver's (1990) *Black Music in Britain*, which looks at the various forms of black music that have emerged in Britain, particularly since World War II, and asks how these musics might contribute more broadly to our understandings of 'Britishness'. Looking at the emergence of reggae, calypso and bhangra in Britain in the late 1950s and 60s, Oliver uses music to ask questions about the relationship between 'black' identity and 'black' music. This type of approach demonstrates the usefulness of looking at music to circumvent 'minority' and 'host' categories.

occur within both the political and physical multiculture of Bradford. Patwari sung poetry thus forms one interrelated facet of Mr. Khokhar's identity. It is interrelated in the sense that it informs, and is informed by, his other interests, habits, beliefs, obligations and allegiances.[43] All of which are necessarily mediated by the interactions that he encounters on a day-to-day basis in Bradford. This is necessary, because it shows that, of course, Mr. Khokhar isn't 'just' Mirpuri; rather, both he and 'Mirpuriness' more broadly are inherently transnational and cosmopolitan. This recognition also rescues an analysis of an event like the Patwari concerts from becoming trapped in a self-segregation or isolationist discourse and advocates, instead, a more nuanced, experience-based approach.

In this thesis, I want to move beyond the kind of discourse whereby music is simply, but not unproblematically, reduced to identity work, or as a way of 'finding a voice'. For example, I don't believe the role of music for young Mirpuris should be thought of, simply, in opposition to their parents, or as some form of rebellion or resistance, but, rather, in relation to their own experiences of growing up in Bradford. These experiences and uses of music don't point to concrete identities and, during my fieldwork, I did not hear anyone feel anxious about their sense of identity. Of a more serious concern was when, say, Imran would be able to take off his electronic tag,

[43] Another important example of this is faith. Mirpuris, and Pakistanis in general, are labelled *en masse* as Muslim. In the majority of cases this is true, yet such broad generalization allows little room for the flexibility with which Mirpuris interact with religion on an individual level. Mr. Khokhar, for example, regards himself as a Muslim. He is extremely proud that he has been on pilgrimage to Mecca during Ramadan and has often smiled and told me how this was a life changing experience. But then, for the whole time we were in Pakistan together, the most people did not fock to the masjid five times a day. Instead, Mr. Khokhar's 'Muslimness' comes and goes depending on circumstance, along with other facets of his identity. In anthropology, a move was made by Gilsenan (2000) and Lindholm (1996) to approach the study of Islam not from the general rubric of 'religion' itself, but from a more integrated picture of the practices of everyday life. Ethnomusicological literature, about cultures where Islam is prominently followed, have often followed suit. Studies of bhangra in Britain by Baumann, Sharma et al., and Hyder treat Islam less as a tangible centrepiece of study and more as a way of framing certain worldviews that transcend the physical and ideological boundaries of locally defined 'communities'.

having spent time in HMP Armley, or how to respond to the threat of an EDL march in the city centre. My approach, then, attempts to use music as a way of negotiating layers of local, regional and national belongings and identities. There have been sizeable and diverse Muslim groups in the UK for over half a century now, and yet much public and academic debate is still problematically conducted on an all-encompassing level of 'Muslim'. Indeed, my foregrounding of music represents a deliberate attempt to avoid the kind of reductionism involved with debates on the level of 'Muslim' or 'Pakistani', and instead identify some of the complex ways in which Mirpuris draw upon transnational and global styles and movements in order to understand local and regional situations.

1.4. Music, migration and the 'local'

So, why study Mirpuris in relation to *music*? The previous sections have provided an argument for why it is important to pay attention to Mirpuris in Britain within the context of the multiculturalism debate. But a firm argument must also be made for the study of music. After all, these are people who have been identified by ethnomusicologists as having 'little interest in music' (Baily 1990). In response to this assertion, I would argue the contrary. For Mirpuris, music often constitutes one of the less-dominant facets of their identity, but that is not to say that it does not carry a great degree of significance for them. Instead, music serves a variety of social needs for Mirpuris; social needs that are intimately bound up with issues at the core of the multiculturalism debate: belonging, 'Britishness', integration, education. Indeed, it is precisely because of music's de-centralised position in Mirpuris' lives that it

provides a rare means to vent frustrations and experiences, as well as a way to channel and foster transnational social and economic ties. In this sense, from the perspective of an ethnomusicologist, music provides a hitherto completely neglected way of approaching and gaining insight into the main issues that Mirpuris face in the UK today.

For young Mirpuris, as 'post-migrants', music serves as a way to understand and challenge their experience of living and growing up in Bradford. Rap music is important to them because it opens up a space wherein they can unravel and contest the various pressures and expectations that are placed on them (by imams, their parents, school, and society more broadly). For their parents, as migrants, patronising performances of Patwari sung poetry (*sher khavani*) is important because it establishes and reaffirms ties and senses of belonging with Mirpur. These ties cut across the lines of nation-states and so call into question what it means to 'be' British in the early twenty-first century. This is a profound question. What insight might the study of music and migration give to multiculturalism? The following section looks at some of the literature on music and migration, before looking at tensions between global musical styles and locally generated meanings.

1.4.1. Music and Migration

The focus on the role of music in the lives of migrant people(s) has a long history in ethnomusicology. As part of their argument that 'music offers a possible insight into migrants' own interpretations of their migrations and visions of their society', Baily and Collyer (2006: 15) refer to Alan Lomax (1959), for whom the role of music in migratory contexts is to 'give the listener a feeling of security, for it

symbolises the place where he was born, his earliest childhood satisfactions, his religious experience, his pleasure in community doings, his courtship and his work – any or all of these personality shaping experiences' (Lomax 1959: 929). Whilst, more recently, Allen (1988) has discussed why Gospel quartets in New York City have continued to thrive:

> '. . . they raise money for financially strapped churches and charitable causes, and attract new members for small, struggling churches. But perhaps most importantly, these groups provide their listeners with aesthetic pleasure, spiritual uplift, and a sense of shared ethnic and historical identity as southern black Christians (Allen 1988: 20).'

Turino (1999), too, extends his analysis beyond the nation-state, by showing how panpipe music, which was once ridiculed as 'peasant' music in Peru, has, through its success among Peruvian migrants in Europe, been re-appropriated as being symbolic of national identity.[44] Elsewhere, in Paris, Algerian *rai* music has undergone transformations within the migrant context; transformations that Gross et al. (1996) and Schade-Poulsen (1999) have shown to feed back into the Algerian music scene.

One of Baily's (2006) broad assertions is that music in some way provides a window into migratory experience. This follows a call in migration studies to develop greater understanding of how 'migrants view their own migration, their host society and the place they have left, as well as how they are viewed by the host society' (Baily 2006). But in what way does music, if at all, provide a relevant insight into how migrants experience both the act of migration and the places they migrate to?

[44] This re-writing of national history might be usefully framed under what Philip V. Bohlman describes as a moment of 'historiographical disjuncture', wherein searches for origins are sought out and appropriated as a means to represent the nation-state. See Philip Bohlman (2003) 'Music and Culture: Historiographies of Disjuncture', in Trevor Herbert et al. *The Cultural Study of Music*, London: Routledge.

Or, as Turino (2008: 4), asks 'what is special about art and artistic practices for creating and maintaining social identities?'[45] Can these ideas also relate to generations who were born and raised in a so-called 'host' nation?

The context of Bradford provides an interesting pause for thought here. The Bradford district is home to one of the most diverse cities in the UK (the others being Tower Hamlets in London, and Leicester). How that diversity is 'valued', particularly under the rubric of multiculturalism is contestable and complex. For example, the overwhelming success and popularity of Mirpuri cuisine among 'white' people in Bradford has quite clearly not been replicated for other aspects of Mirpuri culture.[46] Despite the popularity of Mirpuri food, they are still regarded by other people in Bradford as segregating and not integrating into society. Why is this the case?

There is no direct answer to this question, and the reason for this is multifarious. Part of the reason lies in the fact that the majority of Mirpuris are Muslim. As discussed in the 'Multiculturalism' section above, there is still a widely held belief among politicians and some sociologists that Muslims are living 'parallel lives' (Cantle 2001; Phillips 2005). Their low economic positioning is also a factor (as is Bradford's). I would argue, however, that a significant reason that Mirpuris are presumed to be self-segregating and 'not integrating to society' is the way anthropologists, sociologists and political theorists persist in labelling Mirpuris as a 'migrant' community, despite the fact that Mirpuris have lived in Britain for several generations. Music is a potentially a rich seam of enquiry in this kind of analysis because music can both allay and aggravate these tensions and anxieties.

[45] Turino goes on to argue that, as 'social formations based on subjectively recognized and objectively articulated cultural similarities, diasporas depend on expressive cultural practices for their very existence'.
[46] The vast majority of 'Indian' restaurants in Bradford are, in fact, Mirpuri/Kashmiri. Indeed, the burgeoning restaurant industry in Bradford is both a great source wealth for Mirpuri businessmen and pride for Bradfordians more broadly.

This recognition has led to a burgeoning of interest in music and migration. I wish to take a little bit of time, now, to highlight some of the contributions to this field, whilst also suggesting some of its limitations and how looking at Mirpuris and music in Bradford might contribute the conversation. In the introduction to their recent edited volume, *Migrating Musics* (2011), Jason Toynbee and Byron Dueck, set out some of the political, economic and social processes that shape experiences of music and music making among migrant groups, as well as the multiple-directional flows of ideas, styles, power and capital between 'indigenous' and migrating peoples. In particular, they highlight the political economy and history of migrating music, broadly encapsulated under theories of globalization. Here, the rise of culture industries and new means of communication technologies facilitate the movement and mediation of musics across national borders.

Toynbee and Dueck stress that, whilst such movements are not necessarily recent a phenomena (Pickering 1990; Gronow and Saunio 1998: 75-8), these new technologies – televisions, radio, MP3s, the Internet etc. – represent a 'steepening of the curve, in a much longer trend in the carrying capacity of mass media' (2011:4), thus allowing music to migrate more quickly, easily and widely. Inherent in these movements are moments of encounter, between people and between musics. Music takes on increased significance here because, Taussig (1993) suggests, power dynamics between colonizer and colonized, or migrant and 'host', are played out and contested: 'the making and existence of the artefact [or, it might be added, music] that portrays something gives one power over that which is portrayed' (1993: 13). Drawing on this, Toynbee and Dueck suggest that, in musical terms, it is not only the colonized people who imitate and appropriate from the colonizers, but also the colonizers who copy their indigenous others.

Ethnomusicological accounts by Toynbee and Dueck and others described above often pivot between these categories of colonizer/colonized and migrant/host. Whilst they highlight some of the complex, multi-directional relationships between these categories – through and by music – by positing them as discrete entities, the authors also serve to reinforce them. Of concern here, particularly with the case of Mirpuris in Bradford, must be whether or not so-called 'migrants' understand themselves in these terms. Emerging generations of Mirpuris in Bradford oppose being labelled as migrants by the sheer fact they were born in Bradford. Likewise, the rap music they produce and perform is generated within the city.

Indeed, whilst many of the studies above have emphasized the strong connection between migrants and music, there has been a tendency to focus on first-generation migrants.[47] For post-migrant groups, or 'later generations', their understanding and experience of living in a multicultural context will be different to their parents', and so music will hold more different and varying significance for them. Where second- and third-generation 'South Asians' have received attention, their relationship with music has often been framed by academics in terms of them somehow 'finding a voice' through music (Banerji 1988; Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma 1996; Kim 2011). Other analyses of young Pakistanis and music in Bradford have problematically focused on statistical data, drawn from questionnaires and surveys (Din and Cullingford 2004).[48]

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[47] Whilst Reyes (1999) produces a complex multi-sited ethnography of Vietnamese migrant experience, in general, there has been much less engagement with emerging generations, or 'post-migrant' experience A notable exception has been recent research on young Muslims and rap music in Europe, which will be discussed more extensively in chapter 2. See also Sharma, Hutnyk & Sharma 1996; Kim 2011.

[48] In their survey of eighty-three young Pakistanis, Din and Cullingford identify that 'girls were more likely to listen to "pop" music (90 per cent v 78 per cent), dance (42 per cent v 33 per cent) and Bhangra (16 per cent v 15 percent). Boys were more likely than girls to listen to rock (18 per cent v 3 per cent), metal (13 per cent v 2 per cent), Quawali [sic] (6 per cent v 3 per cent) and rap (37 per cent v

These kinds of approaches are problematic because they show a worrying regression to the type of sociological approach to migrant cultures of the 1970s. The notion of 'duality', in terms of both identity and music, is one that fell from favour in the 1990s, with scholars instead adopting terms such as syncretism, creolization, bricolage, cultural translation and hybridity (Vertovec and Cohen 1999), to describe a range of cultural phenomena and process that shaped what Hall (1988) coined 'new ethnicities'. The idea of South Asian migrant youth being 'between two cultures' (Watson 1977), or that their sense of identity was mediated by duality (Banerji 1988), was swept aside with the recognition that facets of culture, identity and religion are selected, often self-consciously, from multiple heritages (Vertovec 2010), and that, importantly, these new ethnicities were contextual, transitional and always subject to change and evolution (Stokes 1994).[49] In many of the sociological accounts described above, however, broad categories of 'Asian', 'South Asian' and 'British Asian' have been used to describe what is not only a diverse number of ethnicities, but also

25 per cent)'. Having announced these musical proclivities, Din and Cullingford appear to identify one of the main issues with their statistical approach when they admit that one 'reason for the 17 percent of young people who said that they enjoy listening to both English and Asian music may be the result of some Asian singers who have incorporated a combination of Western type pop/dance into traditional Asian music such as Qawali'. Their variable spellings of Qawwali aside, Din and Cullingford do not take notice of this insight and continue to make rigid distinctions between two, seemingly homogeneous cultures: 'Asian' and 'English'. . Part of the study sought to establish the musical tastes of young Pakistanis and the relationships and pressures exerted on them by their parents. To introduce this element of his research, Din asks: 'Do they [young Pakistanis] enjoy listening to English or Asian music and what kind of films do they enjoy watching?' Citing his statistical data, Din answers his question, declaring that 'these young people have a definite preference for, and enjoy listening to, English music and watching English films'. According to Din, 'we need to know why they prefer one type of culture over what is considered their parents' "native" culture'. However, Din stops short of outlining precisely why we need to answers to such a question, and, indeed, what he means by such broad categories as 'English' and 'Asian' music. This kind of homogenisation, even conflation, of culture and identity demonstrates the need for a more nuanced approach to migrant and post-migrant experience if statistical data is to be effective and useful.

[49] Din (2006), however, pays little heed to these developments in academic debate, and concludes that 'the young are using, leading a double life'. In terms of accessing music, Din suggests that young Pakistanis are reluctant to go into music shops for fear of being spotted by elders, and instead have recourse to download music from the internet: 'This could be done much more discretely than going to the city centre store to purchase a CD and is another way of using new technologies to get around parental disapproval' (Din 2006: 83). This kind of statistical abstraction creates an image, or impression, that young Pakistanis (Mirpuris) have to sneak around behind their parents' back in order to acquire, and listen to, music. The problematic category of Western music (which one presumes Din means by 'English') is presented by Din as a dirty pastime that must be accessed covertly.

religions and generations. By doing this, the particular problems that Mirpuris face have been largely overlooked. There is a physical, conceptual and categorical tension here, then, between generations, identities, the local and the global, to which I will now turn.

1.4.2. Music, place and ideas of 'the local'

Through emphasis on the 'global hierarchies of value' (Herzfeld 2004: 2–3), Richard Wolf (2009) argues that the significance and importance of local level music practice for people or groups is often lost. 'From some perspectives', Wolf argues, 'music that transcends locality is more interesting and lucrative than so-called traditional music of a particular place' (2009: 5). Wolf discusses the renowned qawwali singer, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, as an example of an artist that has come to symbolise Pakistan, both within South Asia and beyond. In the 'world music' marketplace, Nusrat has become the *example par excellence* for Sufi music performance. Indeed, in many respects, Nusrat has come to symbolise 'Pakistani-ness'; a kind of 'assumed shared aesthetic', as Wolf puts it.[50] Wolf suggests that much is left out through this kind of 'global' or national perspective.

My analysis of Patwari sung poetry in chapter 3 supports this, but I would argue, further, that whilst it is important to shift the focus away from the 'global' and back to the local, it is still necessary to take into account wider, transnational connections and ideas, and their significance for local level music and musical activity. Whilst Wolf's edited volume is a welcome intervention in the study of local, ground level South Asian musics, it is still, perhaps necessarily, limited in scope. His volume, like so much literature on South Asian music before it, is concerned,

[50] Wolf and the contributors argue that it isn't simply musical style that comes to represent this idea of a shared aesthetic, but mannerisms, appearance and style.

primarily, with music that is traditional, classical, hereditary; with dance, poetry, religious recitation, ritual and dance. The glaring omission, here, is popular music. The argument for studying popular music – and to give it equal weighting alongside so-called classical and traditional musics, broadly defined – has long since been won in Western musicology (see Middleton 1990; Clarke 2007). My point isn't that bhangra rap and, say, qawwali, should be understood under these terms. Quite the opposite. Rather, that analyses of South Asian musical forms – like Wolf's volume – have often omitted popular, electronic music.

It does not take a huge leap to include forms of electronic music in Wolf's theoretical framework. Popular forms of music that draw on a range of cross-cultural practices can also, after all, 'be the music of a particular place'. Indeed, many of Wolf's theories of the local are extremely relevant to popular and electronic musics; particularly rap music in Mirpur and Sufi Rock in the cities of Lahore and Islamabad. In Lahore, for example, the adoption and reinvention of musical styles in a local context is crucially important in galvanising young Pakistanis and giving coherence and impetus to political movements and opinion. Often, particularly in the case of Sufi Rock groups like Junoon, the music that is generated is appreciated, patronised and distributed by their fans in an at times ironic, but nonetheless powerful, way. Moreover, the way Junoon is patronised (by such wide-ranging benefactors such as Coca-Cola and, occasionally, local mosques) and condemned (by the government and, again, by religious authorities) demonstrates, further, how locally generated music practices and movements can transcend the local context and impact upon national, and geopolitical, power struggles.[51]

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[51] I am grateful to my student at Oxford, Zeerak Ahmed, for bringing Janoon and their significance in Pakistan to my attention.

My argument, particularly in the case of Mirpuri musical activities, is that the way in which they derive, embed and sustain meanings from their local surroundings – both in the UK and in Mirpur – is substantiated to a large degree by transnational flows between Bradford and Mirpur and beyond. But the point I am making here is that these transnational flows of ideas – be they musical, social or cultural – come to constitute different meanings for younger generations than they do for their parents. This may seem like an obvious abstraction, but, in both cases, it is the 'elsewhere' that makes the difference 'here'. These connections, transnational as they may be, are a way of understanding and coming to terms with the local, and it is important that younger people and electronic music is also taken into account. In Bradford, for first-generation migrants, the performance and patronage of Patwari sung poetry is an important means of evoking memories and feelings of Mirpur; of life in Pakistan in the context of life in England. The rap music of second- and third-generations, likewise, isn't simply about borrowing musical styles from African-American music, but about drawing upon their own musical experiences in order to understand the locality within which they live and create a musical aesthetic that is very much their own.

But this adoption and reinvention of musical styles is not a one-way traffic. Back in Pakistan, the diasporic experience returns not just through new and old musical styles, but also through social and economic remittances. These reverse transnational flows, in turn, reshape and redefine local musical culture and socio-political hierarchies in Mirpur. This perspective, which emphasises first and foremost the importance of 'the local', thus must also take into account the importance of transnational flows of culture in the generation of local meanings. As such, my approach in this thesis follows on from Wolf's by developing a local, critical

perspective to the “globalised”, and moves beyond the predominance of such global stars as Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan in the theorization of Mirpuri diasporic culture. Where my thesis aims to go further, however, is by broadening my scope to include the electronic music of younger generations in order to build up a more broadly inclusive picture of Mirpuri music making. But what is the state of South Asian music in Bradford? What is the literature on it? How has it developed? What are people listening to, where and under what circumstances?

1.5. ‘South Asian’ music in Bradford and beyond

South Asian music began to flourish in Bradford in the mid to late 1970s. A small group of students from Bradford College and Bradford University started putting on live Bollywood nights that became extremely popular. Despite growing numbers of South Asian people in the city, there was a relative paucity of live, South Asian music. Champak Kumar, who was a student at Bradford College at the time, noticed that, despite this lack of live music, Bollywood film screenings in local cinemas were becoming increasingly popular among Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis in Bradford. In response to this, he organised what he describes as the first live public South Asian concert in Bradford:

> About 300-340 people attended. All the artists that performed were local. A combination of students, you know, my group and the people from the community that did some dance. So there were girls, and we got some members of the communities involved to actually make some costumes, colourful costumes, get some imitation jewellery for the girls to wear. Audience make-up was, majority was Asian community: a make up of Hindu, Pakistani, Gujarati Muslims, students. We had some English students as well, all of our friends. Basically we said, “look guys, you have supported us up ‘til now in the college atmosphere, but you now come out of the college atmosphere and you support us in this atmosphere”. And I think they came and everybody enjoyed it.

> Everybody started saying, when is your next concert, and we said, "give us some time! Because we don't have money, we don't have funding, we don't have anything". We approached [the Council] and said, 'look...', we found out that they used to have some types of English concerts, you know, like classical and folk, so we approached the manager and we said, 'look, we want to actually do an Asian concert'. [52]

Champak and his newly formed company, Oriental Arts, continued to promote live music in Bradford. Applications for funding from the local council were met with flat refusals. Discussing the possibility of using the municipal library as a concert venue, the venue manager replied, "Asian concert? What does it entail? What does it mean, 'Asian concert'?" To which Champak responded, "Well, you know, music and dance". "Is there such a thing?!" Champak believes this last response was the result of Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi areas of the city becoming increasingly isolated from the rest of Bradford, resulting in few opportunities for cultural exposure and exchange. He saw Bollywood concerts, and live music in particular, as a way of increasing cultural exchange between new migrant populations and more established Bradfordians.

As such, Champak relied on contributions from local Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis to put on the concerts and promote them around Bradford. Donations were needed in order to buy equipment and instruments, as well to pay for venue hire. A nominal amount of 20p was charged for entry into the concerts, but this was regulated, largely, by the general poverty of new migrant groups:

> It was very difficult at that time, not a lot of money. People who came here, their families were back home. People were working here and sending money back home to their families to support them and in the future to get them into UK, into Bradford. Whatever support they could give they did. But we didn't get anything from the council, between '76

[52] Interview by author 17 February 2010.

> and 1980 – nothing at all. Every time we went for a grant they said, "Oh we don't understand this", or, "you are not a properly constituted organisation, you're just a bunch of students", and all this. We used to say, "at least we're doing something for the community!" But still, they had their criteria and policies, and we couldn't challenge them.[53]

By the start of the new decade, bhangra was beginning to emerge and pioneering acts such as Alaap and Heera, the self-styled 'Godfathers of Bhangra', cut their teeth in the city's large concert venues. For the British media around this time, the emergence of the 'Bhangra Beat' signalled 'both an exciting example of musical fusion and the unexpected cultural expression of an "Asian" identity in Britain' (Banerji and Baumann 1990: 137). Banerji and Baumann went further, arguing that, 'what many commentators recognise as [bhangra's] most exciting potential, that of a fusion of hitherto disparate styles, moreover, can be seen as the oldest virtue of Punjabi culture, rooted in a region characterized by immense cultural diversity and intense cross-fertilization for most of its history' (1990: 137). Since the 1980s, the bhangra genre developed into a more politically aware form of music, with an increasing range of influences, particularly reggae and rap. By the early twenty-first century, the early style of bhangra had largely disappeared, except for occasional re-union gigs by its early protagonists, such as Heera and Alaap, at festivals such as the Bradford Mela.

However, despite Mirpuris accounting for the vast majority of 'South Asians' in Bradford, the loudest voices, as it were, come from other British Asians. For example, in the city there are several publically funded music and arts organizations

[53] Interview by author 17 February 2010.

that are aimed at South Asian traditions.[54] The programming of these organizations is overwhelmingly geared towards Indian and Hindu religious traditions. As Champak explained to me, his organization, Oriental Arts, was set up in 1976 specifically for 'the Hindu community, who were made up of Gujaratis, Hindu-Punjabis, and Hindus ... They were from different backgrounds, you know, some from Kenya, some from South Africa, but [the] majority of them [came] from India'. This institutional marginalization runs from the level of management, through to the highly selective process whereby people are invited to concerts.

Speaking of the social context in which bhangra flourished Banerji and Baumann (1990: 138) suggested that 'South Asian communities in Britain have remained invisible, and their music inaudible, for a surprisingly long time'. They argued that the emergence of bhangra also marked the emergence of South Asian communities from obscurity. Commentators in the early 1990s placed much emphasis on this idea of South Asian communities 'emerging' from invisibility.[55] Sociologists and anthropologists sought to find out why they were obscure, what was causing their emergence and why their music was not crossing over into the mainstream. Indeed, Banerji and Baumann (1990: 143) postulated that, 'the term most widely invoked in this connection is "cross-over". For production and distribution, cross-over holds out the promise of recognition of Bhangra as part of British youth culture, as much a chord of multicultural medley as Reggae has become'. However, two decades later, we must ask, are these questions still necessary? Or even relevant? It is certainly hard to argue that South Asian youth are invisible today. The sheer weight of media, political and academic attention on

[54] These are, namely: Kala Sangam, Manasamitra and Oriental Arts. These organizations will be explored, in more detail, in the following chapter.
[55] Philip Lewis (1994) also wrote along these lines.

Pakistani Muslims ensures that. But whereas invisibility is no longer in question, there is still little known outside the Mirpuri community about their musics and everyday practices. Mirpuris often use music in ways that exist outside of these 'official', publically funded articulations of multicultural policy. It is my argument that, somewhere down the line, Mirpuris, and Mirpuri youth in particular, got left behind. What happened to this music? What replaced it?

1.5.1. The rise and fall of bhangra in Bradford

Rose (1991: 276) has argued that, in America, the emergence of Public Enemy marked a turning point in the history of rap music, and that they were, for the large part, responsible for the politicisation of rap – the 'point of Enlightenment', as she puts it. It could be argued, further, that bhangra in Britain had its 'point of Enlightenment', which also occurred in the early 1990s through the emergence of groups such as Fun-Da-Mental (FDM), Apache Indian, Black Star Liner and the KKKings. These groups have been hailed by sociologists, such as Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma (1996) and Hyder (2004), as the voice of a new generation as they cast aside the early Bhangra groups, such as Alaap and Heera, in order to convey the political, social and economic position Asian youth in Britain were in.

However, for teenagers today, the polemical rap of Fun-Da-Mental – so feverishly seized upon by academics due to its highly articulated political awareness – belongs to a different era. During my 17-month fieldwork period, I did not once come across the music of Fun-Da-Mental or their contemporaries (such as Apache

Indian, Nitin Sawney, Cornershop etc.). It was, however, the emergence of these groups in the early and mid-nineties that many (relieved) commentators pointed to as final proof that South Asians were finally finding their feet in Britain and that aspects of culture were finally 'crossing over'.[56]

Fun-Da-Mental are still writing music, and their charismatic front man, Aki Nawaz, still occasionally enjoys time in the national media spotlight. It could even be suggested that FDM's music is perhaps one of the most contextually relevant musical forms available to young Mirpuris. Songs such as 'Seize the Time' and 'Mera Mazab' deal directly with the social position and struggles of Muslims in Britain.[57] However, it is not the music of FDM or Apache Indian that Mirpuris listen to, but American rappers like Tupak Shakur. It is not polemical lyrics about the plight of Muslims in the UK, such as 'Mera Mazab', but the bhangramuffin styles of Imran Khan and Jaz Dhami. Writing about the emergence of syncretic forms of urban youth music in the early 1990s, Les Back suggested that, 'this refashioning is part of a profound process in which the politics of race and nation is claimed and redefined by young people, a project that still possesses a vitality and urgency within Britain's scenes' (1996: 234).[58]

However, this sense of optimism seems to have been a condition of much writing on urban youth culture in the 1990s. As Swedenburg's (2001) own study

[56] For a useful critique of this literature, see Helen Kim (2011).
[57] The opening lyrics of 'Seize the Time' include the lines, 'There comes a time when enough is enough, Afro Caribbeans, Asians together is tuff'. 'Mera Mazab' deals more directly with issues pertaining to Muslims worldwide: 'Abuse, refuse to acknowledge the truth; You say Islam, and it's sexism; But you're blind, when it comes to global masochism; There's hesitance when you gotta see the essence'. Both songs are on FDM's 1994 album *Seize the Time*.
[58] To emphasis his point, Back then cites DJ Kenny Ken: "Another reason why I'm involved in Jungle music is because it's brought a lot of people together – you know what I mean – like certain men a few years ago wouldn't have dreamed of talking to a white person and same the other way around. But now we're under the same roof ravin' laughing and joking together – you know what I mean?" DJ Kenny Ken in Back (1996: 234).

attests, there has also been a tendency for scholars of South Asian musics to focus on the more prominent, acclaimed, famous or notorious musicians among South Asian groups in Europe. Swedenburg's study on Islamic hip-hop in Britain, for example, also focuses on Aki Nawaz, lead singer of Fun-Da-Mental. Fun-Da-Mental (FDM) emerged in the early 1990s at a time of heightened racial awareness in Britain. The Rushdie affair was still being hotly debated by academics (Ruthvan 1990; Parekh 1990) and an argument was being put forward that, politically, Pakistanis were beginning to find a voice (Lewis 1994). Amid these discussions, however, perceptions of Islam were becoming increasingly reified and characterised by the burning of books, the repression of women and an opposition to music (for the latter, see Baily 1990). Fun-Da-Mental set out to challenge these characterizations by incorporating into their music Islamic themes, verses from the Qur'an, along with references to the Black Power movement in the United States. Swedenburg argues that:

> Fun-Da-Mental's uses of "Islam" are therefore central to its multipronged intervention: Islam instils religioethnic pride among Asian youth, serves as an image of antiracist mobilization, creates links between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans, and shocks and educates white leftists and alternative youth (Swedenburg 2001: 62).

This is quite a big claim and one that begs a moment of reflection. There is no doubt that this was indeed the intention of Aki Nawaz. Aki is a highly articulate, politically astute front man, who has repeatedly asserted in interviews (academic and media-led) what he intends his music to represent. But, arguably, there has been little attention paid to whether the music of FDM does, or did, any of the stuff the musicians and academics claimed. Part of the tendency for sociologists in the 1990s to latch onto FDM was because they were, in many respects, the first 'Asian' group to

reflect upon the racial and religious stereotyping that were central to the multiculturalism debate. Whilst Swedenburg's study provides an important perspective on the experience of 'Asian' youth in Britain, there is a danger that, actually, the perspective is actually that of Aki Nawaz's. Swedenburg isn't alone in identifying FDM's music as in someway speaking on behalf of a generation of Asian youth, who, in reality, constitute a large, heterogeneous group of people.

Swept up in this interest in FDM came Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma (1996). In their edited volume, Sharma et al., set out to create a 'space in academia for Asian academics', because they believe that 'white' people writing about 'Asian' culture is automatically Orientalist and racist. They also extended this philosophy into the practice of music making, arguing that 'white' musicians appropriating 'Asian' forms are equally culpable of neo-orientalist power dynamics (see in particular Hutnyk's (1997) criticisms of Transglobal Underground).[59] The 'new approach' advocated by Sharma et al., has clear, and potentially destructive, ramifications for academics, musicians and minority groups alike. Sharma et al. hail new Asian musical forms like FDM as a triumph of Asian youth culture appropriating and reinventing aspects of US hip-hop and urban youth culture in order to create their own social and cultural spaces in a post-migrant context. By arguing, however, that this space is inaccessible to white ethnographers, or that white musicians are likewise prohibited from engaging with these new musical forms, suggests that the cultural traffic is, and should remain, one-way.

Moreover, I would argue that this body of scholarship on the new Asian musical forms of the 1990s were too broad in subsuming a diverse range of ethnicities under the signifiers of 'Muslim' and 'Asian' youth:

[59] For an insightful counter-argument to this article, see Swedenburg (2001: 64).

> Cultural and political interventions such as those of Aki Nawaz, Natacha Atlas, and Akhenaton are likely to continue to be of critical importance for young Muslims as part of larger efforts to create new spaces for multifaceted Islamic identities and as weapons in the battles against racist violence and Islamophobic discrimination (Swedenburg 2001: 76).

Swedenburg quite rightly argues for the importance of music in the creation of these new spaces, but discussing these movements under such broad categories as ‘Asian’ and ‘Muslim’ fails to capture the diversity of peoples and their views, which are, often, contradictory and complex.

1.5.2. Dis-Orienting rhythms: discourses on bhangra-rap

From the outset of *Dis-Orienting Rhythms: The Politics of New Asian Dance Music*, Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma, polemicise the broad study of ‘South Asian’ diasporic music culture in Britain. They state that they wish to ‘break out of the Orientalist tradition of simply making knowable these [South Asian] cultural productions for an ever-eager academic audience and other agencies of control’ (1996: 2). This aggressive setting-out-of-stalls sets the tone for much of the edited volume. They are not simply implying that previous scholarship falls short, to the point of being imperialist and racist, but that, unless a new direction is taken, then all future scholarship in the ‘old’ style will also be invalid. Gerd Baumann’s writings on bhangra are the main object of their critique.

Sanjay Sharma, in particular, accuses Baumann of being ‘another one of those modern “ethnically sensitive” white ethnographers still directing the anthro-colonial gaze on Black folks’ cultures’ (1996: 34). His argument suggests that Baumann, as an anthro-colonial outsider, essentialises Asian youth culture and ‘negates’ other possible

narratives of syncretic identity formulations. This ‘flattens out differences and contestations across class, caste, ethnicity and gender’ (1996: 36). Despite blaming Baumann for ‘sustaining a neo-Orientalist understanding of anterior Asian youth cultural formations’, Sharma, at the same time, confusingly absolves him of this crime by saying that, after all, it’s not his fault: the Otherness of bhangra is culturally inaccessible to white ethnographers. Their book, on the other hand, ‘signifies a new space and recognition being claimed for and by emergent Asian academics and cultural critics operating both inside and outside British universities’ (1996: 10).

Orientalism is seen, by Sharma et al., as the hegemonic discourse of the Imperial West, embodied in the academic writings of scholars such as Baumann and Les Back (1996). It is a one-way discourse written in and out of the West about what is thought of the Orient. Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma’s intervention, it seems, belatedly engages with the ‘crisis of representation’, identified in the writings of Clifford and Marcus (1986), which sought to question the way the insider/outsider binarism served to dichotomise cultures. Indeed, a full two decades before Sharma et al.’s volume, Talal Asad (1973) and William Willis (1972) both highlighted the possible neo-colonial and imperialist discourses inherent in the ways ethnographers ‘represent’ those they engage with through fieldwork.

Sharma et al.’s position uncritically privileges and reifies the cultural ‘insider’ position over that of an ‘outsider’ (or, in anthropological terms ‘emic’ over ‘etic’ (see Rice 2008: 53)). This allows no room for how both people and music move across and between these perspectives. Their assertion seems to stem from what Werbner (2008) describes as the ‘distinctly sceptical, un-cosmopolitan assumption that just because one happens to come from a certain society, one is incapable of understanding other societies, empathising with their members’ predicaments and joy,

learning their languages, poetry, myth making and story telling, appreciating their material culture, the challenges of their environment, their mundane everyday lives' (2009: 23). Indeed, a quick glance at music is enough to render Sharma et al.'s position unsustainable. The reification of the insider/outsider binarism implies that there are such things as distinct and discrete cultures that are mutually exclusive. It then follows that the products of that culture, such as music, are, likewise, blinkered from 'outsider' influence. The development of bhangra in Britain, with its cosmopolitan mixing of styles, instrumentation and lyrics demonstrates the absurdity of this argument both in musical terms, and those of the people who produce it.

Musical genres and styles are the product of human interaction, not isolation. It was ever thus. The argument that a cultural insider is the only person who can understand a musical system, founders on the theoretical platform it seeks to erect. There are no surviving musicians or composers from the nineteenth-century to ask about 'their' musical systems or beliefs, but does that mean there is nothing to be gained by studying music from that period? By looking at music, is there nothing to be learnt of the relationship between the past and the present, about nationalism, and how historical narratives are constructed? In the end, it may be necessary to deny oneself the luxury of an either/or (insider/outsider) position. Such resistance to settling on one side or other of such debates is commensurable with the need for constant flexibility in negotiations with people and groups who may hold different positions and imaginings of identity – there may be no single place from which such positions can be represented or resolved (see also Žižek 1994: 26).

In the introduction of his book, *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture*, Les Back, one of Sharma's accused, takes into account the critique that ethnography is not 'the privileged arbiter of "what is really happening on the streets" … Rather it means

embracing a contingent and modest epistemology that attempts to achieve rigorous forms of reporting alongside a reflexive consciousness of the codes, textual moves and rhetoric integral to the process of writing ethnography' (1996: 5). Back argues that, in order to avoid the dangers of reifying cultural practices through meta-theory, as is Sharma's wont, it is first important and necessary to examine how identities, prejudices and marginalization manifest and evolve on a day-to-day basis within a broader multicultural framework. That is not to say that any resulting thesis is in any way all encompassing. Indeed, as James Clifford has stated:

> Even the best ethnographic texts – serious true fictions – are systems, or economies, of truth. Power and history work through them, in ways their authors cannot fully control. Ethnographic truths are thus inherently partial – committed and incomplete (1986: 7).

The point Clifford makes is not to speak on behalf of everyone, or to speak definitively about an issue or topic. Rather, it should be to present an account of the lives of people that is informed by them, and, only once this has been done, can one make, entirely subjective, reflections on what those accounts may mean for broader society.

The 'Introduction' to *Dis-Orienting Rhythms* suggests that, despite these observations, previous scholarship written by white academics of South Asian cultural practices are, by definition, essentialist, racializing, patronizing and ideologically motivated. This has important implications for my own research as I, in theory at least, must set off several of Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma's alarm bells. I am white, I am writing an ethnography, I want my account to be written in conjunction with my interlocutors in order to describe one of the most 'vibrant forms of Asian cultural expression in Britain' (1996: 2). First and foremost, it is important to locate and

distinguish and contrast the academic space that Sharma et al. wish to redefine with my own. They seek to develop a 'theoretically informed political analysis of the cultural politics of the underground emergence of South Asian dance music and culture' (1996: 8). Arguably, this is quite different to the way in which Baumann and Back approach their analyses of South Asian music and culture. Rather than being based on a '*theoretically* informed political analysis', Baumann constructs an '*ethnographically* informed account'[60] based on his prolonged stay in London's Southall district. His (1996) monograph, *Contesting Culture: Discourses of identity in multi-ethnic London*, is based on accounts of the lives of people from different ethnic backgrounds living in the same area. In re-evaluating the idea of 'community' he acknowledges the multiplicity of cultural factors, including music that inform peoples' construction of identity and belonging. By paying close attention to these different cultural threads, Baumann espouses a heterogeneous approach to the study of identity construction and is, in that sense, entirely non-essentialist.

My project, like Baumann's and Back's, aims to be an ethnographically informed account of Mirpuris in Bradford and their discourses and practices of music. But because mine and Baumann's approaches are different to Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma's, is not to say that they exist in exclusive realms of academia, or that important points and approaches from either cannot be taken into account. The polemical argument put forward by Sharma et al. – that accounts of South Asian music and culture in Britain are compromised because they originate from a 'predominantly white and racist academy in Britain' (1996: 10) – does, at least, encourage me to question my own subjective role as a white academic writing about an ethnic minority. In addition to these ethical questions, it is also important that I

[60] Emphases added.

outline some of the methodological approaches (and their limitations) that I used, to which I will now turn.

1.6. Methodologies

My main source of evidence for this thesis is a year-long ethnography in Bradford. During this time, I engaged in a range of musical activities with Mirpuris in various locations, but it was by no means an easy road. As mentioned at the start of this thesis, there has been a general consensus both in Bradford, and in ethnomusicological literature, that Mirpuris simply aren't interested in music. As such, it was initially very difficult to find Mirpuris to talk to about music, let alone any practicing musicians. I caught occasional snippets of conversation, in taxis and restaurants, but, certainly for the first two months of fieldwork, it appeared that the assumptions were more or less true. For those first two months, I endeavoured to attend as many concerts in Bradford as possible. I saw Indian ragas, South Asian dance, a benefit concert for Afghan refugees, and educational workshops. In all cases, Mirpuris were conspicuous by their absence. Most of these concerts were, in fact, organised by large, publicly funded South Asian arts organisations in Bradford, who, upon further enquires, were staffed and headed mainly by members of the Indian Sikh and Hindu communities. Part of their institutional marginalization thus also stems from the social and economic rise of an Indian middle class in the UK.[61]

But then, of course, as is often then case with fieldwork, several months down the line I had a 'moment' (Barz and Cooley 2008), where the doors were flung open and access to the world of Mirpuri musicking was granted. But, now that I am in the

[61] As Modood (2005: 186) puts it, the story of Pakistani Muslims' marginalization 'has to include the (re-)creation of middle-class formations among Indians, and a narrative of racial exclusion and black-white division [that] has been complicated by cultural racism, Islamaphobia, and an unexpected challenge to secular modernity'.

process of writing what followed, certain questions must be asked regarding this grand moment. What was access granted to? Who granted it? What were the conditions? For what ends and for whose benefit? These questions are nothing new in ethnomusicology (Bohlman and Nettl 1991; Nettl 2005; Barz and Cooley 2008). What follows is an effort to address some of these questions, but also to suggest how, in the early twenty-first century, we might be ready to move beyond them. The section will look more closely at these questions by describing how I came to be introduced to Mr. Khokhar, before outlining the kinds of musical activities I became involved in. Once this has been done, I will look more explicitly at the ethical considerations of my research, both in relation to existing literature on 'fieldwork', and the specific demands and issues related to researching in Bradford.

1.6.1. Research methods

I began my fieldwork period in mid-June, 2009. The summer had begun and I had just arrived back in Bradford from Oxford. It was with slight trepidation that I came back to my childhood home. With a critical eye and ear, how would I see and hear the city? How would it differ from my childhood? Walking through the streets and parks, memories of past experiences came flooding back. Indeed, this is how I began my fieldwork in earnest – walking the streets of Manningham. Within a 3-mile radius of where I lived I passed my old schools, the parks that I played football in and the local newspaper shop where I worked. The ice-cream van was still diligently doing its rounds: still maddeningly playing the theme tune of Match of the Day (although now, the slightly worn out loud hailer was eerily out-of-tune). The church bells tolled, the muezzin called out the call to prayer. There were other memories too.

Of being attacked and heavily beaten up in the local park. Of bikes being stolen, my house being burgled on numerous occasions, and of being racially abused. I was aware at this early stage of research that all of these past experiences would play a part in my fieldwork, but to what extent I wasn't sure. It felt good to be back in the city.

