

# *Multiculturalism and creative British South Asian films*

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## Multiculturalism and Creative British South Asian Films

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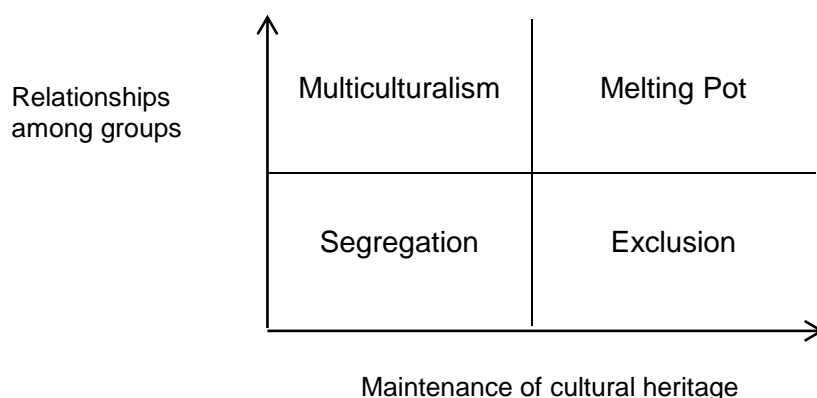
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**Abstract.** Globalization has enabled countries such as the UK to attain multiculturalism; however, there is no investigation in relation to the advantages of multiculturalism at the film industry level. Multiculturalism is related to the Commonwealth immigration after the Second World War period. The introduction of new cultures into the UK has enabled the growth and development of successful global industries such as the British Urban Music and British Asian Film, which have prospered over time and have now become mainstream export-led industries. Why is cultural diversity significant towards the generation of competitive advantages within the British South Asian film sector? We will explore the country specific advantage of multiculturalism in the UK and their impact on creativity of screenwriters that has contributed to successful films in the industry.

### Introduction

Multiculturalism has been defined by Libretti as a ‘careful attention to and respect for a diversity of cultural perspectives’ [1]. Berry explained the concept in terms of the maintenance of cultural heritage and the relationships sought among cultural groups as shown in the following figure [2]. Figure 1 shows that if a society enables individuals from cultural minority groups to maintain their cultural uniqueness while establishing relationships with the core cultural groups, multiculturalism is achieved. On the contrary, if it chooses an approach to encourage individuals to assimilate with the indigenous culture, the society will become a ‘melting pot’. Berry also put forward the view that ‘cultural diversity is good for a society and for its individual members’ and that ‘such diversity should be shared and accommodated in an equitable way’. The rationale is that a culturally diverse society will have greater resources and therefore able to tackle new problems more as they arise.

Figure 1: Multiculturalism at the societal level



Source: Berry (2011).

The ideology of multiculturalism exists in culturally diverse societies, and is practiced as a top-down policy in liberal democracies such as Canada, Australia and the UK which acknowledge the rights and needs of cultural minority groups. The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity highlighted the importance of culturally diverse society: ‘as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature’ (Article 1) and is ‘one of the roots of development understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence (Article 3)’ [3]. However, the divisive and conflictual potential of multiculturalism, as suggested by Huntington’s Clash of Civilizations, has been in the spotlight within the past few decades [4]. There is even a perception that multiculturalism is in crisis among liberal democracies. A negative approach to cultural diversity is not new and has been a dominant theme in the research of culture at the organizational level. Stahl and Tung wrote that ‘cultural dimensions or attributes ascribed to members of a given society were intended to be neutral constructs’, but prevailing concepts collectively suggested that ‘difficulties, costs, and risks associated with cross-cultural contact, increase with growing cultural differences between individuals, groups, and organizations’. They succinctly highlighted that international business research tended to ‘over-emphasize the “dark side” of culture by focusing primarily on the adverse outcomes associated with cultural differences and cross-cultural contact while de-emphasizing the potentially positive role of cultural diversity in organizations’ [5].

Multiculturalism in the UK is related to the Commonwealth immigration after the Second World War period. The introduction of new cultures into the UK enabled the growth and development of successful global industries such as the British Asian Film and British Urban Music; these new industries prospered over time and have now become the mainstream export-led industries. This paper will highlight the economic success of British South Asian films and explore the contribution of multiculturalism towards creativity in the film industry. The initial framework of this paper was based on discussion with a small group of London based participants in the media sector, which provided insight into the role of multiculturalism. We will then utilize secondary data sources to compile a longitudinal case study in relation to the growth of competitiveness within the newly emerged industry. The film industry is chosen for the study as creative talents tend to be shaped by the environment in the industry.

