

**Speaking about *Desi*:****The Sense of Belonging in Contemporary British Asian Writers<sup>1</sup>**

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Since the 1980s when Salman Rushdie strutted into the English literary world, British Asian writers have been flourishing in Britain. From the '90s onward in particular, not only Rushdie but also many other British Asian writers, including Anita Desai, Rohinton Mistry, Arundati Roy, Kiran Desai, Monica Ali, Zadie Smith, and Aravind Adiga have been nominated as candidates for the Booker Prize, and some have been awarded the prize. In the new millennium, alongside the widespread acceptance of multi-ethnic culture in British society,<sup>2</sup> there has been an increase in the number of young Asian-origin writers.

Most of these young British Asians have parents who have immigrated from one of the former British colonies. Unlike the first generation of immigrants who came to Britain with a glimmer of hope, the second and/or third generation of immigrants<sup>3</sup> are likely to encounter huge disappointment by being rejected by mainstream culture, especially at an early stage of their life. A leading British Asian writer, Hanif Kureishi, describes their attitude towards British society as that of a 'disappointed lover'.<sup>4</sup>

Under such bitter circumstances, to which society or culture do (or could) British Asians belong? How do they identify their sense of belonging? And how do contemporary British Asian writers represent this problem in their works?

In order to examine these questions, this paper focuses on one particular novel, "the first true twenty-first century British Asian novel," *Londonstani*. Particular attention is paid to the term *Desi* as the key concept in discussing the sense of belonging. *Desi*, which appears in the novel over and over again, literally means 'local', 'native', and 'country' in Hindi, and it also refers to something or someone who is from the Indian subcontinent. This paper will also examine the way in which *Desi* is represented in *Londonstani* and consider the sense of belonging of contemporary British Asians living in the UK.

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<sup>1</sup> 'British Asian' is a term used to describe British citizens who are descended from the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal) and also South Asian diasporas from East Africa and the Caribbean.

<sup>2</sup> *Guardian* columnist Hugo Young claimed on 6 November, 2001 that "while earlier debates were centred around the question of "whether, and if so how, non-white migrants would be allowed to become full members of this society", the new situation called for an altogether different approach." Lars Eckstein, Barbara Korte, Eva Ulrike Pirker, and Christoph Reinfandt, "A Divided Kingdom? Reflections on Multi-Ethnic Britain in the New Millennium," in Lars Eckstein, Barbara Korte, Eva Ulrike Pirker, and Christoph Reinfandt, eds. *Multi-Ethnic Britain 2000+* (New York Rodopi: Bv Editions, 2008), p.10.

<sup>3</sup> Hanif Kureishi rejected the expression "second-generation immigrant." He claimed that "I am not a second-generation immigrant, but a first-generation British Asian" in an interview with Kazue Nakamura. 中村和恵「ペーコンとジハードー9・11の寓話（ハニフ・クレイシ「わが息子狂信者」解説」『新潮』101巻8号、2004年、106-107頁

<sup>4</sup> Hanif Kureishi, "Introduction: The Road Exactly," in *My Son the Fanatic* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), p. xi.

## 1. Changing feelings toward 'our' culture: from objection to acceptance and pride

Since the late 1960s, there has been great tension regarding racial issues in Britain. Hanif Kureishi recalls his schooldays in the 1970s being surrounded by skinheads and racist teachers who called Kureishi's Asian culture 'backward'.<sup>5</sup> In those days, Asian boys were not considered 'macho' and were also widely considered to lack courage or willingness to defend themselves. They were regarded as 'cowards' and this image was promoted through the mass media. However, by the late 1980s, the situation had changed. The new generations of Asians did not accept being just passive and refused to be seen in that way any longer.<sup>6</sup> They no longer accepted the stereotypical perception that the white British had of them and they resisted the way in which white British treated them. Consequently, ethnic minorities re-found their diasporic experiences and began exploring them. With urban areas as the focal points, cultural hybridization has been expanding across Britain.

