SUDARSHANA SEN

ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN IN TRANSITION

Pride, Prejudice and Predicament

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This book is dedicated to Ms. Debolina Sen, my sister, who saw immense potential in her elder sister even when she was young.
Thank you for keeping faith in her.

Acknowledgements

This book is based on research conducted among the women of the Anglo-Indian community in 2008–2009. This research was carried out among 100 Anglo-Indians living in Kolkata during the period, 90 of whom were women. Ethnographic research methods with a survey on the lives, motivations, interests, reliance and resistances were used to decipher (understand) the living conditions of Anglo-Indian women in the city. Much has been said about their problems, but this book will showcase their advantages as well. The living conditions in the city and the opportunities and motivations of those living in Kolkata have changed over time. The community and its women were at one point a significant segment of society. But now the community has evolved into a minority both in number and influence. This does not indicate that dominance is dependent on numbers. Rather, it implies that dominance of one community over another has changed with numbers and with years. The social life of the community has changed—the community no longer finds itself in the eminent social circles it inhabited in past years—and so has the social life for the other communities—notably the Bengali community living in Kolkata. Looking at the community in perspective, the change is visible only through the relative positioning of the Anglo-Indian community vis-à-vis the other community that has been evolving in the background.

If we can consider the terms to be analytically separate, modernity has replaced Westernism in India. The Anglo-Indian community, more Western in its habit and customs now faces a modern Bengali

community. The modernity of the Bengali community has also transformed its members, who take a stable, static view of the Western influence. The Anglo-Indian in contrast has been stuck in its depiction of Western custom. The Bengalis have also not just transformed to the modern mode. They have also picked up Western habits and customs, after trying throughout its colonial past to juxtapose both the traditional with the modern, and the Western with the Eastern. The Western habits and customs of the Anglo-Indian are no longer in sharp contrast to the social habits and customs of other Indian communities (in this case Bengali) in Kolkata as was true in the colonial period. This may be the reason why the community is less visible. The 'Western' has transformed into the 'modern'. This also indicates Anglo-Indians' lack of control over means, resources and opportunities, which again is a signifier of their diminishing dominance in society. This book examines these transformations, where Anglo-Indian women are the lens through which we look at the overall community.

My earliest experience of seeing this community was through the Anglo-Indian woman teachers I met at school. I have fond memories of my teachers, who wore dresses and spoke English at home, in contrast to other teachers at the school. After I grew up, I seldom found them in the vicinity because most of them were trying to immigrate to other countries. I remember my teacher Miss Catherine (we did not mention surnames while addressing our teachers, so we never knew her surname) and Miss Victoria (lovingly called Miss Vicky by her students), a very loving women, who had settled in Australia by the time I grew up. This work was interesting to me because of this personal connection I had with the community and its women. I am indebted to all the Anglo-Indian women I met, both in my childhood and during my research.

My special thanks go to my teacher Mrs. Una Jones, who was very skeptical about the kind of research I wanted to do when I first met her. She did not insist that I do this work with interest because she said she knew what mettle Anglo-Indians had! I take this opportunity to thank you, Mrs. Jones, for instilling in me an anxiety about the people I was to face. I loved them as I loved you.

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2016

Sudarshana Sen

Contents

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The area in Indian history this book examines remained unexplored in India itself for many years: this history of a mixed community—the Anglo-Indians—is of course located in the broader history of India. Beginning when the Portuguese invaded the country, the 'India' we speak of here has also changed. The historical, sociological and feminist inspiration for writing about the Anglo-Indian community and its women grew to encompass an interdisciplinary space, where two very important aspects of the community struck me. One was the identity problem of the community and the politics within it; the other was the diaspora that took place among its members and the interaction between the communities here in Kolkata, India, and the wider community dispersed over a larger geographical area. My interest in writing this book was born out of desire to examine the patriarchal burden of the question of identity that Anglo-Indian women bear. Before we can begin to explore this issue, we must first further explore the definition and the politics of identity within the definition. This question cannot be understood in isolation, and therefore a relation has to be drawn between the lives of Anglo-Indian women and the social and historical context in which they were born and live now.

One of the important legacies of India's colonial past was the emergence of a community of mixed racial heritage—the Anglo-Indians. They still survive as one of the racial-linguistic minority communities of India, with two nominated representatives in Parliament and one in the State Legislature. Though called different names with varying connotations,

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this community received political recognition as a minority in independent India. Its 'native' status was confirmed in 1911 during the British rule along with its name: 'Anglo-Indian'.

Historically, the community has not remained unchanged and homogenous—far from it, it has changed over time during India's colonial rule and the nationalist movement; and it is still undergoing changes after 60 years of independence. The community emerged as a minority not only numerically but also in terms of its experience of subjugation as well as in its response to the political, cultural and psychosocial patterns of change. The significance of studying this community comes not merely from the fact that it is still recognized by its racially mixed heritage; Anglo-Indians perhaps constitute one of the very few groups of people that have survived in India as an identifiable culture with English as their mother tongue and Christianity as their religion. No other community with mixed racial heritage has survived so long with such distinctiveness as the Anglo-Indian community in India.

Who is an Anglo-Indian?

The Anglo-Indians are 'one of the six politically recognized minorities of India'.[1] They were brought into existence, 'sometimes reluctantly'[2] and 'sometimes deliberately',[3] by various European nationals who were competing to dominate India economically and politically beginning in 1498. The development of a distinct community identity surely took many years; however, once forged, this distinct identity of being an Anglo-Indian congealed and persisted. This process was further aided by the frequently partisan attitude of the colonial administration towards the community. As Gist and Wright (1973) point out, the Anglo-Indian community was forced by such a hostile administrative attitude to form themselves into a cohesive unit through the foundation of organizations and the creation of a generally self-sustaining community. Once this sense of community emerged, it never ceased to exist.

The Anglo-Indian community rapidly grew in numbers, wealth and power in the early nineteenth century. Educated in private schools, articulate in English and the ways and customs of the English, Anglo-Indians became indispensable to the Company's service. Anglo-Indian men also helped *martially* to build up the British colony in India, as they served loyally and efficiently in the Company's army. The community was appreciated and often rewarded for their efforts but such prestige

was fickle, as it depended on the varying decisions the Company took from time to time regarding the status of the community. Accordingly, we find that the Anglo-Indian community went through various phases of development. These phases can be divided broadly into three periods: the emergence and early evolution of the community, its sustenance and growth as a community throughout the period of British rule and its resilience in post-1947 India. The status of the community in British India was different from what it became in post-independence India. Moreover, in the latter part of the period of British rule in India, the community suffered its greatest shock—the British forced the status of being 'the natives of India' upon the community. This was crucial change for the members of the community, for they felt threatened by this newly acquired status; this was the first time in history that they were set at par with all other Indians, which effectively meant that they were no longer to enjoy any special advantage. They were left in the lurch, so to speak, by the administration and would have to fend for themselves in the unpredictable future of independent India.

The generation that had British education and had identified with British social and cultural norms were considered more British in their ways than the British themselves. The administrative decision to impose 'native' status disorientated this group the most. They were anxious for their children's future in India—what kind of education, privileges and opportunities would they receive as Anglo-Indians? Many wanted to leave India. The upper stratum of the community, who could afford to do so, did not hesitate. As a result, the community experienced a massive exodus. The families which had to stay on tried to unite among themselves to fight against unemployment and the historically bred misconceptions about the community in the minds of others. They tried to organize themselves as a community on the basis of a different agenda: that is, the elimination of educational backwardness and other factors that had kept them stratified. As a result, the 'All India Anglo-Indian Association' and other charitable organizations sprang up and have been working ever since for the improvement of the community.

The people who stayed back faced a 'new' India. They realized that education was the key to better life in the new order. Consequently, a great deal of importance was placed on the education of the younger generation. But the schools these children were to attend were run by missionaries or by other Anglo-Indians. They learned to sing the Indian national anthem instead of the national anthem of the United Kingdom,

as had been their custom earlier. Nevertheless, the Anglo-Indian family remained substantially moored to British socio-cultural norms when it came to the upbringing and general socialization of their children. This created a gap between what was formally learned at school and what was learned at home as Anglo-Indians. Though some Anglo-Indian schools continued to train their students in ways considered British, many no longer did so. At home, the Anglo-Indian children learned practices and customs from the previous generation: what it meant to be an 'Anglo-Indian'. It was common in an Anglo-Indian home for some elders to find it pitiful that a sister had olive skin while her brother had a fair complexion. Thus skin colour became a major social concern, and the generation that brought up in independent India became extremely conscious of their non-white complexion. They started to use such terms as 'blacks' or 'niggers'[4] to describe themselves. These words had been used earlier by the British to describe Indians. When used in self-description, they became a means of articulating a separate identity. The community had assiduously nurtured some identifiable characteristics throughout the British rule—English as mother-tongue, a community-targeted educational system, a cultural tradition putatively akin to the 'Western' mode of life, and religious affiliation to Christianity. After independence, many institutional means were no longer readily available to sustain and promote these characteristics except for the family unit. Therefore, the community turned to the family for the informal dissemination of values which, when inculcated, could reproduce and perpetuate Anglo-Indian 'identity'. The process is evident in such dinner-table expressions as 'Britishers we are, and Britishers we must and ever shall be'.[5]

The Anglo-Indians born before independence could not come to terms with the remoteness they faced vis-à-vis other Indian communities, especially the Indian Christians and, in cases of intermarriage, with Hindus and Muslims. V.S.R. Gaikwad's study marshals evidence to suggest 'socialization of the coming generation can certainly be given a new trend where the age old walls of prejudice could be broken'.[6] Gaikwad has further shown that if cultural integration on the part of the Anglo-Indians has been slow, the burden of responsibility falls equally on the Indian population at large.[7] The other Indian communities had also built an impenetrable wall of prejudice and rejection around the Anglo-Indians, coining such pejorative labels as the 'Anglos'. So the two generations—one born before independence and the other born afterward—were socialized in an Anglo-Indian culture in which their

coloured skin was a matter of concern and their connection with a male European progenitor was important, where to know and understand European ways of life determined their status and, above all, where being an Anglo-Indian mattered most. Similarly, knowledge about India was confined to books read in school and knowledge of other cultures and languages was not important but was thought to be functionally helpful to survive in India. It was deemed important to remain strictly confined within the boundary of one's own culture and tradition because any transgression might involve being subject to discrimination. Such fears of ethnic and racial prejudice and discrimination kept them within the boundary of 'we'; the domain of 'them' was consciously separated out from that of 'us'.

Instability and insecurity had always been part of the history of the Anglo-Indian community. It is perhaps the reason why the upper stratum of the community had frequently tried to 'pass off' as Europeans and, when that was no longer an advantage, fled the country. Economically, the rest of the community was never well off. In service, they had occupied subordinate posts for years. Educationally, too, they were backward. In Anglo-Indian schools, the emphasis was on English. A sizeable number of Anglo-Indians still cannot speak confidently in Hindi or Bengali. They all go to Anglo-Indian schools and it may be further mentioned that, generally, they take reluctantly to education at schools. The community prefers such schools not only because they offer reservation for Anglo-Indians but also because English is the first language in such schools. Many do not pursue higher studies primarily due to economic factors; however, it is also true that their lack of confidence in the vernacular often renders them incapable of passing examinations at the higher levels of schooling.

The Anglo-Indians perhaps adopted a 'Western' style of life not only to distinguish themselves from larger minorities in India like the Muslims, the Parsees and the Indian Christians but also to distance themselves from such minority groups. In contrast to other minorities such as the Indian Christians and the Parsees, the Anglo-Indians could never merge with the majority. It may be speculated that one of the reasons for this is because Indian Christians, for example, are considered Indians with a different religion. And the Parsees make up a community which has contributed significantly to Indian commerce and industry—the Tatas being just one example. In the case of the Anglo-Indians, there is no such perception of longstanding contribution, though many

members of the majority community prefer to admit their children to schools run by Anglo-Indians. Further, as the Anglo-Indians had always sided with the British administration during the colonial rule and in the years of the nationalist struggles, their community was virtually overlooked by other Indian communities after India gained independence. Moreover, the Anglo-Indian community is for all practical purposes absent in the wider social and cultural life of India. They have so zealously guarded their social and cultural particularities that they have never come to be considered a part of mainstream life of the nation. This has contributed to their unique predicament.

The Anglo-Indian community of India has survived over a long period of time with its marginal identity and ethnic minority status. This will be clear if we study its birth as a community. The community is recognized as a part of the multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-religious and plural Indian identity as established by the Constitution. The Article 366 (2) defines Anglo-Indians as those—

(a) Whose mother tongue is English.
(b) Whose father or any of whose male progenitors was of European descent.
(c) Who is domiciled within the territory of India and was born within such territory of a parent who is/was permanently resident therein as defined in Part II of the Constitution of India or any other amendment thereto [Citizenship Act No.: LV11 of 1955].

This definition excludes—

(a) Children of Anglo-Indian women who have married outside the community.
(b) Children of Anglo-Indian parents who have emigrated permanently from India.
(c) Children born to parents where the only the mother or anyone from the mother's line is or was a European.

Social recognition as Anglo-Indian is bestowed on the basis of the official definition of who an Anglo-Indian is. The Anglo-Indians themselves lay great stress on such markers of this identity as English language, British kinship pattern, romantic marriage and endogamy. A review of literature on the Anglo-Indian community corroborates this. Gist and Wright

pointed to Christianity, a Western lifestyle and English as a mother tongue as important markers of Anglo-Indian identity; their marginal position in society was emphasized by Gaikwad. He emphasized their strong preference for their mentors, the British, and their socio-cultural and political identification with them along with the predictable problem of adjustment they experienced in India after the British left. Jyoti Sen (1983) and Frank Anthony emphasize endogamy and love-marriages, and Kuntala Lahiri Dutt (1990) points out that the Anglo-Indian community has been traditionally urban. The first stream of writings deals with Anglo-Indians in a narrative style. This phase is represented by the writings of Stark and Madge and W.H. Wood; several articles in the *Calcutta Review* and many other articles published before the 1920s focus on self-consciousness and group organization among members of the community.[8] After the Montague–Chelmsford reform in 1920 there was a profusion of writing on the Anglo-Indian community concerned with Indianization and the community's uncertain future by H.A. Stark, C. Dover, H.E. Busteed, K. Wallace, D. Kincaid and many others.[9] The second phase of writings on the community was not authored by Anglo-Indians alone. Besides works by F. Anthony and A.A. D'Souza, many other analytical articles and monographs were published, for example, by R.D. Wright, C. Hawes, J. Sen, J. Banerjee, Eric Stracey, A. Sealy, I. Sen, R.K. Renford, N.P. Gist and A.G. Dworkin, K. Lahiri-Dutt, Dolores Chew and many others.[10]

It should be mentioned that in India the British were never a homogeneous group. There were class divisions among them. The British elite 'despised and spurned their own poor in some instances treating them as a separate race'.[11] Formal and informal distinctions were drawn between official and non-official British in India who came to seek employment.[12] Again the non-domiciled Europeans, who were to stay in India for a period of time, were demarcated from the domiciled Europeans. The Anglo-Indians were seen mostly falling in the latter category or lumped together with them to form a unified domiciled community separating itself from the native Indians.[13] Anglo-Indian leaders and British census commissioners have acknowledged that there were attempts to create definite and exclusive social categories for Anglo-Indian and domiciled Europeans, but there have been experiences of infiltrations where the Anglo-Indian community have tried to declare themselves as Europeans. There were infiltrations not only in the boundary between European and Anglo-Indian; the boundary between Anglo-Indian and the native

Indian population was porous as well, separating each category. The Anglo-Indian intermediate population, however, were marginal to both the significantly large/dominant populations.[14] Therefore the Anglo-Indian community assumed the cultures of both communities, using one when interacting with the British to secure some advantages and another when interacting with the native population after independence to showcase its Indian connection.

Birth of the Community of Mixed Racial Heritage

The first occasion of a mixed racial community in India may be traced back to the Portuguese colonial enterprise, which was followed by other European colonial enterprises such as the Dutch, the French and, most importantly, the English. Vasco Da Gama set foot in India in 1498, and it was at his initiative that a community of mixed racial heritage was started. Alfonso de Albuquerque, the second governor (1509–1515) of the Portuguese possessions in India, encouraged Portuguese men to marry Indian women from 1510.[15] These intermarriages sometimes involved high-ranking women of Indian origin. Such marriages were encouraged because they helped the Portuguese to learn more of the customs, habits and languages of the indigenous populace, which in turn helped them in trade and in establishing contacts with the population. Before such marriages took place, the girls were baptized to ensure the numerical strength of the Christian population. It also meant a greater number of people who favoured Portuguese rule. Moreover, if a greater number of indigenous women married Portuguese men, it meant that larger swathes of land would come under the control of the Portuguese administration.[16] So such intermarriages helped in strengthening Portuguese rule in India.

To encourage such unions, the governor himself presided over the marriage ceremonies and gifted land, houses and cattle. The offspring of such unions were called Luso-Indians. The responsibility for such marriages and the offspring thereof fell upon the Portuguese. But with the advent of the Dutch in 1662, the Portuguese empire collapsed, whereupon the Dutch took over responsibility for the Luso-Indians. With the rise of the English East India Company, the Dutch were eclipsed and forced to sign a deed whereby the British took over the responsibility of looking after the Luso-Indians.[17] As British women were not allowed to participate in the colonial venture and travel abroad, British soldiers

and officials were cut off from their society. As a result, they married the Luso-Indians or women of Portuguese descent. Thus the Indo-Portuguese-British community emerged.

Though at first the British accepted responsibility for the members of the mixed race now called the Eurasians, later on they tried to shrug off the responsibility and simply pose as friends and colleagues. In 1687, the Court of Directors wrote to their officials in Madras that marriages of British soldiers to native women was a 'matter of consequence to posterity' and that it should be encouraged by paying a pagoda to the mother of every child born out of such a union. With the expansion of the British Empire, more and more British men came to India as the army expanded in size. By then, albeit it had occurred slowly, the community of mixed race created through intermarriage had greatly swelled in number. Outnumbered, the British community began to perceive a threat in the 'numerical superiority' of the Eurasians.[18] The officials in the Company's administration started to resent the idea of marital union between a European man and an Indian woman and the offspring born thereof. They were not only officially described as exhibiting a 'lack of enterprise, ability and energy', but on the social plane, too, they were referred to as 'half-castes', 'Indo-British', or 'Eurasian' and not allowed to mix freely with British officers. A common saying circulated in the British circles: The Eurasians shared the vices of both races.[19]

However, the British attitude towards the 'mixed race' was fractured along class lines. The ordinary soldiers were poor and could not easily eke out the money required to enter into a marriage contract with a British woman, so they turned to Eurasian or Indian women for wives. The officers and other high-ranking British men were convinced that these men lacked the moral strength to overcome physical demands and maintain sexual integrity.[20] The official elite also avoided native connections, believing that 'rulers should be aloof from the people and so trusted as beyond corruption and feared as remote from the ways of common man. The prestige of the ruling race became to a matter of serious concern …. In both cases the fundamental concern was to preserve the structure of power.'[21]

Despised by the British, sometimes officially and sometimes socially, the mixed-race community did not, however, gravitate towards the indigenous Indians. They took to the ways and manners of their British fathers, although their mothers were Indian, either Hindu, Muslim or Luso-Indians. Sometimes their marked preference and bias for their

European fathers' way of life resulted in certain advantages in the form of English education, employment and recognition in society and so they continued to benefit from the feeling of being closer to the British than to the Indians.

As has been suggested, the community did not have an exclusively Hindu maternal connection with India. It was mixed in the true sense of the term, including Hindus, Muslims and the Luso-Indians. Similarly, there was not a strictly British paternal connection either. There were French, German, British, Portuguese, Dutch and Armenian connections on the paternal side. So great was the blend that an 'Anglo-Indian' could be mistaken as 'Franco-Indian'.[22] Over the years these variegated connections intertwined to form a heterogeneous but English-speaking culture rooted in Christianity and cherishing the values, beliefs and morals of European society. A Report of the Select Committee on East Indian Affairs appointed by the Parliament in 1831–1832[23] pointed out that the greater part of the Anglo-Indian maternal connection consisted of Muslims from respectable families. The greater number of Muslim mistresses was perhaps due to the fact that at that time Muslims mixed relatively freely, at least socially, with Europeans. It was a common understanding that if a Hindu became a mistress to a European, she would lose her caste and the assistance of her relatives. If their father died prematurely, her children would not be considered a part of the Hindu community. So, in most cases, if the wife was a Hindu, she had either come from the lower castes or had been rescued from the funeral pyre of her dead husband. But it was certain that if marriage took place, the girl would be baptized. This following excerpt substantiates the argument.

> Irregular unions with Indian women were accepted as inevitable in the eighteenth-century Bengal, as Williamson or Kaye makes very clear…the position of the children of Indian mistresses occupied an equally anomalous and uncertain position. They were usually brought up by their fathers like the children of legitimate European marriages. They followed their fathers in religion, dress habits, customs and language and were sent to England for education…[24]

The anthropometric measurement of Anglo-Indians of Calcutta during 1916–1919, taken by Dr. Nelson Annandale and published by

Professor P.C. Mahalanobis, led to the conclusion that the elements of British blood were predominant among Anglo-Indians, with traces of other European mixtures. So, in colour they varied from black to shades of brown and yellow, to pale white and even rosy.[25] Moreover, they possessed broad shoulders, hips and hands; greater chest girth and wider foreheads; and they were more muscular than the average Indian. Whatever the value of such assertions, awareness of a physical difference informed the consciousness of the Anglo-Indian community, who considered themselves as separate and distinct, racially, from other Indians, and fed into their social habits and the life of the community.[26] The Anglo-Indians clung persistently to the British rulers as more akin to them even though the British hardly recognized them as one of their own.

> …the British hardly considered them bona fide Europeans. The psychological and social need for a clear identity presaged the gradual development of an ethnocentric outlook making possible a sense of belonging… They survive as a self-sustaining minority within the larger Indian community through a complex network of social organizations created long ago.[27]

In 1911, the term *Anglo-Indian* was officially recognized by the government describing persons of mixed descent. By the Franchise Rules of the India Act of 1935, an Anglo-Indian was defined as 'A person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is/was of European descent, but who is a native of India'.[28] A native of India meant a person who was born or domiciled in India of parents primarily resident of India. In 1949, the Constitution of India accepted the same definition in Article 366(2). The Government of India Act guaranteed Anglo-Indians the social protection of education and employment in public services along with other constitutional safeguards. The India Independence Act of 1947 provided a basic political guarantee, making the community one of the six politically recognized minorities in India. When the Indian Constitution came into effect in 1950, the community enjoyed guarantees in the area of education, appointment in certain services and political representation through nomination in both central and state legislation. However, educational and employment grants were reduced gradually over a period of 10 years and finally lapsed entirely after 1960.

Evolution of the Anglo-Indian Community Under Colonial Rule

The community that started with Luso-Indians gradually assumed a dual heritage and changed over to a community called 'Eurasians', 'half-castes' and, later on, to 'Anglo-Indians'. The Regulating Act of 1773 helped in changing not only the nomenclature for the community but also their status in India. After the act, Eurasians were no longer considered British subjects but 'natives of India'. Over the period spanning 1600–1773, many Eurasians had either emigrated from South Asia, or merged into the European or the Indian communities. However, some remained as Eurasians. This remainder, which did not integrate into other communities or emigrate, continued to maintain their exclusivity as 'Anglo-Indians'.[29] So the year 1773 can be identified as a landmark of socio-political recognition of mixed or dual heritage in India. Before the Regulating Act of 1773, people of mixed provenance were not considered British subjects but were identified as one of them. This was the first official discrimination against the community. It resulted in a series of prudent acts taken by the community, as they feared for the continuity of the community and its distinct identity in India. The period which witnessed the thrust of this initiative was between 1773 and 1833.

Shaping of a Community: 1773–1833

From 1773 onward, the legal status of Eurasians was the same as that of any Indian. There was no ambiguity, since Eurasians were like all other communities—that is to say, British subjects. However, their lived experience suggested that, when in Britain, they were accepted as British but while in India they were only considered 'natives of India'. In reality, the Eurasians had fallen prey to a new rationality that sought to establish British rule in India in terms of the absolute purity and superiority of the rulers. The idea of openly owning up to parenthood and accepting the responsibility for the Eurasian population struck the British as repugnant. The following bears testimony to this fact:

> Parental responsibility and considerations of Eurasian utility were in tension with concerns over Eurasian reliability and damage that full acceptance might do to perceptions of white prestige in the eyes of subject populations.[30]

The fear of this Eurasian threat to 'perceptions of white prestige' gripped the British psyche so strongly that the British started discriminating against Eurasians, ironically, for their links with British society and culture. The situation was further aggravated by the news of the successful indigenous revolt in Haiti at the end of the eighteenth century which brought French colonialism into crisis.[31] As in Haiti, in India too a large number of Eurasians served in the British Indian Army. Therefore, the administration not only wanted to maintain firm control over this mixed race but was also concerned about their growing numbers and influence. It was thought that the Eurasians could damage the interests of the English East India Company. Besides, the community was receiving increasing support from the evangelical missionaries who started to come to India beginning in 1790s.[32] The schools that were set up by these missionaries taught reading, writing in English, along with arithmetic and elementary principles of Christianity, so that Eurasian children were 'not left to the destroying influence of ignorance, beggary and idleness'.[33] In the second half of nineteenth century, the gap between the races had widened, and the only group of missionaries who could establish contact with the 'natives' were white women. They entered the *purdah* freely and visited 'native' women from upper-class and caste households in their homes. Their greatest advantage was that they could speak the local language fluently.[34]

To protect its interests, the East India Company took certain legal steps to restrict the activities, influence and extent of property ownership of the Eurasian community. At this time, the Eurasians were not an organized group. But, all the same, it was thought that they posed a possible threat, a potent challenge to Company rule.[35] Consequently, instances of discrimination at an individual level started to surface. Eurasian males were rarely allowed to marry British women. If they dared, they were ostracized by British society. On the other hand, British women too were looked down upon and socially avoided if they married a Eurasian. But if a Eurasian woman got married to a British man, she was recognized as British.[36] Such ambiguous attitudes placed the community in a state of confusion. On the one hand, every Anglo-Indian girl of marriageable age wanted to marry a British man, as this enhanced her position in society (as well as her father's). But ironically, on the other hand, the Anglo-Indian male could not marry a British woman of his choice—though it also enhanced his prestige—simply because the average British woman did not consider him to be a suitable match. The

possibility of enhanced social status and prestige compelled the Eurasian community to be strongly biased in favour of the British administrators and their socio-cultural ethos, although it should be mentioned that to a degree a discriminatory attitude vis-à-vis nubile Eurasian women was crystallizing as well. An obvious upshot of the Eurasian bias for the administrators was that it estranged the community from the non-Eurasian Indian communities, especially once the nationalist movements had gathered momentum. However, the relationship of the Eurasian community with the rest of the Indian population was not a matter of great importance to the former group until India became independent of British rule.

As a remedy to the problem faced by the British in relation to the Eurasian population, some major steps were taken by the colonial administration. The administration sought to curb and control the means of livelihood of the Eurasians, their education and their employment opportunities in the armed forces.[37] The Upper Orphanage School was founded in 1782, where the pupils were barred from proceeding to England to complete their education—a precondition for entering the Covenanted Civil Services. The Order of 1786 prohibited British military officers from moving to England to complete their education. The Order of 1791 stated, 'No person, the son of native Indian henceforth be appointed by the Court in employment in the civil and military forces of the Company'.[38]

The resolution of 1775 had already stated that persons who did not have European parents on both sides were disqualified from service in the army except as fifers, drummers, bandsmen and farriers. As a result, every father who could afford to send his children, legitimate or illegitimate, to England tried hard to do so as long as they themselves were alive, because, if they expired, their children were passed off to Upper Orphanage which outlawed them from moving to England. Those who could not do this withstood 'this wrong with bad grace'.[39] Every Eurasian resented that while any indigenous Indian child of any caste, whether legitimate or not, was free to go to 'England for education, sons of Englishmen were barred because of their Indian mothers'.[40] This was one of the reasons the Indian mothers of Anglo-Indian children received very little recognition. This was also the beginning of the discrimination faced by Eurasian women.

As the Order of 1791 prohibited Eurasians from seeking employment in the military and civil forces of the Company, unemployment

soon became a massive problem to the community. Before this, the community was fully dependent for employment and education on the Company. To avoid poverty, some took jobs in princely states—like those of the Sultan of Mysore, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, the Scindhias, the Holkars, and so on, while others became freelancers like Perron and George Thomas. Those who lacked these skills fell into destitution. Within 10 years, the Eurasians were reduced to a downtrodden community.[41]

The Act of 1791 was considered ungrateful by Eurasians because they had been previously called upon to fight for the Company in the First Maratha War (1775) and the Second Mysore War (1780). The community felt that the British reciprocated ungratefully and the community 'bled to realize that people who had for over a century freely shed their 'twin-stream blood' on many a battlefield to save the Company's honour and possession were stabbed from the back'.[42] In the years between 1802 and 1806, Viscount Valentia remained in the East. His indignation against the 'East-Indians' was so high that he labelled them, as an 'evil ought to be stopped'. He gave examples of Spanish America and San Domingo, where, 'with numbers in their favour, and close relationship with natives, the intermediate caste given the opportunity to rise, ruined the said empires'.[43] On the basis of this report, Anglo-Indians were discharged from all ranks of the British Army. For the community this was another flagrant betrayal. Thereafter, an impenetrable barrier of discrimination and prejudice was drawn around the community by the British.[44] Even so, some escaped by posing as Europeans; and the pressure on those who could not was tremendous. Their light-coloured skin and their English ways and customs were considered very important criteria for being able to pass as Europeans and were considered more important than ever before.

Social discrimination shattered the resolve of the community and it had its effect on the psyche and social condition of the community. Some examples cited by C. Hawes well illustrate the case. In 1793, the Eurasian and Indian widows of soldiers, even in cases of legal marriage, were excluded from the benefits of Lord Clive's Fund, whose aim was to support Company officers, soldiers and their wives after retirement. The benefit accrued only to those whose marriages were confirmed as 'fully European' and not involving any native of India (but local pressures led to some modifications to the rule later on). This prejudice was directed not merely against those with Indian mothers or 'non-European' skin

colour. S.C. Ghosh argues that it stemmed from a concern for the reputation of the British colonists in India. He also argues that the decreasing number of Eurasians visiting England created a feeling of inferiority among the Eurasians in India.[45] It was quite natural in these circumstances that exclusion of Anglo-Indians from the services added to their already waning social status and was perhaps the reason they were looked down upon by other Indians. Such discrimination on the part of the Indians was not because of the Eurasian's colour but because of the social origin of the Eurasian community.

The Anglo-Indians resented this situation and started to band together and act in unison as a cohesive community. They formally countered this rejection by organizing associations to look after the interests of their own community. It was quite natural that community sentiment pervaded every step that the Anglo-Indians took to organize themselves into different associations. In 1825, Anglo-Indian clubs began to spring up (such as the Calcutta Apprentice Society and the Marine School) that helped to bridge the gap between their reference group and the indigenous population.[46] It was thought that not only a strong community feeling but also a similarity of occupation, intermarriage and place of residence brought would bring the groups together with the indigenous Indians.[47] At the same time, able leadership provided a platform to fight against injustice and discrimination of a social and political nature. Prominent Anglo-Indians of this time were John Ricketts, Paul D'Mello, James Sutherland, James Kyd, R. Firth, Willoughby Da Costa, Alexander Imlach, William Kirkpatrick, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio and Charles Pote to name a few. Ricketts was outstanding among them in his single-mindedness and dedication. Born at a time when the Upper Orphanage was looked down upon and educated in the same institution, Ricketts espoused the cause against injustice and raised a concerned voice. In the 1820s and the 1830s, debating societies flourished to promote new initiatives and Eurasian interests. The Parental Academic Institution was formed in 1823 to provide higher education to the Eurasians. In 1830, Eurasians formally protested before the law to reconsider those orders of the Company that excluded Eurasians from covenanted posts. Ricketts journeyed to England to present a petition before the Parliament. This petition had three main concerns: education, employment and legal status. Although, it did not produce the desired effects, the higher officials were made aware of the community because—

> [t]hey knew that they were responsible for the origin of it and that the members of this community looked towards them for help and guidance.[48]

As a result, in 1833, the Charter of the East India Company was renewed and according to Section 87, all posts were thrown open to people of any race in India. By this time, a community had emerged which was formed around a common sentiment of togetherness and fellow-feeling, propelled by the belief that the Eurasians could fight for their rights even against the British.

Consolidation of Native Status: 1833–1920

The Act of 1833 stated that there would be no bar regarding religion, birth or colour for employment in the Company. Ironically, while this provision opened up the services to the Eurasians, it also brought them face to face with stiff competition from the Indian middle classes—Hindus, Muslims and others—which were not only growing in number but also in influence and education as well as acquiring new political ambitions. Moreover, when in 1834, the Law Commission started its work to help establish a system of law and judicature, the Company advised that it should listen to suggestions from interested bodies or individuals, excepting those who had petitioned to the Houses of Parliament. It seems that those born to unmarried Indian mothers and British fathers were always adjudged to be 'natives of India'. The occupations in which most Eurasians were engaged till the 1850s were not dissimilar to what they had been doing before the Act of 1833.

Successful Eurasians moving up and serving at the upper levels of unconvenanted posts in the 1840s were relatively scarce. The Company's policy, far from favouring Eurasians, discriminated against them. In the early days, the overwhelming majority of appointments in unconvenanted posts were of non-Eurasian Indians.[49] In the Company's Dispatch of 1834, it was suggested that natives of full blood were in the need of greater opportunities in education to enable them to compete more successfully than men of mixed blood, 'who were becoming numerous.' The discrimination against the Eurasian community appeared to have been premeditated. Faced with such a situation, the Eurasian community attempted to come to terms with an increasingly tight employment market and economic distress. Although some families of this community were economically more stable than had been earlier,

there were quite a number of Eurasian families who barely managed to maintain a middle class status.

Gradually, in their arduous effort to eke out a living in a climate of gathering discrimination, the Eurasian community realized that education was the key to the revival of their lost status. The community focused on general and technical education to fit themselves into newer career opportunities. Determined not to be annihilated by the administration, the community fought back: it founded charity schools, orphanages and residential schools on the model of British Public Schools.[50] As they were the pillars of the Christian population in India, the Eurasians sought help from Christian missionaries of all denominations.[51] Between 1845 and 1851, the railways and the telegraph were introduced, which ushered in new opportunities for employment. At this time, few Indians had either the knowledge or the aptitude for such work.[52] In comparison to Indians, Anglo-Indians were better able to find jobs in provincial and subordinate services:

> …the community which had served the fatherland so well degenerated into a community of clerks, railwaymen and telegraphists, forced to be content with employment in the subordinate grades of the Company's service.[53]

Thus, once again, the community started to win recognition for their work and proved itself useful to the British. The Anglo-Indians' socialization into British culture, taste, ethics and aesthetics proved to be of the greatest usefulness in such services. On their part, the British administrators found it politic and to their advantage not to let their Eurasian employees—versed as they were in the English language and Christian morality—to integrate with other Indian communities.

The Eurasians were brought up in ways sometimes negligent and disregardful of Indian heritage and culture. They were taught to see the world through English eyes and be loyal to the Company, which provided them with their daily bread.[54] Such an upbringing fostered a feeling of superiority among them which, in turn, led them to disregard all links to India.[55] They helped the British build the empire in India; and yet they were despised by them. At the same time, they faced discrimination from the indigenous Indians for their mixed racial origin—a loss–loss situation indeed! For being 'mixed' meant that they found favour neither with the rulers nor with the majority of the ruled. The

Anglo-Indians were anxious to win the approval of the British and, at that time, cared little for the approval of the Indians, in relation to whom they felt superior. Apprehensive of being socially and racially disinherited by the British administration, the community grabbed the opportunity to prove their merit and mettle at work in a last-ditch attempt to regain their lost identity of being British.

In 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny broke out. Predictably, the Anglo-Indians supported the British. In return, they were allowed to rejoin military services. The gallantry of the Anglo-Indians—such as that of Gen. John Bennett Hearsey, the Commissioner of Police of Bombay, Forjett, and Gen. Van Cortland Pearson's Battery from Agra—was motivated by 'the ties of blood' with the British. However, the pro-British position and activities of the Anglo-Indians outraged many mutineers and their supporters, who destroyed much Anglo-Indian property. The members of the community requested compensation for their loss of property but that was never sanctioned by the colonial administration. However, the British returned to their policy of providing employment for the community. Consequently, in the following few years the community prospered to some extent.

The Queen's Proclamation in 1858 proved not to be as rewarding as expected by the Anglo-Indians. The community was not singled out for their outstanding contribution because, they were 'natives of India' and all Indians were to receive equality of treatment. Nonetheless, Viceroy Lord Canning acknowledged their contribution during the mutiny and promised to do something for the community. The Anglo-Indians served the government more efficiently (and more loyally) than members of most of the other Indian communities, and at lower wages and more convenient terms than other Europeans. With this in mind, the viceroy decided to extend to Eurasian schools the provisions of the grant-in-aid system that had available previously only to Indian schools,[56] but he could not deliver on his promise before he died in 1862.

It was not until 1881 that Viceroy Lord Lytton wrote that the Government of India would pass its resolution fixing an amount for European education.[57] Here again the Anglo-Indians did not gain as much as they had expected. They diligently took the side of the British; but, after the crisis had passed, they did not receive the formal recognition that had been desired. So, in order to safeguard the social welfare and education of the Anglo-Indians, the All India Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association was founded in 1876. As has

been pointed out earlier, the community had started to organize itself and recoup much earlier. However, this incident made them more committed to their purpose. The post-mutiny period (1859–1919) saw some attempts by the British to make up for their past ingratitude. The Eurasians were permitted to re-enter British services but only in subordinate positions. Here again, self-interest was perhaps a very important factor for the administration. Without the loyal and selfless service of the Anglo-Indians, the railways, the posts and telegraphs, the customs, the police, the marine services and so on could probably never have functioned or been built in the first place.[58] The Anglo-Indian community accepted their subordinate position and were content with the employment opportunities provided by the British. The only thing they desired and demanded was recognition as British—that is, not as 'natives of India' but as an integral part of the British ruling elite.

The foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 inaugurated a new era. The burgeoning nationalist movement received a shot in the arm and the newly organized indigenous elite found a platform to pressurize the colonial administration much more effectively to their advantage. The Anglo-Indian community, justifiably, became worried about their standing in this fast-changing social and political milieu. With the steady increase in the cost of living throughout India and job competition with other Indians, conditions were rapidly changing. Until 1878, every branch of the telegraph department was occupied by Anglo-Indians, but by 1920, Anglo-Indian employment in the telegraph industry declined to one-half of the total.[59]

After the opening of the Suez Canal, British women started to venture to the profitable colonies in search of suitable matches. They faced stiff competition from Anglo-Indian girls. Slowly, social ostracism against Anglo-Indians came to the surface, leading to to restricted entry of Eurasians or Anglo-Indians to any organization meant for Europeans. Moreover the—

> …the new arrival could now always wed a girl of British or mixed parentage and it became customary to do so…. Public opinion held that when the occasion for intermarriage with Indians had disappeared, those who had recourse to it forfeited all claim to condonation of a wantarn outrage on society. Unfortunately it was not they who paid the penalty as much as their hapless children.[60]

During the First World War, the political condition of India became restive. A set of reforms such as the Morley–Minto Reform of 1909 and the Montagu–Chelmsford Reform of 1918 ceded a greater degree of political right and power to the indigenous nationalist leadership. Though far from satisfactory, such administrative concessions definitely boosted nationalist aspirations and ambitions. Anglo-Indians became more anxious about their status. More pronouncedly than ever before, the community was torn between accepting Indian status (i.e., being a 'native of India') on the one hand, and demanding a different status closer to that of Europeans on the other. The Anglo-Indians were more numerous than any other group in the British Army during the First World War. In return, they wanted more for their community than the mere status of being 'natives of India'.[61] Certain rewards did follow but once again fell short of the community's expectation. Under the Government of India Act of 1919, the community was officially recognized and given special representation in the central and state legislatures. But the community could not reap much profit from these provisions because of the rapid Indianization of services and empowerment of the nationalist leadership in the new political system set in place by the Government of India Act of 1919.

