31 March,2006.

ASA Conference on Cosmopolitanism – Panel on Interpretative Communities -

British Student Migrants to South Asian Universities - Mary Searle-Chatterjee

Updated abstract

It has been argued that much of what passes for 'cosmopolitanism' is merely 'aesthetic' rather than 'normative' cosmopolitanism, that the disengagement of mobile groups from the 'local communities' that anthropologists have traditionally studied is not necessarily replaced by any strong commitment to more universal values. In this paper I explore the development of global consciousness and commitments among a particular group of trans-nationals, British people who went to study for several years at South Asian universities between 1961 –1998. I consider them to be cosmopolitan by virtue of the following external indicators; many subsequently settled 'abroad', married 'foreigners' and generated children who were even more likely than themselves to take up overseas opportunities in the global economy. They have moved beyond both South Asia and Britain. Most of them referred to that period in South Asia as the most transforming experience of their lives. I take my informants to be a community in that they had shared certain experiences. In extended interviews with me they interpreted those experiences and their own trajectories.

I show that far from becoming ironically detached aesthetic cosmopolitans, most of my informants developed new forms of commitment, though the cultural learning that occurred on the basis of roughly similar experiences was very varied. The term cosmopolitan conceals as much as it reveals. Some went on to become life-long interpreters of South Asia but more common was the development, or enhancement, of a feeling that British society and culture was deficient in some way, and needed to be remedied. Those who returned to Britain (albeit with much future mobility) had new values, which they acted on.

Their 'learning' was not simply a reproduction, or even translation, of ideas, or skills, held by the 'locals' encountered, but involved the development of something different. To complicate things further, in some cases the ideas and practices of those 'locals' already showed the effects of prior 'western' influence. My commentary on this 'learning' is based on the two years that I, too, spent as a student at an Indian university, like my informants, as well as on the seven additional years of living, working and researching there that followed.

British student migrants to South Asian universities (Panel on interpretative communities)

Our current interest in 'cosmopolitanism' stems from the fact that increasing numbers of people move frequently from one country to another, spend many years living 'abroad', and appear to have reduced participation in local cultures of the type that anthropologists have traditionally worked in. Trans-nationals who belong to cultural diasporas based on ethnicity in the conventional sense have often been studied, trans-nationals employed in such fields as international banking, academia or journalism much less. It has been suggested, for example by Hannerz, that some trans-nationals, particularly of the latter type, can be called 'cosmopolitans' in so far as they have developed a particular 'perspective, a state of mind, or…a mode of managing meaning' (1996:103). He speaks of 'genuine cosmopolitanism' as something that involves 'an intellectual and aesthetic openness towards divergent cultural experience'…. regarding cultures ..'as artworks'. The 'cosmopolitan' is said to acquire cultural competence in manoeuvring with different sets of meaning, and to attain a sense of mastery. 'The self is constructed in the space where cultures mirror one another'. The 'cosmopolitan' can choose to disengage from his culture of origin and 'he does not become committed to' the alien culture' (104). Hannerz's writing is a touch celebratory, yet not without reflexive irony.

A more negative note has been introduced by those who suggest that much writing on 'cosmopolitans' so-called is unduly celebratory, indeed is a self-serving attempt to legitimise a particular social position, that of the footloose intellectual writer (Robbins, 1998:254). It is argued that the archetypical cosmopolitans in such accounts are simply mobile members of the certificate-carrying service classes, rich in cultural (or even financial) capital, who have developed their own particular life-styles and values in which savouring the customs and foods of other groups has become a key marker and practice. This is said to be *merely* 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism'. The political Left has long been suspicious of what is seen as the association of much 'cosmopolitanism' with mobile international capital. The weakened commitment to local norms (exemplified in the e*xplicit* valuing of irony in some of the discussion, see Rapport, 2006:23-4) has not necessarily been replaced by, or extended to, strong attachment to universal values. According to this more critical approach, the 'cosmopolitan' professional, though still carrying substantial traces of his/her parent 'local' *culture*(s) (whether Indian, Chinese, Armenian, Jewish, Lebanese or Euro-American, for example) is disengaged from any strong sense of *societal* commitment beyond the world of family, friends and colleagues. His/her commitment

to humanity at large is as fleeting as that of most other people and certainly cannot be taken for granted. The jet-setting academic or journalist who celebrates the creative capacity of the mobile individual to make *his* own world freed from the pettiness of communitarian loyalties may be underestimating the influence of his positioning at the privileged end of global commodity capitalism, anchored in a particular international work community and cocooned, in the case of many males, by a portable conjugal relationship or family. An important empirical question, then, is whether some trans-nationals are likely to develop wider, more universal values, what has been called 'normative cosmopolitanism'.

The debate has been muddied by confusion of moral or philosophic discussion of desired ideals with empirical exploration of the values of actually existing groups. Descriptions of 'good' individuals who ignore conventional boundaries may inspire; they do not necessarily add much to our knowledge of social process.

Conflicting views about the commitments and cultural values of the mobile intelligentsia class could be empirically tested. We do not know what are the patterns of charitable donation of these mobile classes, or of contribution to voluntary civic or political action, as compared with comparable groups that are less mobile. Are they non-active, do they replicate the practices of 'home' (if there is one) or are they active in trans-national voluntary groups and campaigns? We need to disaggregate the categories trans-national and cosmopolitan on the basis of empirical work, to explore what kinds of trans-nationals (or locals, for that matter), develop normative cosmopolitanism. We need not cynically discount in advance all claims to a 'genuine' normative cosmopolitanism, nor presume that all values are self-serving ideologies, though they will always be situated in particular experiences and cultures, whether inherited or developed. However, it is the task of the anthropologist to point to the formations that make possible (and widespread), particular value clusters and social practices. It is possible that more universal values do emerge in the non-localised, trans-national conditions of material existence that some people experience. It is important in an era of global peril to establish what 'is conducive to the rise of new normative comopolitanisms……emancipatory forms of global consciousness', also to establish whether 'if a global consciousness exists is it merely a cultural consciousness without political effectivity?' (Robbins, 1998:32).

In an earlier era, anthropologists showed how hitherto isolated tribes coming into contact with wider worlds and markets would adopt belief systems that made universal claims and demands, such as Christianity or Islam. Today we see that mobile groups of various economic classes may emphasise specific differences, albeit usually clothed in some kind of universalistic language. The likelihood of *mobile* middle classes developing distinctive values was shown by Margaret Stacey as long ago as the 1950s, in an English small-town study, when she distinguished what she called 'burghers', settled middle classes, from 'spiralists', mobile middle classes (check ref. Frankenberg, 195-).