Kureishi describes the South Asian diasporic culture as being 'in-between' while Homi Bhabha uses the term 'hybridity'. These terms are well established in academic society. Many British Asian writers have narrated about identity conflicts between their 'home' and 'homeland' cultures.<sup>7</sup> In their works, characters—mainly adolescent boys and girls—try to moderate their hybrid cultural identities.<sup>8</sup>

However, it is remarkable that since the late 1990s, representations of ethnic culture have become more diverse. Ethnic culture is not only a 'hybrid' but is also 'monolithic'. We see one particular stream: the 'homeland' culture is embraced with pride and, much more significantly, exclusively. For instance, we come across Islamic fundamentalists in some novels like *My Son the Fanatic* (1997) by Hanif Kureishi and *White Teeth* (2000) by Zadie Smith. In both novels, fundamentalists are among the second generation in Britain. In the midst of the story, Ali, Kureishi's character, becomes a religious person all of a sudden and starts to criticize Western culture and his tolerant—that is, not strictly adhering to Islamic law—father originally from Pakistan. He even claims that he and *his people* are disgusted with Western materialism and its depravity. For Ali, the Islamic nation is his 'homeland' and the very place he thinks he belongs to. The fact that Ali has never been to Pakistan and that he hardly knows about the country does not matter.

Smith's Millat also changes drastically as the story goes on. Millat, a twin, has been notorious for his 'womanizing' and drinking since his childhood. But eventually, he becomes an angry

<sup>5</sup> Hanif Kureishi, "The Rainbow Singh," in *My Beautiful Laundrette and Other Writings* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony Mills, "Monica Ali's *Brick Lane*: Was it Really Like That?" 『共立国際文化』第21号2004年、19頁

<sup>7</sup> 'Home' refers to an individual's country of actual residence and their 'homeland'—a term famously used by Rushdie (1991) in *Imaginary Homelands*—means a migrant's country of origin or that of their ancestors.

<sup>8</sup> We can find typical and good examples of this in two novels, Bali Rai's *(Un)arranged Marriage* (2001) and Narinder Dhami's *Bindi Babes* (2003). Both novels are written in the first person and the narrators are teenagers—Manny is Rai's protagonist and Amber is Dhami's. At an early stage, both teenagers reject their 'homeland' culture because they think it unacceptable. But finally, they negotiate their hybrid cultural identities when they choose to embrace and accept parts of their 'homeland' culture.

fundamentalist and a member of a Muslim brotherhood known as the Keepers of the Eternal and Victorious Islamic Nation (or KEVIN). Since Ali and Millat are frustrated by mainstream culture from which they are marginalized, they reject that ('home') culture and re-evaluate their own ('homeland') culture. They try to establish their pure cultural identity based on Islamic values, and this no longer possesses a hybrid nature.

We now turn to look at another type of monolithic cultural identity in *Londonstani*, where mainstream culture is challenged and there are attempts to establish a 'homeland' culture. However, it is not based on any religion and is hence more fluid. We will see how a 'homeland' culture and its rules are established.

## 2. Our city, our rules: *Londonstani* (2006)

*Londonstani* is the story or bildungsroman of Jas. Jas, the narrator of the novel, is nineteen and an ex-honour student living in Hounslow, London. Jas has converted into a 'rude-boy' group and narrates tales of his new life. Through various experiences such as fighting between groups, family matters, his first love affair, illegal business, interactions with his seniors, and so on, Jas grows up to be a man.

This is Gautam Malkani's debut novel and has achieved good success. Literary critics generally positively appraise *Londonstani*<sup>9</sup> and some critics refer to Malkani as a "Muslim Irvine Welsh."<sup>10</sup>

Malkani himself was also born and grew up in Hounslow. However, unlike Jas and his mates, Malkani has a successful career, such as being the former editor of *The Financial Times* after graduating from Cambridge.

Literary critics discuss this novel with particular focus on the language. It is full of slang, abbreviations like mobile-phone texting, ungrammatical lines, and actual names of personalities and commercial brands such as Bollywood stars, fashion brands, fancy cars, various models of mobile phone, and so on. However, non-standard English words are neither italicised nor glossed.<sup>11</sup>

Below are some examples.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> "Undoubtedly the biggest British Asian novel of the millennium" *Asiana* magazine;

"Captivating....London's second-generation Asians are given the *Trainspotting* treatment" *The New Yorker*;

"Sensational, profane, outrageous, completely original, *Londonstani* is an explosive first novel which is infinitely readable" *Now*;

"The first true twenty-first century British-Asian novel." Nihar Arthanayake;

"Artful, thought-provoking and strikingly inventive. An impressive, in some respects brilliant, first novel" *Los Angeles Times*.

<sup>10</sup> Irvine Welsh is a contemporary Scottish novelist, best known for his novel *Trainspotting* (1993). Incidentally, Malkani is not a Muslim but a Hindu.

<sup>11</sup> There is no glossary in the editions published in England and India but there is in the American version.