Coinciding with my arrival back in Bradford was the 2009 Bradford Mela, and so I kick-started my fieldwork by volunteering for the festival's production team. At this early stage I had not yet built up any relationships amongst Mirpuris in the city, and yet I was still eager to make the most of the opportunity to conduct research at such a large event, which, after all, only occurs once per year. Also, being at such an early stage of my ethnography, I was still trying to formulate the right kinds of questions about Mirpuris, multiculturalism and music in Bradford.[62] My job consisted of a variety of tasks, which included manning information points, assisting stage managers, transporting artists on golf buggies between stages, distributing passes, transporting equipment and water, and, more generally, liaising between the general public and the production team.

Becoming involved with these tasks brought its advantages, but also frustrations. It meant that I built up a detailed familiarity with the layout of the festival site, where the stages were, where the food area was, and how the markets were organised.[63] Once the festival began in earnest, this knowledge and familiarity allowed me, in an informed manner, to observe how people moved around the site in relation to what types of music were on offer at the different stages. In addition to

[62] Although, as I discovered, it was perhaps only post-ethnography that these questions began to become more clear.

[63] This overview was augmented by a tour of the site with the event's producer, Ben Pugh, who explained the rationale and thought processes behind the layout (the significance of which will be explored later).

this, I had continuous and close contact with the artists and the public as they moved around the site. As I sped the artists between the production offices and the stages I was able to snatch conversations and insights about their backgrounds, histories and performances.

But working for the production team in 2009 also brought an inherent frustration. Responsibility to my duties meant that this frustration was, chiefly, a lack of freedom to wander around the festival site and absorb the different musics on offer in my own time and at my own pace. Supervising a team of forty teenagers was both demanding, time absorbing and left little time to research what I thought at the time to be the important things: people and music. By mid-afternoon on the first day I expressed my concerns to the Producer of the festival, Ben Pugh, and we agreed that I could take time off from my responsibilities to carry out my research, on the condition that I carry a two-way radio with me in case I was needed.

This, in itself, produced a particularly interesting experience. On the Saturday afternoon, whilst the mela was in full swing, I made out into the throng of the crowd. As I walked around the festival, however, I had the rather surreal experience of seeing the mela-in-progress, as well as hearing the constant structural organisation of the event through my radio earpiece. It was, in a sense, an augmented version of reality. Whilst I watched a music act, I could hear the production team indicating how long was left, and what the progress of the succeeding artist was. It was a bit like the director's cut on a DVD's extras, except I was in the film, hearing a running commentary of logistics. By switching channels I was also able to stay in touch with site security and the conversations about crowds and instances of trouble that took place.

2009 was also the twenty-first year of the Bradford Mela and the occasion was marked with a 'Coming of Age' celebration. Part of the celebration included a retrospective project, funded by a £50,000 grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund that aimed to collect people's memories of past melas and weave them into a historical narrative that would form the basis of a coffee book. During the mela I became involved with the project by conducting interviews with members of the public, organisers and artists. The data from those interviews proved to be useful to both my own research and the 'Coming of Age' project. After the mela I continued to be involved by transcribing interviews as well as providing critical feedback on the manuscript through the writing process and its final draft. Some of the data used in chapter 5 has been collected from the outcome of the 'Coming of Age' project, titled, *Coming of Age: Celebrating 21 Years of Mela in the UK*, written by Irna Qureshi.[64]

It was a fascinating time, and one that I explore properly later in the thesis, but, of course, the thing with festivals is that they run for a finite amount of time. In the Bradford Mela's case, two days. Where to next? Following the 2009 Bradford Mela I began to volunteer for the programmers of the Bradford Mela: a company called Oriental Arts, run by Champak Kumar Limbachia.[65] Working for Champak

[64] Another outcome of the project was an exhibition held between 7th August and 7th November, in Cartwright Hall, Lister Park. For the exhibition, I filmed and edited a twenty-minute short film of the 2009 and 2010 Bradford Melas, which was shown on a large flat-screen television. A copy of the film can be found in the Appendix.

[65] Oriental Arts was founded by Champak in 1976 along with several other students who were studying at Bradford College. Champak had arrived in Britain at the age of 15 as part of a large number of Indian Gujaratis who had first migrated to Kenya, before migrating again to the UK following discriminatory practices imposed by the new, post-colonial government. In Kenya, Champak had been a practicing musician, specializing in the tabla and dholak drums. Upon arriving in Bradford, however, he discovered sizable populations of people from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, but very little evidence of live music. Along with friends from Bradford College, where he was enrolled as a student, Champak began putting on live shows of Bollywood music with local musicians in the college's library building. The shows proved particularly popular and in 1976 the organising group was formally crystallized as Oriental Arts. By 1980, the potential of the organisation was recognized by Bradford Council, who began to provide crucial funding. Since 1980, Oriental Arts, under funding from the local council and the Arts Council England, have organised concerts and educational workshops in and around the Bradford area, as well as the Bradford Mela. Bollywood dance, bhangra, qawwals and

brought many benefits, as his expert knowledge of music and musicians in Bradford meant that I gained access and insight to both the Bradford music scene and its history. Champak has been involved with the South Asian music scene in Bradford since the early 1970s, and, with him, I helped organise concerts in Bradford. He also put me in touch with local schools, where I spent time 'sitting in' with Mirpuris in their music lessons.

In contrast to the 2009 festival, then, my approach to the 2010 Bradford Mela had more direction and was better informed; not only by the relationships within Bradford that I had built up throughout the year, but by my involvement with its organisation and execution. Because of the many hours of time I had dedicated to Oriental Arts, I was able to take on a freer role. I still offered myself as help in case of understaffing, but, for the most part, armed with an Access All Areas pass, I spent much of the weekend observing, talking, recording and filming the festival. Freeing myself from organisational responsibilities also meant that I could spend more time investigating the ways in which the festival engaged with Mirpuris, and vice versa.

By this point, too, I had spent a considerable amount of time learning Urdu and journeyed to Mirpur in Azad Kashmir, Pakistan, and so I was able to communicate more easily both with members of the public and with performing artists who had travelled to Britain for the mela season from the Indian sub-continent. The ability to converse, read and write in Urdu had both positive and cautionary reactions in Bradford. In curry houses and taxis I became increasingly recognised and hailed, first as 'that white guy who speaks our language', and then, simply, as 'Tom'. As well as the unexpected benefits of discounted meals and fares, this produced more

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Patwari nights brought internationally renowned artists to the city, including the late Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, the late Ustad Bismillah Khan, and Alaap.

lucid and fruitful conversations about music and politics. One Mirpuri taxi driver, for example, explained, with no small amount of irony, that he knew he was going to Hell for listening to music, but he needed something to 'bounce' to whilst working long nights. On the other hand, I was also warned not to be too keen to begin conversing with people in Urdu, as, in some cases, people may regard me with suspicion. For a period of several weeks, for example, I attended a local Salafi mosque. I began my first conversation in Urdu and was immediately greeted with wariness. Either I was a spy or a journalist. Neither was good. Indeed, the gentleman I was speaking to simply shrugged his shoulders and asked, 'why don't you just speak in English? You're in England'. The implicit message here, which resonates throughout much of this thesis, is: we're all in England, there's no need to treat us like foreigners.[66]

But perhaps the most significant benefit of working for Champak was that he introduced me to a Mirpuri musician and barber, called Mr. Khokhar.[67] When I first met Mr. Khokhar he was dressed in a traditional army-green kurta and pyjama bottoms, with a full head of jet-black hair and a bushy moustache. Cutting hair next to him stood his son, Muna. Muna cut a very different figure to his father. He was dressed in casual but smart jeans and t-shirt, had a shaved head and sported a thin, close-trimmed, 'designer' beard. He was much more extrovert than his father and seemed to be delegated the younger clientele in the barber's. Over the following months I spent many afternoons and evenings in Mr. Khokhar's babershop, listening to music and, occasionally, performing. It was clear that it wasn't just appearances

[66] On the whole, however, being able to speak and understand Urdu was extremely valuable. Not only did it mean that could I follow and contribute to conversations and debates, but, on a more basic level, it demonstrated a level of seriousness that the majority of people appreciated.

[67] John Baily (2006: 257) has observed that, 'in many parts of the Muslim world there is a strong link between the professions of barber and musician' (See also Baily 1988: 102; Sakata 1983: 78). The following description of my first time in Mr. Khokhar's barbershop sums up, in various ways, the themes of this thesis. It was a moment in my fieldwork that led me down a chain of enquiry, not only around Bradford but all the way to Pakistan. From it came my central research question, the themes that arise from it, many late nights, new and enduring friendships and slightly damaged eardrums.

where father and son differed; they also had very different feelings about music. It was, in this sense, a 'moment' in my fieldwork that I really began to build meaningful relationships with Mirpuri musicians. As such, the barbershop acts both as a point of departure for this thesis and site for questioning established epistemologies that surround Mirpuris.

From this first meeting I helped organise exhibitions, concerts and festivals with the local council. I also helped Mr. Khokhar write visa applications and letters of support for family members visiting Pakistan. At the invitation of Mr. Khokhar, I travelled to Mirpur in Pakistan to gain an impression of there and a sense of the important kinship connections between Mirpuris in Britain and in Pakistan. And, whilst in Pakistan, I undertook to learn the shehnai, a double-reed aerophone, which I subsequently performed in several informal concerts both in Pakistan and back in Bradford.

This type of 'participant observation' is one often employed by ethnomusicologists, but it is not without its issues, particularly in relation to Mirpuris in Bradford. Learning a type of performance practice is, some argue, what marks ethnomusicologists as different – or special – from anthropologists. It is said that, through 'truly participatory participant observation' (Cooley 2008: 4), music affords particular insights and – from the same edited volume – 'that there is much one can only know by doing' (Kisliuk 2008: 33). As Bigenho argues, however, this privileging 'comes with the usual thorny issues about gaining or being assumed to have insider-ship' (Bigenho 2008: 29). Bigenho goes on to suggest that, instead, the 'insider/outsider conundrum is reframed in terms of the activities in which all ethnographers are engaged'.

I also want to extend this argument – as to the centrality of music in the research – to include Mirpuris themselves. For instance, if I were to privilege music and the performance of music itself in my fieldwork, then, by extension, I am also implying that music is centrally important in Mirpuris' lives. This would be misleading. In fact, on the contrary, this thesis shows that, often, music is by turns marginalized and emphasized by Mirpuris in relation to any given social context, and so, placing undue centrality to music would be contrived at best. As Waterman points out in relation to his study of the role of music in the lives of Yoruba people, 'specialization [in music] may encourage loss of proportion; that the ethnomusicologist, eager to demonstrate the importance of music in human life, may easily claim too much of it' (1990: 213).

It was clear throughout my fieldwork that music has a shifting social position and significance for Mirpuris: moving from being trivial to centrally important. This flew in the face of many of the received assumptions I had taken into the field. This thesis aims to capture some of that discursiveness, because it is these very processes and structures of marginalization and foregrounding that are, in many ways, most interesting. They are interesting not least because such processes and structures are often assumed or unsaid, but because they present what are arguably the most fluid, contextual and current indications of what it means to live in an increasingly multicultural society, among all of the inherent social and political pressures and expectations therein. As such, throughout my research I paid extra attention to those situations wherein music did take place: through learning in schools; listening to music in people's cars, living rooms, nightclubs and, indeed, Mr. Khokhar's barbershop; as well as performing music on the shehnai. But this thesis is not simply about the ways in which Mirpuris engage with music. Instead, music provides a lens

through which to look at broader social processes, like kinship networks, religious practice, transnational and translocal cultural ties, intergenerational relationships and education.

1.6.2. Ethical considerations

During my research in Bradford I built and maintained relationships with local politicians, shopkeepers, social workers, teachers and religious institutions, whilst also mixing with young people on street corners in what are some of the most deprived boroughs in the country. But, importantly, I also grew up in Bradford, only a few streets away from Mr. Khokhar's barbershop, and the schools that I attended as a child were over 95 per cent Mirpuri. This means that my ethnography and this thesis have also been informed by my experience of growing up and interacting with Mirpuris, in a range of contexts and circumstances, over a period of some 25 years. In other words, this thesis is not just about Mirpuris and music. It also, to a certain extent, about me, about Bradford and, in particular, the area of Manningham, where I grew up alongside what ethnomusicologists and anthropologists have traditionally called my 'interlocutors'. Upon writing that last word – interlocutors – I immediately cringed. Such a word seems dispassionate, and unable to reflect the emotional engagement with the area and those who live there that I have developed over many years. Such an approach, therefore, begs some searching ethical questions. How is my 'field' defined? In what way am I implicated in the research? What, if anything, does an insider/outsider status mean in this kind of context?

Of course, these kinds of questions are nothing new in ethnomusicology, or anthropology, for that matter. The theory of ethnographic practice has been the

preoccupation of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists since the late 1970s, culminating in the 'crisis of representation' identified by Clifford and Marcus (1986), Marcus and Fischer (1986) and Clifford (1988). As Clifford highlighted whilst discussing the specification of discourses in ethnography: 'Who speaks? Who writes? When and where? With or to whom? Under what institutional and historical constraints?' (1986: 13). These searching questions are often framed in terms of colonial and post-colonial power dynamics, sparked by Edward Said's critique of Orientalism (1978).

Born and raised in Bradford, my own subject position is, in a real sense, already embedded in the research.[68] Having grown up in Manningham, where a majority of Mirpuris live, I already have over two decades' experience of the area's music, food, sport and politics before starting fieldwork in earnest. I have witnessed countless cases of racism directed against Mirpuris, and have also been subjected to racism by Mipuris. The roster of the schools I attended as a child in the late 1980s and early 1990s were over 95 per cent Mirpuri Muslim. In a very real sense, then, I was at the centre of the heated debates about multiculturalism, segregation in education and the provision of *halal* meat in schools, which had, a few years earlier, reached fever pitch with the Honeyford affair.[69] Whilst these debates raged around us, we were experiencing multicultural education policy first hand. Indeed, it could be argued that, experientially, my fieldwork began in the late 1980s. As children we were unaware of the debates about multicultural education, despite their ferocity.

[68] The emphasis on participant-observation, a cornerstone in much ethnomusicological fieldwork, is in itself enacting a fine balance between subjectivity and objectivity. Becoming 'immersed' in fieldwork, through a range of methods and techniques, necessarily requires engagement with the subject matter, be it people or texts, in addition to a surrounding context of history and culture. The ethnographer's own personal experiences before, during and after the fieldwork period, must also be accounted for, recognized and rooted in subsequent analyses and writing up.
[69] For more on the Honeyford affair, see Foster-Carter (1987), Dermaine (1993), Lewis (1994).

Moreover, the notions of race and difference had not entered our imaginations in earnest yet. We were just kids playing games together in the playground.

The Rushdie affair and the 1995 and 2001 disturbances all happened within a mile of where I grew up. I have strong memories of all these events, particularly the latter ones, but then I also have strong memories of events in the area that were covered much less by politicians and the media. For many years the Bradford Mela occurred in the park, quite literally, across the street from where I lived. Every year, we would jump over the wall of the park, buy a bag of pakoras (onion bhajis) and watch trapeze artists Skinning the Cat, before heading to one of the many music stages to watch a troupe of bhangra dancers. From the age of 12 until I was 16, I worked as a paperboy and then shop assistant at the local corner shop run by Mr. Sheikh and his family. This was my first encounter with working life – come rain or shine – and through it I built up relationships with the family and, over the course of several years, had the pleasure of attending many of their extravagant wedding celebrations.

Whilst enjoyable in different ways, none of these experiences seemed extraordinary at the time. They were all intimately tied up with my local neighbourhood and the people who lived there. As I grew older, however, and paid more attention to politics and the media, it struck me that a large portion of the debates on multiculturalism and integration centred on Pakistani Muslims: my neighbours, in other words. Moreover, many of the events that sparked intense media attention, such as the 2001 Bradford Riots, were right on my doorstep. There was no doubt that such events posed important questions as to how multiculturalism was understood in Britain, but it seemed to me that the way in which it was debated sensationalised segregation and isolationist discourses at the expense of the more

subtle, mundane and normative social relations that occur on a day-to-day basis, such as those outlined above. For me, these everyday encounters and interactions were what multiculturalism was about, and what Grillo (2010: 33) has since called 'actually existing multiculturalism'. To me, it was self-evident that there was a gap, or tension, between how multiculturalism was debated as a concept and the intricate interactions that happen between people at ground level in Bradford.

To return to the questions posed in *Writing Culture* and *Shadows in the Field*, then, answers to the question of where I am positioned in the research, what my relationship is with my topic and what exactly it is I am writing about, are all complex and varied. Questions of power relations and agency are particularly difficult to navigate, but are of central importance to this thesis. Namely, I am not just writing about Manningham as 'their' area, I'm writing about it as my area too. Or perhaps, more precisely, Manningham as 'our' area. This echoes my sentiments earlier in this introduction: that I wish to move beyond 'us' and 'them' dichotomies. Indeed, quite clearly, the insider/outsider debate that prevailed in anthropological critiques of the ethnographic method in the 1980s, is simply inadequate in this context. Of course, I am not an 'insider', in the sense that I am not Mirpuri, nor am I Muslim. But then I'm not completely an 'outsider', either, as I have shared the same geographical space – as well as shops, playgrounds, schools, buses and parks – with Mirpuris throughout my life.

But, that being said, and despite all these shared experiences, we are seen differently by society, and the majority of young Mirpuris today occupy a social position quite different to me. As Stokes (2008: 2010) has said, 'the drawing of cultural boundaries has been understood, for some time now, as part and parcel of processes of inclusion and exclusion, dominance and subjugation, constituted by

power and acts of resistance against it'. Part of this thesis is about trying to understand how and why two people – say myself and a young person of Mirpuri heritage – can be born at around the same time, in the same country, in the same hospital and grow up within two streets of one another, can come to be thought of in such dichotomous terms as insider and outsider (both in academia and in the media through the persistent use of the language of 'us' and 'them'). As such, my ethnography is an attempt to move beyond the fieldwork methodological concerns described in Clifford and Marcus's *Writing Culture*, and anti-multiculturalism discourses, to develop a thesis, and an ethnographic practice, that is based on more broadly inclusive and shared experience before, during and after fieldwork. To do this – and to paraphrase Stokes – I have had to project myself imaginatively, and experientially, across the lines inscribed on our social landscape and reflect upon them from both sides.

But I want to also stress that this thesis is not simply about experience and reflection. It is also about actions. Rather than framing my ethnography and its discussion in terms of subjectivity and objectivity, or insider/outsider, the intention is to use my historical and emotional relationship with Bradford in order to ask new and important questions in relation to the field. Indeed, as Werbner (2008: 23) advocates, this move away from an insider/outsider dichotomy enables different and valuable insights. The 'field', therefore, should not be confined solely to the geographical location of Bradford. Instead, I want to think of it, as Kisliuk does, in terms of a 'broad conceptual zone united by a chain of enquiry' (2008: 189). That is, to use my experience before fieldwork and during fieldwork as a springboard to the further interrogation of broader debates about the experiences of Mirpuris in Britain.

The resulting thesis focuses, mainly, on Mirpuris in Bradford, including Mr. Khokhar, his family and friends. That being said, it is informed more broadly by the experiences I gained throughout all my fieldwork. As such his barbershop represents both a space of enquiry and a point of departure in this thesis. Elsewhere, by helping organise concerts and spending prolonged periods of time with local South Asian music promoter, Champak Kumar, I also learnt about Gujaratis' feelings and interactions with Mirpuris.[70] Listening to his stories and experiences also gave my research historical depth. His first hand experiences of the promotion of South Asian music in Bradford since the 1970s provided me with an indication of the rise and fall of certain music trends, what groups were popular, who attended the concerts, how they were funded, the changing attitude of the council etc. In terms of education in Bradford, I was already aware of reports on the low achievement levels of Mirpuri youth, but by conducting fieldwork in schools I was able to build up a more detailed understanding of the pedagogical and environmental reasons as to why this was so. Likewise, by working with the production team of the Bradford Mela, I was able to sit in on pre-event meetings with Bradford Council and the Metropolitan Police where I was privy to conversations about how to implement multicultural policy and how to 'deal' with crowds of problem youth.

All of these experiences, and many more, feed into the following account of Mirpuris and music in Bradford. The different experiences with different groups of people that I encountered during fieldwork combine together to build up

[70] Volunteering for Oriental Arts, for example, proved particularly productive because it developed a two-way relationship, or *lena-dena* (give and take, see also Shaw 2000), between Champak and myself. This dynamic came to characterise many of the relationships I formed throughout my fieldwork.

a more comprehensive, contextual picture of Bradford and the interactions that take place there between people on a day-to-day basis. In doing so, the aim has been to avoid treating Mirpuris as an isolated, marginalized group as so often is the case. By taking into account the historical and everyday connections that exist between Mirpuris and other groups in Bradford on an individual and group level, this thesis attempts demonstrate how the lives and actions of Mirpuris are an inextricable and important part of the UK's social, and musical, landscape.

Chapter 2: Bradford, Mirpuris and Music

2.1. Introduction

I wish to proceed, then, by balancing the last chapter – which was concerned, primarily, with discourses around multiculturalism, migration and music – with a richer picture of Mirpuris in Bradford as place. From theory to practice, or from multiculturalism to multiculture, to use Les Back's (1996) term. Bradford is home to numerous and diverse ethnicities and religions, which are often defined both by geographic origin (Pakistani, Polish, Latvian, Indian, Chinese etc.) and also by where they have geographically settled in Bradford.[1] For each of these communities, music holds varying significance, but often plays an important role. For Mirpuris, music is a source of personal enjoyment, but it is also an activity around which publics are built and boundaries marked. In this sense, music can serve to reinforce socio-geographic boundaries, but also to transgress them.

In many ways, then, Bradford is an ideal place to explore themes of multiculturalism, migration and music, both in a personal, individual sense, and spatially. The city's physical landscape is punctuated by the buildings of its different religions; the spires of churches and the minarets of mosques both reaching upwards as visible signs of ethnicity and identity. This landscape is also acoustically reinforced with a soundscape. Just as the bells of the churches toll throughout the day, so too does the *muezzin* sing out the *adhan* before prayer. In this sense, both time and space are punctuated – the land- and sound-scapes of Bradford giving anchorage to a series of rhythms, movements, and potentialities that derive from the customs of those people who have migrated there, and its own social heritage. These

[1] The fact that Bradford is commonly referred to as 'Bradistan' is evidence of how deeply Pakistanis are embedded in the city's geographical and cultural landscape. See, for example, the 1999 film *East is East* (Dir. Damien O'Donnell). Mirpuris in Bradford also frequently refer to the areas they live by their postcode, e.g. 'BD8', or 'BD9'.

are then articulated not only through the myriad of local, socially determined activities and social relations, but also from the traditions and musics of the various countries from which its respective diasporas originate.[2]

The ways in which music informs and shapes 'everyday life' (DeNora 2000) is increasingly being understood in relation to the urban centres in which it is experienced and generated (Finnegan 1989; Whitely, Bennett and Hawkins 2004; Cohen 1991, 2007).[3] I am particularly interested, here, in how multicultural centers of migration, like Bradford, might contribute to discussions about music's 'spatiality', within a migratory framework. Bradford's economic fortunes have been in long decline since the collapse of the textile industry. This decline has also coincided with an unprecedented increase in migration to the city. In terms of music, multiple senses of national identity and belonging (Baily 1994; Stokes 1994) may be invoked that have little to do with the country in which it is consumed, but a lot to do with the experience of migration and diaspora (Lipsitz 1994; Slobin 1987). In a city that is widely believed by sociologists to be racially segregated (Cantle 2001; Phillips 2005), can, or does, music transcend socio-geographic boundaries? How, indeed, do Mirpuris map out the city? Where is music consumed, performed and listened to? How are global styles mediated by local and national socio-economic circumstances (Cohen 2007)? Can an understanding of the spatialisation of music in Bradford intervene in the multiculturalism debate?

Beginning with a brief outline of the city's history, its expansion in the nineteenth century, and the patterns of migration from Mirpur to Bradford, the chapter proceeds by looking more closely at three spaces, or nexuses, of Mirpuri music

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[2] I have paraphrased Michael Gilsenan (2000: 202) here.

[3] Ruth Finnegan's (1989) survey of music in Milton Keynes is also a good example of the importance of paying meticulous detail to the nuts and bolts of music making in an urban context: from the logistics of transport, to pub gigs, to organising public concerts. Only once she has done this does she ask what this all means for music, society and humanity.

making. These are, namely: ‘The Barbershop’ nexus (which looks at the way the barbershop serves to connect musical gatherings and relationships across the city on a personal, intimate level); ‘The Street’ nexus (focusing on street based hip hop culture and territorialisation); and ‘The Bradford Mela’ nexus (represented here by public spaces wherein ‘official’ articulations of multiculturalism – in Bradford’s schools and at the Bradford Mela – are experienced and contested). The aim is to build up a picture of how Mirpuris see the city, how they move through and experience it, and the spaces in which they engage with music. It is from this perspective, I argue, that that a critical engagement with music and multiculturalism must take place.

2.2. From Mirpur to Bradford: migration and transnationalism

The City of Bradford has an overall population of 467,665, making it the fourteenth largest city in the UK.[4] Situated on the edge of the Yorkshire Dales national park, Bradford expanded greatly during the Industrial Revolution as a centre of the textile and worsted industry. By the mid nineteenth century, the city’s textile industry saw large numbers of Irish and German workers migrate to Bradford. As the city expanded, mills and workers’ houses, built with yellow Yorkshire sandstone, sprawled across the valley and up the dales in a steep rise of rapid urbanization. On the edges of the city, terrace houses gave way to fields separated by dry-stone walls, and, in many places, this remains the case to this day (Figure 1). As well as building model villages to house their workers, industrial philanthropists, such as Sir Titus Salt (1803-1876) and Sir Samuel Cunliffe Lister (1815-1906) built large municipal parks on land they subsequently donated to the city.

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[4] 2001 Census data. See: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/census-2001/index.html> [Last accessed 17 February 2011].

Figure 1: Panoramic view of Bradford and surrounding dales.

The 1950s and 1960s saw the tradition of migration continue, with large numbers of African-Caribbeans and South Asian groups (including Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis) settle in Bradford. The mills, houses and parks of the nineteenth-century have all played an important role in bringing Mirpuris to the city and remain areas where large numbers of Mirpuris live today. Most recently, Poles, Latvians and Romanians have migrated to the area, making Bradford one of the most ethnically diverse places in the UK outside London.[5]

This section will continue by charting some of the history of migration from Mirpur to Bradford. To understand where Mirpuris stand in Bradford and Britain now, it is important to know where they come from, both historically and socially. As such, the section will pay attention to migratory history, housing arrangements, family ties and loyalties (*biraderi*), and transnational connections. It is important to do this, as it will give historical depth to the understanding of Mirpuri cultural practices in the UK. Indeed, I follow Phillips (2006) in arguing that criticisms of Mirpuris 'self-segregating' are less to do with a desire to live 'separate lives' (Phillips 2005), and more to do with maintaining strong familial ties, which are rooted in the local area: the same local area they originally migrated to.

[5] The others being Leicester and Tower Hamlets. See: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/census/census-2001/index.html> [Last accessed 17 February 2011].

2.2.1. Mirpur, Azad Kashmir

The history of migration from South Asia to the UK stretches back to the early nineteenth-century. As the British Empire extended its control over the Indian subcontinent, local men, in particular from areas such as Mirpur in modern day Pakistan-controlled Kashmir, were recruited into the merchant navy.[6] Mirpur itself lies in the southernmost foothills, close to the border of the Punjab and 68 miles south east of Islamabad, and, as such, Mirpuris predominantly speak a regional dialect of Punjabi, also referred to as Patwari. The area surrounding Mirpur is agricultural, but has traditionally suffered from poor irrigation compared to other areas of Pakistan (Khan 1977). This was partially alleviated by the construction of the Mangla Dam, which regulated the flow of water from the Jhelum River. However, poor arability has meant that, historically, most farms consist of small clusters of houses and profitability is extremely low.[7] As such, the Mirpur district of Azad Kashmir has often been portrayed as a 'backward' area, populated by poor farmers with low levels of literacy (Khan 1977: 65).

[6] The Mirpur District of Azad Kashmir lies in the foothills of the lower western Himalayas. Azad Kashmir (or Free Kashmir) represents the western portion of the historic state of Kashmir that was occupied by the Pakistani army following the partition of India. The vast majority of the population is Muslim of the Sunni sect, although there is great variation in culture and language across the region.

[7] It is worth pointing out that this is a description of Mirpur pre-mass migration to Britain. Since the 1970s there has been a large increase in the amount of remittances being sent back to Mirpur that have resulted in the construction of large brick houses. As such, land in certain parts of the district – particularly land that is close to the town of Mirpur and overlooks the dam – has exponentially increased in value. On a recent trip to Mirpur in 2010, I was struck by the impact new wealth from the diaspora has created. Palatial houses pepper the landscape and air-conditioned cars drive around the streets. Traditional mud houses and donkey carts still exist, however, alongside these new ostentatious displays of wealth. Much research is still to be done on the ongoing impact of new money on the social and economic hierarchies of areas like Mirpur.

Figure 2: Map of Pakistan.

Houses consist of two or three rooms around a central, walled courtyard, which is sometimes shared between two or three families.[8] The courtyard is where most daily life takes place, from washing to the preparation of food. During hot seasons, the courtyard is also where most choose to sleep.[9] Living in the house will usually be three generations of a family, comprising of grandparents, married son(s) and their wives and children. In addition to this, surrounding houses that adjoin a shared courtyard will often be from the same *biraderi*. '*Biraderi'* refers to the endogamous network of close kin to which a person belongs, and it continues to play a crucial role of Mirpuris' lives, both in Kashmir and in Britain (Shaw 2000).

One result of this close quarter living and interaction is a strong communal sensibility. Members of the household will, more often than not, eat together, work

[8] The following description of family life in Mirpur is based on fieldwork conducted in Mirpur during the summer of 2010.
[9] I visited Mirpur during the hot season and spent many a night in the courtyard on a rope bed, staring at the stars whilst listening, helplessly, to the buzzing of mosquitoes in my ear.

together and sleep together under the stars. In such small pockets of housing, this communality extends beyond the courtyard to the degree that most people know one another, sometimes through working relationships, but more often through *biraderi*. Interactions take place on a daily basis with frequent visits to houses of other members of the *biraderi*. These guests will receive food and, often, a bed for the night with the assumption that such gestures will, or have already been, reciprocated.

All these factors combined result in tight-knit family units, in the sense that there is a strong sense of intimacy between all family members.[10] This intimacy pervades family life and, to a certain extent, the unity of the *biraderi*, for it provides both a moral and a behavioural framework whereby reputations and status are continuously under observation and re-assessment.

2.2.2. Mirpur to Bradford: *biraderi* and chain migration

Many of these strong communal and familial ties were maintained and perpetuated when the early recruits to the merchant navy, known as 'lascars', began to form shifting and semi-permanent settlements in British ports; notably, Cardiff, Liverpool, South Shields, Hull and London (Lewis 1994: 11). Substantially higher rates of migration, however, occurred after World War II. The UK had sustained heavy losses of life during the war that left large employment gaps in its textile and manufacturing industries. This particularly affected northern industrial towns such as Bradford, Birmingham, Burnley and Oldham. As such, invitations in the form of work visas and permits were offered to people from countries in the new

[10] Within the home, women prepare food, clean the house, look after children, and repair clothes and fabrics. Young children are nurtured within the courtyard in a hierarchical manner; infants may be left under the supervision of a 10-year-old sibling, whilst elder women oversee pre-pubescent children. Children learn of the social structure and patterns of work and behaviour through observation, rather than a distinct pedagogy (this was also observed by Khan 1977).

Commonwealth.[11] With a history of recruitment to the merchant navy, men from Mirpur took up the invitation in substantial numbers.[12]

All of these factors contributed to a sustained period of migration from Mirpur to Bradford.[13] Early pioneer migrants played an important role in the continuation of migration. Letters and photographs would be sent back to family in Pakistan displaying their newfound wealth.[14] Once encouraged to relocate to England, established migrants would help with housing and finance until paid work was found. Thus began a period known as 'chain migration'.

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[11] A further reason that a significant number of people migrated from the Mirpur district was the construction of the Mangla Dam. A consortium of eight construction firms from the US constructed the Mangla Dam. Engineers from Pakistan, the US, Canada, Britain, Germany and Ireland were employed to carry out the project, which was funded, in part, by the World Bank. Built in the 1960s, the dam is located on the border of Azad Kashmir and the Punjab where the foothills begin to rise out of the plain. Behind the first foothills is a natural basin where the district of Mirpur is located. In a joint international venture, the hills surrounding the basin were connected by a string of dams and the Jhelum River slowly filled the area. The construction of the dam displaced over 100,000 people and completely flooded the old town of Mirpur and the surrounding area. Many of those displaced received compensation from the Pakistani government. Some used it to buy land in new Mirpur on the edge of the dam, whilst many others used the money to join relatives in England. See also Allen (1971: 32).

[12] The primary reason for emigrating from Mirpur to the UK was economic, with 'wages for labouring jobs in Britain in the 1960s … over 30 times those offered for similar jobs in Pakistan' Shaw (1988: 9). Shaw details that, in Mirpur, the average weekly wage was the equivalent to approximately 37 pence, whereas, in Birmingham, the average weekly wage for a Pakistani was 13 pounds. The idea was, initially, to send remittances back to Pakistan and, eventually, to return. In his book, *Race and Politics*, Mohammad Anwar suggests that the 1962 Immigration Act had a large bearing on the pattern of migration from the Indian subcontinent to Britain. 'It turned a movement of workers, many of whom were probably only interested in staying temporarily, into a relatively permanent immigration of families. Also the voucher system initially reinforced the kinship and friendship bonds and therefore reinforced the pattern of settlement' (1986: 9). The money earned in England would be used to buy land in Pakistan on which to build new houses and so increase their social status. It has also been suggested, however, that in local cultures where there has been a tradition of economic migration, the sending of kin to work abroad is also a source of family pride and a signifier of status

[13] See also Bradford Heritage Recording Unit's (1994) *Here to Stay: Bradford's South Asian Communities*. It is also worth considering that evidence of this tradition of emigration from Mirpur to work abroad is prevalent in the early twenty-first century. On a recent fieldwork trip to Mirpur I met a number of young men who were about to embark on journeys to Saudi Arabia, and other areas of the Middle East, such as Dubai, to work in the construction industry. However, unlike the early migrants to the UK, there is less evidence of these workers settling permanently in the Middle East.

[14] Although, often, this wealth would be 'hired', so to speak. Within the city there was a photographic studio where new migrants could go and hire smart clothes and money, which they would be photographed with. These photos would then be sent back to kin in Pakistan as a display of their new-found wealth.

Figure 3: Map of Bradford within West Yorkshire.

According to 1961 census data, of the 3,376 Pakistanis living in Bradford, only 81 were women. In addition to this, 95 per cent came from rural areas of Azad Kashmir, Pakistan (Lewis 1994: 16). As Alison Shaw (2000) has identified, these early migrants were the first in a four-part process of migration from Pakistan to Britain. The first migrants, known as 'pioneers', were followed by the second stage of 'chain migration'. These migrants were, generally, unskilled male workers. Throughout this phase, the impermanence of the migrants in Britain was dispelled and so a third phase of migration began when wives and children began joining the men. The fourth, and, arguably, continuing phase indicates generations of British Mirpuris who were born in the UK.

It was during the third phase of migration that Mr. Khokhar came to Britain. In 1962, the British government attempted to stem the flow of migrants arriving in the UK by introducing the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. In the preceding 18 months to the act being passed, a total of 50,170 Pakistanis entered Britain, compared with 17,120 between 1955 and 1960 (Lewis 1994: 18). After this point, migrants were

given vouchers for entry that depended on their skills and prospects of employment. There were still loopholes in the system, however, in that young men below the age of 16 were allowed to join their fathers as dependents. This allowed the young men to avoid the 1962 Immigrants Act, which effectively barred unskilled male workers. By migrating to Britain at the age of 14 or 15 it would not be long before they could enter the workplace and contribute economically to the *biraderi* (Ballard 1990: 238).

Most new migrants initially found work in the city's textile mills, in areas like Manningham, Girlington and Bradford Moor. The textile industry was, by the 1960s, already in decline and the working conditions, in terms of pay, security, and facilities, were extremely low. Surrounding the mills, in areas like Manningham, were rows of affordable Victorian terrace houses, originally built to house the mill workers and their families. Their proximity to the mill and low cost meant that this tradition continued when Mirpuris began to migrate to Bradford. As the migration process continued throughout the next two decades, new Mirpuri migrants would be assisted by their family through lodging in the area and employment in the mills. It has been suggested that this early clustering of migrants in small areas, and mass employment in the mill industry, encouraged differential treatment and inhibited contact with local workers, resulting in little opportunity to acquire linguistic and social skills (Khan 1977: 72). Mr. Khokhar described this time to me.

> When I came to England it was 1965 and I was 14 years old, only. I learnt little bit of English in Pakistan but not much. When I came, I went school one year only [laughs]. Then I went to work in the mills. I was too young, I think, I should have stayed in school longer and got better education. I worked in different mills then I worked for my uncle in hairdressers. After many years I bought barbershop. All my family helped with money and now I help them.[15]

[15] Interview by author, 20 April 2010.

As Mr. Khokhar suggests in the above passage, *biraderi* plays a crucial social and economic role in the migration and settlement of people from Mirpur to England.[16] Without the support of his *biraderi*, Mr. Khokhar would not have been able to financially afford either the plane fare to England, or a place to stay once arrived. Once settled, he was then able to rely again on his *biraderi* to buy his barbershop and maintain his own business. Eventually, this led to him being able to support himself financially, and also to begin supporting other members of his *biraderi* in the same way. This, in essence, is how chain migration is underpinned and perpetuated in the case of Mirpuris.

Figure 4: A view of Manningham Mills, with the trees of Lister Park visible at the bottom. Since this picture was taken, the Mills have undergone extensive regeneration and converted into flats.

By the time of the 2001 census, the number of Pakistanis living in Bradford had increased significantly. According to census data, there were 85,465 people of

[16] Alison Shaw (1988; 2000) explores, in depth, the social and economic implications of *biraderi* and describes how kinship, with its obligations and dynamics play a crucial role in both the migration process and the successful establishments of new migrants in the UK. Beyond this, Shaw demonstrates through her fieldwork with Oxford Pakistanis, how, once established in England, *biraderi* relationships underpin domestic and household organization, as well as local and transnational arranged marriages

South Asian descent living within the city.[17] Of this figure, 67,994 were Pakistani, 12,504, Indian and 4,967 Bangladeshi. In an overall population of 467,665 people, this means that 15 per cent of the city's inhabitants are of Pakistani heritage, the majority of whom have roots in Mirpur, Azad Kashmir. Quantifying the precise number of Mirpuris in Bradford is difficult because, as an ethnic category, 'Mirpuri' does not appear on census forms. Moreover, as chapter 1 shows, 'Mirpuri' itself is often a contested category. My preference in using the term here is two-fold: first, because it is how the majority of those I worked with during my fieldwork referred to themselves, and, second, because it is estimated that around 70% of the population of Pakistanis living in Bradford originate from Mirpur and the surrounding area (McLoughlin 2006). But it is perhaps on ground level, in Bradford, that a clearer picture is gained. Walking down Oak Lane in Manningham, the majority of food outlets serve Kashmiri cuisine and people speak a regional dialect of Punjabi associated with the Mirpur area of Pakistan. For the purpose of this thesis, then, 'Mirpuri' should be thought of as a broad conceptual category that links people from the southern area of Azad Kashmir, and north-eastern Punjab. I understand that this may not suit everyone, and, so throughout this thesis, I endeavour to use more appropriate terms (i.e. Kashmiri or Patwari) when this is the case. In terms of religious affiliation, the vast majority of Pakistanis in Bradford are Muslim of the Sunni sect. In total, there were 75,188 Muslims living in the city, compared with 4,748 Sikhs and 4,457 Hindus. It is been predicted that, by the 2011 Census, the Pakistani population will have risen to 102,350 (21 per cent), and, by 2021, will be 132,950 (26 per cent).[18]

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[17] For 2001 census data, see: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/00cx.asp> [Last accessed: 9 September 2010].
[18] These estimates have been taken from McLoughlin (2006: 112).

2.3. Spaces of Mirpuri Musicking

How might the study of music contribute to this 'mapping out' of the city? Writing about music in urban musical environments is nothing new. Bruno Nettl (1978), commenting on ethnomusicological interest in urban environments, set out what makes urban musical culture different to that of villages, small towns and nomadic life:

> It is wealth, power, education; it is specialization in professions; it is the interaction of different and diverse populating groups; rich and poor, majority and minorities, recent migration and long standing urbanites; it is the ease of rapid communication, the mass media, literacy; it is crowding and enormous divergences in living standards and styles (Nettl 1978: 6).

Nettl was writing specifically on modern cities in developing or recently developed nations in Asia, Africa and the Americas, but in today's world of mass-migration and transnationalism,[19] his comments are equally salient in western, multicultural cities, like Bradford.[20] Moreover, Nettl's comments came before such inventions as the mobile phone and the internet, rendering his words all the more prescient. According to Nettl, for music, urbanisation means more patronisation, professionalisation and dissemination. But, most of all, it means a 'coming together of musical styles from many sources'.

In Bradford, however, recent studies have shown that such formal assumptions of modernization, progress and 'the city' prove more complicated. Mirpuris are often excluded from activities that other South Asian groups are involved in. Baily (2006) has shown that, in Bradford, where there are areas that have been identified as racially segregated, interactions between different social and ethnic groups are contested and contextually contingent, but that music can play a mediating role. His study of

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[19] See Turino (2000). Turino has argued, compellingly, that we are living in an era of globablisation and transnationalism.

[20] Recent examples include contributions by Dueck, McGee, Kim and Cohen, in Toybee & Dueck (2011).

Gujarati Khalifa Muslim barber musicians in Bradford shows that there is resistance among Khalifas to let Mirpuris become involved in their community societies. As one Khalifa put it:

> People from outside, even though they are Muslim, cannot join the Khalifa community. This community is meant for the Khalifas only [so that] outsiders cannot interfere in the welfare [of the Khalifas]. I'll give you one example. We've got our own madressa, religious classes, which are run there. And the Pakistani community, which is also Muslim, they wanted to join us, they wanted to join with our community, they said, 'Oh we want to be a member, whatever the fee is, we'll pay'. But the rules and regulations and objectives is for the Khalifa community only....The other Muslims cannot join it. Otherwise there will be too much interference culture-wise, their culture will be different (Baily 2006: 261).

With this entrenchment and fortification of 'community', however, comes a reification of how 'others' are assumed to behave:

> The Mirpuris are regarded by other Asian communities in Bradford, and apparently elsewhere, as rather unsophisticated people … There can be no doubt that there is strong pressure within the Mirpuri community to maintain a way of life which is in harmony with the values of Mirpur (Baily 1990: 157).

Baily goes on to show however, that these rigid social distinctions – or areas identified as 'segregated' – are transgressed in Khalifa musical ensembles, which include Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and English members, and whose songs include lyrics sung in Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and Gujarati.