Insecurity Over Available Opportunities: 1920–1950

The British government stood by their official declaration of 1919 that Anglo-Indian and domiciled European employment within the telegraph department should not fall below two-thirds of the total.[62] But, nevertheless, the group's monopoly waned gradually and members of the community resorted to presenting memoranda and deputations before the administration to bolster their increasingly insecure political and economic position. In Sir Henry Gidney, the community found not only a representative of the community but also a great leader for the future.

With repeated submissions of memoranda to the authorities between 1923 and 1925, the Anglo-Indian community expressed their heightened sense of urgency and insecurity. This insecurity was born out of the British intransigence in reiterating their status as natives of India in spite of their unflagging dedication and service to the Empire. In 1925, the Secretary of State stated that the Anglo-Indian community should not turn to the government for reservation of employment on the grounds that the government felt responsible for providing jobs

to all Indians, and the Anglo-Indian community should start fending for itself. Dissatisfied, the Anglo-Indians petitioned before the Simon Commission. Sir Henry Gidney was asked to join the Round Table Conferences between 1930 and 1932 in London as a selected delegate of the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community. Three Round Table Conferences were held during this period. In the first, the communal issue was the greatest obstacle to agreement. The issues related to minorities like Indian Christians, the non-official European community and the Anglo-Indians, who could not receive satisfactory dividends.[63] Sir Henry tabled demands for the protection of two specific areas—employment in government services and Anglo-Indian education. The Services Sub-Committee recognized the heart of the problem of the Anglo-Indian community and supported the demand for special safeguards of employment.

The Second Round Table Conference was the most important of the three from the point of view of the Anglo-Indians. M.K. Gandhi addressed the Minorities Sub-Committee in 1931, declaring that he would accommodate all interest groups but rejected the principle of separate representation for any minority group except for the Sikhs and the Muslims. 'In doing so he alienated the depressed classes—the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and Europeans—…. In fact, he went so far as charging Anglo-Indians with seeking their own interests without meriting them.'[64]

The third session of the Round Table Conference reaffirmed the decision of the Second Session. The Congress focused on three main problems—safeguards, the terms under which the states would enter the Federation and the allocation of residuary legislative power. The Anglo-Indian Community gained—importantly—the protection of Anglo-Indian education. One of the special claims of the community in the Minority Pact was the right to administer and control its own educational institutions. In 1932, a sub-committee of five members chaired by Lord Irwin was formed to enquire into Anglo-Indian and European education. It recognized special needs, circumstances and the necessity for maintaining proper education.[65] Sir Henry's request that Anglo-Indian education be put under Central Government was not granted but provision was made for grants-in-aid and other grants under provincial jurisdiction. The Government of India Act of 1935, made provisions for safeguards for minorities. It recognized the rights of the Anglo-Indians with respect to appointment in the railways and in the post, telegraph

and customs department. The act also clearly defined the status of Anglo-Indians and protected Anglo-Indian education and other vital concerns of the community.

Once more the community had won its struggle for survival. But on this occasion, the Anglo-Indian Community became politically aware, perhaps for the first time, of their real links with the motherland.[66]

Attachment to a piece of land may have been an idea born out of a sentiment. Sir Henry Gidney had asked for a separate state for the Anglo-Indian community in 1930–1932. He asked for the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, but his request was not granted. However, the community was deeply moved by a concern for attachment to a piece of land, and therefore a colony was established 37 miles from Ranchi. The colony was named McCluskiegung after E.T. McCluskie. The colony comprised some 7000 acres of land settled with 300 families. Kuntala Lahiri argues—

> In case of the Anglo-Indians their extreme marginal situation and identity crisis stirred in them the need for a homeland. McCluskiegung was this homeland, a specific territorial unit with which they could feel emotionally secure.[67]

The idea and the project failed not because McCluskie died, but because of misconceptions and bad planning. Later on, the initial idea became irrelevant, especially to the younger generation. During this period, the Anglo-Indians were in the grips of a severe crisis of identity engendered by the very real possibility of Indianization; the anticipated economic insecurity of the 1960s also became an important issue in the collective mind of the community. In desperation, Sir Henry wrote—

> We are being sacrificed. If the pace of Indianization is allowed to continue unchecked, I have no hesitation in saying that within the next twenty or thirty years, there will be scarcely any Anglo-Indian and domiciled Europeans found in any services, which the community has helped to build up from their very inception…[68]

H.A. Stark expressed the anguish of every Anglo-Indian in emotionally charged prose—

> Ours speaks in the heart of every one of us. It throbs in the blood that mingles in our breath. It leaps to our lips in the Soul stirring appeal— 'O England! Who are these if not thy sons?[69]

During the Second World War, it was once again the Anglo-Indian community which offered its loyalty and service unconditionally. In contrast to the First, in the Second World War, the Anglo-Indians, however, fought as Indians fighting for India. While they took the side of the Allies, they slowly understood that their future was with India. In 1942, an India Anglo-Indian Association was formed and Mr. Frank Anthony was elected the President-in-Chief. He addressed the community with a deep concern for ameliorating relations with their motherland:

> Let us cling tenaciously, to all that we hold dear, our language, our way of life and our distinctive culture. But let us always remember that we are Indians. It has always been Indians. Above all it has an inalienable Indian birthright.[70]

Not only Frank Anthony, but other members of the community too came to terms with the fact that the future of the Anglo-Indians was sterile in the sense that they had to accept the fact that they were to stay in India as Indians. One of the prominent members of the community declared—

> Of course needless to say, much of the present misery and discomfort the community has to endure has been brought on by itself …to the present in adopting a condescending attitude towards the mass of the Indian people, treating them as their social and intellectual inferiors…summarized in the expression 'The Damned Nigger'.[71]

During this period, under the leadership of Frank Anthony, several tracts on the community were zealously penned. On evaluating the community's contribution to the British Empire and the general ignominy and disregard received in return, a new understanding of the changed conditions of living dawned among the Anglo-Indians. Authors such as H.A. Stark, C.N. Weston, C. Dover, J.A.H. Bower and K. Wallace wrote to create awareness in the minds of the people that they belonged to India—their motherland. Caught between two worlds of values, beliefs

and sentiments, the Anglo-Indians were compelled to live in conditions they never aspired to.

By 1945, under tremendous pressure from the Indian freedom movement, the government in England fixed a deadline for complete British withdrawal from India. Ultimately the time had arrived for the Anglo-Indians to realize fully that the British did not do enough for them, although it was for the British that they had and given everything they had. No other community felt so deprived, betrayed and threatened as the Anglo-Indians.[72] The community found it difficult to accept the reality foisted upon them: they were to stay in India as Indians. Many left for other countries in fear of what an unknowable future had in store for them in an independent India.[73] The few who stayed on were those who either could not afford to leave or were torn between the attraction of the West and a powerful bond with the country of their birth.

While the Anglo-Indians despaired, India gained independence in 1947. The Constitution of India recognized the community's rights for political representation, educational rights and quotas in service. That such privileges would cease after 1960 was something the Anglo-Indians had long feared. Even then, the actual cessation, which commenced in 1960, dealt a blow to the circumstances and economic means of the community. The Anglo-Indians considered their plight the result of a historical British betrayal because the colonial government had used the services of the Anglo-Indian community at every critical historical juncture but never later acknowledged it or espoused the community's cause significantly.[74]

Anglo-Indians in India After the 1950s

The objective of this dissertation is to discover the patterns of response of two generations of Anglo-Indian women—those born before and after the 1970s. The study seeks to record the responses of two generations of Anglo-Indian women to the prevailing ideas regarding their education, family, marriage and kinship as well as social interaction and to the organizations the community built over the years. With respect to the Anglo-Indian community, the period after independence may be broadly divided into three important phases: 1947 to the 1970s, the 1970s to the 1990s and the 1990s onward. The development of the community has not been equal in these three phases; the 1970s is of particular significance for the community.

Precise estimates of Anglo-Indian emigration from India are difficult to find. Alison Blunt has made some calculations from disparate sources. According to her, in 1947, at the time of independence, there were about 300,000 Anglo-Indians in India, and roughly 50,000 had emigrated by 1970. At least half of these émigrés had resettled in Britain in the 1940s and 1950s.[75] The second major wave of migration was in the 1970s. We have no numbers for this period, but a large proportion of this migration was to Australia.

The period between the early years of independence and the 1970s witnessed several changes affecting the Anglo-Indian community. The first among these was that the community witnessed gradual closure of educational and occupational safeguards over a period of 10 years starting from the 1950s. The second was a perceived threat to the use of the English language as the medium of instruction in Anglo-Indian schools. The outcome was a massive exodus from India. However, the community experienced another setback during the early 1960s when the Australian government took a decision not to allow any migrant with a non-white complexion to stay permanently in the country. Though the government later on retracted the decision, it definitely affected many Anglo-Indians. Some, who could at that time 'pass off' as white-skinned, reached their dream destination, but these olive-skinned Anglo-Indians faced discrimination. A sizeable number of Anglo-Indians who wanted to leave India but could not do so remained in India very reluctantly, seeking every possible opportunity to emigrate. This created a sense of failure in those who could not migrate and they eventually blamed the colour of their skin for it. This preoccupation with skin colour (that is, whether it was white or not) has been a prevalent issue among the Anglo-Indians. One of the young Anglo-Indian women I met during my fieldwork reported that she could never mix with the white-skinned Europeans because of her non-white complexion. She feared that she would be discriminated against even if she declared herself to be a non-Indian. Such prejudice against coloured as opposed to white skin (and fear of Europeans in general) is central in the psychological world of the Anglo-Indians who live in Kolkata.

In the late 1970s, the political environment underwent a change. The Left Front government came to power in West Bengal, and the community entered a new kind of relationship with the state. Before this, the community had encountered either the colonial rulers or congress-led governments at the centre or state levels. But due to its political docility,

the community had not felt significantly threatened by the state. With the new government all this was set to change.

The community had gradually come to realize that Anglo-Indian children failed in schools because of their inability to learn Hindi or Bengali, which led to an increase in the dropout rate. This dilemma was addressed through the Open School system introduced in the later half of 1990s. In 2006, the Left Front government further announced that it would from then on look into the matter of recruitment of teachers in Anglo-Indian schools. The crisis escalated, and the Anglo-Indian Association issued a declaration in protest against such a move. However, the members of the community had to come to terms with the fact that times had radically changed. First, they had to learn the vernacular in order to study in schools in India, be they Anglo-Indian school or otherwise. Secondly, they realized that they had either to fight to sustain their long association with their schools or leave the schools and capitulate to the policies of the government. This was a decisive juncture in their history because many Anglo-Indians were associated with their schools either as teachers or as members of the committees that ran these schools. In both situations, they found themselves threatened. The declaration of the state government in 2010 that all minority institutions ought to show that 30% of the total student body was from the minority population in order to guarantee their status as minority institutions was also a threat to 'Anglo-Indian schools'. Since the majority—more than ninety percent—of the students that enrolled in Anglo-Indian schools were from other communities, such policies would mean the death of the system of schooling Anglo-Indians had been associated with.

In addition to this political tension in the sphere of education, the community further had to confront issues of communitarian ghettoization. In 2007, the government took the decision to reconstruct the Bow Barracks near Bowbazar, a very old residential locality for Anglo-Indians. Once again, the Anglo-Indian Association had to take up the cause and publicize its stand on the issue in written declarations. Evidently then, the age-old political placidity and detachment of Anglo-Indian communitarian life had been shaken up by governmental measures—so much so that any bid to preserve communitarian identity could no longer be imagined outside the arena of political involvement and activism.

Beginning in 1990 the Indian nation-state opened up to the forces of globalization, and, as a direct outcome, the Indian government

adopted the New Economic Policy based on liberalization and privatization. These developments set off massive social changes which recast the Anglo-Indian community in a different light. As it has unfolded, the processes of globalization have come to be intimately linked to political ethnocentrism. In the context of the Indian nation-state, this entails a perpetual fear that the United States may influence and mold all of India's political decisions. Additionally, globalization has thrust on us a veritable communication revolution. Changes in technology, liberalization `and privatization have created social, cultural and institutional forces which surpass the boundaries of the nation-state. This global 'opening up' has brought into severe question older notions of the self-sufficient, smug categories of (national, regional or local) economy, politics and culture. People have often reacted to this by enhancing their sense of self-consciousness and identity-reckoning. Paradoxically then, globalization has often made the local culture more strident in asserting its specific identity. In such a context of deepening political ethnocentrism, a community having values, beliefs and a social system completely different and detached from the wider Indian context (especially a community which is self-declaredly more Western/European than Indian) definitely needs careful consideration.

Intensification of political ethnocentrism apart, one has to admit that in opening up national boundaries globalization has undoubtedly brought Indians into intense contact with other world cultures as well. Viewed from this perspective, the former distance between Anglo-Indian and Indian culture seems destined to diminish, even collapse. Indians are becoming 'anglicized' more rapidly than Anglo-Indians are becoming 'Indianized' or 'Bengalicized'. Take the example of the change in dressing style. The average young, urban Indian woman today wears ('Western') outfits that had been the sartorial hallmark of the Anglo-Indian woman in the city for nearly 300 years. As such, the changes that globalization has brought are very important for understanding a community of mixed descent which has withstood varying tests of time.

In the autobiographical article 'Coming Full Circle', Dolores Chew,[76] who grew up in Kolkata in the 1970s, speaks of how at that time the definition of Anglo-Indian identity was anchored to questions of dress, food and other such cultural expressions; and yet she argues that she experienced, in comparison with her parents, a much easier interaction with non–Anglo-Indian friends in school. She is exceptional, though perhaps

less so from a contemporary point of view, in that she married 'Indian' men twice. In neither case did this constitute a cultural barrier for her.

In the framework of my study, Dolores Chew would belong to the older generation—those born before 1970s. The responses from the younger generations—women born after 1970s—show both continuity and change. While in some cases, for example, endogamy, social interaction seems to be dominated still by community imperatives, in other matters, like food, dress and music, the 'Indian' middle classes are now sufficiently Westernized so that the differences are getting blurred.

A study of the Anglo-Indians of Kolkata is significant since the city has virtually evolved with the community. The 500-odd years of its evolution have witnessed the early years of the community's development, its growth and survival amidst changes. The Anglo-Indians of Kolkata also take pride in their city. It is the space in which they are accustomed to living. There are many Anglo-Indian families in Kolkata who have been in the city for three generations or more. Moreover, most of the Anglo-Indians of Kolkata think that they have remained truer to the spirit of the 'Anglo-Indian culture' than any other Anglo-Indian group in the country. They distinguish themselves from Anglo-Indians of the railway colonies at Kharagpur or from those of South India and other small towns and metropolises of India. There is another angle to this local pride. Urban Anglo-Indians think that in Kolkata they can be more easily identified as Anglo-Indian than in any other place in India. They think their identity, especially their ethnic identity, can readily be maintained here in Kolkata: they can remain as Anglo-Indians. In Delhi, for example, Anglo-Indians are scattered all over the city. Though they converse in English among themselves, they speak fluent Hindi with others. Similarly, in Tamil Nadu, especially in Chennai (Madras), the Anglo-Indians speak Tamil fluently, though they speak in English among themselves.[77] In Kerala, Anglo-Indians are called by different names which are synonymous, such as Eurasians, Munnittikar, Chattakar and Luso-Indians. The two territorial groups among them are Anglo-Indians of Tangaseri (Quilon), who claim British descent, and Edakochi Vellarpadam (Cochin), who claim Portuguese descent. The claim of the 'Feringhee' (Anglo-Indians of Portuguese descent are often referred to as such) to belong to the Anglo-Indian community is contested; they are not regarded as such by other Anglo-Indians across the country. In Uttar Pradesh the largest numbers of Anglo-Indians are in Jhansi; they speak a variant of Hindi while communicating with others.[78] The Anglo-Indians

of Kolkata mostly claim Irish and British descent and therefore consider those Anglo-Indians of Portuguese or Spanish descent as non–Anglo-Indians. Moreover, the Anglo-Indians of Kolkata can seldom speak Bengali, the local language, unlike the Anglo-Indians living elsewhere in the country. The Anglo-Indian's attachment to their language is very strong in Kolkata. It is their belief that by 'keeping their language' they have retained the very 'spirit of their culture more close to their heart' than any other Anglo-Indian group in the country.[79]

This study focuses on the very important and complicated issue of the dual patriarchal domination of the women of the Anglo-Indian community—by their own community, on one hand, and by the wider Indian community, on the other. In the article 'Colouring Subalternity', Indrani Chatterjee demonstrates that Eurasian or Anglo-Indian women were considered nothing more than a human commodity— domestic slaves—in English families of the Indian colony of the seventeenth, eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.[80] She argues that prominent Eurasians like Major General William Kirkpatrick's son Robert Walker (the natural son of Doolaury Beeby), Charles Metcalfe's son Henry Studholme and many more were children of such Eurasian women who were denied their father's surname. She also argues that there were many Anglo-Indian women who were concubines and their illegitimate children made up the community in the early half of the eighteenth and later half of the nineteenth centuries. The following excerpt shows how Eurasian women were treated and what their social position and that of their children's was:

> However the politics of naming, or name-calling, which could amount to the same thing in a slave-based society, was even more important for the children, born of concubine mothers but deprived of maternal ancestors and lineages, whose assimilation into their patrilineal lineages was symbolically represented in their patronyms given at christening and baptism.[81]

The women and men of the community at present fail to identify the Indian mothers in their family genealogy, with a few exceptions. On the other hand, they are more enthusiastic about naming their male progenitors. Moreover, there is quite a sizeable number who do not know what their grandmothers (maternal and paternal) did for a living or what the extent of their education was. This shows two important aspects of the Anglo-Indian attitude towards the women of their own community.

First, that they are too self-absorbed to find out what their grandmothers did; and, second and more importantly, that they do not feel the need to know much about their grandmothers in any case. Thus, the women of the present-day Anglo-Indian community still face subordination to patriarchy. Though the nature of this subordination may have changed since the early centuries of colonial rule, the magnitude of such subordination remains unaltered. As was mentioned earlier, Anglo-Indian women are also subject to another level of patriarchal domination— that by the wider Indian society. The two patriarchies they face make them simultaneously—and doubly—marginal within their community *and* within the framework of the wider national society. Their expressions and feelings must be understood in this context.

The objective of this study is to know how these Anglo-Indian women view their own education system, their marriage practices, the communication and social interactions they have within and outside the community and how far the social security system developed by the community marginalizes the women of the community. This study will track the differing perceptions and opinions that the Anglo-Indian women may have *inter se* to bring out the rich texture of the community's sociology. Also, this research will inquire into the gendered aspect of such responses.

The Anglo-Indian Women and Men Under Study

This book is an outcome of my doctoral dissertation, where I took face-to face interviews with 90 Anglo-Indian women and 10 Anglo-Indian men currently living in Kolkata. They represented all classes of the Anglo-Indian population in Kolkata. The women were selected on a 'snowball' basis whereby I reached out to each subject after gathering information about her from a close friend, relative or anyone who knew her. The men were selected in the same manner. The men and women were from different generations, but for the purpose of research I selected two generations: one representing those who had witnessed the advent of independence and the three decades following it and the other culled from the generation which was born during and after 1970s—the decade that witnessed a widespread emigration of the upper classes of the Anglo-Indian population. Of all the respondents, 58% are from the younger generation (i.e., the generation born during and after 1970s) while 42% were from the older generation. Men have

equal representation in both age groups. Among all the women, 82% were Roman Catholics, with 60% representatives from the younger generation. Among men the number of Protestants is greater than among women in both age groups. Of the women, 46% from the younger generation lived alone and another 46% were married and lived with or without children. By comparison, 16% of the respondents from the older generation lived alone and 37% were married; another 37% were widows and 10% were divorced and lived separately with or without children. The number of respondents who had divorced or lived separately was less (8%) among the younger generation of women. This trend is the same for men of both generations i.e., the number of male divorcees from the older generation was greater (40%) than in the younger generation (20%).

Of the women, 50% from the younger generation were graduates compared to 24% from the older generation. The distribution of the men of the community too reflected the same division. This shows that the interest and inclination towards education among the members of the community increased over time. Women from the older generation were more prone to stop their education early compared with their younger counterparts. The same was true of men but men showed more resilience than women in pursuing higher education. Of the men, 40% from the older generation acquired post-graduate degrees, while no women from either the younger or the older generation achieved such levels of education.

The methodological guidelines of feminist research postulate conscious partiality as opposed to value-free research. Conscious partiality is achieved through partial identification with the research objects. It conceives research objects and research subjects as part of a bigger social whole. It is different from mere subjectivism or simple empathy. It creates a critical and dialectical distance between the researcher and the objects. It enables the correction of distortions of perceptions on both sides and widens the consciousness of both the researcher and the researched. This feminist research perspective also postulates a 'view from below' in opposition to the vertical relationship between the researcher and the researched as advocated by a positivist approach. This means the scientific significance of such data rests on the fact that it can achieve what other social science research methods may stop at. It means the other methods, especially those which advocate a 'view from above', create an acute distrust in the research objects, who feel they are being

interviewed by members of a higher social stratum. The ethical-political significance of the 'view from below' lies in the fact that committed women scholars must fight to integrate women's issues in academics and research policies and create new orientations regarding areas and objectives of research. The scholars advocating such research methodologies must actively participate in actions, movements and struggles for women's emancipation. Regular participation in such activities would imply a change in the status quo. It implies that the women who are involved in such research must fight against women's exploitation and oppression in order to understand the extent of exploitation of women the dimensions, forms and causes of the patriarchal system that exploits them. In this way the research process can become a process of 'conscientization' for the research subject and the research object. This implies that persons who were research objects become research subjects, that is, scientists who participate in a study must give their research tools to the people.[82] Going a step further, such a research methodology also suggests exposing the problems in formulating methodologies for the study of woman as individuals and as agents of social history. It means that as women have not been able to make their own social changes, they have passively been subjected to the course of history. It suggests that by taking into consideration the individual sufferings and struggles of women such methodologies could lead to collective women's consciousness.[83] This means women cannot appropriate their own history unless they begin to collectivize their experiences. Therefore women must strive to overcome the individualism and competitiveness that is characteristic of the male scholars. Collectivization of women's experiences through group discussions would help women to overcome their structural isolation in their families and understand that their individual sufferings have social causes.[84]

In their choice of method, feminists often favour semi-structured interviews because they provide 'the principal means by which feminists have sought to achieve the active involvement of their respondents in the construction of data about their lives'.[85] Ann Oakley describes the conventional sociological interview as a 'masculine fiction'.[86] Oakley proposes a different paradigm for interviewing women. She regards the interview as one way of giving women greater visibility in society, by documenting women's own accounts of their lives.[87] Contrary to 'Malestream' edicts against emotional involvement, feminist research, rebelling against an oversimplified 'hygienic research', allows,

even welcomes, emotion into the research process and as a research topic. Personal involvement is therefore deemed necessary by feminist researchers because the researcher must and does identify with the women she is researching, and as inevitable because she is part of what is being researched—she is involved. This means reflexivity is essential: the researcher must constantly be aware of how her values, attitudes and perceptions are influencing the research process, from the formation of the research questions, through the data collection stage, to the ways in which the data are analyzed and theoretically explained.[88]

Traditional research may be seen as recreating a power relationship between researchers and 'research objects', who, it is sometimes forgotten, are subjects in their own right. Not only is the research process constructed in terms of a power relation, the researcher is also the ultimate arbiter in terms of producing the final written report and deciding its uses and goals. This dilemma of unequal power is not easily resolved even if the researcher is a feminist. However, a feminist commitment to the empowerment of women and the researcher's reflexive account of her part in the relationship may help in equalizing power, particularly if she is honest about how her text 'constructs' as well as 'reconstructs' her narrators' accounts and also about the inevitable ultimate appropriation of 'power' to produce her written research text.

But what happens if it is just the reverse or if the researcher are not feminists? Caroline Ramazagnolu points out how her assumptions about what is convincing knowledge are rooted in either/or binary 'conceptual splits': male goals of science and rationality versus female goals of personal commitment, reason versus emotion and objectivity versus subjectivity.[89] Ramazagnolu argues that feminist methodologies, in all their multiplicities, are new ways of knowing and of seeking 'truths'; and at the same time, these are forms of political commitment to the empowerment of women.

Ethnography is another method often selected by the feminist scholars. The tools at the hand of ethnographers are varied. They seek to establish rapport; select informants on the basis of the research subject; and transcribe texts, record genealogies, and map the field, keep diaries and so on. Ethnography is defined as an intellectual effort, an elaborate venture, in short, a 'thick description' of the life of the objects of study.[90] Thick description, one of the objects of ethnography, involves recording every bit of expression of the objects of study. It takes into account the stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures in terms of which twitches,

winks, fake-winks, parodies and rehearsals of parodies are produced, perceived and interpreted and without which they would not in fact exist.[91] So doing ethnography is like reading a manuscript written as if it were foreign, faded, full of eclipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations and tendentious commentaries, written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour.[92]

Feminist ethnography, which became popular in the early 1980s, infused by the second wave of feminism, seeks to analyze patriarchy against a backdrop of 'universal womanhood'. The universal sexual asymmetry between men and women is the important issue feminist ethnographers have taken up; but issues of women from other cultures have also become important and are often described as 'ourselves undressed'. This approach wants to analyze women in the context of the kind of relationships they have with men or analyze relationships they develop with men. Feminist ethnography also seeks to analyze women's relationships with other women and the power differentials between them.[93]

Feminist ethnography started when the optimism regarding writing about categories like the voice and class of 'other women' was beginning to break down. Feminist scholars realized that there was an element of power between the women of the colonizer and women of the colonized societies. It implied that the cultural interpretation is power-laden and involves more than translations or brokering and that sisterhood cannot be assumed. It presumed that to confront the 'subaltern' is not to represent it, but to learn to 'represent ourselves' and come to know how the encounter is engendered by relations of power. The postmodern feminist ethnographer at present confronts the 'contaminated', the 'promiscuous' and the 'impure'. As a result a new concept, 'ethnographic realism', in feminist ethnography has emerged as opposed to 'literary realism'. Ethnographic realism is a mode of writing that seeks to represent the reality of a whole world and a form of life. It aims at revealing and confirming patterns of the knowable world. Impersonal narration, a method often used by feminist ethnographers, relies on showing the truth rather than 'telling the truth'. Self-reflexive text seeks to 'tell' how the ethnographer comes to know what she knows, departing from realist conventions. Such writings do not periodize while formulating the problem. Rather, they take into account the multiplicity of the pasts laid down like layers of sediment in hybrid and fragmented memories, producing experience in continuous dissociation.

The postmodern feminist ethnographer believes that race or gender must be apprehended through particular class formation, not by ignoring the idea that caste or class determines patriarchy, but acknowledging that patriarchy is intrinsic to the formation and transformation of categories such as caste or class. It puts gender at the centre, subordinating the experiences of race, class and sexuality. The question that now becomes important is, do feminists recognize the importance of race, class and sexuality? The answer perhaps is no, but it is not so clear-cut.

The four perspectives that emerge in feminist methodology are experience, gender, reflexivity and intersubjectivity, and emancipation. Feminist researchers reject reductionist scientism and positivism and instead treat women's experience as a resource. The feminist scholars also argue in favour of bringing their own subjective experience to the research. They recognize gender and gender relations as social constructions. They seek to illuminate aspects of gender relations, the interactions between individuals and society in the construction of gender, the dynamics of power relations and particularly power inequalities between men and women. The feminist researcher places herself on the same plane as the subject being researched. Through reciprocal sharing of the act of knowing between the researcher and researched, the latter becomes a collaborator in the research project. By providing women with the information they need, research for women becomes emancipatory.

By the late nineteenth century, the coexistence of whiteness and poverty had become an issue of considerable concern to the colonial government in India. David Arnold's pioneering research on European vagrancy in India underlined the politics of race and class within which the colonial state crafted its welfare politics.[94] Alison Blunt points out that the identification of the Anglo-Indians with the British elite by no means obviated the presence of large numbers of extremely poor Anglo-Indians who shared deprivation and destitution with the lower orders of other Indian people. The Anglo-Indian destitutes—often spoken of as 'walking paradoxes'—comprised more than 20% of the population in 1891–1892. In 1918–1819, a committee distinguished three classes within the Anglo-Indian community—a small, well-educated upper class, a potentially efficient middle class and a lower class that merged with the Indian Christians. This last group was designated as unemployable. The main concerns regarding this group of Anglo-Indians were housing, education and health. By the 1940s, the poorer group of Anglo-Indians lived well below the poverty line and shared the unhygienic conditions

of daily living in the slums of the city. In the period after independence, the proportion of the poor in Anglo-Indian population increased because those with access to better resources had been better able to emigrate.

Given the importance of class differences within the Anglo-Indian community, my initial intention was to capture class as a variable along with gender and generation. I focused on income, since it is one of the most quantifiable determinants of class position. In the course of the survey, however, I found it difficult to get definitive information regarding income—either for the respondents or their households. In many cases, incomes disclosed did not bear a resemblance to the subjects' standard of living. I have, therefore, refrained from using income as a variable in my quantitative analysis. What then of class? Usual methods of measuring possession of white goods and of calculating expenditure also proved cumbersome and misleading. For example, every Anglo-Indian home I visited for interviews had a chair, curtains, tables adorned with tablecloths, photographs hung from the wall, music systems, and so on. The poor Anglo-Indians, in comparison to the rich, might have products of inferior quality, but they all possessed these goods. This made them distinct from the other Indians; and the responses of the Anglo-Indians in this case were based on their culture, which they emphasised. Unable to fix on a criterion to quantify and determine class positions, I have refrained from using class as a variable in my statistical analysis. In my qualitative observations, however, I use concepts like poor Anglo-Indians distinct from the not so poor Anglo-Indians and the rich Anglo-Indians in a less than rigorous manner to demarcate roughly economic distinctions present among the Anglo-Indians of Kolkata. This has closed certain lines of analysis, but I considered it more important to try to capture their distinctiveness rather than to mechanically reduce differences to a quantifiable economic 'class'.

Rationale of the Book

Let conclude with some final observations that were crucial in articulating and cementing my research interest at the very outset. At the initial stage of research, I had some presuppositions. I later realized that such ideas were based on 'common' knowledge most Indians have regarding Anglo-Indians. These assumptions were not true. The first of these assumptions was a belief that I knew at least something about the community I wanted to study, which I realized later was a false assumption. I

was a complete stranger to the environment in which I wanted to work. To get things started, I resolved to improve my understanding, that is, 'to know the setting' in which I was a stranger. My acquaintance with the community grew with time. As people came to know of my role, they started to offer some advice. My respondents, a number of whom were women, advised me to stay away or keep my distance from Anglo-Indian men because of their infidelity and also because they were frivolous. This was, for me, the first-ever response from Anglo-Indian women regarding their men. I was quite intrigued by this comment and wanted to know the reason for it. They explained to me that Anglo-Indian men do not spare any woman; they tease them and even make indecent proposals; and I, being a stranger, would be an easy target. They advised me to be careful. But such incidents never happened. On the other hand, whenever I met Anglo-Indian men and explained what I intended to do in my research, the immediate question they asked was why I wanted to work on Anglo-Indian women. For them there were many more important problems than studying the women of the community. These men thought the women of the community were 'silly', 'mindless' and 'without brains'. One of the reactions of an Anglo-Indian man of the older generation, Allan (name changed) was, 'You know they will not be able to give you correct answers … they do not think'. That the Anglo-Indian women are mindless was a common response of most of the Anglo-Indian men. In this reaction and counter-reaction lies the importance of studying the women of the community.

The gendered self of Anglo-Indian men and women—the social and cultural constructions of images of each other—was an important key to understand their actions, beliefs and reactions as expressed in their conduct and interaction among themselves. The written history of the development of the community, especially the part written by members of the Anglo-Indian community, speaks of the community with little or no reference to the presence of women in the course of the events. This absence of women from history in itself speaks of the patriarchal structure and a gendered belief in the incompetence of the Anglo-Indian women. This show the barriers Anglo-Indian women face from within the community.

After the initial months of my research and involvement with the community had elapsed, my family and friends started to react to what I was doing. The first reaction I can recall was, *Why Anglo-Indians?* Each and every Bengali I met who came to know of my interest asked

me *why*—as if I had done something unseemly and shameful. They wanted to dissuade me. In their opinion, it was not worthwhile to study a community like the Anglo-Indians. Their indignation was deepened by the fact that I was not only studying such an unworthy lot, but also the *women* of that lot! They were shocked that I would choose to do such a thing, cavalierly putting aside the entire gamut of issues that were *more* important in the Indian society, namely, inequality, politics and caste, unemployment, poverty, and so on. There were a very few who appreciated the study because I studied Anglo-Indian women. To them Anglo-Indian women were 'interesting' because they were 'different'. The difference of Anglo-Indian women from other Indian women made them 'special' and worthy of attention. Such reactions were important. They showcased the attitude of the other Indians towards the Anglo-Indian community and their women. The implicit patriarchal ideology in these responses was evident. Irrespective of their biological sexual identity, all individuals are shaped by the effective and affective ties of family and community. These ties are not unique to women's lives. However, the structures and conditions that define and limit the status of women within family, workplace, residence, among other factors, determine their ability to access familial and other resources. Similarly, a study on Anglo-Indian women attracted attention not only because of the patriarchal structure of the community but also because the women face another patriarchal structure outside their community which forces them to stay within the boundary of their community. This made them more marginal within their own community and more ethnic in the expression of their identity.

Layout of Chapters

The chapter following this introduction contours the life and living conditions of the women of the community from the colonial period till now. The women of the community were depicted as buttressed between the colonizers (British) and other natives of India. This study examines the situation that Anglo-Indian women face in educational pursuits, their family and marriage choices and the interaction with friends both from and outside the community. The Chap. 2 deals with education and the women of the community. It traces the trajectories of growth of the community and its women in educational achievements and looks into the importance of education in their lives now. The Chap. 3 deals with

marriage choices, politics of marginalizing women within the community through it and opinions on inter-community/inter-religious marriages. It also maps the kind of family relationships the women have. The Chap. 4 discusses the kind of interactions and friends these women choose and the nature of relationships they like to have in their lives. The Chap. 5 is on the community organizations and the way women have been marginalized within those. The Chaps. 6 and 7 deal with structural components of the community and how women were victims in the process of formation of those structures and how they respond to those. The Chaps. 3 and 4 are based more on the patterns of response to the processual tides of patriarchal domination. The Chap. 3 is also based on two important societal institutions—family and marriage—but they are not seen as structures already created and maintained but as a process that undergoes change in the context of time.

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CHAPTER 2

Anglo-Indian Women

A study on the Anglo-Indian women in India has to be a study of the intersection of race, class, caste and gender. The chapter aims at discovering how this intersection has had an imprint on the situation in which the Anglo-Indian women live in India today. Anglo-Indian (Eurasian) women in India have had myriad interactions with European as well as other Indian women. By the beginning of the twentieth century, there were several groups of domiciled Europeans and Eurasians in India distinct from the Europeans. These groups insisted that they were Europeans, but British society laughed at their *chee-chee* accent and at the names given to them—for example, Blossom and Honeydew, among others—and ridiculed them for speaking of a 'home' they had never seen.[1] In the early days of European settlement very few European women actually came to India. In 1810 the total number of European women did not exceed 250.[2] Under these conditions it was natural that European men in India would seek to enjoy the company of native women in different ways.[3] This evolution of the Anglo-Indian community and its early beginnings were traced in detail in the introductory chapter of the book. The domiciled Europeans and Eurasians made up the lower strata of British society in India, with the Viceroy, a European, marking the top. In between were minute gradations of rank mostly invisible to outsiders but important to the British themselves. Social status depended on what one did, whom one married or on what one's husband did.[4]

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The *burra memsahib* (a term often used for a European woman) was a woman whose husband occupied a senior post; and she enjoyed a full range of social privileges like the biggest sofa to sit on the club, the first shuttle cock to start the game of badminton and many more. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, sport was exclusively for men. Women were supposed to sit idly by, but by the end of the century women were busy with archery, badminton and later with golf and tennis.[5] By the twentieth century women became members of clubs and were recognized for their roles in supporting the Raj. But even so, society considered the main functions of women to marry 'manly' servants of the Empire and to keep the progeny coming.[6] It was a common view to see unmarried women as innocent, fun-loving and even boyish, while married women were allowed to experience the world but still maintain the virtues of a womanhood that was dictated by British society. These women's ambition was, according to society, was to further their husband's careers. At the end of the nineteenth century, women were brought up to be good mothers and wives; the idea of being anything else was criticized, and the Anglo-Indian women (who were not yet known by this nomenclature) followed the trends set by European women living in India. Maud Diver, a successful novelist of the period, commented on the extreme 'backwardness of Anglo-Indian society in recognizing the modern advance in the intellectual and social position of women'.[7] Femininity was associated with weakness, and therefore it was commonly believed that women were to be protected. European women in India were expected to keep busy with their daily tasks—creating homes for their men, bringing up children—in short, living a life of an English gentlewoman among alien people.[8] The Eurasians merely followed the lifestyle of these European women to create a domestic environment close to that of a European home. In other words, they tried to emulate a life that could be termed 'pure' European (although they themselves were considered impure because of their mixed blood line) European. The poorest of the *pure Europeans*[9] gradually merged into the ranks of the mixed population, who were called Anglo-Indians, Eurasians, and other and names. They were at the lowest rung of the racial hierarchy. The British ruling class in India did not mark or identify these people as part of the ruling class or race and sometimes complained that these people were lowering the dignity of their own *race*.[10] Although the Anglo-Indian were of a lower social status and poorer than the British in India, their European ancestry was reflected by cultural

markers such as language, dress and eating habits. Their everyday life was closer to British than Indian ideals of domesticity. Middle-class Anglo-Indian homes deployed Indian servants to cook, and were run according to many of the same household guides used by a British *memsahib*. Meals were a mixture of Western and Indian food and were eaten with cutlery rather than with the hands. Like British *memsahibs, Anglo-Indians* spoke 'kitchen' Hindi (a simplified form of Hindi sufficient to manage household chores) to their servants and managed them directly. By emulating the domestic ways of Europeans, the Anglo-Indian attempted to overcome a series of racial and class differences between them. It is true that the leaders of the community often declared their community to be of Indian nationality, the everyday experience of the Anglo-Indian was quite different. The domestic roles of Anglo-Indian women continued to show influence of a British forefather.[11] This chapter on Anglo-Indian women focuses on what their position in India is now and on the way this patriarchal influence has jeopardized their position in India at present.

Anglo-Indian Women Now

Anglo-Indian women made changes in their dressing styles and intermarriage (i.e., inter-community) practices only after independence. Since Western dress had been in fashion as the dress for work for men in India long before India gained independence, most Anglo-Indian men still continue to wear Western dress. However, Anglo-Indian women started to wear Indian dresses like *salwar kameez* and *sari* at work only after independence. (This is corroborated in this research, where we see that Anglo-Indian women from an older generation are still more interested in wearing Western dresses, reflecting that accommodation to Indian culture and customs is only recent.) Moreover Anglo-Indian women are likely to conform to the norm of endogamy, whereas men are more likely (because they are not discouraged as the case with Anglo-Indian women) to marry outside the community. For Anglo-Indian women, when the question of marrying outside the community appears, it is preferred that the potential groom be a member of the community or some European or Western person (for example, an Anglo-Indian respondent in this research had married a Parsee). But for Anglo-Indian males there is not so much pressure to conform. They are free to marry anyone from their community, from the rest (other) of the communities in India,

or from Europe or the West. This will be dealt with in further detail in forthcoming chapters on marriage and family. But before we can start discussing the issue, we need to understand the Anglo-Indians' position in colonial India and the theoretical underpinnings surrounding it.