<sup>12</sup> Gautam Malkani, *Londonstani*, (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers (Pbk), 2007). This version is used as the text in this paper.

**【Example 1】** Their leader Hardjit challenges the unacceptable behaviour of a fellow countryman:

Wat's wrong wid'chyu, sala kutta? U 2 embarass'd to b a desi? Embarrass'd a your own culture, huh? Thing is, u is actually an embarrassment to desis. Bet'chyu can't even speak yo mother tongue, innit. (p.22)

**【Example 2】** Watching a beautiful girl, boys talk in their own group:

—Dat gyal ain't nothi, if yous lot wanna see proper fitness you shoulda seen dis bitch I shagged last weekend. Harpinder was her name. Imagine if Aishwarya Rai n Shilpa Shetty had a twenty-one-year-old love child.

—Yeh, I bet 'imagine' is the right word seein as how you probly imagined the whole thing yourself, I shouted from the back seat before I could even remember that I was in the back seat.

—Fuck you, Jas, goes Amit.—Jus cos you in't shagged no one. No one female anyway. An even if you did, da Durex'd probly slip off upir pin-sized prick n you'd end up wid butt-ugly kids cos dey'll have your genes. (p. 19)

**【Example 3】** A group member Amit is talking with his mother and brother on the phone:

—Teekh hai, Mama, goes Amit when she's finished shoutin.

—Ik minute, Mama, can you pass the fone to Arun?... Jus because, Mama. Let me speak to him.... Because he's my brother and I wanna talk to him. While Arun is doing whatever it is people do before they finally pick up the fone, Amit tells Ravi to turn the High Street cos he's gotta go Boots, innit.

—Hey yo, Arun, Amit finally says into the fone,

—Yeh, bro, sounds fuck'd...Jus want'd check n dat, you know.... You shoulda come wid me, man.... Safe, safe.... Don't argue wid her, bro, don't dis her again. But don't listen to her shit either. Dat's da way....Nah...nah...I know, man, it ain't even her time a the month....Down da BMX track, innit.... Nah, we ain't there yet, we bout five minutes away.... Fuckin buses n roadworks n shit, innit. You want anyfink from Boots? (pp. 89-90)

Not merely the dialogue part but the whole narration of *Londonstani* is constructed using non-standard English. Most critics regard this vernacular in a highly positive way. Hard Kaur on the BBC Radio Asian Network praises the novel's language: "It's written in a way that young Asians speak right now and even if you're not Asian you're still gonna get it." On the other hand, there are harsh critics such as Nirpal Singh Dhaliwal who criticize the novel's language altogether in a negative article: "He writes in an almost impenetrable gibberish.... Where did Malkani encounter kids as wholly subnormal as these?"<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Nirpal Singh Dhaliwal, "Londonstani by Gautam Malkani (Fourth Estate, GBP 12.99) 'Nitwits on Nokias'," *Evening Standard* (London, 11 April, 2006, via Thomson Dialog News Edge).

### 3. Identity and the sense of belonging in *Londonstani*

Like Kureishi and Smith, Malkani also uses religion as a tool to affirm the characters' identities. Religion is one of the most important dimensions by which the boy groups identify themselves and through which their characters are most clearly demarcated. Every group is first divided by ethnicity such as Black, Desi, and Oriental. Desi is then sub-divided into two groups: Muslim and non-Muslim. Jas's group is a mixture of Sikhs and Hindus. For them, Muslims are always the rival. Jas explains the fighting between Muslims and non-Muslims:

[Not only Sikh but] even Hindu kids called on him when they'd got beef to settle. You know how the people a Gotham City've got that Bat signal for whenever they need to call Batman? The homeboys a Hounslow an Southall should have two signals for Hardjit: an Om for when Hindus needed him an a Khanda for when Sikhs needed him. He always used to go on bout how Sikhs an Hindus fought side by side in all them wars. Both got beef with Muslims. ( p.81)

Because of the rivalry, inter-religious romance is depicted as taboo. There is even a special term, 'sisterising', which Jas explains:

Sikh bredren're always accusing Muslim guys a tryin to convert their Sikh sisters. Seems that they even got a proper word for it: sisterising. Sometimes the Sikh girls'd start cryin, sayin they'd used brainwashing techniques an that. Sometimes this shit even turned out to be true. Sometimes, though, it was just the girl's way a dumpin some good-looking Muslim guy she'd been seeing without gettin killed by her community for seeing him in the first place. The desi version a waking up the next morning an thinkin, Oh fuck, I best say he raped me. It's not my fault, he brainwashed me in to his religion. (p.80)

Moreover, it is said that, for a non-Muslim boy, having a date with a Muslim girl is almost impossible. Jas falls in love with a Muslim girl, Samira, and desperately asks her to go out.