Baily's (1986) film, *Lessons from Gulam*, follows this theme. The film begins in the Bradford Moor area of the city, on Barkerend Road. Bradford Moor lies across the valley from Manningham and is also an area where large numbers of Mirpuri migrants settled. Both Baily's film and his article discussed here demonstrate that South Asian groups in Bradford still retain strong identifications with their historical origins – rather than an overarching 'South Asian', or 'Asian' identity. These strong identifications – Gujarati, Mirpuri, Kashmiri, Punjabi etc. – often coalesce around

mutually exclusive community centers and societies (in this case the Khalifa Cultural Society). Baily shows, however, that whilst these communities retain very particular senses of self and group identification, the musical ensembles that formed in the late 1980s were much more diverse: 'In 1986 … regular members of Gulam's band who were not from the Khalifa community were Shaukat, whose connections were with Mirpur, and Shaukat's son Imran' (Baily 1990: 5).

What we see here, then, is the way music is utilized as a means of transgressing social and ethnic boundaries that are, at other times, much more tightly controlled. Whilst Muslim communities are routinely denounced as self-segregating, the musical ensembles that exist in Bradford's Khalifa community are, in a real sense, multicultural. The following section seeks to extend this musical map, by looking at the places and spaces in which Mirpuris engage with music. The broad line of enquiry, here, is how music maps onto, and organizes, urban space.

2.3.1. The barbershop nexus

To explore some of the spaces in which Mirpuri musicking takes place we will return, once more, to the scene from the start of this thesis: Mr. Khokhar's barbershop. Mr. Khokhar's shop sits on Oak Lane, in the heart of the Manningham area of Bradford. Oak Lane received national attention in 2001 when a BMW car dealership was burnt down during that summer's riots. Today it is a bustling street, which slopes gently downhill from Lister's Mill – where many Mirpuris came to work in the 1960s. Lining the street are dozens of retail and food outlets, the terraced buildings in which they are housed were built at the same time as the mill. Many of the shops have signage in both Urdu and English. Walking down Oak Lane one will encounter the smells of spices and coriander, which emanate from the street's curry houses and greengrocers. The bright colours of tailors' shops, whose windows

display the latest Kashmir fashions, punctuate these food outlets. And jewelers also jostle for space, attracting prospective Mirpuri buyers from around the country.

Figure 5: Mr. Khokhar's barbershop on Oak Lane, sloping away from Lister's Mill in Manningham.

Stood looking out onto this scene from his barbershop window is Mr. Khokhar. The evening was wearing on and most of the customers had left. Turning away from the window, he locked the door, swiveling the 'Open' sign around as he did so. Whilst Mr. Khokhar went downstairs to the kitchen, I sat with two of his friends, Muhammad and Asif. Muhammad was busy telling me about Patwari sung poetry: 'You know, Tom, this is traditional music. From Punjab. This is what we grew up on back home. This is what we like to listen to, not this modern rap – that's for the young ones'. At this point, Mr. Khokhar's son, Muna, who was busy sweeping up the cuttings of jet-black hair from the floor, raised his eyebrows slightly and made a barely perceptible shake of the head. I asked Muhammad where he

listened to Patwari. 'I've got some CDs that I listen to in the car. I'm a taxi-driver over in Keighley, you see, so I have a lot of time to listen to music...'.[21]

It is perhaps no coincidence that one can learn so much by simply sitting in a hairdresser's.[22] Throughout the day, and often late into the evening, there is a constant flow of people coming in and out. It became evident that 'the shop', as Mr. Khokhar calls it, is an integral part of Mirpuris' lives in the area. As each new customer enters, handshakes and greetings are offered, 'salāms' are given.[23] It is an intimate space. The incoming customer would sit down in the barber's chair and, often, offload his daily problems onto Mr. Khokhar.[24] Discussions occurred almost exclusively in Punjabi/Patwari: the language most of the elder generation speaks. Sat on the bench behind, more often than not, would also be a gaggle of friends and customers who offer up their own advice and concerns. Over the coming months it became clear that Mr. Khokhar, stood between the customer and the advisers on the bench, was a figure of authority. Privy to the neighbourhood's nuts and bolts, the sagacity of the advice he offered was gratefully received and he was thus treated with the utmost respect.

[21] Keighley is a town that lies within the Bradford Metropolitan District area, approximately 10 miles north of Bradford city centre. Keighley also has a sizeable Mirpuri population.
[22] The connections between hairdressing and musicianship has been noted elsewhere. See Baily (2006), Sakata (1983). Brad Weiss (2009) has focused on barbershops as sites of urban struggle, where global hip-hop styles are appropriated to understand local contexts and situations.
[23] 'Salām' is used as a shortened form of the Muslim greeting, *As-Salāmu `Alaykum*, which roughly translates as 'peace be upon you'.
[24] It is worth noting, at this early stage, that the barbershop was an exclusively male space. Some of the implications of the gendering of spaces will be considered in later chapters.

Figure 6: Mr. Khokhar (seated) being given an arm massage by his nephew.

2.3.2. Music in the barbershop

Throughout my fieldwork, I spent much time in Mr. Khokhar's barbershop. One afternoon, in particular, provided an interesting overview of Mirpuri music making. As the afternoon wore on Mr. Khokhar, as he often did, put on a CD of Patwari sung poetry, which he hummed along to whilst cutting hair. His son Muna, on the other hand, showed little interest: 'I've got no interest in it whatsoever. I can't stand it', Muna proclaimed. I asked what he liked, to which he shrugged his shoulders and replied, 'I dunno, like RandB and that, you know, Tupak, hip hop'. When I asked Muna where Patwari music was performed, he looked at his friends who were waiting to have their haircut and, under his breath, joked, 'Tokyos'. His friends all laughed, as 'Tokyos' is a popular RandB nightclub in the city centre: an unlikely venue for traditional Punjabi folk songs.

Whilst this conversation was taking place, a young customer came into the shop and sat next to me. Around 12-years-old and of Pakistani descent, he wore

particularly smart clothes and a cravat. He didn't have a locally definable accent, rather that of a middle-England public school. He was quiet, but confident enough to engage with me about music (indeed, out of everyone there, he was the only one who wanted to offer up information without being prompted) and impress on me that he played the electric guitar to Associated Board Grade 3 standard.[25]

This brief example in itself highlights some interesting dynamics with regards to Mr. Khokhar's barbershop and music. There were three generations present: Mr. Khokhar and his friends, who were very interested in performing what they described as 'traditional' Patwari music;[26] his son and his son's friends, who declared that they had 'no interest whatsoever' in Patwari, only RandB and hip hop; and the young customer who was being trained to play the classical guitar. The differing tastes in music were not, in themselves, completely surprising; many teenagers will listen to different music to their grandparents. However, the interaction belied the idea that 'Mirpuris aren't interested in music' and quite clearly showed that Mirpuris were interested in a variety of musics. Moreover, the case of the cravat wearing, classical guitar playing young boy, suggested that this wasn't simply a narrow instance of a low-caste people, occupying the bottom rung of society: Mirpuris are diverse in their tastes in music, but also, to a certain extent, in their socio-economic positioning. Mr. Khokhar's barbershop thus presents a microcosm of the neighbourhood's social

[25] The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) is an educational body that provides practical and theoretical examinations in music. Practical examinations are based, primarily, on a recital of classical (i.e. baroque, classical, romantic or contemporary classical) music. In addition, candidates are tested on scales and arpeggios, sight-reading and aural skills.

[26] Qawwali music performed by artists like the late Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan is also popular in the barbershop. Qawwali music is extremely popular in Pakistan and India, and, as Baily (1990) has shown, its appeal has continued through their respective diasporic communities, including Bradford. Qureshi's (1986), *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound Context and Meaning in Qawwali* and Waugh's (1989), *The Munshidin of Egypt*, both focus on the traditional form of qawwali played at Sufi shrines. Quershi, like Baily, makes use of video recording techniques in order to analyse the performances of qawwali in-depth. This allows her to write about the 'musical experience', taking into account performers, Sufi leaders, and audience response. The book provides an excellent ethnographic account of qawwali music, taking in the musical principles involved, the performance setting and the event itself. This enables her to make more concise, but by no means simplistic, observations of the social importance of music within a cultural context.

structures, generations and musics: a place wherein senses of Mirpuriness coalesce, and spaces of Mirpuri music making are connected.

2.3.3. Gendered space

Whilst Mr. Khokhar and his friends were speaking to one another in Punjabi, Muna would talk to his customers in English. His customers ranged between the ages of 12 and late 20s/early 30s. All are male. In this sense, the barbershop is very much a gendered space. On first glance, this could be attributed to it being a 'male barbershop', but its gender exclusivity runs deeper than this. On several occasions, Mr. Khokhar would call through the inner door – which separated his house from the shop – to his wife or daughter-in-law to bring up a tray of tea. When she arrived, she would not pass through the door, but, rather, wait for Mr. Khokhar to take the tray from her and bring it in himself. In this respect, the barbershop is a space wherein certain aspects of male Mirpuri subjectivity are constructed and reinforced. It is a characteristic that is shared with Patwari sung poetry gatherings elsewhere in Bradford. The gathering described in detail in the following chapter, for example, was also composed exclusively of men. Often these concerts are organized from within the barbershop, with Mr. Khokhar taking calls and making bookings in between cutting hair. Over several months he will support the musician by providing accommodation in his home (which is joined to the barbershop), food and travel to concerts. The barbershop acts as a hub, from which the musician performs concerts in the surrounding areas. Male Mirpuri subjectivity is thus projected across the city from the space of the barbershop to the space of the music gatherings.

As well as a functioning place of work, then, the shop is also a social space: a space wherein Mirpuri connections across the city and beyond are imagined, made and reinforced. For Mr. Khokhar's son, Muna, the shop is a space in which friends

gather, girls and cars are discussed and disputes argued. In their different ways, then, the dynamics of the various conversations and musics in the barbershop and mehfil mapped out the shifting social and economic structures of the local area. The barbershop is a nexus of the neighborhood's anxieties and problems, and, as such, is a space wherein social status is re-negotiated and asserted; either through discussing potential marriages with Mr. Khokhar, or through debating who has the better set of wheels [cars] with his son, Muna. And amidst all this is music. From the physical performance of music on the waiting bench, to the stereo tuned into Sunrise Radio,[27] to the haircuts inspired by the latest RandB singer, music plays an integral role in the articulation of Mirpuri identities and serves as a space in which meanings are generated, rehearsed and enacted (Stokes 1994: 4). The barbershop is thus quintessentially a Mirpuri space within which identity is created, contested and transformed, and from which 'Mirpuriness' is projected across the city.[28]

2.4. The Street nexus: young Mirpuris and rap music

Indeed, following Muna now and heading out of the barbershop, other spaces of Mirpuri musicking are almost instantly audible.[29] Walking down Oak Lane, in

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[27] Sunrise Radio is a popular South Asian radio station based in Bradford. They broadcast a mixture of Bollywood, bhangra, qawwals, ghazals and bhangra-rap. According to their website (www.sunriseradio.fm), Sunrise Radio attract between 150,000 and 170,000 listeners each week. They are also partnered with Rose FM in Mirpur, Pakistan, with whom they broadcast a weekly show.

[28] Indeed, as Vertovec (2010), quoting Clifford, points out, 'the empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling here assumes a solidarity and connection there. But there is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation … [It is] the connection (elsewhere) that makes a difference (here)' (Clifford 1994: 322).

[29] In the barbershop, Muna specializes in cutting patterns into extremely closely cropped hair. 'He is the best in Bradford', Mr. Khokhar proudly boasted to me on more than one occasion. Often the design of the pattern came from the latest hairstyle being sported by the R&B musicians Imran Khan or Juggy D. The definition of the pattern around the side and back of the head relies on the hair being extremely short, and, as such, the young men would come back to the shop regularly for a fresh cut. Financially this does not pose a problem; in 2010 a haircut at Mr. Khokhar's barbershop was £3 (to put this into context, a men's haircut at a barber's in Oxford can cost anywhere between £10 and £15). Whereas Mr. Khokhar's customers would discuss family issues and, later in the evening, the meanings of music and poetry, Muna and his customers would chat about the latest cars that were in the neighbourhood, who had bought one, what modifications to the bodywork and wheels had been made. They would also talk about workout routines, who had been in trouble with the police and who the 'hot' girls were in the area.

Manningham, this is apparent as cars, with the rumble of bass pouring through the tinted windows of cars passing by. 'I don't really like all that traditional [music] stuff', Muna said flatly. Then, with pride in his tone, he continued, 'but when you get to Pakistan and meet my cousins… Some of them are the best musicians. All of them. Dhol players… What's that keyboard called?'. 'Harmonium?' I offered. 'Yeah, harmonium. They're top top players'. 'So are they the same age as you?' 'Yeah yeah, same age as me. Some older, some of them younger. You'll get to meet them all. They're gonna swarm you [laughs]!' '[Laugh] I look forward to it. But kids over here don't seem to play that kind of music, do they?' 'No, everyone here listens to Tupak and Imran Khan and stuff like that. Jazzy B'. 'Why do you think that is?' 'I dunno', Muna replied 'it's just what's on the radio and that, isn't it?'

What we see in this brief exchange, are spaces of musicking being defined and located by Muna, who was born and raised in Bradford. Traditional Patwari sung poetry is for the elders. It is to do with their spaces: the shop, the concert hall, Pakistan, the past. For Muna, his music, the music of his generation, was out there: on the street. The most dominant styles of music that young Mirpuris listen to are RandB, bhangra-rap and hip-hop. The spaces for listening to these musics is what I term here as 'The Street nexus', which includes car stereos, youth clubs, iPods in school, YouTube, nightclubs, mobile phones and street corners. But despite all of these everyday interactions with music, there has been relatively little academic attention paid to the significance of rap music, and the spaces in which it is practiced, for young Mirpuris.

2.4.1. Racial spatialsation in Bradford

But, the street is not a neutral space and it is often defined in Bradford in terms of racial segregation. During my fieldwork, one particular experience exemplified the

ways in which the street becomes a racialised space. The 2010 Bradford Mela had just finished, and the site had started to clear. For the preceding week I had been working closely with Champak, helping to organise various aspects for the festival. It had been a long week, and, for Champak, the festival weekend had been particularly tiring. As such, he suggested that, once the festival had finished, we should reward our efforts with a drink. On his suggestion we headed to the Juhu Club on Legrams Lane.[30]

Several other workers also came along and we unwound with a few drinks and frames of pool. The club's owner, Vidu, soon joined us. Vidu, born in England to Indian parents, is a successful local entrepreneur who recently took over the Juhu club. I asked Vidu whether he had been down to the Bradford Mela at all over the weekend. 'No no, I wouldn't go there. Haven't been in years'. 'Why's that?' I enquired. 'Because it's full of Pakis', he replied whilst laughing and looking round the table for support. I must have looked a little bit perplexed, as Vidu expanded: 'The problem is, Tom, it's not safe there any more. Not safe for families, you see. Indians won't go there because it's full of gangs and teenagers, it's not safe'. Vidu's manner was extremely assertive and he dominated both the conversation and the room. I wanted to ask him where this impression of the Mela had come from if he had not been for several years, but I sensed that Vidu would not appreciate being challenged in his own club.

After a few more drinks, Vidu gave Champak and me a lift home. As we turned the corner onto my street in Manningham, Vidu laughed and sneered, 'this is where all the drug dealers live'. I thanked him for the lift as I got out of the car, but

[30] The Juhu Club is a small to medium size venue on the outskirts of Bradford. The club has a bar, pool tables, large screen television used to play sport, and a small performance area. The club is, in many respects, similar to the working men's clubs found in many of Britain's towns and cities, except the clientele at Juhu is predominantly of Indian Hindu descent.

his comments stayed with me. The road he so dismissively put down was where I had lived for my whole life; indeed I was literally born in one of the houses. In recent decades property on the road has become increasingly popular with successful Mirpuri families (particularly from the restaurant industry), due to the large nature of the houses, close proximity to the park and its situation in Manningham. Throughout my childhood I spent many a day playing with the various families' children up and down the street, and enjoyed many meals at their houses. The Indian club owner's comments, however, painted a very different picture. In his mind, the only possible explanation for Mirpuris being able to afford such large and ostentatious houses was through selling illegal drugs.[31]

Whether or not there is any truth in this accusation, or assumption, it shows that the association between success, crime and the local area (i.e. Manningham) is invested with racial connotations, stereotyping and spatialisation. Indeed the criminal and racialised perception of the area has been portrayed and reinforced in a recent work of fiction. In M.Y. Alam's novel, Kilo, the central character, a young Pakistani living in Manningham, goes to see his dealer, who, 'lives in one of those big houses down by the park'. In an inner city London, Stuart Hall suggests such definitions result in 'located and situated black crime, geographically and ethnically, as particular to black youth in the inner city ghettos' (Hall 1978: 329).

2.4.2. A space to call one's own

A significant consequence of this is that the spaces in which young Mirpuris can express themselves creatively, and call their own, are being squeezed from all sides.[32] The first squeeze comes from religious authorities expecting young Mirpuris

[31] Although, it is also worth pointing out that the houses are not, relatively speaking, worth vast sums of money.
[32] This is compounded by the fact that 'there are relatively few Muslims in community development, youth work, teaching, social work and counseling who can help young Muslims negotiate the many

to behave in a certain way (for young Mirpuris this might be in accordance with Islamic orthodoxies). The second stems from the state, and its expectations for 'immigrants' to integrate into society and/or subscribe to a certain set of 'core' national values. And the third pressure consists of the more mundane, every-day challenges that Mirpuris face on a day-to-day basis: experiences that are affected and informed by their status as a poor, working class community, as Muslims and as (post)migrants.[33] Philip Lewis's (2007) study of young British Muslims follows a similar line of thought, noting that, within the mosque, young Mirpuris are under increasing pressure to conform to stricter Islamic orthodoxies, which include the prohibition of music.[34]

The street space is, really, rendered as the only option in which they are free from the pressures exerted upon them by their parents, religious authorities and the

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challenges of living in British society, whether across cultures or across generations' (Lewis 2007: 7). For Tahir Abbas (2006), this is means that Mirpuris are 'compounded by the traditional rural origins of first-generation migrants, who have largely organized community and political culture around clan-based kinship networks [*biraderi*], where opportunities for the subsequent generations to break out do not always exist. Local Muslim leadership is weak, and inter-generational tensions are not being resolved, particularly in relation to patriarchy … [Many young Muslims] are trapped in a cycle of decline'. Quoted in Lewis (2007: 7). Cornel West (1993: 210) has argued that such processes of marginalisation results in a 'relative lack of [cultural and political] power to present themselves and others as complex human beings and thereby to contest the bombardment of negative, degrading stereotypes', quoted in Alexander (2000).

[33] In the Netherlands, the social positioning of young Muslims has been described by Cherribi (2010: 4) as 'the trifecta of coercion', whereby migrants and post-migrant individuals are subjected to three types of social pressure simultaneously. Whilst I broadly agree with Cherribi's model – indeed, Lewis's (2007) statistical data supports the model *vis-à-vis* Mirpuris in Bradford – there has arguably been less attention paid to how young Mirpuris themselves understand and experience this 'trifecta of coercion'. Also, I am slightly uneasy with the use of the word 'trifecta' in that it is most usually used in gambling. In this sense, its use in relation to Muslims may not be wholly appropriate. This is despite Cherribi himself suggesting that media organizations greatly contributes and perpetuates the so-called 'problem' of the integration of Muslims in Europe, and recognizes that new generations of European Muslims are usually absent from the discussion (2010: 230).

[34] Lewis argues that, 'the Deobandis, a mainstream, South Asian Sunni tradition which has been most successful in creating large numbers of institutions in England for religious formation and the creation of the '*ulama*, shares the Ahl-i Hadith and Wahhabi view that music is prohibited. Given the importance of music for young people, this prohibition renders its task of connecting with British Muslims that much more difficult' (Lewis 2007: 5). Lewis goes on to contend that young Mirpuris face a particular combination of difficulties and social pressures that marginalise them in a different way to other disadvantaged groups in the UK. Indeed, throughout his book, Lewis argues that: in the home they are chastised for not being Pakistani enough; at the mosque they are rebuked for not being Islamic enough; and, in the eyes of some politicians and the media, they are villainised for not being British enough.

media. It is important to pay particular attention to the spaces in which young Mirpuris engage with music, as, in many respects, they have their own discrete value systems, beliefs and social experiences to their parents.[35] That is not to say that they live entirely separate lives, rather that young Mirpuris have their own voice and opinions on Islam, music, education, crime and marginalisation that are important to them, and that they must be understood under their own terms.

For example, young Mirpuris exercise and assert their identity according to the situations and context they find themselves in.[36] Their 'Muslimness' may come to the forefront during times of intensified public interest or criticism, such as the Rushdie affair or the threat of English Defense League marches in the city centre. In the face of perceived threats, Islam becomes a badge of pride and a display of unity. At other times of less focused hostility, their Muslimness recedes to be replaced by other factors that concern their everyday lives: education, crime, health, honour etc. As these issues come to the forefront, the more strict Islamic orthodoxies that ban music recede, and music is utilized as one of the few ways of articulating and negotiating struggle and everyday life. At the cricket, on the other hand, strong senses of Pakistaniness come to the fore, as the green and white national flags are worn as capes and the team avidly supported. The fluidity with which young Mirpuris exercise these different facets of their identity are entirely for them and demonstrate a cosmopolitan, transnational

[35] It has also been noted that, of all religious groups, 'Muslims … have the youngest age structure. One-third are aged 0-15 compared to an average for the whole population of 20 per cent. Only 6 per cent are over 60 compared with 21 per cent of the population as a whole' (Lewis 2007: 19).
[36] For Nieuwkerk (2011), for young Muslims in diaspora, 'Islam is not a doctrinal religious body of knowledge and practices but an identity. It is "Muslimness" rather than Islam'.

framework of cultural loyalties and belongings that belie Norman Tebbit's infamous 'cricket test'.[37]

2.4.3. Music on the street

In terms of music, then, the street is in many respects an open-ended space, but still has core centres of activity, and in the case of car stereos, these are often spaces that are mobile: in transit. With their cars comes the ability to drive away. Away from the pressures of work, school, the mosque and home. Michael Bull (2003: 358) has noted the importance of the car as a space in which to assert individuality. After a house, a car is often the most expensive item a person will purchase. For young Mirpuris, who are unlikely to yet be homeowners, the car is, in many respects, an expression of their independence, one loaded with the 'romantic imagery embodied in travel as signifying individual freedom' (idem.). With this freedom comes the latent ability to play music – their music – as loud as one likes, without the fear of being reprimanded by parents or neighbours. Jacobson (2000) has recognises the importance of this kind of private space: 'In the car you are physically cocooned … It is the last private space in an overwhelmingly public world'.

Their car is their space and that space is, more often than not, filled with hip-hop and rap. Driving away from Oak Lane and Manningham, into the city centre, the car and the booming stereo creates a way to be seen and heard, by peers and other groups in Bradford. It is a badge and marker of one's status. The louder the music and the bigger the alloy wheels means the higher the status. This 'spilling over' of sounds, out of the private space of the car and onto the public space of the street,

[37] Cricket has, in the past, been controversially held up as an indication of a person's national identity and loyalty. This was the implication of Conservative politician, Norman Tebbit, when he suggested that immigrants who support their native countries, rather than England were not sufficiently loyal, or nationalistic. The 'cricket test' was coined from an interview with Norman Tebbit in *The Los Angeles Times*, 1991.

brings to mind Adorno's description of how aural proximity initiates social bonds – for better or for worse – characterised by a stat of 'we-ness':

> By circling people, by enveloping them – as inherent in the acoustical phenomenon – and turning them as listeners into participants, it contributes ideologically to the integration which modern society never tires of achieving in reality … [A]nd so it creates an illusion of immediacy in a totally mediated world, a proximity between strangers' (1976: 46).

For younger Mirpuris, i.e. those still at school and below the legal age to drive a car, the idea of the street space takes on a rather more literal meaning. For them, hanging out on street corners and in youth centers provides some of the rare opportunities to create and listen to music that is free from the constraints of school or home. On the street, young Mirpuris mark out their territories from rival gangs by performing raps, recording them on their mobile phones and then sending them around the neighborhood. These territories then are fiercely defended from rival gangs through a mixture of violence, intimidation and music. This is also the case, which will be explored in chapter 4, in Walsall, West Midlands, where gangs take on the name of the streets to which they belong.

In chapter 4, I also look in more detail at the role of rap workshops in youth centers and schools across Bradford. These are rather more complex spaces of music making because they involve mediated interactions between young Mirpuris, youth workers and, to a certain extent, the state. The workshops are funded by a combination of Arts Council funding and grants from the city council. In them, young Mirpuris are encouraged to talk about the issues they face on a day-to-day basis. These discussions are then written down and turned into raps. Backing tracks are chosen and the teenagers perform their raps, which are recorded for them to take away. These spaces are particularly interesting as they provide an intersection between more 'official' public spaces, like school, and the space of the street.

But they are also carefully designed spaces, and are seen by the city council, and Local Education Authority, as a way to engage with disadvantaged youths. Rap music in this context, then, is not just about subaltern resistance (as is often thought to be the case) but is a civic project. The council utilizes rap music as a social force to 'connect' young Mirpuris with other young people across the city. The agenda here is to counter segregation. In this sense, rap music moves away from the street, or ghetto, and into a different space all together, one in which young Mirpuris are simultaneously empowered and controlled. How young Mirpuris respond to, and move through these spaces, is the focus of chapter 4.

2.5. Public Spaces: The Bradford Mela nexus

I want to move away from the street nexus, now, and look more closely at public spaces. Indeed, whilst I have described the barbershop nexus as a Mirpuri space, and the street nexus as a space occupied by young Mirpuris, I am now interested in how these spaces intersect with other communities in Bradford. In particular, I want to look at how the state uses public spaces in order to shape modes of behavior and interaction. Musicologists have long recognized that control over music in urban spaces is a source of social power (Weber 1975; Herbert 2004; Krims 2007; DeNora 2000). Concert halls (Weber 1975), brass bands (Herbert 2004) and airplane music (DeNora 2000) have been cited as examples of how music is utilized by those in power to shape human agency. Music festivals provide a particularly interesting case in point here. Much like the concert halls that Weber and Krims describe, music festivals are carefully designed spaces in which certain forms of social behavior are cultivated (Ronström 1991): avenues of retail and food outlets, through which people are channeled and encouraged to part with their money, link

music stages, whilst the stages themselves are protected behind security barriers, separating audience from performer.

At larger festivals, different areas of the site might cater for specific tastes in music. The 'Dance area', 'World Music' and an 'Indie Stage', are all common features of recent large music festivals (such as the Glastonbury Festival, WOMAD, Latitude Festival etc.), and people are encouraged to flow between them. The Bradford Mela, a large multicultural music and arts festival in Bradford, poses a particular set of questions to the above observations. How are spaces of musicking designed and controlled? Who controls them? Who is being controlled? Under what criteria? To look at these questions we are going to leave the street nexus and move to the Bradford Mela (straight down Oak Lane, in fact).

As the first of its kind in the UK, the Bradford Mela provides a particularly interesting case study for exploring multiculturalism and music. The festival is promoted, and funded, by Bradford Council as a 'multicultural' event that intends to 'represent all of Bradford's communities'.[38] However, within this carefully planned space of multiculturalism, Mirpuris are poorly represented both in terms of programming, and at management level.[39] How does the mela organize people? How might the Bradford Mela shape patterns of social behavior? What are the power dynamics?[40] Chapter 5 will demonstrate how decreasing levels of representation in

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[38] This point was emphasised to me in an interview with the festival's organiser, Ben Pugh. Interview with the author 11 June 2009.

[39] Whilst there is little existing scholarship on melas in the UK, Abner Cohen's (1993), *Masquerade Politics* is of relevance here. Cohen's book provides an important structuralist analysis of the Notting Hill Carnival. His approach first sets out the historical development of the festival, tracing its origins and development over the years. This diachronic analysis is then complemented by contextualising the modern festival in the theoretical framework of cultural theory. The result takes time to delineate the power relations between organisers and participants, highlighting how these have changed as the hegemony of the local council and police absorb and exert their control over the carnival's running. For Cohen, Carnival represents a creative expression of dynamic power relations, embodying the tension between subculture and dominant culture.

[40] Tim Mitchell's (1988) monograph, *Colonizing Egypt* is particularly relevant. Mitchell frames his research in Egypt through the spectacle of the 'World Fair', prevalent in cities like London, Paris and

management hierarchies, and the music performed at the 2009 and 2010 Bradford Melas, contributes to their alienation and marginalization. It goes on to suggest that an un-nuanced, 'ticking boxes' policy of multiculturalism within the Council, reifies the marginalization of Mirpuris by excluding them from decision making. Music and the influence of the Crowd are used by young Mirpuris in particular to challenge, disrupt and transgress these carefully mapped out spaces of multiculturalism.[41]

2.5.1. History of Mela in Bradford

The first mela, in 1988, was held on playing fields above the city's university, in Little Horton. It was an instant success, attracting approximately 10,000 people from across the city; by 2009, the festival had grown to over 150,000 people over a two-day period. In terms of sheer numbers, this means that the Bradford Mela is also the largest multicultural festival in the UK and one of the biggest in Europe. The emergence of the Bradford Mela in the late 1980s also coincided with the rise in popularity of bhangra in the city.[42] But before the Bradford Mela began in 1988, the opportunity to see live bhangra was mainly restricted to weddings and private events. The mela was, in this sense, the first opportunity that non-Asian members of the public had for encountering the music and culture of their neighbors. The bhangra band Alaap was one of the first groups to emerge out of Bradford's early melas and

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Chicago in the late nineteenth-century. Through the World Fair, Mitchell shows how colonialist ideology was articulated through exotic and oriental exhibitions. Whilst I am not suggesting that the Bradford Mela is a 'World Fair', there will be much to be gained, rhetorically, by identifying aspects in this approach that may contribute to the discussion of the Mela as 'Multicultural' event in a 'postcolonial' society.

[41] The use of the term 'Crowd' here is in reference to the scholarship of Elias Canetti (1973) and will be explored and defined in more detail in chapter 5.

[42] Bhangra emerged in the 1980s as a form of music that fused traditional Punjabi folk songs with Western musical elements (such as synthesisers etc.). Bhangra was said to be important for young generations of South Asians, as, for the first time, they were able to say 'this music is ours – it is not exclusively Western, nor is it traditionally South Asian' (Banerji & Baumann 1990). By doing this, they were able to use music to create their own space that was idiosyncratically distinctive and plural: 'Bhangra … music was important in that it gave us something that we could be nationalistic about – because I never had this as a teenager … [It] gave back something for ourselves, it had nothing to do with English people or white society. It consolidated the debate about whether we were Black, British or Asian' (Gurinder Chudha, quoted in, Sanjay Sharma, John Hutnyk and Ashwani Sharma, 1996: 32).

achieve widespread recognition. The band's founding member recalls the impact that performing at the Bradford Mela had on his career:

> The big [bhangra] bands were all at melas so I used to watch every band from backstage to gain experience, to see how other people perform, how they interact with people. [But] the greatest advantage of the melas was that the multicultural people could see you. By that I mean not only Asians but people who can't even speak Hindi or Punjabi language [and] who had no idea what bhangra is … The melas really helped to boost our publicity.
>
> (Channi Singh in Qureshi 2010: 82).

Following the success of the first mela in 1988, the event moved to the larger Lister Park, at the bottom of Oak Lane, in the Manningham area of the city. Faced with limited funding, the organisers relied on local volunteers to help build infrastructure, manage the site, stewarding and, after the event, dismantle the stages and clear up litter. Local Pakistani businesses, such as the Mumtaz and Aagrah restaurants, and Bombay Stores, sponsored the event, whilst Bradford College art students volunteered to help build structure and stages, and to provide decorations. Dusty Rhodes, who was part of the initial group who pioneered the Mela, recalls:

> We used to go into [Lister Park] a week or two before the event and start building the thing, and people that we didn't even know would come with huge tubs of curry and feed us because we were working to build the Mela. These were spontaneous gestures. There was just a real sense that the event was by and for the community, and anyone who had an idea could come along and join in.
>
> (Dusty Rhodes in Qureshi 2010: 17).

Lister Park is one of the large Victorian municipal parks briefly touched upon at the start of this chapter. The park owes its name to Samuel Cunliffe Lister, a prominent industrialist and philanthropist who was influential in the development of

Manningham. Lister was responsible for the construction of Manningham Mills – also known as Lister's Mills – which dominates the local area and landscape.[43]

Figure 7: Lister Park, Manningham.

The park itself is located approximately 3km north of the city centre and its triangular shape is bordered to the north by Emm Lane, the east by Keighley Road, the south by Oak Lane and the west by North Park Road.[44] When Lister Park played host to the Bradford Mela festival weekend, from 1989 to 1998, the grounds were dressed with decorations and attractions, including two tiger sculptures, which presided over the Oak Lane entrance. The Victorian bandstand was decorated in the

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[43] At the height of production the mills employed 11,000 men, women and children, the majority of whom lived in the surrounding rows of Yorkshire sandstone Victorian terraces, built under the direction of Lister. The mills were constructed in the Italianate style of late nineteenth-century Victorian architecture and were the largest mills in the UK, with over twenty-seven acres (109,000m2) of floor space, containing the largest silk factory in the world. Whilst redeveloping the Manningham area in 1870 to house his employees, Lister sold fifty-five acres of land to the Bradford Corporation at under the market value, on the condition that it was to be used for a public park.

[44] The park contains the city's civic art gallery, Cartwright Hall, which holds much of Lister's art collection, having been built in the Edwardian Baroque style and opened in 1904. The gallery itself takes its name from Edmund Cartwright (1743 to 1823), inventor of the power loom. Other facilities include a serpentine lake used for boating; botanical gardens; tennis, basketball, football and cricket courts; bowling greens; bandstand; café; a landscaped water feature designed in the Mughal style; and a children's play area.

Mughal style and large sculptures, including a life-size elephant sponsored by the Aagrah restaurant, were dotted around the site.

Figure 8: Tigers guarding the Mela entrance.

The festival site had two main stages. The first of which was a large, open-air stage built with scaffolding. This stage was situated at the bottom of a large area of open grassland, which slopes gently downwards towards the Botanical Gardens.[45] The setting of this stage at the bottom of the slope provided a natural amphitheatre so that a large number of people could gather in front and gain a good view.

The second large stage had quite a different character and, even after the mela moved to the larger Peel Park, still retains a strong place in people's memories. This has been largely due to where it was situated. Rather than resting on dry land, as the other main stage did, the second stage was constructed in the serpentine boating lake and so took the name 'The Stage on the Lake'. The Stage on the Lake was constructed in the middle of the lake, looking uphill towards the tennis courts. Like

[45] The area was formally a public lido, before the swimming pool fell into disrepair and was demolished by the city council to be turned into parkland in the late 1980s.

the other main stage, The Stage on the Lake took advantage of a natural amphitheatre. Access to the lake was gained via a gangway over the water. A striking feature of The Stage on the Lake was that it contained a performance area that was located just below the surface of the water. When the sun reflected off the surface of the lake, this gave the impression that performers were, quite literally, dancing on water (see Figure 9). The Stage on the Lake was a good example of the creativity and local-led ethos of the early melas, as the stage's designer and constructor, Dusty Rhodes, explains:

> When we first said this is what we want to do, somebody from the council said we couldn't do that because we'd puncture the puddling clay and cause flooding! I had to get dressed up in my wetsuit and take some samples of the clay from the bottom of the lake up to the university, so they could do a load of stress testing on it. And we worked it out basically. So we built a structure on the lake and put a platform on it … I really don't know where we got the energy from.
>
> (Dusty Rhodes in Qureshi 2010: 41).

Figure 9: A dancer rehearses on the 'Stage on the Lake' at the Bradford Mela in Lister Park. Photograph by Tim Smith.

Over the subsequent years the festival grew in scope and popularity, moving to larger venues in the process. In 1998 the mela relocated to Peel Park and by the

turn of the century was attracting over 150,000 visitors from home and abroad, making it the largest mela in the UK and one of the biggest in Europe.[46]

2.5.2. The festival layout

The 2009 Bradford Mela began at 12 noon on Saturday 13 June. In order to understand how the Mela organizes people, I will give an overview of the festival site in the form of a walking tour. How Mirpuris experience this space will be explored more extensively in chapter 4. As we walk around the mela, I will provide descriptions of all the different food and retail stalls, music and dance stages as well as the various street artists that roamed the site over the festival weekend.[47] The aim of this highly textual account is to build up a more nuanced impression of the interactions that took place throughout the festival weekend and to be able to relate them more closely to the planning of the site. When considering the disjuncture between top-down and bottom-up multiculturalism in chapter 4, the relationship between the festival site and the interactions of people there will be of central importance.

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[46] Despite being located within a mile of the city centre, Peel Park is one of the largest public parks in the Bradford area, covering over twenty hectares of land. Like Lister Park, Peel Park was also built during Bradford's period of economic prosperity by some of the city's wealthy industrialists. Land for the park was bought in 1847 using a combination of public money (1500 pounds was given as a grant by Government) and contributions of 1000 pounds each from Bradford's first and second Lord Mayors, Sir Robert Milligan and Sir Titus Salt. Completed in 1863, it was built at the height of the municipal borough's wealth during the industrial revolution. The park itself was named after the Conservative Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, and became the first large, publicly owned park space in Bradford. Situated high up on the east side of Bradford's valley, the park has a sweeping view across the valley of Lister's Mill, Lister Park and Manningham. Throughout the year, Peel Park has a large range of recreational facilities open to the public, including a children's play area, skate park, lawn bowling, tennis courts, a sports pitch and café. During the Bradford Mela weekend, however, the park is transformed with decorations, stages, marquees, food stalls, market areas and a funfair.

[47] Where possible, I will also include photographs of the stages and some of the acts that performed on them. More detailed accounts from my fieldwork diary and excerpts from various interviews I conducted over the weekend will also complement the walking tour.

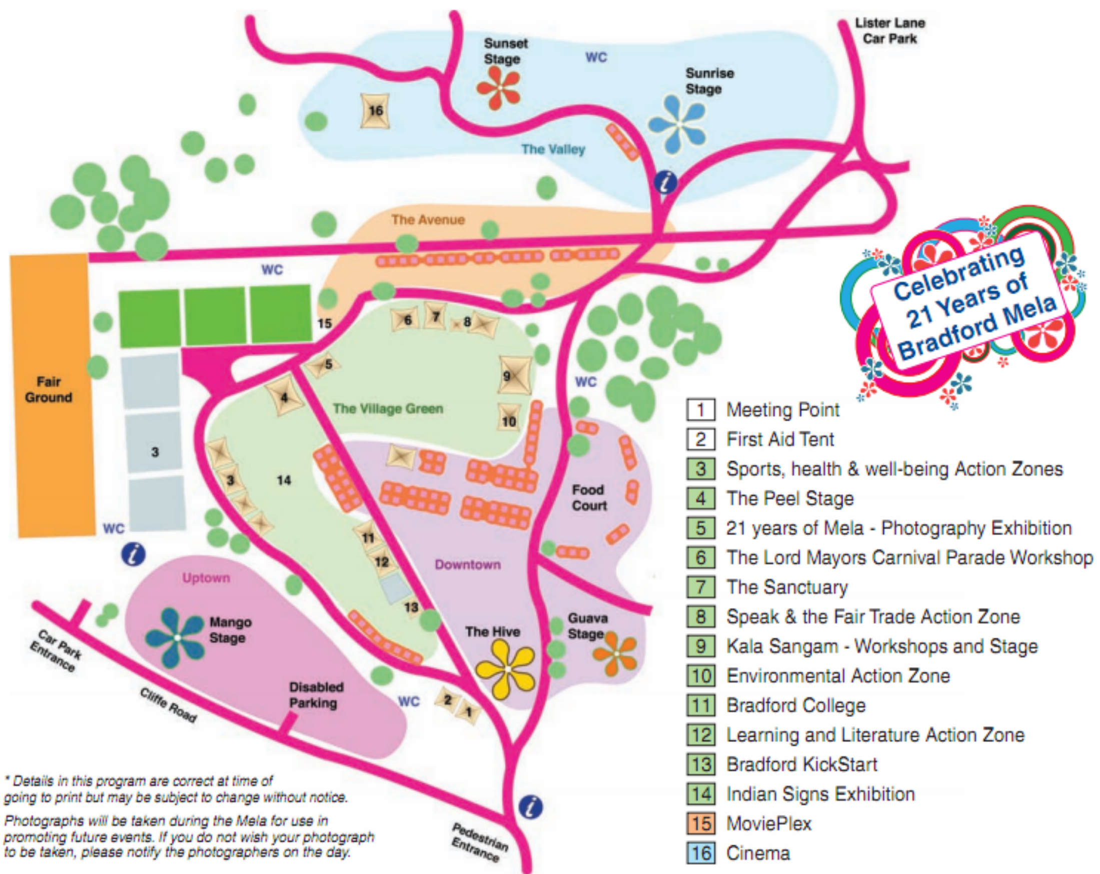

Figure 10: Site plan of the 2009 Bradford Mela.

The tour of the festival site begins at the pedestrian entrance to Peel Park on Cliffe Road, which can be seen above at the very bottom of Figure 10. The entrance to the park was decorated with signage and large notice boards detailing the various events scheduled around the park.[48] Once inside the park the footpaths forked out in three directions. During the afternoon the paths became progressively busier as they were the main method of traveling around the site. In between the paths were areas of open grassland on which most of the stages, market stalls and food areas were situated. Heading down the right-hand side of the park, the first activity area was The Hive.

[48] At each entrance point to the park were information points staffed by two Event Ops. The tasks of these Event Ops were to assist the public with any queries and to also hand out programmes of the festival.

The Hive was an area specifically designed to be a ‘child friendly’ zone. The producer of the mela, Ben Pugh, explained to me that during a period when the mela was outsourced to a private production company, there were growing concerns that the mela was not a safe place for families to go. It was created as an area that only parents with their children could enter. Situated near the entrance of site it was sealed off from the rest of the festival by metal fencing. As children entered they were led through a rose-lined tunnel into an outdoor area. Once inside, activities included face painting, arts and crafts, music workshops and dancing. Designed as a ‘safe-haven’ for families with young children, away from the bustle of the main event, The Hive was introduced to the festival in 2008.

Opposite The Hive to the east of the path (as seen on Figure 10) was the Guava Stage. As a medium-to-large size open ‘big-top’, the Guava Stage claimed to showcase ‘exotic, fusion and global sounds’.[49] With more of a lean towards an encompassing ‘world music’ genre than elsewhere onsite, the Guava Stage included a variety of acts, both local and international, such as Kwame D from Ghana, Metz and Trix from Manchester, England, and the Annapurna Dance Company from India. The tent was open-sided and varied in popularity throughout the weekend. The stage was near to a large area dedicated to food-stalls. This allowed people to sit and watch music and dance from around the world, whilst also eating curry, falafel or fish and chips. This close proximity to the food area fostered not only fusions of sound but also sensorial transportation of taste, sight and smell.