Patriarchy and the Experiences of Anglo-Indian Women in India

Till around the eighteenth century it was quite common for a white man in India to cohabit with a local woman, in or out of wedlock. During this time it was common that an Indian mistress would be kept for some years until an English bride was brought to India, at which point the native woman would be 'pensioned off'.[12] In the early 1800s, according to Mary Martha Sherwood (who was the wife of Capt. Henry Sherwood of the 53rd Regiment of Foot), described the role of these women, who her lived in huts near the barracks and acted as servants to men housed there. These women bore children of the men they were engaged to but often witnessed the departure of these European men they had trusted. The following quote clearly explains the role these women played in the early eighteenth century as the mothers of Eurasian children in India:

> …and the only idea these poor creatures have of morality and honour is, that whilst thus engaged to one man they are to be faithful to him, and faithful many are, perhaps following him for years, bearing him many children, and may be standing with those children on the sands of the river to see the last of him and those of the vessel which bears him away.[13]

Two important points needs to be brought up here: One is that by the late eighteenth century more European men lived with Indian women outside of marriage than within it. In Bengal, between 1757 and 1800, only one in four British covenanted civil servants, one in eight civilian residents and one in ten army officers was married. Among the military, the proportion was even smaller, one in 15 and one in 45 men was married. It is noteworthy that of all the British residents in India only a small proportion were married. The poorer they were, the more likely that they were not married.[14] Second, not all married Indian women or mistresses wanted to go with their men after they decided to return to their home country. The majority of British soldiers were not allowed to take their Indian partners and Eurasian children back to Britain.[15] History has

many examples of British upper-class men who lacked opportunities to have social contact with Indian women of higher ranks, whether Hindu or Muslim. There were, of course, some exceptions. The question of illegitimacy of the children and of their mixed origin became important if the father died. The attitude and policies of the colonizers were also important when the question of heirs became significant. There was an adverse British attitude towards the morality of the mothers of mixed-blood children as well. For example, when Frederick Shore commented that the women who lived with English men were with few exceptions common prostitutes it was widely accepted![16]

History provides many such examples where Eurasian children were not given the surnames of their European fathers and were even denied proper education because they were dark skinned by European standards. The son of General Gardner was named James Valentine; Colonel Kirkpatrik's son was William George and his daughter, Katherine Aurora; or three sons of Julius Imhoff, Warren Hastings' stepson, were William, Charles and John Fitzjulius; Neil Edmonstone's boys John and Alick's surname was Elmore; Charles Metcalfe's sons—Henry, Frank and James—had the surname Studholme. Metcalfe acknowledged in letters that they 'bore a stigma inflicted by fault of their father'.[17] Imhoff, Warren Hastings stepson, died young and left his sons with General William Palmer. Palmer consulted with Hastings over the well-being of these children; and the first two sons, William and Charles, were given an English education, whereas John was admitted to 'Mughal'[18] schools because of his dark skin. Despite being very fond of children, Hastings never allowed William Fitzjulius at his home in England during the holidays and had admitted his embarrassment to have had this child before he left for India in 1809. Neil Edmonstone delayed marriage for 20 years, although apparently he did not disown his illegitimate children's mother, as they frequently sent their love to her through letters written to him.

For the British soldiers serving in India, marriage and divorce was a less serious affair. Only a minority were given permission to marry and many formed various liaisons with local women, usually domiciled Europeans or Eurasians. These women often thought that they were married properly, and the truth came out when the Regiment was called back home.[19] Margaret MacMillan[20] refers to one such officer who was responsible for organizing the passage of wives and children just before the First World War and describes the affair as a harrowing

one that the officer said he never wanted to experience again. Indeed, there were marriages that were legal, but these husbands too tried to cut off such ties in India once they were posted back in Britain. It was a custom for the British to look at Eurasian and lower-class European women in India as possibly open and flirtatious. MacMillan refers to one Radclyffe Sidebottom, who was posted in Calcutta in the Bengal Pilot Service before the Second World War, who found these women very attractive and beautiful to court and discovered to his astonishment that during the cold weather the Eurasian and poor white women could be available for sex (while when the European girls repaired to the hills for winter).[21] On the other hand, when Indian men, especially those who were rich, made advances towards European women, they faced ridicule from their compatriots.[22] The potential threat to European women from Indian men was often seen as stemming from the 'unworthiness of the native mind'. Thus did racial, class and ethnic axes of power, privilege and opportunity interact with gender differences in the case of Anglo-Indian women.

Theoretical Overtures

The literature on academic feminism started to shift its focus in the 1970s when feminist scholars took up the issue of implicit gendering. There is ample evidence of the impact of this change not only in the West, but in other parts of the world, as different experiences of women became the focus of many studies. Anglo-Indian women have been the focus of many studies as well, but examining them in the context of Indian society and their responses to it had not been done. In this respect, this study is been unique.

In a hierarchical society, the different strata are organized on the basis of a differential ordering of prestige, privilege and power. The groups express this differential ordering through cultural values as manifested in behaviour patterns, marriage rules and group-affiliation and inter-group relationships. The inequalities that are expressed socially and culturally reinforce the marginality of the consciousness of the barriers between different groups. The acceptance of social barriers inhibits social interaction among the different groups marked as separate. In analytical terms, this sense of a barrier reflects culturally through restrictions imposed from within a community with regard to interactions and attitudes towards other people. Oftentimes, such barriers do not imply any legal

sanctions. There are often amorphous (although sometimes concrete) expressions of individual, family or community disapproval when attempts are made to reach out to others across the self-imposed barrier. To most individuals belonging to ethnic and minority groups, the status of the community is important despite their individual inclinations, achievements or failings.

The perception of a barrier felt by a group is subjective.[23] That is to say, every individual perceives such particular situations differently; but this range of subjective perceptions inheres within a broader objective understanding of the situation (i.e., the inequality of power, privilege and prestige) as marginal. Only in such circumstances do we have the formation of a marginal personality. Kerckhoff argues that it is an individual's orientation towards her/his dominant group that most often leads to marginal personality traits. According to him, the preconditions for the development and expression of marginal personality traits are that, first, there should be at least two groups coexisting; secondly, that there must be some definite advantages available to one group; and, thirdly, that there must exist the perception of a barrier that prevents easy passage from one group to the other. Most importantly, the successful maintenance of this barrier is manifested not only in the restrictions imposed by dominant group but also in the rejection of those who want to associate with it.[24] It should be pointed out that living also being raised in marginal situations does not necessarily lead to the development of marginal personalities; but in case of the development of marginal personalities, marginal situations play a significant role.

R. Park (1950)[25] had viewed marginal situations as a product of cultural conflict. A marginal situation acts as a hindrance to normal association and assimilation between cultures. Among the early writers on this issue, Park and Stonequist[26] argued that a marginal situation always gives rise to psychological marginality: the individual is portrayed as unhappy, a caricature of the ideal he/she wishes to aspire to. This view is strongly criticized by Dickie-Clark.[27] He thinks that it is inculcated in individuals born and raised in a marginal situation; they comes across fellow beings who consider them to be marginal as well, and on the whole everyone directly or indirectly helps in the development of a 'marginal culture'. The situation affects the individuals so deeply that it becomes more important to them than their income, religion, education, and so on. It not only determines their sense of life but also that of the community at large. Their perception of the larger community through the

situation they are in makes it more difficult for them to cross the barrier between their group and that of the other. The barrier becomes more important for those who cannot transcend it. The privileges, power and prestige enjoyed by those on the other side of the barrier affirm the place of the community in the hierarchical structure.[28] As Hughes (1952) puts it, the individual in a marginal situation, denied the possibility of a higher status, produces the dilemma of a confused social identity. It is needless to say that the perception of the barrier may vary at the individual level, but culturally and socially the barrier exists for each member of the community.

Even in a hierarchical situation where barriers exist, some cultural traits of the dominant culture do seep through the barrier into the cultural habit of the subordinate group. This proves that communities are not hermetically sealed but have permissible 'pass-throughs'. However, learning about the cultures of others and practicing them habitually are not the same. In stratified societies, multiple hierarchies may regulate and control levels of participation in social relationships. In a caste-based society such controls are acutely evident but they also intersect with other social hierarchies, such as class and ethnicity, resulting in forms of discrimination that are intangible and can only be visualized in the perceptions, attitudes and beliefs of the subordinate group. The dominant group may employ certain devices to uplift the subordinate group or recognize talented individuals from subordinate group, or it may be completely unaware of and indifferent to the subordinate group. The dominant group may also try to instil its values and moral ideals into the subordinate group in order to guide and control them. Sometimes, the subordinate group may resist such indoctrinatory strategies and refuse to become culturally subservient to the dominant one. For these reasons, objective marginal situations help to develop personalities that subjectively view and portray the situation as marginal and have certain inhibitions against the dominant culture. This situation is more pronounced for a racially mixed community like the Anglo-Indians.

The Anglo Indians are 'Western', or at least European, in their self-proclaimed orientation insofar as the basic features of their culture are concerned. Their mother tongue is English, their religion is Christian, they dress like the Europeans and their family organization, eating habits and general lifestyle bear the hallmarks of a 'Western' cultural heritage. There is abundant evidence to suggest that they cultivate habits which bear a close resemblance to those common in British social

and cultural life; but no substantial evidence suggests that they share intimately and extensively the cultural life of the Indian people (with the possible exceptions of the Indian Christians, with whom they share the common bond of religion, and the Parsees and Armenians, with whom they share the western way of social living). Throughout their historical existence in India they showed indifference towards Indian culture, history and politics. They made very little effort to understand the religious and philosophical systems of India. There are very few Anglo-Indians who take the trouble to learn an Indian language. In the past they mainly interacted with English-speaking Indians and Europeans. At present Anglo-Indians make a reluctant effort to understand and learn the local language because it is mandatory in schools and is sometimes required for jobs. Most Anglo-Indians have limited understanding of Indian art, music and dance and take no interest in Indian literature. Most of them know less about the legendary personalities of India than about folk heroes of England and Europe. The Anglo-Indians are loath to wear Indian clothes. Members who do so often face harsh criticism. However, it should be mentioned that some women adopt the *sari* for special occasions and for jobs where it is mandatory. Anglo-Indians have a fondness for the Indian curries but they consider eating without cutlery unacceptable. The traditional Indian joint has never been adopted by the Anglo-Indians, who have stuck to the nuclear family as their sole kinship organization. The extended joint Indian family stands in sharp contrast to the more nuclear Anglo-Indian family. The Anglo-Indians completely reject the Hindu caste system. A degree of acculturation has no doubt occurred, but the position of the Anglo-Indian community is still best perceived as peripheral to mainstream Indian culture.[29]

Historically, the British rulers had kept the Anglo-Indians at a remove from themselves in matters of social intimacy. The former did not accept Anglo-Indians as marital partners, although Anglo-Indian women were accepted in unconventional (non-marital) relationships. There, are however, a few instances of intermarriage between British men and Anglo-Indian women. This shows that the line of separation drawn was porous, allowing undesirable crossings. There are also a few instances where the Anglo-Indians and the British worked together. One can think of the Christian missions and the people they served, of the British teachers in Anglo-Indian schools and of the Church, where the pastor did not discriminate amongst his flock.

The Anglo-Indians *did* receive to some extent preferential treatment from the colonial administrators in matters of certain professions, and this gave them an economic edge over the other Indians. From this advantageous position they often viewed other Indians as an inferior order.[30] They constructed stereotypes of the Indians as dirty, lazy, corrupt, inefficient, backward and superstitious. Such stereotypical images still prevail. But what is interesting here is that the Anglo-Indians themselves, scorned by the British, remained at the margins of British social life. The British looked down upon the Anglo-Indians, who, in contrast, looked up to the British as their beneficiaries. The privileged position of the Anglo-Indians and their protected occupational position was often a source of irritation for other Indians, who found it difficult to accept with equanimity what they considered unfair competition from persons they had come to regard as aliens. Once the British left, these protected jobs were increasingly opened up to competition. With the complete removal of job security by the 1960s, the Anglo-Indians, so long accustomed to job protection, found it difficult to obtain positions that would enable them to maintain their traditional way of life. Unemployment gradually increased and the economic position of the community languished.

Anglo-Indian authors often sketch an image of the Anglo-Indian as someone who lacks adaptability in post-independence India: this individual can neither give up her or his bias for the British way of life nor merge with the dominant Indian community. Wallace found that 'freshness and breadth of vision' to be 'almost entirely lacking'. The other Anglo-Indian features, according to him, 'are social inferiority, over-sensitiveness, lack of confidence, independence or industry, precociousness in the young and immaturity in the older members'.[31] Maher considers the essential elements of Anglo-Indian character to be 'loyalty, devotion to duty, sportsmanship, generosity, physical courage, and discipline, obedience to authority, hospitality, a love for orderliness and a sense of responsibility concerning work tasks'.[32] Frank Anthony's observations in contrast are about the 'extraordinary beauty of Anglo-Indian women, the sporting prowess of the members of the community, their valour in times of military crisis, their contribution in building the colonial infrastructure of India'. But he also points out the split the psychology of the community, its alleged social exclusiveness and the overwhelming arrogance of the Anglo-Indian community towards other Indians.[33] Such wide-ranging sentiments probably provide the necessary counterpoint to

the overemphasized stereotypical images described by other non-Anglo-Indian writers.[34]

When a community shares fundamental cultural values, has a membership that can be identified and distinguished from others, exists as a subgroup and is created by commonality in race, religion, origin, history or any combination thereof, it can be said to possess ethnic qualities. Ethnicity is not a product of common living, but is a product of self-awareness belonging to a particular group as distinct from others. Ethnic identity primarily distinguishes a person in terms of origin or background. This identity is also expressed in overt signs such as language, general lifestyle and value orientations. Barth defined ethnicity not as the 'possession' of cultural characteristics that makes social groups distinct but rather as the social interaction with other groups which makes that difference possible, visible and meaningful. The difference is created, developed and maintained only through interaction with others. Cultural differences per se do not create ethnic collectivities: it is the social contact with others that leads to the definition and categorization of an 'us' and 'them'. Group identities must always be defined in relation to that which they are not, that is, in relation to non-members of the group.[35]

But, as students of the sociology of ethnicity, we are not interested in the study of ethnic group behaviour simply as a means to detect the variety of cultural difference that group relations can demonstrate. It is also vitally important for us to understand how such cultural differences are mobilized for political purposes when social actors, through the process of social action, create and recreate the narratives of common descent to respond to a changing social environment. Thus, ethnicity is a dynamic and mobile force. Ethnicity largely depends on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural features that signify the boundary may change, but the boundary persists, distinguishing a member from a non-member. A particular identity lends its possessor a distinguishable character. The boundaries through which a community asserts its distinct identity are not only culturally determined, they are socially instituted as well, thus encompassing social life and imparting to the community a complex behavioural organization. Such identification distinguishes a member from a non-member and establishes identity with a fellow-member. This implies shared understandings, restriction of interaction with non-members and mutual interest in the members of the community. The cultural differences that persist across boundaries are reaffirmed through 'in-group structured interaction' and 'generation of shared codes of

behaviour' and also response towards non-members. This allows interaction with non-members in limited spheres of social activity and thereby insulates the in-group culture and social values. This is why the maintenance of ethnic boundaries entails an organizational structure.

For Rex and Mason, ethnic attachments do not create groups in themselves. Rather, they provide a skeleton around which a group can be formed. Ethnic groups are not self-evident and fully formed collectivities. They are analogous to a class, estate or status group, in the sense of a quasi-group, whose formation and articulation is dependent on social action. Therefore, not only social inclusion in the group but also social exclusion from the same is dependent on the group's exercise of power and control from the top down.[36]

Language helps in constructing and maintaining such ethnic identities. The role of language is important because it signifies the 'common objectification of everyday life…it builds up semantic fields or zones of meaning that are linguistically circumscribed'.[37] After all, it is through language that the ethnic identity is given meaningful expression, publicly and privately. There are other factors which help the construction and realization of ethnic identity, such as ideology and religion, among others. Berger and Luckman suggest that there are strong normative control devices which have been brought into effect in such instances from as long back as the days of primary socialization. These devices ensure compatibility and coherence in everyday life. This is not to say that these are the only criteria of ethnic identity. It all depends on how much or to what extent the group is dogmatic and rigid.[38] In the occasion of a threat to a group's culture such dogmatism and rigidity become prominently visible. *Group-ness* is sharpened when imperilled. Whenever a group identifies a conflict or inconsistency between what it believes and the conditions under which it lives, the group seeks to reduce the tension by trying to alter the situation but not its beliefs.[39]

Since power and symbols saturate all social life, they also form an integral part of ethnic relations. In this respect, ethnic groups are informally organized interest groups who share a common culture and form a part of the larger population, interacting within the framework of a common social system. Two important aspects of ethnic groups have been specified by Cohen.[40] The first aspect pertains to the political symbolism of various interest groups that are in a state of competition with each other. The second aspect concerns the symbolism through which elite power operates. What differentiates elites from other informal groups is their

privileged position in some important sphere of social life. They validate their elite position in terms of an ideology which is designed to convince the ordinary members of the society as well as themselves of the legitimacy of their special status.

Ethnicity usually serves as a factor with the widest appeal in mobilizing the masses for the elite's particularistic goals, that is, to gain and remain in power. Therefore, the elite of an ethnic group always attempts to present its particularistic and self-serving interest as the universal and shared interest of the community as a whole. This signifies that ethnicity of a minority group is relational to the ethnicity of the majority group. Minority ethnicity is possible only if there is a majority ethnicity. If a minority group emphasizes its cultural distinctiveness, it is only because there is a distinct dominant culture from which it differentiates itself.

Guillaumin and Frenton have traced historically diverse patterns of ethnic and gender subordination. In most cases, sexual relations between dominant and subordinated ethnic groups acts as a predictor of social relations between groups, where subordinated women are regularly seen as sexually accessible to superordinate men. This shows not only the degree of dominance of superordinate over subordinate groups but it also demonstrates the gendered structure of this domination, where superordinate women are subordinate to superordinate men.[41] These links between gender and ethnicity are also visible in contemporary Western societies with 'the feminization of labour opportunities'—that is, with the advent of women immigrants such as baby-sitters, maids or prostitutes who are demarcated and exploited on the basis of both their ethnic and gender identity.[42]

Feminists such as Anthias and Yuval-Davis have also provided elaborate and detailed studies of ethno-national narratives where women are depicted as central to ethnic projects.[43] As Yuval-Davis argues, women are often given the social role of intergenerational transmitters of cultural traditions, customs, songs, cuisine and of course the *mother* tongue.[44] Their behaviour is communally postulated as a moral compass that sets the boundaries of an ethnic group. The sexual promiscuity of women is often invoked as a parameter that delineates and demarcates 'our' women and 'our' morally superior community from 'their' lax women and 'their' morally inferior community. Being sexually dissolute does not merely make a particular woman an immoral individual, but more importantly, it makes her, say, a lesser Hindu because it is the behaviour of women that sets the parameter for what it means to be a good Hindu.

Women are regularly conceived of as biological reproducers and ideological producers of ethnic groups, since the ethnic group's culture is structured around the gendered institutions of marriage, family and sexuality. The fact that ethnic territories are often described as the 'motherland' indicates that through the use of such a hegemonic discourse women are chained to patriarchal notions of purity and honour where the motherland—just as actual mothers and daughters—is viewed as a passive object that needs to be defended and protected by active subjects: by husbands and sons, in other words, by men.[45]

The two axes along which the Anglo-Indian community can be identified as ethnic are education and employment choices. They have retained their distinct language, that is, English, and have shown their reluctance to use any other language. This attachment to English is an overriding characteristic of the community, even if we were to set aside for the time being other cultural markers such as monogamous romantic marriages, nuclear families, a European kinship pattern, a European lifestyle and a conscious effort to maintain such practices. Most Anglo-Indians resent the idea that Indians regard English as a foreign language. The Bombay School Case is an important example of how much Anglo-Indians love their language and how significant a cultural marker it is.[46] At present, almost all Anglo-Indian boys and girls are sent to English medium schools, for English is *their* language. It is probable that many Anglo-Indians are unable to pursue higher studies or even continue school because they are not well versed in other languages such as Bengali and/or Hindi. This again affects their future communication skills and interaction with friends outside the Anglo-Indian community. Most of the Anglo-Indians only have friends from outside the community who are fluent in English. This reluctance to learn any other language has been an important impediment to their interacting with other communities. This is not to say that no Anglo-Indian has intimate friends who are non-English-speaking. It only suggests that such a case would be rare.

As a considerable portion of the Anglo-Indians in Kolkata live near slums—areas where most of the residents have insufficient economic means and a big family to support—Anglo-Indian boys and girls come to appreciate the value of money from an early age. This is especially the case with the boys and, to some extent, explains their high dropout rate from schools. Girls, however, try to pursue their studies and mostly look for jobs at offices. The members of the community who are in a comparatively better economic position try to accommodate such boys and girls

in their business or firms. Nearly 90% of such firms are staffed by Anglo-Indians. The principal source of employment for Anglo-Indians in the past was government jobs, which they did not have to try hard to obtain. Most of the Anglo-Indians of yesteryear were employed either as police or in the post and telegraph, railway, tramway, or telephone departments. Women were either secretaries in such services or were teachers at Anglo-Indian schools. However, with increased mechanization, such clerical jobs have been on the decline. Moreover, the recent emphasis on higher education and demand for specialized technical expertise in the job market has hit the Anglo-Indian community hard. Anglo-Indians are facing stiff competition from non-Anglo-Indians. Women and men now work either as teachers or in low-paying part-time jobs. Only a few with good contacts and expertise in specialized fields such as hotel management and computers can find proper jobs for themselves. As the previous generation had meagre economic means and had not been able to provide their children with effective education, the present generation currently seeking employment is finding it difficult to land suitable jobs.[47]

Anglo-Indians are reluctant to look beyond the traditional job options. This has created their limited and stereotypical occupational pattern. Last, but not the least, Anglo-Indians are wont to enter into institutions where they can get easy admissions: that is, the institutions where seats are reserved for the community. This has contributed to their insularity and remoteness from mainstream India. They live a life circumscribed by family and community, almost wholly segregated from the rest. As a result, they remain confined to their culture, to their communal ethos, to themselves. They remain 'Anglo-Indians'.

One of the fundamental facets of Anglo-Indian's social identity is their identification with and preference for their own ethnic group. There is of course no crucial contradiction in identifying with one's group. But for an ethnic group like the Anglo-Indians, the situation is different because it is compounded by the fact that the community lives in subordination to the majority group. Furthermore, not all Anglo-Indians prefer to identify with their own group. A small number of them actually internalize the ideas other communities have about them and prefer the non-Anglo-Indians to their own kind. Psychologists studying children of ethnic minorities believe that the social situation of the minority children must result in negative consequences for their level of self-esteem. They formulate their assumptions on the basis of a conjoint consideration of two important concepts: reflected appraisal and social comparison.

Reflected appraisal means that the self-concept is largely built by adopting the attitudes of others towards the self; and it follows therefore that if others look down on the minority group, an individual member of the minority will come to see him or herself more or less as the others do. However, this will be true only if the following assumptions hold: first, the individual knows how the majority feels about her/his group (the assumption of awareness); second, she/he accepts the societal view of the group (the assumption of agreement); third, she/he accepts these views as being applicable to her/himself (the assumption of personal relevance); and last, she/he is critically concerned with the majority attitudes (the assumption of significance). In the case of the Anglo-Indians, they are aware of the derogatory attitudes towards their group, are in agreement with these views, apply these views personally to themselves and are critically concerned with the majority's attitudes. Thus, they develop low self-esteem.

The second principle of social comparison holds that the minority group members have lower self-esteem because they compare unfavourably with the majority group both in terms of their group characteristics and in other ways. These unfavourable comparisons—such as low class position, poor academic performance or undesirable skin colour—are in themselves often the consequences of prejudice and discrimination and are used by the minority individual as bases for comparison, which can only be damaging to the self-esteem. During childhood, social comparisons made exclusively with members of one's own ethnic group are not so damaging. However, comparisons with the majority are inescapable in adolescence and adulthood, when occupational choices are made, political ideologies are formed and sex roles are sorted out. It is worth noting, however, that the members of the Anglo-Indian community may have low self-esteem at the individual level but still express a high collective self-esteem. This again emphasizes their strong ethnic identity.

The members of a minority group may not always feel bound together by race, nationality, culture or common history. But what they do share is a common fate and a common experience of discrimination and social disadvantage.[48] Together, these factors serve to strengthen in-group cohesiveness and solidarity. They also enhance consciousness of minority status. The difference between an ethnic group and a minority group inheres in the social imbalance of power and prestige. Minorities are subordinated segments of the society who experience 'discontinuation' and feel that they are living in a socially disadvantageous position.[49]

This leads to the development of attitudes of discrimination and prejudice against the majority, which in turn strengthens the internal cohesion of the group. Ethnic and racial minorities suffer from the same feeling of disadvantage and discrimination, but an ethnic minority need not always be a racial one.[50] Ethnic minorities are those who usually maintain their cultural identity, whereas racial minorities often scarcely have a distinct culture.[51] Their identity therefore is not maintained from within the group but is enforced by the majority culture. Therefore, for racial minorities the boundary is drawn by the racially major group—so much so that the minorities do not participate in the larger society. But possessing sub-cultural traits of the majority group can often identify the minority as a racially minor group. If social minority is also an ethnic collectivity, then assimilation can become a possibility and this perhaps facilitates the groups' process of coping with its ethnic identity.[52]

Ethnicity often overlaps with the dimensions of minority group status. Ethnicity in this case is correlated with assumed social discrimination and deviance through a process of labelling. Kinloch t suggests that ethnicity is inherent in minority groups as well. Ethnic minorities are defined as culturally inferior in physical, intellectual and behavioural traits, thereby having limited access to occupational options. These groups are economically dependent and their cultural differences are more emphasized than their physical differences in a racially homogeneous situation.[53]

Articles 28–30 of Part III of the Constitution of India guarantee fundamental rights and contain provisions dealing with educational institutions. Article 28 forbids the imparting of religious instructions in any educational institution 'wholly maintained out of the State funds'. The text and the marginal notes of the Articles 29 and 30 show that their purpose is to confer those fundamental rights on sections of the communities considered minority communities. Under Clause (I) of Article 29 any group of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof and having a distinct culture of its own has the right to conserve the same. Since the Supreme Court declared the Anglo-Indian community as a religious and linguistic minority in India,[54] the community can effectively preserve its language, script or culture by and through educational institutions of its choice. Article 30(I) confers on all minorities, whether religious or linguistic, the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. These can be classified into three categories: (a) those which do not seek either aid or recognition from the state; (b) those which seek recognition but not aid from the state;

and (c) those which seek aid as well as recognition from the state. The Anglo-Indian institutions fall into the third category.

Article 337 holds that unless at least 40 of the annual admissions therein are made available to members of the communities other than the Anglo-Indians', such institutions shall not be entitled to receive any grant from the government. Article 337 protects aid received by the Anglo-Indian schools for a period of ten years. Since the Anglo-Indian school is a state-aided institution, according to Article 29(2) it cannot discriminate in the matter of admission on the grounds of religion, race, caste, language among others. Besides the constitutional identity, which is formal, Anglo-Indians' feelings of being dominated, along with feelings of alienation and a strong sense of belonging within their own institutions make them a minority in India.

The Anglo-Indian women was juxtaposed and buttressed between two worlds: the British concept of womanhood, which had reflections of British imperial patriarchy, and the mores of the Indian (Hindu) patriarchy. For example, on the one hand, Anglo-Indian women were praised for their national and imperial pride and duty as members of WAC (I)[55]; and on the other, the women who instead stayed at home and nurtured children were criticized for living in a world of illusion based on the possibility of marrying a European and leaving India. In a hierarchical society, gender oppression is often linked with oppression based on caste, class, community, tribe and religion, and in such multiple patriarchies the idea of 'men as the principal oppressors' is not easily accepted.[56] However, Mary E. John argues that multiple patriarchies are the by-products of discrimination in unequal patriarchies, and 'there is a need to conceptualize the complex articulation of different patriarchies, along with the distinct and equally challenging question of how subaltern genders are relating to questions of power in the current conjuncture'.[57]

Thus, patriarchal plurality is a facet of Indian social life. It entangles and produces social disparity; it is characterized as a network of overlaps and differences as well as a field of interaction. But it is important to state that women who are united on the bases of systemic and overlapping patriarchies are nevertheless simultaneously divided along other lines. Three such divisions are persistent: first, by class and the accompanying power to oppress women and men of other classes; secondly, by consent to a patriarchal structure and its compensatory structure and the accompanying power delegated to oppress women of other communities or patriarchies; and, thirdly, by the values and ideologies of the 'other'

as opposed to 'us'. Each of these divisions can by themselves produce equally significant divisions between women. In this regard, affiliation to a community identity can make a difference to women but need not produce a conflict between them. It is only when this difference is translated into politics and is aligned with institutions that maintain power that it has the capacity to divide women. Structured diversity is a marked feature of these multiple patriarchies. This diversity is partly a product of discrete ideological systems. However, these are continuously subjected to restructuring in the domain of customs and by class imperatives. The separateness of these patriarchies is in fact partly due to an ideological effect. But even in areas of striking difference there is similarity.[58]

A patriarchal system provides restrictive standards of social behaviour and rewards those who learn to accept this structure. Of the several elements that constitute patriarchy, gender is perhaps the most significant because it allows the articulation of power within relationships that are fundamentally intimate. Therefore gender is not merely an analytical construction. It is a methodological category for understanding how our world is organized in a hierarchical structure. The treatment of masculinity and femininity is understood here both as a category of description and as a category of analysis. In a patriarchal structure, wifehood and motherhood are glorified and granted social sanction. The women in society not only accept and respond to the notions of a 'beautiful body', they try to actualize these expectations as well.

Like the women of any community and culture, Anglo-Indian women live within the patriarchal structure of their community; but what makes them different from others is that they face multiple layers of patriarchal domination: one within their own community and the other from the outside world. In this case, the demands and expectations of the multiple patriarchal structures faced by Anglo-Indian women intersect and overlap at certain points and have distinct qualities as well. While the multiple structures may be analytically distinct, in reality they may be confronted as a single patriarchal structure by the subject. The women of the community are subject to all the layers of patriarchal domination at the same time, and their responses to all these layers are different. For example, they may mutely accept the patriarchal structure of their community on the one hand; but, on the other, they may harbour cynical reservations about the patriarchal structures of the rest of the world (in this case, that of India as a whole). All these patriarchies reinforce and reproduce masculinity and gendered power relations where the women

may act as agents of patriarchal demands on other women. Let me first consider what the expectations of these multiple structures are among Anglo-Indian women and then take into consideration how they respond to these differing expectations.

The Anglo-Indian community is patrilineal. Though patrilineality does not automatically impose patriarchy, historically the recognition of the mother's contribution was absent in the early period of the community's development. This implies a male bias from the very outset. There are innumerable birth records and baptism records of the Anglo-Indians (then known as Eurasians) which do not show the name of the mother of the child. Scholars have identified these 'absentee' mothers whose names were not recognized to be of Indian origin. Moreover, these Indian mothers were not recognized by their caste members either because they had defied their caste patriarchy and bore children of a *bidharmi* (heretic) and a *feringee* (Eurasian). These women laid the foundation for the community but were de-recognized by the same community. In later years, the women born into the community emerged as a subordinated group with low status and a stereotypical identity.

Experiences of Anglo-Indian Women in India Through a Historical Lens

The status of Eurasian or Anglo-Indian women was considered low from the inception of the community. It remained so in comparison to that of the European women who lived in India during the same time. As marriage of British officials with Eurasian women was discouraged from the nineteenth century on, any emotional or sexual liaison with European men seldom matured into something of legal standing. So there are innumerable histories of Anglo-Indian men and women who were born as illegitimate children. These children automatically had a status lower than that of the children of legitimate parents from any community in India. There was rampant physical abuse of Eurasian women. In the journals published in the 1870s, wife-beating, desertion by the husband, poverty, squalor and high female mortality were recurrent themes.[59] *The Calcutta Review,* published between 1860 and 1890, shows that the barrack wife (an appellation for a Eurasian wife) remained a peripheral/marginal figure in the discourse of colonial rule in India.[60] The following excerpt demonstrates the case clearly:

> Despite a fairly large presence, poorer whites (barrack wives, especially) remained more or less peripheral to the discourse of Anglo-India—the obvious reason being that their presence arguably threatened to undermine colonial hierarchies of race and class …Indeed their erasure from the consciousness of the community was so completely effected that in the 1850s Lady Canning could express her naïve ignorance of any "poor people, except very dark half-castes or natives".[61]

The above quote of Lady Canning implies two things: first that the poverty-stricken Eurasian population was marginal; and second, they were identified as 'natives of India'. As such, there was an inherent class bias against these women. The position of the Eurasian woman before this period was no better. *The Calcutta Review* illustrates that the poorer white women (read the Eurasians) who existed in the margins of the society were considered socially inferior to such an extent that they were socially degraded more than the women of the other communities in India. The articles in *The Calcutta Review* expressed the fear that these women were devoid of the 'self respect which even native women may feel'.[62] The status of Eurasian women compared to that of native women was such that the former were identified and treated as nothing more than concubines. Moreover, child marriage was a frequent practice among Eurasians as well: young girls were married off to much older men. This was followed by early motherhood. *The Calcutta Review* illustrates the story of a 14-year-old girl who was frequently beaten by her older husband because she played marbles with boys of her age.[63] The following excerpt also illustrates the pitiful condition of Eurasian women in the late-nineteenth-century India:

> Indeed in 1871 The Friend of India admitted to such a replication of the 'native' practice of 'child marriage' among the poorer whites and went on to locate it as deep-rooted class problem that was prevalent even among the working classes in metropolitan England: "There is the same difficulty in Manchester and our manufacturing towns generally. Poor little lassies, mere children, are commonly enough mothers".[64]

The nineteenth century brought about distinct changes in the way the community bestowed low status on its women. In the nineteenth century, especially after the Suez Canal opened, English ships brought cargoes of venturesome beauties bent on matrimony so regularly that it

grew into a social phenomenon called the 'Fishing Fleet'.[65] The captain of the ship and other well-known ladies arranged parties where the candidates would sit as if they were on exhibition and the eligible bachelors would rush there to try their luck.[66] 'In such situations some Anglo-Indian girls were accomplished flirts. As long as the girl made a suitable catch in the end, flirting was accepted as a pleasant activity except when the girl overdid it'.[67] In the nineteenth century, then, Anglo-Indian women were considered nothing more than 'wives and mothers'. The way Anglo-Indian women were depicted in the nineteenth century and afterwards bears testimony to the fact that they were considered no more than a commodity within the community: merely objects to be seen and appreciated. Moorhouse describes Anglo-Indian women not only as the saddest result of British imperialism but also, and paradoxically, as very good-looking—'as though the chemical processes of assorted generations had compensated the outcaste by gradually purging her line of all coarseness until total refinement was reached.'[68] Hyam also identifies Anglo-Indian women as outstandingly beautiful.[69] Many Anglo-Indian writers, especially Frank Anthony, have expended quite a number of lines on the beauty of Anglo-Indian women. Anthony, for example, not only praised Anglo-Indian beauties but also condemned 'penny shovelling exercises in near pornography that sexualize them'.[70] This recognition of their beauty carried no parallel respect for their personhood. Anglo-Indian women were considered 'wax dolls without a mind' but capable nevertheless of 'looking frighteningly unhappy or demons driven by heady but volatile essence of sensuality with no body'.[71] Such identities were imposed upon the Anglo-Indian women by the men of their community. This shows the patriarchal nature of the community, which commoditized the women as mindless beauties who had brought shame to the community. Such stereotypes continue to exist for the Anglo-Indian women. The men and women of the community alike still consider the beauty of Anglo-Indian girls to be their boon and bane.

My fieldwork among the women of the community resulted in two related observations. When I introduced myself to the men of the community as a researcher on Anglo-Indian women, most of them thought it to be a trivial project. To them, these women had no minds. When I approached the women to discuss 'their issues', they were unwilling to do so. They thought their brothers, husbands or fathers were better equipped to discuss *their* matters, since they knew so little—the women did not think they could answer the questions on their own. They relied

on the males, who had already anticipated such incapability on the part of the Anglo-Indian women. The patriarchy of their community identifies women as objects, as bodies without minds. As 'wax dolls', the women's opinions were worthless not only to the men of the community but also to themselves.

The arrival of the British women in India marked a change in community relations and the context in which the community members lived. The presence of the British wives and mothers in India—known as *memsahibs*—provoked racial antagonism between the rulers and the ruled. While the reference group for the Anglo-Indian women was these European women, it was these British women who acted as the chief agents for the imposition of British imperial-patriarchal domination on the Anglo-Indian women. For example, during the years of the mutiny, the conflict was the most severe on the domestic front.[72] The women of the community were not dishonoured but were made to feel their servitude.[73]

Unlike the situation with Indian Christians, the European ancestry of the Anglo-Indian community led to an emphasis on some cultural markers, such as language, dress and eating habits. Middle-class Anglo-Indian women employed Indian cooks and servants and served their meals on tables and with cutlery, much in the fashion of the British *memsahibs*. Though Anglo-Indian cuisine was different from English food, the Anglo-Indians were always quick to point out that their way of cooking and dining was clearly distinct from the traditional Indian customs. Though Anglo-Indian homes were of a lower status and poorer than those of the British elite in India, Anglo-Indians' upbringing and lifestyle reflected a masculine, middle-class, imperial heritage aligned to British rather than to Indian norms of domesticity.[74] This represents a clear inclination towards the powerful paternal ancestry and a disregard for the Indian maternal ancestry. The imperialist domination was never a burden for the Anglo-Indians because the community always hoped that they would be eventually recognized by the British as one of them. Rather than identifying with other Indians, they were antagonistic to them. One of the excerpts from the response of an Anglo-Indian subject in Gaikwad's research on the community reveals that the greatest pride of the Anglo-Indians resides in their European descent and that there is nothing that Anglo-Indians deplore more than their own dark skin. An Anglo-Indian father would rather give everything he had to marry his daughter off to some lowly, despicable European who would ill-treat her

perpetually than to marry her to a fellow Anglo-Indian. The respondent in Gaikwad's study also expressed his great disdain for Indians, whom the Anglo-Indian community treats with contempt.[75] Such outbursts show that Anglo-Indians experienced the entire gamut of social pressures—to be British in the eyes of the British, to be Indian and also to be Anglo-Indian—but they responded to these sets of expectations differently.

The women had accepted the patriarchal domination of their community as well as the British patriarchal domination, but had cynical reservations against Indian patriarchy. Perhaps this adulatory attitude towards British life and the completely opposite attitude towards Indian men and women made Anglo-Indian girls seek higher status by marrying European men and becoming a 'lady' in the eyes of others. For example, it was (and is) common for an Anglo-Indian woman to change suddenly when an Englishman took notice of her. She forgot that her parents were dark-skinned. Instantly, in her eyes, India became this horrid place and Indians the most ill-mannered, untrustworthy and dirty people on earth.[76] Hicks' comments that the Anglo-Indian girl is prepared to sacrifice 'everything' for an Englishman, invoking the stigma of interracial sex and illegitimacy. As a result, she is perceived as more licentious than other European and Indian women.[77] This popularly held image of the debauched Anglo-Indian girl is discussed in Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt's article on self-images of the Anglo-Indian community, where she comments on the 'stereotypical image of lax morality of Anglo-Indian women' in the minds of the Indians.[78] On the one hand, the Anglo-Indian girl she portrays strives to forge a link with her British rulers by imitating whatever they did. On the other hand, she actively distanced herself from the native (Indian) culture to prove that her ways of life and standards were not only different but also distinct from those of other Indian women. Their attempts at distancing themselves from Indian social mores and nationalist patriarchy—or to be more precise, the ideology of nationalist domesticity—had an impact on the daily lives and social arrangements of Anglo-Indian women. Alison Blunt points out, 'Anglo-Indian women and homes were positioned within wider discourses of *both* imperial *and* nationalist domesticity'. She argues that in the case of these women, their roles as homemakers were 'both manifested and erased by their dual identification with Britain as fatherland and India as motherland'.[79]

Indian patriarchy deplored the social habits of the Anglo-Indian girls and the 'freedom' they enjoy. Anglo-Indian girls like to dance, go

to balls, use cosmetics, wear European clothes—none of which conform to Hindu or Mulsim society's notion of becoming feminine modesty and propriety. Let us consider a case from popular culture. In the film *Mahanagar* by Satyajit Ray, the heroine—a middle-class Bengali wife from a joint family—joins a company as a salesgirl and befriends an Anglo-Indian colleague. This girl had also come to work to sustain her family, as had the Bengali woman. But what distinguished her were the lipstick and sunglasses that she carried in her purse. The Anglo-Indian girl offers her lipstick to the Bengali protagonist, and it occurs to the latter that putting on the lipstick would help her impress her customers. The interesting part is that the Bengali wife removes her make-up before she enters the home. This shows the difference between the Bengali middle-class sensibility regarding dress and makeup in the late 1960s and that of the Anglo-Indians.