Look, Samira, I know you're Muslim an I know I in't Muslim. An I know the other guys'll kill me an then when they're finished your older brothers'll kill me again....The thing is, I know I don't stand a chance with you, but I was wonderin whether you'd mind if I just chat you up anyway so that you'll agree to go out to dinner with me next Saturday? (p. 149)

There is some kind of barrier between Muslims and non-Muslims. Most of the time, as we have seen above, the inter-religious romance enhances the line of demarcation and sense of 'otherness'. In *Londonstani*, Muslim represents the 'other' in a sense. To put this into a wider context, nevertheless, Muslim is a part of Desi and, unlike Kureishi and Smith, Malkani does not depict Muslims as implicit 'others'.

Desi is a stronger concept for these boys to affirm their identity. In a similar vein, they use the word 'Paki' as a tool to promote solidarity within their own group although they never allow being called so by a non-Desi. Hardjit calls themselves “honorary Pakis” (p.6) and goes on to explain:

Us bredrens who don't come from Pakistan can still b call'd a Paki by other bredrens, if it means we can call dem a Paki in return. (p.7)

‘Desi’ is a word deriving from Sanskrit. Unlike 'Paki', it does not have negative connotations. In Hindi, it means 'one from our country', in other words, something or someone national in opposition to things foreign. In general usage, Desi means people from the Indian subcontinent. For people living abroad, moreover, it is understood as a term to identify a fellow countryperson.

In the glossary of the American version, Malkani explains that Desi is a “self-referential term for the Indian diaspora that refers to people and culture.” In this novel, the boys repeatedly identify themselves as Desi with pride, and Hardjit even wears a jacket embroidered with 'Desi' as if it were his nameplate:

[Hardjit'd] just got the word 'Desi' sewn onto the back (of his jacket). He'd thought bout havin 'Paki' sewn on but his mum'd never let him wear it an, anyway, nobody round here ever, ever used that word. (p.13)

Throughout the novel, the boys always try to be a 'proper Desi' and, for them, Hardjit is a kind of Desi icon.

Most bredren round Hounslow were jealous a his [Hardjit's] designer desiness, with his perfectly built body, his perfectly shaped facial hair an his perfectly groomed garms (p. 4)

Both 'Paki' and 'Desi' indicate an Indian subcontinental origin. For most of these boys who identify themselves as 'Paki' or 'Desi', however, the subcontinent is an unknown place. Because most have never been there, the place is, for them, just an 'imaginary homeland'. Their feeling of fellowship is not based on reality. But then, how do and/or can they become a Desi?

### **What are the tools to be Desi?**

In this novel, we can see various proper names of fashion and movie stars as well as commercial goods like mobile phones and cars. These popular personalities and goods provide us with ideas in considering what the necessary tools are to become a proper Desi. Most Desis drive blue, black, or silver Beamers (BMW) while listening to Usher, and they have new and expensive models of Nokia mobiles. Desi icon Hardjit wears D&G, Evisu Baggie, and Nike Air Force. He wears Hugo cologne and works out at the gym to build his sculpted body. Staring at Hardjit with dreamy eyes, Jas tries to get the Desi taste.

On the other hand, the boys tend to avoid things that might be seen as characteristic of a

'coconut', a description of someone brown on the outside and white on the inside. Hardjit and his group hate the 'coconuts'. In their view, the 'coconuts' are embarrassed by being Desi and by Desi culture. Hardjit and his group make fun of a 'coconut' who drives a Peugeot 305, has long hair, has a novel and newspaper in his car, speaks English with a 'poncey' English accent, and listens to Coldplay, REM, or Radiohead. These things are, in the boys' view, typical of the 'gay batty boy'. To abuse the 'coconut', Hardjit and his group repeatedly use gender terms such as 'poncey', 'batty', and 'faggot'. The boys insult the coconuts for being too effeminate. A close look at a coconut and a Desi thus suggests that these terms are pertinent to masculinity, that is, the concept of 'Desi' is related more to gender than to ethnicity.