As the pathway moved north from the direction of The Hive and the Guava Stage, it was flanked on the right-hand side by the main food area, whilst, on the left, a small series of alleyways speared off to form a retail area. These avenues were

[49] See <http://www.bradfordmela.org.uk/> [Last accessed: 12 September 2010].

carefully planned to feel like a village bazaar and acted as channels and shortcuts for people to walk through between stages and marquees. This also had an obvious economic benefit for the stallholders, as, for much of the festival week-end, the bazaars were full of people bustling between the stalls. A typical retail stall was essentially rudimentary, consisting of two or three wooden desks, covered by a gazebo. Items for sale included shawls, headscarves, dresses and jewellery. One of the larger marquees on the site was reserved for a large South Asian retail store that is located on the outskirts of the city. The sponsorship and occupation of this space by Bombay Stores, along with the sponsorship of the Sunrise Stage by its radio station name-sake, show that as well as being a festival of culture there is also a strong emphasis on commercial enterprise.

Figure 11: A view of the market at the 2010 Bradford Mela.

As well as the sights and sounds of the mela, the smell of food permeated the air. In the main food area you could find the usual festival mix of burger vans and pizza stalls, but the dominant cuisine on offer was South Asian. The food area itself

formed a large semi-circle of food stalls that arced around from the right-hand side of the path. In the centre of the semi-circle were a number of picnic benches, some of which were shaded by young trees. The picnic tables were in constant use as families sat down with trays of freshly cooked Kashmiri food. One of the largest food stalls was run by Islamic Relief, which sold plastic trays of curry for £5, with all of the profits going to charity. Throughout the day, the attention of passers-by was drawn to the Islamic Relief stall by an MC, who interacted with the crowd with a number of quips and jokes. Indeed, the comedic MC provided a form of light entertainment for the whole area and made satirical observations on a range of recent sporting and political events.

Continuing north from the bazaar and food area, a large area of grassland opened up on the right-hand side of the path. This area was known as the Village Green. The area was named as such by the organisers in an attempt to create a communal, open space area wherein interactions could occur between performers and the public. As such, a variety of 'street artists' performed here throughout the weekend. Removing barriers between performers and audience, many of these acts actively encouraged crowd participation. Music acts included steel drums, bagpipe ensembles and a one-man band. There were also stilt-walkers, dancers, a puppet show and a Rajasthani circus. Surrounding these acts were frequent moments of interaction as boundaries between performers and audience were crossed. On several occasions a number of street artists from different traditions came together on the Village Green and gave spontaneous collaborative performances. When this happened, the musical habits and traditions of different cultures were suddenly brought together and played in one place - at the same time - creating spontaneous and temporary mixtures of musical traditions.

On the north edge of the Village Green was the Kala Sangam stage. This medium-large, rainbow-coloured tent was run by local South Asian arts organisation, Kala Sangam. On its website, the organisation, which is based in Bradford and funded by Bradford Council and the Arts Council England, describes itself as 'encouraging and promoting community interaction through South Asian art collaborations'.[50] Outside of the festival the centre teaches classes in classical South Asian music and dance, promotes music and instrumental lessons in schools and offers work experience for young people.[51] During the mela, the centre created a programme of North Indian classical music, traditional bhangra dancing, comedians, workshops and poetry recitals.

Figure 12: Bhangra troupe Nachda Punjab about to go on stage at the 2010 Bradford Mela.

[50] See <http://www.kalasangam.org/> [Last accessed: 12 September 2010].

[51] Their ideology is to 'deliver art and cultural activities that bring communities together by promoting understanding and mutual respect'. In this sense, they are guided by the city council's multicultural policy, which, they suggest, 'embraces the city's rich cultural heritage as a legacy for the future generations'.

The tent was located at the centre of the festival site and was particularly popular with families and elder generations. The entire front 'wall' of the tent was removed, creating a very open space; people could casually enter and leave as they pleased. Most would sit on the grassy floor in front of the stage, whilst those just outside the tent's perimeter could stand looking in. The openness of the tent also encouraged participation from groups of people who might not normally be inclined towards a particular act or performance.

Heading on northwards from the Village Green, the path crossed through 'The Avenue' – another food and retail area – which ran along the top of a ridge that slopes sharply downhill to two more stages, which sit back-to-back in an area called The Valley. The largest of these stages was named The Sunrise Stage. The Sunrise Stage was the 2009 festival's only large open-air stage, the Sunrise was sponsored and run by the local South Asian radio station, Sunrise Radio. Throughout the weekend, the stage was MC'd by the radio station's DJs whilst being broadcast live over the radio and internet. Situated towards the top of the festival, facing away from the main site, the stage looked out towards a natural amphitheatre with the valley rising away from it. Crowds could stand either on a flat area directly in front of the stage or sit high up on the banking that provided an ideal view. Performing on the sunrise were predominantly young South Asian bands and dancers, including the bhangra-dancers Nachda Punjab, alongside bhangra-fusion artists, 2 Steps Ahead. Watching these performances was a mixed crowd: young families, groups of teenagers, passers-by, and elder generations gearing up to go home for the evening.

Sitting with its back to The Sunrise Stage was its counterpoint, The Sunset Stage. As its name suggests, what it had to offer was in contrast to the bhangra-rap of

the Sunrise. The idea behind this tent was to create a *mehfil* style atmosphere.[52] As such it was situated in a Bedouin-style tent with low-level lighting and a floor covered with cushions, which aimed to create a more intimate atmosphere. Intended to be an area where people could come and relax, audiences were encouraged to sit up close with the performers. Najma Akhtar, who performed on the Sunset Stage explained:

> It brings the audience to me and I like a little bit of closeness. There's more of a connection. There isn't that distance and I think it's to do with spirituality and it's to do with calmness and it's to do with listening and it's to do with quality and clarity of the music. There's more control on the sound quality if you have a limited space. If melas have that in place then I can easily go and do a set even without my band, but just as a semi-classical ghazal traditional thing.
>
> (Najma Akhtar in Qureshi 2010: 50).

The Sunset attracted an older crowd as well as young families. In general, people came and listened intently with many elder generations gently rocking back and forwards in rhythm with the music. The music was predominantly of the South Asian classical tradition, with an emphasis on Sufi *qawwals* and *ghazals*. Alongside these traditions were fusion ensembles that included *tabla*, *qanun*, *sitar* and flute.

2009 also saw Bradford recognized as the first UNESCO City of Film. To mark the beginning of the award, the council commissioned a Cinema Tent at the Mela. The tent was a rectangular shape of medium size and was set slightly away from the back of The Sunset Stage. Inside, the tent was blacked out with a large-screen projector and comfortable seating. The cinema screened Bollywood blockbusters and dance-scene medleys, culminating in a performance of the film, Slumdog Millionaire. People were allowed to come and go as they pleased to create the feel of the touring cinemas prevalent in the Indian sub-continent.

[52] A *mehfil* is a gathering historically found in Mughal courts. Traditionally poets, musicians and dancers performed in *mehfils* for their Muslim patrons. The role of *mehfils* in Mirpuri music making will be explored more extensively in chapter 3.

Moving back up the hill and through The Avenue, the path led to the west-hand side of the Village Green. On the right was a small stage called The Peel Stage. This small-medium size stage was officially named after the park itself, although it was also based on the synonymous stage model developed at the Glastonbury Festival in Somerset, England.[53] Reserved primarily for unsigned Bradford-based bands that are supported through the Forum for Arts in Bradford and the council's Music Development Department. The stage was a counterpoint to many of the other stages as the acts were predominantly grass-roots indie, rock and punk bands.

In front of The Peel Stage was a large open area of grassland with a number of marquees that formed The Learning Zone. Environmental groups and charities, exhibiting their causes and raising awareness, occupied these spaces. Charity tents included The British Heart Foundation, The Red Cross, Oxfam, Blood Donor Service and Consumer Direct. Volunteers ran tents from differing backgrounds and religions, and it provided visible evidence of what the organisers describe as a 'multicultural activity' at the festival. One example of this occurred at the 2006 Bradford Mela. Prior to the festival, two charities had registered for stalls in order to campaign for 'Drop the Debt' and climate-change awareness. The two charities were Christian Aid and Islamic Relief. The organisers saw this as an opportunity for the two groups to come together and campaign for the same causes side-by-side. Ben Pugh explained:

> By partnering them up they exhibited together, they campaigned together. The impact of that was phenomenal in terms of broadening people's understanding about the event and what it meant in terms of cohesion. And there were some other tangible things like Christian Aid writing in their national magazine about what a great time they'd had at Bradford Mela. You've got three quarters of a million people that would never even think about coming to Bradford Mela reading about the organisation they support having a wonderful time there, campaigning alongside Islamic Relief
>
> (Ben Pugh in Qureshi 2010: 58).

[53] The Peel Stage at the Glastonbury Festival was named after the late BBC radio DJ, John Peel. It had previously been called the New Bands Stage, and championed emerging and unsigned acts.

This emphasis on participation and interaction was seen through other activities: one tent provided arts and crafts materials where people could create installations for use in the city's Lord Mayor's parade,[54] whilst another contained a photographic exhibition which displayed a retrospective of the Mela's twenty-one year history. The tent also offered the chance for people to come in and document their feelings and memories of the festival in an oral history booth.[55]

And, finally, at the foot of this area was the mela's main stage, The Mango Stage. This large, blue big-top was the biggest of the stages at the Mela with a capacity of around 10,000-15 people. Despite it being the largest of the stages at the 2009 festival, at previous events it was much larger and not contained within a big-top tent. The move to smaller stages was part of a push by the festival organisers to reduce the audience sizes that a single, large stage encourages, and increase variety and diversity across the site. Consequently, the Mango Stage was popular throughout the weekend and attracted a variety of audiences. The stage promised, 'tasty national and international music flavours', with performances from prominent South Asian musicians, including, Jazzy B, Adeel, Bombay Rockers and Channi from Alaap.

The walking tour has, thus far, aimed to give a feel of the layout and space of the site, the stages and the types of music and events on offer. In other words, the aim has been to provide a textual and pictorial description of a site that is, in many ways, the implementation of the city council's policy on multiculturalism. This description, of the mela being a physical manifestation of policy level multiculturalism, has been

[54] The Lord Mayor's Parade occurs once a year as part of the Bradford Festival. The parade exhibits Bradford's different cultures as it weaves through the city, finishing with a series of performances in front of the Town Hall.
[55] The outcome of this project is a book of the festival, including its history, people, role and future. Research for the book was conducted by Irna Qureshi, and myself, and was written by Qureshi (2010) under the auspices of a Heritage Lottery Fund grant.

supported by quotes from the festival producer, Ben Pugh, whose 'something for everyone' approach was a direct result of directives from the city council. It is worth noting at this point, however, that Ben Pugh is neither Mirpuri, nor South Asian. Whilst Pugh surrounded himself with arts organisations that had a long history of promoting South Asian music, they were dominated by Indian middle-class. When pressed, Pugh was not fully aware of the political and religious dynamics of Bradford's South Asian communities; much less the types of music Mirpuris, in particular, engage in.

Furthermore, Pugh's 'crowd-engineering', as he terms it, demonstrates that within this open and inclusive approach are underlying concerns with controlling the ways in which people move around the site. The move from large, open stages to smaller but more numerous tents stems not only from the Council's desire to 'include more communities', but also from a fear of large groups of young Mirpuris gathering in one place (which will be discussed in the following section). This crowd engineering shows that, despite the overtones of inclusivity and openness emanating from the production team and council, there is, nevertheless, a clear idea of how people are expected to behave, interact and move around the site. Indeed, it could be argued that the layout of the site is specifically designed to encourage a kind of cultural world tour, whereby festival goers move around and sample little tasters of Bradford's different cultures.[56] Implicit in this layout, then, is an ordering of culture. Each culture is neatly placed at various points around the site, ready to be encountered by the general public.[57]

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[56] The 2001Bradford Mela, for example, was promoted by the organisers as 'The World in a City'.
[57] This ordering of culture bears reminiscence to the way Mitchell (1988) described the World Fairs of the nineteenth-century, in cities like London, Paris and New York. Rather than deconstructing the physical power relations between the coloniser and the colonised, Mitchell seeks out the more subliminal structures behind the means of colonial domination. In a departure from previous scholarship, he asserts that ideologies of colonialism are as much 'internal' as they are 'external'.

2.5.3. Organising the Mela

Following the 2009 Mela described above, I became more exposed to, and involved with, the organisation and inner workings of the 2010 Bradford Mela. It was at this point, however, that it struck me that, within the production team, there was a conspicuous absence of Mirpuris. Furthermore, their omission was evident right the way through the planning process and in the moments of key decision-making. Where were the Mirpuris? What, if any, musics, arts and dance did they perform? What performance activities did Mirpuris come to the mela to watch? To what extent did programming decisions take into account the varying tastes of Mirpuris and under what conditions were these decisions made?

It was with these questions in mind that I set forth into the 2010 festival. More broadly, then, I wanted to examine the ways in which multicultural policy, expressed and manifested through and by the musical acts chosen and the layout of the festival site, included and excluded Mirpuris. Chapter 5 addresses these questions in the context of the 2010 Bradford Mela.

2.6. Multucultural harmony? Or urban segregation?

But if the Bradford Mela is ostensibly designed as a space in which the city's communities come together and interact, what is the picture elsewhere? How do Mirpuris interact and intersect with other groups in Bradford during the rest of the year? On 11th July 2001, the headline of Bradford's local newspaper, *The Telegraph and Argos*, asked: 'What's wrong with Bradford?' with the sub-headline: 'A "virtual

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Through processes of standardisation, regulation of the market place, careful re-planning of living quarters and educational systems in nineteenth-century Egypt, Egyptians were ideologically driven into a subjugated position by British occupation.

apartheid" divides the city, with races only coming together when forced to'.[58] The front and back page spread was the latest headline to hit the paper in the wake of riots in the city involving Pakistani Mirpuri youth. Over the next few days, readers of the paper answered the question in unequivocal terms.

One reader replied that 'Bradford Council's and the police authority's task has always been upper most and very apparent; a racially integrated city'. 'But', the writer continued, 'how is it possible to accept or recognize as co-nationals, a race of people who are Hell-bent on retaining their own cultural identity?'[59] Another reader took 'exception with the rioters being referred to as Asians… Nearly all the rioters were young Pakistanis … Indians are far more willing to integrate, and our children achieve higher levels of academic qualifications'.[60] Meanwhile, the chairman of the Pakistan Christian Welfare Association Board, lamented that 'Bradford has now become virtually the Muslim capital of Britain … one of them was recently awarded an OBE. The responsibility of taking control of the youth lies with their parents. It appears they have lost control'.[61]

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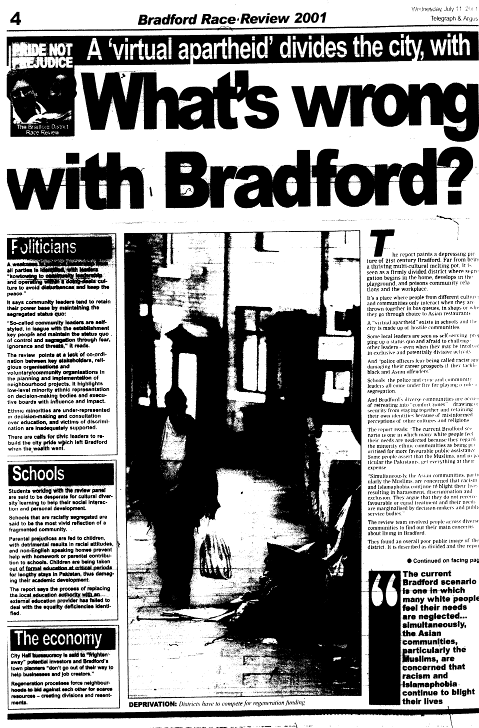
[58] See *Figure 13.* Several themes run through these comments: race, integration, religion, ethnicity, nationality, education. Indeed, in a wider sense, and in another word, these are concerns about multiculturalism. Wherever the commentators' ire is directed, however, it is clear that one set of people is to blame: Pakistani Muslim youth. There are clear, structured, uses of language in these quotes to identify a distinction between 'us' and 'them'. These distinctions cut through not only over-simplified demarcations of race, but also religion and ethnicity (Alexander (2003: 526). The Pakistan Christian association wants nothing to do with young Pakistani Muslims, whilst one Indian commentator goes further by implying that Indians, with their higher levels of education and integration, could never be associated with such insurrections. Ultimately, soaked in a sense of inevitability, one reader asked, rhetorically: 'Is it not now perfectly clear that they do not wish to integrate?' (Duncan Higgins, *The Telegraph & Argos*, 10 July 2001).

[59] David N Wright, *The Telegraph & Argos*, 12 July 2001.

[60] Ameen Patel, *The Telegraph & Argos*, 12 July 2001.

[61] G Butt, *The Telegraph & Argos*, 12 July 2001. In academia, too, the Asian youth 'problem' has been identified. With specific reference to writings on Pakistani and Bangladeshi youth, Alexander (2000: 18) reflected that, 'however it is explained, excused or demonized, it seems all are agreed on one thing – Asian men are out of control and in trouble'. In the aftermath of the 2001 Bradford Riots, the anger directed at the 'out-of-control youth' continued, reaching its zenith in the now infamous campaign run by the *The Telegraph & Argos*, in partnership with West Yorkshire Police, to 'name and shame' those involved in the disturbances. The newspaper ran a full front-page spread with pictures of Pakistani youth taken from closed circuit television footage of the riots. Readers were asked to contact the paper and disclose the names of recognised faces, which would then be passed onto the police. Once the suspects had been named, the paper then fulfilled the remainder of its campaign: shaming the young



4 Bradford Race Review 2001 Wednesday, July 11, 2001 Telegraph & Argus

PRIDE NOT PREJUDICE

A 'virtual apartheid' divides the city, with

What's wrong with Bradford?

The Bradford District Race Review

Politicians

A weakness in political leadership from all parties is identified, with leaders "kowtowing to community leadership and operating within a doing-deals culture to avoid disturbances and keep the peace."

It says community leaders tend to retain their power base by maintaining the segregated status quo:

"So-called community leaders are self-styled, in league with the establishment key people and maintain the status quo of control and segregation through fear, ignorance and threats," it reads.

The review points at a lack of co-ordination between key stakeholders, religious organisations and voluntary/community organisations in the planning and implementation of neighbourhood projects. It highlights low-level minority ethnic representation on decision-making bodies and executive boards with influence and impact.

Ethnic minorities are under-represented in decision-making and consultation over education, and victims of discrimination are inadequately supported.

There are calls for civic leaders to rebuild the city pride which left Bradford when the wealth went.

Schools

Students working with the review panel are said to be desperate for cultural diversity learning to help their social interaction and personal development.

Schools that are racially segregated are said to be the most vivid reflection of a fragmented community.

Parental prejudices are fed to children, with detrimental results in racial attitudes, and non-English speaking homes prevent help with homework or parental contribution to schools. Children are being taken out of formal education at critical periods for lengthy stays in Pakistan, thus damaging their academic development.

The report says the process of replacing the local education authority with an external education provider has failed to deal with the equality deficiencies identified.

The economy

City Hall bureaucracy is said to "frighten away" potential investors and Bradford's town planners "don't go out of their way to help businesses and job creators."

Regeneration processes force neighbourhoods to bid against each other for scarce resources – creating divisions and resentments.

DEPRIVATION: *Districts have to compete for regeneration funding*

The report paints a depressing picture of 21st century Bradford. Far from being a thriving multi-cultural melting pot, it is seen as a firmly divided district where segregation begins in the home, develops in the playground, and poisons community relations and the workplace.

It's a place where people from different cultures and communities only interact when they are thrown together in bus queues, in shops or when they go through choice to Asian restaurants.

A "virtual apartheid" exists in schools and the city is made up of hostile communities.

Some local leaders are seen as self-serving, propping up a status quo and afraid to challenge other leaders – even when they may be involved in exclusive and potentially divisive activity.

And "police officers fear being called racist and damaging their career prospects if they tackle black and Asian offenders".

Schools, the police and civic and community leaders all come under fire for playing a role in segregation.

And Bradford's diverse communities are accused of retreating into "comfort zones" – drawing on security from staying together and retaining their own identities because of misinformed perceptions of other cultures and religions.

The report reads: "The current Bradford scenario is one in which many white people feel their needs are neglected because they regard the minority ethnic communities as being prioritised for more favourable public assistance. Some people assert that the Muslims, and in particular the Pakistanis, get everything at their expense.

"Simultaneously, the Asian communities, particularly the Muslims, are concerned that racism and Islamaphobia continue to blight their lives resulting in harassment, discrimination and exclusion. They argue that they do not receive favourable or equal treatment and their needs are marginalised by decision makers and public service bodies."

The review team involved people across diverse communities to find out their main concerns about living in Bradford.

They found an overall poor public image of the district. It is described as divided and the report

● Continued on facing page

"The current Bradford scenario is one in which many white people feel their needs are neglected... simultaneously, the Asian communities, particularly the Muslims, are concerned that racism and Islamaphobia continue to blight their lives

Wednesday, July 11, 2001 Telegraph & Argus Bradford Race Review 2001 5

races only coming together when forced to

PRIDE NOT PREJUDICE

The Bradford District Race Review

RIOT: *The report says that young men are being drawn into lawlessness*

The police

Inconsistent and conflicting styles of policing are highlighted in the report, with police methods causing resentment and perpetuating stereotypes.

The report says that while top-down management appears to push anti-racist approaches, rank and file officers are frightened of tackling problems of segregation for fear of being called racist.

● From facing page

highlights "white flight" and middle class people movements out of the city leaving behind an underclass of relatively poor white people and visible ethnic minority communities. Sikhs and Hindus drift away to Pudsey as a preferred neighbourhood.

The report says Islamaphobia is regarded as prevalent in schools and the community affecting how the Asian community is regarded and treated.

Polarisation and segregation in schools is rife, and the report reveals a deficiency in teaching the equality and diversity matters needed in multi-racial schools.

The report says lack of teaching, learning and understanding about different cultures and religions causes ignorance, fear of differences and prevents interaction.

It is noted that local decision-makers do not send their children to inner-city schools.

Young people, particularly men, of all cultural backgrounds are becoming more involved in anti-social behaviour, harassment, intimidation, violence, criminal activity and the drugs trade.

Open racial conflict, a lack of "citizenship" promoted in schools, inadequate curriculum content to enable understanding different cultures and religions, and limited or non-existent interaction between schools and different communities are seen to cause a "major knowledge deficiency" among young people of all colours and religions – denying them full preparation for adult life in a multi-cultural society.

Racial discrimination in the labour market contributes to many problems facing young people, with sections of minority communities locked into a blame-culture and putting too many failings down to racism alone.

The report calls for the Muslim community to be prioritised, claiming "if the Muslim community fails, Bradford fails".

There are concerns that people at street level are rarely told what is really going on by politicians or leaders, therefore forming misconceived ideas about other people.

"Self-segregation is driven by fear of others, the need for safety from harassment and violent crime and the belief that it is the only way to promote, retain and protect faith and cultural identity," says the report.

"There is resentment towards the Asian community by sections of the white community who perceive hostile and mono-cultural religious leaders as the advocates of segregation."

Lack of youth facilities and lack of social, sporting and multicultural events bringing different communities together lead to frustrations and anti-social behaviour.

The report says: "Young people are desperate for adequate recreational and leisure pursuits."

Inter-continental marriages mean that around 50 per cent of the marriages taking place in Bradford's Asian community result in an intake of new residents unable to communicate in English, which limits their participation in mainstream social and educational activities.

The bright side...

The report also highlights what people see as the strengths and positive features of the district – successes they want to see built on. These included:

- The diverse cultures
- History, architecture and heritage
- Nationally known professional football and rugby league sports clubs
- Inter-faith cultural expertise and centres of excellence
- Easy access to attractive countryside
- Museums and Bronte Country
- Bradford and Keighley Melas
- Restaurants with good food
- The university
- Local enterprises and emergent Asian-led businesses
- Vibrant community organisations and developing partnerships.

People felt the district's assets and attractions were often undersold and overwhelmed by the negativity too often associated with Bradford.

The review calls on the district's leaders to use Bradford's strengths and successes to market and promote it.

By identifying and examining problem areas, the review has been able to put forward some radical proposals for change – giving Bradford a basis for making diversity work.

PLUS POINT: *The multi-cultural Mela was praised*

Figure 13: The Telegraph and Argos, 11 July 2001.

What, then, is the relationship between these commentaries on segregation in Bradford and the spaces of Mirpuri musicking described above? On the one hand, there are widespread reports that a 'virtual apartheid divides the city' (see Figure 13), whilst, on the other, there is the Bradford Mela, a celebration of the city's multiculture. What I am interested in here is how the spaces of Mirpuri musicking described above map onto these discourses of 'segregated communities' (Phillips 2005) in Bradford. How might they contribute to a greater understanding of multiculturalism and urban space? What is the state of the broader context of Bradford (wherein these musical activities take place)? Before answering these

men by publishing their names and photos in subsequent editions. Within the city, the campaign was praised for its tough and effective stance in bringing to justice those involved in the riots. This level of police and public attention on Mirpuri youth is not an isolated occurrence. At the 2010 Bradford Mela, groups of young Mirpuris were followed around the site by police officers armed with large video cameras, effectively placing the teenagers under a spotlight for all to see. Indeed, whatever the perceived effectiveness of these police measures and the *Telegraph & Argus* campaign had, their respective approaches have had the much broader and enduring effect of marginalizing young Mirpuris.

questions, it is important to look at how Bradford came to be known as a so-called segregated city.

The 2001 urban disturbances that the *Telegraph and Argos* (above) responded to brought a renewed interest in the 'causes, meaning, and consequences of minority ethnic segregation in Britain' (Phillips 2006). Phillips (2006) notes that the disturbances were often blamed on community and educational segregation. In a government report, written by the Community Cohesion Review Team, chaired by Ted Cantle (2001), a claim was made that white and minority ethnic communities were living a series of 'parallel lives'. The report claimed that, 'these lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges' (2001: 9). Inherent within this statement, is an assumption that areas that are categorized as being populated by a certain ethnicity, as opposed to class or age, are a 'problem' because they have become racialised and disinclined to interact with surrounding groups.[62]

Together with the ideological shift by New Labour described in chapter 1 towards an 'integration policy' – based on assimilationist practices such as citizenship tests, oaths of allegiance, and health tests for new immigrants – these isolationist discourses contribute to the marginalization of Mirpuris in Bradford. They marginalise Mirpuris, in part, through a one-way discourse that effectively designates Mirpuris as 'Others' who are self-segregating, isolationist and who do not sufficiently contribute to broader society due to their lack of integration.[63] Arguably, however,

[62] In Bradford this point was emphasised with reference to 'Muslim schools' that are under-resourced and underachieving. However, it has been counter-argued (Modood 2005: 202) that, rather than being Islamic schools, the schools that the reports referred to were state-run that simply had a Muslim intake of over 90 percent. The schools in question were local comprehensives that suffered from 'white flight' and decades of underinvestment. For critics of multiculturalism, however, they came to symbolise the 'problem' of divided cities, cultural backwardness, riots, lack of Britishness, and a breeding ground for militant Islam.

[63] Though, it is not often said what is precisely expected for one to 'integrate' properly.

these discourses of 'parallel lives', with their undertones of self-segregation and isolationism, forefront ethnicity and cultural difference at the expense of racialised inequalities in power, education and status (Phillips 2006: 38).[64]

As the example of Mr. Khokhar at the start of this chapter shows, Mirpuris in Bradford have often used the resources of their own *biraderi* to set up businesses and enterprises that allowed them to circumvent exclusion from other sectors on the basis of racial prejudice. By trading with one another, using internal labour, and pooling financial resources, Mirpuris have been able to set up business on their own and maintain a certain degree of self-sufficiency and autonomy. This has been particularly pronounced in restaurant, service (such as taxi driving) and tailoring industries.[65]

In the context of Bradford, this is exacerbated by years of decline in the textile industry and subsequent disinvestment. This has resulted in Bradford, itself, becoming a 'marginal space in today's post-industrial economy' (Phillips 2006: 26). Michael Herzfeld has suggested that, 'the less literally face-to-face the society we inhabit, the more obviously cultural idioms become simulacra of social relations' (2005: 6). Local events that involve Pakistani Muslims, such as the Rushdie affair and the urban disturbances of 1995 and 2001, coupled with broader international events involving a small minority of radical Islamists, such as September 11 and the 2005

[64] Anwar (1979: *preface*) traces this back to the late 1970s, suggesting that Pakistanis were 'resistant to change and non-participation on an individual level in British institutions, in particular where they have a choice, [this] is a feature of the majority of Pakistanis … Their participation is limited due to both the external constraints such as prejudice, discrimination and the internal cultural norms and values'.
[65] Werbner (2002) identified similar developments among Pakistanis in Manchester:
Business enclaves are now emerging – property, hotels and taxi driving being perhaps the most noteworthy recent areas of economic expansion. Pakistanis tend to 'capture' economic enclaves as their experience and success in specific sectors precipitate the entry of fellow migrants into this sector'.
In her study of Manchester Muslims, Werbner explores how everyday social mechanisms interact with radical political events such as September 11th. These social mechanisms, exemplified in the ways people live, conduct themselves, and interact are juxtaposed against the political pressures exerted on the community from the outside. This then gives a solid grounding with which to explore broader notions of secularism, religion and the post-colonial state.

London bombings, thus result in Mirpuris being further marginalized within an already marginal city.

Phillips has argued that this marginalization occurs within a range of spaces, including, 'the political arena, the media, and other institutional settings to the level of the neighborhood and the street … British Muslim families [are] frequently pathologised as inward looking, reluctant to learn English, and clinging to "unacceptable" traditions, such as forced marriages and the ritual slaughter of animals' (2006: 26).[66] Whilst government reports into the 2001 disturbances, as well as media coverage, discussed inner-city clustering by ethnic minorities in terms of negative inevitability (that it fosters social depravation, drugs, crime and poverty),[67] Pakistani Muslim respondents described their areas positively; as vibrant social spaces, local networks of support, care, institutions and *biraderi*. Indeed, the choice of Manningham as a place to live by many Mirpuris is as much about wishing to live close to friends, family and the *biraderi* as it is about economic disadvantage, racism and inequalities in the housing market (Phillips 2006). As one elderly man responded:

> Everything is here, our culture our shops, mosque … and the best thing about this area [Manningham]: no racism.[68]

Phillips is one of the few academics to have challenged the segregationist discourse's largely pejorative overtones, whilst the views of Mirpuris have been buried under the weight of public criticism. I want to follow on from Phillips' study by looking closely at how the three 'nexuses' described above might contribute to theories of racial segregation. In particular, I want to explore how the musical activities of Mirpuris might contribute and map onto debates in sociology and

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[66] This pervasive marginalization has also been recognized in reports by the Runnymead Trust (2001).
[67] The reports also failed to take into account contributing factors of the majority white population and institutions in avoiding, abandoning (encapsulated by the term 'white flight'), and under-investment in these 'problem' areas. The corresponding, predominantly white, areas and schools in cities like Bradford do not get the same attention in isolationist and parallel-lives discourses.
[68] Quoted in Phillips (2006: 35).

anthropology about segregation and multiculturalism. Many of these discussions – which I have outlined in previous pages – are now over a decade old and so there is a renewed need to look at how people interact in urban multicultural centers like Bradford. How has it changed? How do emerging generations experience multiculturalism?

The following three chapters engage ethnographically with the three 'nexuses' described above: 'The Barbershop', 'The Street' and 'The Bradford Mela'. The variety of ways Mirpuris discuss and participate in music and music making within these spaces provides a means of identifying some of the more nuanced stresses, tensions and contradictions that constitute Mirpuris' experience of living in Bradford. This can then, potentially, shed new light on the more-dominant ways Mirpuris are stereotyped by other British Asians, sociologists and ethnomusicologists.

Chapter 3: Patwari sung poetry in Britain

3.1. Introduction

Since the 1950s, the performance and reception of Patwari sung poetry has been of great importance to people who have migrated to the UK from northern Punjab and southern Kashmir. It has provided a vital connection to their homeland, acoustically, ideologically and historically. This chapter argues that, for Mirpuris in Britain, performances of Patwari sung poetry (*sher khavani*) are important spaces wherein ideas of belonging, place and status are generated and enacted. Central to this generation of meaning is the circulation of money within and during a performance. Through the circulation of money, certain kinds of value, sociality and hierarchy are developed, and, as this chapter contends, these might be usefully framed in terms of patronage, connoisseurship and status. In the setting of a Patwari performance, status is continuously negotiated, primarily through the patronage of both the music and the musicians. Nowhere is this more visually apparent than through the patrons showering the musicians with bank notes for all to see.

The relationship between patronage, connoisseurship and status in performance contexts has interested anthropologists and ethnomusicologists for some time now (Qureshi 1986; Waterman 1990; Stokes 2002; Schofield 2010). For the Yoruba people of Nigeria, for example, Waterman suggests that 'jùjú performance may usefully be regarded – and is in fact regarded by many Yoruba – as a mode of transaction, a means of exchanging valued resources and negotiating status' (1990:

213).[1] In the space of a Patwari gathering, this idea of 'exchange' gains purchase. But, first, it is worth outlining some theoretical considerations that surround the particularity of exchange within a Patwari gathering. Whilst the presentation of money could be viewed as a kind of 'gift' to the musicians on stage, the social bonds that are sparked (Mauss 1967) do not necessarily lie between the giver and the musician. Rather, the social bond is one that is under continuous negotiation between the audience members: Mirpuris. Further, the 'reciprocity'[2] that is associated with gift giving is harder to pin down, as there is no material product being consumed (Douglas 1979). This lack of an end material product, means that Patwari sung poetry gatherings must be considered outside discourses and critiques of 'world music' markets (Frith 2000; Bohlman 2002; Brusila 2003), but, rather, inside the local contexts in which they take place (Guilbault 1993; Schade-Poulsen 1999: 7). Moreover, the way in which money circulates, and what is exchanged through its circulation, is complicated and varied (Stokes 2002).[3]

From the perspective of Mirpuris, the patronage of Patwari *sher khavani* is not primarily about economics, but about intimate moments of exchange, wherein certain aspects of male Mirpuri subjectivity are generated and performed. What exactly is at stake in these moments of exchange is the focus of this chapter. In these moments, what are they producing in social terms? How might the patronage of music

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[1] Waterman goes on to observe that, 'by responding to the praise singing and musical skill of juju practitioners with an impressive shower of bank notes, a celebrant publically displays the wealth and personal qualities essential for status development' (1990: 213).
[2] 'Reciprocity' in the sense that Mauss (1967) describes in his seminal essay, *The Gift*. Mauss's discussion of the exchange of gifts argues that, in moments of exchange, moral solidarities are forged. These solidarities pass along with the object of exchange, and with it comes a moral obligation for the receiver of the gift to reciprocate.
[3] Martin Stokes (2002) has suggested that there has been a surprising lack of interest among ethnomusicologists in this important part of a musician's life. In his Mediterraneanist study of musicians and the circulation of money, Stokes considers the relationship between sentiment and commodity in the lives of professional musicians in Turkey, highlighting that the use of music as a commodity, in the Marxist sense, is at times a marker of pride, at others a source of anxiety, but rarely uniform.

reinforce, or renegotiate, social status within the community? What role does music play in the sustentation – or perhaps even creation – of Mirpuri identity? More broadly, the chapter argues that these concerts should not be thought of as little isolated pockets of Punjabi or Pakistani culture within the UK, but as integral to wider socio-political processes and pressures that are at the heart of the multiculturalism debate.[4]

This chapter will proceed by giving an overview of Patwari gatherings in the UK and the kinds of spaces in which they take place. This is followed by an extensive and detailed ethnographic description of one particular gathering, which includes the differing roles of audience and performers, and the various ways money is circulated through space. The final section looks at what these Patwari concerts might tell us about role of patronage, connoisseurship and status among Mirpuris in Bradford, before considering some of its implications for broader discussions about multiculturalism.

3.2. Patwari *sher khavani*: an overview

On the subcontinent, settings for Patwari performances vary, from courtyards, to village huts to town squares. In the UK, small performances may take place in people's houses, but for larger concerts, such as the ones discussed in this chapter, concert halls and town halls that can accommodate many more people are often hired. The Patwari ensemble itself will often be a mixture of musicians who live locally and one or two headline, or 'star' performers. The star performer will usually be a

[4] These kinds of approaches are particularly useful when trying to understand the importance of Patwari concerts in Bradford for Mirpuris. The patronage of Patwari music by British Kashmiris can be considered as central to the performance of a sense of identity and belonging that is rooted in northern Pakistan and southern Kashmir. However, much like with the cassette sermons that Hirschkind (2006) describes, these concerts are highly localized whilst, at the same time, being part of a broader, discursive sense of identity and belonging that is complexly transnational.

prominent musician from Pakistan, who has been sponsored to come to England and perform. The sponsor is responsible for the musician whilst he is in the UK and will provide support in the form of accommodation, travel, expenditure and sustenance.[5]

During my fieldwork I attended many of these Patwari performances, always at the invitation of Mr. Khokhar. He would routinely ring me at late notice and exclaim that there was a Patwari performance that evening, whereupon we would get into his slightly dilapidated Ford Focus and drive through the dark night to one of several towns across Yorkshire and Lancashire where the concerts take place. Bradford, Keighley, Rochdale and Dewsbury were common destinations: all towns where large numbers of Mirpuris live. The concerts were not advertised well in advance, if, indeed, they were advertised at all. Instead, they relied on a confluence of available musicians coming together, which usually coincided with a visiting musician from Pakistan.[6]

As such, months would sometimes go by without a single performance, and then, all of a sudden, several would happen within the space of a few weeks. In these intervening periods of drought, however, Patwari did not vanish entirely. Sitting in Mr. Khokhar's barbershop, he would often proudly put on DVDs of past performances from England and Pakistan; when there was a lull in customers, he

[5] Meals and accommodation will be provided, often in either the patron's house or by the hospitality of their kinship group (*biraderi*). Travel between cities and venues will be organized and the concerts and accompanying musicians booked on their behalf. Such patronage does not come cheap: travel costs for one musician can cost up to £4000, once the cost of the relevant visa and financial guarantees have been factored in. When one considers that Mirpuris are often identified as having low economic standing, particularly compared with other South Asian groups in the UK, this is a significant sum of money. The financial burden in itself is indicative of the cultural value and importance of this music for Mirpuris. Indeed, Patwari concerts are so well attended and patronized that these visiting musicians from Pakistan often return home considerably wealthier several months later.

[6] In many cases, the concerts are organised at the last minute and there are no public announcements or advertisements to publicise the event. Instead, news of a forthcoming concert is broadcast through word-of-mouth. This is mainly achieved via mobile phones. Mr. Khokhar explained to me that he organised a Patwari concert in Bradford several months ago. He said he hadn't advertised the concert but, rather, sent a text message to a few key people informing them of the evening. Subsequently, news of the concert spread quickly and, on the evening itself, the hall was packed full with people.

would sit down and sip a cup of hot sweet tea whilst pouring over a small A5 pad of his own poetry, occasionally reading aloud to his friends in the shop to cries of approval; and, after hours, once the door was locked and the blinds had come down, a sitar would appear and melodies improvised and tested out. Whereas, in the busier periods, Mr. Khokhar provided bed and board to performers visiting from 'home',[7] and, once the shop had closed for the day, the men would mobilise, pool their cars and set off to the concert, picking others up along the way.

3.2.1. The space and place of the 'Mehfil'

In the northern Punjab and southern Azad Kashmir areas of Pakistan, the Patwari mehfil is an important part of local cultural heritage. The settings of these kinds of performance spaces – across South Asia and in the UK – is most commonly referred to as a *mehfil*, a term traditionally associated with intimate, courtly gatherings.[8] The term 'Patwari' takes its name from the Patwar Plateau, a vast area that includes the cities of Islamabad to its west, Rawalpindi to the south, Mirpur to the northeast and much of the surrounding Punjab province: hence my assertion of its important role in local heritage.[9] Because of its highly localized and historically rich

[7] I have put 'home' in inverted commas here because of its slightly ambiguous, discursive meaning in relation to migrant and post-migrant peoples. Whilst many of those who attended Patwari gatherings in England are first generation migrants, many others are of a second or third generation who were born and raised in the UK. The notion of a homogeneous, unchanging sense of 'homeland' is thus misleading and imprecise. Furthermore, whilst Patwari music is deeply embedded in the local cultural traditions of northern Punjab, it is being enjoyed and patronised over 5000-miles away in cities like Bradford, Rochdale, Burnley and Blackburn.

[8] See also Katherine Butler Brown (2006).

[9] As the English spelling of the word is transliterated from the Urdu script, there is little consistency in its spelling. The Urdu script suggests that 'Potwar', or 'Pothwar' could also be appropriate. In my view, the ambiguity exists because, in the Urdu script, there is, technically, no vowel between the first two letters. As such, when transliterated into English, much depends on pronunciation. When discussing the music with Mr. Khokhar and other musicians in Bradford and Pakistan, the word is pronounced with a soft, short 'a', going into a soft-tongued 't'. In addition, the vast majority of YouTube videos of the music are listed as 'Patwar Sher', or Patwar Poetry', hence my adoption of the 'Patwar' spelling. Alternatives include 'Pothwar', 'Pohotwar' and 'Potwar' among others. The name stems from the geographical topology of the area known as the Potwar Plateau – which, again, varies in spelling. The Potwar Plateau is a vast area that is lies between the Jhelum and Indus rivers and is

nature, Patwari *sher* (poetry) predates the partition of India and Pakistan; the name of the sung poetry is indicative of the broader, localized culture.

It is important to note that the word 'mehfil' is used to describe the gathering, and the nature of the setting, but does not denote the type of place wherein it takes place. Locations for Patwari mehfils in the UK range from town halls to concert halls to people's living rooms. What is significant and common to all these localities, despite their physical differences, is the sense of place that they construct. Inherent in all the Patwari mehfils that I have attended has been a sense of occasion: a sense that one is separated from the external grinds of everyday life. Mr. Khokhar would often lean back in his chair, or wherever he was sat, breath in, smile, look across at me and exclaim, 'you know this music is like a medicine - a drug!'

The assertion that Patwari performances were in some way a tonic to everyday life was frequently made to me. Despite people travelling from all over the north of England to attend these concerts, most people knew one another, and, in this sense, Patwari mehfils places where Mirpruis coalesce as a community. Indeed, the metaphor of Patwari mehfils being a 'tonic' or 'drug' is useful and worth drawing out a little bit more. Without wishing to repeat what I have already said in the opening two chapters, Mirpuris occupy a position in British society that is extremely marginalized. Since the decline of the textile industry, most find employment in service industries, as taxi drivers, restaurateurs, tailoring etc. For these types of employment, remuneration is low and as such many work extremely long hours (Mr. Khokhar works full seven day weeks). Taxi drivers would tell me of the relentless racist abuse they received from drunken *goras* (white English people), whilst

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bounded in the north by the Hazara Hills and the south by the Salt Range. Its cities include Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Attock and Mirpur, and much of the surrounding Punjab province.

restaurant waiters would speak of the disrespect they received on a daily basis. Finishing late after these long shifts, the working Mirpuris that I spoke with had good reason to view the occasional Patwari mehfil as a tonic to work.[10] They were amongst their own.