## **Creativity and British Films**

The objective of films is to capture the attention of target audience through the screenplay, acting and special effects, providing entertainment in genre ranging from drama, comedy, romance and others. Tsang discussed the process of production within the digital media industry encompassing the conception of new ideas, organization of creativity and managing viewer relationships [6]. Screenwriters and directors of films are highly creative roles. The former create ideas and stories in written scripts while the latter uses creativity and technical skills to interpret the scripts within a film. The discrete nature of film production means that the script (if executed effectively and efficiently) is the foundation for a globally successful film. Indeed, experienced and well known directors always read the scripts before committing to new projects. As the high profile Director Danny Boyle explained: ‘When I was first sent the screenplay for Slumdog Millionaire back in August 2006, I thought, Oh, no, I don’t want to make a film about a quiz show!... Nevertheless, I was a huge admirer of The Full Monty, and out of respect I thought I had better take a look at the screenplay’ [7]. After reading Simon Beaufoy’s work, Boyle found it bold and vibrating and decided to take part in the production. Creativity is the key to the writing of original or adapted British South Asian film scripts [8]. On the other hand, The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel (2011) represented Ol Parker’s skillful adaptation of Deborah Moggach’s novel *Those Foolish Things* which the Director described as very funny and witty. Parker explained Moggach had written the first draft of the screenplay that was very close to the novel; he was asked to rewrite it and he took the opportunity to focus on writing ‘a

romantic comedy for older people' [9]. Interestingly, the box office success of the film had proved to Hollywood that it was possible to market a genre concerning senior citizens in love, which led to subsequent investment by US film studios in films including *And So it Goes* (2014).

But what is creativity? The story underlying the screenplay could represent a great leap or a small leap in idea development. The screenplay for *Slumdog Millionaire* (which is an adaptation of the novel *Q&A*), to a certain extent, represents a small leap. As a contrast, the ideas embedded in *The Beautiful Laundrette* and *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* could be considered as big leaps during the conservative Thatcher era. Creative screenplay writers who possess the expertise, motivation and creativity-relevant skills tend to work on their own or collaborate within micro teams. Simon Beaufoy when writing for *Slumdog Millionaire* worked on his own from an office on a Dutch barge on the Thames in Wandsworth. His contemporary Abi Morgan also spent time on her own writing in her London home. Morgan mentioned that she typically wrote and rewrote some 30 times (and throwing away some 60 pages of writing) before arriving at the first draft of film scripts such as *Brick Lane* [10]. As screenwriters do not work within the constraint of formal organizational hierarchy, we will focus on the external environment of multiculturalism that fosters creative British South Asian screenplays in this paper.

### **Cultural Diversity and Industry Competitiveness**

Existing theorists have discussed the role of culture and competitiveness, and have specifically examined the implicit element within the context of cultural homogeneity and its implication on national competitiveness [11]. Globalization has enabled countries such as the UK and Canada to attain multiculturalism; however, there is no investigation in relation to its advantages generated at the industry level. Why is cultural diversity significant towards the generation of competitive advantages in the British South Asian film sector? Or what is the macro and micro impact of culturally diverse cities such as London, which has been regarded as the 'world in one city'? There is a tradition among regional economists examining the impact of economic diversity concerning factors, goods and services on the growth of cities [12]; additionally, the labour literature has specifically examined the impact of cultural diversity at the national and regional levels [13]; Bellini et al. found that cultural diversity was positively correlated with productivity in over 900 regions in Europe including Inner London and Outer London. More recent studies have explored the relationship between multiculturalism, creativity and innovation. Niebuhr suggested that the knowledge and capabilities of culturally diverse workforce enhanced economic performance in terms of new patents within Germany, where 7% of its workforce in 2004 were foreign nationals [14]. Nathan and Lee, on the other hand, focused on the economic outcome among migrants and ethnic minority managers in London; they found 'a small but robust link to the development and implementation of major new products' across the city's industrial structure [15].