In this paper I explore the lives and thinking of one particular set of middle-class trans-national British individuals who between 1961 and 1992 went as postgraduates to study for several years at South Asian universities. They shared parallel, though varied, experiences. 110 students went under the auspices of the Association of Commonwealth Universities Scholarship scheme. I was one of the participants in this scheme, spending two years at Banaras Hindu University, studying Indian Philosophy, long before I took up anthropology. My commentary on the scholars' interpretations is also based on the additional seven years that I spent working and living there. I have been able to trace nearly half of these students and have interviewed about a third.

My informants are relevant to this area of debate by virtue of two criteria. First, the material conditions of their lives have been trans-national, in terms of simple external indicators that show they have moved beyond both Britain and South Asia. Almost half subsequently settled 'abroad' or spent over ten years 'away'. At least a third married 'foreigners' (certainly an underestimate since I did not routinely ask about this). They generated children who were even more likely to take up overseas opportunities in the global economy. Second, many of them are normatively cosmopolitan, in terms of the values and attitudes they expressed in lengthy interviews. Most of them referred to their South Asian period of study as the most important experience of their lives. By the time they returned to Britain, if they did, they were not the same people they once had been, even though some of them had started off with 'cultural capital' that disposed them to international interests.

Though most of my informants expressed universalistic values, these took different forms, and they varied greatly in their interpretations of what they had learned. The term cosmopolitan conceals as much as it reveals. *Some, but not most of them, went on to become life-long interpreters of South Asia to the British public*. More common among those who would return to settle in Britain was the emergence of the reflexive idea that there were deficiencies in British society and culture. They would *attempt to reproduce in Britain or elsewhere something of what they had learnt in the sub-continent.* For others, the experience of studying at a South Asian university had been *a catalyst that had led them to develop new approaches that they would act on. Far from adopting a playfully ironic, aesthetic and detached approach to society and culture, they became 'more serious', committed to new ways* of living and working. I explore their interpretations of the varied processes that led to the development of a new consciousness, and, in many cases, new values, what we might refer to as 'normative cosmopolitanism', or a global consciousness. Their interpretations are, of course, based on memory, and that, as we know, may involve creative reconstruction. I have, however, also looked at more 'objective' aspects of their subsequent lives, the jobs they have done, writings, paintings produced, and so on. I have been able in some cases to see journals written at the time in South Asia.

First let me situate socially and historically this migration of scholars. It is, of course, common for students from Asia to study in Europe; students from Britain go to the USA or to other European countries. It is extremely rare for students to go from Britain to study in what are usually considered third world countries. Colonial administrators who found themselves in India sometimes became scholars, often of the new disciplines of archaeology, geology or botany. Some studied Indian languages, philosophy or art, but in most cases they partook of the dominant power. In general (though with some notable exceptions, and many contradictory strands), they considered India, Indian people, or cultures, as objects of study, to be classified rather than as sources of knowledge or insight in their own right. The post-colonial movement of young British students to study for several years at South Asian universities under the tutelage of Indian lecturers appeared to mark a revolutionary change towards a post-colonial world, a striking and novel reversal of older patterns.

The prime aim of setting up of the Commonwealth Scholarship scheme in 1961 was to bring students from ex-colonies to Britain, Canada and Australia as part of an attempt to preserve British markets and

spheres of influence in the context of a perceived emerging threat from the Soviet Union. Scholarships were also given by newly independent countries both to students from similar states and to students from the 'old' white Commonwealth. This was promoted in Britain as an indication of new mutual respect. It could be seen as a courtesy, or as a tactical move, that might create links that would be useful in the new post-colonial and more democratic world. It was hoped, at the British end, that it would produce more informed diplomats or cultural brokers. Contradictory motivations were evident among administrators and even students. Strong commitment to an internationalist ethos co-existed with traces of the colonial and self-confident outlook of Britain in the mid- to late twentieth century.

The students who went to South Asian universities were not funded by British institutions but by the Indian, Pakistani or Sri Lankan Government (albeit topped up by the British Council) and were usually answerable to South Asian academics who were often of low status in the global academic hierarchy. Most of them were studying for Indian degrees, though some had to produce an exhibition, and a few had looser attachments. Unlike students sent under the auspices of British departments, they had no protectors at the British end.

Out of 110 students who have gone from Britain to South Asia, more than a third were artists, already committed to trying to see things anew. Others studied such subjects as philosophy, religion, music, history, even chemistry and biology. Only four were, or became, anthropologists, perhaps all of a somewhat unconventional kind. Three of them became more involved in sub-continental debates (less ironically detached) than is the norm among their colleagues.

I shall present a sample of case studies, focusing initially mainly on the artists since they in particular exemplify what might be seen as a post-colonial, and cosmopolitan, orientation. They went not in order to classify or comprehend as many academics might but in order to enhance their own practice. One subsequently converted her experience into a PhD for the Royal College of Art though she now makes a living not from teaching but from the practice of her new found skills.

The decision to study in South Asia was unusual, an indicator of what might be called intentional learner cosmopolitanism. As Indians in the UK know only too well, degrees from India are not always

marketable. My informants' constructions of how they had been affected were influenced by that initial commitment to seek new knowledge *from* South Asians.

What my informants set out to do was, and still is, far from the norm. Academics in Britain have not always been sympathetic. 'You should be going to Oxford for your PhD, not Mysore. You'll wreck your academic career'. This was said to Valerie S. by her tutors at Edinburgh University in 1969 when she announced her plans to compare Indo-Anglian with Anglo-Indian literature. Valerie did not complete her PhD in Mysore but while there *discovered her vocation* as a poet. She went on to publish a series of award winning and internationally acclaimed and translated *mixed media* volumes, in which poetry is combined with art or photography. She had found the indigenous arts of India 'mind-blowing, the way that *music, word and the visual are all integrated'*. While in Mysore, she met some of India's leading Indo-Anglian writers. She was also *influenced by Hindu religious ideas about rivers*, their sources and confluences. That led her to walk the length of Scottish rivers and to write about them. She felt that there were many affinities between Mysore and Scotland, the forests and rivers, and the local horse-riding intellectuals. Though she now writes about Scotland, indeed is regarded as a 'poet of place', India remains a major source of inspiration, both directly, and indirectly, through the *insider/outsider eye she developed*. Having lived at the heart of another culture (and she was often taken as Indian in a city where there were no other foreigners at the time, though her tutors would talk admiringly of the Scottish teachers of their school days), she always feels a slight outsider, has become a traveller in Scotland. Now permanent Creative Writing Fellow and Lecturer at Edinburgh University, she *teaches* Creative writing, including *Indian aesthetic theory*, which is, she thinks, 'more developed than its western equivalent'. Far from becoming playfully ironic about either society, Valerie has developed a strong commitment to 'place', and has become more drawn to 'religion' (of a Celtic Christian variety), despite the secularism of her family background.