To become a proper Desi, the ex-good boy Jas makes an effort. He works hard to acquire the 'authentic' language. Jas talks about his effort:

I swear I've watched as much MTV Base an Juggy D videos as they have, but I still can't attain the right level a rude-boy authenticity. If I could, I wouldn't be using poncey words like attain an authenticity, innit. I'd be sayin I couldn't keep it real or someshit.....After all, it's all about what you say an how you say it. Your linguistic prowess an debating dexterity (though whatever you do don't say it that way). (p.6)

Here, language is depicted as the most important tool in being a proper Desi. In fact, though, Hardjit and his fellows are not from the ghetto but from a suburban area where middle-class people live. They pretend to be rude-boys by using 'gangsta' slang. Language is used as an explicit tool to show their toughness. If the wrong words (that is, a poncey English accent, good grammatical and intelligent lines) are chosen, the 'rude-boys' will express their contempt. Jas explains:

If I was the Proper Word Inventor I'd do two things differently. I wouldn't decide that the proper word for deep an dickless poncey sap is a gay batty boy or that the proper word for women is bitches. That shit in't right. I know what other poncey words like homophobic an misogynist mean an I know that shit in't right. But what am I s'posed to do bout it? If I don't speak proply using the proper words then these guys'd say I was actin like a batty boy or a woman or a woman actin like a batty boy. (p.45-46)

Non-members of this group, including not only *goras* (the white people) but also their parents, cannot understand this language. As one of the rules among rude-boys, Hardjit says that "a proper rude-boy shouldn't just know either Hindi or Panjabi to keep shit secret from goras but also a little Urdu slang to keep shit secret from mums an dads" (p. 69). In this novel, one teacher admires the way boys mix up Hindi with Urdu and Punjabi to create their own second-generation tongue.<sup>14</sup> The boys speak their language as an in-group code. Their language—a mixture of slang and Indian

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<sup>14</sup> Malkani 2006, p. 125

vernaculars—creates boundaries and barriers to entry. Mastery of the language is thus a tool for entering the Desi group and creating a sense of fellowship.

#### 4. Desi, Coconut, and Cappuccino

##### Who is the narrator, Jas?

In the last few pages, we finally discover that Jas, the narrator of this novel, is not a Desi boy Jasbinder but a White boy called Jason. Jas has been struggling to become a Desi. In the midst of the story, a member's mother criticizes Jas for his interference in a family matter. She shouts at Jas, accusing him of his lack of knowledge about *their* culture. Moreover, in the end, Jas is rejected by Hardjit and his group because of his forbidden love affair with a Muslim girl. Jas has left the world he once belonged to and chosen 'Desi' as his new world. Indeed, there are some promising implications for Jas's future in the closing part of the novel. However, we cannot simply say his effort is rewarded.

Why does Jason Bartholomew-Civeden try to become a Desi? How is it possible to turn his own culture (that is, mainstream culture) into a Desi culture? And why does he choose to do so? We do not have any clear answers to these questions in this novel.<sup>15</sup>

##### What is 'our culture'?

In order to scrutinize Jas's motive in transforming himself, we have to consider 'Desi' itself in the first place. As mentioned above, all tools for being a Desi are represented in relation to 'machismo'. In contrast, those tools that might be seen as those belonging to an un-Desi-like person, namely a 'coconut', are considered to be 'poncey', 'batty', and 'faggot'-like. That is to say, Desi is used interchangeably with machoness, in which strong gender consciousness is represented. With this consciousness, Jas and his fellows create their homosexualistic world. Jas is always concerned about his reputation and position within the group. Jas falls in love with a beautiful Muslim girl, Samira. However, his gaze rests on the inside of the group more frequently, especially on Hardjit. Jas watches Hardjit very closely and homoerotic feelings noticeably develop. On the other hand, we do not come across any Desi girl vividly portrayed throughout the story. There are some Asian girls, including Samira, but they are represented just as 'item girls'. It shows us that girls are not considered in terms of 'Desi'. 'Desi' represents 'machismo' itself in this novel.

Therefore, we can assume that Jas's motivation to convert himself into 'Desi' is to absorb 'machismo'. By rejecting his real name 'Jason' and his surroundings such as his native culture and relationship with his parents, friends, and teachers, Jas tries to become a Desi. To clarify, Jas cannot be a Desi in reality but he can be a 'Cappuccino'—outwardly white and brown inside.<sup>16</sup> Hardjit and his group accept Jas's struggles as a 'cappuccino'. Nonetheless, they attack different

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<sup>15</sup> We might see one hint in DJ Markie Mark who is a Hounslow-born white male and plays with the Punjabi Hit Squad. Or we can see an overdramatised image in Ali G.