Multiculturalism could be seen as an asset or cultural capital consciously acquired by individuals in terms of their consumption choices in relation to food, music, literature, arts and leisure; this cultural capital could enable individuals to look at familiar issues with a different perspective. Though critics such as Hooks commented on the notion of food multiculturalism as *Eating the Other* [16], others explored multiculturalism in relation to particularism within national identity. Everyday multiculturalism could generate advantages such as enriching individuals with multiple cultural competence, orientations and attitudes. Everyday multiculturalism has been reinforced by notions of global mindset and the creative class [17]. Global mindset consists of intellectual capital (eg cosmopolitan outlook), psychological capital (eg passion for diversity) and social capital (eg intercultural empathy); it illustrates the significance of cultural capital in organizations, which could be accumulated in a culturally diverse society. Richard Florida's widely publicized concept of creative class also elaborated the relationship between the broad concept of everyday multiculturalism and creativity; Florida's overall theme is that talent, tolerant and technology attracts those with high level of human capital to cluster in localities that accommodate diversity. The creativity Index was

used, encompassing macroeconomic measurements, including the relative percentage of population that is foreign born, artists and homosexuals, in order to measure the extent of the creative class. The diversity of culture as represented by the varieties of consumption choices contributing to lifestyles of the creative class, encourages their clustering in city locations and in turn facilitates the generation and cross-fertilization of new ideas.

### **Multiculturalism and British South Asian Films**

The markers to identify multiculturalism within a society include country-of-birth, language spoken at home and race. Using cultural diversity measurement approximated as linguistic similarity, researchers found that the UK as one of the most culturally diverse western economies. The 2011 census by the UK government reiterated this fact and showed that 40% of Londoners belonged to cultural minority groups, as measured by the ethnic origins of Asian, African, Caribbean, Irish and Polish. More recent population statistics reiterates the extent of multiculturalism in UK's leading cities, where half of the UK's entire black and minority ethnic population reside in Greater London, Greater Manchester and Greater Birmingham. Table 1 shows the background of screenplay writers associated with leading British South Asian films that have generated substantial revenue. There is some crossover of the roles within the film industry in terms of screenwriting, directing and acting. For instance, Ayub Khan-Din and Meera Syal are involved in both acting and screenwriting while Gurinder Chada is a director and a screenwriter. Overall, with the exception of Khan-Din who moved to Spain in 2011 (when his partner Armstrong worked for a local TV station), these screenwriters are London based creative professionals that benefit from the creative inspiration of everyday multiculturalism. Additionally, these screenplay writers could be divided into two groups: the middle class English elites who graduated from top UK universities and the second generation South Asians diaspora screenplay writers, whose parents migrated to the UK from South Asia and Africa. Those originated from South Asia tended to be attracted by the economic opportunities after the Second World War while those who left the newly independent Africa states during the 1960s and 1970s tried to avoid the discrimination associated with the Africanization economic policy. These second generation South Asians typically grew up in multicultural cities such as London and Manchester.

**Table 1: Background of leading British South Asian Film Script Writers**

Screenwriters	Related British South Asian Film	Place of Birth	University education	Current residency
Simon Beaufoy	Slumdog Millionaire	Keighley in Bradford	Oxford	London
Oli Parker	The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel	London	Cambridge	London
Gurinder Chada	Bend it Like Beckham	Nairobi	East Anglia	London
Ayub Khan-Din	East is East	Salford in Greater Manchester	n/a	Granada
Abi Morgan	Brick Lane	Cardiff	Exeter	London
Sam Bain/Jesse Armstrong	Four Lions	London/Oswestry	Manchester	London
Michael Winterbottom	Trishna	Blackburn	Oxford	London
Meera Syal	Bhaji on the Beach	Wolver-hampton	Manchester	London

Source: Various.

Tables 2 and 3 provide the list of prominent screen writers within the British South Asian film industry. So, how does multiculturalism in contemporary UK society generate cultural capital leading to creative British South Asian screenplays? The second generation South Asian diaspora build upon the ethnic culture transmitted within their home environment and the English culture they acquired externally, whereas established English screenwriters accumulated the cultural capital from multicultural towns and cities they resided within. The screenwriters listed in Tables 2 and 3 are predominantly London based. In fact, nearly two-thirds of them grew up in London; the remaining screenwriters were born and bred in other multicultural towns or cities.