Anglo-Indian women projected themselves as more emancipated and Westernized than their Bengali counterparts not only in the way they dressed but also in their occupational choices. From the nineteenth century on, the Anglo-Indian women worked outside the home. Most of these women were educated and had technical training. During the Second World War, many Anglo-Indian women served as members of the Women's Auxiliary Corps (India) and featured prominently in promotional photographs of the WAC (I).[80] Frank Anthony noted that the contribution of Anglo-Indian women to the war effort was greater than that of all the women from all the communities in India put together.[81] The Anglo-Indian women of pre-independence India were employed as secretaries, typists, clerks and teachers long before Bengali middle-class women dared to take a similar step. Their struggle to support themselves had begun much earlier—in direct contrast to the Bengali middle-class patriarchal norm. One result of this struggle was that Anglo-Indian women were more visible in public.

Problems of Being an Anglo-Indian Women in India: Questions of Identity and the Anglo-Indian Woman

The discourse on community identity within the field of sociology is particularly concerned with the problem of definitions. One major aspect of these definitions is the emphasis that community identity is a socially constructed phenomenon. Central to this constructionist approach is

the idea that collective identity is mutable and contingent—a product of social ascriptions and a reflexive process involving internal and external forces and actors. The struggle between classes and whether community identity is administered from the 'bottom-up' or 'top-down' are some of the questions this field explores. This definition of community identity as territorially based implies the existence of distinctive but connected levels (the neighbourhood, the zone, the city) which prefigure the presence of two opposing dimensions: the micro-dimension and the macro-dimension. The exploration into concepts of how the human psyche develops a real sense of 'we' and 'ours' rather than 'theirs' is at the core of social psychology studies.

It is well known that identities can originate from the dominant institutions of the society. However, they truly become identities only when and if social actors internalize them and construct their meaning around this internalization. Since social relations are also relations of power, the social construction of identities always takes place in a context marked by power relationships. Accordingly, there are three forms and origins of identity building. First is legitimizing identity introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination vis-à-vis social actors? Second, resistance identity is generated by those factors that are in positions or conditions devalued and or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from or opposed to those permeating the institutions of society. Third, project identity occurs when social actors on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them build a new identity that redefines their position in society and by so doing seek the transformation of the overall social structure. These three forms are only analytically distinct. In reality identities that start as resistance may also over time become dominant in the institutions of society, thus becoming legitimizing identities used to rationalize domination.[82] The history of the mixed racial community manifests such processes of complex identity formation, but it is too early to predict whether the community has been able to follow the path of legitimizing its identity towards rational domination in Indian society. I would argue that given the mixed-race community's small numbers in India and its accompanying low demographic and social presence, such rational domination in legitimizing its identity in Indian society is a near impossibility. There are larger issues that need to be handled before such pursuits are undertaken.

The issue of identity also revolves around the idea of a homeland. The history of the community centres on a debate between two contrasting histories of the community's legitimacy. The community has produced a version of its history that substantiates its claim to legitimate origins. Anglo-Indian historians claim themselves as the 'chosen people' charged with supporting the assumed prerogatives of the Empire. In order to produce a wholesome image of their descent and origins, the Anglo-Indians have praised the morality and attitudes of the colonizers. This history is produced from within the colonial discourse. The community has portrayed itself as a handmaid of the Empire, often boasting about how Anglo-Indians held key positions within the colonial administration, such as the telegraph and railways departments. This dominant representation often created resentment in the other Indian communities, which rejected the notion of English superiority and in turn regarded Anglo-Indians as 'un-Indian'. These attitudes manifested themselves clearly in the creation of anti-colonial Indian nationalism as, while Indians attained the deserved freedom they had fought for so tirelessly, the Anglo-Indian community was alienated from contributing its part in embodying the national identity and was made to feel 'unhomed'.

The history the Indian majority has produced about Anglo-Indians encourages a perception of the community's illegitimacy. It is still a widespread belief that Anglo-Indians are bastard consequences of sexual misdemeanours—between outcaste Englishmen and morally wayward Indian women—products of the 'sins of miscegenation'. This supposed illegitimacy of the Anglo-Indians de-legitimates their right to 'an authentic' subjectivity within the nation, consequently problematizing their relationship to India as 'home'.[83]

The community's abandonment into the realm of being 'unwelcomed' in India is a result of the way in which Anglo-Indian history has been produced from 'outside' what is specifically an 'Anglo-Indian' way of thinking and experience. That is to say, Anglo-Indian history has been constructed through English colonial and Indian nationalist rhetoric. Consequently, the Anglo-Indian voice is silenced by these 'totalizing discourses'.[84]

The problem of identity and its consequent devalued legitimacy of rational domination can be seen in three social phenomena. One, the community which was once formed out of inter-community—that is, mixed marriages—now practices endogamy. The practice forces them to look for marriage partners within the community. This does not

mean there is no crossover, but Anglo-Indian families prefer to look for prospective grooms within their community (to be discussed in Chap. 3). Since the community is patrilineal, the father's line needs to be identified to have a connection to a European progenitor. Therefore women from other communities and religions can be welcomed into an Anglo-Indian family but probably not the opposite. This does not mean Anglo-Indian women do not marry or are prohibited from marrying outside the community; it only suggests that the politics of inclusion does play a significant role in instilling the responsibility on the women for maintaining the honour of the family and community. If such a 'transgression' was encouraged on a wider scale and the community became open to intermarriage, it would ultimately mean that the community would lose its identity with the European progenitors, and the 'Anglo' connection would cease to exist. So the responsibility to cater to a patrilineal setting is bestowed on the Anglo-Indian girl so that she does not transgress the boundary lines of community identity and representation. The second aspect is that women who have already transgressed the boundary and married someone outside the community and are also poor find it very difficult to prove that they are Anglo-Indians unless they are identified and offered help by a social-service agency. The third aspect is concerned with the problems of being an Anglo-Indian in Kolkata. Poverty is surely a problem, but is it the only one? That is, are Anglo-Indians poor because they are uneducated, unskilled or semi-skilled and cannot access 'good' jobs? Or is it transgression of social mores *and* poverty? That is, are Anglo-Indians who have crossed over in marriage choices and are poor in a worse situation than their unmarried or endogamous counterparts? The subjective positioning of the identity question becomes one of overwhelming importance. The way Anglo-Indians feel towards being Anglo-Indian or their sense of being and fulfillment is often associated with their self-esteem and personality traits.

The Anglo-Indian community in India started migrating to different Commonwealth countries long ago. Therefore, there is a wide diaspora at present, of whom many are second-generation Anglo-Indians born to Anglo-Indian parents settled outside India. The first-generation emigrant Anglo-Indian is at present a Canadian, Australian or British citizen. They might recognize their Anglo-Indian roots, but they are not Anglo-Indian by definition. They may be emotionally involved with their motherland and family members and friends they have left behind, but they are

formally excluded from the intense bond shared by Anglo-Indians here. They are in fact in the same position as those Anglo-Indians who had transgressed in selecting marriage partners outside the community and have also been excluded from the formal definition of being an Anglo-Indian.

The Anglo-Indian is connected to India. That is the recognition of an Anglo-Indian is bound to their root in India, with their indigenous mothers. But the women of the community are not being given the equal opportunity to exercise choice and still be an Anglo-Indian and also transfer the identity to her children. The community which proclaims to be liberal and open has always used the women as the chief instrument to build and maintain a unique identity. This is a problem specific to the Anglo-Indian community and there has been virtually no discussion of these issues. There has been much work on gender and class, mixed racial heritage and aspects of assimilation and accommodation in India, but much less research has been done on the issue of identity and the politics of representation.

Language

British disdain towards Anglo-Indians was frequently focused on women. Despite their diverse origins, Anglo-Indians' language was what marked them as culturally close to the British. The majority of Anglo-Indians with no or average schooling spoke a version of English at home with a characteristic mode of expression, inflection, slang and humour. It was a distant variant of the English spoken by the British, who and made fun of the Anglo-Indian accent. Here too it was the Anglo-Indian woman's speaking style which drew the most comments.[85] This mode of speaking came to be labeled as '*chee-chee*' (or *chi-chi*) and was subjected to endless British mockery.[86] The accent often sounded like a Welsh accent. Raising British children in India was also racialized because of this. Just as wet-nurses in India were often thought to pose a threat to the assumed racial purity of British babies, Anglo-Indian nannies were also often thought to pose cultural threat because of their accent.[87]

The English language spoken by Anglo-Indians often included Hindi, Urdu and Bengali words and idioms, but before independence it was a custom among Anglo-Indians to learn French and Latin as well. After independence it was customary for them to learn Hindi or Bengali as a second language in school. When asked about their level of fluency in

any Indian (local) language, most Anglo-Indian replied that they had picked it from the *ayah* (the maid who was responsible for the care of children). Thus they did not acquire a pure version of the language but rather other than a class-reflected version of it.

With the growing importance of English as a worldwide language of communication it is quite surprising to note such a state of affairs within a community whose mother tongue is English. In a globalized era such as ours, with the liberalization of markets the importance of English as a spoken language is far reaching. But for the community in question and for the women of the community in particular this has not been an advantage. They are often forced to speak in other languages in local conversations; most young Anglo-Indians get poor marks and eventually are disqualified in examinations for not being able to perform well in the local language and Hindi. Since they speak mostly English at home and with friends who are from the community, they fail to make friends outside the community unless they are proficient in the local language or the friends are proficient in speaking English. The schools built for the children of the Anglo-Indian community now recruit non-Anglo-Indians in quite large numbers because they have learned to speak the Bengali language and have comparable academic records. The women of the community who were employed as teachers in these schools because they could speak good English are now failing to keep pace with new non-Anglo-Indian recruits. So the language which had set them apart and given them an opportunity for employment is no longer an advantage (to be discussed in this chapter). The same occurred in one recent employment sector in the city. When the call centres first appeared in Kolkata city, it was the Anglo-Indian boys and girls who were hired in large numbers because they were proficient in speaking the language mostly required in such centres; but soon the Anglo-Indians faced competition and challenges from members of the other communities who could speak the language and also sometimes had higher-level formal education than the average Anglo-Indian. Their discomfort with speaking the local language pushes them to a marginal position, where they are left with little choice. Though the leaders of the community claim that their members, especially the younger generation, can speak the local language, it is their insistence on starting a conversation in English or carrying out the entire conversation in English along with possessing lower levels of formal education support that works to their disadvantage. This is for the most part

true of Anglo-Indians living in the poorer areas of the city. The comparatively rich Anglo-Indian, who can afford to mix with people (local) who are conversant in English, is better placed in this context. So the problem of the community with language is concentrated at the lowest (i.e., poor) rung of the stratification and it is a problem for the average Anglo-Indian. Any negotiation about language (as was seen earlier), which bonds a community together, is obscure. The community and its leadership failed to take up the issue when it emerged in the late 1990s. It is an irony not unrecognized among the English-speaking communities of India today.

Dress

Emma Roberts notes that the 'rich Indo-British ladies attire' followed the latest fashions of London and Paris, whereas the 'inferior class' dressed in a style which was equally European.[88] Very young children of both sexes wore little gowns and petticoats; and by the time they started to walk they wore dresses like adult girls and suits like men. As girls grew older, they wore longer skirts. Like their parents, the children wore more formal dresses in the evenings even in the hottest weather. Girls wore several layers, all starched and edged with lace, from pants to vests to petticoats with frilly dresses. Little boys wore sailor suits and little versions of their father's uniform.[89]

The Anglo-Indian adoption of European sartorial modes was treated as a caricature to diminish the British standing in eyes of Indians; thus the European women in the ruling circles consistently sought new styles and materials to escape emulation by Anglo-Indian women.[90] Hawes points out class attitudes, no less than racial considerations, were important influences on British behaviour towards Anglo-Indians.[91] Unconventional dress made European women publicly admired in India. In 1856, one such European, Miss Wallace-Dunlop, was criticized for not wearing her hat while she was being carried in a litter in a hill station.[92] Eurasians during this time also were very anxious to showcase that they were also part of the ruling class. Eurasian women did their best to cover themselves with muslin and silk and trimmed their dresses with lace.[93] Caplan notes that Anglo-Indian women probably drew a disproportionate amount of British hostility because they were seen as the principal and most visible mimics.[94] Hawes points out that besides (and to a lesser degree than) racial prejudices, this annoyance over being

'copied' coloured the attitude of Europeans towards Eurasians.[95] Anglo-Indian women were also criticized for what was seen as their attempts at enticement of European men.

In recent years, older Anglo-Indian women have often continued to wear Western dresses, but women of the younger generation usually wear Indian clothes (*salwar kameez* and *sari*) to work and formal gatherings but prefer wearing western dresses in functions organized by the community or at informal get-togethers. Here it should be remembered that dresses for Indians in recent years have become more Westernized and modern (to be discussed in subsequent chapters). This is largely the result of English-language education, media representations and wider processes of globalization and is an adjustment to the pressure to perform like any Indian in formal gatherings, which men have not experienced.

The word *tash*, often used as slang for Indian Christians and especially Anglo-Indians, is another example of the disdain other Indians have for Anglo-Indian women. This word has a deeper connotation in Bengali language with reference to Sukumar Roy's notion of a cow that was a '*tash*'. It cynically symbolized how Anglo-Indians, though born and brought up in India, looked up appreciatively to anything that was European. Instead of eating grass as cows usually do, the *tash goru* craved candles and soups made of soap water. The cow is a Eurasian clerk in ill-fitting Western clothes who is represented as having a weak constitution possessing low-class values and an easy virtue.[96] Since it was Anglo-Indian women who served predominantly as clerks, the poem demonstrates how Anglo-Indian women were (and still are) imagined to be low class and unacceptable in public. They were despised by the Indian society, which upheld the moral virtues of *satitva* (chastity) and *matritva* (motherhood) and celebrated the ethicized femininity of the *pativrata* (devoted wife) and *sati-savitri* (a chaste wife of mythological sanctity). The Bengali middle class of the time was full of anxieties about imminent Westernization of the woman and the domestic sphere. The ideal woman of the Bengali middle-class household was therefore in sharp and direct contrast to the already Westernized Anglo-Indian woman. The Anglo-Indian woman also responded to the dominant societal stereotyping. For example, Isolde, an Anglo-Indian girl in Laura Roychowdhury's book *The Jadu House,* expresses her pain at being an Anglo-Indian. She felt that the actress (who played the role of an

Anglo-Indian unwed mother in the Hindi film *Julie*) could not get work after this film because she played an Anglo-Indian girl on screen and candidly performed the role of an unmarried mother. She could not escape the scandal of illegitimate motherhood; and Isolde thought that, as an Anglo-Indian girl, she had to suffer shame as well.[97]

Bengali middle-class women before independence seldom ventured out unless forced by financial crisis or, in rare cases, when they were educated and desired independence. Though the situation at present has changed for Bengali women, it has remained quite the same for Anglo-Indian women. They are still yoked to the responsibility of the family and are not free to follow their own goals. Moreover, the presence of the Anglo-Indian girl in the public domain was anathema to the Bengali middle-class conservative sensibilities right up until the twentieth century. The two incompatible modes of social orientation deepened the difference between the Bengali and the Anglo-Indian woman. The dual patriarchy of Hindu brahminical provenance on the one hand and of Anglo-Indian provenance on the other bore down simultaneously on the Anglo-Indian woman. The brahminical patriarchy of the Hindu-Bengali kind eschewed everything *mlechha* (European) or which otherwise did not conform to Hindu prescriptions. Therefore, the Europeanized lifestyle of Anglo-Indians and especially the way the women of the community behaved were against the patriarchal norm of the Hindus.

Moreover, the pro-British role of the Anglo-Indians in British India also fueled a deep antagonism against the community. This feeling was (and is) so deep that many members of the Bengali middle class (still) harbour hostile sentiments which are expressed in terms such as *tash* and *feringhee*. The Anglo-Indians retaliate by using slang terms such as *bong* for Bengalis. They feel that there is a deep prejudice against the Anglo-Indian girl in the Bengali mind and that this is why Bengali families are loathe to accept Anglo-Indian girls as wives. They also think that it is due to the parochial and scornful attitude of the Bengalis towards them that the Anglo-Indians have become so inward-looking and insular. My fieldwork data also suggest that Anglo-Indian men are more open to intercommunity marriages than Anglo-Indian women. Perhaps this corroborates the idea that Anglo-Indian women in particular were forced to draw more distinct boundaries of 'we' and 'they' to ward off the patriarchal domination of Indian society.

Domesticity and Anglo-Indian Women in Colonial Bengal

During the nineteenth century a collection of middle-class European ideas and practices on home and family life became a hegemonic discourse on global space. Over time, as this discourse grew in diversity, there appeared traces and variants of its ideological and practical concerns which could be found in literature like household journals published in India. Scholars have agreed that domesticity was a discourse of the nineteenth century European middle-class—a set of ideas about the proper ordering of the home and family relations that are integral to bourgeois ideology and self-identity linked to industrialization, industrial capitalism and new modes of production of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Central to this discourse was a conviction that the 'natural' order of human relations involved a patriarchal family system with a gendered separation of spheres of activity and the husband at the head of the family unit. Wives came to be known as 'ministering angels of the house' who played important roles as the husband's soul mate, companion and friend. As a product of nineteenth century bourgeois ideology, domesticity was a secular discourse deeply imprinted with Enlightenment themes of order, reason and science. The proper ordering of home and family life would come from the application of science and scientific methodologies to the domestic sphere. At the same time the European bourgeois classes saw themselves as universally hegemonic, which led them to promote domesticity as a natural and universal category of human life.[98]

Print was the popular medium through which the message was spread nineteenth century women regarding domesticity. By the end of the nineteenth century, colonial empires were producing domestic manuals for their own internal consumption. In 1888, Flora Annie Steel wrote *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook* with Grace Gardiner, an Anglo-Indian woman. Their manual remained popular for 20 years, was published in three different editions and reissued multiple times through 1917. In four important (popular) manuals[99] on domesticity published during this period, home was imagined to be a conceptual structure defined by system, order, economy, efficiency and the scientific practice of hygiene. All four manuals naturalized domesticity as a civilized orthodoxy of home and family life. In the Anglo-Indian housewife's manual we see an innate sense of order and cleanliness deployed against the

dirt and chaos of indigenous Indian life. In the Anglo-Indian context, domestic work was seen fit only for servants. The Anglo-Indian woman's proper role in society is supervision of her Indian servants, not the performance of their tasks herself. Educated women, according to the authors, should not do the work of their lazy servants. Here the colonial household becomes the site for contestation between Western civilization and Indian superstitions. The question to which the manual offers suggestions is how to establish proper domestic practices in the face of an ignorant and sometimes hostile servant population. In this view, the Indian servant seems to have been trapped in ancient customs and habits and can be brought back to civilized conduct only through the intervention of an Anglo-Indian mistress.

The Anglo-Indian woman of today carries forward this legacy, and my fieldwork found too many of them boasting of their 'kitchen Hindi', which they usually spoke with their servants and maids. Class and racial boundaries resurface in their interactions and reflections of their conversations with domestic help. Moreover, the responsibility of domesticity of an Anglo-Indian family primarily rests with their women. It is an irony that the community frequently refers to their women as the first 'liberalized' women of India to work outside home. But they fail to consider in addition that the women of their community have carried both the family (domesticity) and the economy of the family (finance) on their shoulders for long enough. The men have often been trivial and irresponsible with regard to these matters. This again corroborates the patriarchal structure of family relationships and community pressure the women face (discussed in detail in Chap. 4, Family and Marriage).

Conclusion

This is not to suggest that only Anglo-Indian men have cultural features distinct from those of their women. Anglo-Indian women are distinct from the women of other communities in India in their dress, language, employment status and other cultural markers such as their affinity towards their schools, among others. But what makes them distinct from the men of the community are the multiple patriarchies they face. However, the quantum of Hindu aggression faced by Anglo-Indian women is not necessarily greater than that faced by the Anglo-Indian men. What is crucial here is the depiction of how the Anglo-Indian woman has been subjugated to multiple layers of patriarchal domination within her community.

She faces the non-Anglo-Indian man not only as a male, with his universal masculine expectations, but additionally as a member of a different community expressing a set of patriarchal expectations different from those of her own community. These women are already *marginalized* as members of an ethnic minority group—the Anglo-Indians. Yet their subjection to multiple patriarchies (caste, gender, racial, majority) *marginalizes* them further even within their own community—that is, they are a minority within the minority group of Anglo-Indians. Thus, they are doubly marginal, doubly minoritised. Their response to society is framed within this multiple-patriarchal setup. Therefore any study of the responses of two generations of Anglo-Indian women living in Kolkata should pay heed to these layers of patriarchies. The next chapters on education, marriage and friendships will explore these issues in more detail.

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CHAPTER 3

Education of the Anglo-Indian Community

The colonial government's imposition of 'native status' on the reluctant members of the Anglo-Indian community in India was a decisive moment in the long history of the evolution of the community under British rule. Slowly after independence, the community came to terms with its native status and started to recognize India as its motherland. The community was granted some rights at the time of independence, but these started to diminish after two decades. This was accompanied by a marked shift in the attitude and outlook of the leaders of the community. During the pre-independence era Anglo-Indians were forced to reappraise the whole question of their future existence and economic survival in India—a future in which education was to play a determining role. Educational guarantees and safeguards had been accorded special protection by the government of India Act of 1935. The leaders of the community realized that to survive, the curriculum and course of studies, patterned as they were after the British system of secondary education, would have to adopt a new orientation. They wanted the members of their community to be educated to improve their job prospects in post-1947 India. This was the time when education became a factor of paramount importance for their development as a community. Earlier, no doubt, there had been educational institutions created for the community; but this was the time when education emerged as a means to an end and, eventually, an end in itself. Thus, the objective criterion of its minority status alongside its subjective identity as an ethnic, marginal minority in India gained significance in the Anglo-Indian community's

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insistence on education as a means of negotiating with majority groups and rapidly changing social structures.

Anglo-Indian women were a significant part of the Anglo-Indian education system from the latter half of the nineteenth century on. As in other parts of the world, notably in Britain, the education of the young was deemed an extension of the nurturing role of women and, therefore, a legitimate sphere of 'public' activity for them. The over-representation of women at the lower (primary) levels of education of boys and girls is a common pattern, and in Calcutta a significant proportion of primary teachers in English medium schools were, until fairly recently, women from the Anglo-Indian community. The image of the Anglo-Indian 'lady' primary teacher does not have a long history, however, and the trend gained importance only after Independence. The Anglo-Indian education system or education for Eurasians had started in the last half of the eighteenth century, when the women of the community were neglected in terms of education, which was given secondary importance in the community during the colonial period. Over time, this pattern changed. At present, women of the younger generation are more educated than women of the older generation. Nevertheless, empirical instances show that men from both the generations have always been and still are more educated than their female counterparts. Education is an important area where the women of the community find themselves in a secondary and subordinate position compared to men. This chapter will focus on the status of the education of women from both generations and on their position vis-à-vis the men of the community. The discussion will include a comparison of the educational level of the respondents in the study[1] with that of their parents and grandparents, the type of schools for they prefer for their children and their command over English as compared to other local languages such as Bengali and Hindi.

Education in Earlier Times

The history of Anglo-Indian education in the pre-independence period had important trajectories which led to the development of educational institutions for the community. At the outset it should be pointed out that at first the terms *Eurasian* and *European* were used interchangeably, though there was a difference between the two. This difference was more subjective than objective because the line of distinction was

often porous. It was only after 1833 that the term *Eurasian* gained currency; an objective distinction from the term *European* was maintained thereafter.

The Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to come to India for trade in the fifteenth century, had thoughts of educating the mixed race they created and of instilling in them Christian doctrines.[2] In the course of time, Portuguese missionaries set up four types of educational institutions in India: parochial schools for elementary education, administered by the missionaries; the orphanages; the Jesuit colleges for higher education; and the seminaries for theological instruction and for training candidates for priesthood.[3] These schools and colleges were open to European, Eurasian and Indian children. The defeat of the Portuguese by the Dutch and the Dutch surrender to the British later forced a change in the orientation towards education. The members of the community at this time either reverted back to Indian cultural patterns or expressed their loyalty towards other European traders and mixed with them.[4] At first the English East India Company did not show much interest in education. They left this task for philanthropic men and the missionaries. The schools that were set up during this time were supported by private donations. The first-ever school was set up in 1673 for children of British or Portuguese descent in Madras to learn English history and customs.[5] It was in 1713 that the Company assumed responsibility for the cause of education in a charter that stated that the Company would provide schoolmasters in all garrisons, factories and wherever else it found it necessary.[6] As a result, three types of schools were started for Eurasian children—charity, military and private schools.[7] A charity school was opened in 1731 in Cossipore. The Kiernander's Mission school was established in the late eighteenth century, the Calcutta Free School in 1800 and the Benevolent Institution in 1810 for poor Eurasian children.[8] The military school that was created after the charters was the Lower Boy's and Girl's Orphanage after 1783. Generally, the orphans of the Upper Military Orphanage were sent to England to complete their education, after which they returned to good positions in the service of the Company. Orphans from the Lower House were given a practical elementary education and later employed in subordinate positions in the Company's service. Girls from both institutions often presented as prospective wives for bachelors, and balls were given for the express purpose of securing proposals of marriage for the young ladies.[9] The third types of schools were private educational institutions

started by missionary and philanthropic initiatives. Numerous such schools were established—at Dharmatollah, Cossipore, Park Street and Howrah. One of the notable institutions of this type was the, founded in 1823. This was the first institution run and supported by Eurasians. This school was a non-sectarian Protestant school under the management of a committee elected from the parents of the pupils. Education was provided in a variety of subjects like Scripture, Latin, Mathematics, English Grammar and Literature, English and Indian History, Political Economy, Geography, among others. In 1835 the Parental Academic Institution was renamed Doveton College; it was later closed in 1916.[10]

The decision to take on a moral obligation to educate people in India had great significance because the East India Company did not take much interest in the education of the Eurasian community in particular. The institutions that were established during this period, like the Calcutta Free School or the military orphanages, were either run by the missionaries or funded by donations collected from the Eurasian community or other individuals. Likewise, a number of educational institutions were set up that aimed at educating Indians. For example, the Calcutta School-Book Society and the Hindu College were established in 1817. It was not considered important by the Company to think about the education of the community because—

> [s]o long as Anglo-Indians were accustomed to look to themselves for the provision of schools for their children, they were at least in that matter a virile community. Their character received a proper stimulus for the necessity to energise for their own welfare. They learnt how to organize their material and moral forces; how to hold together and cooperate in a common cause. [11]

European education was given an impetus in the latter half of the nineteenth century, after the Sepoy Mutiny, when a plan to reward the Anglo-Indian community for its support of the British led to a commitment towards providing education for Anglo-Indian children. This plan was formulated in the 1860s by Bishop Cotton, the Metropolitan of the Church of England in Britain and India, and is referred to as the Magna Carta of European Education in India. It emphasized that the schools were to be supported and maintained both by the government and the Church; these schools would be started and administered by the Church but would receive financial support from the government only if

a specific standard was maintained. During the last half of the nineteenth century a number of schools were established where children of the Anglo-Indian or European parents were admitted. These schools catered to different classes of children: some were for the elite class, while others focused on middle and poor classes.[12] Among the well-known schools established during that time in Calcutta and adjoining areas were the Calcutta Girls' School (1856), La Martiniere School for boys (1836), St. Xavier's School (1860), St. Xavier's College, St. Thomas' Boys' and Girl's School (1861), the Loreto Convent Schools at Sealdah (1857) and at Dharmatollah (1879) and the Calcutta Boy's School (1864).

In 1876 the Anglo-Indian Association came into existence and started to examine the state of European education. Subsequently, a committee with Archdeacon Baly as its secretary toured North and Central India and Bengal and submitted a report (*Report of the Education and Employment of Europeans in Bengal*, 1879) describing the condition of European and Eurasian children's education. It was highlighted that while there were 8567 schools, 4037 European and Eurasian children in Bengal were not in school. Lord Lytton, the viceroy, realized that it was unwise to leave aimless children on the street and there was an urgent need to make adequate arrangements for building the future for these children. In 1833 the Bengal Code for European Schools was compiled, which was to be applicable to the major provinces of British India, namely, Bengal, the United Provinces, Punjab and the Central Provinces.[13] This was perhaps the first organized effort on the part of the British to look into the education of European and the mixed-blood communities in India. This effort was followed by grants to the schools as well as provision for technical and industrial training so these children could earn a livelihood in the future. For girls, special vocational courses were started in St. Helen's and Dow Hill Girl's School in Kurseong in 1902. Though the first school for girls of the community was started in 1856, it took nearly 66 years before vocational courses were provided for them. Most of the girls' school at that time offered courses in stenography (whereas Diversified Courses offered vide Despatch of 1884 and Hunter's Commission in 1882 started for boys), but the code in 1905 recommended supplementary courses of a commercial and industrial nature.[14]

The next important effort taken up by the British was in 1901 when Lord Curzon held a conference at Simla with all Directors of Public Instruction for reviewing the condition of European education in India.

It was from this time onwards that 'European' education started to serve as a framework for Anglo-Indian education, and this was perhaps the first objective situation that reproduced the thin lines of ethnic boundaries—of 'we' the Anglo-Indians, 'they' the Europeans and 'others' the natives. Meanwhile the greatest drawback that the European schools and Anglo-Indian schools faced was a lack of trained, qualified teachers who could offer their candidature for such posts at all levels of education.[15] The Simla Conference, often called the 'half-sister of European Education', was fully representative of all government and voluntary organization as well as the Anglo-Indian community. The chief weaknesses of these schools were a lack of resources and cooperation among the religious bodies providing financial support, a lack of properly trained teachers and overcrowding. The free schools were so overloaded that 7000 European children were left without any school to attend. As against these deficiencies the strong points highlighted at the Simla Conference were the sacrifice of the missionaries and the pioneering work done in the field of women's education in Bengal. The conference urged the government to introduce compulsory education for poorer members of the Anglo-Indian community, who would otherwise not send their children to school. It also asked for free boarding schools to be set up. With this aim, more practical institutional and agricultural education institutions were introduced for destitute children at St. Andrews (later known as Dr. Graham's) Colonial Homes at Kalimpong.

Between 1905 and 1913, there was an increase in number of schools, pupils and expenditures. In addition, five very important developments took place during this period, which had a distinct impact on Anglo-Indian education. The first noteworthy development during this period was introduction of the Cambridge School Certificate Examination under the European Code of 1886 as an alternative to Calcutta University Matriculation. This adoption of a new examination system was to be applicable to all European or Anglo-Indian schools. The second was the introduction of diversified courses at the secondary level. Third came the Revised Code for European Education 1905 and a Revised Code for European Schools in 1910, which prescribed new, upgraded standards for certification of teachers and reclassified European schools into four classes—elementary, higher elementary, secondary and higher secondary. Fourth was the active interest shown by the British government during and after Lord Curzon's viceroyalty (1890–1905): a separate Department of Education, Health and Welfare was set up in

1910. In 1911, after King George's visit to India, a special grant of 50 *lakhs* (or 5,000,000 rupees) was set aside by the Government of India for the education and 300,000 rupees were set aside for Anglo-Indian (European) education.[16]

The main recommendation of the Conference on European Education of 1912 was accepted by the Government of India in its Resolution on Education Policy in 1913. It stated that the government's policy would be to rely on private enterprise, guided by inspection and aid from public funds. It did not accept the view that the most urgent need was the education of those children who did not at present attend school or the improvement of pay and prospects for teachers, and as a result, the pay for teachers in these schools remained the same. Still this resolution was followed by Imperial grants, administration and other actions till the First World War broke out in 1914 and education inevitably suffered due to a contraction of available funds. Nevertheless, slow and wavering progress had been made during the war years, especially regarding the number of pupils in school. In 1912–1917 the Quinquennial Report for Bengal recorded significant progress in the quality of teachers recruited, especially women. Still, an unofficial enquiry made in Calcutta pointed out that the education of the poorest Anglo-Indian children was not satisfactory,[17] as it did not prepare them for earning a decent living. In addition to the inadequacy of the educational system for poor Anglo-Indian children during this period, the need for an education with a practical orientation as well as the need for well-trained teachers employed at decent emoluments continued.

Education in the Post-War Years

The post-war years were fraught with difficulties like lack of capital and good technical education, but one of the most important developments of this period was the birth and growth of a new type of school: the Higher Grade School. These schools introduced a new school-leaving examination called the Higher Grade Examination. This was later recognized by the government as equivalent to matriculation, and the nature of education imparted was vocational. Only later on (1922–1927) was it realized that such courses were too narrow and too expensive and that these schools had forgotten their primary function—to assume the functions of a secondary school. Though these schools were set up to meet the strong demand from the Eurasian community for a more

practical orientation in education in the wake of the recommendations by the Hunter Commission (1882), the Simla Conference (1912), the Government of India Resolution on Education (1904–1913) and Saddler's Commission (1917), many schools finally dropped the Higher Grade Examination even though the number of candidates preparing for this examination had doubled during 1922–1937.[18] In fact, Bengal was the first province to start an institution in response to repeated agitation from members of the Anglo-Indian community protesting against a purely literary education. As a result, in 1935, out of 68 institutions in Bengal, 20 were Higher Grade Schools.

The political reform that followed Non-Cooperation and Quit India movements resulted in the Government of India Act of 1921 stating that the education department henceforth would become the responsibility of an Indian minister answerable to a legislature composed of Indians and Europeans. But in all provinces except in Burma, European education was considered a 'provincial reserved subject' in charge of a member of the executive council of the provincial government. There was a fear among members of the community that the education system would collapse under the stewardship of an Indian. Though the colonial government eventually withdrew itself from awarding of grants and recognition, the Anglo-Indian and European schools still continued to receive special attention and some protection from the government. Anglo-Indian education continued to be treated separately and was kept apart from mainstream national education. This had two effects on the Anglo-Indian schools: First, Anglo-Indian or European schools were saved from the total dissolution that followed the Swadeshi and the Non-Cooperation movements. Second, as these Anglo-Indian or European schools were relatively insulated against nationalist ideals, they were further isolated from mainstream education, politics and social life. But this did not affect their popularity. In 1901–1908, there were 7877 pupils in these schools, of which 592 were non-Europeans (7.5%); while in 1926–1927, of 10,082 pupils 1685 were non-Europeans (16.7%).[19] The Act of 1921 clearly defined Anglo-Indians as statutory Indians and gave them reserved seats in the legislature. The leaders of the community started stressing the relative isolation of these schools and started thinking of making these schools more available to other Indians. As a result, in the Conference of the Heads of European Schools in 1921, it was suggested that 15% of the students in these schools should be from non–Anglo-Indian community. Later the Government raised this limit to 25%. As a

result, the barrier between the Anglo-Indian and the other communities started to develop some holes, and the isolation that this community faced previously was relatively relaxed. The Sadler Commission in 1917 had recommended that European schools teach principal vernaculars and that the study of Oriental languages such as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic should be included in the curriculum. The leaders of the community had not paid much heed to such recommendations—a fact that once again demonstrates how deep the ethnic boundary set by the community really was. So the relative relaxation of that boundary, which the community allowed by opening their school gates to other communities, was only a measured act of permissiveness, not a call for integration into the majority community.

The Hartog Committee in 1929 again recommended that Indian languages should replace English as medium of instruction in secondary schools, that vocational training should be encouraged and that more diversified courses should be introduced at the secondary-school level. One of the main proposals put forward by this commission was that European education should cease to remain a 'provincial reserved subject'. After much debate on European and Anglo-Indian education by the sub-committee of the Second Round Table Conference, in 1934 it was resolved that Anglo-Indian education would be under the Inter-Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European education under the Provincial Boards of European Education.[20]

In 1936, the government officially recognized the 'provincial' status of teachers in European schools by initiating an official Register of Recognized Teachers in European schools. As a result, conditions for teacher's salary grants were liberalized and schools were free to pay whatever salaries they chose. This grant to the schools was given as a fixed percentage of their total salary bill for all approved teachers.[21] The sub-committee of the Round Table Conference had recommended that the education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians should have special protection in several provinces, which required better cooperation. To meet this end the Inter-Provincial Board was established after 1933. The beginning of the Second World War and the accelerating tempo of the nationalist movement resulted in a new attitude towards this community. Most of the Anglo-Indian and European schools at that time had European teachers and head teachers. The economic depression of 1930s had left the community with limited avenues of employment. Most of the schools were run by funds launched in England by the Church of

England. With nationalist struggles intensifying, these European teachers started to leave their jobs, and thus funds declined. Moreover, many men and women teachers had left teaching to join the armed forces. Educational guarantees and safeguards were given special protection by the Government of India Act of 1935. However, the leaders realized that if Anglo-Indian education were to survive, it had to develop a new orientation. The Zakir Hussain Committee of 1937, the Report of Central Advisory Board of Education in 1944 and the Barnes Commission Report in 1944 dealt with some important spheres of Anglo-Indian education. The Zakir Hussain Committee suggested that the nature of education should be outlined by the basic needs of the country. The Central Advisory Board's recommendation was to establish a modern educational system on Western lines. The Barnes Commission report suggested a re-orientation of Anglo-Indian schools, while still retaining their distinctive character. These recommendations and suggestions had a tremendous effect on the Anglo-Indian schools and education system.[22]

Anglo-Indian Education After Independence

After the turn of the century the term *European* schools had been replaced by *Anglo-Indian* schools. This change was possible because the term *European* was applied to Europeans who permanently lived in India and was therefore synonymous with *domiciled Europeans* . After some time the term *Eurasian* was replaced by *Anglo-Indian* with reference to persons of mixed European and Indian ancestry. This created confusion at the institutional level. It assumed that Anglo-Indian schools, which usually functioned for the benefit of Anglo-Indian children, were no longer restricted to any particular racial and cultural group.[23]

The independence of India in 1947 had had its effect on the Anglo-Indian community. This period was marked by serious social outbursts and expressions of ethnic pride. This again initiated changes in the nature of the Anglo-Indian school, its curriculum, use of English and the like. Amidst rapid Indianization, Anglo-Indian schools were still identified as having a strong European influence. This created dual agendas for Anglo-Indian schools—on the one hand, a fervour to cement a distinct Anglo-Indian character and, on the other hand, a need to dispense with anything that was considered European. Frank Anthony, one of the prominent leaders of the community at this time, declared that to identify Anglo-Indian schools with 'Europeanness' would be snobbery

and arrogance. This attitude, he considered, would be injurious to the national pride of Anglo-Indians as Indians and at the same time a serious drawback for the distinct identity and culture of the community.[24] Thus we see a dialectic tension between the two worlds. Anthony proposed that the Barnes Committee recommendations would need to be taken seriously if Anglo-Indian schools were to survive the competition of time.[25] He emphasized the need to raise the standard of instruction in regional languages in Anglo-Indian schools. At the same time, he was also sceptical of this 'extravagant demand' because he feared that if such a step were effectively implemented the distinctiveness of Anglo-Indian schools might be imperilled. But he also realized that, under the circumstances of his times, the improvement of vernacular instruction was a prerequisite if the community wished to survive economically.