Attitudes to going to South Asian universities have still not changed much. As recently as the 1990s, a study of British University administrators' attitudes to north-south student travel, was met in some quarters with some version of the blunt question 'why would British students want to study in developing country institutions and why would British institutions want to send them?' (Callan & Steele, 1994:121). The same comment would not generally be made in reference to anthropology

students because it is assumed that they are going to develop some kind of more encompassing, meta-knowledge.

One of the questions I explore elsewhere is whether this movement was really a reversal of older, more common patterns. Were these students still being true to cultural type, following a cultural script for the creation of individuality, acting out the modernist and imperial script of seeking knowledge to fuel the expandable digger self with its voracious thirst and insatiable appetites? Some such notion was implicit in what many of the scholars said about themselves and their life projects. Contrary to the image of the bounded western self that many anthropologists refer to, my informants did not speak of the self as a closed entity. They also believed that increasing the personal stock of knowledge is a good in itself. This is not a view shared equally by all cultures or classes and, indeed, may be unusual in the perspective of world history.

I do not know how most of my informants speak about other parts of the world, or how they speak among groups, but when they referred to South Asia in conversation with me, their tone was anything but detached and ironical. Far from seeking to savour cultural variety in an uncommitted manner, many of them had initially sought difference as a source of learning and stimulus, as well as for the excitements of 'border crossing'. Most were to experience *intensification* of experience, perception and thinking. They developed new, more engaged modes of living. Mark C., an art student, had previously gone to France in the role of *flaneur*, as he put it, as detached observer, attempting to capture the essence of a place. He had 'grown to see that you can never do that, can only express your own impressions'. He then moved on to study and paint in Baroda (1988) where the art department had at the time a distinguished reputation. It would, he hoped, liberate him from the constraints of the abstract art that was dominant in 1980s London. He wanted to do figurative and narrative painting, even to work with myths, but that was much derided in the British art world where the prevailing style was playful and ironic. He did not see how he could be ironic about something serious that mattered to him. 'Abstract art' he explained, 'is not interested in meaning, and has no social commitment. Seeing how traditional and contemporary Indian painters like Bhupen Khakhar used narrative gave me the permission I needed to branch out in that direction'.

Mark was one of those who had a fairly clear idea of what h e was looking for. He was not fascinated by the prospect of India and knew that Baroda was an unlovely petro-chemicals city, but he wanted to be in a country where 'religious' art is not ruled out of court, though he knew that the Baroda department had a 'secular' ethos. He also wanted to be in 'a place where the pleasure of colour and flowing lines is acknowledged', and 'where art is mainstream, not just peripheral as in the west'. He worried that if he used Christian mythological themes in India 'people might think he was some kind of St George and the Dragon missionary'. On the contrary, some of the Indian students thought he was doing figurative painting simply in order to fit in with what he *imagined* them to be doing. Their aspiration was toward 'modern' styles. The experience of Baroda transformed him though it did not transform his work. It was *deeply affirmative as it freed him up to use Christian religious themes when he returned home, to paint the everyday informed by the mythological.*

'Baroda had a rich practitioner tradition. It also had optimism, a sense that art could make a difference and was a global practice. Unlike some art departments in South Asia, it was not just concerned with national identity. Being at a university in India made a big difference. It gave me an identity. It meant I could say I am studying art and it is wonderful. It meant that I wasn't harassed as many Europeans are'. Mark now works in a new mythological tradition. His recent exhibitions have been based on work inspired by sponsored painting trips to Egypt and Senegal.

Coincidentally, or perhaps not, as the 1980s wore on, there was to be a Royal College of Art led movement to return to figuration though not as yet, to narrative.

Mark already had what might be called a very serious and committed approach to his art before he went to India though he had felt unable to express it until India 'gave him permission'. A strikingly different student was Reza, whose seriousness developed while there. Reza had come to Britain from Mauritius as a child. Before going to Baroda (1989), he was already a celebrity, with rave reviews and major exhibitions in London. His work had been sold at Christies. It was thoroughly modernist, with only a touch of gold paint thrown in 'to be different.' In his own words, he loved the attention and liked to be 'special'. He thought Baroda might be 'exotic'.

India overwhelmed him. He recalled his first week. ‘I thought I was a top dog, but here I was in my flash green clothes and doc martens, with my walkman, in the monsoon rain, standing in a pool of sewage, feeling hellish. I thought maybe tomorrow will be better. Then I realised it wasn’t going to be any better tomorrow. Nothing was going to change. It was me that was going to have to change. *I wasn’t the centre of the universe anymore’*. But, still, it did get better. He went round India looking at temples. ‘Not mosques?’ ‘No, I don’t know why. That was just what you did, you went to temples, nobody went to mosques’. Indians didn’t stare at him as they did at the other foreign students, but it shocked him that they kept asking if he was Hindu or Muslim. That was all a bit odd because he had never thought about religion before and didn’t think of himself as being in any way South Asian. Then he remembered the time when a group of the foreign students went to a South Indian beach. Another English girl joined them. Then she turned to Reza and said ‘but you shouldn’t be here should you, barging in on us’.

On his return, Reza’s paintings became bleak, black and white with no colour. He ‘felt no more than a dried up blade of grass. Art began to seem irrelevant’. To the disappointment of his admirers and his main dealer, a wealthy American who had purchased much of his earlier work, he stopped painting altogether. He ‘went deep within’ and began to read Comparative Religion and philosophy, to study Christian art, especially Giotto. Far from becoming a detached savourer of other worlds, he became consumed by *a new seriousness*. *He discovered Islam* and ‘that has now become the cornerstone that centres his life’. Before, it was just a minor part of his childhood. ‘But perhaps it wasn’t only India that caused the change’, he speculated. ‘An old partying friend in London had started studying philosophy and was even talking of becoming a vicar! And others in Reza’s family had turned to Islam’. Reza’s wife, a white British artist, has also become a Muslim. She wears the headscarf and long robes. Ten or more years on, Reza, it is good to be able to report, has started to paint again, but in a very different way. He is no longer trying to be trendy and clever. At first he did figurative non specific religious art with Islamic hints but now he does non- figurative work. He is ‘trying to do something deeper, to express something spiritual’. He ‘will exhibit again when he has done enough’. His work is deeply moving, anything but detached aesthetic cosmopolitanism. Wait for the reviews.