Table 2: Leading English Screenwriters of South Asian Screenplays

Screenwriters	South Asian Screenplays	Other Notable Work	Personal Background
Simon Beaufoy	Slumdog Millionaire (2008)	The Full Monty	Born in Keighley, which has a South Asian population; he travelled to India at 18. He read English in Oxford.
Ol Parker	The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel 1 (2011) and 2 (2015)	Now is Good	Born in London. Married to the actress Thandie Newton, who has a Zimbabwean mother from the Shona tribe and a British father.
Abi Morgan	Brick Lane (2007), White Girl (2008)	The Iron Lady	Born in Cardiff and grew up in Stoke-on-Trent and Newcastle. Her father was a theatre director and her mother an actress. She moved around the UK when her mother worked across the country since 11.
Sam Bain/Jesse Armstrong	Four Lions (2010)	Magicians	Born in London and Oswestry respectively. Both attended the University of Manchester.
Michael Winterbottom	In this World (2002), A Mighty Heart (2007), Trishna (2011)	24 Hour Party People, Everyday	Born in Blackburn, a working class industrial town. His father was a production engineer for Philips and his mother a teacher. He read English at Balliol College, Oxford.
Robert Buckler	Brothers in Trouble (1995)	City of Fear	Born in London and read English Literature at the University of Cambridge.
Peter Kominsky	Britz (2007)	The Promise	Born in a London Jewish family. He studied Chemistry at the University of Oxford.

Source: Various.

Table 3: Leading British South Asian Screenwriters

Screenwriters	Leading Literary Work/ Adapted Screenplays	Personal Background
Gurinder Chada	I'm British But... (1989), Bend it like Beckham (2002), Bride and Prejudice (2004)	Moved from Nairobi to London with her parents at one year old.
Ayub Khan-Din	East is East (1997), West is West (2010)	Grew up in a family of 12 with a Pakistani father and an English mother in Greater Manchester. Married to Nigerian-British actress Buki Armstrong.
Meera Syal	Bhaji on the Beach (1993), Anita and Me (1996), Bollywood Carmen Live (2003)	Grew up in Bloxwich, a small Midlands mining village.
Hanif Kureishi	My Beautiful Laundrette	Born in London to a Pakistani father and an English

	(1986), <i>The Buddha of Suburbia</i> (1990), <i>My Son the Fanatic</i> (1997)	mother. Graduated from the King's College, the University of London. Previously married to the English film producer Tracey Scoffield.
Pratibha Parmar	<i>Sari Red</i> (1988)	Born in Nairobi and moved to London with her family at 11 years old. Gained degrees from the University of Bradford and the University of Birmingham.
Tanika Gupta	<i>Bideshi</i> (1995), <i>Banglatown Banquet</i> (2006)	Born in London and studied Modern History at the University of Oxford. She married the English writer David Archer.
Gurpreet Kaur Bhatti	<i>Everywhere and Nowhere</i> (2011), <i>Honour</i> (2013)	Born in Watford, Greater London from Sikh parents. Graduated from the University of Bristol. Married Michael Buffong of the Black-led theatre company Talawa.
Parv Bancil	<i>Spirit</i> (2011)	Born in Tanzania but moved to London at two years old. He left school at 16 and won the Young Playwrights Festival for BBC Radio 4 in 1991.

Source: Various.

The successful British South Asian screenwriter produced creative work on the basis of their acquired values within and beyond their own cultures. Phinney and Alipuria highlighted that 'The issue faced by these individuals is not that of balancing the importance or relevance of two distinct characteristics of the self, but rather that of integrating or otherwise managing an internal complexity involving two potentially conflicting, often enriching, parts of one's ethnic, racial, or cultural self.... These individuals can claim membership in two or more groups but are sometimes not accepted by others as a member of either' [18]. Early British South Asian films utilized personal experience of individual screenwriters. Meera Syal grew up in the white mining town Essington (near Wolverhampton) where her family was the only Asian family, explicitly depicting her experience in her semi-autobiographical contemporary English novel, and the subsequent adapted screenplay *Anita and Me*. The film illustrated the integration and the conflict associated with multiculturalism as shown in the Indian culture via her family and kinship ties and the West Midlands regional culture which she acquired in her neighbourhood and the school. *Anita and Me* illustrated the contrasting values internalized by the heroine Meena growing up in an economically declined former mining village; Syal successfully contrasted the themes of Asian collective values versus English individualism and were interwoven with Meena's sense of identity, belonging and life stages. The film also showed overt discrimination during that historic period of UK society.