Article 337 of the Constitution of India specified certain safeguards and guaranteed protection of Anglo-Indian schools, with their special code and character, for a period of 10 years after the promulgation of the new constitution in 1950. Such guaranteed protections included financial aid that was to extend over a period of 10 years at a diminishing rate of 10% every 3 years. These grants were given on the condition that at least 40% of the students enrolled in these schools were non–Anglo-Indians. Since 1960, however, the conditions of Article 337 guaranteeing financial assistance to Anglo-Indian schools have ceased to be applied, though many of the state governments still provide grants (as in West Bengal) to almost all private schools, including Anglo-Indian schools. Articles 29 and 30 are of a general character and applicable to all minority communities, including the Anglo-Indians. Article 29 states that any group of citizens residing in the territory of India having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same and that no citizen shall be denied funds from state governments solely on the basis of religion, race, caste or language. Article 30 states that all minorities shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

Ethnicity and Anglo-Indian Education System

The Anglo-Indian school is distinctive mainly for the nature of its curriculum and medium of instruction. Though there are other English medium schools, Anglo-Indian schools are distinctive because such schools are aimed at admitting children from the community. Throughout the

twentieth century these schools have been undergoing a continuous process of change. Early in the twentieth century the basis of selecting students was liberalized, but even then not more than one-fourth of the students could be from non–Anglo-Indian communities. The ratio has now been revised; in most of the schools the majority of students are neither European nor Anglo-Indian but instead represent other communities in India. Actually, the number of Anglo-Indian students in these schools is relatively small, in some instances less than 5% of the total enrolment.[26]

The idea of Anglo-Indian schools as specific cultural and educational safeguards for the community was welcomed by the state government in West Bengal. The school authorities were directed to admit at least 40% non–Anglo-Indians into their schools. Under the Constitution, education was considered a state subject. Therefore, some state governments curtailed their own powers over these institutions, while others did not. The example of Bombay shows the significance of the ethnic status of a community and its response to any threat to its culture and identity—as represented by its schools in this context.

The Bombay government, in 1950–1951, placed emphasis on imparting education in the child's mother tongue. The Anglo-Indian schools in the state felt threatened by this, as they thought their identification with the English language was now under attack. Since most of their students were non–Anglo-Indian, severe outrage and strong emotional outbursts were expressed. Frank Anthony labelled this policy as 'educational apartheid'. He urged school authorities to keep schools closed for an indefinite period. This also helped to organize public opinion against such intentions. The Bombay government's claim that only non-Asiatic children or Eurasians could identify English as their mother tongue was also a severe blow to the community. They pointed out the fact that the central government was still using English in official business transactions. Frank Anthony asked schools to deny admission to pupils from other communities. The government was compelled to suspend their hasty decision owing to such relentless and vociferous pressure from the community. Leaders of the community were proud to proclaim that 'they have stood apart from 'regional-cum-linguistic chauvinism'' and have proved to be 'an unqualified boon to all Indians'. In 1958, Frank Anthony founded the All India Anglo-Indian Education Society, devoted to the promotion of education and educational pursuits. Several Anglo-Indians schools were established in India by this society. Anthony addressed the Annual General Meeting of the All India Anglo-Indian

Association in 1966 to say, 'Without our language, without our schools we cannot be an Anglo-Indian Community'. Soon the community took up the cause of reorienting Anglo-Indian Schools to admit new-generation Anglo-Indians not as Europeans but as Indians, that is, 'part of the community to perpetuate some form of snobbery and snobbery rather than pride in an Anglo Indian identity'.[27] In 1958 the Council for the Indian School Certificate replaced the Cambridge Local Syndicate, which functioned under the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education.

Despite debates over the Bombay School case in 1954, the government introduced the Official Languages Bill in 1962. The bill became law in 1965 and Hindi became the official language of India. The Anglo-Indian community started to raise its voice against such 'Hindi imperialism'. Finally in 1967, under the leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the Official Language (Amendment) Bill was passed, resolving the language debate. Frank Anthony advocated teaching Hindi as a compulsory second language in all Anglo-Indian schools and promoted the teaching of regional languages and the three-languages formula in the Anglo-Indian education system. Frank Anthony defended his position by saying that he was not against the use of Hindi per se, but had objections to Hindi's being the sole official language at the expense of English. The community's reluctance to use any language other than English as a means of communication was a proof of their strong ethnic affiliation. As the community found it more and more difficult to find jobs and compete with non–Anglo-Indians, they gradually settled down in stereotypical clerical jobs with low wages that could not offer economic security to their families. Language again proved a hindrance towards attaining higher education, especially after special protections ceased in 1960.

Continuing efforts have been made by educationists of the community to improve the quality of education in Anglo-Indian schools. In 1958, the Council for the Indian School Certificate was established, with representatives from various educational bodies and institutions. The majority of Anglo-Indian schools are affiliated with the Council, but other English medium institutions are also included in the cooperative programmes. Since English is the mother tongue of Anglo-Indian children, they attend schools in which the English language is the medium of instruction. Further, the community or the schools themselves provide special benefits, financial or otherwise, enabling Anglo-Indian children to attend these schools. These schools are the only type of educational institution serving the interest and needs of the community. The admission

of Anglo-Indian students in these schools is maintained on a most-favoured basis. This policy means that numbers of children from other communities may in fact be excluded to provide space and instruction to Anglo-Indian students. Such a policy surely indicates that Anglo-Indian schools and the community in general recognize their special responsibility for the education of Anglo-Indian children.[28] Weighed down by economic and educational insecurities, these Anglo-Indian schools tried hard maintain Anglo-Indian traditions by hiring Anglo-Indian staff. The All India Anglo-Indian Education Institutions Policy 'was to hire a majority of Anglo-Indian staff as means of preserving Anglo-Indian tradition and culture'.[29] To quote, A.A. D'Souza, an eminent educationist of the community, '[t]he Anglo-Indian schools, especially in West Bengal, played their part, realizing that it was a primary responsibility of theirs to educate the younger generation of Anglo-Indians to fit into their the new and constantly changing socio-economic and cultural pattern of the infant Republic'.[30]

Funds and Scholarships for Anglo-Indian Students

The All India Anglo-Indian Association raises sizeable funds to be distributed as scholarships or grants-in-aid to enable students to attend schools or college. Some of the scholarships and stipends are scarcely within the reach of many students; often the students cannot qualify for them and many do not provide enough assistance to enable destitute or otherwise indigent students to attend schools due to additional expenses.[31] There are 54 Anglo-Indian schools with seat reservations and other facilities for students from the community in West Bengal, 35 of which are in Kolkata alone. Anglo-Indian students attending such schools enjoy facilities like sponsorship, books, uniforms, medical help, lunch and free education. The percentage of such students in Anglo-Indians schools has decreased from 95% in 1916 (when they were called European Schools) to 31 in 1960 to 5% in 1999. Comparatively, the number of non–Anglo-Indian pupils has increased from 5% in 1916 to 69% in 1960 to 95% in 1999.[32] This does not mean Anglo-Indian boys and girls are more illiterate now than were earlier. The fact is that the Anglo-Indian population has decreased over time with the result that Anglo-Indian schools at present are increasingly thriving on non–Anglo-Indian pupils. Compared to this, the numbers of Anglo-Indians teachers at these schools have shown only a slight increase. The percentage

of trained Anglo-Indian teachers in such schools in 1947 was nearly 60% compared to nearly 62% in 1960. In 1999, there were less than 10% Anglo-Indian teachers in Anglo-Indian schools. Nearly 72% of Anglo-Indian Heads of Anglo-Indian Schools are post-graduates with professional qualifications and nearly 14% are graduates. Only 30% of Anglo-Indian teachers are graduates compared to 52% who are just high school pass-outs. Less than 1% have post-graduate qualifications. Of the 10% of principals of these schools who are Anglo-Indians only 1% are women. Nineteen percent of all teachers teach classes IX & X as compared to 51% who teach classes I to IV; 28% teach nursery classes and only less than 1% teach classes IX to XII. Out of all the Anglo-Indian schools in Kolkata, 33% are meant for girls, 45% are exclusively boys' school and 12% are co-educational.[33]

The above data show that the number of Anglo-Indian teachers in Anglo-Indian schools has declined drastically while the number of Anglo-Indian students has also shown a decline. Obviously then, the Anglo-Indian schools are depending on non–Anglo-Indian students and are no longer a potential source of employment for Anglo-Indians. This also suggests that the number of educated Anglo-Indians with requisite qualification to be teachers at these schools has declined over the years. This does not mean the Anglo-Indian teachers in the earlier days were sufficiently qualified for such jobs. At earlier times, for example, before independence, it was sufficient to be an Anglo-Indian to be a teacher at Anglo-Indian schools. But at present this is not the case and, as such, Anglo-Indian teachers at Anglo-Indian schools are decreasing. The other important reason for the decline of Anglo-Indian teachers at Anglo-Indian schools is that quite a number of Anglo-Indians have emigrated over the years. The sharp decline of Anglo-Indian teachers in the 1990s and after is the result of this emigration.

Hierarchy in Anglo-Indian Schools

The institutional hierarchy which has developed within the Anglo-Indian school system reflects the economic stratification of the community and its place in the social structure of Indian society. The elitist schools ordinarily have a small enrolment of Anglo-Indians because the high tuition fees are often prohibitive and because academic standards are too rigorous for many students. Generally the elitist schools tend to attract students from the higher economic strata, whether Hindu, Parsee, Indian

Christian or any other community. Anglo-Indian representation in low-status schools is higher than in middle- or upper-class institutions.[34] Numerous Anglo-Indian schools charge tuition fees beyond the financial reach of most Anglo-Indian families. Therefore special provisions are made for enrolment fees of Anglo-Indians students in the Anglo-Indian schools, which range from 25 to 75 rupees per month, depending in part on their educational level, whether primary, secondary or college. There are usually other expenses as well. Some of these schools operate at a profit, which may be used to finance scholarships for Anglo-Indian students, permitting them to attend a school which otherwise would be too expensive.[35] The Association Report often states that the request for scholarships frequently falls short of the number of scholarships available. It can be conjectured, therefore, that the shortage is due to a lack of students or parental interest and not due to a lack of opportunities. That the number of applications allegedly falls short of the number of scholarships available may be due to indifference to education on the part of parents who urge their children to leave school and seek a job.[36] The absence of a tradition of higher education often leads to a lack of urgency in persuading and motivating children to attend college.[37]

School administrators and teachers generally agree that Anglo-Indian students as a group have a less impressive scholastic record than Hindus or other students of comparable age in the same school. This reflects differences in the strength of intellectual motivation and can scarcely be explained convincingly on the basis of hereditary limitations. In fact motivational weakness for solid achievement in academic subjects or limited interest in such matters undoubtedly reflects the social influences of what might be called the Anglo-Indian subculture.[38] Children of Anglo-Indian families often find themselves comparatively disadvantaged and handicapped in school due to the social environment in which they live. Understandably, they start disliking school and eventually form the bulk of the dropouts. Anglo-Indian children often face a serious dilemma of conflicting emotional pressures. If they want a good job, they have to aspire to higher education. Yet if they stay at school, they feel like misfits and yearn to leave and get a job to make quick money. Another reason the Anglo-Indians can feel uncompetitive at school is because they are rarely participants in the vast market of after-school tuitions. Such surplus academic help is offered often enough by the schoolteachers themselves, who impart extra instruction to the economically privileged

among their students.[39] Moreover, teachers in these schools often treat Anglo-Indian children differently. Emily (name changed), one of the respondents, said that her teacher often ridiculed her in front of the class as 'the privileged who was not suited'. Another young girl Mary (name changed) alleged that she was denied admission at a premier management institute because she was an Anglo-Indian. At the time of her interview she was asked to describe in what ways she thought an Anglo-Indian girl like her would behave. Before she could furnish a response, her interviewers answered the question for her, and unsurprisingly, they painted an infelicitous image of Anglo-Indian girls. She was not considered for the course and, of course, felt that the prejudice and discrimination in the minds of the non–Anglo-Indians directed against the Anglo-Indians, especially the women, had resulted in her rejection.

Anglo-Indian Teachers

In the recent past, Anglo-Indian teachers were mostly engaged as primary teachers. Teaching is still considered the most valued profession in the community. The two colleges in Kolkata that house teachers' training departments for prospective Anglo-Indian and other English medium schools are Loreto College and St Xavier's College. They cater to the 'special needs of Anglo-Indian and other English medium schools'. Till 1960, Anglo-Indian schools in West Bengal had actual training facilities, but the number and quality of trainee teachers fall far short of the expected standards. The school authorities have made provisions for attracting men and women to such training programmes, but still such problems have not been solved. The Annual Report of the Inspector of Anglo-Indian Schools (1959–1960) stated that the main problem facing Anglo-Indian Schools is to attract and retain a sufficient number of teachers. The present Anglo-Indian teacher are ineffectual in the sense that they have a poor command over English language and its use compared to the new non Anglo-Indian recruits.

The English language, as the only medium of instruction in Anglo-Indian schools, has gained importance because it has proved beneficial for students who want to pursue higher education. Though there are non–Anglo-Indian English medium schools as well, the premier English medium schools are Anglo-Indian schools. So the demand for admitting children to such schools is on the increase. These schools now

include a large number of non–Anglo-Indian students. Moreover, school authorities are reluctant to include non–Anglo-Indians as teachers in these schools because of their poor command of the English language. Additionally, there is the government policy urging school authorities to employ teachers with good academic qualifications. This has restricted the hiring of Anglo-Indians as teachers in Anglo-Indian schools, especially in the higher grades. The Anglo-Indian teachers at these schools are only in the lower (primary) and the middle levels (from standard V to standard VII). So the schools which were meant to improve the condition of the community have deviated from their purpose.

The Use of the English Language in Anglo-Indian Schools

While the community has insisted on the use of English in Anglo-Indian schools, it has used also these schools as a primary source of meeting its economic needs. After the covenanted posts in British India were closed for the community, it started to look for opportunities to initiate institutions which could train its members for other posts. The same thing recurred after Indian government imposed restrictions on the employment and educational opportunities of the community. To combat the competition they faced from non–Anglo-Indians, they soon flocked to the occupation they could themselves provide—teaching in Anglo-Indian schools. As Anglo-Indians were allowed to carry on with their own educational system, they defended it. A.A. D'Souza, an eminent educationist of the community says that the continued existence of the Anglo-Indian School, at least as far as the Anglo-Indian community is concerned, would therefore appear to be virtually a matter of life and death.[40] To the community, the schools they run are a source of pride, a contribution to the country's development, a way to economic solvency and a means of maintaining ethnic boundary.

Anglo-Indian Women and Education in Kolkata

If we were to enumerate the important aspects of how the Anglo-Indians relate to the education system, they would be their response to the education system they have built, the level of education attained by the Anglo-Indians, their insistence on English as a medium of instruction at

these schools and their ethnic identity expressed through their insistence on the use of the language in communication.

The study of Anglo-Indian women in Kolkata revealed that 50% of the women from the younger generation had graduated as compared to the 25% of the older age group. The percentage of women who did not study at all or did not attend any school was greater in the older generation as compared to the younger (8% for the older generation versus 4% for the younger generation). This is interesting in two ways. One, the community members—especially the leaders of the community—often boast of the literacy rate and the educational standard of the community. The figures, however, show that there is still a sizeable number in the community who are illiterate. Second, conversing in English and knowing Western etiquette and manners are not necessarily an effect of formal education, as many Anglo-Indians may try to argue. Another aspect of the Anglo-Indian life in Kolkata is suggested by these data: Men in comparison to the women of the community are more educated. There is a sizeable amount of men from the older generation who have completed post-graduate studies (40%), and in addition there are no men from the two generations who have not studied or never been to any school. Does this show a male bias? The point in question is corroborated by the occupational status of Anglo-Indian men in comparison to Anglo-Indian women. The men of the community work in better jobs. The data shows that men from both the generations are (were) working as administrators or principals in schools, while the women are (were) employed in more in stereotypical occupations. Men took up riskier, more challenging jobs while women stayed within a set limit of choices.

The men from the older generation say that they (80% of them) wanted to study further, while only 39% of the women from the older generation said the same. The women from the younger generation outnumbered the men who wanted to study further (65% in comparison to 60%). This can be corroborated by the remarks of the Anglo-Indian men and women under study. Sixty percent of the men and 37% of the women from the older generation and 61% women and 40% men from the younger generation said that their parents did not want them to study further. This shows that, on the one hand, the Anglo-Indian community lacks a general interest in education, though there is an increase in such interest among the younger generation and, on the other hand, that parents of the women from the younger generation were more reluctant to encourage higher studies for their daughters than for their

sons. This shows there is still a general lack of interest and motivation regarding education not only among Anglo-Indians of the present generation under study but also among their parents. Another important contention among Anglo-Indians is that they want to earn money early in life and that is why they do not invest so much time and effort in higher education. However, though most of the Anglo-Indians (77%) agreed on the importance of education, only 17% wanted to begin working early and had left their studies for that reason. Therefore, the aforementioned contention of the Anglo-Indians is not corroborated. It is a mere idea unsubstantiated by fact. It is more evident that Anglo-Indians, both women and men, lack an interest in education. This can be established by a comparison of the educational achievements of the Anglo-Indians under study with those of their previous generations.

The data gathered from my research shows that 17% of the mothers of the younger generation under study did not go to any school, compared to 14% of the mothers of the older generation. Added to that, 14% of the grandmothers of the younger generation and 19% of the grandmothers of the men and women from the older generation did not attend any school. This shows that women of the Anglo-Indian community were to a large extent illiterate and that this has been a tradition in the Anglo-Indian community. Nine percent of the fathers of the Anglo-Indians of the younger generation did not attend any school, in comparison to 19% of the older generation. In addition 20% of the grandfathers of the younger generation and 31% of the grandfathers of the older generation did not attend any school. This shows a growing awareness of the importance of education, as more Anglo-Indians are going to school over the generations, but there is certainly a male bias. The number of Anglo-Indian men in both generations have realized this is larger in comparison to the few women over the generations who have realized this and attended school. None of the parents and grandparents of the Anglo-Indians under study had passed graduation. It may be concluded, then, that the awareness of the importance of higher education has gradually increased among the Anglo-Indians. This also shows something else. A greater number of the mothers of the older generation had passed standard X (19% for mothers of the younger generation and 35% for the mothers of the older generation) in comparison to the fathers. The women of this generation took up jobs as steno-typists and secretaries early in life. These jobs required fluency in English and typewriter skills. This type of occupation did not require much formal education. Most

interesting is that 86% of Anglo-Indians, both women and men, from the younger generation did not know the level of the education attained by their grandmothers. The same was true (81%) of the Anglo-Indians of the older generation. A sizeable number could not say anything regarding the education of their grandfathers either, but the number who could not say anything about their grandmothers was still significantly larger. Does this again show a male bias? The history of the evolution of the community and literature on the Anglo-Indian community prove that the Anglo-Indian women of community went unrepresented or were absent in the written history of the community. Therefore, this might be an effect of the bias that prevailed among the members of the community: either they did not want to talk about their grandmothers or they did not actually know about them.

Most of the Anglo-Indians (63%) under study preferred Anglo-Indian school to any other schools. But few among them (32%) were willing to send their children to any English medium school. Only 5% of the Anglo-Indians studied said any school of whichever medium of instruction was good enough for their children. From this, it may be deduced that, firstly, the identification of the Anglo-Indians with their schools, with 'their' language and 'their' culture is very strong. Secondly, there is virtually no difference between the generations and between genders when it comes to their preference of schools for their children. This again corroborates the strong ethnic identity of the Anglo-Indians. All the members of the community who were interviewed had a preference for Anglo-Indian schools and described these schools as 'our schools'. In order to come across as logical rather than emotional, they argue in favour of the discipline in their schools, the way of teaching, the good name of these schools and the insistence on English as the medium of instruction. All of Anglo-Indians said that it was 'their language', and therefore there could be no other preference. Though there were some who specified Christian teachings imparted in these schools as equally important, it was their underlying emotional attachment to their schools that surpassed all logic. Sixty-five percent of the Anglo-Indians interviewed said that they had needed financial help educating themselves and continue to need financial help educating their children. Out of them, 32% had taken financial help from the schools and 22% declared that they had taken help from the All Indian Anglo-Indian Association by way of subsidized tuition fees and other facilities for their children or for themselves.

English as a medium of instruction in Anglo-Indian schools is very important to the Anglo-Indians. There are two aspects to this. One, English is their mother tongue. The language in which they speak is not simply 'their language'—it is an identity. It is a mark of their extra-Indian origins, establishing their kinship with Europeans, who retain an aura of power from the colonial past. Today's Anglo-Indians identify with the language and enjoy a bond with it; it has become the expression of their being. Second, it is the language they are familiar with. Ninety-two percent of Anglo-Indians interviewed said that they always started a conversation in English, though they can switch over to any other language depending on the person with whom they are conversing. There is not much difference in terms of gender and generation with regard to this characteristic. Most interestingly, 8% said that English is the only language they are familiar with. Forty-four percent of the Anglo-Indians from the older generation interviewed said that they did not feel confident while speaking in Hindi or Bengali. Fifty-eight percent of the Anglo-Indians of the younger generation also thought that they were not confident while speaking Hindi or Bengali. This is contrary to what the leaders of the community assert. They say that the Anglo-Indians of the younger generation are more inclusive in their use of language; and therefore, they claim that the marginal position of the community in India as alleged by the scholars and non–Anglo-Indians is false. Most of the Anglo-Indians of the younger generation studied under the three-tier-language system in India. Most of them, if not all, claimed that learning Bengali at school was by far the most difficult aspect of their school education. This can be corroborated by the increasing number of dropouts. Most of them are weak in the vernacular, mathematics and science subjects. The present researcher has also heard some of the Anglo-Indians speak in Bengali. Their Bengali vocabulary is worse than their Hindi. One of the reasons for this may be that the locality where most Anglo-Indians under study live is a Hindi-speaking area, and their domestic help comes entirely from the Hindi-speaking Muslims. One of the respondents, Daniel (name changed), of the older age group said that Anglo-Indians speak the language of the *ayahs* (babysitters) and it is from them that they learn any language for the first time. Moreover, the friends and neighbours they have are all Hindi-speaking, barring the few Anglo-Indian, Jewish or Parsi friends they have, with whom they speak in English. Most interestingly, during my visits to Anglo-Indian clubs and recreational locales, I have noticed the presence of a number

of Bengalis who speak exclusively in English and almost never speak in their language even when they are among themselves. Therefore, among the middle classes, the language of interaction between a Bengali and an Anglo-Indian is always English. Barring a few exceptions, the medium of communication for the Anglo-Indian is always English unless they are forced to speak in other languages. Interestingly enough, the Anglo-Indian women of the younger generation show a greater preference than the men of the same generation for Hindi as compared to Bengali. But it is not the same for the members of the older generation of Anglo-Indians.

As a corollary to the above, 83% of the women of the younger age group think their Hindi is much better than their Bengali, 56% can read and write in Hindi and only 8% can read and write in Bengali. This shows the level of their Bengali comprehension and also shows their lack of interest in the language. All of these women learned Bengali at school as a part of their compulsory curriculum. An important question arises here: does the Anglo-Indian feel denying a command of Bengali would better establish their identity and pedigree as an Anglo-Indian? Do they fear that their ethnic identity claims, rooted as they are in English, would be wrecked if they were to concede to full facility of comprehension and communication in Bengali? The answer may be in the affirmative. Their emotional attachment to and ethnic identity based on their language is so intense that the Anglo-Indians under study often posed as if they could understand the local language, even when they could understand and speak in either Bengali or Hindi. The leaders of the community discourage such behaviour and encourage members of the community to speak in other languages, but the average Anglo-Indians do not always comply. The men from the younger generation were more open than the women of the same generation to the question, and were candid in their response that even though they had learnt Bengali at school as per their curriculum, they could not master the language, and were of the opinion that their speaking prowess in Hindi was much better than in Bengali. This shows that the women of the community feel pressure to be an 'Anglo-Indian' more than the men, and this makes their position in the community more marginal and their expressions of their ethnic identity more intense. The same is true for the Anglo-Indian women of the older generation.

With the growing importance of English as a language of communication, it is quite surprising to note the state of affairs with a community

whose mother tongue is English. Moreover, in a globalized era, with liberalization of markets, the importance of English as a spoken language is far reaching. But for the community in question and for the women of the community in particular this is not an advantage. They are forced to speak in other languages in conversations; and most young Anglo-Indians get poor marks and eventually fail examinations because they are not able to perform well in the local language and Hindi. Mostly, they speak English at home and with friends who are from the community, but they fail to make friends outside the community unless they are proficient in the local language or if the friends are proficient in speaking English. The schools that they had built for the children of the community now recruit non–Anglo-Indians in quite large numbers because they have learnt to speak the language and have comparable academic records. The Anglo-Indian women who were employed as teachers in these schools because they could speak well in English are now failing to keep pace with new non–Anglo-Indian recruits. So the language which had set them apart and given them an opportunity for employment is no longer an advantage. The same phenomena occurred in one recent employment sector in the city. When the call centres first appeared in Kolkata city, it was the Anglo-Indian boys and girls who were hired in large numbers because they were proficient in speaking the language usually required; but soon the Anglo-Indians faced competition and challenges from members of the other communities, who could also speak English and sometimes had higher-level formal education than any average Anglo-Indian. The Anglo-Indians' uncomfortable experience with speaking the local language pushes them to a margin where they are left with little choice. Though the leaders of the community claim that its members, especially the younger generation, can speak the local language, even the younger members still insist on starting a conversation in English or carrying out the entire conversation in English. This, combined with their having attained only a minimum to lower level of formal education, works to their disadvantage. This is in most part true for Anglo-Indian men and women living in the poorer areas of the city. The comparatively rich Anglo-Indians are better placed in this context since they can afford to mix with people (locals) who are well conversant in English. So the problem of the community with language is most prevalent among the poorer strata and is a problem for the average Anglo-Indian as well. Any negotiation around language (as was seen earlier), which is the very lifeblood of the community, is obscure. From the late

1990s on, the community and its leadership have failed to take up the issue and deal with it.

Conclusion

Anglo-Indian schools have evolved slowly to sustain the community's educational needs and have now evolved as a source of economic security for the community. The schools have become an integral part of the community's identity. But there exists a gender and class bias. Our memories of Anglo-Indian teachers are of teachers in the lower grades. Very few Anglo-Indian female teachers are teach at the senior levels, and there are only a handful of them serving as principals or as representatives of the council under the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education. Anglo-Indian male teachers, on the contrary, teach in higher classes and are more qualified than female teachers. Clearly then, there exists a power grid dominated by gender bias in these institutions. Moreover, there are fewer girls' schools in Kolkata than boys' schools. This perhaps marks a continuation of colonial habits, when women's education was not a priority of the community. There exists a class differentiation within Anglo-Indian schools and the children who attend these schools. For some Anglo-Indians of the upper class, premier Anglo-Indian schools are institutions where they are members of the board and these are the schools where they send their children. For others, admission to such schools may be easy, but the children find it difficult to maintain the standards set by the schools. Further, most Anglo-Indians who are employed in these schools are either in low-paid clerical jobs or are employed as teachers in the lower grades, where the payment is similarly low. Not only that, but, as Robyn Andrews says, the English language in these Anglo-Indian schools has proven to be problematic for the community. Though learning English has been of premier importance in India till now, the community which has English as its mother tongue (knowledge and facility in English is a mark of higher class status among the Indian population in general) has not been fully literate. This again has its reflection in the job market. Until recently, Anglo-Indians had been employed as stenographers, secretaries and other clerical jobs with low wages. It was only after the 1990s that Anglo-Indian boys and girls began to show an interest in pursuing higher education, which resulted in greater occupational diversity. The younger generation aspires to upward mobility through better-paying jobs. But this is a very recent

trend, and since unemployment is a social problem in India, the conditions of the Anglo-Indians seeking jobs remain an important problem.

The insistence on drawing boundaries between 'we' and 'they'—between 'their' and 'our' schools—and the need to attend reputable Anglo-Indian schools in spite of economic hardship, hinder the progress of the Anglo-Indians in school and subsequently leave a deeper imprint on their personality. Their pride is hurt when they fail to perform well at school, and they recoil within the limits and boundaries of the Anglo-Indian identity. So the schools that emerged as a means to uphold their identity and ensure their survival as a community before independence have now turned into a hindrance to the progress of the new members of the community, reinforcing a separateness that grows more difficult to sustain as the years pass. Now the Anglo-Indian school has become an end in itself for some and a means to an end for others. The women of the community particularly face a problem in these schools. The social status of the women teachers at lower grades is usually low. Their lower remuneration does not help improve their economic position either. Moreover, the stereotypical occupation pattern of a teacher puts them in a vulnerable position. They cannot break out of it, and at the same time this stereotype imposes a pressure to carry on becoming teachers. Further, the decreasing number of teachers at school, especially women teachers in lower grades, tends to isolate them socially and culturally in the workplace. Yet they find it hard to break away from the stereotypical occupation patterns. Hence, we have a vicious circle pushing Anglo-Indian women further and further into a marginal position.

Notes

1. See Unpublished Dissertation of author (Sudarshana Sen), '*Gender and Generation: Patterns of Response of Anglo-Indian Women Living During and After 1970s in Kolkata*' Doctoral Dissertation submitted to Jadavpur University, Kolkata in 2011.
2. E. Abel, *The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India* (Delhi: Chanakya Publications: 1988), p. 51.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. R. Andrews, '*Being Anglo-Indian: Practices and Stories from Calcutta*' (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Social Anthropology, Massey University, New Zealand, 2005).
6. E. Abel, *The Anglo-Indian Community* (1988), p. 53.
7. Ibid., p. 54.

8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 56.
10. Ibid., p. 59.
11. H.A. Stark, *Hostages to India* (Calcutta: Star Printing Works: 1936), p. 92.
12. A.A. D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origin and Growth in Bengal*: (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 107
13. E. Abel, *The Anglo-Indian Community* (1988), p. 66.
14. A.A. D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian Education* (1976), p. 146.
15. W.H. Arden Wood, 'The Domiciled Community in India and the Simla Education Conference' in *The Calcutta Review*, No. 272, April 1913.
16. A.A. D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian Education* (1976), p. 139.
17. Ibid., p. 146, 154–155.
18. Ibid., p. 158.
19. Ibid., p. 172.
20. E. Abel, *The Anglo-Indian Community* (1988).
21. Ibid., p. 192.
22. E. Abel, *The Anglo-Indian Community* (1988), pp. 80–85.
23. P. Gist and R.D. Wright, *Marginality and Identity: Anglo Indians a Racially Mixed Minority in India* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), p. 116.
24. E. Abel, *The Anglo-Indian Community* (1988), p. 85.
25. Ibid.
26. Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973), p. 116.
27. As quoted in E. Abel, *The Anglo-Indian Community* (1988), p. 85
28. Ibid., p. 118.
29. E. Abel, *The Anglo-Indian Community* (1988).
30. A.A. D'Souza: 30.
31. Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973), p. 119.
32. See Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973) and A.A. D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian Education* (1976).
33. Status and Contribution of the Anglo-Indian Community to Education, Report of the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations, RDCD-3 (ref. to point 1.1 in the report) April 1999, received with special thanks from Mr. Darriel Bloud, Principal, St. James School.
34. Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973), p. 119.
35. Ibid., p. 120.
36. Ibid., p. 122.
37. Ibid., p. 123.
38. Ibid., p. 124.
39. R. Andrews, 2005, Ph.D. Dissertation, Massey University, p. 19.
40. A.A. D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian Education* (1976), p. 321.

CHAPTER 4

Family, Marriage and Kinship in the Anglo-Indian Community

During the colonial period, the social recognition of the children of European men with Indian women was dependent on their fathers rather than their mothers. Though the members of the community were linked to their European fathers on the one side and to their Indian mothers on the other, they drew almost exclusively on their paternal European identity to consolidate their social position. The community—though born of inter-racial and usually inter-religious cohabitation—adopted strictly endogamous norms in later years to prevent the dilution of this identity. The aim of this chapter is to find out how and why a community which had evolved on the basis of inter-community/inter-religious marriage has in the present times come to strongly emphasize endogamy as the norm. The chapter will also aim at finding out what the members of the community think about inter-community/inter-religious marriage and how they rationalize their position. In recent years, large-scale emigration has rapidly depleted the numbers of this community. Faced with numerical as well as social and political marginalization, this community's views on the issue of inter-community marriage assume great importance. In this context, the concepts of inter-community and inter-religious marriages should be understood first. An inter-community marriage means marriage between members of two communities, for example, between an Anglo-Indian and a Bengali Christian. Inter-religious marriage would mean marriage between members belonging to two different religions, for example, marriage between a Muslim and a Christian. If an Anglo-Indian marries an Indian Christian it is not an inter-religious

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marriage but an inter-community marriage. But if it is a marriage between a Bengali Hindu or Muslim and an Anglo-Indian it is an inter-community and an inter-religious marriage. So, inter-community marriage and inter-religious marriage are not interchangeable concepts. The perceptions and attitudes associated with marital ties between an Anglo-Indian and a member of any other community, especially a Bengali of any religion (a Hindu, Muslim or a Christian), deserve special consideration in view of the community's explicit preference for endogamy.

During British rule, the children of Eurasian parents as well as the illegitimate children of European fathers were variously recognized. During the colonial period, the thrust of endogamy was to protect a privileged identity. After Independence, the position of the Anglo-Indian became more ambiguous and the threat to their racially based superiority has been one of the most critical influences on their social and political realignment. Increasingly threatened and beleaguered, the community's attitude to and perception of the function of endogamy was bound to undergo some change. These changing attitudes to marriage, marriage preference, intermarriages and to preferred family structures, roles and obligations have been discussed by earlier; in this chapter some of these issues are revisited on the basis of the responses of the interviewees in order to explore possible shifts in recent years.

Intermarriage and the Birth and Sustenance of the Community

Vasco Da Gama, a Portuguese sailor, reached Calicut in 1498, thus opening the direct sea route between Europe and South Asia. Shortly after this event, the history of a new community of mixed racial heritage started to take shape in India. Alfonso de Albuquerque, a Portuguese governor, encouraged Portuguese men to marry Indian women as early as 1501.[1] These intermarriages were sometimes between Portuguese men and high-ranking women of Indian origin. Such marriages were encouraged because it helped the Portuguese to learn more of the customs, habits and language of the natives, which helped them in trade and in establishing contacts with the native population. Before such marriages took place, the brides were baptized to ensure that the numerical strength of the Christian population would be maintained. The Portuguese thus used the institution of marriage to win greater acceptance of their rule. Moreover, as more native women became part of

the Portuguese colonial administration, more land came under control of the Portuguese.[2] Therefore intermarriages were seen as a proactive measure towards sustaining Portuguese rule in India. To encourage such unions, the governor himself presided over these weddings and gifted lands, houses and cattle. The offspring of such unions were called Luso-Indians. The responsibility of regulating such marriages and the well-being of the offspring fell on the Portuguese. With the coming of the Dutch East India Company in 1662, the Portuguese empire collapsed, but the responsibility for the Luso-Indians was taken up by the Dutch. Then, gradually over the seventeenth century, the English East India Company took over from the Dutch and in the process signed a deed assuming the responsibility of looking after the Luso-Indians.[3] At this time, British women were not allowed to travel to the colonies. As a result, the British men in the service of the East India Company were often without the company of women in an uncharted foreign land and sought comfort among the Luso-Indian women. Often enough, they married these women.[4] Thus the Indo-Portuguese-British community was born. The members of this community were initially called Eurasians. Though at first the British accepted the responsibility of looking after the Eurasians, later they sought to shed this liability.

In 1687, the Court of Directors wrote to their officials in Madras that the marriage of British soldiers to native women was a 'matter of consequence to posterity' and that it should be encouraged. They ordered that a *pagoda* should be paid to the mother of every child born out of such a union. As the colonial empire expanded in South Asia, more and more troops were required, and as a result more British men came to India. But by then, slowly through intermarriage, the community of mixed race had grown in number and boasted a numerical superiority[5] over the British who came to India to protect, sustain and enhance East India Company's possessions. The growing numbers of the community of mixed race was perceived as a threat to British dominance. The officials in the Company's administration started to resent mixed-race unions and the children of such marriages.[6] These children were not only officially labelled as lacking in 'enterprise, ability and energy'; but they endured obloquy socially as well, and were called 'half-castes', 'Indo-British', 'Eurasian' and not allowed to mingle freely with the British officers. A common saying among the British at that time was that Eurasians shared the vices of both the races and it was believed to be appropriate for the British to keep a safe distance from them.[7]

There were class differences, however, in the approach towards the Eurasians. The ordinary soldiers, who did not earn enough to bring over or maintain wives from Britain, turned usually to Eurasians or Indian women for marriage. The officers in the army accepted such maternal, convinced that the men lacked the moral strength to resist physical demands.[8] The official elite, on the other hand, avoided native connections—the rulers, they thought, should be aloof from the people. The prestige of the ruling race came to be a matter of serious concern; the aloofness of the ruling class was meant to preserve the structure of power.[9]

Though the British administrators disdained the Eurasian community socially and officially, the latter never gravitated towards the other Indian communities. Steadfastly, they clung on to the social norms and conduct of their fathers, for it was believed that through such practice alone they could pose as Europeans and share in the social status of the British rulers. Such loyalty had its advantages too. Often, it proved beneficial in terms of gaining employment, education and recognition in society. Thus, even if they were not recognized as British in the eyes of the rulers, they continued to enjoy greater proximity and some privileged access to certain kinds of employment, which gained them higher status than the other Indians. Their deference for the British way of life coupled with shame about their 'native' maternal connection led them to maintain a distance from the indigenous population as they tried by every means possible to come closer to their British rulers. This desire for proximity to power led to the cultivation of a common set of cultural codes, which later on were assumed to be distinct 'Anglo-Indian' traits, different from the European and the Indian cultures. Still, in general, Anglo-Indian culture was more European than Indian. Anglo-Indians' 'origins' were mixed on both sides: the women (the mothers) could be Hindu, Muslim or Luso-Indian, while the men (the fathers) were not only British or Portuguese, but also French, German, Dutch or Armenian. Over the years this matrix of connections overlapped and deepened to engender a few shared cultural values and ideas: the English language, Christian religion and European family values, beliefs and morals.[10] A Report of the Select Committee on East Indian Affairs appointed by Parliament in 1831–1832[11] reported that the greater part of the maternal line of this community of mixed races consisted of Muslims of respectable families'.[12] The overwhelming numbers of Muslim mistresses were perhaps due to the fact that at that time, Muslims mixed

relatively freely, at least socially, with Europeans. Hindu women, it was believed, were too fearful of losing caste to become a mistress to a European. A Hindu woman's loss of caste meant that her family would no longer assist her or her children in any matter or under any circumstance, even if the European father left or died prematurely. In most cases, a Hindu wife or mistress was from a low caste or had been rescued from the funeral pyre of her dead husband. It is worth noting that if an inter-religious marriage took place, the girl was baptized. Irregular unions with Indian women were accepted as inevitable in the eighteenth century Bengal; Williamson or Kaye made very clear that the children of Indian mistresses occupied an anomalous and uncertain position. They were usually brought up by their fathers like the children of legitimate European marriages. The Eurasians followed their fathers' religion, dress habits, customs and language and were sent to England for education.[13] Ultimately, intermarriage between an Anglo-Indian (Eurasian) woman and a European man, which was encouraged in the eighteenth century, was at the turn of the century rejected. In place of exogamous marriage ties, endogamy became the rule. The policy of the British and the insistence of the members of the Eurasian community to stay close to the rulers helped to build up this norm for marriage, and this is how the question of inter-community and inter-religious marriage became important. Despite both official and social discrimination from the rulers, the Anglo-Indian community evinced strong pro-British sentiment and its members preferred to marry British partners. They never wanted other Indians as marriage partners. This means they practiced 'endogamy' to exclude the Indians but were not really endogamous in that their first preference was to marry into European families to gain social status. This pattern held more or less throughout the period after independence.