The effects have not been as dramatic as this for all the student migrants. For some, the main effect has been adding some specific knowledge or skill to their repertoire. This has not usually been the 'appropriation' to which post-colonial critics have referred disparagingly, when knowledge has been taken without acknowledgement, or when a grandiose claim is made to have encapsulated the essence of another culture (Said, 1978). Nor, as far as I understand the terms, has it always involved the 'objectification and abstraction' that Sheldon Pollock considers to be the mark of cosmopolitan discourse (2002:15), at least no more than does routine communication in middle-class British society. It could, of course, be said that the student migrants regarded India as a treasure chest from which they could draw gems to suit their personal tastes. Even that could lead to some expansion of the consciousness.

Kate D., for example, *added on* remarkable skills of stone polishing to her artistic repertoire. She went to Baroda in 1988 for two and a half years to study a disappearing form of stone polishing from its last surviving Rajasthani practitioner. Marble dust from quarries was mixed with lime in 18 layers. She felt that she had learnt more about colour in one year in India than in her 12 years at the Royal College of Art in London. Some of the staff and students in Baroda did not like her approach as they thought she was interested in the skills of the old India (though this particular form of stone polishing was not actually very ancient), rather than in the individualistic visions of the modernist artists in the department. She was not happy with the Baroda department, felt there was too much reverence for teachers and for white people, and much aping of the west. After her mentor retired to his home in Rajasthan, she followed as an apprentice, practising and tape-recording everything he said. Kate now exhibits regularly in Cork Street, and is self-employed, making her living using the skills she learned, working for companies like Monsoon who want wall reliefs for exteriors or interiors. She travels regularly to India, which she 'loves', both for work commissions with Indian architectural firms, as well as for pleasure. Her best friends are Indian, based in Mumbai. She acknowledges the Indian influence, indeed initially even traded on the 'ethnic' flavour and sumptuousness of her work, using 'Indian' forms and imagery. 'Craft' and the 'ethnic' look is out of favour now so she refers to 'skills' learnt from an Indian 'master builder'. Her recent work has been presented in terms of the purity of minimalism. She loves the texture and colour (the sensuous pleasure of the stone) but also enjoys the 'difference' and 'feudal romance' that she has experienced. She regards her attraction to aspects of

India as an addiction. It does not seem that her use of the skill has imposed alien meanings on it (though that could have been said of some of her earlier work in which she juxtaposed unconnected visual motifs, perhaps for 'exotic' effect). This particular skill of stone polishing was commercial, as well as for courtly use, from its beginning. I am told that her work has led to the survival, indeed revival, of the skill.

A scholar who had 'borrowed' the lingam, phallic symbol, for his painting (as Dineen had initially in her sculpture when an 'ethnic' look was more admired than in today's more minimalistic era), is aware that this could be critiqued as orientalist play, including playing to the market, but argued that the effect of India had been to wake him up to the importance of stones in religious symbolism in general. Only as a result of his study in India (Baroda 1971-3), had Michael C. become fascinated by the place of rock in the imagination, for example the idea of Christ as a rock. His period in India had enabled him to draw from the reservoir of western culture things he had not noticed before. India, he felt, had *not* led him to add on elements to his life, but had provided *a stimulus to see his own culture anew, to see what was already there*. He believed that primary images exist in the sub-conscious but that these have no charge or energy until the individual has found them for himself. It was India that had enabled him to access these. Michael perceives India to be fundamentally different from the west as it now is, but holds a Jungian view that it is somehow more in touch with truer and more universal aspects of life, as seen in such images as the lingam. However, he was pre-disposed to such interpretations and borrowings before he went to India. He was already a member of a Sufi group, seeking cosmic unity and continuity and had a deep yearning for India from the age of seven, perhaps as a result of instabilities in his own life. In London he had already seen Siva Nataraj sculptures and had read the Upanishads and Ramakrishna, as well as the more western-influenced Vivekananda. When he was a 'student in London, Indian gurus like the Maharishi were arriving all the time. India put a spell on him. No other country did'. He 'immediately felt at home in the small towns of India'.

Michael's pre-formed ideas of the sub-continent were the result of earlier complex interactions between 'western' and 'Indian' ideas. Jung had been influenced by the neo-Hinduism that was itself formed in interaction with Christian and European philosophic ideas that had, in turn, been partly based on interpretations of earlier loans from South Asia (see King, 1999).

Michael believed that India was one of the best experiences of his life 'and the perfect way to go was as an artist'. 'The department was wonderfully supportive and helpful, was in its heyday'. It was not, in his view, slavish. 'They all wrestled with the problem that Europe set the standards and Picasso was seen as the acme'. He loved the Departmental outings to villages, where art was integral to the community, shared by all classes, where houses were decorated and smocks embroidered, rather 'as in pre-industrial Britain'. While in India he went on a three-week pilgrimage with a Sufi teacher. Two other British students at Baroda also became Sufis, and along with a third student that he knew of, married local women. Michael is no longer repelled by Christianity, as he was before he went to Baroda, but now calls himself *a Sufi Christian.* India had a deep influence on him. It made him 'aware of what Britain has lost, and how impoverished it has become spiritually'. His time there was 'a treasure but to study there is to set up a polarity and to be voyeuristic unless you allow it to challenge the self and help you to go beyond specific cultures'. He now makes a living from a combination of painting (he has had one-man exhibitions in many galleries, including many pictures of rock and stone) as well as from teaching art to adults, including courses on Indian art to London-based Indians. He, too, considered that his best friend was Indian.

'Additions' might change daily life considerably and it is not always easy to say when an addition begins to constitute a new framework. Dexter D. went to Baroda in 1985. He is now internationally known and able to make a living simply from painting. He was drawn to the figurative art that was tabooed in Britain at the time. He had seen Indian art in the Hayward Gallery at the Festival of India and his tutors suggested that he might feel more at home with art in India. He also wanted to know how Indians had been affected by modernist and pop art. In some ways he was disappointed by the Baroda department. He had hoped to find an artistic community, but it had the same problems of rivalry and egotism as the London art world. For some rich girls it was even just a finishing school. The deepest influence on him came from the famed artist, Bhupen Khakhar, in whose house he lived, and from which he was married. Bhupen's art (some of which now hangs in the British National Art gallery) is narrative and figurative. 'It says something about the world and society in a way that modernist art cannot'.