Other screenwriters that have drawn from their experience of multiculturalism include Ayub Khan-Din and Hanif Kureishi's semi-autobiographies, focusing on the tension between tradition and modernity in mixed marriages within multicultural society. Khan-Din's original play and the adapted screenplay for *East is East* approached how a Pakistan father and his Irish wife brought up seven children utilizing a comedy drama. The film portrayed the traditional bound father's attempt to shape his children with South Asian values while the children rejected Pakistani customs of dress, food, religion, and living. Similarly, Kureishi's novel *The Buddha of Suburbia* and the adapted TV series explored the cultural identity of a 17 years old South Asian young man, struggling for his cultural identity in a London suburb. Kureishi's other notable comedy drama *My Beautiful Laundrette* built on the identity of a South Asian young man but explored his unorthodox relationship with his English partner. The work of these screenwriters has a spillover effect that further reinforced the new British South Asian film genre. Gurinder Chada, was brought up in London and was inspired by Kureishi's work while studying at university. Chada explored multiculturalism in the comedy drama *Bhaji on the Beach* (1993), which described the experiences of a group of Asian women from three generations spending a day together in Blackpool. Chada highlighted the film as a synergy of Indian and British cultures that combined tradition and modernity. Her latter work *Bend it like Beckham* also drew from multicultural inspiration and revolved around how the young British Indian girl Jess from a strict family was attracted to one the most popular sports in the UK, football. The comedy showed how Jess used elaborate excuses to hide her new leisure activity in order to please her parents, and reflected the



spirit of the new generation growing up in England. The controversial Gurpreet Kaur Bhatti, whose work in 2004 described the sexual violence within the setting of a religious institution, has engaged in other writings for theatre, television and film with South Asian focus. Bhatti was born and educated in Watford and benefitted from theatrical training at an early age – she joined the youth theatre group of the Watford Palace Theatre’s youth theatre group at the age of nine years old. Indeed, the tradition of performing arts is strongly entrenched in the British cultures, where numerous grass root professional groups offer training to young children in cities, towns and villages. Bhatti gained her degree in Bristol. Her understanding of the Sikh culture was illustrated in a letter to the public where she wrote: ‘The Sikh heritage is one of valour and victory over adversity. Our ancestors were warriors with the finest minds who championed principles of equality and selflessness. I am proud to come from this remarkable people.’ [19]. Bhatti produced a controversial work that led to a riot outside a Birmingham theatre in 2004 but she defended her imaginative work as it stood up for freedom of speech.

Multiculturalism in the form of cultural capital also provides English screenwriters competitive advantages when creating new South Asian focus screenplays. The earlier Table 3 shows recent screenplay writers that have contributed towards British South Asian films; they are experienced professionals that have established themselves in other genres prior to entering the relatively new genre of British South Asian films. They skilfully combine their transferrable screenwriting talents with the cultural advantages accumulated in multicultural towns and cities populated by South Asians (e.g. London, Salford, Keighley and Blackburn) and provide an outsider perspective touching on topics such as inequality, terrorism, immigration and aging. The screenplay writer of *Slumdog Millionaire* Beaufoy, who grew up in Keighley, described the town as a source of inspiration to his work. Prior to *Slumdog Millionaire*, Beaufoy wrote *Yasmin*; *Yasmin* revolved around the event of September 11 and described a young Pakistani woman in Keighley who campaigned for the release of her husband detained as a suspected terrorist. Beaufoy explained the role of multiculturalism as: ‘That sense of cultures coming together in a really unlikely place, because really, it’s kind of bizarre that a place like Keighley or Bradford should have such a large Indian and Pakistani population, because it’s so inhospitable to the Indian temperament, it’s cold, it’s rainy, it’s overcast, so it’s always interested me how these worlds have come together and how they cope together’ [20]. Beaufoy watched Bollywood films on the television occasionally when he was a child and travelled to India at eighteen. He found his first visit to India both alone and frightened, but also strangely familiar due to his early exposure to the Indian culture.

The London based Cambridge graduate Robert Buckler who adapted Abdullah Hussein’s novel *The Journey Back* for the film *Brothers in Trouble*, wanted to show the relevance of a plot that looked at the plight of illegal immigrants in British cities during the 1960s. *Brothers in Trouble* described the loneliness and self-imprisoned existence of Pakistani illegal migrants sharing a neglected Victorian house and how the arrival of an Irish, female outsider changed their lives by providing a glimpse of a new culture, but also leading to associated tension and conflict. Buckler had previously directed the film *Pressure* in 1976, which explored the inter-generational tensions among West India immigrants in London. The director of *Pressure* Horace Ové recalled Buckler’s understanding of the issue: ‘The white producer Robert Buckler wanted to make a film that depicted the very new London of that time that suddenly had this new West Indian population. Nobody was interested or saw the relevance, and then he met me and I was just as passionate as him about depicting the subject and the struggle that the black people were facing at that time. But also the poor, working class British person as well, how they were living’ [21]. Ol Parker, who also graduated from Cambridge and based in London, is the screenwriter for the teenage drama *Now is Good* (2012) and the comedy *Imagine Me and You* (2006). Parker adapted Deborah Moggach’s novel *Those Foolish Things* successfully to create the global hit *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (2011). Parker’s adaptation was loosely based on Maggoch’s novel that tackled the issues of ageing in England. The script covered how the owner of Marigold Hotel in Bangalore marketed the luxury hotel as an option for retirement, explaining how seven retirees make their decisions and the extent they settled down in the new environment. Being brought up in London,