Marriage Practices Among Anglo-Indians

Anglo-Indians are monogamous and are not expected to enter a second marriage during the subsistence of the first. Their faith in Christianity has strengthened their belief that marriage is a permanent bond between a man and a woman. It is indissoluble—'until death do us part'. The guiding principles are pre-marital chastity and post-marital fidelity, and Anglo-Indians recognize monogamy as the only valid form of marriage.[14] They are not usually sympathetic to divorce. Christian teachings on sex regulate their marital affairs and behaviour. Roman Catholics

and Protestants alike are of the view that only one man and one woman can be true partners in married life. They consider marriage as 'the sanctioned movement from the filial status of son or daughter to the conjugal status of husband or wife'.[15] Marriage, for them, is a permanent condition; but the impulse of sexual love is an essential condition for the union between two persons and forms the basis of a marriage. The concept of wedlock is therefore important for Anglo-Indians. They usually accede to the Canon Law provision whereby Roman Catholics may marry non-Catholics, but the latter agree that any children they bear will be baptized and brought up in Catholicism.[16]

The Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872 was in force until very recently—a new act came into force in 2004. The old act specifically provided under Section 4 that every marriage in India between persons, one or both of whom is or are a Christian or Christians, shall be solemnized in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, and any such marriage solemnized otherwise than in accordance with such provisions shall be considered void. According to Section 5 of the Act, Christian marriages can be solemnized by—

1. A person who has received Episcopal ordination
2. Any clergyman of the Church of Scotland
3. Any minister of religion licensed under the act
4. A Marriage Registrar appointed under Section 7 of the act
5. Any person licensed under Section 9 to grant certificates of marriage

Marriage then is a sacrament. Now the question that becomes important is why a community that has evolved primarily on the basis of sexual unions outside marriage emphasizes marriage ties. The answer probably lies partially in the question itself. The Anglo-Indian community had at a point in time started to evolve on the basis of sexual unions outside marriage, but the result of such unions was not always desirable.[17] After the demise of the European father (i.e., the progenitor of the family) , his children were treated as orphans. This was perhaps the reason for the creation of the Upper and Lower Orphanages. These orphans were deprived of any social status that could command prestige and power. Moreover, the shame of illegitimate birth such orphans grew up with made them more vulnerable in society. Perhaps this is why matrimony was accorded prime importance in the community.

Courtship and Marriage Among Anglo-Indians

Most members of the Anglo-Indian community marry within their own group and within their own age range, except in case of remarriage. It is more or less agreed that the first marriage is usually between those individuals who are of a relatively close age.[18] They usually have a wide field of eligible candidates from among whom they select a marital partner. Marriage always follows a prolonged period of courtship during which potential mates have an opportunity to understand each other's views. Courtship provides an opportunity for both sexes to understand each other. The conditions of marriage followed by the community are like those of British society.[19] Child marriage is at present not common in the community, and early marriages are not favoured or widely practiced. Such practices are (at present) not considered conducive to subsequent marital happiness.[20]

Marriage within the community is not arranged in the way it is for other groups in Indian society.[21] Eligible bachelors are generally invited to the eligible girl's home. Before the Second World War, a girl was seldom allowed to go out un-chaperoned, at least until the young man had made his intentions clear. Since marriage is very largely (some might say exclusively) dependent upon the choice of the individual, the pattern of courtship is different among Anglo-Indians than other Indian communities. For other Indian communities in general, arranged marriages are quite common. So expressions of love before marriage and courtship practices are not a rule in the other communities in India, though such practices are not unfamiliar. In fact, in such arranged marriages, expressions of love before marriage or courtship practices were uncommon among the members of other communities a few years back; but at present love marriages are also quite common. So the differences regarding norms for selecting marriage partners are decreasing between Anglo-Indians and other Indians. The Anglo-Indians do not have any specific norms in their culture for securing a partner for life; it is an ascribed rather than achieved behaviour and so the individual's own initiative and accomplishments are the best guide. Selecting a mate is more of a trial-and-error process.[22] The opportunities for meeting someone special are usually provided by friends who take the initiative to introduce would-be couples. Most of the couples have parental approval, although this is just a formality. In most cases a ring is presented at a reception and the couple becomes committed to a monogamous marriage. In some cases no

formal engagement is announced. Engagements are still rarely broken; the community frowns upon such withdrawals; and if it is the young man who reneges, he finds it difficult to win the approval of other parents.[23] In general, the opportunities for courtship and meeting a prospective life-partner are greater among Anglo-Indians than among members of the other communities in India; and also that the parents' approval in such matters is not of great concern, as in the case with other communities in India.

Incest, Taboo and Anglo-Indian Marriage Practices

All societies in the contemporary era maintain restrictions against sexual relationships and marital bonds between close blood relatives. As devout Christians, Anglo-Indians are forbidden 'to approach to any that is near to kin to him to uncover their nakedness'.[24] To those who profess Roman Catholicism, a blood relationship is an impediment to a valid marriage. The Church will marry a couple with forbidden degrees of consanguinity. More specifically speaking, marriage and coital activity among the entire community are forbidden within the first and second degrees of consanguinity. Levirate and sororate marriages are not considered to be within prohibited categories among the Anglo-Indians. Since such marriages are designed only to secure inheritance of property rights and Anglo-Indians do not possess much property, they do not bother much about such marriages.[25]

Divorce and Remarriage Among Anglo-Indians

Divorce among Anglo-Indians in the past was granted only for grave and serious reasons like cruelty, desertion, adultery and criminality. Anglo-Indians professing Catholicism regard divorce as quite inconceivable. The law regarding divorce, judicial separation and allied matters was contained in the Indian Divorce Act, 1869 (No. 4). Under Section 18 of the act either spouse could seek divorce on the grounds contained in Section 19 which read as follows:

> a) That the respondent was impotent at the time of marriage and institution of the suit, b) the parties were within the prohibited degree of consanguinity or affinity, c) That either party was a lunatic or idiot at the time or marriage, d) That the former husband or wife of either party was living

> at the time of marriage and the said marriage was then in force, e) Nothing affected the jurisdiction of the High court to make decrees of nullity of marriage on the ground that the consent of either party was obtained by force or fraud. Under Section 10, the wife could seek that the marriage is dissolved on the ground: a) That her husband professing Christianity had gone through a form of marriage with another woman, b) Incestuous adultery, c) Bigamy with adultery, d) Marriage with another woman with adultery, e) Rape, sodomy or bestiality, f) Adultery coupled with cruelty, and g) Adultery coupled with desertion without reasonable cause for two years or more.

Under Section 11, in cases of allegations of adultery, the adulterer was made a party. Pendent alimony was granted under Section 36 of the act.

Among the noteworthy declarations in the Indian Divorce Amendment 2001 (Act No. 51) is the deletion of the right of a husband to claim damages from the adulterer. Formerly, women were considered the property or chattel of their husbands and men could easily claim damages in any such cases. The second change was the removal of discrimination against women in the matter of settlement or property. Prior to this amendment, the court was empowered to settle the property of the wife, if she was found to have committed adultery, for the benefit of her husband and children of the marriage. This section is deleted what present, both husband and wife are now given equal rights. In addition, with the enactment of the Marriage Laws (Amendment) Act of 2001, the provision for alimony was made more beneficial to women. Formerly, there had been an upper limit of one-fifth of the income of the husband as payable towards alimony. Now this upper limit of one-fifth has been removed and the quantum of alimony is left to be decided by the court according to the circumstances of each case. In addition to the grounds of divorce, some more provisions were added. The wife under the new act was permitted to sue for divorce on additional grounds if the husband was guilty of rape, sodomy or bestiality. Before the act was promulgated, Christian spouses were not granted these rights if they desired to pursue divorce.[26] Section 10A of the act added mutual consent as grounds for divorce.

By tradition, remarriage in the Anglo-Indian community is permitted only after the death of a spouse. Besides divorce, there is another method of marital separation known as annulment. It is of course granted by the Church, but only for very specific reasons—namely, a gross societal

impediment such as incest, taboo, underage betrothal and prior marriage or insanity and epilepsy—if either of these existed at the time of marriage. However barrenness was not regarded as a cause for dissolution of marriage among Anglo-Indians.[27]

Nature and Responses to Inter-Community/ Inter-Religious Marriage

Anglo-Indians are normally endogamous though some members of the community, mostly girls, do marry outside the community. These intermarriages may be between Christians or other those of other faiths. Such intermarriages are rare, however; implies endogamy is the most accepted practice.[28] Anglo-Indians had been officially recognized as Indians (natives of India) in the latter half of the British rule. After independence, they were recognized as a minority in India. However, in their interactions and beliefs, Anglo-Indians still regard themselves as Europeans. Besides, they also believe that other Indians think of them negatively as aliens. This has had a serious effect on the Anglo-Indian mind-set and perception of self-hood. Such self-perception has persisted despite the efforts of the leaders of the community to demonstrate their moral commitment as Indians and to India. The perception of what other Indians think of them has often restricted them to live within their cultural boundaries. But the boundary is not completely impervious—crossing the cultural boundary by way of marriage or non-marital sexual unions has occurred time and again. Outside the Anglo-Indian community, though intermarriage is generally considered deviant, the boundary is sometimes porous. The Portuguese, the Dutch and the French in their colonial regimes favoured inter-community marriages. This encouraged illegitimate inter-ethnic, inter-religious marriages that resulted in the growth of the community of mixed races in India.[29] It was the English East India Company which prohibited its higher civil or military personnel from marrying across racial and cultural boundaries.[30] This taboo imposed by the British through the East India Company applied to marriages with Catholics, whether Portuguese, Anglo-Indian or Indian converts. Between 1639 and the end of the seventeenth century Anglo-Indians and Europeans married women from other communities in India, but this practice ceased after the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857.[31]

At a certain time during the British rule, the community of mixed race in India did not encourage in-breeding.[32] Marriage to a European, even

one of a lower social position, was seen as a means 'to improve breed'. Cultured and refined Anglo-Indian girls from the very best homes sometimes married British sergeants or warrant officers who were much below them in education and culture.[33] But in cases of marriage within the community, the position of the man irrespective of his skin colour was often the determining factor. Marriage to an Indian or an Indian convert to Christianity was never approved. Some Anglo-Indians still held the prejudice that 'a nigger will always be a nigger'. Marriage even with a Brahmin was disapproved of, for 'Hinduism and Christianity are like East and West'.[34] Thus, marriages outside the community were frowned upon except marriages to a European. The injunction had such normative force within the community that not only were daughters forbidden to marry boys from other communities, but also sons were not allowed to marry girls from any Indian community.[35] Although the young Anglo-Indian boys and girls did socialize freely with members outside their community, marriage outside the community was considered a far greater issue because families from both sides got involved in such institutional arrangements. But the important question regarding inter-community/inter-religious marriage is that when the very basis of the community was formed out of such mixed unions, why then does the community set restrictions for inter-community/inter-religious marriages? The probable answer to the question is that, on the one hand, it did set restrictions minimizing such marriages, making endogamy a rule for the community, and on the other, this rule perhaps may have encouraged some to deviate from the norm. This is how inter-community/inter-religious marriage came to exist as a deviation from the norm of endogamy. And this is also a very important cultural marker for the community because such rules did help to set forth the ethnic boundary of 'we' and 'they' and marked the areas where this boundary became blurred. The ethnic line set by the community sought to exclude the other non-European Indian communities. That is, the rule of endogamy did not preclude the Europeans. This underscores the importance the Anglo-Indians placed on their perception of 'we' and 'they'. As India achieved independence, the probability of marrying a European decreased and therefore the rule of endogamy became more definitive.

In the course of my research, I interacted with some Anglo-Indian mothers who had daughters. They expressed complete disapproval of marriages with men from other communities in India. Rather, they preferred that their daughters marry Anglo-Indian or at least Indian

Christian boys. The Anglo-Indian mothers who had young sons were more flexible in their preference of marriageable partners for their sons. They did not disapprove of their sons marrying girls from other communities. One sees here how the segregation of 'we' and 'they' is gendered and operates to shape the wants and desires of Anglo-Indian parents. Moreover, the mothers believe that in case of their daughters, marriage outside their own community will result in immense social pressure, since they will have to fit into the socio-cultural norms of their in-laws' community or else face rejection and disapproval at every step. Of the women respondents, 60% thought that they would not look beyond their own community for a preferred partner. This supports the idea that inter-community/inter-religious marriage is considered a deviant act in the community. The younger generation in particular (69%) thinks the same way. Fifty-three percent of interviewed members from the older generation think otherwise. The men think that in case of a preferred partner community and religious sentiments would not matter much. As a corollary to the above, 11% of women think that inter-community/inter-religious marriages are bad and 24% think that it will dilute the community's identity. Thirty percent of the men think inter-community/inter-religious marriage is good. In inter-generational terms, 37% of the women from the older generation think inter-community/inter-religious marriage is good in contrast to 13% from the younger generation. This means that the attitude towards inter-community/inter-religious marriage softens among women as they become older. In general women are opposed to such marriages. Why is that so? There is be more than one probable answer. The clue may lie in the strong tradition of virilocality in both Hindu and Muslim communities. The bride is supposed to adapt to the customs and behaviour of the groom's family. Though in today's context, most young couples may set up their own nuclear unit, virilocality remain a normative ideal in the case of married women. In the case of women who marry and stay with the family of their husbands in an inter-community/inter-religious marriage, there is a pressure for the bride to conform to the roles of wife and mother customary in the marital family but likely alien to her own upbringing. One of the respondents in the study Adam (name changed) who is a father of a girl in her twenties said—

> Any marriage is difficult…. Both the parties in marriage have to adjust but in an inter-community marriage the boy and the girl have to adjust not

> only with each other but also with the demands of the two communities, two religions besides both the families. This adjustment is a burden not on the boy because you see he is always left scot-free. It is the girl who has to take the pressure and also adjust. And if it is an inter-community marriage there is the mother-in-law, the relatives…our girl has to do *pujas* (Hindu religious ceremonies). The pressure is immense. But if a girl from the other community comes to an Anglo-Indian family as a bride we are not the type who will pressurize her. She will be left to herself with her husband.

Here the Anglo-Indian father echoed the responses of other parents of the community. It appeared to me that it was a fear of marriage with a member of a different community—a fear of the unknown—that bothered the Anglo-Indians more than anything else. They feared for their future status in the family of the other community; they feared the prejudices the other community would have against them; they feared the possible discrimination an Anglo-Indian girl would face. This fear was not that acute when a girl from another community married into an Anglo-Indian family. They felt that they knew themselves and how they might respond to such a situation. It is the fear of the unknown that makes inter-community marriage a rarity and only a few of them—the adventurous ones—take the initiative of marrying outside the community.

There is also the issue of ethnic identity, which clearly establishes a consciousness of 'what we are' and 'how we are different from them'. The fear of the unknown is ever-present in any relationship, be it a marital tie or otherwise. However, it is concern for the maintenance of ethnic identity which is predominant and feeds the fear of the community. An adventuresome spirit is one reason why a few Anglo-Indians have married outside the community. The other explanation that Anglo-Indian respondents provided was that they did not seriously consider inter-community marriage before falling in love with a girl or a boy from the other community. So, in the opinion of 40% Anglo-Indian men, such marriages are neither good nor bad and should solely depend on the persons who want to get married. As more men than women think such marriages are good, it can be concluded that men are more open to inter-community/inter-religious marriages. The reason may be the same as that of the respondents from the older generation. Twenty-two percent of the total number of respondents said that such marriages would dilute the community and hence were against it. If this percentage

is added to the percentage of respondents who maintained that such marriages were bad, the people who had a negative attitude to inter-community/inter-religious marriage rises to 35%. Of this 35%, most are women. This shows again that the community's women are more vulnerable in inter-community/inter-religious marriage than men. Not only do they feel the pressure to perform the role of wife and parent more than the men of the community, when Anglo-Indian girls marry into a family of any other community in India they believe that the pressure to perform will be immense. She will be sandwiched between two kind of patriarchal demands—on the one hand the pressure from her family of origin and on the other hand the pressure from the family of procreation—will be so high that she fears that she will not be able to handle both patriarchal demands.

Out of all the respondents only 11% had inter-community/inter-religious marriages. This also corroborates the view that the community in general does not have a positive attitude towards inter-community/inter-religious marriage. Among the women who were a part of the sample, 10% had such marriages. Men from the community showed a slightly higher chance (20%) of having a spouse from another community or religion. Out of all women who had inter-community/inter-religious marriage, 12% were from the younger generation compared to 8% women from the older generation. Although the percentage of inter-community/inter-religious marriages is higher among the women of the younger generation, the latter came across to the researcher as being more bitter and averse to the idea of such marriages than the women of the older generation. For the men, in contrast, the number in both the generations was equal (20%).

In their preference of partners in inter-community/inter-religious marriages 8% of women from the older generation preferred only Christian marriages compared to 26% from the younger generation. There were more women from the older generation who had marriages with Muslims (60%) than women from the younger generation (42%). However, the women from both generations confirmed that they did not prefer marriage between an Anglo-Indian woman and a man from the Muslim community. In contrast to this, out of 50% of the women from the younger generation who had married a Muslim, 15% said that they preferred to marry a Muslim in an inter-community/inter-religious marriage. Fifty-two percent of women from the younger generation and 20% from the older generation said that their only preference and

first preference in an inter-community marriage would be to marry a Christian. This shows two things. First, even though most Anglo-Indians stay in areas with a high Muslim population (and they mix freely with them), and marriage with a Muslim was considered acceptable during the early evolution of the community, when the question of choosing marriageable partners arises today, the Anglo-Indians at present have a negative attitude towards marriage with Muslims. Second, Anglo-Indians prefer those inter-community marriages that are within their religious practice. One of the respondents, Jane, said, 'In an inter-community marriage you have to adjust to so many ways of life…in marriage within your faith at least some thing is common'. Surprisingly, none of the men who had a inter-community/inter-religious marriage were married to girls from the Muslim community. And even more surprisingly, though marriage with a Hindu was a second preference for quite a number of Anglo-Indians, only 27% of the respondents had Hindu spouses compared to 10% Christian spouses and 45% Muslim spouses. Probably their lived experience may have embittered them towards the possibility of marriage with a Muslim. Many women from the older generation who had daughters expressed their anxiety about the possibility of their daughters' getting married to men who were Muslims. One of the respondents from the older generation even said that she was considering buying a flat far from the locality where she stays so that she could keep her daughter there and ensure her security. Among the women who had had inter-community/inter-religious marriages, 45% have divorced or have been living separately. Out of them, most (six out of nine) are from the younger generation. Among those who had had such marriages, 34% were graduates and 56% worked as secretaries, clerks, and in other similar jobs.

The Stories of Thelma, Catherine and Linda

One Sunday morning at the Lawrence DeSouza home, I met Thelma (name changed), a widow with eight children. She was born in 1945. She now lives in Collin Street in Kolkata. She had no schooling. In her words, 'It was not a quite common idea those days to go to school'. She even does not know the letters of the English alphabet. She lost her father at four; her mother married again. But her new husband did not take responsibility for her daughters. So Thelma stayed with her mother's father and later was married to a 42-year-old man at the age

of 14. She was very afraid of her older husband. He was not her choice, as her stepfather had made this arrangement. Her husband died at the age of 58. He was a drunkard and abused her regularly. After his death she went back to her grandfather, who had raised her. She, along with her children, worked hard and barely sustained a hand-to-mouth existence. At present all her children are married. Her only son is a taxi-driver. Her daughters are not married to Anglo-Indians. Her son too has married outside the community. She does not feel bad that all her children married outside the community. She says, 'What is it to marry an Anglo-Indian? Marriages are all the same. It all depends on your fate.' She lives on the ration provided by an Anglo-Indian charitable organization but hopes that one day she will be able to visit England.

There are several key features worthy of note in Thelma's story. While her narration does not clarify the socio-economic position of the family into which she was born, her father's death and her mother's remarriage was the beginning of downward mobility. Her marriage at the age of 14 years is an indication that the community's stated commitment to adult and consensual marriage is not without exception, especially lower down the social scale. The prevalence of domestic violence and the inability to adequately educate their children place Anglo-Indian families like Thelma's on a precarious course in common with other working class families in the city. The experiences of neglect, violence, poverty and menial labour have had an impact on her ethnic identity and the pride usually associated with Anglo-Indians. Despite subsisting on community-based charity, she clearly invests little in community identity or its reproduction through endogamous marriage.

Catherine (name changed), an Anglo-Indian woman in her late twenties, works as a secretary to the chairman of a sports agency in Kolkata. She gave the researcher an appointment for interview at her office on Ho Chi Minh Sarani. She was a 'Barbie doll' blonde—slender and beautiful. She had married a Hindu Rajput; and, even though she had tried very hard, Catherine could not stay in the marriage. The 'family was too traditional' for her, though the boy she had married 'was quite Westernized'. She now lives with an Anglo-Indian man whom she has not married but who is the father of her two children. She thinks inter-community marriage works if both the parties are willing. The disadvantage in such marriages is that 'both the families like to have it their way', and that puts pressure on both the parties in marriage. She said that most of the people in India do not know what the difference is between an Anglo-Indian and an Indian Christian; and this is the reason why

Anglo-Indians become easy targets. Moreover, she said, 'Anglo-Indians are Westernized in the true sense of the word. Nobody else in India is so to that extent. They may think they are modern but modernity and Westernized ways are not the same.'

Catherine could not adjust to the demands of a Hindu family's patriarchal practices, its religious practices or its requirements for the woman to play the feminine role of a *sati-savitri-pativrata*. At the same time, her own community accepted the fact that she had decided to live with a man outside marriage. Such non-marital living practices were common among Anglo-Indians in the past. But after independence, marriage ties were emphasized to reinforce community identity; and community sanction for such relations of cohabitation were withdrawn. In Catherine's case, we do find evidence of the community's ambiguity towards such social arrangements. I should mention that Catherine herself had not spoken of her cohabitation; it was her close friends who had informed me that she did not marry the Anglo-Indian man who had fathered her children. Clearly, Catherine does not wish to flaunt her 'live-in' relationship or else she would have mentioned it to me. It appears as though non-marital cohabitation is accepted in the community but with a greater degree of disapprobation than earlier. Catherine's story offers a remarkable contrast to Thelma's. She is educated and with a good job and is able to negotiate both outside and within her community. Her first marriage transgressed the community's strictures of endogamy; her second relationship transgressed the community's emphasis on the legitimisation of marriage. And yet she is able to hold on to her community identity and continues to take pride in it.

Linda (name changed) was born in 1972 in Kolkata and is working at a leading English daily in the same city. She is the first graduate in her family. She stays alone in a flat in Elliot Road and thinks it is appropriate for an Anglo-Indian woman to start living alone after she is old enough. Her parents live in the same city not very far from her residence. She knows many Anglo-Indian men and women who prefer to stay alone after becoming legally adult if they get a decent place to live. She is single but is considering marriage with an Anglo-Indian boy very soon. She thinks it is impossible for her to think of marrying someone from the other communities not simply because she loves this boy but because she thinks it is impossible for her to adjust to the 'Hindu' expectations of in-laws and husband. One of her friends who had married a Hindu had later divorced. She thinks the marriage failed only because it was an inter-religious marriage. She is unwilling to marry outside her community, and is especially unwilling to marry a Muslim. She thinks that 'as

they (Muslims) are allowed to keep more than one wife, her future with her husband would be insecure'. She spoke at length on what she means by 'Hindu expectations'. For her it meant touching the feet of elders after a morning shower and *puja*. As a Christian she does not think 'it is proper to touch anyone's feet other than that of Christ'. If she had fallen in love with a boy from any other community in India, he would have had to be a Christian, preferably a Goan.

In contrast to Catherine, Linda is a conformist in terms of the expectations from her community. She does not think it is proper to think of marriage outside the boundary of her community and therefore conforms to the endogamous rule set by her community. She expressed deep concern for her religious beliefs and values. She knows about the values and sentiments of the other community (in this case the Hindus) and also expresses a class bias. Since she is a working woman and is economically well-placed; she thinks differently from most of the other respondents.

These cases suggest that inter-community/inter-religious marriages are not completely absent among Anglo-Indians. However, the practice of endogamy has entrenched over time as a community rule, and most women and men search for marriageable partners within the boundary of their communities. Moreover, the rules of endogamy are experienced differently by men and women. The men are more open to inter-community/inter-religious marriages than the women. The fear of the unknown is stronger among the women of marriageable age and among the parents of marriageable daughters. The three stories narrated above show, however, the range in experience of the women. Thelma suffered an arranged marriage within her community; Catherine suffered and escaped an unhappy marriage outside her community. Linda, as a successful young woman of the present generation, seeks the comfort of a predictable endogamous marriage. The heterogeneity of these experiences shows the importance of taking into account differences among Anglo-Indian women—of structural inequalities within them, like class, but also varied individual choices and preferences.

Family Structure, Roles and Obligations Among Anglo-Indians

The Anglo-Indian community is oriented towards a nuclear family. A typical Anglo-Indian family exhibits a modified extended family pattern where they live in a nuclear family but maintain their ties with

their biological and affinal kin.[36] Sometimes some dependent members from their affinal and consanguinal group also stay with them. The filial tie within the community is strong. Anthony suggests that perhaps this tie is stronger among the girls in the community. He says that it is often the daughter who helps her parents when they are in need; and it is also common that the old parents stay with their married daughters. There are cases which suggest that boys of the family remain bachelors so that they can support their parents in their old age, but these families permit more individualized behaviour than is true for a classical Indian joint (extended) family. Inter-personal connection between the kinsmen is more an individual choice than an obligation imposed by group.[37] Young married couples generally set up their own homemaking norms apart from those of their respective parental families.[38] In the families that I have come across in the course of my interviews with Anglo-Indians from all social strata, I found that the Anglo-Indian family is extended in its structure only in situations of economic duress. In such cases, two or more nuclear families stay together, pooling their economic resources to form a single consolidated account from which all expenses are made. Any constituent nuclear family in such a set-up tends to break away and run their own separate household once the economic means to meet all the demands of the entire nuclear family are secured.

The general argument that the Anglo-Indian women, in particular, find themselves caught between multiple patriarchies is best underlined by looking at the generational difference in the approach to the ideology of motherhood. A great deal has been written by historians of social reform and nationalism about a new ideology of domesticity constructed in line with Brahminical patriarchy as part of the nationalist discourse. Much of the historical scholarship in this regard is focused on Bengal. The creation of an ethnicized image of the pure Hindu woman, the *satilakshmi*, embodying the virtues of chastity, nurturing and prosperity became, by the nineteenth century, emblematic of the nation. The iconic stature accorded to women in such a construction found greater fulfilment in an emotional and aesthetic iconography of the heroic mother goddess. The deification of the woman as mother attained an even greater height when ethnicity, gender and nation were inextricably linked in the invocation of the motherland.[39] Tanika Sarkar has shown that this marked a shift from a concern with companionate conjugality to the

safer folds of the mother–son dyad, since marital relationships invoked questions of individual freedom and gender bias.[40] By the early twentieth century, the nationalist discourse was saturated with imageries of motherhood, which were variously expressive of virtuous and sacrificial motherhood and were variously articulated in popular and mass media, folklore, novels, theatre and films. The pervasiveness of this ideology in India, particularly Hindu India but also shared across other communities, raises the question as to how Anglo-Indian women have participated in the discourse of motherhood.

My survey indicates that notions of responsible, nurturing, virtuous and sacrificial motherhood have only recently influenced this community. Among the older generation, many of my respondents are from broken families. They were brought up either in orphanages or with relatives other than their parents. The high proportion of orphans among communities of mixed descent has been noted by many historians. Indeed, a large number of orphanages were built for this community from earliest times, which suggests a looser structure of the inter-generational family. It appears that while, in the early years, Indian mothers may have had little say in the taking away of their children, especially their sons, into orphanages, in the later period, such consequences followed from the actions of Anglo-Indian mothers themselves. Despite the difficulties of legal divorce, there appears to have been great fluidity in cohabitation patterns. Women could choose between marriage, separation, non-marital cohabitation or remarriage. One of the respondents of the older generation had married thrice. She is now nearly 80 years of age and her third marriage was only two or three years prior to the interview. I met an Anglo-Indian of the older generation, Robert (name changed), who while talking about why he had been to an orphanage as a child said—

> My mom and dad had different likings. I was a kid, I do not remember much…but they fought regularly. After growing up, I understood that both had relationships outside marriage and wanted to dissolve the marriage. Both remarried and I became a no-one to them.

The research on Anglo-Indian women shows that the number of persons from broken families was greater among respondents of the older generation. At present, the number of respondents who had come from broken families from the younger generation has decreased. Moreover, I found a very different set of responses from women of the younger

generation. Young mothers were far more committed to their children and to their care. They were fearful of their daughter's safety and much less willing to seek personal fulfillment at the cost of familial stability and their children's welfare. This is not to suggest that the divorce rate has decreased. The small sample taken for this survey cannot support any generalization on these issues. Moreover, it has also not been possible to examine in any detail the class differences to the responses of young mothers. With all these caveats, a general point may be made that the wider ideology of motherhood in Indian society—the emphasis on maternal nurture and sacrifice—has had some impact on the younger generation of women. They appear more committed to maternal responsibility than their grandmothers. Even among families of the poorer groups, where there is a high incidence of domestic violence, we find that women are deciding to stay within unhappy and violent marriages for the sake of their children. This evidence demonstrates that the ideology of motherhood has greater appeal for the present generation of Anglo-Indian women.

The class position and status of Anglo-Indians have undergone changes in the recent past. Before independence, most of the Anglo-Indian families owned houses, whereas presently most live in rented houses. A sizeable number of the Anglo-Indians now live in slums. The décor and furnishings in the Anglo-Indian home whether the inhabitants are living in luxury or in poor living conditions are different from those in Indian homes. The homes of the better-placed Anglo-Indians are not only comfortable but gracious. Expensive furnishings, cut-glass and silverware, and servants were part of a better home in earlier days,[41] and the homes of the affluent still bear the same elements of comfort and luxury. The homes of the Anglo-Indians living in slums bear testimony to their economic strain but also exemplify their distinct taste. The first thing a stranger would notice in an Anglo-Indian home is a table with a cover that used for eating and studying. The next thing that an Anglo-Indian would have in the house is a music system of some type. Music is an integral part of the lives of all Anglo-Indians from any economic stratum. Many houses in some areas may not have a proper sanitary toilet, running water or even electricity; furnishings may be limited to very few cooking utensils; but doors and windows will certainly be decorated with curtains. A middle-class Anglo-Indian home hill have small and cosy sitting arrangements. Another thing that catches the eye in any Anglo-Indian home is the display of trophies, medals and silver cups. Crockery

and cutlery sets are generally arranged in a glass cupboard in the drawing room. I visited several homes where the interior decoration was different from what any other middle-class Indian home would have. The class position of an Anglo-Indian family is not much expressed through the décor in its homes, with the exception of those living in slums. For example, I visited one of the leading Anglo-Indian leaders of Kolkata, who had written a number of books on the community. The drawing room of his residence was small, cramped with a sofa set and elaborately furnished. Most interestingly, the right wall of the room was festooned with pictures of him and his family in England. The calendar that hung on the wall had pictures of the British royal family. In contrast, I also visited Anglo-Indian homes in the slums. I recall visiting a young Anglo-Indian woman who worked as an attendant. She lived in a single room with her children and her parents. Emily (name changed) offered me two pillows to sit on as she said she did not have 'a sofa or a chair' to offer. But I could descry a table at the corner of the room, a music system and a picture of Christ hung on the wall. The room was small, but all the windows had furnishings. Entering the room, I could not make out how poor she was, as everything was orderly, arranged, neat and clean. Again, I visited another Anglo-Indian woman at Free School Street; she was old and lived in a rented single-room apartment. She cooked, slept and met friends in the same room. This room was a huge one compartmentalized by curtains hung from the ceiling. In each compartment she did different things—she entertained guests in one, cooked her food in another and had a bed in another area. Each compartment was furnished separately and differently, so that the function of each stood clearly demarcated.

In an Anglo-Indian home the most acceptable way of eating meals is at the table. The commonly accepted Indian way of having meals sitting on the floor is not followed in any Anglo-Indian home. Here I should mention that I have indeed come across Anglo-Indian families who have their meals sitting on the floor. But that is an exception, and such families are so poor that they cannot afford a table. The members of such families were quick to add that it was not their custom; but they could not afford a table and therefore they sat on the floor to have their meals. They said that they made arrangements for a table when any guest arrived. Only the upper- and middle-class families use forks and knives for eating, but spoons are commonly used by all Anglo-Indians. It is not deemed proper for any Anglo-Indian to use their fingers while

eating.[42] Upper-class table manners are followed strictly and are carefully transmitted to the next generation.[43] Except for those in very poor families, most Anglo-Indians have at least one servant who cooks their food. Often the wife or mother is gainfully employed outside the home and is therefore unable to perform traditional domestic roles.[44] It is the father or the husband who shares domestic duties. But this may depend on the level of education, income and occupational success of both the husband and wife.[45]

For the typical Anglo-Indian, the day starts with an early-morning tea followed by a breakfast that is usually porridge, eggs, fruit and bread. Lunch is generally rice, *dal* (lentils cooked in the Indian style), vegetables and meat, chicken or fish. Soups are generally served at dinner. Tea is a common beverage among the Anglo-Indians, and generally it is consumed with *parathas* (unleavened bread fried in oil). Liquor and wine are very common in Anglo-Indian life. The most common drink is rum. Upper-middle-class and upper-class families often drink brandy, whisky, beer and wine. Men and women both take alcohol, and Anglo-Indian values do not prohibit alcohol, unlike Hindu and Islamic societies where drinking is strictly prohibited for women.[46] Wine or other alcoholic beverages are served as an aperitif before meals, and cocktail social parties are also widely accepted in middle-class Anglo-Indian families. An Anglo-Indian family places much importance on physical exercise, and participation in sports is actively encouraged.

Stories of Amelia and Hannah

I met Amelia (name changed) at her home at Nawab Abdul Rahman Street, off Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Road, on a Sunday evening. The three-storied building was old and modest. Amelia lived on the second floor. She was old and a spinster. The musty darkness of the stairwell that welcomed me was scary. The wooden staircase creaked under my footfall louder than I had anticipated. But her warm welcome and smile relieved all my doubts and I settled down to the interview. She wore a multi-coloured blouse with a pink skirt. She asked me to sit on the sofa while she reclined on her arm-chair. The room was large with a lot of old-fashioned furniture. Amelia started to talk about the house she lived in. She was born here. Her mother worked outside home to maintain the family of six members. She was the eldest of four siblings. Meanwhile, her doorbell rang and her cook arrived. Amelia introduced me to her cook

and asked him (a Muslim, middle-aged man) to make tea for both of us. She did not like cooking. It was a custom in her family to keep cooks, and this cook had been with her for 10 years now. Amelia continued her story. Fascinated, I was drawn into her past: the good old days when her mom played the piano every evening after work and her siblings sang along with her. Meanwhile her cook served tea in a silver cup and saucer with a neat napkin tucked underneath. I was amazed at the array of silverware and porcelain cups in the glass showcase to my right. They were old but she used them whenever guests came to visit. Amelia started to tell her story again. I asked her about the piano. She smiled at me and said the piano is gone but 'you know I remember every piece played on it'. She talked about her dad, her brothers, sisters, her work, her colleagues. The only picture that hung on the wall was of Amelia in a *sari*. She explained that it was the only time she had worn a *sari* (to receive an award). She had borrowed it from a friend. The whitewashed walls of her spacious drawing room were dimly lit, for there were only two tube lights casting a meagre light. She showed me the place where the piano had stood. I imagined the piano at the side of the window in front of me. I was talking to her about her duties at present and could see her bedroom from the sofa on which I was sitting. The king-size bed was huge but fitted well in the room. The bedcover was torn in places, and the pillows did not have covers. With the silver cup and saucer in hand I looked at her bed with its torn bed sheets and uncovered pillows. This was her reality. She went on with her story as if she were reliving her past, glorious years. The saga of bygone golden years contrasted grimly with her present reality: a bed covered in torn sheets, a house dark and dusty.

Hannah (name changed), a young Anglo-Indian married woman, stayed at Tiljallah. It was Uncle Joe (name changed) who took me to her place. She lived in the slum at Tiljallah in a one-room house. She did not have children. She taught English at a kindergarten nearby, and her Anglo-Indian husband worked as a clerk in an Anglo-Indian school of repute. The room was cramped with furniture—a double bed, a sofa-cum-bed, a cupboard, a table with a single chair and a dressing table. The window curtains matched her bedcover. The toiletries on her dressing table were neatly arranged and were expensive. She did not know quite what to do with me but I assured her that I was comfortable on the sofa. Her husband was proud of his wife's fair skin and proclaimed that the neighbours were sceptical of how a '*desi*' like him could marry a '*memsahib*' like her. She echoed her husband in saying that her

neighbours always peeped through the windows to find out what the '*memsahib*' did all day. She wanted to leave the place because of her neighbours, mostly Bengalis. She did not have a good impression of these Bengali women. She said that they were very inquisitive, unkempt and dirty. She gave me the impression that she was resolved to leave the place as soon as she could. When I asked her where she intended to go she looked at her husband, smiled at me and said she would try to find a better place.

Alison Blunt speaks of the role of collective memory in the construction of Anglo-Indian ethnicity. Amelia's narrative is deeply evocative of the nostalgia, the personal and the collective landscapes of memory drawing on an imperial past.[47] Unlike Amelia, Hannah did not like to talk about the glorious past of her community. She did not want to relate the 'glorious past' of her parents either. To her, this was *her* India—*her* birthplace—where she merely needed some space of her own. She wanted to forge her future in India but at the same time aspired to migrate some day. She did not like her Bengali neighbours but she did not want to live with Anglo-Indian neighbours either. Amelia, Thelma, Catherine, Linda and Hannah all wanted to live their lives as Anglo-Indians in India but also wanted to emigrate some day and live outside India as non-Indians. They know this will never happen and resent the fact that they will be known as Indian outside India. Therefore, they prefer to stay in India and hold on assiduously to their exclusive identity of being Anglo-Indian. They all know that the bygone days will never return; but the older generation of women still live in their past, whereas the younger generation try to carve out a niche for themselves by projecting an identity which combines a sense of being an 'Indian' and an 'Anglo-Indian' simultaneously.

Conclusion

The Anglo-Indian community has long been known for its inwardness and its attempt to draw boundaries, distancing itself from 'native' Indian society. However, from the 1970s on we can discern a marked change: the community started to recognize India as their own country. But the boundary line between 'we' and 'they' is still maintained, forcing members of the community to stay within its confines. This should not suggest that the community set the boundary single-handedly. It was more of a two-way process in which both the minority and the majority

communities (non–Anglo-Indian community) participated in both the colonial and the post-colonial periods. This boundary is not impervious; rather, it has pores that sometimes guarantee interaction between communities. Such traffic, albeit limited, imparts a measure of dynamism to the community. This has also ensured that marital ties continue between the communities. Still, as in the past, even now intermarriage is not encouraged because the Anglo-Indians also fear their extinction as a community in the process.

This status of the community in India reinforces stereotypes that could be recognized by use of words such as *tash* and *mem*.[48] The literal connotation of the word *tash* signifies women who are non-traditional, and 'Westernized'. Such popular notions about Anglo-Indian women embody a value judgment that they are alien and their ways unacceptable. This attitude does have a significant impact on the self-perceptions of some individual Anglo-Indians. A close look at their own subjective evaluations suggests that they feel that other communities in India denigrate the community in general and their women in particular. When I asked my respondents to identify their subjective understanding of what the Indians think of them, the men and the women of the community expressed their feelings differently. For example, a young Anglo-Indian woman, Sonia (name changed) said her neighbours would pass comments like '*memsahib*' whenever she crossed them on the street. For her, such remarks were distressing because she knew she would not be recognized as a non-Indian outside India because of her black hair and her nearly black eyes. She did not like the comments made to her in public. Neither did she like her Anglo-Indian relatives to speak about her black hair and eyes because she knew this made her Indian. She resented looking more Indian than Anglo-Indian. She told me she always wanted to be like her sister, who was blonde. The multiple patriarchies the women of the community face push them to a margin where they continually fight against both demands—to be an Anglo-Indian and an Indian at the same time.

The women of the community continuously struggle against the persistent and pervasive nature of these negative imageries and devise their own ways of dealing with them. The practice of inter-community marriage, which gave birth to a community of mixed descent, has forged a social identity for the community. This identity and culture bestows a kind of 'we' feeling on the members that devalues marital relations formed outside the community boundary. But this has also conferred uniqueness on the community, making it a minority in the Indian cultural milieu.