The complex dialogical nature of cultural learning is shown again in the fact that Khakhar who inspired many of the visiting students had earlier been deeply influenced by one of the first Commonwealth scholars to go from Britain in the early 1960s. Jim Donovan died early and did not make his mark in the world of art but was influential in carrying the gospel of pop art to Baroda. Bhupen was inspired by that to draw on indigenous street art in India. Indeed, many of the Baroda lecturers had previously studied at the Royal College of Art. However, they had used that experience creatively, to grapple with issues of expression and representation in a very different society, one that could not be impervious to the dominance of western standards (see Sheikh, G.M, 1997).

For Dexter, Baroda was incredibly exhilarating and challenging. He was given a studio and not obliged to attend courses, though he sometimes did. He had hardly been aware of British colonialism before he went to India. Baroda was full of articulate Marxist students from Kerala. They challenged him on art and colonialism all the time, as did some of the lecturers. Students in London had not argued much. In Baroda he had to fight intellectually to defend himself. He was a whipping boy. They were passionate and felt art could change the world. He doubted it. India also *influenced his sense of colour* though not until two years after he left when he began to 'suddenly feel a craving for colour against a bleached world. At first Indian colour had seemed simplistic'. Reviewers of his work did not perceive this influence but he knew he would not have used reds and greens if he had not been to India. 'It is hard to disentangle the influences as other British artists began to turn to colour too'. Dexter did not think his style of painting was otherwise influenced by his time in India though several artists I interviewed disagreed. Dexter, one said, paints *as if from outside, from a detached olympian position that could only have come from having been out of ones culture,* or, as another put it. 'He steps back and looks at imaginary parallel worlds, sometimes as if from a viewing platform in outer space'. Dexter accepted that his thinking would have been different if he had not gone to India though he felt much of the art he saw there was derivative from the west. What really changed him was his first marriage there to an Indian. It broke the 'them and us' feeling. 'The Indian joint family provided a nest'. The Britons there, he said, 'mostly all had cloak and dagger sexual relations with Indians' (others denied this). 'That had more effect on their consciousness than any courses they might have attended'. And he 'can never forget the image of Indians watching with tranquil detachment when irate Brits threw impatient tantrums'. India made him want people in his life. In Baroda personal space was absent and people

asked worriedly if he was all right when he worked alone. Gulam Mohammed Sheikh, the doyen of the department, always worked with a continuous avalanche of people talking and passing in and out of the studio. India made him want to have friends always passing through his home, not to live in the private enclosed domestic space that was common in Britain.

Dexter may have developed a detached perspective (as did Valerie and several others) but that is not the uncommitted and ironical perspective which some writers have associated with cosmopolitanism.

Louise S. (Baroda 1984) has developed another kind of detachment. 'My whole outlook was transformed. I think I can now set up home more or less anywhere'. She now lives in Hongkong with her Chinese-British husband. 'We both continue to live as outsiders of a sort'. She had been drawn to the narrative art of India, 'with all its details of daily life', and 'it has remained a huge influence. My artwork totally changed, became much richer, I believe'. She continues to exhibit work influenced by Indian street art.

India was not just a dish to be savoured, or a treasure chest to be plundered. Most of the Commonwealth scholars in Baroda were subject to a heavy barrage from the Marxist student artists from Kerala (despite sometimes forming life-long friendships). 'They knew about the work of Howard Hodgkins, a British painter whose work showed Indian influence. They referred to it as "perfumed fart". They were not happy that British students were given the opportunity to go to the art camps hosted by wealthy patrons'.

Dexter was not the only one deeply influenced by the informality and hospitality, the warmth of friendship, what might be considered a South Asian form of 'cosmopolitanism' (albeit within a particular class). The British students hoped something of this openness would remain with them, and they felt something did. An addition such as this if really taken on board may start to change life fundamentally and could amount to a critique of post war privatised suburban nuclear family living. The particular warm informality that many of my informants associated with South Asian culture was, of course, associated with particular material conditions. It had emerged in a society based on local kinship, where self-employment, servants, and the extended family enabled flexibility, and provided

more resources and social richness than was common in the suburban life of post-war Britain. It is striking that this desire for a less privatised domestic life became a wider refrain in the Britain of the 1990s, with the growth of café culture, revived emphasis on public space, changes in marriage and increased emphasis on networking. The roots of this change lie partly in new material conditions (growth of service industry, weakening of marriage ties and growth of single person households, lowered rate of childbirth etc), but are also a reaction to what was lacking in post-war Britain with its emphasis on a suburban private life away from the grey limitations of war-time inner cities. Absences in a particular period lead to reactions and swings, fuelled by memories and imaginings of the past, as well as of other societies. In a culture and class structured by the work ethic and the search for individual definition and achievement, this search for a more people-centred life can amount to a major change in orientation. A 'new' experience in another culture may reinforce other pressures that are moving in the same direction. In so far as self-employment, servants, and domesticated women become less common in South Asia too, it becomes harder to sustain this aspect of South Asian 'culture'. The trans-national migrant takes something that s/he thinks is Indian but that practice is very often in the process of changing at the moment it is borrowed.

Michael A. (Baroda, 1980-2) learnt in India that art can be an integral part of community life and reconstruction. In Baroda he had his own studio and shared a house with Indian students and artists. 'At that time the Baroda art department was vibrant, like Paris in its heyday'. He met all the leading Indian artists of that and the next generation. He felt very privileged as he would not at that stage of his life have been able to meet their equivalents in the UK. He went to the art camps hosted by wealthy patrons (as did many other British artists) and even took part in the revival of stick dancing in Gujerat as a member of a touring troupe. Most important of all, was *meeting a 'truly saintly and inspirational man, the most extraordinary person I have ever met'* who became his life's mentor. Nirmal Sen Gupta 'had launched all-India radio many years before and was now doing art-work in Kasauli among refugee Muslim children'. Sen Gupta invited Michael to the village and showed how they educated children who would then go for higher studies to Calcutta and back again to the village to teach the next generation. This made Michael *feel that the absence of community art in Britain is a terrible deficiency. Since his return he has dedicated himself to community and therapeutic work using art.* His example was one of the factors leading Debbie L. (see below) in the same direction. The inspiration of

Sen Gupta led Anderson to go to Yugoslavia for art work with war traumatised children, then to the USA to work in the Young Persons Movement Community Centre, El Puente de Williamsburg Academy for Peace and Justice, for transformational education in Brooklyn. He feels that in India, as in the European Romanesque period, art is integrated into society, with the past embedded in the present. It is not just an elite pastime. Michael wouldn't call himself religious but feels the function of myth has been lost in Britain. He wouldn't say that he enjoyed *India but it made him alive* and transformed him. For fifteen years he would go back every winter.