Parker had a flexible mindset but admitted the challenges to produce a film in India due to problems with locations. Abi Morgan, who succeeded her Australian predecessor Laura Jones to adapt Monica Ali's most acclaimed work *Brick Lane*, also acquired considerable ethnic cultural capital in London. It was reported that the Director Sarah Gavron hired Abi Morgan on the basis that Morgan 'lived near the real Brick Lane, knew the place rather well, and had a penchant for doing heavy research'; Gavron's aim was to 'bring to life the particularities of that world' by working closely with members of the Bangladeshi Islamic community [22]. Morgan revisited the South Asia theme with the short film *White Girl* in 2008, which confronted the stereotype of Islam within the UK.

The screenwriter of *Bride and Prejudice* Michael Winterbottom is a prolific film director, and is associated with two British South Asian films concerning illegal migration, kidnapping and terrorism. His experience of multiculturalism in his home city Blackburn and then in London where he works provided him with cultural capital, enabling him to understand and adapt smoothly across foreign locations. He demonstrated his ability to work in South Asia extensively and with real people as a Director in the documentary style drama *In this World*. The film was shot in difficult settings including Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. Winterbottom also skilfully used locals to play fictionalised versions of themselves in order to add to the drama's authenticity. It should be noted that cultural capital intermingles with social capital and allows screenwriters to tap into the advantages of multiculturalism during the process of creative writing. Peter Kominsky's *Britz* revolved around how individuals were pushed into radical actions by a mix of ideology and emotions; he utilized a team of second generation British Muslims led by Ali Nausahi in Bradford, to undertake in-depth research among young Muslims, providing the background information for the film [23]. He drew from the research and incorporated scenes with anecdotes and expressed the sense of Islamic identity that connects Muslims globally in *Britz*; *Britz* also contained a recurrent political theme in his work – 'that we are all complicit in injustice if we do nothing to hold our elected representatives and institutions account' [24].

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

Researchers have looked at the social impact of South Asian films; however, the economic impact of British South Asian films have been neglected. This paper shows how multiculturalism can serve as a vehicle to generate competitive advantages in this new industry. It makes advances in applying multiculturalism as a source of cultural based country specific advantage. It illustrates the accumulation of resources within the industry in recent decades, and elaborates the impact of multiculturalism upon the second generation British South Asian screenwriters as well as that their English counterparts. The previous sections have illustrated the competitiveness of a new genre of British films grown out of a culturally diverse UK society in the Post-Second World War era, deriving from the cultural capital of the majority and minority groups. We have highlighted the distinctive advantages that have contributed towards the global success of the British South Asian film sector propelled by second generation South Asian screenwriters producing original work revolving around personal experience of multiculturalism. We have also depicted the catching up of established English middle class screenwriters who have widened their perspectives with the endowment of ethnic cultural capital accumulated in multicultural towns and cities. We have further discussed the resource base as a consequence of these screenwriters' ability to tap into the social capital embedded in multicultural towns and cities, while conceiving new ideas for their scripts. Overall, British South Asian screenwriters such as Hanif Kureishi globalized indigenous films concerning the South Asian experience of multiculturalism, covering their identity and sense of belonging. The experienced English screenwriters such as Simon Beaufoy and Ol Parker built on their work and reputation and created global blockbusters *Slumdog Millionaire* and *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*, adopting the formula of South Asia focus, cost minimization, exploring the aspect of globalization. However, English screenwriters have looked at South Asian films from a slightly different perspective, covering realistic issues that touch on the lives of people in challenging circumstances including poverty and

aging. These are often excluded in comedy and satire drama. The top-down policy of multiculturalism has enabled the diffusion of everyday multiculturalism, which has become an entrenched part of life in major cities and towns including London, Birmingham, Oxford, Cambridge and Reading. It will be interesting to observe the future impact of multiculturalism upon the emerging South Asian screenwriters, with different experiences than their predecessors, and therefore lead the genre towards a new direction with novel ideas.

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