Notes

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CHAPTER 5

Social Interaction of Anglo-Indians Within and Outside the Community

Social interaction refers to reciprocally oriented action or the way people respond to one another in a social setting. The process through which people communicate with one another by means of language and gestures influences the response of others. Social interaction forms the basis of social life, and without social interaction no group activity can ever take place. Since social interaction occurs in a social setting, it is often patterned by the nature of the group, status of the persons involved and role definitions and standards of behaviour accepted in a society. Gender, age, ethnic identity and occupational status also influence the nature of social interaction. Since in an ethnic group the individuals tend to see those different from themselves as representatives of other ethnic groups, group prejudice emerges between subordinate and superordinate groups. The function of prejudice in such cases is to maintain the hegemonic position of the dominant group by preserving the status quo. As a consequence, the two groups continually undergo two conflicting principles of collective definition: one is concerned with the uniqueness of the group and the other with the group's social status. While the subordinate group is torn between adjusting to the existing social order and developing its own institutional structure, the dominant group may focus on the issue of preserving the status quo and allowing for more parity between groups. But the relations between the ethnic groups are never fixed. They might be shaped by the objective conditions or by particular historical settings. But these factors become meaningful only in relation to how ethnic groups define each other.[1]

S. Sen, *Anglo-Indian Women in Transition*,
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Ethnic identities are fluid and flexible and are a cultural phenomenon based on shared meanings, which originates and is dependent on social interaction. It is a segment of a broader social identity that every individual holds, and as such is shaped through dialectics between 'similarity and difference'.[2] While the process of group identification takes place within the ethnic boundary, social categorization (the process by which one group imposes its categories of ascription upon another set of people) occurs outside and across the boundary. External categorization is important because the labels imposed on an ethnic group are also internalized by the same group and made their own. This is one of the potent sources of ethnic antagonism and the awareness of an asymmetrical power relation. Therefore ethnic relations are the outcome of on-going processes of social interaction that involve both external and internal definitions of situations.[3]

The Anglo-Indian community now recognized as an ethnic community in India was created and sustained by the British to serve their imperial interests. But these interests in India as a colony of the British Empire influenced the British officials to have an indifferent attitude towards the very community they had virtually created them. This is evident from British colonial policy towards the Anglo-Indian community from the seventeenth century until the British they left India. The British discriminatory policy towards Anglo-Indians is evident in the fact that those who were white-skinned were often sent to England whereas those who were darker were categorically excluded.[4] Later on, by the eighteenth century, the colour prejudice was directed towards the Anglo-Indian community as a class.[5] The administration started to identify the community as a 'native community' and showed stiff indifference to its political and economic plight. However, it should be mentioned that at times—especially in times of need—the colonial government upheld the community and showered benefits on the Anglo-Indians in return for their support of the British. Such a discrimination-ridden situation gave birth to numerous stereotypes, mostly negative, and fostered a unique psychological state and social position of ethnic marginality.

The British 'looked down' upon Anglo-Indians ('these people') as 'hapless creatures who lacked the moral fibre of an Englishman'[6] and who could not be used to 'further the interest of the Company or any British individual'.[7] Intermarriage between the British and the Anglo-Indians for that matter was generally opposed and sometimes prohibited. There is very little historical evidence on how the Anglo-Indians reacted

to this discrimination. But D. Goodrich[8] and C.W. Hawes[9] suggest that it was the discriminatory policies of the British against the Anglo-Indian community in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries that helped to give rise to a collective sentiment which eventually shaped the Anglo-Indians into a community. Numerous meetings of the members of the community were held in the latter part of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries to discuss and consider the prospects of the future of the community. These were the first signs of the emergent organized life of the community.

But the community admired and identified with the British culture almost throughout the entire period of British rule in India. This was not a blind admiration or servile acceptance; for there were some Anglo-Indians who were resentful of the arrogance of some British officers.[10] The Anglo-Indian community inducted into their life and habits everything that would help them to pose as British and promote the possibility of the community's being recognized by the colonial government as one of their own. The Anglo-Indians imitated the snobbery of the British in the treatment they meted out to other Indians. Their biological kinship with the British and their occupationally advantaged position gave them a sense of superiority; and, as such, they often regarded the Indians as a 'stereotypically inferior order of humanity'.[11] Like the British they too sometimes employed the opprobrious term *nigger* to refer to the Indians.

Most Anglo-Indians still have little or no regard for indigenous Indian culture, no knowledge of Indian literature, art, and philosophy and seldom make a serious effort to learn an Indian language. Anglo-Indian parents often socialize their children with these attitudes and try to isolate them from intimate association with Indian children. Gaikwad[12] tells us that it was frequently the case that an Anglo-Indian boy would never visit the house of his Indian friend, whereas the Indian friend would always cordially be invited to his home. His Indian friend would freely mix with the ladies of the family but the Anglo-Indian boy never got a chance to know the female members of his friend's family. This not only shows the preferred pattern of interaction of the Anglo-Indians but also shows the preferred pattern of interaction the other Indians have vis-à-vis the Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians were always held as persons 'divided in loyalty'[13] or more specifically as persons more loyal to the British than to the Indians. The Indians and the Anglo-Indians both

have continually maintained their own respective cultural ways, tolerating each other but never trying to assimilate each other's ways of life.

The Anglo-Indians had a sense of superiority vis-à-vis the Indians, who in turn shirked them. After the independence of India, the Anglo-Indian community faced a single dominant social group—that of the Indians. The Anglo-Indians had always thought it better to be accepted by the British as one of them; and therefore they had always wanted to leave India in search of a better place. Now they were in a position of subordination in relation to the dominant Indian community's expectations of social interaction and customs.

Anglo-Indian women had been especially subjected to suspicion. A well-known writer in Bengali, Sukumar Ray, had depicted Anglo-Indian women secretaries in offices as a hybrid cows that cannot adjust to the life patterns of the indigenous members of its genre and are always seeking to do everything differently. This depiction shows that, on the one hand, the Anglo-Indian women were despised by the Indians; and on the other, these women always wanted to pose as different from the Indians. This attitude has not changed much. Anglo-Indian women mostly met (and still meet) non–Anglo-Indians at offices and clubs and as domestic servants in their home. Their maids and servants always came from a lower social position and were often Muslims or Indian Christians but never Hindus.[14] The reasons for this may be varied. One of the important reasons may be that there was and still is a populous Muslim community in the area where most Anglo-Indians reside. Moreover, the fact that the Anglo-Indians consumed forbidden meat—beef—might have kept the Hindus away from the Anglo-Indian households. Further, as Islam and Christianity are both religions of the book,[15] their followers too may feel comfortable with each other. Surprisingly, though, even though Anglo-Indians eat pork, which is unacceptable in Islam, this did not force them to distance themselves from the Muslims. Still, the theory that the eating habits of the two communities had brought them closer is unsustainable. It might be argued that the close association of the origins of both Islam and Christianity might have brought them closer. It could also be that the Anglo-Indians, because of their antipathy for the Hindus (Bengalis in this case) were forced to live in areas densely populated by Muslims and this automatically brought them closer to the latter.

The Anglo-Indian women faced non–Anglo-Indians of higher social status mostly at offices and clubs, as they preferred not to mix with non–Anglo-Indians living in their neighbourhood. This may also be a reason

Anglo-Indians are able to master Hindi with greater ease than Bengali. In this context, one of the respondents had said that they spoke 'the language of their ayahs and maids'.[16] The non–Anglo-Indians that they meet are mostly well-educated, can speak English and are well-versed in 'Western' ways, so quite understandably the Anglo-Indians do not find it difficult to interact with them. One of the respondents of the older generation and winner of a best secretary award told me that she preferred to work under a Bengali boss rather than a Marwari because the Bengali boss knows the 'English ways'. But she had resigned from a firm after the transfer of ownership from British to Indian because the Indian boss did not even have the courtesy to greet her with a 'hello'. Though Anglo-Indians are more comfortable speaking to non–Anglo-Indians of higher social status whom they meet at clubs and workplaces, their self-appraisal of what these non–Anglo-Indians think of them is not very positive. This preconception of what others think of them, in turn, helps them to form their idea of themselves. This self-image of 'what they are' and 'what others think of them' reinforces the imagined gap between 'them' and 'us'; and is the reason they draw a boundary and like to stay within it. This image is more pronounced among the women of the community. They imagine that there is a disregard in the minds of the non–Anglo-Indians for Anglo-Indian women. They believe that the non–Anglo-Indians think Anglo-Indians to be 'anti-nationalists' and 'non-Indians'. For women there is another problem. The depiction of Anglo-Indian women as 'loose', or sexually promiscuous, influences the way Anglo-Indian women approach non–Anglo-Indians, especially the men. Women feel that non–Anglo-Indians actually think of Anglo-Indian women as 'easily available female bodies'. This perceived negative view of Anglo-Indian women pushes Anglo-Indian women further away from any kind of possible close interaction with non–Anglo-Indian males.[17] To corroborate, I can cite my experiences with the community. None of the Anglo-Indian women chose to reveal whether they had male friends, either Anglo-Indian or non–Anglo-Indian. However, they admitted to being very close to many male non–Anglo-Indians but refused to call them close friends. Perhaps this contradiction arose because of my non–Anglo-Indian identity. My presence as a non–Anglo-Indian woman had perhaps made them so self-conscious that in their zeal to pose as 'good women' they did not want to reveal that they had male friends. This not only proves that they imagined 'goodness' as a quality associated with 'being a woman' but also that they had in their minds a fixed image of

what a 'good Anglo-Indian woman' should be. They thus fell victim to both the strictures created by their idea of being a woman and the idea of being an Anglo-Indian woman. The two ideas are not isolated. They constantly confront both ideas and fall victim to both, making them more marginalized than Anglo-Indian men. This again can be corroborated by the statements of Anglo-Indian men that I came across. I asked the men what impression they thought non–Anglo-Indians had of them. Most of them took the examples of Anglo-Indian women as portrayed in films. Their conclusion was that the image non–Anglo-Indians entertained in their minds was of Anglo-Indian women as 'having a less moral character' and so forth. Thus it is evident that Anglo-Indian women also confront the idea of a being 'good woman' within their own community. Most of my respondents from both age groups, both male and female, said that 'the Anglo-Indian girl who stands for customers in late nights near Esplanade has inflicted a stigma on Anglo-Indian women' and 'it is left to us to fight against this wrong conception'. So while they stridently denounce such a 'wrong conception' among non–Anglo-Indians, they admit that such a wrong conception has arisen due to the actions of some girls in their community. They know such things happen, but they also think it wrong on the part of the non–Anglo-Indians to generalise and want to fight against such misconceptions. The social doubt harboured, both within the community and without, about the moral and social character of the Anglo-Indian woman has pushed her to the periphery and her patterns of social interaction have been affected by it.

English as 'their' language and their insistence on expressing everything in English may be considered an important aspect of their interaction pattern and also an important reason behind their reluctance to learn the local language (Bengali/Hindi). The aim of this chapter is to see whether such motivations play an important role in their interaction pattern. On being interviewed about the importance of such motivations in their interaction pattern, the women, as a marginalized part of the community, expressed their ethnic identity while responding. Though English is recognized as an official Indian language, the Anglo-Indians still consider it as their own language and have done whatever they could to maintain an identity through the use of the English language as a medium of instruction in their schools.[18] Whether English is considered a foreign language or Anglo-Indians are considered non-Indians is beside the point. The issue assumes importance because the Anglo-Indians

consider English to be 'their language' distinct and different from the languages of other Indians.

Responses of Anglo-Indian Women and Men on Questions on Social Interaction

Sixty-eight of a total of 90 women respondents do not like the Anglo-Indian neighbourhood they live in. The women who like their Anglo-Indian neighbourhood are mostly (82%) from the younger age group. The male respondents show the same trend: that is, most of them do not like their Anglo-Indian neighbourhood. Men from the older generation who like living in Anglo-Indian neighbourhoods are more numerous (nearly 67%). While 36% of the women of this generation are content with their place of living, 64% of Anglo-Indian women of the younger generation like where they live. (It is worth noting that 10% of Anglo-Indian women do not have a place to live at all.) Men from the younger generation show more contentment with their present place of living (nearly 67%) than the male respondents of the older generation.

Therefore, it can be summarized that most Anglo-Indian men and women do not prefer living in Anglo-Indian neighbourhoods but are content with their present location. Though these respondents lived in Anglo-Indian neighbourhoods with just one or two exceptions, their responses to this question were quite interesting. When probed further some women respondents answered that they preferred Hindu Bengali neighbourhoods to Muslim-populated areas. But as the cost of living and the rent for apartments in their present localities were financially viable and as they had a long acquaintance with their neighbourhoods, they have persuaded themselves to stay on rather than relocating to a preferred neighbourhood. Some of the respondents who own apartments elsewhere do not have the courage to venture into areas that are unknown and face people whom they do not know. Sometimes it is just sheer lethargy that makes them loath to move out of places they have known for generations. But the respondents who lived in slums or similar areas showed discontent with their Bengali neighbours as well. So the choice of neighbours is purely personal and cannot be generalized. But the more interesting part is that, whoever their neighbours are, respondents expressed their discontent with them. The Anglo-Indians who live in predominantly Anglo-Indian neighbourhoods are dissatisfied with

their neighbours too. To them Anglo-Indians are more inquisitive about the lives of others and hence they cannot be regarded as 'good neighbours'. But more or less all of the respondents have agreed that living in a Bengali neighbourhood may have helped them to know other cultures more closely than they would have otherwise.

The above data begs the question as to how important Anglo-Indians think it is to know non–Anglo-Indians, in this case Bengalis. Ninety-six per cent of the women from the younger generation and 61% from the older generation think it is important to know others. This shows they have an earnest wish to know others; but they also nurture a fear of crossing the boundary of 'us' and 'we'. To them knowing any Indian language other than English is the most important factor in making an effort to know others. Forty-four per cent of the younger generation and 43% of the older generation think the same. Men from both generations have the same response. The second most important factor to them is knowledge about the customs of other communities. Thirty-two per cent of the younger-generation and 26% of the older-generation women agree. Though in general Anglo-Indians think it is important to know other communities, 27 out of 52 respondents (nearly 52%) of the younger generation and 22 out of 38 respondents (nearly 58%) of the older generation of Anglo-Indian women have never watched a Bengali movie. Only 5 of 22 respondents who knew the names of Bengali screen heroes and heroines knew Aparna Sen, a noted actress and filmmaker. It is noteworthy here that Aparna Sen directed a film called *36, Chowringhee Lane* depicting the life of an Anglo-Indian teacher. All of the respondents who had named her had watched the film, which was made in English. Surprisingly enough most Anglo-Indian men and women knew Uttam Kumar, a leading Bengali matinee idol of the late twentieth century. But, at the same time, only eight women respondents from the younger generation and three from the older generation could name at least one of the many films of the Academy Award-winning filmmaker Satyajit Ray. The same was true for the men from the two age groups. The same trend was seen in responses to questions as to how well they knew of the works of Bengali poets like Rabindranath Tagore and others. Thirty-four out of 52 respondents from the younger generation knew about the works of Rabindranath, but could not specify any particular work of his. They only knew him as a Nobel laureate. Seventeen out of 38 respondents of the older generation knew names of poets other than Rabindranath Tagore and could name one or two

with help from the researcher. All the respondents from the younger generation and most from the older generation did not know anything about Bengali theatre. I can recall a young Anglo-Indian woman's response to the question about watching Bengali movies. Adriana (name changed) said her father did not let her watch programmes in Bengali as a child and switched off the television whenever she sat down to watch a programme in Bengali. Her father instead insisted that she watch programmes telecast in English, which she said were not widely available before cable networks had come to India. As a consequence, her proficiency in Bengali never increased beyond mere comprehension, although Bengali was taught as a third language at school; and she does not feel confident speaking Bengali. She strongly believes that Anglo-Indians should learn Bengali and regularly express their thoughts in Bengali so that they can mix freely with other Indians (in this case Bengalis).

When the respondents were asked what they felt good about or despised about Bengali culture and customs, 38% of the Anglo-Indian women from the younger generation said that washing hands on the plate after meals was the most distasteful 'custom' among the Bengalis. Sixty-three respondents from the older generation think belching after eating is what they dislike among Bengalis. This response of the younger and the older generations show that that they lack knowledge of the customs and culture of the Bengalis. Belching and washing hands on the plate can hardly be considered customs as such. It could be because of their 'Western' habits and manners that they have come to entertain such faulty conceptions. Similarly, 73% of the Anglo-Indian women from the younger generation and 87% of the Anglo-Indian women from the older generation prefer eating their meal after it has been laid on the table. And additionally they insist on the use of forks and spoons. Seventy-one per cent from the younger generation and 97% from the older generation use a fork and spoon instead of eating with their hands. Consumption of beef and alcoholic beverages is considered an important aspect of their Westernised way of life. As a result, we can see that nearly 62% of the Anglo-Indian women from the younger generation and 45% from the older generation have a drink at least once in a fortnight, while 40% from the younger generation and 42% from the older generation consume beef on daily basis. Men too show similar trends.

In their preference for Anglo-Indian dress and lifestyle the respondents showed marked identification with the culture of the community. Out of the 52 respondents of the younger generation 44 preferred

Western outfits to Indian dresses like *salwars* and *saris*. Here I should mention that preference for Western clothes is also an important aspect of the younger generation of any community in India today. But the responses from the Anglo-Indian community should be judged with reference to their expectations and the practices of the generation of their parents. Thirty-five out of 38 respondents (92%) of the older generation also responded in favour of Western clothes and dresses. Most of the respondents did not know how to wear a *sari* and very few had a *sari* at home in their wardrobe. I can recall an incident reported by one of my respondents from the younger generation. Linda (name changed) was asked to wear a *sari* at school for a special occasion. When she told her parents about this her father visited the principal of the school the next day to ask her which way of wearing a *sari* she would call 'Indian' and also to enquire why she had asked all students to wear a *sari*, because the *sari* cannot be considered an Indian dress if Anglo-Indians were to be regarded as Indians. She was later on asked to take a transfer certificate from the school. This shows the level of significance her or his culture has for an Anglo-Indian. The identification of what is 'Anglo-Indian' and what is not is very prominent in the minds of the Anglo-Indians. Twenty-seven respondents out of 52 (nearly 52%) from the younger generation and 23 out of 38 (nearly 62%) from the older generation preferred wearing Indian dresses for occasions where members of other communities are present. While answering the question none of the respondents said that they would try to wear an Indian dress like a *salwar* or a *sari* to a ball or a party where they would meet other Anglo-Indians. They feared that the Anglo-Indians present would 'raise eyebrows' and this would make them feel awkward. Some have even talked at length about such past experiences. I can recall an incident where a well-known charitable organization of Anglo-Indians in Kolkata that organizes weekly ration for their community withheld ration from a lady who was wearing a *sari*, saying that her dress and attitude did not resemble that of an Anglo-Indian. When I attended many Christmas parties organized by the All India Anglo-Indian Association, I met Anglo-Indian women wearing Western dresses barring one or two. But when I visited the same ladies at their home or elsewhere I noticed that they were wearing 'Indian' dresses like a *salwar kameez*. This shows that they are conscious of their identity and also identify with their dresses as one of the symbols of 'who they are'. As a corroboration of the above, most respondents from both the generations said that they did not

prefer ethnic accessories, such as a nose stud or a *payel* (anklet). Many among the younger generation of Anglo-Indian women had bought such items for others as a fashion statement but have never used them. However, most Anglo-Indian women of the older generation have not even bought any of these for others. This study also revealed that nearly half of the women respondents of both generations are in the habit of smoking. Though Anglo-Indians ultimately say that they do not like to wear Indian dresses to functions organized by and for them, they do not like to declare this at the outset. To begin with, they like to pretend they wear a *sari* or a *salwar kameez* or for that matter jewellery of any Indian design. It is only after being asked repeatedly whether they have a *sari* at home or what dress they like to wear for formal occasions that they reply that it is 'their dresses' which they prefer to the 'Indian' ones. One of the respondents, Sarah, said—

> It is our dress, or it is the way I like to express myself, so why do you question whether I like to wear something else? Do I question you? You have made our dresses yours. That's fine. But I do not want to dress like you because I know I am different from you in culture, language and everything.

Sarah's expressions have a strong ethnic bias. She expressed her strong ethnic feelings in saying how other Indians like to dress as they do and why she likes to stick to the sartorial style of her community. Her stance may come across as a little harsh, but it reflects a feeling every Anglo-Indian shares. Their ethnicity is firmly expressed in their sense of style, their choice of dresses, their language and the things they do.

In the previous chapter I quoted Catherine, who said, 'Anglo-Indians are Westernized in the true sense of the term … . They [other Indians] may think they are modern but modernity and Westernized ways are not the same'.[19] Alison Blunt has dwelt at some length on this dichotomy between Western and modern which is so characteristic of Anglo-Indian women in Indian society.[20] Anglo-Indian women perceive themselves to be 'progressive', 'liberated' and 'emancipated'. This perception rests on three major factors: dress, working outside the home and freedom in choosing marriage partners. In the colonial period, this extended to public participation. Anglo-Indian women were at the forefront of debates about the future of the community and the forging of a distinctive identity. Around the same time, however, there was a greater emphasis

placed on a woman's role in the home, and the 'political importance' of such a location in the context of the widening significance of ideologies of imperial domesticity. These efforts paralleled to some extent the nationalist domesticity described so elaborately by Partha Chatterjee[21] and Dipesh Chakraborty.[22] The attempt at domesticating Anglo-Indian women posed a new tension between the 'Western' and the 'modern'. Despite large-scale emigration to Australia and Canada, Anglo-Indian women are not always necessarily in tune with contemporary 'Western' lifestyles. At one level, 'Western' is equated with modern and with individualism and social and sexual freedom. At another level however, the norms of the community have meant subordinating individual choices and preferences to a restrictive notion of what it means to be 'Western'.

Given that Anglo-Indians maintain an ethnic identity, their perception of their ethnicity and their relative position in India with respect to their ethnic status is also reflected in their self-image. Fifty-six percent of the Anglo-Indian women of the younger generation think Anglo-Indians are alienated in Indian society, and 74% of the women from the older generation agree. Men from the older generation do not (60%) agree with this. Fifty percent of the women from the younger generation think that a language barrier and the Anglo-Indians themselves are responsible for this alienation. Ninety percent of the Anglo-Indian women from the older generation did not furnish a response. Their silence on the matter signifies that they are convinced of their marginal position in India, but they do not like to discuss such issues. Men from the older generation, too, think the same as women of their generation; but men from the younger generation think both Anglo-Indians and non–Anglo-Indians are responsible for this perception among Anglo-Indians. In answering the question as to how non–Anglo-Indians can be responsible for the alienation of Anglo-Indians in Indian society, all men from both generations agreed that being an Anglo-Indian was a barrier into achieving what they thought they could have achieved otherwise and also affirmed that they had faced discrimination and prejudicial behaviour. Women displayed the same sentiment of being discriminated against and of having experienced prejudiced behaviour. Sixty percent of Anglo-Indian women from the younger generation think being an Anglo-Indian was a barrier in achieving what they could have achieved in life and 61% said that they had faced situations of discrimination and prejudice against them. Two of the respondents of this generation, Emma and Linda (names changed), had talked about their experiences of discrimination.

Emma said that despite being a very good athlete she was not allowed to participate in the Inter-School Athletic Meet—even though she had achieved the first position in school. Her games teacher at school, a non–Anglo-Indian, preferred another girl. Jenny (name changed) said she was harassed at an interview at IIM-Ahmedabad despite having the required qualifications and eligibility. She was not given a chance because she was an Anglo-Indian girl and her interviewers at the institution had said as much. In fact, many women of the younger generation talked of being discriminated at schools by teachers and other students for being Anglo-Indians. Linda (name changed), who works at a leading English-language newspaper, complained that she is never given any important writing assignments for the newspaper. Instead she is asked to do all the other work. She feels discriminated against because her boss thinks she will not be able to write about anything but Western music and Western lifestyles. Her boss also thinks she will not be able to write 'good' English. This attitude is astonishing to her, since English is her mother tongue. The older generation of Anglo-Indian women were more open and friendly while talking about their school days but 61% of them reported experiencing discrimination at offices where they worked.

Similarly, 83% Anglo-Indian women from the younger generation think that the attitude of others towards them is negative, and 82% from the older generation also say so. Responses from men display the same trend. Forty-six per cent of the women from the younger generation and 60% from the older generation think Anglo-Indians are looked down upon by non–Anglo-Indians. Sixty per cent of Anglo-Indian men from the younger generation think Anglo-Indians are maltreated by non–Anglo-Indians. But 60% of Anglo-Indian women from the younger generation and 66% from older generation think non–Anglo-Indians are ignorant of who Anglo-Indians really are.

Sixty-nine per cent from the younger generation and 87% from the older generation feel embarrassed by the attitude non–Anglo-Indians have towards them. Most of the women believe that such an attitude by the majority creates low self-esteem among them. They do not feel proud to be Anglo-Indian in public, while they feel at ease at events where most invitees are Anglo-Indians. Obviously then, they like to stay within their boundary of 'us' and 'we'. Moreover, their lack of knowledge of Bengali culture and customs and their habitual reference to Bengalis as 'these Bengalis/Bongs' further complicates and impedes efforts to reach out to the members of the other community.

The Anglo-Indians think that education is the most important condition for the development of the Anglo-Indian community. Thirty five out of 52 Anglo-Indian women of the younger generation think education is most important for Anglo-Indians to excel in future; 35 of them think that being fluent in a language other than English is the second most important factor; and 37 think learning about other cultures is the third most important factor for their future well-being. Like the older generation, young Anglo-Indians believe it is education which is the most important factor for the development of their community in the future.

In their interaction with the world outside their community, friendship is an important mediator in breaking the imagined boundary. Out of 85% of Anglo-Indian women from the younger generation who reported having friends, 38 said they had only Anglo-Indian friends. Similarly, of the 71% of women from the older generation who reported having friends, 11 said they have Anglo-Indian friends only. The Anglo-Indian women of the older generation have more friends (16 out of 38) outside the community than women from the younger generation (6 out of 52). Anglo-Indian men from the younger generation have an equal number of friends from inside and outside the community.

Then, the higher percentage of inter-community friendship among Anglo-Indian men goes to show that making friends often depends on the personal initiatives of the individuals concerned and in the way acquaintances from other communities become close friends and formal relationships are made informal. Therefore, it may be observed that boundaries are important for the Anglo-Indian community, but it is also true that such boundaries may be rendered relatively porous and flexible if need be. Most of the Anglo-Indian women of the younger generation who have Anglo-Indian friends met them in school (32%) and in the locality (45%) in which they live and met their non–Anglo-Indian friends (66%) at their workplace. This shows how far these respondents have kept within their boundary of community in schools. The Anglo-Indian women of the older generation have met most of their Anglo-Indian friends in their neighbourhood (73%) and their non–Anglo-Indian friends at their workplace (69%). Here, it is also important to point out that 20% of young Anglo-Indian women and 30% of the women of the older generation do not have friends. The case of Anglo-Indian men of the older generation is similar.

The data above corroborates statements made earlier that Anglo-Indian women are more marginalized than Anglo-Indian men. The women are more confined to making friends within their community, while Anglo-Indian men have shown more flexibility towards making friends from outside the community. The generation gap is not very important in this case, which shows that, in general, Anglo-Indian women are enclosed more effectively within the confines of their community. They have been victims of both patriarchies—that of their own community and of non–Anglo-Indian society.

I have met very few Anglo-Indians who know about the history or the evolution of their community. Most Anglo-Indians speak about how they were/are discriminated against and about the prejudices most non–Anglo-Indians have towards them. But only a very small number of them could speak at length about who Anglo-Indians actually are. I remember visiting a very young Anglo-Indian man who, on being asked who was an Anglo-Indian, said that Anglo-Indians are 'not caste-people'. The answer intrigued me so much that I could not help asking him what he really meant by that. He could not elaborate any further, but the idea struck me that this surely was a general feeling shared by the many Anglo-Indians I had met in the course of my research. I can definitely say that there is a class and gender angle to this answer. Most Anglo-Indians who were from the poorer strata could not answer this question but had a lot to say about what kind of discrimination and prejudice they faced from non–Anglo-Indians. And most importantly, only three Anglo-Indian women of the older generation and two of the younger generation could say who Anglo-Indians were; and this is out of the 90 Anglo-Indian women I interviewed. The members of the older generation who could answer this question were working women, two among them were teachers, and another was a secretary presently working for the benefit of the community. The two members of the younger generation who could answer this question were daughters of renowned Anglo-Indians and were both working women. No one other than these two women could answer this question. By comparison, the men from both the generations who could respond adequately to the same question were more numerous. They were more specific as well in explaining who Anglo-Indians were. More importantly, the men could also talk about the constitutional safeguards and the definition of who an Anglo-Indian is as written in the Constitution. Only one woman of the older generation, who presently works for the community, could answer in such

detail. This shows both men and women of the community are aware of who they are only by virtue of what they hear from the leaders of the community. They cannot name any leader of the community from the past. They know the names of the present leaders of the community, but only very few have seen or heard their speeches. This shows that, firstly, they learn very few things in their families about who an Anglo-Indian is; secondly, they learn about who they are in terms of the culture they cherish; and, finally, that they share their ethnic identity with other members of the community, which gives them an idea of their culture and how they are different from other Indians.

Conclusion

The ethnic identity of the Anglo-Indians is perhaps more effectively observable in their social interaction and in the friendships they make outside the community. The Anglo-Indian women in this case are more marginalized than the men from the community. They speaks the 'language of the *ayahs*' but cannot speak in the local language (Bengali) with their neighbours. The men socialize more with friends from outside the community than the women. Therefore their prowess in the local language is greater than the women's, and they are more confident interacting with members of the local community. One of the male respondents of the younger generation, Andrews (name changed)—who is a teacher at an Anglo-Indian school in the suburb and has to travel to his job by train every day—talked about his experience. One day as he sat near the window of the local train waiting for the train to depart, a man came running up and shouted at him in Bengali about where the train was headed. He could not utter a word though he understood what the man said and found this to be a learning experience. Later he started to talk to his fellow passengers in Bengali so that his vocabulary in the language would improve. And now he is confident that if such an incident occurs again he will not shy away but will be able to communicate. As the leaders of the community had stressed, learning about India, especially the local culture and language, is essential to surviving in India. I can recall the experience of an Anglo-Indian man named Steven (name changed and nothing can be disclosed about his occupation) in his late fifties who was visiting the United States of America when 9/11 happened.[23] Upon his return, he was detained at the airport for a day because his passport identified him as an Anglo-Indian—as a member of a mixed race

in India, he was neither an Indian (as other Indians were), nor was he a European or an American. As such, the authorities thought his identity was questionable. He was asked to stand in a separate line apart from all the others present for questioning. He found himself to be the only one in the crowd to be of a different category. He was so hurt by this experience that he thought he would resign from work and did not want to mix with anyone. Later on, his family support helped him to overcome this depression. He has not talked about this incident in public and said that he felt ashamed of his identity of mixed descent for the first time in his life. He now thinks himself to be an 'Indian' and does not like to be called an Anglo-Indian anymore. For Steven, it was a learning experience.

Like him, the elderly Robert (name changed), retired from the Indian Army and at present working at a school as a physical education instructor, said he did not think of himself as an Anglo-Indian. He was an 'Indian' and had no other identity other than this. His military background had helped him transcend the identity that his family had bestowed on him. He had friends from all communities. But for women of the community who had been confined within the limits of their community such experiences have not occurred, and their perception of the 'other' is also different. So there is a gendered self-expression when they talk about 'other' communities. The pattern of their social interaction and the motivation that guides such interactions are also distinctly different from that of their male counterparts.

Some of the members of the community have learned this through experience. Women, especially those from the older generation, find it difficult to communicate in Bengali. One of the Anglo-Indian women, Alexandra (name changed) takes her daughter Ivana to the market because she can speak Hindi and can also read Bengali. Alexandra finds it difficult if she gets an invitation from a Bengali neighbour, because she cannot read the invitation card as it are usually written in Bengali. In this as well she needs the help of her daughter, Ivana, who is still a student. In comparison, her husband is famous in the *para* (locality) where they live. He has many friends from the neighbourhood and frequently chats with his friends. Another Anglo-Indian woman of the younger generation, Nicolette (name changed), goes to different places with her Bengali friend, who is also her neighbour. So it is not a rule that the Anglo-Indian woman cannot speak in Bengali; it is just that they are more accustomed to speaking in Hindi than in Bengali. It is evident

that Anglo-Indian men are more open to friends outside the community than the women. The reason perhaps is that the women are more confined within the boundaries of their homes and their Anglo-Indian ethnic boundaries and therefore are more marginalized than the men of the community.

Notes

1. H. Blumer and T. Duster, 'Theories of Race and Social Action in Sociological Theories' in *Race and Colonialism* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980).
2. R. Jenkins, 'Rethinking Ethnicity: identity, categorization and power' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17(2), 1994, 197–221.
3. R. Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity* (London: Sage, 1997).
4. P. Gist and R.D. Wright, *Marginality and Identity: Anglo Indians a Racially Mixed Minority in India* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), p. 38.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. As cited in Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973), p. 38.
9. C.W. Hawes, 'Eurasians in British India (1733–1833): The Making of a Reluctant Community', (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1993).
10. Frank Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal in India: The Study of the Anglo-Indian Community* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1969), pp. 375–377.
11. Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973), p. 39.
12. V.S.R. Gaikwad, *The Anglo Indians: Problems and Processes Involved in Emotional and Cultural Integration* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 183.
13. Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973), p. 39.
14. Many among my respondents have corroborated this as an important part of their life.
15. J. Sen, 'Anglo-Indians of Calcutta' in *Human Science*, 32, 1983, p. 50.
16. All of my male respondents have corroborated this.
17. Dolores Chew, 'Coming Full Circle' in Lionel Lumb and Deborah Van Veldhuizer (eds.) *The Way We Are: An Anglo-Indian Mosaic*, 2008, NJ, USA, Calcutta Tiljallah Relief Inc Publishing.
18. See Chapters One and Four for the Bombay School Case.
19. See the Chapter IV on Family, Marriage and Kinship.
20. A. Blunt, *Domicile and Diaspora*, (2005), pp. 59–65.

21. P. Chatterjee, 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question' in K. Sangari and S. Vaid (eds.) *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History* (New Delhi: Kali for Women 1989), pp. 233–253.
22. D. Chakraborty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
23. The incident of a terror attack on the Twin Towers on 11 September 2009.

CHAPTER 6

Social Organizations and Social Securities in the Anglo-Indian Community

The social organizations of the Anglo-Indian community act as repositories and transmitters of their culture. The Anglo-Indian community started to form organizations in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first organization set up by the Anglo-Indian community was the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association in 1876. The Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India was formed in 1879. At the turn of the century, the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association was formed; this was, after the death of its founder, revived as the Anglo-Indian Empire League. Later, in the 1920s, the Anglo-Indian Association of Bengal was renamed as the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association. This is considered the parent organization of the present All India Anglo-Indian Association, the most dominant and influential Anglo-Indian organization in India.

Any ethnic community has two distinct aspects. One is a psychological state in which individuals think of themselves as part of a distinct collectivity whose members share similar sets of interest, values and ideologies. *Ethnicity* is an umbrella term which describes 'groupness' among individuals. Since collectivities are not 'things that just happen',[1] the politicization of group membership in a collectivity often takes place on the basis of ethnicity. The second aspect is that organizations that help to meet some social needs of the community's members are important to sustain the daily activities of life. The social organizations that any ethnic community sets up may be both integrative and disruptive, that

S. Sen, *Anglo-Indian Women in Transition*,
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is, bringing people together and keeping them apart. In an ethnic community, members of the same ethnic group come together and keep the non-members out. Such inclusion and exclusion play a significant role for the ethnic community. Goodrich has rightly suggested that the Anglo-Indians ceased to exist as a disparate aggregation of individuals long ago. Their distinct physical characteristics and their social and cultural features brought them together to form a collectivity. The social organizations started to form only after this formation of a group identity started to take shape. This community self-awareness emerged slowly as the result of the discrimination against them by the British and rejection by the Indians. The psychological and social need for a clear identity presaged the gradual development of an ethnocentric outlook which made possible a sense of belonging.[2] The aim of this chapter is to investigate some important aspects of the ethnicity of this community and to show how this ethnic identity is gender-biased.

In the early half of the nineteenth century, the organized social life of the Anglo-Indian community slowly started to take shape. The first unsure steps towards forming organizations paved the way for a more collective and organized social activism, participation and leadership. Over the years, as the sense of deprivation gradually increased, the Anglo-Indians started to form their own organizations as a survival strategy and defensive action. One of the first organizations to be established in Bengal was the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association in 1876. Later on, a number of organizations with Anglo-Indian members and as well as Europeans and Indian Christians started to emerge: The Anglo-Indian Study Circle, the Anglo-Indian Youth League and the Britasian League were significant bodies formed in the first part of the twentieth century. The Britasian League was established in the 1930s with headquarters in Calcutta to facilitate the resettlement of the Anglo-Indians at McCluskiegunge to generate a spirit of responsibility among its members and to facilitate plans for the development of cooperative agricultural and industrial marketing facilities.[3] This organization had an official journal named 'The Britasian Gazette', which preached the gospel of a 'back to the land movement' but with an emphasis on industrial development as a handmaiden of agriculture. This was the time when the Anglo-Indian community had started to look forward to settling at a place called McCluskiegunge, near Ranchi. The agenda of the organization was clearly evident as the promotion of a homeland for the Anglo-Indians.[4]

The All India Anglo-Indian Association

This is national organization is by far the most influential organization of the Anglo-Indian community. It has over 70 affiliated branches spread over the entire country. Each local branch has complete autonomy in the selection of corps of officers and committee personnel and is free to determine the function of the local organization. However, the local associations traditionally support the policies of the national body. The national body holds an annual convention which is attended by officers and delegates from the local branches. Apart from social activities, this convention holds meetings on the various issues and problems the community faces. Formal action is taken following the resolutions offered by the delegates. The branches of the association at the state level also hold meetings on issues that are of immediate concern to its members. In defense of its own interests the association drafted its own policies as an ameliorative measure. It was considered a shield of protection for the community.[5] The most important function of the association is to support the Anglo-Indian schools through scholarships and other forms of help to Anglo-Indian students. Through its leaders, it has spearheaded efforts to continue the use of English as a medium of instruction at these schools. Earlier, when the political position of the community was in doubt it defended the right of the Anglo-Indian minority to special representation at the national and state legislatures. It maintains a special Employment Bureau for the Anglo-Indians in Delhi in addition to extending support to its members from the local branches. It also collects funds for the benefit of the needy in times of emergencies.[6]

The All India Anglo-Indian Association with all its branches works as a functional entity, providing structural support to the community. A few well-known minorities with dual or mixed parental heritage have been able to develop such organizational structures with mass support from the members of the community. The leaders of the community, both from the past—such as Gidney, Barrow or Frank Anthony—or from the present, have provided effective direction and a resolution to formulate policies for social action.

Membership in the association is strictly limited to those who can prove a European link on their father's side, or to those who have been members for more than two generations. Nevertheless, the association strictly follows the condition of reckoning descent as prescribed in the Indian Constitution as the basis for granting membership.

The total number of members in Kolkata is over a thousand. Membership is granted annually. There is a provision for life membership as well.

The journal of the association, called simply 'The Review', is perhaps the most circulated journal of the community. It is the principal means of communication between members of the different branches. It is boldly called 'the most widely circulated monthly in India' and serves as a personalized organ of the president of the association, as it contains his speeches, organizational activities, photographs, and so on in each issue. It also contains general information about the community, about its leaders, social festivals and other activities. It also focuses on individual Anglo-Indians who receive an award or public recognition. Photographs of every distinguished Anglo-Indian are also displayed in the journal.