Debbie L. (one year Delhi attachment, then one year to Baroda, 1994) had already studied art in Chicago, Cyprus and Italy before she went to India. She said that her initial aim had been 'appropriation' (her words) of skills of miniature and glass painting, She believed that the west had reached a point where it needed to seek inspiration from other sources. Once there, her approach changed. It began to seem more important to enter other peoples' lives, to share the lives of artist caste communities, and to allow that to be a source of stimulus. She spent a month at a community in a village on the edge of Calcutta. She 'was the student apprentice. They were the masters'. Then she studied Patua painting in a Midnapore village in rural Bengal where paintings are displayed in accompaniment with sequences of sung stories. When some of the poor artisans (many of whom were Muslim) expressed horror that she was leaving before she had mastered the craft, assuming that she would set herself up in the west as an expert teacher, she reassured them that she would never do that but would use what she had learnt to help her produce something different of her own. She subsequently did this in miniatures that have been internationally exhibited and praised. She felt deeply changed by her new *realisation that art could be produced communally and did not have to be a form of individual self-expression.* In the artisans village in Udaipur she had the job of tracing the outer black line in the wall hangings and scrolls collectively produced. Her experiences in the village also showed her *that art could have a therapeutic role* and this led her subsequently to become an art therapist in a multi-ethnic community in which she focuses on group work and dynamics. She continues to paint and her work now hangs in many major galleries. Her painting is greatly influenced by India, she uses a black outline, often *tells a story in her paintings*, sometimes using scrolls or miniatures, uses more colour and is more 'religious' in her approach.

Yet once again, this 'learning' from India chimes in with approaches that have already begun to emerge in Britain. The Community Arts movement has, since the late 1960s, taken many forms, including developing collective narratives and drama, and even, in some small towns, creating local festivals and processions to fill the gap left by the decay of older collective traditions (see Welfare State International Arts Company in Ulverston, Cumbria).

I have mentioned that most of my 'cosmopolitan' informants became 'more serious', and often more drawn to religion (in some sense of the word), even if they had no initial interest of that kind. Many scholars developed changes in their religious affiliations and became 'converted' to Buddhism, Sufism or, occasionally, particular forms of Hindu ritual or meditation. Some 'rediscovered' Christianity or Islam.

The artist, Alison H., was one who set out from Britain with the explicit aim of seeing how religion, art and ritual are integrated in community pilgrimages. She had already become interested in Buddhism and its art, feeling that the Church of Scotland offered little to cater for the imagination's need for symbols. Baroda made her feel *freer to avoid simple naturalism*. A movement away from naturalism was beginning in the west but it was still not common. The Baroda department was, she felt, 'still liberal and intellectual' when she arrived (2001). While there, she 'encountered some of the best minds she has ever met'. Much of the art she 'saw in Baroda was confident, not like the derivative art of Delhi'. *India gave her an electric shock and made her alive, made her aware of colonialism for the first time*. She recalled how her assertive behaviour in the library was interpreted as western arrogance. Mark C. similarly remembered being told off by a lecturer. 'Don't think you're something special just because you're white'. Some people in the city asked if she would give classes in Buddhism to 'low-caste' Ambedkarite women in local slums. She was not happy about this, fearing that people in the department would see it as western interference, anti-Hindu proselytising, but in the end she did it, though as discreetly as possible. Alison *began to realise there are centres of gravity everywhere not just in the UK*. Her use of colour and imagery changed. On her return, she received international acclaim for her powerful paintings of goddesses. She now teaches art in the Edinburgh University School of Art.

Migrants are more likely to pick up cultural traits where they chime with something that is emerging 'at home' anyway, or where a deficiency has already been felt. In indirect ways, as critics, and creators, they help to fuel these changes. Individuals may also be influenced more by traits that chime with their own sub-cultural values. A Puritan may be repelled by ritual, an egalitarian by caste. Others may revel in the symbolic richness, or may be able to integrate Indian ideas of status and role into their pre-existing notions.

Some migrants will experience such intense challenge or immersion that they are affected by norms that bear little relation to where they have come from, or where their society of origin is moving. *For some of the migrant students the new influences could not simply be added on, or assimilated, but had led to a temporary or permanent displacement of previous ideas or behaviour.*

Both Alison H. and Mary S. (Philosophy, 1963, Benares) felt that their *style of clothing had been permanently changed.* Teashirts could never again be part of their repertoire, though, of course, among certain classes in some parts of India, teashirts are now de riguer. For more than a year after her return, Alison was unable to hug a male friend. She 'never regained her old clothing style'. *Gendered behaviour was now altered* as a result of intense criticism and disapproval, sometimes even physical sanctions, and the need to prove virtue and find acceptance. Joyce P. (Anthropology, Delhi, 1965) in the Punjabi village into which she had married, and Avril P. (History, 1972), staying in a Womens' Hostel in the Muslim University of Aligarh, experienced near purdah conditions. Divergent notions of what is honourable body behaviour could not just be added on. It is one or the other. One might return to a tempered version of the old behaviour but a memory remained of the alternative. For those who went to South Asia in the 1960s, older British patterns of gendered behaviour that might have faded with changing ideas were sometimes reinforced.

Juxtaposition of two alternatives may have a powerful effect on consciousness, as anthropologists know only too well. Roger B. recalled what for him was an epiphany in the village where he had lived for a year. 'One day a western film crew arrived. There was chaos. It was clear that neither the villagers nor the film crew had the slightest idea of what the others were thinking, nor of what was motivating them'. Until that moment he 'had not realised the radical incommensurability of the two ways of

living'. He was caught in the middle and would never forget this moment, would retain the capacity to summon it up. That is not to say that he would continually inhabit it. Nor however is it to say that it was simply filed away. Traces of it would colour his whole life. Those traces could operate as buttons to call up larger complexes of thought and feeling. He would see it as his life's mission to interpret that village way of life to British people.