<sup>16</sup> "Are You a Coconut or Cappuccino Kid?" *The Times of India*, 14 May, 2006.



types of disguise, that is, the counter-'cappuccino', the 'coconut'. Arguably, Jas's entry into the group helps heighten Hardjit's and his mates' prestige and it also promotes a reevaluation of Desi culture. This is largely because Jas chooses this as his own culture, instead of the mainstream culture, by himself. Now, Desi culture is no longer a second-class culture.

### Who is a 'proper Desi'?

The harshest criticism of *Londonstani*, that it is “nearly unreadable,” that “Malkani's book is a tale of bloodcurdling triviality,” etc.<sup>17</sup> comes from a young, male, second-generation British Asian writer, Nirpal Singh Dhaliwal.<sup>18</sup> Dhaliwal, Desi himself, criticizes the widespread view that Malkani's work is the authentic voice of the working class in spite of his real status. Dhaliwal claims that “publishers who have only experienced the world through books can't see the wood for the trees; hence there is a market for misrepresentative nonsense like this—a fact Malkani has cleverly exploited.” He brings up an ironic question: how can a decent Cambridge graduate possibly know what Hounslow rude-boys are thinking? In other words, Dhaliwal wants to raise the issue of how a person who is not a 'proper Desi' can speak about 'Desi'.<sup>19</sup> In response to this criticism, Malkani sarcastically says that he will write science fiction for his next work. He articulates that “no one is going to question my authenticity if I wrote about aliens. It is the only way to stop people from saying lazy things about whether it is representative or not.”<sup>20</sup>

As Malkani argues, it is nonsense to question the writer's authenticity in his/her novel. Being Desi and speaking about Desi are completely different. Moreover, insofar as the 'homeland' is an imaginary place, how can we judge who is an 'authorized Desi' or a 'proper Desi'? As one's imaginary 'homeland' constitutes a more important factor in deciding one's sense of belonging than one's actual 'home', the sense of belonging can be neither monolithic nor fixed, but rather, it must be diverse and intricate. The representation of Desi thus changes and diversifies as we find not only a 'coconut' but also a 'cappuccino' in the story. *Londonstani* provides us with thought-provoking examples to consider the ways in which Desi is represented.

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<sup>17</sup> Anita Roy (interview with Nirpal Singh Dhaliwal) “Rude and Ruder Boys,” *Tehelka*, 22 July, 2006.

<sup>18</sup> Dhaliwal's criticism in his *Evening Standard* review prompted an article in *Pickled Politics* magazine and a huge discussion raged for weeks. Most of the posters supported Malkani and took offence at Dhaliwal's cutting comments. <<http://www.pickledpolitics.com/archives/422>>

<sup>19</sup> Despite this criticism about Malkani's background, Dhaliwal encouraged other young writers to break into the industry saying, 'It doesn't matter what your background is or who your contacts are', in an interview with Stacy-Marie Ishmael, “A Real Page-Turner” in *KAL* magazine. <<http://www.kaleidoscopic.co.uk/features/?story=yes&id=60>>

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Gautam Malkani, “Middle-Class Mummy's Boys—The Hype, Criticism and Story behind *Londonstani*” *Asians in Media* magazine, 1 June, 2006.

Appendix



Gautam Malkani

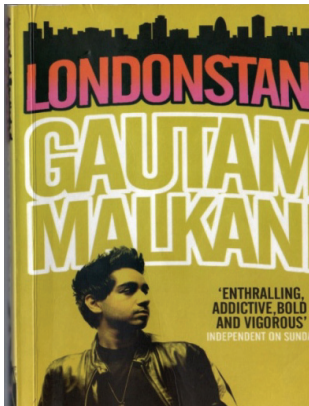


Khanda  
Important symbols of Sikhism



Om  
Sacred syllable in the Indian religions

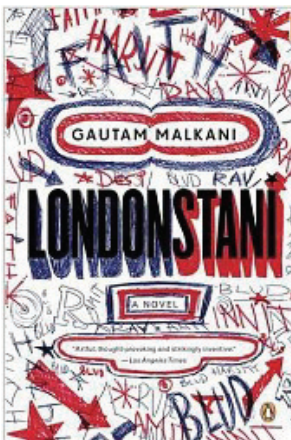
Various versions of *Londonstani* in English



Paperback edition in India and the UK



Hardcover edition in the UK



Paperback edition in the USA



Hardcover edition in the USA

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