The Patwari mehfil, then, is seen by many Mirpuris as an occasion to be looked forward to. Upon entering the mehfil, everything from the banners, the language, the poetry, the dress, and, of course, the music, is contrived to give a sense of Mirpuriness. As one walks through the threshold, into the mehfil, the change in place is experienced through ideas of authenticity: this is 'our' (*apna*) place, as opposed to 'their' (*gora*) place outside. The mehfil is also a gendered space. Both the musicians and those who attend the gatherings are male. The acts of patronage, here, are among and between men, and so levels of status are negotiated within strictly male hierarchies. Within the mehfil, certain kinds of male Mirpuri subjectivity are constructed and projected across space: across Bradford and beyond, through transnational ties and cousin marriages, to Mirpur. The language used in Patwari *sher* also contributes to this construction of Mirpuriness. Whilst the official language of large cities in Pakistan, like Islamabad, is the national language – Urdu – the majority of people living in the Patwar region speak a regional dialect of Punjabi. Indeed, in rural areas, many people have little or no understanding of Urdu and communicate exclusively in their native Patwari/Punjabi. The same is true for Patwari *sher* (poetry). Whereas qawwali enjoys the widely held distinction of being Pakistan's national music, the Urdu poetry it employs is 'classical',[11] and for many, hard to comprehend. Patwari poetry, on the other hand, is sung in Punjabi and, as such,

[10] This was often exemplified by the slow trickle of people into the mehfils as shifts in the restaurants and taxi ranks ended.
[11] For more on the classicization of South Asian cultural practices, see Katherine Butler Schofield (2010)

carries deep, local meanings of place, space and landscape. These local meanings are evoked and enacted within the Patwari mehfils in Britain and are what mark the gatherings as particularly important among Mirpuris in Britain (and so well patronized). The music carries with it strong currents of tradition and place that, in many ways, circumvent the relative newness of Pakistani identity and, instead, deliver a more precise, idealized articulation of an imagined homeland.

However, this notion of an authentic place should not be thought of in any kind of autonomous or unique sense: what one person might call intimate, another may say insular; another might say segregated. Rather, the authenticity of the mehfil should be understood as a 'discursive trope of great persuasive power' (Stokes 1994: 7) that is intimately linked with broader social experiences and contexts. Moreover, the authenticity of the mehfil, and the signs and process that validate that authenticity, are not simply bounded by the four walls that constitute the building, but are part of deeper, transnational processes of identity and belonging.

3.3. Patwari sher in context: an ethnographic picture

This section provides an ethnographic account of one particular Patwari concert, given in Rochdale Town Hall on 10 August 2010. Populating the town hall were two hundred men, all with roots in northern Punjab and southern Kashmir. Their arrival at the concert had been staggered through the evening, depending on when the local taxi-driving shifts finished and Pakistani restaurants closed. In front of the rows and rows of seats was a modest stage, upon which sat half a dozen musicians. The concert itself was an informal affair, with people coming and going throughout, but, at its most intense, the singers would sing poetry to the audience, after which approving

cries of 'wah, ji wah!' would rise around the hall. After several hours of music interspersed with poetry recitals written by audience members, the performers packed up their kit and counted their earnings, before hitting the road for the next town.

Whilst Patwari performances take place in towns across the north of England, I have chosen this particular evening as, in many respects, it exemplifies a typical performance. The section concludes by suggesting that these highly localized settings reveal complex transnational connections between the diaspora and an imagined homeland. Rather than revealing a fixed, homogeneous homeland, however, it is argued that these intimate transnational connections, articulated and enacted through the performance and patronage of music, indicate plural and discursive senses of belonging and 'home'. The significance of the concerts, and the ways in which Mirpuris experience them, provide important insights into what it means to live in a multicultural society that go beyond limited ideas of nationalism and the much-publicised 'failures' of multicultural policy.

The town of Rochdale lies approximately twenty miles west of Bradford, over the Pennine hills in Greater Manchester. In the nineteenth century, Rochdale, like Bradford and other northern mill towns, grew rapidly during the Industrial Revolution through the large-scale manufacture of textiles. Following the Second World War in the mid-twentieth century, Rochdale, like Bradford, also saw an influx of South Asian migrants, who came to work in the textile industry. By the time of the 2001 Census, Rochdale had a large South Asian population (19.9 per cent) with a significant Mirpuri minority. Back in the late nineteenth century, the flow of goods between Rochdale and Bradford was made possible by the construction of the Rochdale Canal, which connected with Bradford via the Leeds Liverpool canal. Today, Rochdale still maintains strong links with Bradford, but, following the decline of the textile industry,

the main fabrics traded now are for colourful saris and kurta pyjamas. Where there was once strong, industrial trade between the towns, then, there are now strong familial ties. Indeed, it could be said that the trade routes of the textile industry across the north of England are now used most prominently by Mirpuris, maintaining their kinship (*biradari*) ties. From routes to roots and back again, to paraphrase the well used aphorism (Gilroy 1993).

3.3.1. Rochdale Town Hall

During the summer of 2010, Mr. Khokhar had arranged for the sponsorship of a Patwari singer, Abid Qadri, to come to the UK from Pakistan. Mr. Khokhar explained that Abid was a well-known and highly regarded singer in the Punjab and Kashmir, having won numerous competitions. A few weeks after Abid had arrived in the UK, Mr. Khokhar telephoned to invite me to the concert in Rochdale. I duly accepted Mr. Khokhar's invitation and agreed to meet him at the barbershop later that day. The shop was closed when I arrived but the door was open and Mr. Khokhar was sat inside with a few friends. After saying hello they got up to leave and Mr. Khokhar asked if I would like some food. Having just eaten at home, I politely refused and waited in the shop whilst he went downstairs to eat. As I waited I read the paper, and, after several minutes, a few more of his friends came in. We chatted briefly about my recent trip to Pakistan, the places I had visited, music I had performed and listened to, as well as the extreme flooding that hit the northwest region in 2010. There was a great feeling of anticipation in the barbershop, and Mr. Khokhar's friends impressed on my that Abid was a fantastic singer: 'One of the best!'. I told them about the music academy I had been to in the town of Dina, northern Punjab, where I had heard a short recital of Patwari *sher*. That small concert was, ostensibly, put on for my benefit by Mr. Khokhar, and was held in a small room

down a backstreet. There were only a few people there and there was no electronic amplification. I expressed how impressed I was with how loud the *ghara* was and that my ears had been ringing for days afterwards. Mr. Khokhar's friends were pleased that I had seen Patwari music in Pakistan, and that I had some knowledge of the instruments involved, but were also amused that this had been my only experience of the music thus far. 'Tonight's concert', they said, 'will be much, much bigger!'

Not long later, Mr. Khokhar came back upstairs with a plate heaped with food. 'There you go', he said, 'you try this'. Despite having just eaten a full meal, I nevertheless accepted and, as we ate, Mr. Khokhar told me more about Abid Qadri and the instruments involved in the performance of Patwari music. Abid is a professional musician from Rawalpindi in Pakistan and had a three-month working visa to come to England and perform. His tour of England mainly followed the migration routes of Kashmiris and Punjabis: Bradford, Keighley, Rochdale, Birmingham etc. With a doubly full belly we set off in his blue Ford Focus. I drove and, on the way to the concert, we picked up two of his friends from Great Horton Road before joining the M62 motorway to Rochdale.

We arrived at the hall in Rochdale at about 9:30pm and there were only a few cars dotted around outside, which suggested that we were a little early. Mr. Khokhar laughed and said that people will be amazed that there is a white guy there; he, at least, had never seen a '*gora*' at a Patwari concert before. Getting out of the car we made our way into the hall, stopping to say hello to people as we did so. The hall itself was large, rectangular with a stage up front and seats for around 150 people. The high walls either side of the stage were lined, floor to ceiling, with black cloth, punctuated with sparkling lights to create a starry night effect.

There were already a few dozen people milling about. At the back of the hall was a sales desk with DVDs of previous concerts. The sales desk had a small television and DVD player playing Patwari sung poetry, which was surrounded by groups of men. We sat down for a few minutes and various people came over for a chat. Mr. Khokhar's 13-year-old nephew came up to say hello to me. He had not been so direct with me before, and, I think because the two of us probably comprised the two youngest people in the hall, he latched onto me. I asked whether he liked Patwari music and he shook his head coolly. 'So what music do you like?' I asked. He made a bit of a sneering look – it was evidently an alien question. 'Imran Khan?', I suggested. 'Yeah, yeah!', he replied, perking up. He went on to explain to me that he does 'do music' in school – 'rhythms, tunes and stuff' – but that he does not really enjoy it or take it seriously. With it being the summer holidays, he lamented that he had spent most of his time being dragged around these concerts. It's not all bad, though: he's usually given the task of picking up the notes that the musicians are showered with, for which he gets paid ten pounds for his troubles.

The performance did not look like starting anytime soon so we got back up from our seats, headed out the fire escape and down to a taxi rank, which was located directly underneath the hall. There were several men hanging around in the taxi rank; most were either radio operators or drivers, but some were friends of Mr. Khokhar. The atmosphere was convivial and they greeted us as we came in and offered us tea or coffee whilst we waited for the concert to begin. We sat on some couches with a coffee whilst a TV played a DVD of a Patwari concert in Pakistan. The DVD was a good taster of what was to come; indeed, I later recognized some members of the audience in the video from the concert. When we had finished our coffees we ventured back upstairs to a hall that had become much busier. By now, around 100

men had turned up, and, as the night progressed, a further 50 or so arrived. The reason for this staggered arriving, Mr. Khokhar explained, is that most people work as taxi drivers or in restaurants, so they have to wait until their shifts end.

We made our way over to our seats, the MC took to the stage, cleared his throat and a hush fell as people began to take seats. The evening began with melismatic prayers said by the local Sufi imam. Much like the procedure for a qawwali assembly, a Patwari gathering begins and ends with passages from the Qur'an. Unlike a qawwali performance, however, these readings will usually form the most overtly religious moments in the gathering. To follow an observation made by Qureshi (1986: 115) in relation to qawwali, these Qur'anic recitations, usually by a local Sufi sheikh, serve to legitimize the gatherings. Once prayers were over, several people, including the imam and Mr. Khokhar, were invited onto the stage to recite poetry.

During the journey over, Mr. Khokhar had been fidgeting with bits of A4 paper, on which he had written poetry. He had practiced reciting it in the car, eliciting cries of 'wah!' from his friends in the back. As we sat in the hall, however, he seemed to be getting increasingly anxious and was constantly thumbing his piece of paper and re-reading it. Two poets took to the stage and received warm responses from the attentive audience. Next on stage was the imam. He received a chorus of 'wah, ji, wah!' from all corners, though perhaps, being used to giving sermons, he was at a bit of an unfair advantage. These responses of 'wah wah' from the audience provide a crucial form of interaction between the performer and the audience, and were heard at particular moments of virtuosity throughout the night. At this particular moment, however, it was clear that, as a natural orator, the imam, would be a hard act to follow and, unfortunately, that task fell to Mr. Khokhar. I could sense his

nervousness, and, as he took the microphone he took his time to compose himself. His recitation began smoothly, but, soon after starting, he forgot his lines. He made a few quips with the audience who were encouraging him along. This seemed to relax him and, despite this brief lapse in memory, Mr. Khokhar managed to recite his poem and drew plenty of appreciative shouts from the crowd.

Figure 14: Musicians sat on stage at a Patwari concert in Rochdale, Greater Manchester, with the banner 'mehfil sher khavani' (room of sung poetry).

Once the spoken poetry was over the stage began to be set up for the musicians as the hall filled again with ambient chatter. By now the hall was becoming extremely full, so we moved seats to get a better viewpoint. The stage set, the MC introduced each musician individually to applause from the audience. Most of the musicians were from the surrounding area but several were from the town of Redditch, south of Birmingham. With the exception of Abid Qadri, who was a

professional singer from Pakistan, all of the musicians rely on other forms of employment in order to earn a living. For the most part this means taxi driving, working in restaurants, and occasionally tailoring. Music is thus a part-time endeavour, rather than a professional occupation. But that is not to say that it isn't taken seriously. On the contrary, the devotion to music is seen as an indication of esteem among Mirpuris and, often, the reputation of individual performers precedes them. All told there were eight musicians on stage: the two *ghara* players,[12] Usman Shah and Raja Tajammal, sat with their backs to us, as did the dholak player, Mohammad Yaseen.[13]

[12] Broadly speaking, a *ghara* serves two purposes in life. Its primary function is as a water pot, whilst its second is as a percussive instrument in Patwari music (whilst occasionally it serves a tertiary function of an ashtray and/doorstop in between performances, as can be seen in the background of Figure 15). The *ghara* is a medium sized earthenware pot with a large belly, which has a small tapering up to a circular opening at the top. A *ghara* player will sit cross-legged on a mat on the floor, with the instrument between their legs at an angle of approximately 45 degrees. On the left hand, the player will wear a series of metal rings (*challa*) on their fingers called. The player strikes the side of the *ghara* with the *challa* on their fingers to produce sharp, fast and metallic rhythms. Whilst the left hind strikes the body of the *ghara* the right hand beats the cylindrical opening of the pot to produce bass notes of varying pitches. On the right wrist, a *ghara* player will also wear a band of bells (*ghungru*). In between playing bass notes, the *ghara* player may raise and wave their right wrist to shake the bells, before striking the top of the pot. The *ghara* and its performer thus emit three main sounds: the metallic rhythm of the left hand; bass notes when the mouth of the pot is struck; and, bells when the right wrist moves or is shaken. The dominant sound comes from the left hand, which creates movement and drives the rhythms along. The bass and bells of the right hand and wrist punctuate this loud, driving rhythm. In a Patwari performance there are often two *ghara* players, who play in tight unison.

[13] The *dholak* is a common instrument across South Asia and is a hand-held version of the larger *dhol* drum. The instrument is a wooden, double-headed hand drum, with a treble skin at one end, and bass at the other. The skins are stitched over an iron ring onto the body of the drum, which allows the performer to alter the two pitches of the instrument. The *dholak* is usually played in the person's lap, using the fingers and palms of the hand to create high and low pitches. In sound, technique and rhythms (*tala*) the *dholak* is comparable to the tabla, however the *dholak* is primarily a folk instrument and more common in north Indian styles, such as *qawwali*, bhangra and Punjabi folk music such as Patwari.

Figure 15: A sitar player tuning up.

Figure 16: A ghara player and his instrument.

Next to the dholak sat the harmonium player,[14] Talat Hussain, who sat at an angle facing towards us. He was flanked by Abid Qadri and Ch Javed, the singers, who were sat adjacent to the sitar player,[15] Syed Irfan Shah Sahib. In a typical performance, the singer will recite the first two lines of *sher* '*a capella'* with the remaining instruments joining in thereafter.[16] The focal point of a Patwari ensemble is the singer, of which there is often more than one, and the instrumentalists will arrange themselves either side of them, in either a 'U' shaped formation with the singer(s) at

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[14] Having been introduced to the Indian subcontinent by Christian missionaries in the nineteenth-century, the harmonium is now used in many musical genres across South Asia. Notes are produced by hand, by pumping air through sets of reeds, which are opened and closed using the keyboard on top of the instrument.

[15] The sitar is a plucked stringed instrument used widely across the Indian subcontinent. A sitar will usually have six or seven strings that run down the fret board, along with a number of sympathetic strings that run beneath in the hollow neck and into a resonant chamber. The intervals of the sitar can be adjusted by moving the frets and, before a Patwari performance, will be tuned according to a predetermined scale, played by the harmonium.

[16] In terms of melody and meter, Patwari music follows similar theoretical principals to other North Indian music: particularly that of *rāg* (melodic mode) and *tāl* (metric cycle). The sung melody in Patwari music is used to articulate the lyrics of the given poetry. Often, these sung melodies are mimicked by the other melodic instruments, which also improvise around the scale in between verses. The lines of the poetry are sung in couplets. The two lines, together, form a complete thought and, much in the same way as the sung poetry of Kalam Kohistani *rō*, in north west Pakistan, can also stand alone as individual poems (See Joan Baart (2004) 'Tone and Song in Kalam Kohistani (Pakistan)', in Quené and Hueven (eds.), *On Speech and Language: Studies for Sieb G. Nosteboom*, Utrecht: Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics).

the apex, or in a circular formation. He sings with a high, full, powerful voice (*bhari hui moti*) directly to them, gesturing, pleading with them; questioning them. The audience, in turn, react and respond to his singing with cries of approval and recognition. The quality of a performance is judged according to how well the singer can articulate the emotion of the poetry (*sher*) to the audience. Because of this, the singer very much recites the poetry to the audience, who respond to the lines of verse with cries of approval or disapproval. The quality of the voice, its power (*bari hui moti*) and the way in which a singer delivers the poetry will thus also play a large part in determining how well the performer is regarded, and also how well he is remunerated during the performance.[17]

The musicians were organised on stage in a circle, sat facing inwards. The *ghara* and *dholak* sat on the outside of the circle, with their backs to the audience, whilst the sitar player sat centre of the stage, facing towards the audience, and was flanked on either side by the singers, who lined the back of the stage. This kind of circular seating arrangement follows a similar pattern to other South Asian musical practices and is usually organised according to local etiquette (*adab*).[18] In a practical sense, this circular seating arrangement is also arranged so as to direct the loudest percussion sounds away from the audience and allow the quieter instruments and vocals to come through. For such a large concert, however, the venue had also provided a large amplification system. When the concert began and I felt the full

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[17] The connections between audience and performer are, in this sense, similar to those in Qawwali performances described by Qureshi (1986; 5): 'Experiencing Qawwali means charting a process of interaction between musicians and listeners, between music and audience responses; in short, a performance'. Silver (1984) has also written about the role of gesturing in relation to *adab* during musical performance: 'Going beyond purely musical performance, the musician will often use gestures and histrionics, as well as dress, as part of his strategy or *adab*. Some musicians eschew any sort of showiness, and prefer to let their music make its own impact. Others employ many different head motions, facial expressions, and hard and arm gestures to add extra effect to their music' (Silver 1984: 325). See also Clayton and Leante (2011).

[18] For more on *adab* (etiquette), in South Asian musical practices – particularly between teacher (*ustad*) and student (*shagrid*) – see Silver (1984).

force of the sound system, I understood why Mr. Khokhar's friends had been so amused at me finding the small concert in Pakistan loud. The concert in Rochdale was, by contrast, almost deafening.

The concert in Rochdale, and indeed elsewhere on Abid's tour, was free entry. Audience members are welcome to come and go as they please, but their financial appreciation and patronage is dramatically expressed during the concert itself. Whilst the singers are singing, members of the audience approach the stage with great wads of money. Once at the stage they take a handful of the money and throw it up in the air so that it showers down on the musicians like confetti. This continues right through the evening. The first time I saw this happening, straining my eyes I couldn't see what denomination it was, but Mr. Khokhar, with a laugh, informed me that they were rupees, not pounds. During the concert, members of the audience would go to the side of the stage where there was a man with a bag full of 5 and 10 rupee notes. They would then buy a wad of notes for £5 or £10, or whatever their donation was, which they would subsequently shower the musicians with. At the same time, they would hand the MC a piece of paper with the names of people in their party. At the beginning of each verse, the singer would stop the music (the harmonium would keep playing around with the scale) and announce the names of the benefactors with honorifics and where they came from: 'Raja Khokhar Sahab, Bradford' etc.

3.3.2. The circulation of money

In a Patwari gathering, the singer receives money from the audience through two primary means. First, and most frequently, the stage will be flanked by someone who acts as a kind of *bureau de change* and financial mediator between the audience and the performers. This person will usually be a relative of one of the performers.

Members of the audience will first approach this person with a donation in pounds sterling. The mediator will accept the money before writing down the patron's name and hometown. He will then give the patron a huge wedge of single rupee notes with which the patron can shower the musician(s). All of the musicians remain in a seated position, usually cross-legged, throughout the evening with the exception of the singers who stood when it was their turn to sing. When a performer is approached by a member of the audience and showered with money, he will not usually respond, unless a rupee note fell somewhere that interrupted their technique. When this happened, the performer or someone near removed the bank note. The only musician in Rochdale who did respond to the offering of money was the Abid Qadri. Indeed, more generally the singer takes on added financial responsibilities in a Patwari ensemble, in an analogous way to the sheikh in a qawwali group.[19] Whereas, in a qawwali, the musician receives money implicitly as remuneration, in a Patwari performance, by contrast, the reverse is true. In this sense, unlike qawwali, the status of the performer and their ability to convey the emotion and meaning (*matlab*) of the poetry is of central importance (Qureshi 1986: 111).

The youngest or most junior person at the performance will then collect all the fallen rupees from around the musician and return them back to the '*bureau de change*'. In this sense the circulation of money truly is cyclical, with the rupees constantly being recycled by the mediator to be used again by the next patron. Indeed, the monetary value of the rupees will not necessarily correspond to the

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[19] In a qawwali performance, the devotee hands money to the sheikh as a spiritual offering. It is then transformed from a spiritual offering to 'worldly' pay as it passes from the sheikh to the musician. Through this process, the circulation of money becomes an 'incidental' reward for the musician's performance, rather than integral part of the qawwali (Qureshi 1986: 138). As such, the audience remunerates the performer implicitly, rather than explicitly.

equivalent value of the pounds sterling and so instead carry symbolic significance.[20] At the start of each *sher*, the financial mediator will hand the singer a list of patrons so that, in between verses (*mukhra*), he can announce to the whole audience their names, establishing both a commonality of currency and levels of status. In this sense, it is not only money that is being exchanged through the *bureau du change*. Status, too, is part of the transaction.

The second means through which money is transferred from patron to performer bypasses the financial mediator altogether. This type of transfer usually occurs at a more progressed stage of the evening, in a manner that could be described as one-upmanship. Because the original value of the donation is lost in translation – as it is converted from pounds to rupees – a more ostentatious method of patronage is often employed. When this happens, five, ten, twenty and occasionally fifty pound notes are handed directly to the singer, who acknowledges the donation with a nod, before pocketing the note himself. If the same gesture is offered to an instrumentalist, then they will proceed until the end of their solo before also pocketing the money. When this type of transaction takes place, the patron makes sure that the colour of their money is clearly visible to the rest of the audience.

[20] Cherribi (2010) has noted how money, as a material rather than financial object, can carry emotional significance for people in diaspora: 'Money has a far greater emotional significance than is immediately apparent. It buys flowers for lovers, shoes for babies taking their first steps, chocolate for aging parents who may have been feeling neglected … All of these make up the fabric of life, and the currency that affords them down through the centuries becomes a kind of common ground within a given culture (Cherribi 2010: 24). Qureshi also recognized the material importance of money in a qawwali performance, saying: 'The operation of this social norm does highlight the importance of money as a material of social status' (Qureshi 1986: 129). The same can reasonably said for Patwari *sher*.

Figure 17: A patron hands money directly to the singer.

3.3.3. The Patwari audience: ritual and etiquette (*adab*)

> 'Qawwali music conveys to its listeners affirmation of traditional structures, whether ideological or social. It does so by its very dependence on those structures of successful articulation. But there is no doubt that the same music also concurrently articulates, and even promotes, individual self-assertion' (Qureshi 1986: 228).

With this in mind, it is worth considering the audience. The concerts I went to during my fieldwork period – in both the UK and Pakistan – were attended exclusively by men. According to Mr. Khokhar, virtually all these men were from the Punjab and Kashmir regions of Pakistan who now live in the north of England. Indeed, for the performances in the UK, the hometowns of those in attendance were made explicit by the singer, as he read out the role call of those who had donated money (most were from places where high numbers of Mirpuris live, such as Bradford, Rochdale and Oldham). In addition, the majority present at the

performances I attended were elder, or first generation, Mirpuris. As mentioned, the staggered arrival of people throughout a Patwari evening made clear that these are working Mirpuris, who come at the end of their shifts. There were occasionally exceptions: besides Mr. Khokhar's grandson and I there were a few boys there with their parents and a small group of men in their early 30s.

Along with the quite specific generational, gender and cultural make up of a typical Patwari audience, there is also a certain etiquette (*adab*) expected of those in attendance. Whilst the etiquette – or socio-cultural and economic dimensions – were not conceptualized explicitly to me by attendees, a number of abstractions can be made from the ways in which performers and audience members interact, and implicitly acknowledge and enact certain procedures and rituals during a performance. These mainly revolve around seating arrangements, responding to the poetry correctly - and at the right moments of the performance - and the act of patronising the musicians. Whilst I have listed these three aspects of etiquette, or *adab*, separately, they are closely related and dependent on one another, and so must not be thought of as discrete actions.

Audience members at Patwari evenings in the UK sit in front of the performers in rows of seats. Whilst there is no formal seating plan or seating reservation for the majority of seats, most concerts that I attended had one row of seats to the side of the musicians, where higher status individuals sat. These were usually the owners of the venue, successful businessmen or the principal patrons of the visiting musician (i.e. those who had financed the trip from Pakistan to the UK). The remaining seats are usually unreserved and the rows fill up on a first-come-first-served basis. Throughout the evenings, however, people move seats, either to get a better view, or to sit closer to a friend or relative.

Audience members interact with the performance through two expressive responses: firstly, through responding to certain passages with nods and/or cries of approval, and, secondly, through showering the musicians with money. Interaction between the audience and those on stage in the form of cries of approval begin at an early stage of the evening. Usually, the first people on stage will recite poetry in the spoken form. These people may be members of the audience, one of the musicians or the Sufi sheikh, who also opens and closes proceedings for the evening. The poems will often be written by the orator, but may also be well known Patwari sher, such as Saif-ul-Malook Mian by the Sufi saint, Muhammad Bakhsh.[21] As the poetry is recited, the audience will respond to lines of verse with approving cries of 'wah!', 'wah wah!' and 'wah-ji-wah!' This emotional form of response will continue throughout the evening and is most noticeable during the main performance. This type of interaction is important because it conveys a kind of 'cultural connoisseurship' (Marsden 2007) that is related to a level proficiency in the historical traditions of the Mirpur area. It is important to audibly (through cries) and visibly (through nods) demonstrate your knowledge and appreciation of the *sher*, and the quality of the performance, at the correct moments. Failing to do so can result in status being diminished.

The same can be said for the second form of performer-audience interaction: the giving of money. I have already described the ways in which performers accept money during a performance, but it is also important to consider expected behaviour of the audience. In relation to performances of jújù music among Yoruba elite, Waterman discusses the act of 'spraying', whereby the patron will very publicly

[21] Mian Muhammad Bakhsh (1830 to 1907) is an influential Sufi saint and Patwari poet. His held in particular reverence by Mirpuris as he was born in a village called Khari Sharif, which is not far from Mirpur, and where his tomb is located.

shower the musician with money. Whilst ‘spraying’ takes place within the confines of a particular performance context, Waterman suggests that its desired effects are felt further afield: ‘Gossip circulates quickly, and ceremonies are nexus points for positive and negative re-evaluations of social status and personal power’ (Waterman 1990: 175). The showering of money during a Patwari *sher* is highly ritualized and of great importance, both for the performer and the individual patron(s), the effects of which are felt beyond the confines of the mehfil. It is a way of saying, ‘I am staying true to my roots’, whilst also implicitly asking everyone else, ‘are you?’ In this sense, ostentatious displays of patronage provide a way to ‘be’ Mirpuri that continue beyond the realm of the mehfil. This ‘being Mirpuri’ is enacted, and reaffirmed, through the appreciation of music, and, conversely, the appreciation of music is an important part of ‘being Mirpuri’.

Figure 18: A patron showers the performers with money.

3.4. The performance of patronage: connoisseurship and 'classicization'

It was clear from the concert in Rochdale that, in a Patwari mehfil, there is a strong and important connection between the singer and the audience, who hang on his every word. The giving of money, and the very public way in which it is done during a Patwari performance, is quite clearly a public a sign and declaration of appreciation, patronage and wealth. All of which are signifiers of status. Indeed, the money showering is in itself can be thought of as a kind of performance. The audience members perform their status in the community through their patronage and appreciation of music. Some men would make multiple trips throughout the night, whilst others moved to show their higher status by handing over £10 and £20 notes directly to the musician, circumventing the middle man and making sure the colour of their money was clearly visible to all watching. Others would mark their performance by standing on stage with the performers to drizzle their rupees over the head of a particular musician whilst nodding appreciatively. Others still would stand in front of the stage and dramatically throw their notes upwards in one burst, creating a monsoon of rupees. As in a qawwali gathering, then, these offerings 'constitute the social gesture *par excellence* for expressing high status and a position of patronage' (Qureshi 1986: 129). Waterman, too, highlights the importance of patronage in determining and maintaining status, recognizing 'the notion, well-nigh universal among urban Yoruba, that anyone can achieve wealth and high status through the cultivation of patron-client networks' (Waterman 1990: 1). These ostentatious demonstrations of patronage are important not only for re-enforcing levels of status but also as a means of income for the performers. The musicians' levels of remuneration depend entirely on the patronage of the audience.

The audience's patronage of the music, however, is also indicative of a deeper understanding of, and connection to, Kashmiri and Punjabi heritage and culture. The act of forming relations and networks between people around a shared, and historical, musical tradition has a long history on the Indian sub-continent. As Schofield has identified, among the Mughal elite, 'music was patronized through a series of friendships circles with mutual interests in music, poetry, and Sufism' (Schofield 2010: 495; see also Brown 2006). Arguably, however, there has been less attention paid to the act of patronizing music among lower class, low-caste, peoples.[22] Historiographically, of course, this has been largely due to a lack of available written sources resulting from low literacy levels among low-caste people on the sub-continent. Writing about mehfils during the period of Aurangzeb in seventeenth-century Mughal India, Brown describes how the 'differentiated yet complementary roles of patron and musician were embedded in Indo-Persian discourses of gender and social strata, and the mirza's successful negotiation of his prescribed role in this relationship signified his mastery of elite male codes' (Brown 2006: 67).[23]

In the modern day diaspora, these negotiations, between patrons, musicians and audience, take on an augmented role. By supporting Patwari music, Mirpuris in diaspora also display their love and appreciation of a deeply rooted articulation of Punjabi and Kashmiri, culture which is sustained through a shared, rural heritage. The 'performance of patronage' (through showering the musician with money) of Patwari sung poetry, by both the musician's sponsor and by those attending the

[22] This is not as true for the performance of music by low-caste musicians. Indeed, Baily (1990: 154) has observed that, 'The condemnation of music has important implications for the status of musicians in Muslim societies. The performance of music at public or semi-public gatherings, such as wedding parties and concerts, is very often in the hands of hereditary professional musicians. They usually occupy a low position in society, often stereotyped as social deviants. Popular imagination connects musicians with drinking alcohol and prostitution'.
[23] 'Mirza' is the name given to describe a man of high rank or princely status.

concerts, demonstrates, for all to see, a level of 'cultural connoisseurship' (Marsden 2007) that embodies a particular type of male Mirpuri subjectivity.[24]

In these situations, assertions of status are played out among a group of men – Mirpuris – who have traditionally been seen as occupying one of the lowest strata of society.[25] John Baily observed that the 'Mirpuris are regarded by other Asian communities in Bradford, and apparently elsewhere, as rather unsophisticated people … There can be no doubt that there is strong pressure within the Mirpuri community to maintain a way of life which is in harmony with the values of Mirpur' (Baily 1990: 157). However, despite occupying this low social position – on the margins of the margins – Mirpuris' relationship with music, in the context of the Patwari mehfil at least, is still one of great intra-communal importance, wherein status and masculinity is performed and contested. The sense of masculinity that is cultivated in the barbershop, by dint of it being men-only, is further negotiated and asserted within the mehfil. Indeed, Patwari *sher* is an activity around which modes of masculine behaviour are learnt. This is particularly the case for the younger British-born Mirpuri boys present, whose emotional connection with Mirpur is reinforced by music and established as a crux of their heritage. Relationships among and between men, based on a sense of Mirpuriness, are forged, realised and status is established, primarily through the circulation of money.

[24] Asked why there only seems to be Mirpuris at these concerts, Mr. Khokhar replied: 'This is a very traditional music, only Patwari people listen to this music'. I followed this question up by asking why there were no women at the concert. Mr. Khokhar found this question funny and quipped, 'they are at home!' Marsden (2007: 479) has made similar observations of Chitrali masculinity at musical gatherings: 'Mahfils, thus, emphasize a style of Chitrali male subjectivity that focuses on the cultivation of cultural connoisseurship and taste as well as the nurturing of emotional sensitivity'.

[25] As I have shown previously in this thesis, Mirpuris certainly do not occupy a social position that mirzas and Mughal emperors once enjoyed, but are, instead, repeatedly marginalized by a range of social and political processes.

Moreover, the desire to 'maintain a way of life which is in harmony with the values of Mirpur' is realised through music in complex ways. For some Mirpuris, music might be regarded with relatively little interest; an activity to pass the time whilst at work, or simply something that happens in the background. And yet, even in these cases, Patwari is repeatedly held up as an aspect of culture that is central to Mirpuri heritage. When meeting Mirpuris in other locations around the country – Oxford, Newcastle, Walsall – and have talked about music, their interest is always piqued and eyebrows raised when I mention Patwari. In these snatched conversations – in taxis, kebab and curry houses, shops etc. – it was always clear that Patwari was deeply understood as an esteemed marker of Mirpuri identity and culture. Rather than simply being of a low stratum in society which is 'backward' and not interested in music, then, the context of the Patwari mehfil shows that Mirpuris occupy a social position that is culturally rich and deeply complex, in which music plays a critical role in the negotiation of social hierarchies.

I would suggest, then, that in relation to Patwari sung poetry, connoisseurship could also be applied, in terms of social hierarchies, from the bottom up. But, whereas the Mughal elite considered all musicians to be of a low social status (Brown 2006: 72), in the setting of a Patwari mehfil, musicians occupy an equal, or sometimes even elevated, status to the patrons. Of course, it might be suggested that this is a natural consequence of the audience themselves as being of a low status, low-caste background. But that observation in itself reveals some of the commonly held assumptions and stereotypes of Mirpuris. In the diaspora, in places such as Bradford, Mirpuris, who were once, indeed, of a low social and economic position in rural Kashmir, are now becoming relatively wealthy and, subsequently, great patrons of music (contrary to Baily's (1990: 157) previous assertions). Higher wages compared

with equivalent jobs in Pakistan (Shaw 2000) have elevated the economic status of Mirpuris and this is having a knock-on effect on their social status. The ways in which these changes are revealed, through and by music, have a real and profound impact on current epistemologies of both Mirpuris and the patronage of music in modern Muslim societies.

Here, 'individuals or groups', who are very much of the working class, rather than the ruling elite, achieve connoisseurship through the patronization of music. I would argue, further, that for Mirpuris, subscribing to and attending Patwari performances is an act of connoisseurship coupled with a kind of cultural intimacy, whereby the music is simultaneously used as a mark of group belonging and cultural pride.[26]

In this sense, the patronage of Patwari music, both by the organisers and the audience, is an important part of much broader processes of self-identity and belonging. The perceived authenticity of a Patwari concert, and a Patwari performer for that matter, are of great importance to Mirpuris. A few days after the concert in Rochdale, I asked Mr. Khokhar whether he thought there were any good Patwari singers in the UK, to which he shook his head emphatically and replied, 'no, only good performers are in Pakistan'. I had elicited similar responses from Mr. Khokhar when I asked about his feelings towards Qawwali groups at the Bradford Mela. In that context we were discussing why he did not tend to attend the Bradford Mela. Because I had often heard Qawwali music being played in his barbershop, I suggested that he might enjoy some of the Qawwali groups at the two-day festival. Mr.

[26] Michael Herzfeld defines 'cultural intimacy' thus: 'The recognition of those aspects of cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality, the familiarity with the bases of power that may at one moment assure the disenfranchised a degree of creative irreverence and at the next moment reinforce the effectiveness of intimidation' (Herzfeld 2005: 3).

Khokhar replied, ‘these are not real performances, only people from London. Only in Pakistan are real Qawwali’. Despite these feelings, however, Mr. Khokhar believed that the Patwari concerts in England being given by the Pakistani singer Abid Qadri, during the summer of 2010 were ‘real’ and authentic.

Such labelling, however, does not come without its complexities. For instance, whilst describing the music as traditional, Mr. Khokhar would often also emphasize its value and quality by calling it ‘classical’. This duality of how the music is imagined suggests both a process of Ashrafisation and ‘classicization’, whereby the music is elevated from ‘*desi*’ (local, or village style), to something closer to ‘*maarga*’ (a more privileged, ‘universal’ way) (Schofield 2010: 491).[27] Katherine Butler Schofield’s excellent study of the classicization of Hindustani music by the Mughals uses several discursive markers to identify processes of classicization that occurred in pre-colonial times. For one of her markers, Schofield cites the work of Harold Powers (1980), which states that, ‘for music to be classical, it must be “patronized by individuals or groups, belonging to the ruling elite, who profess *connoisseurship*’’ of that music (1980: 11; emphasis in original)’.[28]

With this increase in patronage, then, comes new ways of asserting social status. Indeed, to paraphrase Appadurai (1986), these musical gatherings can be thought of as ‘tournaments of status’, wherein members of the audience publicly

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[27] ‘Ashrafisation’, that is, a tendency for Indian Muslims to claim descent from Arabian ancestors, and the adoption by them of Arabic caste or family names such as Qureshi, Shaikh or Khalifa (Baily 2006).
[28] Harold Powers (1980), quoted in Katherine Schofield (2010). Other criteria for music to attain classical status are, according to Powers, and quoted by Schofield: 1. That the music is “purveyed by performers who a) regard themselves and are regarded as highly skilled *specialists*, who must be b) taught and *indoctrinated* into their speciality … over a long period of time”; 2. That it is “said to conform to a *music-theoretical norm* which is part of a Great Tradition”; 3. That it is “both a) connected with and supportive of cultural performances to which it is ancillary, and at the same time b) conceived as an independent domain that can stand on its own as the centrepiece of a cultural performance”; 4. Finally, that it is “patronized by individuals or groups, belonging to the ruling elite, who profess *connoisseurship*”.

assert their love of the music, through patronage, to reaffirm or renegotiate their position in society. Attending and patronizing Patwari gatherings in towns across the north of England trigger collective, but dynamic, cultural memories of the diaspora's past. This is achieved, primarily, through displays of connoisseurship. The audience in a modern Patwari mehfil is expected to respond the musicians and orators on stage with cries of '*wah wah!'* This exchange is an important indication of connoisseurship as the audience is expected to be able to identify particularly moving passages of verse, or a particularly skilled flourish on a solo instrument (see also Silver 1984: 321). Doing so demonstrates both to the musician and other audience members that the acknowledging audience member possesses a high degree of cultural knowledge and literacy. This has always been an important part of the *adab* (etiquette) in South Asian mehfil culture, but, arguably, it takes on additional significance in the context of the diaspora. Such public displays of connoisseurship are also part of a broader display of loyalty and belonging, whereby cultural knowledge and literacy of the music serve as a marker of one's identity. The performance of patronage within a Patwari mehfil and its relationship with status thus endows the gathering with the capacity to act as a medium (to paraphrase Qureshi 1986) for social change and mobility. Whilst the gathering serves to articulate existing social hierarchies, then, the circulation of money also allows for new values and socialities to develop that can, in turn, transform traditional hierarchies.

3.5. Summary

The relationship between patronage, connoisseurship and classicization has important bearings on the way Patwari concerts are understood in the UK. The

performance of patronage, as I term it, reveals complex moments of exchange between and among Mirpuris. But what is at stake in these moments is complicated. Money plays an important role, but not simply as a means of remuneration for the musician. For musicians who are visiting from Pakistan, the degree to which they are looked after and patronized means that they will return to Kashmir and the Punjab with stories of their host's generosity. These stories circulate widely and will affect the host's standing in the community. This, I would say, is one form of exchange. Another form, which I have talked about more extensively in this chapter, is between audience members. Here, the performance of patronage is a social performance, and its meanings are local and particular. The showering of money, the reading out of patrons' names and the emotional cries of approval are all part of asserting levels of connoisseurship. This connoisseurship is under the constant scrutiny of those who are there, so there is much to be lost, and much to be gained. Patwari mehfils are thus spaces of Mirpuri male subjectivity, in which levels of status are won and lost; the ramifications of which are felt across the city and beyond. The circulation of money within a Patwari mehfil also suggests that the commodification of cultural forms, in the Marxian sense, does not necessarily lead to the obliteration of local, moral particularity (Parry and Block 1989; Stokes 2002).

In this sense, Patwari mehfils should also be understood in relation to, and connected with, broader political pressures.[29] Whilst they are very much located within the industrial landscapes of Bradford and Rochdale, the sense of place and

[29] I previously mentioned the work of Marsden (2007) as exemplifying ways of understanding the complex interactions between performer and listener that take into account both local sensibilities and broader political pressures. However, the focus of Marsden's study is in a country, or region, that experiences more localized forms of migration and diversity. I would argue that, with the case of Mirpuris in Britain, the idea of cultural intimacy is another piece of conceptual framing needs to be put into the mix. If one follows Hirschkind's (2006) approach, which I broadly agree with, then Patwari concerts must be understood as highly localized practices with complex interactions and meanings therein. By localized forms of migration and diversity, I mean that the types of migration and diversity experienced in these places are predominantly intra-national, rather than international.

space that is represented therein is, in Giddens' terms, 'thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them' (Giddens 1990: 18). Vertovec (2010) identified such duality as being part of a 'diaspora consciousness':

> Particularly in works concerning global diasporas (especially within Cultural Studies) there is considerable discussion surrounding a kind of "diaspora consciousness" marked by dual or multiple identifications. Hence there are descriptions of individuals' awareness of de-centred attachments, of being simultaneously 'home away from home', 'here or there' or, for instance, British and something else' (Vertovec 2010: 5).

In the UK, these political and diasporic pressures take many forms: from internal familial pressures such as marriage, paying taxes, maintaining *biraderi* ties; to external social pressures such as the expectation in the media to 'integrate' and broader political events involving Islam and Muslims.[30] In a society that is becoming increasingly diverse, to the extent that the term 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2010; Grillo 2010) has now been coined to describe the demographics of UK cities, cultural practices such as Patwari *sher* assume increasing significance for post-migrant groups, like Mirpuris. Here, Patwari mehfils are arenas of intense cultural intimacy, wherein assertions of (trans)nationality and belonging are enacted and contested.

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[30] Broadly speaking, these 'political and social pressures' might perhaps be better summed up by the term multiculturalism; or, as Stokes (2010), describes it, 'the regulation of diversity'.