Jane R., after 23 fulfilling years in Sri Lanka (from which she was eventually deported because of her exposure of human rights abuses), copes with difficulties in her life or work in Britain by asking herself 'how would I react to this situation if I were in Sri Lanka?' She detaches herself by summoning up an alternative remembered way of thinking and being, believing that she learnt calmness and a more balanced perspective living in South Asia (Politics, 1972). Initially she had no strong interest in Sri Lanka and would have been just as happy researching in Canada (to which she had also applied). She was an atheist and leftwing in orientation and was astonished to find that other British scholars in Sri Lanka were fascinated by Buddhism and its ancient cultures. Yet she, too, like, them, has now become a Buddhist. Reflection on my research makes me suspect that the students who started off with a more universalistic orientation, unsympathetic to cultural relativism, like Jane, often wrestled harder to reconcile differing viewpoints, and hence, ultimately, engaged more deeply and were more profoundly transformed.

Mary S. is another one who often consciously does a substitution exercise (asking herself how might an Indian see this), as an aid to defamiliarising and gaining a fresh perspective on some aspect of British society. Such a perspective would not be all-encompassing but would relate to something specific such as crowds, or the family.

Students who worked and lived in villages, or stayed in student hostels and encountered only 'locals' during their stay in South Asia were particularly exposed to alternative values. That was intensified when they were rebuked or challenged by articulate students, or by lecturers, or intellectuals whom they respected. I have already referred to the Marxist and anti-colonial bombardments directed at students in Baroda. 'Something I said…about backward societies maybe…..Prof Madan wiped the floor with me. I slunk away with my tail between my legs' (Roger, Delhi, 1966). 'I said something

about how awful and prematurely old the village women looked. Beteille told me I wasn't fit to be studying anthropology if I made a remark like that' (Joyce, 1965). More mildly put, but equally challenging, were the comments made to myself by one of my philosophy lecturers in Benares. 'What on earth makes you think the question of whether God exists is important? The key issue is what do you mean by God.' This radical re-framing of the issue came as a shock in the mid-1960s. It was reinforced by the surprise of reading English translations of ancient texts that were every bit as analytic, and indeed, seemed more sophisticated, and sceptical, than many of the European philosophic texts I had studied in Britain as an undergraduate. Not all scholars were as fortunate in their lecturers. In some institutions there was an absence of debate and only the heavy weight of hierarchy. Many, however, went to highly rated departments (Poona, Peradeniya etc). It was striking how many of my informants said that they met people of outstanding intellect and education whose equals they would never otherwise have encountered. This was partly because they often received special treatment, both because they were British, and because they had chosen to go against the flow, to seek knowledge from South Asians. This was appreciated, not seen as a birthright, and elicited South Asian forms of cosmopolitan hospitality. The breadth and passion of South Asian intellectuals, at their best, is the gift of a social and material location where it is impossible to be unaware of the rest of the world (and of vast expanses of human history), as well as of the necessity for change; it is a gift nonetheless, much appreciated by my small island migrants who were lucky enough to encounter it.

For those British students who went on to marry outside their culture, of course, the learning process was further intensified.

Alnoor M. had come to Britain from Uganda at the age of ten. He had thought of India as 'just a backward country'. He chose to study art in Wolverhampton partly because he knew there was an Indian lecturer there. Through him, he saw Indian art for the first time, met visiting artists at the Festival of India in 1980s London, and eventually set off to the studio that was offered in Baroda. 'Now I began to think India was fabulous! My family couldn't make sense of it. I absorbed an enormous amount, both from being in India and from being at an educational institution. We used to go to month-long art camps in the mansions of wealthy patrons where we were provided with full board and food, and all facilities. All we had to do for a month was paint. It was fantastic. The patron kept all

the paintings. In the end, I got sickened by the affluence and inequality. But that way *I made lots of contacts in the Indian art world and was eventually able to set up an arts agency in Manchester (Shisha) to bring over artists to the UK* as part of my project to wake up British galleries and museums to the value of South Asian art'.

Some scholars felt *personally* transformed by their time in India even though their work was not directly affected. Derek B., now one of the leading exponents of Pop Art, described as among the most important artists since World War 2, turned down a chance to go to New York and went instead to India in 1962. He was interested in urban cultural life and the art of the streets. He hated the University of 'Shantiniketan with its artsy, crafty, idealised poetics' and arranged to move to Calcutta, which he loved. He 'met many amazing people, Satya Jit Ray, Allen Ginsberg and so on, and learnt a lot, *became a more tolerant and fatalistic person*'. He only stayed a year because he felt that he 'wanted to return to exploring and working in his own culture'. He eventually settled in the USA.

Many others felt that their *earlier prejudices and Eurocentrism had been displaced* by a new awareness. 'I had a great shock in realising that that other people had completely different values. I felt I could never enter that other world, but I could respect it and have friendly relations with it. India also made my PhD seem trivial. I was never motivated to publish and considered nursing'. Gillian B. (History, Allahabad, 1967) went onto to live in Egypt and Malawi where she was repelled by the enclosed life-style of expatriate development 'experts', so different from the immersion she had experienced as a student and lodger in India.

Many of the returned scholars *now see limitations and defects in academic theories commonly held in Britain. They had not perceived these defects before. The Indian period became a motor for change and action, even, in some cases, political action.* Others had already seen defects and India confirmed that.

David A. (History 1968, Madras). 'It was living in Indian hostels and reading the archives that affected me most. British nationalist writings on India were quite unbelievable. I knew whose side I was on'. The fact that he 'wasn't being looked after by British academics meant that I felt more beholden to

Indians', and wasn't so much seen as a representative of Britain by other students. David went on to become a major contributor to the development of the subaltern school of Indian history, in which historical events of the British colonial period are re-presented using the perspectives of a variety of non-elite Indians. He later worked in Africa and Australia, before becoming a Professor in London. Avril P. is another historian who learnt to view historical events through the prism of a variety of South Asian, in her case, Muslim, perspectives partly as a result of her immersion as a student in Urdu and Persian archives in Aligarh and Lucknow (1972), though the greatest impact had come from her earlier two years teaching in a Womens' College in Lahore in Pakistan. Like several other students, she referred to the influence of a charismatic figure, 'the kind of person you only expect to meet once or twice in your life'. This was the Christian Principal of the college who encouraged her to study Mughul history from scratch, and even gave her opportunities to teach it! Avril now lectures on that period in London University.

Those who went in the 1960s to study economics, urban planning, or geography (what now would probably be called development economics), usually experienced a 'radicalising' of their approaches. They tended to move away from models of 'under-development' towards placing more emphasis on 'world systems', inequality and environmental issues, unusual in that period. Valerie K. (Punjab, Pakistan, 1961), the first British Commonwealth scholar to go to South Asia, (and subsequently the first British Professor of Housing) found that gender restrictions made it difficult for her to complete her research in rural planning in Pakistan (despite her purchase of a scooter), but developed an awareness of ethnicity that showed itself throughout her pioneering research on Housing, Ethnicity and the Census in Britain. She mixed with challenging elite students, highly articulate, and multi-lingual.