The Anglo-Indian women who are members of the association have to prove that they are descendants of a European progenitor. Their children can claim membership only if they can prove the same on their father's side. This means children of Anglo-Indian mothers and non–Anglo-Indian fathers are not considered for membership. It also means being an Anglo-Indian mother to a child does not guarantee any help from the association. The same is not true for the Anglo-Indian men. Their children can directly become members of the association. The schools and other offices of the government at present recognize the role of the mother and consider her to be the guardian of her wards, but such is not the case at the Anglo-Indian Association, the most important of all the organizations the Anglo-Indians have. Though the Constitution of India only recognizes the paternal line for determining descent, it does not specify any criteria for membership in any Anglo-Indian organization. The policy of determining who can be a member and who is to be excluded was the sole prerogative of the leaders of the community who drafted the organization's policy. This implies a clear gender bias in the formulation of the membership policy of the most accepted and arguably the biggest organization of the community.

The Social Welfare and Social Security Services of the Community

There are numerous organizations that carry out social welfare services for the community. The East India Charitable Trust (EICT) with headquarters in Kolkata is responsible for financing and managing numerous welfare activities in West Bengal and the surrounding states.

This organization was established in 1950 to coordinate various charitable activities like financing numerous scholarships for Anglo-Indian children and youth. In Kolkata alone, the trust maintains and supervises Tollygunge Homes, St. Mary's Home and Hospital, Mary Cooper Home, Lavinia House, EICT Nursery School, St. John's Baby Clinic, Women's Friendly Society, the Anglo-Indian Association Calcutta Canteen Boys' Hostel and the Sherwood House Trust. The Tollygunge Homes provide residential and medical facilities for 60 elderly European or Anglo-Indian persons or of persons of any Christian denomination. The St. Mary's Home and Hospital accommodates 65 elderly European or Anglo-Indian women of the Protestant faith. The Mary Cooper Home accommodates 34 elderly European or Anglo-Indian persons of either sex who are Protestants. Lavinia House is a rescue home for Anglo-Indian girls. The Women's Friendly Society employs Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian women in making garments. The profits from the sales are used for charitable purposes.[7]

Lawrence DeSouza Home, Kolkata

The Lawrence DeSouza Home was built in the 1870s. At that time, the idea of an old-age home was totally absent in the Indian psyche. Older people in eighteenth-century Britain did not judge the quality of their lives according to a binary model of dependence versus autonomy. Instead, aging men and women sought to remain closely connected to their families and communities through continued participation in the reciprocal obligations that characterized relationships of the time. Family social ties generally remained strong and intergenerational communication frequent throughout a person's life. Aged parents gave moral, physical and financial support to their children whenever possible and hoped that they in turn could rely on their children, when the need arose. Older people in this period often turned both to family members and to the assistance that was available to them in their local communities through informal sources of charity and through the formal system of poor relief that has existed in England since the foundation of Elizabethan Poor Laws.

Eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century English families certainly felt that there was a moral obligation to support their elderly members. Moreover, this duty was established by law—even if the law was seldom applied. Clearly there was a cultural ideal of familial

responsibility for elder care at that time. But importantly all older individuals who lived during this period were expected to look after their own needs for as long as possible. Once the necessity arose, both family and community had an obligation to support them, but the aged themselves were expected to save for their 'evening days'. This means that while there was an individualistic orientation there was a strong collective spirit as well. The development of modern industrial capitalism began to change attitudes towards familial and community support structures. With the emergence of the instrumentalist values of individualism, according to Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, the factory girls in northern England sought to retain a portion of their wages for their own consumption. It is critical to their story that the same girls, after marriage, assumed the traditional role of the nurturing and sacrificial wife and mother.[8] Even though the development of individualist values did not have the same degree of impact on wife- and motherhood, it had a much more significant influence on norms of intergenerational interdependence, necessitating a different orientation for social welfare policies. Germany became the first nation in the world to adopt an old-age social security programme in 1889. The idea was to do something for those who were unable to work by reason of age and invalidity. In the United Kingdom, in contrast, such schemes were introduced only the 1930s. In the nineteenth century there were 'poor houses' and shelter homes, either publicly maintained or maintained through private charity; to support and house some categories of dependents construed as weak and vulnerable, which included children, needy persons and the old. The first-ever old-age home was built in the United States in 1906. The concept travelled slowly to India. The enclaved nature of capitalist modernity in the colonial period did not change dramatically after independence—one of its corollary's being the persistence of the values of family. The fact that public systems of social welfare never grew to any significant scale in the country meant that the care of the ill and the aged continued to be delegated to the family. Indeed, the discursive dominance of the 'joint family' has had long-term legal, social and cultural consequences. From the early decades of the twentieth century, popular imagination has been saturated with a titanic resistance to forces of nuclearisation of families. Once again we have a vicious cycle—the values of familial interdependence allowed the state to defer its responsibility for public systems of social welfare—and this meant that the care of the ill and the aged continued to be delegated

to the family. It is only now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, that the idea of old-age homes is gaining some ground. In this context, the introduction of old-age homes and such welfare measures among the Anglo-Indian community as early as the late nineteenth century is striking evidence of its difference from other communities in this country.

We can speculate that the nuclearisation of families and the cultivation of individualistic values began early in the Anglo-Indian community. By the late nineteenth century, there were an overwhelming number of broken families in the community, and the rates of divorce and separation were quite high at that time. Moreover, as young Indian/Anglo-Indian girls married European men, desertion or widowhood was also a very important feature of this community in Kolkata. We can cite the example of Dr. Graham's Homes in Kalimpong, which was built in the later half of the nineteenth century to accommodate Anglo-Indian children who were orphaned due to the death or separation of parents. In the Will and Testament of Lawrence DeSouza it was clearly stated that the sum of money he entrusted should be used to purchase a house in the Dharamtollah area for a home either for orphan girls and boys up to the age of ten or for Anglo-Indian widows in utterly destitute condition. So in 1876, the Home for the Aged was built at 138 Lenin Sarani (formerly known as Dharamtollah Street) to house aged widows or spinster Anglo-Indian women whose husbands or parents were in a position not lower than that of clerk or an assistant. The home is unique in that it was established exclusively for the benefit of Anglo-Indian women and is run by the All Anglo-Indian Committee in accordance with the testator's stated wishes.

The home is built to accommodate women in single rooms, double rooms and a dormitory. According to the Will and Testament of Lawrence DeSouza, a sum of 200,000 rupees was to be used exclusively to support the women on the income of three-fourths of the capital. The funds were invested in government securities and administered by the official trustee of government of West Bengal. While the income from the trust fund might have been adequate more than a century ago, today the fund is not adequate to cover the needs of the women. Over the years, the committee has had to introduce and subsequently increase the contribution from residents to meet expenses. The committee also receives help from organizations and individuals in India and abroad.[9]

The committee scrutinizes applications and then selects aged Anglo-Indian women after a short interview. The criterion for selection is that the women have to prove their Anglo-Indian heritage, their European patrilineal connection, their destitute state, their 'genteel origin' and the occupational status of their parents or husbands. At present the home has 18 residents, aged from 67 to 92. Five ladies—Enid, Jenny, Joyce, Sybil and Annad (names changed)—were ready to sit for interview sessions. They answered questions on why they selected an Anglo-Indian Aged Home over any other. The answer was quick and clear: 'I loved to go to parties, dance and enjoy…and this is the place where no one would question why I like it, because everyone knows why it is so'. Enid lived in Garden Reach, Kolkata, before coming here and making this her home. Jenny replied that she knew one of her friends had gone to Mary Cooper's Home, also meant for the grannies, but she felt very uneasy about going there because the home serves South-Indian dishes as there are more South-Indian Christian residents than Anglo-Indians. So Jenny decided to come to Lawrence DeSouza because this was the place where she could get 'her food'.

The superintendent looks after the daily affairs, oversees the housekeeping and ensures that typical Anglo-Indian fare appears on the table. The ladies start their day with '*palack ka cha',* and the lunch is mainly rice, *dal*, *Jhal-frezzy* (minced beef), *Hussaini* curry or *Vindaloo*. Dinner consists mainly of pancakes, puddings, ice-creams and soups. The Good Friday special menu is *dal*, *Philori-Bharta*, fried *brinjal*, stick and stone, yam *Bharta* and juices. A Christmas lunch would be pepper water, *Pantras* (pancakes with stuffed meat), yellow rice or coconut rice, potato cake, pudding, custard, cake and ice-cream. There are parties and games on special days. Anna says this was the reason for her selecting the home. As she has a habit of smoking and drinking, she thought she might be restricted if she had registered with any other old-age home. The other residents, from other communities, might not have felt this to be 'normal' and might have ostracized her. Such apprehensions had influenced her choice. The Lawrence DeSouza Home was built with a specific purpose—to look after old women. Such a purpose in itself proves that the community was patriarchal about trying to do something for its women. This patriarchal practice of caring for the women of the community with a sense of pity is an interesting aspect of the community. It is a common practice of patriarchal ideology to consider women as weak and vulnerable and therefore in need of protection. In this belief system, men are

considered to be strong enough to withstand any pressure, and therefore institutionalised care is reserved for woman. This is perhaps the reason for building an old-age home for women. The founder's commitment to provide institutional care for women was based on the assumption, common in many parts of Europe at that time, that women deprived of male support were especially vulnerable and required public support.

Calcutta Anglo-Indian Service Society (CAISS), Kolkata

This organization was set up in late 1976. Since then the society has been serving the less fortunate and marginalized individuals of the community in Kolkata. Caring for the aged, children and those with special needs; assisting in times of crisis by being available and by doing whatever is possible to help; reaffirming the dignity of each individual; and encouraging individuals to face life's challenges are the objectives of this organization.

For the past 31 years CAISS[10] has been involved in meeting the immediate needs of the community. It helps the aged by providing assistance in the form of rations, medical check-ups, medicines and a monthly pension. For the children it organizes support for their education and helps to pay for books, school and boarding fees, uniforms, tiffin and transport expenses. The organization also helps those who need steady income assistance by finding them suitable jobs and providing job-skills training and micro-loans to set up small-scale enterprises. It also assists the homeless by providing shelter for the night and a 'warm meal'.

A group of experienced volunteers work for CAISS under the competent supervision of the convener Philomena Eaton. The social welfare panel of the organization sits on the first Sunday of the month at the Lawrence DeSouza Home. A monthly pension of 400 rupees and rations consisting of 2 kg of rice, flour, potatoes; a kilogram of onions; and a half-kilogram of milk powder is given to around 130 Anglo-Indians. This event is sponsored by the Calcutta Tiljallah Relief Fund and CAISS. The same pension and amount of rations are also given to other persons through the The Love of God—Hamilton Trust Fund. Others also receive a pension of 400 rupees sent by personal sponsors with rations from CAISS. Bus fare of 25 rupees each is given to 25 beneficiaries travelling from distant places like Howrah, Garia, Barrackpore and Santoshpur. A distress allowance of 100 rupees

is given to persons in financial difficulty. Reimbursement of medical expenses is paid to around 50 persons including 3 children. The medical expenses for children are paid from the Children's Welfare Fund. Families in distress are also sponsored with house rent and an allowance of 500 rupees under the Christopher Road Overseas Project (CROP). A security deposit of 20,000 rupees is paid for one family, also through CROP Project.

Night Shelter Organized by CAISS

The night shelter[11] at 98/2, S.N. Banerjee Road is run with the generous support of the Kaylou Trust, and it provides a home to the Anglo-Indian pavement dwellers and also helps them regain self-respect. Under the superintendents, the residents come in at 6:30 P.M. After a bath, residents are server dinner, after which they watch television, read the newspapers or converse with each other on the day's happenings. At 10:00 P.M. they retire to their beds. The day begins at 6:00 A.M. The residents wash their clothes, have breakfast and leave by 7:00 A.M. for their daily work. After a stay period of about 3 months, the able ones are sent out for jobs, most of which are with accommodation. If the jobs do not provide accommodation, they are helped in addition to the money they earn so that they can get into paid hostels. Those not fit enough to work they are put into homes. CAISS sees that they leave the shelter with the dignity they had lost. The ground floor of the Lawrence DeSouza Home is used for teaching self-employment skills like stitching and computer lessons. There are some who take these lessons organized by CAISS. The Anglo-Indian Appeal Fund of Adelaide sees to it that the shelter runs properly and it also helps in other fund-raising activities.

Calcutta Tiljallah Relief Fund

Calcutta Tiljallah Relief (CTR)[12] is a US-based charity, approved and registered with the Internal Revenue Service as a 'Not for Profit' organization in 1998. It was founded by Blair Williams. The CTR has the following objectives:

1. Providing pensions to seniors: 301 seniors are given a monthly pension—151 receive such pensions in Kolkata, 100 Anglo-Indians

in Chennai, 30 in Bangalore and 15 in Vijayawada. In 2009 pensions were increased from 5400 rupees to 6000 rupees per year with an addition for all of 1200 rupees for rations supplement.

2. Educating children: This organization has educated 211 children so far—40 boarders and 60 day-scholars in Kolkata, 15 boarders and 42 day-scholars in Chennai, 35 day-scholars in Hyderabad and 19 day-scholars in Vijayawada.

In 1999, CTR began by creating a pension scheme for about 20 seniors in Kolkata, administered through the CAISS. Also in 1999, CTR Canada had a fundraiser function in Toronto, and from then on CTR established its presence in London. In 2000, the organization added about 20 seniors in Madras, administered by the charity 'Anglo-Indian Concern'. In addition, in 2000, the organization started to sponsor the education of children—ten day-scholars and ten boarders. In 2002 it had spread to Australia, setting up branches in Melbourne and Sydney; and it had fundraisers in both cities. Today the organization has branches in Melbourne, Sydney, Perth, London, Toronto and New Jersey. Money is banked in the country where it is collected and sent directly to India. Each city has a coordinator. The project administrators are located in Kolkata, Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. Going forward, CTR is adopting more senior programmes and sponsoring the education of more children.

Dr. Graham's Homes, Kalimpong

This is a home for Anglo-Indian children of the Eastern Himalayan tea gardens who were rescued, and given a future, by Dr. John Anderson Graham, a Scottish missionary working in Kalimpong at the beginning of the twentieth century. Dr. Graham's Homes,[13] founded by John Anderson Graham in 1900 (known as St. Andrew's Colonial Homes until 1947), is a co-educational boarding school in Kalimpong, North-East India. The term 'homes' was borrowed from children's settlements like those of Dr. Barnado and William Quarrier. The inspiration comes from the work of these and other pioneers. In 1900, the founder, the Rev. Dr. John Anderson Graham, felt the need for providing care and training for destitute Anglo-Indian children, who under the appalling circumstances prevailing at the time appeared doomed to a most miserable existence, with no hope for the future. It was with this thought in

mind and vision and enthusiasm that Dr. Graham took into his care six small children in a rented building in Kalimpong in 1900. From this humble beginning Dr. Graham embarked on the project of developing the institution we now know as Dr. Graham's Homes, which was so renamed in the memory of its founder, who died in 1942. By 1903, just 3 years after it was founded, the school began to stress formal education. A headmaster and five teachers were appointed. By 1910, there were a dozen teachers; by the end of the First World War the school had expanded to such an extent there were 21 members of the teaching staff. Students began taking the higher-grade and BOAT examinations. By the end of Second World War, candidates were being prepared for Matriculation/School Final and Cambridge School Certificate examinations, the terminating qualifications in the school at that time. Dr. Graham's one great aim was to make the Homes as self-supporting as possible. Consequently, children performed all the chores, from scrubbing and keeping the cottage clean to preparing the meals. The first two decades witnessed an incredible expansion—the growth of cottages housing over 500 children, a school, a farmstead, a workshop and playgrounds. The efforts were supported and encouraged by Sir John Woodburn, the then governor of Bengal and the first president of the Homes. The first cottage was appropriately named 'Woodburn Cottage'. The foundation stone was laid by the president in 1900. Having made this start, Dr. Graham and the Board of Management launched on a publicity campaign. There was a significant demand growing for the new school in the hills. In 1902 there were 72 children in residence. In the first years the children came from almost all provinces of Eastern India and after that from other places like Madras and Secunderabad, Punjab, Bombay, Bangalore, among others. By 1910, the number of students had risen to 305. Hardly an area of India was unrepresented. The Lucia King Cottage was opened on Foundation Day (24 September 1910). The cottage was to be used for the smallest children and later on was turned into the training ground for nursery staff. Their training was along the lines of that provided in the Norland Institute, London; the object was to prepare a well-equipped class of girls to be children's nurses. The curriculum proposed that after passing the seventh standard, the girls (who had already had a thorough training in domestic work in the cottages) should get special training in the following:

1. Management of young children;
2. Kindergarten teaching so as to be able to begin the education of young children; and
3. Dressmaking so that they could make children's clothes.

At the Homes, children are given the very best in education and skills. The boarding school aims to make responsible citizens of tomorrow. A child attending the Homes will get all the advantages of a school education. It costs about USD 1000 each year to educate, clothe and provide nutritious food to one child. To take a full sponsorship of a child is known as signing up for a 'Daddy Bear' sponsorship. Moreover, the school authorities also encourage part sponsorship, which is USD 10 per month or USD 100 per year—called a 'Care Bear' sponsorship. Anyone taking a 'Daddy Bear' sponsorship will choose from the children listed and will get a personalized letter every quarter from the child chosen and a half-yearly report on the child's progress. On signing up for a 'Care Bear' sponsorship, a sponsor will be linked with a child. The sponsor will receive an e-mail twice a year from that child.

Social Clubs

One of the first clubs where Eurasians frequently went was the East India Bengal Club of Calcutta, founded in 1825. The preamble of the club clearly outlined the predicament of the Eurasians and Anglo-Indians:

> We are considered, we all know, as a separate class of society. We are deserted by Europeans in this country; and although united with them by the most sacred bonds of relationships, we are avoided and looked down upon as inferiors[14]

As the Anglo-Indian community crystallized through the years of colonial rule, numerous clubs were formed, most of which had a short lifespan. These clubs usually had both expressive and instrumental functions. They were considered expressive because they provided opportunities to the Anglo-Indians to share collectively in the spirit of good fellowship and were considered instrumental because they afforded an appropriate mechanism for formulation and promotion of organized programmes of welfare, education and recreation.[15] During British rule in

India, many clubs were maintained for the exclusive benefit of Europeans and prestigious Indians or foreigners. Generally, Anglo-Indians were excluded from membership in these clubs. This policy of exclusion of some clubs applied to Indians as well. But interestingly, the Anglo-Indian women who visited these clubs were subjected to more discrimination than Anglo-Indian men. The British women viewed women of the Anglo-Indian community with great malice.[16] In the words of Frank Anthony, noted leader of the community—

> the British women pursued their social snobbery with a certain feline deadliness…thus not only the Anglo-Indian women but British women married to Anglo-Indians who happened to be members of the "burra" clubs were usually pointed targets not only of snobbery but of every refinement of feminine vengefulness.[17]

After independence the membership policies of some of the European clubs were changed to admit Indians and even Anglo-Indians. But everything did not change at the same time. In the early 1960s the Indian government as well as some private groups and individuals protested against discriminatory admission policies and later on such policies were modified. In fact, non–Anglo-Indians represent the majority members of the clubs initially built by the Europeans. The Calcutta Football Club was initially a European organization; numerous Anglo-Indians are now included as members. The Gidney Club in New Delhi initially organized for the benefit of the Anglo-Indians has adopted an open membership policy, but non–Anglo-Indians are only admitted as associate or honorary members.

The Calcutta Rangers Club

This is the most influential Anglo-Indian organization in Kolkata. Originally known as the Calcutta Naval Volunteers' Athletic Club this is one of the oldest clubs in Kolkata, founded in 1896 under the presidency of Captain E.W. Petley. Mr. L.M.K. Macmillan was its first Honorary General Secretary. Mr. Petley remained as the president till 1898. In 1898 the Calcutta Naval Volunteers Athletic Club was transformed into the Calcutta Rangers Club with W.J. Bradshaw as the president and Mr. L.M.K. Macmillan as the honorary secretary. The objective of the club was to participate in and promote all athletic games, provide indoor

amusement on the club premises, to embark upon any activities which would be of financial benefit to the club and encourage whatever was considered necessary to foster a spirit of goodwill and sociability among the members of the club. In 1937 the club shifted from Stephen House to its current address of Government Place East. Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans were eligible for admission to the club.

The Rangers Club won the Beighton Cup in hockey nine times, the last time being in 1942. They currently field a cricket team in the Cricket Association of Bengal's First Division League. The Calcutta Rangers Club Sweepstakes was held four times a year and was linked to the races such as the Viceroy Cup and the St. Leger in India and the St. Leger and the Derby in the United Kingdom. The Rangers Club has the distinction of producing many outstanding athletes, mostly men but also a few notable sportswomen—Leslie Claudius, Cyril Hodges, Garney Nyss, Terry D'Sena, the Lumdsen brothers, Vaes Paes, Dulcie Beake, Jennifer Paes, Linda D'Cruz and Leander Paes. In 1944, the Rangers Club started its own Education Fund to assist the weaker sections of present and past members' children. The club made an annual donation of 10,000 rupees towards this fund. In the early 1940s the club maintained a 'soup and supper kitchen' at Ripon Street and at Kidderpore. However, due to a paucity of funds these two establishments have closed down. In 1960 the club donated money for setting up a hospital for patients suffering from tuberculosis at Jadavpur and also presented the hospital with a van from the proceeds of the Sweepstakes. In 1970 the club discontinued the Rangers Club Sweepstakes and put the surplus money into two trust funds—the Calcutta Rangers Educational Fund and the West Bengal Charitable Fund, with the objective of providing the needy of the Anglo-Indian community with medical and educational assistance. The Educational Trust Fund provides education for approximately 250 children annually, and the West Bengal Charitable Trust provides medical aid for about 80–100 Anglo-Indians.

In April, 1946, during the presidency of Mr. B.H. Beake, the club had a membership of over 700. However due to mass migration the membership of this club dwindled. Its present membership is approximately 200 Anglo-Indians in both Gents and Ladies sections. Most of the social clubs allowed women only in their capacity as wives and daughters and did not grant them full membership. This meant that while women had the use of the facilities of the clubs, they had no say in the administration and no voting rights. This rule has changed very slowly. The Rangers

Club began to admit women as members with voting rights in March 2007. This reflects a general change in policy among social clubs in the city.

The Dalhousie Institute, Kolkata

The Dalhousie Institute (DI) Calcutta was established in 1859 for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the young men of the city by affording them the means of literacy, scientific and social improvement in the form of a library offering lectures, reading rooms and such other resources as might be from time to time devised to foster a spirit of goodwill and sociability among members; providing amusements; and organizing and promoting games and any activities calculated to benefit the institute. John Ramfry was the founder of the institute. It was mainly due to his influence and efforts that the other members were motivated to take up the cause of the welfare of the young men of the city. Raja Satyendra Nath Ghosal of Bhukailash Rajbati at Kidderpore was the earliest native member of the institute, if not a founding member. Apart from him the eminent native members were Baboo Khettar Mohun Chatterjee, Baboo Prosunna Coomer Tagore (council member in 1865), Manuckjee Rustomjee, Nawab Abdul Latiff, Moonshee Amir Ali, Baboo Manisudhan Roy, W.C. Bonnerjee, N.C. Boral, Prince Mohammad Bukhtyar Shah Rustomjee, Potit Paban Sen and Lall Sirdarjee.

The institute was not at all a social club during the days of Dr. Norman Chevers, the then vice-president (1865) and president (1873–1875). No drinks were served at the institute and no ladies were allowed or admitted as members till 1887. The activities of the institute were confined to presentation of scientific lectures, dramas, musical soirees and classes. There was also a gymnasium; billiards and tennis were offered as well. The first Anglo-Indian president of the institute was Mr. King in 1968. No single lady was given membership at the institute till 2004. None has enrolled yet. Women were allowed to vote only from 2004 on and Mrs. Denise Smith is the only female council member.

Conclusion

The practice of building up its own identity and forming organizations for and of the Anglo-Indian community started in the early nineteenth century. The practice still continues. The initial objective of forming

an organization was to mobilise against British official discrimination and to sustain a communitarian identity. While the original objective is no longer relevant, Anglo-Indians have continued to maintain the old organizations and form new ones. Anglo-Indians now feel that they need to improve their position in India; and for that purpose leaders have come forward to take up the cause. CAISS, for example, has been formed to improve the conditions in which the Anglo-Indians live. The social security mechanism that the community has built up over the years is, on the one hand, very important for the community; and, on the other hand, it is a reflection of the ethnic identity that the community has sustained over time. No other known community of mixed descent has been so organized in its endeavour to do something to maintain an identity for itself. This has given the community greater resilience in the face of adverse pressures. The history of Anglo-Indian organizations show, however, that their self-image as 'Westernised' has not kept pace up with times. Indeed, one may argue that the 'Western' culture on which the community prides itself is somewhat ossified and out of touch with the dynamic present of Western societies. While in Europe, women have gained considerable social visibility and much greater public participation throughout the twentieth century, especially after the radical phase of the women's movement in the 1960s, the Anglo-Indians in India have taken much longer to allow women entry into the decision-making process in the clubs and associations that are so important a part of community life. It is only in the last decade that more progressive gender policies have been adopted.

There remain, however, greater pressures on women to sustain community identity. I visited the CAISS office at the Lawrence DeSouza Home on one Sunday morning, the day on which CAISS provides rations to some of the members of the community in need. I noticed the gender bias in the operations of community welfare. First, mostly women had come to collect the rations, and one of the officials confirmed that it is women who receive most of the help offered by the organization. Though this has not been consciously decided by the organization, they try to help women and give them the first priority. Second, the women who had came for rations on that day wore dresses to look 'more Anglo-Indian'. One of the members who had come wearing a *sari* was denied rations on that day because she did not look like an Anglo-Indian and spoke more in Hindi than in English. The woman insisted that she was an Anglo-Indian. She had apparently come from a predominantly

Muslim area and therefore she felt uneasy dressing in 'an Anglo-Indian way' though she had such dresses at home. All the men and women present stood in silence. I asked one of the women present whether what the woman had said was true. My interlocutor told me that it was true to some extent. Since Anglo-Indians in destitute conditions mostly live in densely populated Muslim slums, it is difficult for them to wear frocks and dresses. However, this particular woman in a *sari*, she thought, was up to mischief, as she was really an Indian Christian trying to pose as an Anglo-Indian in order to get the ration for her family. I further pressed my interlocutor on how she identified a non–Anglo-Indian. To which she simply answered, 'We know'. Given the small size of the community, it is perhaps not absurd to assume that an Anglo-Indian would be able to identify and tell a fellow Anglo-Indian from an impostor. But two very important questions remain: First, why were women of the community the ones mostly offered help? Second, why had the organizers considered wearing a *sari* and speaking in Hindi as markers of a non–Anglo-Indian culture? The answer to the second question is perhaps easier, since dress and language are considered markers of non–Anglo-Indian culture within the community. But the answer to the first question is not easy. It is common sense that care for women and children attracts better funding and greater sympathy. It could also be that the community considers women more vulnerable and therefore gives them more care and aid. This establishes the patriarchal character of the community, which is corroborated by the fact that only recently have the clubs and organizations of the community granted membership and voting rights to women. If the incident at the Lawrence DeSouza Home is considered as evidence of the patriarchal pressure faced by Anglo-Indian women from within their community, it is an example of how Anglo-Indian women are sandwiched between the two worlds of different patriarchal demands—one from inside their community and the other from the outside. Though the ethnic identity of the community is evident in its formation of organizations, the women of the community are pressured by two conflicting demands of the patriarchal structure and are pushed further to the margins of the community. This may be the reason the community helps the women more than it helps men. In the process, these women's ethnic identity as Anglo-Indian gets more emphasized. What they can wear and what they cannot becomes a very important criterion for being identified as an Anglo-Indian. Such particularities are not stressed in the case of an Anglo-Indian man. He may wear *kurta-pyjama,* a *lungi*, a suit or

shirt and trousers and his identity goes unquestioned. Whether he speaks good English does not matter. However, it is he who decides when and where Anglo-Indian women will be permitted to enter and exercise their rights as members of the community.

Notes

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4. Ibid.
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9. Information gathered from one of the members of the Trustee, of Government of West Bengal.
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14. Quoted from D. Goodrich, 'The Making of an Ethnic Group' (1952) in Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973).
15. Gist and Wright, *Marginality and Identity* (1973), p. 142.
16. Frank Anthony, *Britain's Betrayal in India: The Study of the Anglo-Indian Community* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1969), pp. 355–357.
17. Ibid.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

My work focused on the complex interaction of relations of ethnicity and gender as they play out in the lives of Anglo-Indian women in Kolkata. As a minority community, the Anglo-Indians have moved from one ambiguous location in the colonial period—struggling for political, social and economic proximity to the British, the then ruling class—to a very different but equally ambiguous location within independent India, where their commitment to English and European cultural habits is perceived as alien. The latter position follows from a lack of fit with mainstream definitions of Indian-ness, which had developed through the nationalist discourses in contradistinction to precisely these forms of the 'Western' that the Anglo-Indians saw as central to their cultural identity. Given the fragile location of the community itself, my research shows that the category gender alone cannot explain the situation of Anglo-Indian women. I have thus sought to contextualize their perceptions and attitudes against the background of the long-term historical formation of the community. I have argued that the development of a specific ethnic identity and a minority status, which was formalized after independence, has played a major role in framing the social and institutional setting within which individuals, both women and men, relate to their community and to others outside it. Given the significance attached by the community to its minority status and its attendant privileges, the emigration of some of its members has been a major landmark in the contemporary history of the community. In the 1960s, a major exodus to Britain and other erstwhile British colonies left the deepest possible

S. Sen, *Anglo-Indian Women in Transition*,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-4654-4_7

imprint on a now much depleted community. To capture the significance of this change, I have introduced generational difference as a variable in my study, in addition to gender and ethnicity. This dissertation has mapped the responses of 100 Anglo-Indians of Kolkata (90 women and 10 men) on a triple grid of gender, ethnicity and generation.

The study has traced the ways in which Anglo-Indian women have been subjected to multiple patriarchal dominations within and outside the community. One major aspect of their experience of this domination has been structured by a strong ethnic identity, which has provided a basis for their self-identity and self-expression. Thus, while a commitment to their Anglo-Indian identity is common to men and women in the community, women have experienced their ethnicity very differently from the men—patriarchal values and the emphasis on a gendered self-construction are key to understanding this difference. There are also differences among Anglo-Indian women—the generations born before and after the 1970s—offering rather different sets of negotiations and adjustments between their ethnic and gender identities. While some the younger-generation Anglo-Indian women surveyed have spoken of loosening boundaries, and many of their decisions regarding occupation, marriage and residential location show a greater flexibility, this is not always the case. The differences in the responses of the two generations of women also show marked commonalities, and are inflected by other factors such as economic background, educational achievements and access to social connections outside the community. Overall, what emerged in this study is the dominance of racialized and gendered self-expression in the experience of members of the community. Therefore, the need is to understand the ways in which Anglo-Indian women are doubly marginalized through their experience of multiple patriarchies within and outside the community. As women, they are rendered a minority within a minority community. The experience of this marginality and subordination is expressed in myriad ways in their ideas about education, culture, language, family, marriage, kinship and in their other interactions with members of their own community as well as members of other proximate communities in residential neighbourhoods or workplaces.

My earlier research has highlighted the *marginaliz* of Anglo-Indian women as a *process* as well as the dynamic and changing nature of their experience of patriarchal domination. Given the rather unique location of the community and the ebb and flow in its fortunes, it is of crucial importance to *historicise* the experience of the community. Thus, though

based primarily on a field study of women and men in the early twenty-first century, the book, based on the research done earlier, has drawn liberally on the written history of this community in its roughly three centuries of existence. This is particularly helpful in contextualizing the location of women in the community since the problem began with the very formation of this race of mixed descent—in the mix of descent, the Indian mother was rendered invisible in favour of the European father. The name of the mothers of the Eurasian children baptized in church was absent in the church records till the first half of the eighteenth century. Baptism records included only the name of the father of the child. Moreover, in the Anglo-Indian community, women have been marginalized in decision-making processes from the beginning of written. Nowhere do the women feature in the written history of the community by its members before Frank Anthony only in late 1980s noted their contribution in the army during the Second World War. Thus in considering various issues—whether of education, marriage and family, or that of wider social interaction and their role in organizations—the historical marginality of the women of the community has been considered of prime importance. It is of particular relevance here that in a new shift of their relative status, the Anglo-Indian women, once regarded as and regarding themselves as more emancipated or liberated by reason of their proximity to Western cultural habits—dress, work, public appearance and control over relationships—appear to have fallen behind in terms of asserting themselves within their community. The minimal presence of women as administrators or decision-makers regarding educational affairs is an important indicator of their continued marginal position within their community, one that offers a contrast to some other communities in urban India as well as to the Western societies they explicitly express allegiance to. It has only been a recently that the women of the community gained voting rights in only a few of their clubs and organizations. It is not therefore surprising that there is, among many women, a lack of self-esteem and a fear of discrimination. The strongest expression of this is a much greater inwardness than men—a sense of threat from the 'unknown', a hesitation to cross the boundaries of habitual social interaction, a suspicion of 'others'. The historical gendering of the Anglo-Indian community thus has concrete consequences in the lives of contemporary women.

The notion of multiple patriarchies has been deployed to understand the many structures of power within which Anglo-Indian women are

enmeshed—gender and racial power in the processes of imperialism is not just a hangover from the past, but a contemporary reality in terms of familial, cultural and organizational links with the diaspora. Perceptions and attitudes of other Indian communities towards the Anglo-Indian community are alienating—again on both gender and racial terms—and encountered in schools, neighbourhoods and workplaces. Within the community, there is significant discrimination based on colour of skin, economic resources and conformity to gender stereotypes in dress and other everyday habits. These different forms of race, class and gender discriminations intersect in the lives and experiences of Anglo-Indian women, providing either advantages or disadvantages depending on their comparative locations. Thus, despite appearances to the contrary, it is difficult to homogenize the experiences of the 'Anglo-Indian woman'; rather, one may speak only of some commonalities within a complex matrix of relative subordination.

The Anglo-Indian women are dominated by the men of their community in choices they make; they experience subordination within their community and in the society at large. The vulnerability of their position became evident from the very beginning of this research when I began my fieldwork. I met a number of women respondents who did not want to sit for an interview with a woman of the 'other' community; there was a sense of discomfort about speaking of community issues with someone outside the community; and many women insisted that their brothers or husbands sit for the interviews instead. There were elements both of self-surveillance as well as patriarchal control in such responses—in some instances I had to explain my questions to the respondent's male guardian before conducting the interview. Sometimes the women insisted on this; at times there was also pressure from the male guardian. One of the respondents, who did not want to sit for an interview, asked her brother to answer the questions. Clearly, the idea of male guardianship remains a strong force; and adult women submit to such control by men in the family. The issue, however, goes beyond the merely familial. There is also an element of uncertainty, a trope of 'protection' in such familial/community dynamics—women feel they do not know the answers, even to questions about their own lives. They indicated that they would have been more comfortable fielding 'objective' questions, such as those asked in case of market surveys of consumer products. Such 'interviews' they were used to; moreover, they pertained to the 'domestic' that they considered being their domain. Questions about social and cultural

ideas and practices, however, implicated the 'image' of the community; and women were not accustomed to representing their community or considering their views and opinions to be germane to such a representation. There appeared also be a third element in the women's non-cooperation—there was a heightened sensitivity to the judgmental eye of the 'other' community. The sexualized representation of Anglo-Indian women in dominant Indian culture has produced both hesitation and hostility. The deep suspicion of an unsympathetic audience continues to inhibit possibilities of conversation, dividing women of this community from women of other communities of the country. It is notable that though at least a few women from most other communities—Hindus, Muslims, Indian Christians, Jains, Sikhs, Parsees—have had some participation in the women's movement, there has been very little in the way of such political links and alliances with Anglo-Indian women in the context of Kolkata. This study suggests that it behooves the women's movement to reach across such suspicions and prejudices, which have developed over many decades.

The vulnerability of the women of this community finds expression in their personal choices. Even though, theoretically, Anglo-Indian women have much greater freedom in marital decisions, not being subject to parental and community authority to the same degree that Hindu and Muslim women (for instance) are supposed to be, this survey finds a great deal of indecision with respect to inter-community/inter-religious marriage. Many women think such marriages will dilute the position of the community—even though it is by definition of one of mixed races. More women respondents were open to inter-community than inter-religious marriages, however. Men, in contrast, were more comfortable with intermarriages of all sorts. The earlier study has found more Anglo-Indian men in inter-community marriages than women. The pressure to marry within the limits of the community also falls much more on the women than on men. It is accepted within the community that it is difficult to contain men and their choices of partners within community boundary; but women are expected to bear the responsibility of satisfying the expectations of their family and community. The scope of interaction outside the community for both men and women are equal, but it is again the women who shoulder the responsibility of keeping themselves confined within the limits of their community. It is the men who have more friends outside the community, many of whom are close friends. Moreover, this dissertation found that more men made friends

from the locality, whereas women made friends mostly with schoolmates and colleagues. This again shows their reluctance to venture beyond the boundary of their known space. An interesting observation I made while doing this research was that the women of the community did not want to divulge details about their friends, especially if they were men. I found quite a number of women who said they had male friends both within and outside the community but did not want to talk about them.

The charitable organizations of the community are aimed at supporting the vulnerable groups within it—it is telling, therefore, that among the old, the orphaned and the destitute, women predominate. There are a number of organizations that cater to the needs of the women of the community, such as old-age homes for women, special provisions for girl children, and more. While women are the prime objects of charity, they are excluded from leadership, rights-bearing roles and communal decision-making. The social clubs, which help maintain community networks and provide the springboard for public representation, tend to exclude women from full membership with voting rights. The classic patriarchal pattern is thus confirmed—protection coupled with political disenfranchisement.

As a consequence, Anglo-Indian women's sense of ethnic identity is stronger that of their male counterparts. Female members consistently identified themselves as Anglo-Indian women, as distinct and different from other Indian women; they think they are different in many ways from the other Indian women and they strongly differentiate between 'their' and 'our' women in their expressions of selfhood. They express a deep concern for their language, their dress, their ways of everyday living, their culture and so on. This concern is also present among the men, but the men are less constrained by these self-limiting boundaries. Whereas the women fear that they might be ostracized for contravening these self-regulatory norms, men are able to move in and out of community boundaries with more ease. The fear of crossing the boundary has kept women more confined, shifting the burden of maintaining ethnic identity onto the women. As in most patriarchal arrangements, Anglo-Indian women are caught in a vicious circle—the more they remain confined, the more they are dominated and less able they are to break out of their confinement.

I complete this exploratory and descriptive study with a greater sense of urgency than I began it with—the community is continually being destabilized by migration, and as their numbers decline, there is a greater

sense of insecurity and besiegement. Since it is those with better access to resources who have been migrating out, the proportion of the poor in the community is increasing. The obsolescence of some of the jobs in which women predominated, such as secretarial positions, is leading to acute poverty and even destitution. The women from the poorer sections of the community are unable to access basic resources such as food, security and shelter. Community support systems are woefully inadequate to face the deepening crisis. There is an urgent need to address these questions—and social and women's movements need to pay more attention than they have so far.

Glossary

Ayahs Women Attendants
Bidharmi A person professing another religion
Burra A word in Hindi signifying anything which is big
Desi A word in Hindi signifying an indigenous person
Feringhee An Anglo-Indian is often called in this name
Kurta-Pajama Pajama is a loose cotton pant worn by Indian men and Kurta is a loose shirt
Lungi An informal dress usually worn by men. It is a cotton cloth wrapped around the waist
Matritva Motherhood
Memsahib A European lady
Mlechha A non-Aryan, an unclean, savage person
Para Locality/Neighbourhood
Pativrata A woman devoted to the her husband
Payel Anklet
Puja To worship
Purdah A veil to cover face/ A system of Purdah
Sati-Lakshmi Chaste and virtuous woman, modelled after the Hindu goddess *Lakshmi*

S. Sen, *Anglo-Indian Women in Transition*,
DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-4654-4

Sati-Savitri A virtuous woman; Savitri is a mythological character who had brought life in her dead husband by the power of her chastity

Satitva Chastity of a woman

Tash Is a derogatory term often used with reference to an Anglo-Indian woman. It signifies a person who is not modernized in her ways but poses to be one

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Index

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