Chapter 4: Young Mirpuris and Music

4.1. Introduction

Having established some of the spaces and functions of Patwari sung poetry for elder generations, this chapter looks more closely at the musical activities of younger Mirpuris. In the mid 1980s, it was suggested that children of Pakistani heritage in Bradford were not involved in practical music making, despite listening to a range of music at home. Patricia Jones observed that,

> The children appear to be protected from live music situations. Very few of them play an instrument or have an instrumentalist in their family; very few of them ever learned any songs as small children, had any songs sung to them, or experienced any singing at home; very few of them are allowed to attend school discos. On the other hand, all the children listen to a considerable amount of music at home of various descriptions and watch films, as well as television programmes, which include dance.[1]

Almost twenty years later, can the same still be said? What, indeed, has happened in the interim? This chapter argues that a 'democratization' of music making, facilitated by new recording technologies, has had a profound impact on how young Mirpuris make music in the early twenty-first century. The most notable impact has been the capacity to write and produce rap music, on mobile phones and laptop computers, in a range of contexts that simply would not have been possible twenty years ago. Street corners, schools and youth centres are now spaces in which young Mipuris have seized these new technologies and the opportunities they afford. Ultimately, the chapter shows that music is used by young Mirpuris to navigate and traverse a range of social issues pertaining to their experience of living in Bradford.

[1] Patricia Jones (1984) 'An investigation into curriculum music in middle schools and the role of music in the lives of Muslim children, as a basis for development of a music education more relevant to a multi-cultural society', B.Ed. dissertation, Bradford College, UK, quoted in Baily (1990: 158).

But this statement is not without its complications. The spaces in which rap music is made are rarely neutral, and so a number of questions must immediately be raised: Where is music being made and under what conditions? Why is it being made? Who is it for?

The chapter focuses ethnographically on three sites of music making (falling broadly under the 'street nexus' described in chapter 2), in order to develop an understanding of how young Mirpuris experience living in Bradford and the social pressures they face. On street corners, violence and rap music are used to mark out territories from rival gangs; in youth centres, rap workshops are organised by social workers to discuss crime, education, racism and religion; and, in schools, despite a growing anxiety among teachers about music's permissibility in Islam, young Mirpuris are utilizing recording studios to create their own raps. What is rap music doing in each of these three contexts? What is at stake? As this chapter progresses, each example, or 'site', brings to bear different responses to these questions, but all point to new understandings of the ways rap music is being utilised by post-migrant groups, and the state, in urban contexts.

By looking specifically at young Mirpuris and rap music, the chapter contributes to what Mitchell (2001) describes as a growing body of literature on hip-hop outside the US. From a musical point of view, however, I am less concerned with a close analysis of rap music per se (this has been covered elsewhere, see: Walser 1995; Keyes 1996; Krims 2000), than by the process by which raps are made, those who make them, why they do it and to what ends (Schloss 2004). Whilst I pay attention to some of the lyrical content of Mirpuri raps, I do not spend time looking at musical and lyrical structures in rap in the sense that Krims (2000) does. I follow Schloss (2004), who looks at how hip-hop producers use sampling techniques,

afforded by Mac and PC computers, to create new musical aesthetics that cannot be analysed by traditional musicological techniques alone. Instead, by looking ethnographically at the production process, Schloss argues strongly that sampling isn't merely the rejection of instrumentation or musical 'norms', but a deeply rooted aesthetic choice.

I want to extend this line of thinking to the context of Bradford. But whilst the samples that young Mirpuris use when composing raps are part of their aesthetic choice, I argue that other factors are at play, such as time, space, control and access to the means of production. The 'democratization' of rap music, brought about by the sampling techniques described by Schloss, means that, in Bradford, hip-hop has moved away from a 'specialist' realm and is now being put to other uses: uses that are not always about moments of resistance or subaltern struggle, which are commonly associated with hip-hop (Rose 1989; 1991). For example, rap workshops held across the city, wherein young people make 'hip-hoperas' and 'take-away' raps, often take place in youth centres and schools, and are funded by the local council with public money. This begs some new questions as to the social function of rap music: is it a way for young people to discuss social issues? Or, conversely, is it a means of 'civilizing' youth culture?

This chapter will proceed, then, by looking at these three sites of Mirpuri music making: 'school', 'the street', and 'rap workshops'. My broad argument is that commonly held assumptions and claims that young Mirpuris are not interested in music are wrong, and that, given the opportunity, they engage with music to come to

terms with and understand their experience of living in multicultural Bradford.[2] The rap music they create is thus not to be thought of so much as a genre, than a way of thinking about marginalization.

4.2. Schools: Mirpuris, music and education

In chapter 2, I argued that a range of particular social and political factors contribute to the marginalization of young Mirpuris in Bradford. Philip Lewis (2007) argues that one of the primary reasons that, three generations down the line, Mirpuris have experienced much slower socio-economic development compared with other migrant groups in Bradford has been due to a disproportionately low level educational achievement. In terms of Mirpuris elsewhere in the UK, this view was also shared in the town of Walsall, West Midlands, where a local Kashmiri radio DJ, Raja, explained to me that, among young Kashmiris, there is a culture of education being 'un-cool', discouraged and actively bullied against.[3] Local schools are failing to engage with young people and parents are apathetic to raising aspirations or encouraging their children. Without a fundamental reformation in this area, Raja believed that young men would continue to turn to crime and prolong the cycle of underachievement.

More generally, reports have indicated that young Pakistanis in Bradford are significantly underachieving in schools compared to their peers:

> In 1999, nationally, 22 per cent of Pakistani boys achieved five or more GCSEs (grades A* to C) compared to 37 per cent of girls. The equivalent

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[2] I have invoked the term 'multicultural' here because their experience of living in the city is often framed by assumptions and stereotypes that are projected onto them (by teachers, local media, imams, their peers etc.).

[3] Interview with the author 21 Janurary 2010.

figure for white boys and girls was 45 and 55 per cent respectively (for Indians the figure was even better, 54 and 66 per cent). If these figures were not worrying enough, the Bradford statistics were truly disturbing: 17 and 28 per cent. In 2004 the respective national figures for Pakistan boys and girls were 29 and 39 per cent (Lewis 2007: 26).

A number of civic strategies were set up by the state to tackle this disengagement with education. After entering government in 1997, the Labour Party established the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU). Various studies were carried out by the SEU to establish the processes by which young people were being inhibited from social mobility. One such study, by Britten et al., 'found significant numbers of [Pakistani] 16-17 year olds disengaged from education, employment and training'.[4] A further study in 2004, by Furlong and Cartmel, found that a majority of young Pakistani men left school with few or no qualifications and thus suffered from reduced opportunities and employment. However, one strategy that hasn't received much attention in sociology or musicology is the use of music as a civic project. The following section looks at how music has been utilized to engage young Mirpuris with education, and questions its success and effectiveness.

4.2.1. 'South Asian' music in schools

In the mid 1980s, Bradford's Local Education Authority (LEA) began to support South Asian music and arts in schools. With financial help from Bradford Council and regional arts agencies, small organisations such as Oriental Arts, described in chapters 1 and 2, were able to start up with the aim of promoting South Asian music through live concerts and education programs. Up until this point, there had not been a facility for learning South Asian instruments in schools. However, in the latter part of the decade, the head of the Bradford schools' music service, Brian

[4] Britten et al. (2002: Joseph Rowntree Foundation). Quoted in Iklaq Din (2006), p. 4.

Crier, acquiesced to providing peripatetic instrumental lessons on tabla, dholak and sitar in a number of schools. The services of four teachers were employed and they began giving workshops and classes.

According to Oriental Arts' creative director, Champak Kumar, a variety of pupils in the 1980s took up the music lessons they offered in schools, including young Mirpuri Muslims, but it was Sikh and Hindu children that tended to progress to more advanced playing. Champak believed that this was largely due to greater support from their parents and the continuation of lessons in the Sikh temples, and, for Hindu children, in Gurudwaras. Mirpuri Muslim children did take up instruments such as harmonium, but once the school programme finished there were fewer pathways for them to take it forward. The ethnomusicologist, John Baily, who, whilst conducting research in Bradford was part of this initiative, suggested that within the Bradford schools' system there were distinct reservations about the value of music felt by Muslims in the city (1990: 157). However, by the mid 1990s a series of funding cuts ensured that provision for South Asian instrumental lessons in school were stopped. Since then, the LEA has sporadically provided money for South Asian music in schools, but there has not been a coherent strategy to move students forward, beyond a simple introduction to the music and a few workshops. There has also been little attempt, at council level, to open dialogue with students themselves to see what music they engage with and might want to perform or study themselves.

4.2.2. Schools now

In terms of music education in Bradford, there is a pronounced lack of engagement with music in schools among Mirpuris that, I argue, has been exacerbated by two contributing factors. Firstly, heads of music in Bradford's schools have a

general anxiety about the legitimacy of music in Islam. Teachers feel that they are treading on eggshells with regards to teaching music to Muslim students, which is part of a wider fear of upsetting 'Muslim sensibilities'.[5] These anxieties are usually based on an assumptive, 'commonsense' and inflexible view that music is not allowed in Islam.[6] Secondly, there is a general lack of encouragement from parents to treat music seriously, or as an academic subject that is worthwhile. As Lewis (2007) has noted, when Mirpuris do proceed to study for A-Levels and tertiary education, it is usually to read for subjects in the sciences, or for vocational qualifications such as law.

To get a better feel of the ways in which young Mirpuris engage with education and music in schools today, I visited a number of Bradford schools where Pakistanis make up the majority, or a large portion, of the overall attendance. The aim of these visits was to establish precisely the types of music that were on offer in school, the conditions under which it was offered, and the general participation of Mirpuris with music in the school environment. I wanted to ascertain how closely the music offered in schools matched the musical tastes of young Mirpuris and gain a better understanding of Bradford's education policy. The schools I chose for this

[5] In a broader sense, there is evidence of deeper cultural and religious concerns that have impacted the teaching of music in schools. One local South Asian music and arts organisation, Manasamitra, in particular has met resistance from several schools when holding music and dance workshops. Recently the organization was involved in a national program, in conjunction with Education Bradford and funded by central government, called 'Sing Up'. The program was designed to encourage more children, nationally, to sing through a series of practical workshops and group events. The director of Manasamitra, Supriya Nagarajan, explained to me that, at several schools in Bradford, parents had vetoed the program because of a belief that music is *haram* (not allowed in Islam). Head Teachers have subsequently begun suggesting to Manasamitra that workshops should not contain any reference to politics or religion. According to Supriya, this is something that she has only recently been confronted with and is directly linked to the spread of Wahhabism and Salafism in Bradford, which expressly forbids music. Despite this, Supriya described to me how, when discussing music and dance with Mirpuri Muslim pupils in schools, they display extensive knowledge of Bollywood filmi music and bhangra, as well as the latest hip hop artists.

[6] In this sense, the chapter builds upon recent anthropological and ethnomusicological studies of young Muslims and music in Europe and beyond (Shannon 2006; Kapchan 2007; Gazzah 2008; Nieuwkerk 2011) by showing that young Mirpuris often unravel and articulate their cultural and religious identities lightly and in relation to context.

research were Beckfoot School and Carlton Bolling College. Carlton Bolling is situated near the centre of Bradford in a catchment area where large numbers of Mirpuris live.[7] The majority of pupils at Carlton Bolling College are of Pakistani Mirpuri heritage. Beckfoot School,[8] on the other hand, is further away from Bradford, in Bingley, and is composed of students from a variety of backgrounds and ethnicities, but with a significant minority of Mirpuris. Both schools are state comprehensives. Whilst these were not the only schools I visited during my research – others will be touched upon later in the chapter – their experiences and shortcomings with encouraging Mirpuris to engage with music were typical of the Bradford area. At Beckfoot School, only two Muslim pupils, who were of Mirpuri heritage, took up music at GCSE in 2009 and 2010 out of a collective class size of seventy. Across the city, at Carlton Bolling College, music has been removed from the curriculum, giving way instead to a more general 'performing arts' course.

At present, there seems to be little direction or strategy for encouraging students of Pakistani and Mirpuri heritage to take up music as a GCSE option in Bradford's schools that have significant numbers of these students. There are several reasons for this, but it is not because there is a lack of opportunity to learn South Asian musical instruments and music should students wish to. On the contrary, there

[7] Carlton Bolling College is a larger than average mixed comprehensive school for 1,402 students aged 11-18, of whom 309 are in the sixth form. The school is located in the Undercliffe area of Bradford approximately 1 mile outside the city centre. The area is recognised as having significant socio-economic deprivation and a high proportion of students are eligible for free school meals. Nearly all of the students are from minority ethnic backgrounds and the majority speak English as an additional language. The students' attainment on entry to the school is well below average and higher than average numbers of students have learning difficulties and/or disabilities. For many years, Carlton Bolling struggled in its Ofsted reports and teetered on the brink of being shut down. Recently, however, it has undergone something of a renaissance and was the first school in the Bradford area to receive 'outstanding' status from Ofsted.

[8] Beckfoot lies approximately 20 minutes from Bradford city centre and caters for 1593 pupils from the ages of 11 – 18. According to the 2008 Ofsted report, 'The school serves an area with above average levels of social and economic disadvantage. The percentage of students from minority ethnic groups is above average, with students with a Pakistani heritage as the largest minority ethnic group. The number of students with learning difficulties and/or disabilities is also above average'.

are now a number of council and government-funded organisations in Bradford who are there to promote South Asian music and dance collaborations in the city. Kala Sangam is extremely well funded and employs a full time Education Officer. They run regular workshops, classes, concerts and events; the majority of which concern the South Asian classical tradition. Manasamitra, likewise, offer a range of classical performance workshops, group tabla and sitar classes, vocal training, and artist bookings.

4.2.3. Beckfoot School

The reasons for such low numbers of engagement with music in the school environment does not appear to be due to a lack of interest in music. Rather, that the types of music offered on the GCSE syllabus do not reflect the interests of young Mirpuris. The western classical tradition holds little appeal, and, as the case of Oriental Arts' showed, there is likewise little interest in the Indian classical tradition. When given the opportunity to use the recording studio in Beckfoot School, Mirpuri students eagerly made use of it to compose rap music. The Head of Music for Beckfoot, Matt Stimpson, explained to me that the uptake of students from a Muslim background for GCSE Music was disproportionately low. Indeed, the previous two years – 2008 and 2009 - had each seen only one Pakistani/Muslim student (he used these terms interchangeably) take on music as an option out of a class of thirty-five. Interestingly, Matt described both these students as very 'Westernized'. Of the school's 1500 pupils, approximately 35% are of Pakistani heritage. This shows a

huge disparity between the number of pupils of Mirpuri heritage in the school and their uptake of music.[9]

In year 7, Matt explained, Pakistani students happily engage with music in the class on a practical level – such as in workshops, group performances, rhythm exercises, etc. – but when it comes to giving an after-school concert they nearly always pull out, saying that they are unable to attend because they have to be at mosque. There is little or no uptake of instrumental lessons. In order to try and encourage more Pakistani (Mirpuri) students to take up music, the school began to offer peripatetic lessons on the tabla. However, Matt explained that the only students to register for these lessons were 'white' and there was no interest shown by Mirpuris. Matt also ran a unit on Indian Ragas, but, again, Pakistani pupils showed no interest.

One of the rare success stories came when Matt offered the school's recording studio to record a rap song. Eleven Pakistani students took this opportunity up with alacrity and demonstrated an ability to rap that was far beyond Matt's expectations. The group performed their music in assembly to a high standard. Since then, however, there has been little encouragement from teachers for these same pupils to continue using the recording studio as part of their pre-GCSE projects. The idea that these rap groups could factor into the curriculum and were, in fact, a more appealing and accessible form of music than tablas and sitars for young Mirpuris, had not occurred to Matt. This is surprising, given that every year the Head Teacher, David Horn, asks Matt to encourage more Muslim students to engage with music. There is a committed drive by the school to make this happen, or at the least, push this to happen, there is also money set aside in the school's budget. Despite this, there does

[9] In addition to this, there is little interest taken in music activities that fall outside the prescribed curriculum; i.e. extra-curricular activities.

not seem to be any coherent strategy in place or in the pipeline to take music forward in dialogue with students.

Broadly speaking, the Mirpruri students at Beckfoot displayed little or no interest in learning the Indian classical tradition, practically or theoretically. Nor were they interested in learning instruments from the Western canon. Indeed, the only occurrence of musical engagement was the recording session in the studio. This suggests that at Beckfoot School there is a general lack of understanding among those who set the curriculum as to what types of music are most likely to encourage more Mirpuri students to engage with music at GCSE. Furthermore, there was a clear undertone of anxiety when Matt asked me directly what music was allowed in Islam. His knowledge had been informed by things he read in the press and 'common sense' assumptions made in the staff room: i.e., that Muslims do not listen to music. These kinds of assumptions have informed a broader climate and epistemology in Beckfoot that the teaching of music to Muslims is a lost cause, despite evidence that, given the opportunity, so-called Muslim students actively performed and composed rap music in the recording studio and in school assembly. Beckfoot's lack of flexibility to recognise this positive response and incorporate these forms of music into the curriculum show a need for more reflexivity and adaptability if more young Mirpuris are to engage with music education in schools.[10]

[10] Carlton Bolling College, like Beckfoot, also sees remarkably few Mirpuri students take up music as an option at GCSE. The disparity here is more marked than at Beckfoot, because the majority of students at the school are of Mirpuri heritage. Rather than offer music as an option at GCSE, then, the school has been grouping together music, drama and dance under a 'Performing Arts' course. In this option, there is less emphasis placed on music and there is no prerequisite to take up an instrument. One reason why this may be is that the school has recently been made a 'centre for maths and science'. As such, many more resources (time, money and equipment) are directed to science courses, rather than music. Indeed, the Head Teacher explained to me that the school's recent success in Ofsted reports has been partly due to a conscious effort to 'concentrate on the school's strengths'. At first, speaking to the students seemed to confirm this. No students, when asked, expressed any desire to learn an instrument, or, for that matter take music as a course at school. Some students openly laughed at the suggestion. Many others said that they did not like music, but rather enjoyed maths and science.

In summary, the above examples demonstrate that the provision of music in schools that might be broadly described as ‘South Asian’ has been met with limited success among Mirpuri students. Moreover, the experiences of John Baily, Manasamitra and Oriental Arts shows that there are a complex set of issues, understandings and assumptions regarding the validity of music in Islam that have influenced how teachers have approached offering music to Muslim students. This section has shown that in the school environment there was little engagement with music by young Pakistani Mirpuris. Of course, a counterclaim might be put forward here that asks: if, as has been suggested to me, young Mirpuris do not seem to want to ‘take music seriously’ in schools, then why is it of central concern to this chapter?[11] The following section seeks to establish the arenas and conditions in which young Mirpuris engage with music outside school. Part of the objective of this will also be to determine the types of music that young Mirpuris listen to and how their tastes and habits inform, and are informed by, other facets of their lives.

4.3. The Street

This section moves away from ‘official’ spaces of music making, such as the school, and into spaces removed from parental control or influence. In a sense, this section follows young Mirpuris going their own way and occupying their own spaces. The first space I look at is the nightclub. Imams and parents have fiercely opposed

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This emphasis on the sciences, rather than the humanities, shows that, at an early stage, young Mirpuris are already moving down the science route, rather than the arts and humanities.

[11] Indeed, the prioritization of music has long posed a thorny problem for ethnomusicologists. As Waterman argues, ‘specialization may encourage loss of proportion; that the ethnomusicologist, eager to demonstrate the importance of music in everyday life, may easily claim too much of it’ (Waterman 1990: 213).

nightclubs and 'daytimer' discos, but young Mirpuris continually subvert this opposition, even to the degree that it means missing school. What is the significance of these spaces for Mirpuris? What happens in them? I then shift the attention to Walsall, West Midlands, in order gain a picture of how gang culture uses music to mark out territories. Some of the implications of territorialisation for Mirpuri and Kashmiri identity are considered, including how gender dynamics play into contrasting educational development. The overall aim is to build up a street view of how young Mirpuris, in Bradford and Walsall, map out their areas musically, and how these spaces may develop an understanding of post-migrant, diasporic experience.

4.3.1. 'Daytimer' discos in Bradford

Young Mirpuris in Bradford are interested in, and listen to, a wide variety of music. The late-1980s and mid-1990s, for example, saw the rise and fall of the infamous 'Daytimers'. During this period, music promoters would hire out nightclubs in the afternoons and play hours of Bollywood and bhangra. Girls and boys would leave home at 8am in their shalwar kameez,[12] go into their school's toilet or changing room, get changed and then miss the afternoon classes to go to nightclubs in the city centre that played bhangra beats throughout the day. The bhangra gigs would start at 12 and finish at 4pm, so by the time it was over, the kids would go back to school, get changed and then go home as though nothing had happened.

Champak explained to me, 'The Council of Mosques was against it. Bradford City Parents Association was against it. But the thing is, these girls wanted to go and enjoy the music. Some of them only wanted to go and enjoy the music, they didn't want to go and fall into bad habits. Other girls fell into [bad habits], boys as well,

[12] A shalwar kameez is a common form of dress found in Pakistan, and in Pakistani diasporas.

boys and girls. Because this was an opportunity for them to meet in a club and cut loose, start drinking'.[13] Following pressure from the Council of Mosques, the Parents Association and the Police, Daytimers gradually disappeared from the music scene in Bradford. In recent years, however, Daytimers have re-emerged in a different form. A particularly interesting case in point is the emergence of the 'Ladies Only Night'. These nights are hosted in medium sized venues and are, as the name suggests, open only to women. By being single-sex events, they are designed to be a safe, *halal* (permissible) place where Pakistani women are able to go, without the perceived fear of losing honour. In Feburary 2010, bhangra-rap stars Jazz Dhami and Imran Khan played at one such Ladies Only Night at Bradford City Football Club. Champak, who helped organise the event, described the concert to me:

> 500 tickets – sold out. All girls. All women and girls. They were up to a certain age, I don't think married women, they were all single girls. Again, this friend of mine told me: "Champak, the mischief these girls got into! Smoking, drinking like mad! They were let loose!" Jazz Dhami was saying, "Champak, so many Muslim girls! I've never seen them [like this], the mischief they're in!" So, I mean, these things are happening, Tom, and no one can deny it's not. I mean, if you go and speak to the leader of the Council of Mosques and some other Councillors, they will probably deny it. But they haven't seen it![14]

Elsewhere in the city there is the record label Integrity Beatz. The label was established in 1996 as an educational project to provide studio-recording time for local communities. So successful and popular was the project that it has now developed into a full-time record label and music promoter with a number of extremely promising and talented young Pakistani rappers and producers. And then, on a more mundane level, there is the 'everyday' music that inflects peoples' lives.

[13] Interview with the author 17 January 2010.
[14] Interview with the author 17 January 2010.

One Mirpuri taxi driver explained to me, with no small touch of irony, that he knew that he was going to Hell for listening to music, but he needed to have something to 'bounce' to, just to get him through the day.

These brief examples show that young Mirpuris listen to music – rap and bhangra rap in particular – in a range of everyday settings. Moreover, despite efforts by religious and council authorities, there is a live music scene that is extremely popular among Mirpuri Muslim girls. On a day-to-day basis, music is used circumstantially and thus serves a variety of purposes: whether for getting through the working day; articulating a sense of belonging; or 'cutting loose' at a Ladies Only Night. These characteristics are not unique to young Mirpuris, but they do, on one level, provide a counter-argument to the assertion that 'as a British community, the Mirpuris evince little interest in music' (Baily 1990a). Furthermore, the examples show that young Mirpuris wear their religiosity lightly, and in the case of the taxi driver, at times ironically.

4.3.2. Mirpuris in Walsall, West Midlands

During my fieldwork in Bradford I was advised that the kinds of issues that young Mirpuris face in the city are not simply a local problem, but exist in other areas of the UK where significant populations of Mirpuris have been established. I was invited to Walsall by Raja, a local British Kashmiri radio DJ who broadcasts nationally in Mirpuri, Kashmiri, Punjabi and Urdu, on a range of topics pertaining to Pakistanis living in Britain. I had contacted Raja some weeks earlier as part of my doctoral research looking at Mirpuris and music in Bradford. His radio show plays a mixture of music, including classical Indian Ragas, bhangra, Patwari, and traditional qawwals and ghazals. The show is popular among Mirpuris in Bradford, so I was

eager to discuss in detail some of the topics raised by his listeners. In turn, Raja was keen for me to develop a broader picture of Mirpuris in the UK, and, by doing so, gain insights into some of the complexities of a so-called 'Mirpuri' identity.

In the face of racial and religious prejudice, young British Kashmiris on the streets of Walsall also use music as a central means to articulate the struggles they face. Territories are fiercely defended from rival gangs through a mixture of violence, intimidation and rap music. Like other industrial towns across England, such as Bradford, Birmingham and Burnley, Walsall became a popular destination for South Asian migrant workers following labour shortages in textile mills after World War II. The area saw large numbers of people settle who originated, in particular, from the Mirpur district of Azad Kashmir, Pakistan.

4.3.3. Mirpuri versus Kashmiri identity

As I sat on the quiet cross-country train to Birmingham, I passed the time by jotting down some possible thoughts/questions/ideas to put to Raja. My baseline question was a broad one: what are the main issues facing Mirpuris in Britain today? I met Raja at Walsall station and we set off in his silver Vaxhaull Corsa. After a bit of chit-chat he said, "OK, let me know a bit more about what you want to find out, because I don't want to just take you where I want; it needs to be specific to you". I put my question to him. "First things first", he said, "there is no such thing as Mirpuri identity".

As someone whose doctoral thesis is predicated on 'Mirpuri identity', this was something of a thunderbolt. Raja explained that when migrants first came to Britain, in the late 1960s, the local passport office was located in the new town of Mirpur in the south-west of Azad Kashmir, near the border of Pakistan. The local topography of

the area had recently undergone a radical transformation with the building of the new Mangla Dam. Thousands of people were displaced, as their villages in the vast valley were flooded. Many people were resettled in 'New Mirpur', built to replace the old town, which was now submerged. As part of the relocation, the British government also offered work permits for local people to move to the UK and work in the textile industry. Thousands of men (at this stage it was almost exclusively men) took this offer and began the process of large-scale migration from the sub-continent to Britain.[15]

'When applying for their passports, rather than spelling out all the different villages of origin from where they had been displaced, when it asked for hometown, most put, simply, 'Mirpur'', Raja explained. It is from this point that Raja believes an imagined Mirpuri identity was born. It is something that he tries to distance himself from and instead encourages people to emphasise a British-Patwari identity for those from just over the border in Pakistan, or a British-Kashmiri identity for people originating from Azad Kashmir. He explained to me that, in UK cities like Bradford, Rochdale and Birmingham, there have been successful movements to get 'Mirpuri' recognised as an official language. Raja thinks this is absurd, and likens it to campaigning for 'Brummie' or 'Yorkshire' to be classed as distinct languages; 'Mirpuri' is simply a regional dialect of Punjabi.[16] For younger generations, however,

[15] There has been a history of migration from Pakistan and Kashmir to Britain dating back to the East India Company in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 19th and 20th centuries, numbers of migrants increased through employment in the merchant navy followed by settlement in the UK. By far the highest numbers came during the 1960s, however, before new immigration laws were brought in to control the flow of people settling in the UK.
[16] 'Brummie' is the colloquial name given to the people, and their accents, who originate from the Birmingham area of England.

the meta-history of a 'Mirpuri Homeland' seems to have become more embedded and reified, and, in Raja's view, this has a knock-on effect on the Kashmir dispute.[17]

Not much later, Raja pulled up at the side of the road and beckoned over three young boys. They recognised him and when he ordered them into the back of the car, they hesitated but climbed in. Wasim was the tallest of the three and Raja was keen for me to talk to him about his ambitions. Wasim was visibly self-conscious in front of his sniggering friends and it was only after much coaxing from Raja that he said he held ambitions of becoming a policeman. We then made a short drive to Raja's house and gathered in the living room. Over the course of the conversation, Wasim explained that he is subjected to teasing from his peers for wanting a career in the Police; other boys had already started deriding him by calling him a 'pig' (both a pejorative slang word for 'policeman' and a slur on him as a Muslim). There is a strong resistance among Kashmiri boys to engage with things deemed academic and 'swotty' – even having career aspirations beyond that of a taxi driver or warehouse worker is met with mockery and verbal abuse. Throughout the interview, whilst in front of friends and peers, there was a real reluctance to admit to wanting to go to university; such topics were laughed off.

That being said, Wasim's friend Imran did hint that he wanted to go to university, but didn't think it was realistic, or even possible, because his peers call him 'dumb'. Indeed, through the discussion, there seemed to be no peer, parental or educational encouragement for boys (and it's important to be clear about it being boys at this point, not girls) to go on to tertiary education. Soon four more boys, some of

[17] Prior to the partition of India in 1947, Kashmir was a princely state under the suzerainty of the British Crown. Following partition it was expected that Kashmir would accede control to Pakistan, due, in part, to its majority Muslim population. In anticipation of this, Pakistani forces advanced into Kashmir, only for the Maharaja to accede control to India. Since then control of Kashmir has been split and disputed between three nations: Pakistan, India and, to the north, China.

whom were Raja's nephews, joined us in the living room. Raja emphasised the point about education by asking each of them to say roughly how many young men were in their extended family, and then how many of those men were in higher education. On average, each boy said they had approximately 150 male members of their extend family – only one of which was at university. Apart from this one accountant, all the rest were employed as either taxi drivers or warehouse workers. I asked what young people in their area see as being a good and well-paid career. Without blinking, an 11 year old replied, 'drugs'.

4.3.4. Gangs and street raps

Raja then moved the conversation onto crime and local gangs. All of the boys in the room belonged to a gang: The Crofu Boyz, The Palfry Boyz or The Birchill Boyz. The names of the gangs derive from local streets in the area. Each gang has its own territory, which is protected through violence. Depending on how the groups are getting on with one another, simply walking through a rival's patch can result in being beaten up, or slashed/stabbed. Over the past few months there have been several fights of this nature. The most common clash is between what Raja describes as 'rival British Kashmiri Muslim gangs'. Raja was highly critical of this kind of street crime, because he believed 'Muslims should not fight Muslims', and, more broadly, should not commit violent acts of any other human being. To me, however, it seemed that, despite the boys saying fights were primarily between Kashmiri Muslim gangs, the fights were more fundamentally between disaffected young people with few prospects or opportunities for socio-economic development. Whilst they are Muslim, the centrality of Islam to their everyday lives shifts depending on context. Survival in a violent neighbourhood often constitutes and directs their day-to-day experiences. It is

this kind of detail that is lost on many commentators, who quickly identify them as 'Muslims', and therefore representative of Islam.

In addition to this, all of the boys had experienced racism first hand; two had been called 'fucking Pakis' by passing white motorists over the past few days. Raja explained that there has been a recent drive in the local media by British Asians to encourage young Pakistanis to take ownership of the word pejorative term, 'Paki', by re-associating it with its original meaning: the prefix pāk means 'the pure' in Urdu. It is hoped that, by doing this, young Pakistanis will be able to turn around this racist insult and use it, instead, as a badge of pride and thus rendering it impotent for those who wish to use it as an insult. However, at present, this kind of abuse is responded to in-kind. If white boys try to come and play in their local park then they are likely to be given a kicking by one of the local gangs, because this is their turf.

I tried to turn the conversation towards music. During the car journey to his house, Raja had spoken much about Patwari music and its popularity amongst both Punjabis and Kashmiris. Wasim and his friends had different ideas. They were not interested in Patwari, or any other kinds of traditional or classical music. Instead they like American hip-hop, such as Tupak and Snoop Dogg. They then played me a rap song that one of their friends had recorded in the local youth centre. The rap was highly skilful, in a comparable style of US west coast hip hop, lyrically rich and delivered aggressively. The lyrics were articulate tirades, depicting, explicitly, the violent acts they would inflict on rival local gangs.[18] Most of the young men had

[18] Occasionally, however, violence does break out on the streets and sometimes this can result in a death. Recently there had been a death following an EDL march (The 'English Defence League' is a far-right political organisation whose stated aims are to oppose what they believe is the spread of a 'Jihadist' threat and Islamism in the UK). According to Raja, members of the EDL allegedly attacked an Asian man near a petrol station. It is claimed that they beat him unconscious and then fled. The victim's relatives were also present at the scene of the attack; however, rather than phone the emergency services, they bundled him into a car and took him to hospital themselves. He later died.

copies of the music on their mobile phones and listened to it with a visible sense of pride.

Wasim and his friends explained to me that they like rappers such as Tupak because, lyrically, rap music tells stories similar to their own. There is a strong identification felt with the stories of social and economic struggles faced by African Americans on the West coast of the United States as told through rap music. Their friend's rap song is their own articulation of the everyday racism, violence and economic deprivation they face. Raps are performed on the street corners and school playgrounds to circles of boys, many of which clutch their mobile phones, filming the songs. With activities such as art, literature and drama apparently out-of-bounds, music thus provides one of the few outlets for young British Kashmiris to express themselves creatively. Of course, simply listening to music, or even recording a rap in the studio, does not mean that all the other problems cease to exist, but it does allow a means for articulating the struggles they face. This fosters a sense of unity (in this case, the unity of the Crofu Boyz) when many other things seem to be against them.

4.3.5. Gender perspectives

Overall, then, I think the main thrust of what Raja was trying to convey to me, throughout the day, was that the Kashmiris in his area, like in Bradford, are being held

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These relatives were subsequently arrested by police after a witness, who had missed the original attack but saw the deceased being bundled into the van, alleged that they had carried out the attack. Of course, this is anecdotal, recounted to me by Raja, but he wanted to highlight for me the way that the local community dealt with the problem. He believes there is reluctance within the community to pursue justice through the law. It was Allah's will and his time to die, the victim's relatives said. Because of this, the families of the deceased rarely give permission for an autopsy to be carried out and, instead, push for a quick funeral and burial. There is then the possibility of revenge attacks being carried out by family members. It is this internalising of pressing issues that Raja partly blames for the community not addressing the more underlying problems.

back from socio-economic development.[19] He wanted to emphasize, in particular, that these problems are faced by British Kashmiris, not 'Muslims' as he believes the media implies. British Pakistanis and Kashmiris constitute the largest proportion of Muslims living in the UK, so for many people they also represent the way Muslims are perceived by non-Muslims in Britain.[20] Whilst Indian communities are prospering, through business, education and music, the Kashmiris are not tackling the primary problems they face. As I understand it, these are: education, crime and health. At the heart of these problems, Raja believes, is education.

But, there was an alternative perspective to Raja's, and, perhaps surprisingly, it came from his own daughter. When we had finished our tour of the area, we returned to his house where Raja had phoned his daughter, Summa, to prepare us some food. Whilst eating and discussing the issues raised throughout the day, Summa interjected with her own views. She felt compelled to, as she felt that her father was not presenting the full picture. Summa, quite rightly, warned us against reinforcing stereotypes and suggested that the picture painted by Raja does not necessarily apply to all Kashmiris. Raja asked her what ethnicity she thought she was, and, proudly and with a little laugh, she said, "Mirpuri... British Mirpuri, slash Pakistani, slash Kashmiri". Summa is highly articulate, has been to university and is now sitting her accountancy exams.

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[19] Later on, Raja took me on a walking tour of the area to emphasize this point, highlighting some of the poverty and deprivation experienced in the area. The local primary school, for example, has been noted as one of the country's poorest performing schools in 2009, according to the government Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). Raja explained that it had been failing for the past ten years, but the there has been little done to address the problems. When Raja tried to rally local residents to campaign for better education he has been met with resistance and threats to desist. He blames this on apathy towards education among Kashmiris in the area, who prioritize the convenience of a local school over the standards of its teaching. They fear that complaints will increase the likelihood of the school being shut down by the local authorities.

[20] This point has also been made by Lewis (2007: 33).

Crucially, she is not atypical in this respect. Compared with boys, the proportion of Kashmiri girls who enter tertiary education and go on to have successful careers is very high. Summa explained that this is because of the different levels of freedom extended to boys. She wanted to stress to me that it wasn't that girls are locked up by their parents and boys roamed free – she has always felt a degree of freedom to do as she wishes. However, unlike boys, girls are more restricted to supervision from their parents and are much more likely to stay at home than they are to spend time on the streets. Because of this, an exponentially greater amount of time is spent studying for school and this translates as competition between girls as to who can achieve the higher grades. This is directly the opposite of the boys, who contrive to achieve the lowest. For girls, education has a high social status. For boys, education has a low social status.

Summa questioned her father's racialized portrayal of the area and suggested that the same socio-economic problems could be found in any number of white, working-class estates. This is a very pertinent observation. What is specific about the situation of Kashmiris to any other economically deprived social groups? Or, to bring it back to my original baseline question: what are the main issues (specifically) faced by Kashmiris today? For Summa, education, crime and health are not issues unique to Kashmiris, but the ways they are being addressed are. Whilst the government is well versed in trying to tackle poverty and unemployment in so-called 'indigenous' communities, Summa believes that there is no coherent strategy for dealing with the specific problems faced by Mirpuri-Muslims (such as the internalisation of problems etc.).

To conclude, in my original email to Raja, asking whether he would like to talk with me about Mirpuris in Birmingham, I had requested that we try and keep

music at the forefront of our discussions. As it happened, quite the opposite occurred. Not only was the idea of 'Mirpuri' swept aside, to be replaced by 'Kashmiri', but also music rarely made an appearance. It is perhaps easy to say that, simply, music isn't a big deal for Kashmiris. In reality, in both Bradford and Walsall, music constitutes important social roles for Kashmiris and Mirpuris. In Bradford, nightclubs and 'daytimer' discos exist independently from the mosque, the school or the home, and so provide spaces in which young people of Mirpur/Kashmiri origin can assert their on identities and beliefs. Some of these club nights, like the 'Ladies Only Night', are controlled along gender lines, promoted as a 'halal' space for young Mirpuri women to cut loose. Whilst religious and parental authorities disapprove of these nights, their success and levels of promotion reveal a thriving underground cottage industry, catering for the tastes of young Mirpuris.

Leaving school with few qualifications, the majority of Kashmiri men in Walsall will go on to work in warehouses or as taxi drivers. Without the prospect of employment in jobs that require formal education, many young men will have recourse to crime and drugs in order to gain the financial means to live up to the social expectations of their peers and community. The street in Walsall is also a gendered space, with male gangs mapping out their territory through and by rap music recorded on mobile phones. Whereas in Bradford nightclubs, 'daytimer' discos and cars provide spaces to assert Mirpuriness, in Walsall the street is where male Kashmiriness is set out, through rap and violence. New technologies then allow this Kashmiriness to be transmitted, through time and across space, via mobile phones, social networking sites and YouTube. But this capacity of rap music, to develop and assert identities rooted in specific places, has not gone completely unnoticed by the

authorities. The following section looks at how, in Bradford, rap music is being employed by the state as a means of integration.

4.4. Rap Workshops

Jamal:
If you're a Muslim keep yourself clean,
Do *zakat* and don't ever be mean.
Respect your elders and others around you,
Set a good example by things you say and do.

Stick with your religion and stay on the right track,
Do what the Qur'an says and stay away from crack.
Keep a fast and remember the poor,
'Cos one day you could be beggin' outside someone's door.[21]

This section argues that, for young Mirpuris, music – rap music in particular – represents one of the few means of articulating, negotiating and, in many ways, simply escaping some of the social issues they come up against on a day-to-day basis.[22] Across the city, rap workshops are held, wherein young Mirpuris compose rap music based on their experiences in Bradford. But these workshops are not neutral spaces. Often they take place in schools and youth centres, and are funded by public money. To return to the questions at the start of this chapter, this section looks more closely at these spaces in order to develop an understanding of how rap music is being used in Bradford as a civic project. What sort of project is it? And what is it trying to achieve?

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[21] This rap was written by Jamal, a Mirpuri student at Belle Vue Boys' school in Bradford.
[22] Indeed, through a recent, localized study in Bradford, Lewis has indicated that 'most [young Mirpuris], when asked to write their name in Urdu or give directions in their Punjabi dialect, were unable to do so. Competence in English was also variable. The vast majority spoke to each other in slang. For the boys influenced by rap of American gangsta music its use was something of which to be proud' (2007: 43).

4.4.1. Pipeline Productions

As has already been mentioned (chapter 2), young Mirpuris face a particular set of pressures and expectations that contribute to their marginalization: in the home they are chastised for not being Pakistani enough; at the mosque they are rebuked for not being Islamic enough; and, in the eyes of some politicians and the media, they are villainised for not being British enough.[23] A serious consequence of this three-pronged marginalization is that there are few means through which they can openly discuss the problems they come up against on a day-to-day basis, their experiences of living in Bradford, and carve out a space that is very much their own.[24] Lewis (2007), quoting the Muslim Youth Helpline, succinctly sums their social position thus:

> For the Muslim community, most of these issues are considered taboo or are largely ignored, making the problems more acute for young Muslims. Any recognition of these issues is largely in the form of chastisement and judgmentation. In addition, the identity and lifestyle conflicts experienced by many Muslims ... may mean that far from providing any support, the family or community are the source of the problem.[25]

In response to this, a number of rap workshops were commissioned by the city council. An independent production company based in Bradford, called Pipeline Productions, ran the workshops in schools whose students were predominately of Mirpuri heritage. The organisation was founded in 2003 by Philip Charles, a young Jewish man of African Caribbean heritage, and specialises in using rap music as a way to work through stereotyping, crime, drugs, communication barriers and

[23] See also Phillip Lewis (2007)
[24] Issues they come up against may be the dominant discourses directed at them by politicians and the media (such as the so-called failure of multiculturalism), crime and drugs in and around Manningham, disenchantment with school, racism, or the less publicly dominant struggles of simply getting through the working day.
[25] Fulat, S. (2005) 'Caught between Two Worlds: How Can the State Help Young Muslims?', in M. Bunting (ed.), *Islam, Race and Being British,* London: *Guardian* in a association with Barrow Cadbury Trust, 69. Quoted in Lewis (2007: 33).

educational disenchantment. I met Philip for the first time in Centenary Square, in Bradford's city centre. Philip described to me some workshops he ran at the MA Institute (an independent Muslim day school for boys and girls aged from 11-16) on Lumb Lane.[26] During our conversations, Philip was frequently preoccupied with whether or not music was permissible in Islam. Because the workshops were aimed at young Pakistanis, who were likely to be Muslim, Philip composed a selection of backing tracks for the teenagers to rap to that were purely percussive. He did this because his understanding of the Qur'an is that drumming is acceptable, or *halal*, whereas melodic instruments are *haram*, or not allowed. As it turned out, Philip said that none of the kids that he worked with were too bothered about the permissibility of music and were just eager to record their raps over good backing tracks.

A young man called Jay then joined in this conversation. Inappropriately, I asked Jay if he was Pakistani, as we were, at the moment of him joining us, talking about my time in Pakistan. Jay replied, with slight indignation, 'No, I'm English. My mum's English but my granddad is from Pakistan'. Jay went on to say that he is Muslim and so entered the discussion we were having about Islam and music. Philip, who described himself as Jewish but as having read the Qur'an and several of the Hadith, explained what he understood about *halal* and *haram* music. Philip was at pains to highlight what he saw as the grey area between what is expressly said in the Hadith, and the lack of particular direction in the Qur'an itself.