Colin P. (Delhi, 1964) went to do research in chemical engineering but had wide interests in culture and religion, as well as in poverty issues. While in India he met 'world class scientists. I would never have met people like that in Britain'. He soon abandoned the modernization and 'trickle-down' theory of economic development. His Indian experience made him more of an activist, determined to do more than be just a scientific researcher and academic. After returning to Britain he became active in the World Development Movement, Intermediate Technology Campaign, and Engineers against Poverty Group.

Other students, too, in different ways, developed a determination to make a difference to the world, not just to be ivory tower academics. Janice (Sri Lanka, 1968) did research for four years at Peradeniya University, 'which had some of South Asia's leading historians and sociologists, presenting a continual intellectual challenge. Being exposed to another intellectual tradition with deep roots had a profound effect. I had only gone out of curiosity, and to get away, but it whetted my appetite for international research and made me want to change the world'. She switched from history to sociology and hence, later on, to 'development research and monitoring' in both Africa and Asia. She subsequently set up her base in Sweden, but has now moved to the Netherlands. Martin H. (Benares, 1966) who moved to settle in the USA after India, attributes his decision to switch to community education access work with disadvantaged young minority people, after many years of university lecturing in philosophy, including Indian philosophy, to his experience in India. 'It made me feel I wanted to make a difference to the world……. it wasn't the academic teaching in Benares that affected me. That was hierarchical and wasn't challenging. It was just being there that showed me beliefs vary hugely. That taught me to accept difference'. Although it was nearly 40 years ago 'I still often think of that experience and it shapes my political and social views in debate'.

Individuals like these had gone to South Asia for quite personal reasons but left with a strong sense of social commitment.

The students did not take on board all the criticisms directed at them. Some were just brushed aside, seen as wrong or trivial. Perhaps there was no point of overlap in the students' pre-existing values. Many students disregarded staff disapproval of absences from lectures, or of disappearance for weeks to go travelling. Disapproval of 'inappropriate' gender behaviour was not always heeded. White students were freer, it seems, to break various taboos (even sometimes going pillion on a scooter with an unrelated male). They might mix with drug taking 'holy men' or move outside bourgeois society, dress improperly in crumpled clothes. Often the criticism struck home in the end.

My exploration of the thinking and interpretations of one particular set of middle-class trans-nationals, mostly of a normatively cosmopolitan type, shows creative engagement, exchange and innovation,

changes in consciousness and values, much more than just the development of multi-cultural behavioural competence, or shifting role-play, with little inner cognitive change. It also shows that far from developing a merely aesthetic and ironic approach towards cultural variation, the student migrants became more serious and committed to cultural transformation. This may be partly because learning from people who they assumed to be more highly educated than they were was a major part of their initial orientation, even if career development often was not. Having an intense immersion in South Asia was important, but for many of my informants, the experience of being a student was also critical to their learning. It gave them an acceptable role. It exposed them to new texts and archives. In many cases it exposed them to verbal challenge, either from articulate students or academics, or from other intellectuals, sometimes of outstanding calibre, met through university networks. It became hard to sustain an unequivocal sense of superiority. In addition, art students were exposed to different methods of learning and working within educational institutions. Painting was treated as a social, even communal activity, to be collectively discussed as it was being done. Trans-nationals or 'cosmopolitans', if we are to dignify any groups with this term, can, as we have seen, appear in many guises. Investigation of the reasons for variation would require exploration of prior family values and experiences, and of the 'learning' that preceded the journey to South Asia. That would be another paper.

Bibliography

Bown, L (1994/ 2004) *Education in the Commonwealth: the first 40 years* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat).

Breckenridge, C & Van der Veer, P (1993) *Orientalism and the Post-Colonial Predicament* (Philadelphia).

Breckenridge, C (2002) *Cosmopolitanism* (Duke University Press).

Callan, H & Steele, K (1994) 'Against the grain' in L. Bown, ed. *Education in the Commonwealth* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat).

Cheah, P & Robbins, B (eds) (1998) *Cosmopolitic*s (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press).

Clarke, J (1997) *Oriental Enlightenment* (London, Routledge).

Dharwaadkar, ed (2001) *Cosmopolitan Geographies* (London, Routledge).

Featherstone, M (ed) 1990 *Global Culture, special issue of Theory, Culture and Society*,7 (Sage).

Hannerz, U 1990 ‘Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture’ in M. Featherstone (ed) *Global Culture, special issue of Theory Culture and Society*, 7 (Sage).

Hannerz, U (1996) *Transnational Connections* (London, Routledge).

Hyman, T. 1998, *Bhupen Khakhar* (Bombay: Mappin).

Inden, R (1990) *Imagining Ind*ia (London, Hurst & Co).

King, R (1999) *Orientalism and Religion* (London, Routledge).

Mackenzie, J (1995) *Orientalism, History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester University Press).

Macfie, A (2000) *Orientalism: a Reader* (Edinburgh University Press).

Mitter, P (2001) *Indian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Murphy-Lejeune, E (2002) *Student Mobility and Narrative in Europe: the new strangers (London: Routledge).*

Olwig, K & Hastrup, K (1997) *Siting Culture: the Shifting Anthropological Object* (London, Routledge).

Pollock, S (2002) ‘Cosmopolitan and vernacular in history’ in C.A. Breckenridge (ed) *Cosmopolitanism* (Duke University Press).

Rapport, N (2006) ‘Anthropology as Cosmopolitan Study’ in *Anthropology Today*, vol. 22 no 1 (Oxford: Blackwell).

Said, E (1978) *Orientalism* (London, Routledge).

Searle-Chatterjee, M (1999) ‘Occupation, biography and new social movements’ in *Sociological Review* 47 (2) Oxford: Blackwell).

Searle-Chatterjee, M (2000) ‘Studying others: research and representation’ in B. Humphries (ed) *Research in Social Care and Social Welfare* (London: Jessica Kingsley*).*

Sheikh, G. (1997) *Contemporary Art in Baroda* (New Delhi: Tulika).

Springer, H (1988) *The Commonwealth of Universities* (association of Commonwealth Universities).

Stacey, M……in Frankenberg (ed) *Communities in Britain*

Urry, J (1995) *Consuming Places* (London, Routledge).