Jay took it all in, then simply shrugged and said "I'll just listen to the music. Music is what got me out of all that bad stuff, so it can't be bad can it". This

[26] Significantly, Ofsted's 2010 report describes the school's curriculum thus: 'The school's curriculum is good. There is an appropriate curriculum policy in place which is supported by good quality schemes of work for all subjects from the National Curriculum except for music'. See <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/> [Last accessed: 17 May 2010].

conversation quite succinctly sums the way in which young Muslims in places like Bradford legitimize music in relation to Islam.[27] Jay went on to explain that he used to be involved in gangs and crime but had then met up with Philip and begun making music. He listened to grime music and enjoyed it because of its 'nonsense' lyrics before starting rapping himself, emulating songs he had heard and telling his own stories and experiences of crime and drugs.

During this brief introduction to Philip and Jay, music, took an ambiguous position. Philip was anxious about music's permissibility in Islam, but, at the same time, used it as a social tool to engage with young Muslims. Jay, meanwhile, saw grime music as the activity *par excellence* to escape the issues he faced in Bradford. The point I want to draw out, now, is the question of what the power dynamics in this kind of situation look like. Are these rap workshops a way for young Mirpuris to deal with social issues, or are they used by the state as a means to 'civilise' and integrate young Mirpuris?

4.4.2. Pipeline Productions' workshops

This section provides an overview of a number of workshops run by Pipeline Productions, and looks in particular at the raps generated. The workshops are routinely held in schools and community centres to provide a space in which teenagers can discuss their experiences. The workshops themselves were made to feel as relaxed as possible and students were reassured that anything discussed or recorded is their property and so could remain anonymous if they wished. The workshops varied in their approaches. For some, students were encouraged to discuss whatever

[27] See also Nieuwkerk (2011).

issues or topics they thought were important. As such, the topics raised in these workshops varied, sometimes with quite contrasting results.

During his workshops, Philip writes down some of the recurring themes, sentences and words onto a whiteboard. He then works with the people in the workshop to find rhyming sentences that incorporated the themes discussed. As he progresses through the rap, participants begin to take more of an active role in finding the rhythms and rhymes. Once a rap had been agreed upon, either by the individual participant or the group, Philip would set up his laptop, on which he had several dozen pre-programmed backing tracks. The backing tracks were comprised of hip-hop samples that Philip would quickly piece together in the workshop according to the tastes of those present: participants would listen to several different styles before choosing one that he liked. Once a particular beat was chosen, Philip would set up a microphone so that the participant, or group, could perform their rap. More often than not, participants had never been recorded before, so, to help with the rhythm, Philip would first sing a line and then student would repeat it. In this way, the song would slowly be built up, after which Philip edited the parts together, adding reverb, melodies and effects as he did so. The end result was a professional sounding rap that was copied onto a compact disk for the participant(s) to take away.

The end results often combined levels of seriousness with humour, as in the following passage from Belle Vue School.[28]

Mo:

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[28] The following raps were recorded by pupils form Belle Vue Boys' School and Grange School, whilst the third was part of broader scheme called 'Skills for Success' that included students from across the Bradford area. I have chosen these three raps, in particular, because, in their different ways, they each sum up the themes outlined in this chapter. Together, the three raps provide a examples of how young people in Bradford understand broader social processes such as race, integration, religion, ethnicity, nationality and education: the same problems for which they are blamed in the media quotes at the start of this chapter.

I wanna live a calm and peaceful life
Not going round streets stabbing people with the knife
I know how these Bradford streets are like
People going round doing drop offs all night

Ash:
I wanna tell the world a little something about my mother
To let all of you know just how much I love her
No matter what I say I just want her to see
That I appreciate how she looks after me.[29]

The example above was recorded at Belle Vue Boys' School,[30] but the contrasting topics were characteristic of the different age groups across the city. Elder students who were in Years 9 – 11 (aged 13 – 16), would, in general, want to talk about issues such as knife crime and drugs, whereas those in Years 7 – 8/11 had more of a tendency to talk about the home. Often, the raps of these younger participants would be more humorous than their elder peers. Ash, in the above workshop, continued his lyrics with lines about driving his mother's car into a wall and how tasty her cooking is.[31] Pipeline Productions were asked by Belle Vue Boys' to do a series of workshops that engaged boys from across the school years. As such, one workshop included a mix of students from various years, whereas others focused on pre-GCSE students. In all cases, their teachers chose the pupils who partook in the workshops because of their disengagement with school, bad behaviour and low academic achievement.

[29] Mo and Ash were pupils at Belle Vue Boys' School.
[30] According to the school's most recent Ofsted report, Belle Vue Boys' 'students are predominantly from Pakistani backgrounds and a small proportion, about 10%, [are] at an early stage of learning English when they join the school. Students from other Asian backgrounds and White British students form a small minority of the population. The proportion of students eligible for free school meals is high at around the 40% mark; that of students with special educational needs and/or disabilities is above average. Many students join or leave the school at times other than the start or end of an academic year'. The report went on to describe the school's standards as well below the national average with exceptionally low attainment levels on entry. For the full report, see: <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/oxedu_reports/display/(id)/116486> [Last accessed: 25 May 2011].
[31] For example: 'Once I drove my mum's car into the wall, I know it was stupid but I am only young after all … Don't mean to make you jealous, she's the best cook ever; No one can touch her now not your auntie or your mother.'

4.4.3. Rap lyrics

The workshops and the rap music thus provide a means and context in which young Mirpuris across Bradford can dissect the social and political forces that affect their lives. There is an important point to be made here, about how young people in impoverished centres like Bradford adopt the language and musical styles of gangsta rap and grime as an expression of their own post-migrant experience. The kinds of raps that Jay, above, produces are not simply about creating identities of outward resistance (Rose 1989; 1991), but constitute a means of individually internalising and dealing with inner-city life. There are complex dynamics at play here, between global styles and local experience, between individuals and groups. The affinity felt among Mirpuris with gangsta culture is not felt so much along racial, but generational and class lines. In Bradford, global musical styles and religious orthodoxies alike are being understood and translated in relation to local settings, environments and experiences. The workshops are designed to provide a space in which young people intellectualise their experience of inner-city life, and conflicts in their desires and aspirations can be explored under their own terms:

Zahir:
I wanna be an actor but my parents say no
Even though I could get famous and make lots of dough
My parents aren't happy 'cos it's against their beliefs
So when I say I wanna act I get nothing but grief

If I can't be an actor I'll be a rapper
Do shows in New York, LA and Aiya Napa
But my parents probably wont like that any better
They wont let me be free and find my own treasure.[32]

[32] This rap was composed during a workshop with students from Grange School in the Little Horton area of Bradford. Little Horton, like Manningham is an area predominantly populated by Mirpuris. According to Ofsted, more than 90 per cent of the school's students are from minority ethnic background and speak a first language other than English. The five students involved with Pipeline Production's workshop were all of Mirpuri background and were at the bottom of the class. The workshop itself was held at the nearby Mayfield Centre, rather than in the school environment.

In the above rap, Zahir talks about how his career aspirations are denounced by his parents for religious reasons. Unable to discuss his frustration with his parents or teachers, Zahir found the rap workshops particularly useful. But, as the above example shows, these raps are not simply about striking back at rival gangs or the establishment; they are about setting out the space and terms of their own aesthetic from which they can reflect upon their lives and local areas.[33] In these situations, music becomes an important mediator in social relations and provides one of the few avenues for Mirpuris to counter the 'segregation' and 'virtual apartheid' stories in the press quoted in chapter 2. In the same workshop, Tariq and Mohsin talk about their experience of racism in the city:

> *Tariq:*
> White males, black males, we're all the same
> Some of us walk around with our heads in shame
> Football matches, cricket matches, they come down to race
> These people will retaliate and spit in our face
>
> Why can't everybody just get along?
> Everybody would be happy separating right from wrong
> These fights don't make us hard, they scar us for life
> Others pay the price of a single a gun and a knife.
>
> *Mohsin*
> I cant stand the police 'cos they're full of it
> They approach me in my face to spit
> Runnin' round blocks getting a chase
> Oh balls they grabbed me, I tripped over my shoelace
>
> The cops arrest me but it was me who was attacked
> They took my shoes and my phone was jacked
> Now I'm in a prison cell because of my race
> Racism is still everywhere, in each and every place.[34]

When public spaces become so marked by racist encounters, the workshops run by Pipeline Productions take on increased significance. Like the young Kashmiris

[33] Similar observations, among other minority groups, have been made by Back (1996).
[34] Written and recorded by pupils from Grange School.

in Walsall described above, Tariq and Mohsin encountered racism in Bradford on almost a daily basis. Tariq could not write and perform these raps at home, because his parents disapproved, and as section 2 showed, school also affords few opportunities to create rap music. The ability to quickly put together beats and samples, and then rap over the top was thus a great facility for Tariq.

4.4.4. Sampling and technology

During the workshops, backing tracks are built up on a PC laptop using samples. Given the space and time restrictions, the ability to build up tracks quickly and on portable technology is crucial. Indeed, the only tools that Philip uses are his laptop, a small MIDI interface and a dynamic microphone. This allows him to travel lightly, across Bradford, and produce music that the participants can take away at the end of each workshop. Participants can choose from a wide range of hip-hop samples, usually by US rap artists, such as Dr Dre and Tupak. But I would argue that the musical styles, vocabulary and mannerisms in these raps are not simply borrowed from African American rap culture, but transformed within the social and (multi)cultural context of Bradford. The adoption and performance of rap music's culture is not merely passive acculturation, but a means of creating a sense of personal and cosmopolitan musical identity that exists simultaneously independent of and coterminous with the mosque, school and the home. The music itself is a crucial part of the creation and sustentation of this discursive sense of identity and belonging. Whilst the young Mirpuris in Pipeline Productions' workshops may adopt or borrow styles, phrases and mannerisms from American rap music, they nevertheless do so in specific relation to the local context within which they live. Acculturation is, in this sense, more a process of transposition; or, to adopt a more contemporarily relevant musical term, more of a 'remix'.

4.4.3. Rap as a civic project?

One workshop in particular provides a particularly interesting case study of the way rap music is being used in Bradford by the city council as a means of tackle racial segregation. The workshop was part of a program called 'Skills for Success', which took some of the lowest achieving pupils out of schools across Bradford for 12 weeks to re-engage them with academia. The aim of this Pipeline Productions workshop was to bring together young people of different ethnicities from areas of Bradford who might not normally interact. As such, there were two students – a boy and a girl – from Holme Wood, a white working class estate on the edge of the city; two Mirpuris – again a boy and a girl – from Manningham and Girlington; a boy of African Caribbean heritage from Eccleshill; a white girl from Shipley; and a Mirpuri girl from West Bowling. As *Figure 1* shows, the areas are all located at opposite ends of the city, often around the edges of the main ring road.

Figure 19: Map of Bradford.

The participants were encouraged to talk about the different areas they came from came from and then they each described what they thought about one another's areas. Through doing this, a picture was built up of how the teenagers racially mapped out the city. Among the topics discussed were no-go areas, racial stereotypes, diversity and what it means to have all these cultures living in Bradford. Below is a sample of some of the verses sung in the rap:[35]

Mirpuri boy
Hello, hello
Territories, yo, you know what I'm sayin?
You know some times we're gonna have some pain
People fighting because of their different colours
We should all be praying out and chilling with our brothers

Holme Wood boy
If you're black you cant go here, if you're white you cant go there
People livin' in fear, we don't think it's fair
We cant go anywhere a change is overdue

[35] The full rap can be found in Appendix A.

This racism needs to end and this is true

Chorus
Why are people racist? Underneath we're all the same
We're equal so face it, we don't all play that game
Racist people think they're bad, but underneath they're just sad
It's getting on my nerves and it really makes me mad

Eccleshill boy
Racists – why do people act that way?
I'm afraid of the day when my children can't play
So, I say, this nastiness needs to be stopped
No more racist teachers, no more racist cops

I think back to Year 7 sat alone and reminisce
I had such a bad childhood everybody would diss
I'd come home in tears feeling angry and confused
Thought it would last for years, being insulted and abused

[Stereotypes] Group
They live on benefits, they have too many kids
Their houses are dirty, I don't like how they live
They think they're better than us, they smell too funny
They take all our jobs, they get all our money
They're taking over, their women are loose

Stop, we need to remember, the myths become truths
They are all lives, we know better than this
Let's think about where we're from before we start to diss
Let's celebrate our cultures, difference is cool
Believe what other people say? You are just a fool

What would it be like if we were all the same?
There'd be no different food or cultures, life would just be the same
No different music, no different points of view
No rice, chicken and peas, no chicken vindaloo
As for me, I like the fact that we're a rainbow nation
We think that this is cause for a celebration

In this rap, teenagers from disparate areas of inner city Bradford discuss their perceptions of one another. 'No-go' areas are identified, stereotypes are rendered explicit and these themes are framed by an overall question of, 'why'? The rap then moves on to discuss some of the positive aspects of living in such a diverse city, such as 'rice, chicken and peas', and 'chicken vindaloo'. The whole rap ends on a positive

note: stereotypes have been broken, myths are demystified and there is a celebration of diversity. The language of 'us' and 'them' is swept aside, to be replaced by an inclusive 'we': 'we're a rainbow nation, we think that this is a cause for a celebration'. For these young teenagers, the rap workshops provided a space to interact and share common experiences. But, on the other hand, these are very carefully designed spaces, which are overseen and directed by Philip. Philip, too, was working under a mandate from the city council to work with 'problem' teenagers, and so there remain questions of agency. The teenagers were discouraged from using profanity and the topics of discussion were clearly shaped by Philip. Unlike the rapping on street corners described above, then, the context of the rap workshops point to new ways that rap music is being used, as a civilising project.

4.5. Summary

For young Mirpuris and Kashmiris in Bradford and Walsall, rap music opens up a space within which to perform and assert their experiences of living in their local areas, in a way that circumvents physical violence or the critical scrutiny of school. New technologies are being utilized in a range of contexts to compose and record raps, but the chapter has shown that the purpose and function of rap music is contextually dependent: on the streets of Walsall, rap music is used to mark out territories, whereas in Pipeline Productions' workshops, it is used to dissolve them.

Despite this, parents (or even, for that matter, young people themselves) seem to afford little social currency to music. Music is seen as a trivial pastime, and, traditionally, a low-caste occupation. Elder generations do not regard music as a worthwhile way for young people to channel their energies. Even Raja, a radio DJ,

questioned the point of young people focusing on music if the likelihood of making a career and money from it is low.

Raja believes that the root of many of Kashmiris' problems is a lack of education, and it seems that this is also a common characteristic among Kashmiris (Mirpuris) in Bradford. In general, young Mirpuris in both locations are not engaging with school and, in many cases, face bullying for even displaying an interest in Further Education. Moreover, outside of the school environment, they are continuously pathologized as criminals, drug dealers and socially backward. This kind of stereotyping exists not only in the media examples quoted in chapter 2, but elsewhere on the streets of Bradford.

In both Walsall and Bradford, then, rap music takes on a mediating role in how young Mirpuris and Kashmiris come to terms with their local areas, but in quite contrasting ways. Indeed, all of the examples and spaces described above outline some of the ways young people of Mirpuri heritage understand the social environments in which they live, the stereotypes that are projected onto them, and their experiences of racism, crime and education.[36] Rap music thus provides a medium through which new forms of social capital are generated, marginality is contested and some of the central concerns of the multiculturalism debate – racism, religion, segregation – are addressed. What we see, more broadly, is that rap music is slowly being appropriated by the state as a means of engaging with disaffected youth, but that, in Bradford at least, this has not yet percolated down to music curriculums in schools.

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[36] For full transcriptions of the raps, see Appendix A. Read in full, the raps discuss many of the themes that have already been touched upon in this chapter: police discrimination; racism in sport; disapproving parents. In one rap, Zahir has aspirations to be an actor or a professional rapper but his parents disapproved. In another, Ifty and Tariq spoke about racist encounters at sports events, whilst *Mohsin* recounted his encounter with police discrimination.

Chapter 5: The Bradford Mela

5.1. Introduction: Mirpuris and The Bradford Mela

The Bradford Mela is a multicultural music and arts festival, held annually in Bradford since 1988.[11] Over the course of its twenty-three year history, the nature of the event has transformed from being, ostensibly, a South Asian festival, to one that now attempts to more broadly encapsulate Bradford's various cultures. This shift in the festival's ethos is tied up with, and informed by, a variety of discursive, yet connected, political, social and economic developments in Bradford. The first festival began in 1988 at a time when Bradford was at the centre of national debates about multiculturalism and Islam in Britain.[12] In response to the experiences of racism that South Asians were being subjected to in Bradford, and the negative publicity the city was attracting, a group of students and youth activists decided to hold a small music and arts festival on playing fields above the city's university. The event had the dual purpose of being both something for the city's South Asian population to celebrate, and as a way of engaging the wider public with multiculturalism by introducing them to aspects of South Asian culture that existed beyond newspaper headlines, curry

[11] The research for this chapter was conducted as part of a broader ethnography in Bradford over a seventeen-month period. Although, whilst that period of sustained research encompassed two annual melas, they are by no means the only melas I have attended. As previously mentioned, throughout my childhood I grew up next to the park wherein the mela was held and attended most years since it began in 1988. Upon moving to Newcastle to begin higher education, I also visited their annual mela on several occasions and was interested to observe, compare and contrast the different styles of music on offer, as well as the different backgrounds of people who attended the event. More recently, my doctoral research in Bradford took me to Pakistan, where I spent time with musicians in the Punjab and Azad Kashmir districts. My trip coincided with the region's mela season, and so, along with the musicians I was working with, I experienced melas in their original historical and cultural context. All of these experiences, combined, have helped to build up a broader, but more nuanced, picture of how a tradition that originated in the Indian sub-continent, with thousands of years of history, has in modern times been transported and transformed by the diaspora in profoundly different ways. Historically the festival was held over a two-day period, until funding cuts reduced it to one day in 2011.

[12] The Rushdie affair, in particular, placed Bradford and its Mirpuri population at the centre of national focus. For more on these debates, see Ruthven (1991); Rushdie, (1992); Lewis (1994); and, Parekh, (1990).

houses and taxi ranks. Within a few years the mela had become the city's flagship multicultural event and, due to its burgeoning popularity, had moved to the much larger Lister Park, in the Manningham neighbourhood.

By the early twentieth-century, Bradford had seen large numbers of migrants come to the city, not just from South Asia, but from all over the world; particularly, and most recently, from eastern European countries such as Poland, Bulgaria and Romania. In line with local and national policy, the influence of the Council thus encouraged the festival's producers to shift the programming of the event away from being a South Asian festival per se, to one that 'represents' all of Bradford's migrant, post-migrant and 'indigenous' cultures.[13] The modern day mela includes, *inter alia*, Chinese ribbon dancing, Irish folk music, qawwals, punk rock, bhangra, fusion, rap and Komodo drumming; whilst those who attend the mela also come from a wide variety of backgrounds, ethnicities and religions.[14]

This chapter focuses, in detail, on the 2009 and 2010 Bradford Melas. Based on ethnographies conducted at both events, the chapter explores some of the ways Mirpuris experience the festival's multicultural ethos and space. Whilst there is a body of anthropological literature that looks at how music festivals, more broadly, are

[13] The process whereby local councils and institutions absorb grass-root festivals has been noted elsewhere, particularly in relation to the Notting Hill Carnival (see Abner Cohen 1993). With this came not only increases in budget through sponsorship levels, but also an increasing awareness of its social and political potential. What began as a local, ground level event, organised by a small, disparate group of people, quickly became absorbed by the hegemony of the local council. The mela soon became a means of expressing policies of multiculturalism as imagined and interpreted by the Council. As such, over the course of two decades, the mela has been subjected to, and guided by, an ever-shifting interpretation of what multiculturalism 'is' and how it should be expressed within the confines of a festival in fixed space over a fixed period of time. As Stokes has noted, in a different context, 'culture assumes a particularly important role in mediating the relations between state and non-state. "Multiculturalism", understood as a regulation of diversity, is thoroughly implicated in this process' (Stokes 2010: 5).

[14] For example, according to audience research data, of the 200,000 or so people who attended the 2009 Bradford Mela, over 50 per cent were 'non-Asian'. (See Qureshi 2010).

presented,[15] there has been less attention paid to how festivals themselves can come to shape social behaviour. A notable exception, and one that is particularly relevant here, is Abner Cohen's (1993) study of the Notting Hill carnival. For Cohen, the Notting Hill Carnival represents a creative expression of dynamic power relations, embodying the tension between subculture and dominant culture.[16] Indeed, as Ronström (2001: 16) has argued, 'festivals reflect ideas, but also produce, distribute and dramatise ideas … Festival organisers thereby become controllers of political and ideological power'. This kind of social agency has been noted in music elsewhere (Weber 1975; Krims 2007; DeNora 2000),[17] but not in the context of a modern day mela in Britain.

Drawing on Ronström and DeNora, this chapter argues that Bradford Council's 'control over music' in the social setting of the mela effectively serves to exclude Mirpuris from its vision of multicultural Bradford. Drawing on meetings with the council and the festival production team, the chapter questions the council's problematic desire for the mela to, in some way, reflect 'multicultural Bradford' by 'representing' each of the city's cultures through music. Looking at the ways in which Mirpuris experience and, in some cases, transgress this kind of 'top-down' multiculturalism, it is argued that the physical and spatial ordering of culture – based on a modernist assumption that 'nations' and 'ethnicities' have distinct essences, which can be packaged up and represented as discrete cultures – has a destructive and marginalizing effect for Mirpuris in Bradford. This chapter thus asks, what kinds of performances privilege and prioritize what groups of people? What does musical

[15] See, for example, Cantwell 1993; Dunes and Falsassi 1975; Ronström 2001; Cooley 1999.
[16] For more, see Cohen (1993).
[17] DeNora argues that 'if music can affect the shape of social agency, then control over music in social settings is a source of social power; it is an opportunity to structure patterns of action' (DeNora 2000: 20).

performance ‘do’ in this kind of context? What happens to music and culture that is excluded? What are the implications this has for Mirpuris in Bradford? The following section continue by looking at melas in Pakistan, in order to understand better how they are transposed into a British context, and how Mirpuris relate to them.

Festivals and celebrations are particularly important to migrant populations, as they can constitute, symbolically, a renewal of the past in the present. Métraux (1976) has suggested that festivals provide a means of recalling origins, whether mythical or historical, and are opportunities when cultural, religious, local and national identity can be re-asserted and feelings of self-awareness and participation in common experiences reaffirmed. On one level, the Bradford Mela demonstrates this functional description of festivals and celebrations: ‘participation in common experiences’ is one of the explicit goals of recent Government policies of multiculturalism (often expressed as ‘common values’), and is strongly emphasized by the festival’s organisers. According to the Bradford Mela website, the event ‘provides an opportunity for communities to come together to celebrate and share their cultures’.[18]

However, whilst the city council promotes the Bradford Mela as a unifying event and a celebration of the city’s cultures, the reality is that the festival is a space wherein a complex set of interactions takes place, with different meanings for different people. For local people who attend the event, each generation and each individual will bring to it their own expectations, assumptions and prejudices that are informed by their experience of living in Bradford. How these historical and everyday experiences interact and, at times, contradict the ‘multicultural harmony’ of the festival and are of central importance if we are to better understand the impact of

[18] See <HTTP://www.bradfordmela.org> (Last accessed: 14 February 2011).

multicultural policy on the lives of marginalized minority groups, such as Mirpuris in Bradford.

5.2. Melas in Pakistan and Bradford

> The greatest advantage of the melas was that the multicultural people could see you.
>
> (Bhangra artist, Channi Singh, from Alaap, in Qureshi 2010: 83).

Whilst the Bradford Mela was the first of its kind in the UK, it follows a long tradition of melas held across the Indian sub-continent. The word 'mela' stems from the Sanskrit verb 'to meet' and is used widely to identify gatherings and fairs. In rural areas of India and Pakistan, melas are held at harvest time as both a means of religious and secular celebration, and to exchange goods and food. In more populated areas, melas have expanded to vast proportions. The Kumbh Mela in India, for example, attracts over 60million people who gather and bathe in the Ganges at Hardwar, a Hindu city in the Himalayan foothills.

During a research trip to Pakistan in 2010, I attended a mela approximately 30 kilometres east of Mirpur in southern Azad Kashmir. During most of the year, the town of Arrah was relatively quiet and consisted of a small variety of shops – including butchers, barbers, groceries and tailors – lining the sides of the main roads, which formed a T-junction.[19] At this T-junction were enclaves of houses and the large mosque of a local Sufi saint and poet much venerated by Mirpuris, Mīān Muhammad Bakhsh. As we approached the town on the evening of the mela hundreds of cars, scooters and motorbikes, flanked by thousands of people, clogged

[19] I had visited the small village of Arrah several times to have lessons on the *shehnai* with my teacher, Ustad Zulfikar Ali Khan.

the T-junction – all on their way to the mela. The mela itself took place just outside of the town, with the mosque at its centre (see Figure 20).

Figure 20: The mosque of local Sufi saint and poet, Mian Muhammad Bakhsh, at the centre of the mela.

Surrounding the mosque were dozens of temporary market stalls. The stalls sold a wide range of goods, including: clothes, pictures, crockery, ornaments, rugs and cooking ingredients. In addition to this, the air was permeated by the smell of freshly fried samosas and pakoras, and hot Kashmiri tea. As we walked towards the end of a line of stalls, the frenetic sounds of people and trade began to be replaced by the percussive rhythms and piercing melodies and rhythms of the shehnai and dhol. Here, we found pockets of people surrounding one or several men dancing, accompanied by a group of musicians. The musicians usually consisted of two or more dhol players, either one or several shehnai players, and sometimes bagpipes.

These melas are important times for musicians, both as means of generating income and as a way of advertising their ability so that they can gain employment at weddings and events throughout the year.

Figure 21: Musicians performing at a mela.

Figure 22: Dancing man.

The musicians would begin by playing popular raags in order to attract an audience. Once a crowd had assembled, one member of the troupe would liaise with the audience and take requests. Figures 21 and 22 shows a trio of shehnai players – including my Ustad, dressed in white – accompanied by a dhol. During the performance, members of the audience would spontaneously jump up and dance. The dancing itself was trance-like; the men would sway and move in various states of what appeared to be ecstasy (see Figure 22). Whilst this performance was going on, the man on the far-left of Figure 21 would take donations of money from the crowd and also solicit requests. At the end of the performance, the crowd would slowly peter away and the musicians would move onto a different patch where they would begin the ritual again. Elsewhere at the mela were smaller, informal groups of music. These groups were more foreclosed than the transient groups of professional musicians and occurred on the margins of the festival. Small groups of between six and twelve men were sat outside on the dusty floor in near pitch darkness, listening to

Patwari sung poetry (*sher khavani*). These fringe performances were more intimate than the more central affairs just described, and yet they still sustained an intensity of emotion with the small audience. In this smaller setting, the Patwari poetry was sung in dialogue with the audience. Eye contact was held as the lines of poetry – stories of loss, love and Allah – were directed to each observer (as in the performances in Rochdale described in chapter 3). In other words, an emotional conversation took place between the poetry on the one hand and the listeners on the other. The musicians themselves were intrinsic to this conversation and their ability to convey the emotion and beauty of the poetry in sung form was a measure of their musicianship.

The overall structure of how music was organised at the mela in Azad Kashmir was informal and yet regulated by space. The mela itself did not have any fixed boundaries stipulating where it ended. This was, rather, determined by the number of people there and the amount of different activities taking place. Despite this openness and ambiguity as to where the limits of the mela end, and the outside world begins, there were, nevertheless, certain zones that broadly marked out different activities. These were, namely: the central mosque area; car parks which utilised adjoining fields; market and food stalls; open spaces for performance; and, fringe areas of minor commerce and music. The performance of music mainly took place in these latter two peripheral areas. For the performers themselves there was no set programme and the musicians would travel between different locations. This informality of programming was an important aspect of the mela for musicians, who had travelled from far and wide, as it allowed them to maximize their exposure to audiences and so increase their income.

5.2.1. Melas in the UK

The reason I have written about this experience of melas in Pakistan is not just as a brief side trope. Understanding the historical setting and cultural meaning of melas in South Asia is important if we are to consider how melas manifest in diasporic settings.[20] In Pakistan, melas serve as important moments in time and space when numbers of people from surrounding villages come together, in celebration and also to exchange goods (be it products, food or less tangible services like music). In this sense, melas serve multiple purposes: they are economic hubs whilst also being rare areas of the public sphere within which aspects of religious and cultural identities are rehearsed and performed. The organising team of the Bradford Mela argue that the same is still true in the UK, except that, here, melas are promoted as a time and place where a multitude of ethnicities and religions come together and there is a strong emphasis placed on culture as the main currency of exchange.

[20] Whilst I was sat drinking tea in the barbershop one evening, I asked Mr. Khokhar whether there was any Patwari sung poetry at the Bradford Mela: 'Oh yes, there's lots of music at mela. You know, in Pakistan, there are lots of mela, and always lots of music [laughs]'. 'Ah I see', I replied, 'but what about over here? Do they have much Patwari music at the Bradford Mela?' 'Over here, not so much. I think, last time there was a Patwari music at [Bradford] Mela… 2000. We had singer from Pakistan come over and he give big performance at mela. I sponsored him'. 'Did lots of people come to watch?', I asked. 'Lots of people. Big performance'. 'So that was quite a long time ago, ten years, have you been to the mela since?' Mr. Khokhar thought for a moment and rubbed his jaw. 'No, I don't think so. You know, I am working here all the time, every day [laughs]. I went for Patwari music, but the rest aren't real players. I work here every day. Muna takes a day off. I work everyday and save money for Pakistan. One month every year I go Pakistan. Only top players are from Pakistan'. Taking a mental note of this smirk, I asked Mr. Khokhar whether one could compare the melas in Pakistan with melas in the UK, like the Bradford Mela. Mr. Khokhar and Mohammad exchanged glances and rocked their heads slightly. Mohammad answered. 'Not really. You see, in Pakistan the melas are different. The music they have there… It's music that people listen to – very traditional. Over here they have all different kinds of music, you know? Rap music, reggae… It's not really stuff we listen to'. I suggested to Mr. Khokhar that, for the past two years there have been qawwali groups performing at the Bradford Mela that he might like to have seen. He pondered this for a moment but then shook his head and said that these were not 'real' players, only people from London. He said that the best players were from Pakistan, or, to a lesser degree, places like Birmingham, Keighley and Rochdale. Despite Mr. Khokhar's reputation as a musician in Bradford, and the popularity of Patwari sung poetry among Mirpuris, he has never been asked to perform at the mela. When asked why this was, Mr. Khokhar replied, simply, 'I don't know why'.

On another level, however, the Bradford Mela also problematizes this reified, sclerotic definition of culture. Whilst the city council promotes the Bradford Mela as a unifying event and a celebration of the city's cultures (its multiculture, in other words), the reality is that the festival is a space wherein a complex set of interactions takes place. For whilst the mela takes place within a bounded geographical space, those who attend the event transcend its temporary fences. The spatial dimensions of the Bradford Mela can thus be thought of in a more unbounded sense – despite its metal perimeter fence – which is closer to that of a mela in Pakistan. Mr. Khokhar, for example, has his own ideas of what a mela 'is', which, in many ways, is different to how Bradford Council imagines his 'culture' should be represented. In Mr. Khokhar's mind, the idea of a mela is much closer to his experiences of melas in Pakistan described above and so, whilst he approves of the Bradford Mela as a performance space, he does not think of it as being in any way 'real' or 'authentic'.[21] It is first necessary, therefore, to look beyond the Bradford Mela and consider the cultural and political conditions that contributed to its founding.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the Honeyford affair in the early 1980s marked a moment when Pakistanis became more actively engaged with local politics. Indeed, the ensuing debates about the provision of *halal* food in Bradford's schools brought issues of ethnicity, culture, religion, integration/assimilation – multiculturalism, in other words – to the national agenda. Towards the end of the decade, another event occurred that once again brought Bradford Pakistanis and multiculturalism into the media and political spotlight. Culminating in 1989 with Ayatollah Khomeini's

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[21] Thought of in this way, any analysis of the Bradford Mela and its social and cultural impact must also incorporate the diversity of historical and everyday experiences that people themselves bring to the festival. In other words, and to make this point more specific to this thesis, the central ethos of the Bradford Mela will mean different things for young Mirpuris than it does for elder generations, just as it will mean different things for the complex variety other people who attend.

infamous *fatwa* calling for the author's death, the Rushdie affair sparked heated debates about the limits of multiculturalism and secularism in Britain.[22] Indeed, Philip Lewis wrote that, through the very public book burning, in Bradford, of Salman Rushdie's novel, *The Satanic Verses*, the 'Muslim community had gone from being culturally and politically invisible', to being, 'suddenly projected as a dangerous fifth column, subversive of western freedoms: a trojan horse in the heart of Europe with a deadly cargo of fundamentalist religiosity'. This led to the journalist Fay Weldon, of *The Telegraph*, to proclaim that, 'these primitive folk up North, these mad fundamentalists', were to blame and that 'our attempt at multiculturalism is dead. The Rushdie affair proves it' (Fay Weldon, quoted in Lewis 1994: 2).

At the same time that the Rushdie affair was enveloping Bradford, another event was beginning to take shape and gather momentum. A year earlier, in 1987, a small street festival was organised in the Little Germany area of the city.[25] The small festival, organised by Allan Brack (a former art gallery curator) and Dusty Rhodes (a local artist and outdoor stage specialist), was intended as a celebration of Bradford's history and cultures, and as a way to reinvigorate the area. As Rhodes explains, the motivation for the festival was strongly influenced by the local peace movement:

> We'd both been campaigners against racism and fascism and in a way, doing the Festival and then the Mela was a continuation of how we saw the city politically and what the threats to the city were – the constant fascist threat, not just the organised fascism but also the low level racism. We lived through a period where black and Asian people on the streets of Bradford were being physically attacked.
>
> (Dusty Rhodes in Qureshi 2010: 15).

[22] For more on the Rushdie affair, see: Parekh (1990 and 2000) and Ruthven (1991). For a discussions of the affair in relation to music see, Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma (eds.) (1996) and Hyder (2004).

[25] The area of Little Germany is comprised, for the main part, of nineteenth-century industrial warehouses and offices. Since the decline of the textile industry, many of the historic buildings lay abandoned and in a general state of disrepair.

The following year, Brack and Rhodes were asked by Bradford Council's Economic Development Unit to expand the event and make it a citywide celebration. By this point Champak Kumar, founder of Oriental Arts,[26] had also become involved with anti-racist campaigns. At Bradford College, Champak was an active member of the Bradford Asian Youth Movement, which was organised to challenge the growing threats of racism and to oppose the activities of the National Front.[27] The Bradford Festival was, predominantly, a street arts festival, but, through their contact with Champak and the city's anti-racist movements, Brack and Rhodes had become aware of the popularity of live South Asian music.

> They said, 'we want to do a huge outdoor event. What could it be?' And of course I said, 'A mela!' When people in India and Pakistan celebrate Diwali or Vaisakhi or Eid, they always call it a mela. And I used to see a lot of Bollywood films, and when they mentioned a mela in the films, you would see a fair, you would see colours, and you would see artists dancing in the films, and I thought mela is the key word to use.
>
> (Champak Kumar Limbachia in Qureshi 2010: 16).

The early festivals were designed to be a 'multicultural celebration', which included music, dance, visual arts, theatre, cabaret, film and poetry.[28] Artists who performed at the mela were a mixture of local musicians and established international artists. Skinder Hundal, who has been involved with melas in Britain since they began, believes that the melas held in 1988 and 1989 were crucial because, for the

[26] Oriental Arts is a publically funded South Asian arts organisation based in Bradford.
[27] The National Front is a far-right, political party based in the UK who were particularly active in the 1970s and 1980s.
[28] The Melas that occurred in the 1990s included performances by Nachda Punjab, Naseeb, Holle Holle, Alaap, Asian Dub Foundation, Fun-Da-Mental and Jazzy B. In the build-up to the Mela, the Bradford Festival also organised music and arts workshops in various local parks in and around Bradford, schools and community centres. These events culminated in the Lord Mayor's Parade, in which a series of floats built by community groups and schools wove their way through the streets of Bradford to the city centre, much akin to London's Notting Hill Carnival.

first time, they created a public space which countered the backlash against multiculturalism by celebrating the cultures of the city's different communities:

> The communities were taking ownership of their own destiny in promoting the arts and culture and making sure there was something there for the communities to enjoy and be proud of. There were only the day-timers, or the commercial shows, but there wasn't a collective space where all the communities came together, of all Asian origins – Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan – that was the point of the mela. It was a connecting point for all the South Asian communities to come together as a creative voice.
>
> (Skinder Hundal in Qureshi 2010: 12).

Following the success of the first mela in 1988, the event moved to the larger Lister Park in the Manningham area of the city. Faced with limited funding, the organisers relied on local volunteers to help build infrastructure, manage the site, stewarding and, after the event, dismantle the stages and clear up litter. Local Pakistani-owned businesses, such as the Mumtaz restaurant and Bombay Stores, sponsored the event, whilst Bradford College art students volunteered to help build structure and stages, and to provide decorations. Rhodes recalls:

> We used to go into [Lister Park] a week or two before the event and start building the thing, and people that we didn't even know would come with huge tubs of curry and feed us because we were working to build the Mela. These were spontaneous gestures. There was just a real sense that the event was by and for the community, and anyone who had an idea could come along and join in.
>
> (Dusty Rhodes in Qureshi 2010: 17).

5.3. Multiculturalism and the Mela

Over the subsequent years the festival grew in scope and popularity, moving to larger venues in the process. In 1998 the mela relocated to Peel Park and by the turn of the century was attracting over 150,000 visitors from home and abroad, making it

the largest mela in the UK and one of the biggest in Europe. As a focal point in the year for music in Bradford, the modern Mela provides both a consolidated (and, in many ways, limited) picture of the city's music scene and a temporal public space within which the city's various ethnicities can come together. Because of this, the mela has also been used in the political arena in attempts to attract European funding. Paul Brookes led Bradford council's European Capital of Culture 2008 bid, in which the mela played an active role:

> The Mela was most certainly seen as a demonstration of something that brought together communities in a celebratory way. "Europe's biggest and best Mela" is how we described it. The multiculturalism that the Mela represents, the way the Mela was a symbol of some of that multiculturalism, was absolutely at the centre of the bid.
>
> (Paul Brookes in Quershi 2010: 18).

Over the course of the two-day mela, over sixteen hours of music and entertainment is programmed. During the course of my research I was privy to meetings with funding bodies, Bradford Council and West Yorkshire Police, wherein discussions and decisions were made as to what acts should be booked for what groups of people, and, perhaps more importantly, what acts should not be booked for fear of attracting the 'wrong' sort of people.[29] These meetings, particularly with the council and other funding bodies, were directed under the rubric of multiculturalism, as decisions were made based on what acts should be booked using public money that could best articulate multicultural policy. Discussions and decisions in the meetings were based on and around the city council's cultural strategy 'Only Connect'

[29] Details and rationale of these decisions will be made explicit later in the chapter, but for now it is enough to say that these 'wrong' people were Pakistani (Mirpuri) youth.

manifesto,[30] as well as the Arts Council England's NI11 target to engage communities with the arts.[31] This was a highly selective process, whereby migrant groups in Bradford would be identified, and then music to be performed at the mela would be selected for them, on behalf of them, to represent them.

The Bradford Mela is, in this sense, the implementation of multiculturalism, over a fixed period of time, within a predefined, enclosed space.[32] The festival's producer, Ben Pugh, explained to me that the festival site, too, is designed in such a way as to be an idealised articulation of multicultural policy: 'From the moment they walk through the gate, the audience should feel like they're being transported into a different world. They're at a festival, a celebratory moment … So when they go from the Mango Stage, they walk through the avenue of stalls towards the Sunrise Stage. And along the way, they pass a samba band playing and they see in the corner a guy doing a plate balancing act' (Ben Pugh in Qureshi 2010: 14). There is an interesting dynamic here, between the representation of Bradford's multiculture on the one hand, and the desire of the Producer to foster the feeling of being transported into a different world altogether. This kind of exceptionalism speaks of creating a space that is simultaneously real and 'other': the utopian projection of what how a multicultural society could, or perhaps should, interact (but doesn't).

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[30] According to the manifesto, 'the purpose of "Only Connect", Bradford District's Cultural Strategy, is to link the work of all the individual people, organisations, agencies and services who have a bearing on the quality of life here and to focus on delivering together the shared goals'. See: <http://www.bradford.gov.uk> (Last accessed: 9 July 2010).

[31] In 2008 the Arts Council England, in collaboration with other funding councils, began an initiative to work with local councils with the aim of developing a framework for the improvement of community level culture and sport. As part of this framework a number of targets (NI11) were set, which usually comprised of percentage increases of certain groups of people engaging in council-sponsored cultural activities. See: <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/about-us/work-partnership/local-government-community-place> (Last accessed: 9 July 2010).

[32] For example, Bradford Council promoted the 2001 Bradford Mela as 'The World in a City'.

Meetings between the production team and West Yorkshire Police had a profound influence on how this dynamic was balanced. These meetings were shaped less by government policy towards multiculturalism and more by certain demands made by the police based on their experiences of past melas. The police's main concern in these meetings was public order. For the main part, these concerns were centred on how the festival's producers would prevent large groups of young Pakistani Mirpuri men from gathering in one place. The language used during the meetings was predominantly that of 'prevention' rather than any tangible pieces of intelligence that had suggested a large-scale social transgression was due to take place.

An example of the impact of these meetings between the police, the city council and the festival organizers came in 2002. Having taken overall charge of the festival for the past decade, in 2002, Bradford Council made the decision to pass the organization of the Bradford Mela onto a private contractor.[34] This represented a significant shift in the production of the event. Up until this point, it was local people – such as Alan Brack, Dusty Rhodes, Champak Kumar and Katherine Cannoville – who had, for the large part, organized the production of the Bradford Mela. Once the

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[34] Whilst these people were still, ultimately, responsible to Bradford Council and operated under a certain set of directions, they nevertheless retained a degree of freedom to organize the festival in a way that they best saw fit. Indeed, prior to the production of the event being outsourced to a private contractor, all those involved with the mela were people who had in some way or another contributed year-on-year to the growth of the Bradford Mela. Each member of the organizing committee had lived in Bradford for several decades and had been intimately involved with the political developments in the city outlined above and in the introduction. As such, the mela had evolved throughout the 1990s in relation to the social and political history of Bradford, guided by the local knowledge of the organizing team. This had a profound impact on the types of music that were programmed for the festival weekend. Alongside the big name bhangra bands, such as Alaap and Heera, were a large mix of local groups and educational projects that incorporated a range of musical styles and sub-genres. Katherine Cannoville was instrumental in opening up performance space at the mela for school groups: 'I think the emphasis to bring our local artists up through the Mela channel is absolutely crucial to the longevity of the Mela. We're working on smaller budgets for a much larger event, so it's crucial that we nurture our local artists. It's not a case of "Let's use them because they're second best". It's a case of, "We've got exactly the quality we need already, let's put things around it, as opposed to get the big international artists and then chuck a few local artists in. It's the reverse thinking. Build our Mela around our local artists and then get our guests' (Cannoville in Qureshi 2010: 34).

production of the mela was handed over to a private contractor, however, many of the event's local community initiatives were discontinued. Instead, the contractor outsourced a team of programmers and organizers from outside Bradford, and built a festival program that was more heavily centred on bhangra-rap and RandB.

The Bradford Mela still attracted over 100,000 people throughout this period; however, over the next two years there were many complaints made specifically about the programming of the festival. The strong emphasis on contemporary RandB and rap attracted much larger numbers of young Mirpuris, who came to watch artists such as Juggy D and Imran Khan perform on the large, open-air, main stage. This led to public complaints being made to the council that the Bradford Mela had become 'mono-cultural' in that its programming was focusing almost completely on Pakistani pop music. Reports in the media also alleged that, rather than representing the tastes of Bradford's various populations, the festival was pandering only to the tastes of young Pakistanis. In this sense, people were not only concerned with it becoming mono-cultural, but also mono-generational. In the eyes of many festival-goers and the media, the Bradford Mela was, in effect, becoming increasingly partisan, reflecting one demographic rather than all.

The backlash against this new way of programming the Bradford Mela can be read in several ways. In one sense, it provides a counter argument to the 'multiculturalism backlash' identified by Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) that has occurred in the UK over the past two decades.[35] The underlying framing of the complaint – that the mela was pandering only to the tastes of young Pakistanis – was

[35] Vertovec and Wessenorf (2010), suggested that, within the last decade, multiculturalism has received a vociferous 'backlash' from politicians and the media, who claim that it stifles debate, fosters separatedness, refuses common values, denies social problems, supports reprehensible practices and harbours terrorists.

one of representation. As far as the complainants were concerned, the mela no longer 'represented' all of Bradford's cultures. Or, in other words, the event was no longer multicultural enough. This counters the prevailing discourses against multiculturalism by politicians and the media, and demonstrates that, for people living day-to-day lives in multicultural cities like Bradford, the policies of multiculturalism are still issues that shape, affect and organise their social lives.[36] This shows that, for people in Bradford who attend the mela, music plays an important role in representation. A good Bradford Mela represents all of Bradford's cultures; a bad mela represents only one. Multiculturalism, in this sense, is understood to be about equanimity and impartiality towards any given culture. Amina Galaria, for example, who was at the 2009 festival with her daughter, echoed this sentiment to me:

> Whatever activities are happening you have to plan for the whole group. You have to include all the representatives so each and every community feels ownership; and I think that's very important. Regardless of which ethnic group is larger here or smaller there, everyone should feel this is for them. All the artists that are invited, you have to keep a balance, so it's not just artists from one country – it has to represent all the communities.[37]

Following on from these complaints, the council once again took over the organisation of the mela, and proceeded to add a number of stages to the festival program with the aim of diversifying the music on offer.[38] It was clear from the 2009 festival, however, that, despite this movement towards diversity and an 'official' philosophy of equanimity and impartiality toward any given 'culture', young Mirpuris were actively excluded. Their disenchantment with the choice of activities made available to them often manifested itself through interrupting performances. An

[36] Indeed, drawing on Krims, imagining the mela in this way, 'affords the observer one way to observe changes in the cultural feel for the city, as cities are described and projected throughout great swathes of musical history, across numerous genres' (Krims, 2007: Xxxv).
[37] Interview with the author 14 June 2009.
[38] See chapter 2 for a description of these stages and activities.

example of this came during a comedy show by an Indian comedian. Sat on the grass in front of the Kala Sangam Stage were families with their children. Halfway through the show a small group of Mirpuri boys entered the tent, sat at the front of the stage and began to heckle the comedian. At one point, one of the boys jumped up and shouted into the microphone. The audience shifted uneasily whilst the comedian said, 'alright, lads, calm down now'. After a few minutes the boys jostled their way out of the tent and moved on, and, as they did so, the gentleman next to me muttered, 'fucking typical'.

Not long after this had happened, a similar act of transgression occurred. Performing on The Sunrise Stage were bhangra-fusion artists, 2 Steps Ahead.[39] Watching the performances was a mixed crowd: young families, groups of teenagers, passers-by, and elder generations gearing up to go home for the evening. At one point, the young families and elder generations were sat high up on the natural amphitheatre that looked down on the Sunrise Stage, whilst immediately in front of the stage was a large crowd consisting, mainly, of young men. During the performance the crowd surged forward, bringing down three segments of barrier. The crowd spilled through and some climbed up onto the stage, interrupting the performance. Security quickly intervened, restored the barriers and the performance continued.

[39] The Sunrise Stage was the 2009 festival's only large open-air stage and was sponsored and run by the local South Asian radio station, Sunrise Radio. Throughout the weekend, the stage was MC'd by the radio station's DJs whilst being broadcast live over the radio and internet. Situated towards the top of the festival, facing away from the main site, the stage looked out towards a natural amphitheatre with the valley rising away from it. Crowds could stand either on a flat area directly in front of the stage or sit high up on the banking that provided an ideal view.

Figure 23: The Sunrise Stage

In a physical sense, this social drama was a subversion of boundaries between performer and audience. The physical barrier between the stage and audience had been broken and crossed, and, in the minds of many festival-goers, a social barrier had also been broken. The social rules that denote what behaviour is acceptable and what is not, were suddenly brought into discourse as various people around me condemned the actions of the teenagers. Shortly after this had happened a mother, with her young family at her side, lamented to me, 'I'm not racist, but they [the organisers] knew that if they let them [young Mirpuris] get together like this then this would happen, but they didn't stop it'. As news of the event spread around the site, the story of the drama changed and metamorphosed. At its most perverted, the drama was described to me as a full-scale riot with mounted police charging through the crowd to suppress the unruly teenagers. When this incarnation of the drama was put to a security guard who was there at the time, he simply replied, 'Nah, it was nothing.

Some fences came down, that's all'. The disparity between interpretations is indicative of some of the low-level tensions that exist in Bradford, but that are papered over at the festival by its multicultural and communal ethos. It shows not simply that, as a social drama unfolds, people feel able to articulate some of their more entrenched value systems and beliefs, but that the performance of identity itself is always contextual.

Figure 24: A comedian performing on the Kala Sangam stage.

Moreover, these two brief examples show that, whilst young Mirpuris are excluded from the programming of the mela, they are still very much at the centre of attention. In many ways, Mirpuris live both socially and economically on the periphery: the margins of society. The neighbourhoods that a large proportion of Mirpuris live in are inner-city suburbs that have traditionally suffered from lack of investment and underdevelopment. The main businesses that Mirpuris work in and/or own – restaurants, clothes shops, taxi ranks etc. – are not to be found in the town

centre, but in areas such as Manningham, Girlington and Little Horton (all on the outskirts of Bradford, see Figure 19). In a cultural sense, too, they are not included in the planning process of the Bradford Mela and are not represented in the production team.

And yet, despite this, there is a paradox within this debate, which lies in the fact that, whilst this thesis has emphasised the marginalization of Mirpuris, they are, concurrently, at the centre of the public's attention (highlighted by the complaints outlined above) and, often, at the centre of debates on multiculturalism.[40] There is a tension, then, between centre and periphery. How can we talk about marginalization when, paradoxically, Mirpuris are, actually, at the centre of debates about multiculturalism? Indeed, it could be argued that the way in which this chapter has been written, thus far, has also excluded the voices of Mirpuris whilst, paradoxically, placing them centre stage. In order to redress this balance and work through the tension between this duality of centre and periphery, focus must now be turned to the ways in which Mirpuris themselves think about and experience the Bradford Mela. It will be argued that this switch in emphasis is crucial if we are to better understand more broadly what multiculturalism 'means' for people, on the ground, on a day-to-day basis, and that it is from this starting point that multicultural policy should be informed and shaped.

5.4. The 2010 Bradford Mela

The 2010 Bradford Mela occurred on Saturday 12 and Sunday 13 June, and came at a time of particular economic difficulties in the UK. The economy was

[40] Events such as the Honeyford affair, the Rushdie affair, the Bradford Riots, 11 September 2001, and the 7/7 London Bombings have often put Mirpuri Muslims at the centre of debates on multiculturalism. Indeed, it is precisely these events that have traditionally been cited as evidence of multiculturalism's failure.

pulling itself out of recent recession with an unprecedented amount of fiscal support from public funds. Amidst this economic crisis a new Conservative-Liberal Democrats coalition government came into power and immediately began implementing deep spending cuts in the public sector. Bradford Council alone faced funding cuts of £67 million, over two years, to its budget. As the main sponsor of the Bradford Mela, this had an immediate impact on the budget for the 2010 festival. Ben Pugh explained to me that budgeting for the mela had always been a difficult process. In most years, the official budget would not be approved until April, some two months before the festival weekend. This created huge logistical problems as artists and site contractors required contracts to be signed by the production team well before this official budget approval. Such late approval had always created a degree of uncertainty for the production team, but Pugh explained that, normally, the council would eventually approve a budget of approximately £300,000. This would then be augmented with title and stage sponsors, and retail space hire.

The recession that preceded and led into 2010, however, created a particular set of difficulties. The city council indicated to Pugh at an early stage that he should expect cuts of 66 per cent (£200,000), which would effectively reduce the festival budget to £100,000. Pugh explained that, for an event that attracts audience figures of over 150,000 people (over two days), simply putting the infrastructure in place would absorb much of that revised figure. Aware that more money would have to found from elsewhere, the production team nevertheless went about finding ways to deliver the 2010 event with a massively reduced budget. In a meeting with Bradford Council, the production team and Oriental Arts (who are responsible for much of the music and dance programming), it was decided that cuts in the music budget would have to be found.

In the months after this meeting, it was left to Oriental Arts to decide how to implement these cuts and what types of music should be prioritized. It was subsequently decided that 'big name acts' would have to be dropped from the programme. This was, ostensibly, because such acts can cost up to £10,000 to book and there simply was not enough money to accommodate these levels of fees. Instead, it was decided that more emphasis should be placed on local music acts, as this would allow the production team to both save money and meet their NI11 targets. Despite this shift to local music acts and commitment to NI11 targets, however, there some surprising omissions from the 2010 festival programme. Champak knew, in a broad sense, that Patwari was popular among Mirpuris, and that Mr. Khokhar was the man to speak to, but he was not aware that Mr. Khokhar himself was a musician. Indeed, despite Champak's expertise in South Asian musics, he was not clear exactly what Patwari 'was', nor what it meant for Mirpuris in Bradford. Over a combined total of thirty-two hours of performance time, only four thirty-minute slots were allocated to music that might, loosely, be described as best identifying with the musical tastes of elder Mirpuris. These were The Hussain Brothers and Haji Ameer Khan – both of which are professional qawwali groups that are based outside of Bradford.[57] There were no Patwari ensembles. This represents a great disparity – or inversion – between the size of the relative South Asian populations and their musical 'representation' at the mela.[58]

[57] Both The Hussain Brothers and Haji Ameer Khan are originally from Karachi in southern Pakistan, but are now based in London.

[58] I have put 'representation' in scare quotes here, because, whilst it is impossible to completely represent an entire group of people (there will always be cases of cross-interests, tastes, identifications and loyalties), there is, nevertheless, a clear imbalance between the amount of Indian classical music at the festival and the relative paucity of qawwali and Patwari music. . This goes contrary to the relative population sizes (see Introduction). . For more on previous debates on representation, see also, Clifford and Marcus (1986); Geertz (1988); and, Baumann (1996).

To compound this disparity, between the rhetoric of the production team and the resulting programme, a number of 'big name' bands were booked, and, for the purpose of this analysis, it is worth noting which types of music survived the cuts versus the types of music that did not make it onto the programme. The overall site size of the 2010 Mela was significantly reduced, compared to the previous year. The biggest spatial change was the removal of The Valley area to the north of the site, behind The Avenue. The loss of The Valley also spelled the end of the two stages that were situated there in 2009: The Sunrise Stage and The Sunset Stage. The loss of The Sunrise Stage, in particular, left a large gap in the programming, as this had, traditionally, been the stage on which big name bhangra rap groups performed. The children's area was also reduced, with The Hive being replaced by a smaller marquee.

Figure 25: The 2010 Bradford Mela site plan.

It was with music, however, that the biggest changes were made. The loss of The Sunrise Stage meant that many of the musics that appealed to young Mirpuris were cut from the programme. In 2009, a long list of big name bhangra rap artists performed on both The Sunrise Stage and the main Mango Stage.[59] The artists who performed included, among others, Jazzy B, Adeel, AG Dolla, Bombay Rockers, Jaz Dhami, Integrity Beatz and RDB. At the 2010 festival, not one big name bhangra rap artist was programmed. The only artist to appear on the programme who fit that genre was Sham D – a young, up-coming singer from London – who performed on the small Kiwi Stage in the corner of the festival.[60]

In terms of programming, then, virtually an entire genre was cut from the 2010 Bradford Mela. This represents a big change in programming compared with the previous year, particularly if one considers that this genre – bhangra rap – contains the type of music that most appeals to young Mirpuris. Interestingly, one big name bhangra rap artist did perform at the 2010 Mela. Late on Saturday afternoon, Preeya Kalidas feat. Mumzy, appeared on the Mango Stage as a surprise guest. I asked the mela's programmer, Champak, why Preeya Kalidas had not been advertised in the programme, and he replied: 'You know, Tom, we've had them booked for a while and Mumzy said he would play as a favour to me. But you see, Tom, if we advertise him on the programme, then he would attract a big crowd of youngsters, and they thought that sometimes they can get a little over excited [laughs]. So we thought, "OK, we'll

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[59] At the foot of this area was the mela's main stage, The Mango Stage. The Mango Stage was a large, blue big-top and was the biggest of the stages at the Mela with a capacity of around 10,000-15 people. Despite it being the largest of the stages at the 2009 festival, at previous events it was much larger and not contained within a big-top tent. The move to smaller stages was part of a push by the festival organisers to reduce the audience sizes that a single, large stage encourages, and increase variety and diversity across the site. Consequently, the Mango Stage was popular throughout the weekend and attracted a variety of audiences. The stage promised, 'tasty national and international music flavours', with performances from prominent South Asian musicians, including, Jazzy B, Adeel, Bombay Rockers and Channi from Alaap.

[60] The Kiwi Stage was a scaled down version of The Sunset Stage from the previous year.

have him as a surprise guest"'. I asked Champak who 'they' were, to which he replied: 'I think it's the council and the police, you know. They are always worried [laughs]!'.[61]

Figure 26: Preeya Kalidas (feat. Mumzy) at the 2010 Bradford Mela.

It was clear from pre-festival meetings that cuts to the programming had to be made, but it is interesting to note that those cuts fell almost exclusively on music that appeals to young Mirpuris. Whereas the big names of the bhangra rap genre were cut from the 2010 festival, a number of more established bhangra groups were sustained over both years. The 2009 mela, for example, saw a headline performance by Channi Singh, lead singer of Alaap; a group who pioneered the bhangra genre in Britain the late 1980s.[62] The 2010 festival, again, gave its headline slot to this genre, with the return to the stage of Alaap's rivals from the 1980s, Heera. Mr. Khokhar's son, Muna, gave short shrift to these bands when he described them to me as 'old timer's music'. This change in programming towards what can, roughly, be described as

[61] The police's concerns about young Mirpuris will be outlined later in the chapter.
[62] See also, Banerji and Baumann (1990); Hyder (1994); Baumann (1996); Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma (1996); Din and Cullingford (2004).

music that appeals more to elder generations, was also reflected in the timings of the acts. Whereas at the 2009 festival the programme built throughout the afternoon, with the main acts performing in the early evening, the 2010 mela saw the headline act appear at 3pm on Saturday afternoon. Thereafter, the acts that followed were slower paced, with a less broad appeal. This resulted in crowd numbers gradually reducing as the late afternoon progressed.

The changes in programming from one year to another demonstrate a subtle move away from music that directly appeals to young Mirpuris. The move was ostensibly made under the guise of cuts to funding, but the sustentation of other genres and big name acts, such as Alaap and Heera, suggest that there were also other factors. The reluctance to advertise the surprise guest, Preeya Kalidas feat. Mumzy, suggests a concern over what might happen should large numbers of their fans – young Mirpuris – gather to watch. As Champak explained, this concern lay primarily with the city council and the police, but also pervaded the production team, as demonstrated through the layout of the site. Indeed, the police's fear of large crowds is based not only on incidents at previous melas but also on an assumption that large groups of young Mirpuris will inevitably cause trouble and panic will ensue. As Elias Canetti notes, it is 'the destructiveness of the crowd [that] is often mentioned as its most conspicuous quality ... It is discussed and disapproved of but never really explained' (Canetti 1973: 19).

The police's concerns about large groups of Mirpuri youth gathering in one place thus had a profound influence on the layout of the festival site. More stages were added and spaced out around the site with the aim of encouraging more movement and diversity. Pugh explained:

> In recent years we've moved away from a large outdoor arena-type stage, to something that is a more intimate environment. People don't want an event which is an intimidating pop concert/arena type environment. You put a crowd of 90,000 people in front of a stage and however positive and happy they are there's still something intimidating about that; it's not an environment for family audiences. So what we've done is taken away the big structures, made the structures less intimidating, and it changes the atmosphere on site.
>
> (Ben Pugh interview with the author, June 2009).

In a sense, therefore, the way in which the festival site is organised is deeply influenced by police's concerns about large groups of Mirpuri youth.[63] Pugh's 'crowd-engineering', as he terms it, demonstrates that within the rhetoric of 'openness' and 'inclusivity' are underlying concerns with controlling the ways in which people move around the site. The move from large, open stages to smaller but more numerous tents stems not only from the Council's desire to 'include more communities', but also from a fear of large groups of young Mirpuris gathering in one place. As this aspect of festival design is put into effect, a different set of language is employed by the festival organisers to describe the layout. It becomes less about Pakistani youth hell bent on causing trouble, and more about being part of the council's broader multicultural policies of inclusion and a 'something-for-everyone' approach. It demonstrates how, in many ways, the concerns of the police and the concerns of the council's multicultural policy coincide.

Crowd-engineering at the mela highlights the tension between the council and organisers' ambition to create multicultural spaces within which people of different ethnicities and faiths can congregate, and their fear of what might occur when they (i.e. the people) do so. It shows that, despite the overtones of inclusivity and

[63] This analysis of the festival layout has strong resonances with the way in which William Weber used the development of the concert hall in the nineteenth-century as a way of identifying patterns of class organisation. See Weber 1975, 2008.

openness emanating from the production team and council, there is, nevertheless, a clear idea of how people are expected to behave, interact and move around the site. Indeed, it could be argued that the layout of the site is specifically designed to encourage a kind of cultural world tour, whereby festival goers move around and sample little tasters of Bradford's different cultures.[64] Implicit in this layout, then, is an ordering of culture. Each culture is neatly placed at various points around the site, ready to be encountered by the general public.[65] The inclination to fragment and disperse Mirpuri youth in the name of 'multicultural harmony' demonstrates a more fundamental essentialization of culture and faith that is manifested through increasing methods of control.

However, these increasing methods of control only represent one side of the story. The active crowd-engineering also reflects some of the underlying power dynamics between the festival organisers and the audience. From a young Mirpuri's point of view, the Bradford Mela is still an event to go to, and, with its overtones of inclusivity and 'something-for-everyone', would be justified in thinking that the mela was also something for them as Bradfordians. Indeed, Champak expressed this tension to me thus: 'You see, Tom, the problem is, whatever you are programming, they [young Mirpuris] will still come, but there is nothing for them! So they go around, cause trouble. It's sad'. The 'trouble' that Champak referred to was visible, and often audible, throughout much of the weekend. Large groups of teenagers – mostly boys but also a number of girls – wandered around the site in a train-like

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[64] The 2001Bradford Mela, for example, was promoted by the organisers as 'The World in a City'.
[65] This ordering of culture bears reminiscence to the way Tim Mitchell (1988) described the World Fairs of the nineteenth-century, in cities like London, Paris and New York. . Rather than deconstructing the physical power relations between the coloniser and the colonised, Mitchell seeks out the more subliminal structures behind the means of colonial domination. . In a departure from previous scholarship, he asserts that ideologies of colonialism are as much 'internal' as they are 'external'. . Through processes of standardisation, regulation of the market place, careful re-planning of living quarters and educational systems in nineteenth-century Egypt, Egyptians were ideologically driven into a subjugated position by British occupation.

formation. The teenagers, who carried vuvuzelas, air horns and had the flag of Pakistan tied around their necks,[69] moved around the site, stopping at each stage for a few minutes before moving on. Their dissatisfaction with the music on offer was marked not only by their moving on after only a few minutes, but by a mass chorus of Bb notes emanating from their vuvuzelas.

Figure 27: Young Mirpuris with their vuvuzelas.

Whereas at the 2009 Mela a number of teenagers were heavily criticised by festival-goers for transgressing the physical barrier between stage and audience because they interrupted a bhangra rap performance, the same teenagers now came under renewed criticism for a different type of transgression. With a lack of music that appealed to them, young Mirpuris expressed their dissatisfaction by interacting with performances in a different way. The loud, resonant, monotone of the vuvuzela cut across the crowd and the stage – in some cases overpowering the sound system –

[69] The vuvuzela is a type of horn thought to originate from South Africa, where it is also known as *lepatata mambu*. Modern vuvuzelas are usually made out of plastic and produce a loud single note, Bb below middle C. The instrument became particularly famous after the 2010 South Africa Football World Cup, where they were played en masse at football matches and dominated the soundscape. Both the vuvuzelas and the Pakistan flags were on sale at many of the mela's retail stalls.

before the teenagers moved on.[70] The antagonistic way in which the public reacted to the teenagers was reinforced by the presence of a significant number of police officers, who stood nearby. On several occasions the police, holding large video cameras, followed the teenagers around the site, recording their behaviour. Whilst there was little on offer for young Mirpuris on stage, then, they were nevertheless often the focus of attention off the stage – be it through the watchful gaze of the police, or through the castigation of other members of the audience.

5.5. Summary

I began this chapter, first, by giving an outline of the social and political history of the Bradford Mela. I then moved on to look in more detail at the 2010 Bradford Mela, in order to answer four broad questions. These were, namely: 1.) What kinds of performances privilege what groups of people? 2.) What does music 'do' in this kind of context? 3.) What happens to music and culture that is excluded? And, 4.) What are the implications this has for Mirpuris in Bradford?

I approached these questions by beginning with an analysis of the Bradford Mela from a perspective of what I termed 'top-down multiculturalism'. The starting point thus looked at the way the mela was planned and implemented by the production team, under the guidelines of Bradford Council's policies on multiculturalism. These guidelines moved the mela away from a South Asian festival per se, to one that aimed to more broadly represent Bradford's various cultures and ethnicities. In other words, the remit of the production team given by the council was to deliver a multicultural festival that would represent each of the cultures that live in

[70] There are some resonances here, perhaps, with Christopher Small's assertion, that, 'to music' is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance. For more, see Small (1998).

Bradford. Ben Pugh's, 'something for everyone' approach to programming encapsulated this ethos.

However, by comparing the 2009 and 2010 festivals, the chapter has demonstrated that, beneath this veneer of multiculturalism, a number of decisions were made in the planning process that undermined this something-for-everyone ethos. From one year to the next, an entire genre of music – bhangra rap – was cut from the programme: music that directly appeals to young Mirpuris. This shows that the so-called freedom and openness of the festival nevertheless occurs within a strictly defined framework. The multicultural 'dream' of an event like the mela is only one side of the story. Subsumed under this formal ideology are complex social and historical interactions.

As has been shown, the Bradford Mela has been promoted as the city's flagship 'multicultural event'. The festival is the one event in the Bradford calendar where multiple identities, ethnicities, traditions, generations, musics and cultures compete and, often, overlap on a shared ground. It has even been hailed by the council as a 'symbol of multiculturalism'. Furthermore, the organisers' something-for-everyone approach has seen the mela transform from a South Asian event to one which celebrates difference and diversity within a broader framework of shared citizenship and national identity: all central themes of recent central government multicultural policy. On the surface, then, the mela articulates multiculturalism in many ways. There is live music from many parts of the world; fresh food from Pakistan, England, Italy and the USA; dance workshops from Japan and southern India; not to mention the great variety of cultures of the people who attend the two-day festival.

But therein also lies a problem. By attempting to represent many cultures the mela also defines them. This presents rigid and fixed notions of culture and group belonging that risks excluding certain groups, whilst informing and perpetuating essentialized stereotypes. As Lewis has noted, Bradford 'offers a case-study of how local Muslims are able to work with multiple identities ... At different times Muslims have been able to negotiate resources on the basis of a shared "black" identity, a national identity – Pakistani/Bangladeshi – or multiculturalism' (1994: 25).

This chapter has demonstrated that, rather than providing something-for-everyone, the choice of music at the 2010 festival actively excluded young Mirpuris Muslims. This was ostensibly done because of funding cuts to the festival's budget, but comparison of the two years' programmes showed that other genres of music were prioritized and survived from one year to the next. Indeed, this process of prioritization and exclusion pervaded other aspects of the festival, such as the site layout. Following complaints made at previous festivals, and meetings with West Yorkshire Police, stages were reduced in size in order to prevent large groups of young Mirpuris from gathering in one place and thus reduce the risk they were perceived to pose.

By looking at the mela from the perspective of young Mirpuris the chapter then sought to examine the ways in which teenagers themselves experienced multiculturalism at the mela. The chapter showed that, despite the organiser's efforts to prevent large numbers of teenagers gathering in one place, a significant number of young Mirpuris still attend the festival. With a distinct lack of music on offer for them, groups of teenagers roamed around the site and sonically interrupted

performances with choruses of vuvuzelas. The police, who followed them around with video cameras, also contributed to putting the teenagers under the spotlight.

Young Mirpuris' experience of multiculturalism at the 2010 mela, then, was certainly not one of inclusion and openness. The choice of music excluded them from the council's vision of multiculturalism, and, in doing so, contributed to their marginalization. The teenagers' subaltern, oppositional praxis challenged this marginalization by cutting across the council's carefully laid out articulation of multiculturalism, transgressing boundaries between performers, audiences and cultures.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

When I began my fieldwork in Bradford, in 2009, I took with me a set of assumptions. Mirpuris were, I had been informed, not interested in music, self-segregating, backward, uneducated, Muslim fundamentalists and not integrating into society. They were, to all intents and purposes, the symbol, reason and proof of multiculturalism's failure. Throughout this thesis I have engaged critically with these assumptions by trying to find out how Mirpuris understand their experience of living in a multicultural society. In some cases, as with music, these assumptions can quite clearly be dismissed, but others have proved more complicated. What perspective on these assumptions does music afford? My broad argument has been that music, and the spaces in which music is performed and consumed in Bradford, offer unique insights into how Mirpuris deal with such complexities.

In terms of geographical space, Bradford is, in many respects, a racially segregated city. This observation is, of course, nothing new, but my purpose hasn't been to disprove that racial segregation exists, rather to question its largely pejorative overtones and what it means for people in Bradford. In this respect, I follow Phillips (2006) in suggesting that 'segregation' is rarely a one-sided affair (it takes two to segregate, you might say). Mirpuris choose to live in areas such as Manningham and Girlington because it is affordable, friends and family live there, the houses are well built, amenities are close, and they feel safe. These same characteristics, it has to be said, are not unique to Mirpuris, and could be applied to any number of communities and areas across Bradford, and the UK. But whilst Mirpuris tend to live in quite particular areas of Bradford, that is not to say that they are culturally isolated, or that their local areas are not penetrated by influences quite distant from them (Giddens 1990: 18).

If one pays attention to spaces of Mirpuri music making, quite a different map of the city emerges: a map, I argue, that provides a more relevant picture of multicultural society than one drawn along racial lines. It is a map not bound by geographic space, but is at once local, national and transnational. Performances of Patwari sung poetry intersect with transnational senses of belonging that generate local meanings and transform social hierarchies; money is exchanged, status is negotiated. A map of Patwari sung poetry connects towns and cities across the north of England – Bradford, Rochdale, Oldham, Birmingham – with South Asia; the present with the past. In this sense, evenings of Patwari sung poetry represent intersecting axes of culture that cut across both horizontal lines of space and place (here and there), and vertical lines of time and history (now and then).

Rap music offers another perspective, but this time the axes might be thought of more along the lines of global musical styles and culture, understood through local experiences. In Walsall, young Kashmiris move into and occupy their own spaces – the street – and record raps onto mobile phones, which are then disseminated around the neighborhood. Rapping on street corners provides a space in which young Kashmiris dissect their experiences at school, of racism, gangs and crime. This space is marked out by the music and defended through the music. These are hip-hop styles, but the social capital and meanings that are generated are entirely local. From the perspective of young Kashmiris, then, this is what it looks like to live in multicultural Britain.

In rap workshops in Bradford, conversely, the hand of the state plays a more active role, using rap music as a way to bring young people together and discuss social issues. Questions of agency, affect, and control are important here. Music is presented not only as a powerful means to bring cultures together, but also offers an

accessible way for teenagers to talk about the issues they face. Equally, they are designed as spaces to re-engage young Mirpuris with education. In this context, rap music is an active component in a government led integration agenda, whereby it takes on a 'civilizing' role. The 'Skills for Success' workshop, in particular, brought together disparate communities and provided a forum in which the racial map of the city was discussed and re-addressed. On the streets of Walsall, then, rap music is used to mark out territories; in Bradford's rap workshops, it is used to transcend them.

Philip Lewis has argued for the importance of paying attention to Mirpuris' lives because 'the public profile of Islam and Muslim communities in Britain is likely to be shaped less by sophisticated Muslim professional groups in London or Manchester than by what happens in those cities with young, growing Muslim communities, such as Birmingham, Bradford and Burnley, where Islam has a largely Pakistani face' (2007: 29). By the start of the second decade of the twenty-first century a number of events occurred that had the potential to make history repeat itself. In early 2010, the English Defense League (EDL) – a group with a history of Islamophobic sentiment and violence – threatened to march through the city in much the same way that the British National Party (BNP) had done a decade earlier, whilst in the summer of 2011, London saw what has been described as the 'worst rioting in a generation'.[1] The London Riots swept through other UK cities, particularly those with poor, working class post-migrant populations. Against all expectations, Bradford remained peaceful. In both cases (the EDL march and the London riots), mosques across Bradford played a crucial but largely unrecognized role in intervening with young Mirpuris – who were growing more and more agitated – and, contrary to

[1] *The Guardian*, 5 December 2011.

the BNP's march a decade earlier, successfully encouraged them to stay away from the protests and from rioting.[2]

Such marked difference, from one decade to the next, I would argue, lies not in a sudden ascension of social mobility, or as a result of government policy, but from a deeper sense among Mirpuris that they are at home in Britain and in Bradford.[3] Their embeddedness in Bradford's physical and cultural landscape, as well as its history, provokes new reflections on segregation discourses, national identity(ies) and Britishness, as emerging generations are more confidently and progressively asserting their identity and sense of belonging in Britain, moving beyond the anxieties of first generation migrants.[4] That is not to say that this emerging 'cultural confidence' is without its tensions. Mirpuris today face a range of challenges and issues – that I have explored throughout this thesis – that continue to marginalize them in profound and particular ways. At a time when government-led policies like the 'Big Society'[5]

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[2] In the days leading up to the march there was tension in the city, particularly in the predominantly Pakistani areas where I was conducting fieldwork. The day before the march was due to take place, I was surrounded and threatened by a number of teenagers, who accused me of being part of the EDL. The extremely tense atmosphere was only released when I began communicating in Urdu, to which the boys responded positively and warmly. I was then able to use this change in mood to dismiss many of the rumours about the march that were the cause of so much anger. Over the following days I maintained contact with a number of the boys, successfully encouraging them not to become involved in the protests.

[3] Whilst sat in Mr. Khokhar's barbershop, a 34 year old customer, Rashid, came in and we began to talk about living in Bradford. Rashid explained how much he liked the area's [Manningham] houses because they were well built. He put this down to strong building regulations in the UK, before going on to compare the situation in Mirpur. 'You see, I'd never move to Pakistan', Rashid said. I asked why he felt like that. 'You see, I wouldn't invest in a house back in Mirpur. I like it here, everything is regulated. Over there, there are no regulations. What's the point in spending a hundred grand [£100,000] on a house in Miprur when you only use it once a year, or once every two years? Even when you do go back you get treated like a foreigner. They can tell [you're from England]. When you go into the shops they have code-words so they can charge you more. I was in a shoe-shop and they said, "bring out the GL range". I didn't realise till after they were all the same shoes, they just charged me more'. Indeed, Mr. Khokhar, a first-generation migrant, agreed with Rashid. Mr. Khokhar waxes lyrical about Pakistan and returns back on holiday every year, but explained to me that, now, he would never move back.

[4] These anxieties have been well documented by Khan (1977) and Anwar (1977).

[5] To summarise, in David Cameron's vision for the future of Britain, Big Society will foster: localism and devolution of power away from central government; volunteerism within local communities; and the support of entrepreneurism, charities and co-operatives. And at the heart of the £200m Big Society is a return to what Mr Cameron calls 'family values': "Family is where people learn to be good citizens, to take responsibility, to live in harmony with others. Families are the building blocks of a

are couched in terms of 'integration' and 'common values', how can we talk about diversity in such dichotomous 'us' and 'them' terms? Who 'they' are is usually pretty clear, but who 'we' are and what 'our' values might or should be is much less so. This has strong implications for how we imagine multiculturalism in Britain.

How, then, is Britishness understood in these kinds of contexts? I am less interested, here, in trying to trace British 'essences' in music (a fruitless task), than in proposing how spaces of Mirpuri music making might develop a critical perspective on what it means to live in what is an increasingly diverse society. By paying close attention to intra-communal generational discourses and practices of music, a synchronic picture of multiculturality is developed that takes into account broader local, national and transnational histories. I would argue, however, that these histories and musics should not simply be thought of in a migrant or post-migrant context. Doing so has the potential to implicitly reify the kind of 'us' and 'them' dichotomies that pervade the multiculturalism debate. Instead, highlighting how discursive senses of belonging, articulated through music by different generations, offers alternative and more broadly inclusive questions as to what it means to migrate to Britain, what it means to be born in Britain, and, ultimately, what it means to be British. Mirpuris are thus not proof of multiculturalism's failure, but, rather, a way of understanding its nuances and complexities.

Ultimately, this thesis has tried to look at music as a way to reframe the multiculturalism debate. My intention has been to recognize that music can and does serve a particular social need for Mirpuris in Bradford, and so it is not just about me, as an ethnomusicologist, contriving to make music sound more important that it necessarily is. Rather, it has been to show that Mirpuris' engagement with music and

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strong, cohesive society". See <http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/speech-on-the-big-society/> [Last accessed: 18 July 2011].

music making forms a shifting part of their complex sociality; that their experiences with music also inform – and are informed by – their wider experience of living in Bradford, of multiculturalism, citizenship and nationality.

Appendix A

Pipeline Productions – Rap Workshops
Bradford

Track 18 – Belle Vue Boys

Rap performed by Jamal.

If you're a Muslim keep yourself clean
Do *zakat* and don't ever be mean
Respect your elders and others around you
Set a good example by things you say and do
Stick with your religion and stay on the right track
Do what the Qur'an says and stay away from crack
Keep a fast and remember the poor
'Cos one day you could be beggin outside someone's door

Shoplifting, robbery, racism and riots
I wish people would stop this so we can have some quiet

The lads on the street should stop smoking weed
People commit crimes because of their greed

Let's stop all the crime and make the streets clean
All the lads on the streets are making the streets mean

Stop acting like prats or you'll end up in a cell
And your life will become a living hell

Yo

Two young rappers got shot dead and killed
Their bodies destroyed with bullets fill
Blood splattered out on the streets, it was speal
What a waste of life of two guys who were skill

Both men living as if they had no fear
But now there's no more raps from them for us to hear
Too much violence and too much weed
This is where the bling bling lifestyle can lead

Yo.

If you're a Muslim keep yourself clean
Do *zakat* and don't ever be mean
Respect your elders and others around you
Set a good example by things you say and do
Stick with your religion and stay on the right track
Do what the Qur'an says and stay away from crack

Keep a fast and remember the poor
'Cos one day you could be beggin outside someone's door

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Bradford

Track 16

Belle Vue Boys.

Let me tell you something about my hood, blood
Unfortunately it's, yo, it's not very good
All day I'm stressing things on the streets
Watching the boys licking up their sheets
They're all flippin' creeps, doing what they do
Going round other ends, starting with their crew
All I want is for them to stand tall
But I know in my hear that they're all gonna fall

All I have to say is that I'm not a prat
'Cos I don't want to go to jail and get raped and that
I want to live a calm and peaceful life
Not going round streets stabbing people with the knife
I know how these Bradford streets are like
People going round doing drop offs all night
All I wanna say is stay off the streets
'Cos we are the one and only lyrical MCs

Stop the violence, I said stop the violence
All I really want is a bit of silence
Every day we see a crime on the streets
People are living but the next day they're off their feet
Tony Blair said that violence would stop today
But now we still see a brother get shot every day
I wish I could replace the shots with silence
And stop the violence I said stop the violence

I wanna tell the world a little something about my mother
To let all of you know just how much I love her
No matter what I say I just want her to see
That I appreciate how she looks after me
Once I drove my mum's car into the wall
I know it was stupid but I am only young after all
Whenever I swear she shouts at me
But after all she treats me fairly
Every night I come home to a nice hot feast
But the soggy broccoli is what I like least
Each week for me she … it with a pie
It makes my mouth water, there's no way I can lie
Don't mean to make you jealous, she's the best cook ever

No one can touch her now not your auntie or your mother
I know you feel the same and your heart is true
How you show your mother is down to you

The future is bright I can be what I wanna be
If I get my head down then it's all up to me
I can achieve my goals if I keep my focus
And then my mamma and pappa wont think that I'm hopeless
I can have house keys and a family
A mansion and a beemer, even a Bentley
I can have my own business, do it my way
I can me my own boss and smile every day

Yih dohn bessepeh jalti hai
I see it in the eyes of the young every day
One of my homies became a boxer
Before I knew it he was turning into a tosser
He used to be fat and started losing weight
But every pound he lost he started thinking of his weight
As he got slimmer he started thinking he was all that
And now my whole block thinks he is a prat

Yo it's six in the morning, my phone's flamin' roaring
Screaming in my ear, yo it's getting really boring
These stupid ringtones make me wanna yawn
I crank up my window and dash my phone on the lawn
Text message beeping, waking me up
I'm thinking, 'who is this and what the hell is up?'
Without my Nokia my life would be better
But instead of a text message I'd have to write a letter

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Track 13 – Mayfield Centre, Little Horton. Pupils from Grange School.

I wanna be an actor but my parents say no
Even though I could get famous and make lots of dough
My parents aren't happy cos it's against their beliefs
So when I say I wanna act I get nothing but grief

If I can't be an actor I'll be a rapper
Do shows in New York, LA and Aiya Napa
But my parents probably wont like that any better
They wont let me be free and find my own treasure

Yo, people here me now, no need to row
It's easy to live together, this I vow
Yo, people under their skin we are the same race
Use you brain you might not break your face

Walking down the street going to a football game
I hope all the fans are not insane
Let's show these idiots the red card
They will have to learn to get along and not act hard

Yo, bro all the racism gets me gray
It doesn't make me hard, just sayin'
We can all live happily just drop your mask
Now pick up your pen and start a task
Discriminating against people based on their race
I tell you bro it is such a disgrace
The last thing we need is racial attacks
Now put your guns down and let us hum some tracks

Yo, yo check it, my name is Aseeb
And when I look around the world, all I see
Is a forest full of bears that give me a scare
If you go down dead then you better beware
There's too much hate, all opinion no fact
All I see is smoke without fire, no impact
It's down to the community to make a change
Let's all pull together, stop acting so strange

White males, black males, we're all the same
Some of us walk around with our heads in shame
Football matches, cricket matches, they come down to race
These people will retaliate and spit in our face
Why cant everybody just get along?
Everybody would be happy separating right from wrong
These fights don't make us hard, they scar us for life
Others pay the price of a single a gun and a knife

I cant stand the police 'cos they're full of it
They approach me in my face to spit
Runnin' round blocks getting a chase
Oh balls they grabbed me, I tripped over my shoelace
The cops arrest me but it was me who was attacked
They took my shoes and my phone was jacked
Now I'm in a prison cell because of my race
Racism is still everywhere, in each and every place

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Track 10 – 'Skills for Success'. Disadvantaged children taken out of education for 12 weeks to re-engage them with school

Hello, hello
Territories, yo, you know what I'm sayin?

You know some times we're gonna have some pain
People fighting because of their different colours
We should all be praying out and chilling with our brothers

Gangsters and gangs defending their area
Now you cant go their because it's scarier
We all like to be in … with all of our friends
And hope all this racism comes to an end

These territories are really causing distress
Cant people come out of their house and clean up this mess?
The people who are racist need to give it a rest
So this country can try do it's best

If you're black you cant go here, if you're white you cant go there
People livin in fear, we don't think it's fair
We cant go anywhere a change is overdue
This racism needs to end and this is true

Why are people racist? Underneath we're all the same
We're equal so face it, we don't all play that game
Racist people think they're bad, but underneath they're just sad
It's getting on my nerves and it really makes me mad

Why are people racist? Underneath we're all the same
We're equal so face it, we don't all play that game
Racist people think they're bad, but underneath they're just sad
It's getting on my nerves and it really makes me mad

Racists – why do people act that way?
I'm afraid of the day when my children can't play
So, I say, this nastiness needs to be stopped
No more racist teachers, no more racist cops

I think back to Year 7 sat alone and reminisce
I had such a bad childhood everybody would diss
I'd come home in tears feeling angry and confused
Thought it would last for years, being insulted and abused

A change needs to come and if it was in my hands
We could consider it done, now change it all man
We need a new plan, 'cos we are all equal
Treating others different is simply evil
Every man, woman and child should be treated the same
After all we're not all to blame
For the evils that happen all over this planet
It needs to stop man, cant we just can it?

Why are people racist? Underneath we're all the same

We’re equal so face it, we don’t all play that game
Racist people think they’re bad, but underneath they’re just sad
It’s getting on my nerves and it really makes me mad

Why are people racist? Underneath we’re all the same
We’re equal so face it, we don’t all play that game
Racist people think they’re bad, but underneath they’re just sad
It’s getting on my nerves and it really makes me mad

They live on benefits, they have too many kids
They houses are dirty, I don’t like how they live
They think they’re better than us, they smell too funny
They take all our jobs, they get all our money
They’re taking over, their women are loose

Stop, we need to remember, the myths become truths
They are all lives, we know better than this
Let’s think about where we’re from before we start to diss
Let’s celebrate our cultures, difference is cool
Believe what other people say? You are just a fool

What would it be like if we were all the same?
There’d be no different food or cultures, life would just be the same
No different music, no different points of view
No rice, chicken and peas, no chicken vindaloo
As for me, I like the fact that we’re a rainbow nation
We think that this is cause for a celebration

Why are people racist? Underneath we’re all the same
We’re equal so face it, we don’t all play that game
Racist people think they’re bad, but underneath they’re just sad
It’s getting on my nerves and it really makes me mad.

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