

# Shaping a Nation – Identity and Ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian community in India

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**Abstract:** This paper outlines the different discourses surrounding Anglo-Indians in India and their search for identity. Just before the British departed from India, a difficult situation arose for the Anglo-Indians – torn between the superior British rule and the mistrust that Indians had for them due to their cultural practices born from that of the western world. This problem of ‘identity’ has prevailed even today among members of the Community. When they had developed a true community consciousness, this identity crisis became less pronounced but there was never an opportunity for them to stand a firm ground and identify themselves as Anglo-Indians. This paper will also focus on the ethnicity of Anglo-Indians in India and how this has been the only stronghold which has helped the community preserve its so-called identity in terms of culture, religion, tradition and customs. Today, the Community has come to terms with a more positive approach to national consciousness. It has awakened to new beginnings and has taken up the responsibility to play a role in a resurgent India and help in shaping a nation.

**Keywords:** Anglo-Indian, Anglo-Indian Community, identity, ethnicity, culture, conflict, minority, shaping a nation.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION - ANGLO-INDIANS IN INDIA

In a modern sense, the Anglo-Indian community is considered as a small minority community having its origins in India. The Anglo-Indian people are considered to be of mixed British and Indian ancestry and their native language is English. The British ancestry of an Anglo-Indian was always considered to be paternal<sup>1</sup>. The history of Anglo-Indians can be mapped back to the sixteenth century, when the first settlers from Europe (particularly the British of the East India Company) came to colonize India and had sexual relations with Indian women.

The British entered India mainly as traders and merchants but soon they decided to colonize the sub-continent of India. They soon realized that they could not protect their rule in India without allies and so there was a policy created to encourage British men to have relationships with Indian women and marry them, giving rise to the first Anglo-Indians in India. This is the history which led to the creation of a new community whose members are known by the term ‘Anglo-Indian’ (and were called ‘Eurasians’ earlier by the British in colonial India). The origins, culture, development and social status of this Indian-European minority are interlaced in the political, cultural and racial problems of the British colonization of India. Since the formation of the Community<sup>2</sup>, Anglo-Indians have faced social unrest in India. There was no distinction made between Anglo-Indians and the British imperialists by ‘native’ Indians and they were regarded as “feringhees” (foreigners) (Moore 1986: 4)

The Indian Constitution still recognizes the Anglo-Indian community as one of India’s six minorities and the Community continues to occupy a legitimate position within the consciousness of Indian national identity. But history with natives and the hardships faced by Anglo-Indians in India have been rather hard on the Community and they have felt ‘homeless’ in India when in fact the homeland of the Community is India<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. DEFINITION

The term 'Anglo-Indian' was first used in the eighteenth century by Warren Hastings to refer to both the British and their children born of Indian mothers. "The Directors of the British East India Company (which had been founded around 1629) paid one 'pagola' or gold 'mohur'<sup>4</sup> to each child born to an Indian mother and a European father, essentially, a family allowance"(James 2001: 2)

These offspring who were first known to be natives to India evolved into the Anglo-Indian community, in order to form a confederation to the British Raj<sup>5</sup>, a sort of bond and kinship, a bridge between the colonizers and the natives.

An Anglo-Indian can be defined both legally and in terms of a functional definition. According to the Constitution of independent India, 1950 Article 366(2) states that an Anglo-Indian is "a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only..." (Blunt 2005: 3)

The legal definition poses quite a few problems within the Community till today because it does not take account of maternal lineage. 'Anglo-Indian' has become an umbrella term<sup>6</sup> applied to two distinct groups of people: "those persons who have two parents of European descent –previously known as domiciled European" (Gist and Wright 1973: 2) – and the ones born of both Indian and British parents thus constituting a 'mixed race'. However, the definition laid down by the Constitution of India does not explain the identity of children who have Indian fathers and British mothers, thus creating a sense of identity crisis among these 'unidentified' individuals.

## 3. IDENTITY CRISIS AMONG ANGLO-INDIANS IN INDIA

Identity is defined as "the characteristics, feelings or beliefs that distinguish people from others" (Hornby 2010: 770). It can also be defined as "a feeling of belonging to a group – the state or feeling of being similar to and being able to understand and identify oneself within the interests of the group" (Hornsby: 770).

In *Migrants of Identity*, Nigel Rapport explains that, "'Home' brings together memory and longing, the ideational, the affective and the physical, the spatial and the temporal, the local and the global" (Rapport 1998: 8). Rapport is trying to stress here that what we call 'home' is a climatic stage wherein an individual comes to an understanding of all his human experiences and interactions with the world. The nature of illusion is such that it helps in the construction of the 'homeland' in a diasporic sense<sup>7</sup> because, over time, the place of origin remains the same in the memory of the migrant while in reality it has evolved<sup>8</sup>. The intervention of imagination in producing histories of communities in diasporic societies is inevitable, but the significance of the bond between a community and its homeland cannot be changed. This demonstrates that, as a Community, the historical memory of the Anglo-Indians has its roots in India and that India is rooted in the memory of every Anglo-Indian who finds his/her home here. It is very important that the Community realizes this and establishes in its mind that 'home' is in India and this, in turn will define and establish a concrete identity for Anglo-Indians in India.

"Taking a critical approach to analysing the 'collective' identity of the Anglo-Indian community allows the discursive construction of this identity to be evaluated. The discourses of English colonialism and Indian nationalism - the latter being a political 'speaking back' to the former - as working in tandem to situate the Anglo-Indian community outside the realm of what is considered 'Indian'. From within these two discourses contrasting histories about the Community have emerged which, although they exist in contention with one another, between them ultimately position the Community as 'un-Indian and therefore 'unhomed' in India". (D'Costa 2006: 2)

In order to legitimate the birth of Anglo-Indians, many scholars of the Community like myself are trying to produce a version of history which argues that "the English Directors of the East India Company propagated a policy in the sixteenth century that financially encouraged European men to marry Indian women and have children by them" (Anthony 1969: 11)

Anglo-Indians have thus created an identity for themselves by giving visibility to the history which involves their very birth in India. But they have also had to take account of their 'colonizing fathers' whose image had to be upheld in order to produce a more wholesome image of themselves and their origins. The colonial discourse has thus paved the way for a more acceptable version of their history within the Community.

“The Community has historically portrayed itself as a handmaid of Empire, often boasting about how Anglo-Indians held key positions within the colonial administration such as in the telegraphs and railways. This dominant representation spawned the resentment of the other Indian communities which reject the notion of English superiority and, in turn, regard Anglo-Indians as ‘unindian’” (D’Costa 2006: 3)

While Indians fought endlessly to achieve independence, the Anglo-Indian community was alienated and not allowed to make a contribution to the embodiment of Indian national identity and was made to feel ‘homeless’ in its own birth place, thus giving rise to an identity crisis.

#### 4. SELF IDENTIFICATION

“Notwithstanding the Euro-colonial social practices and attitudes which distanced and demeaned this ‘mixed race’ population who spoke for and about Anglo-India – with only some exceptions – insisted, until very near the end of the colonial period, on unequivocal association with the dominant European groups”. (Caplan 2003: 16)

Anglo-Indians were gifted in a certain way and had privileges to work in their favour (compared to other Indians)<sup>9</sup>, when it came to education and employment. Their mother tongue which is English allowed them to master the language. Their faith in Christianity, and the history of their alliance with the British, created an image to their Indian counterparts that they were more British than Indian, in the sense of blood and culture.

Although they associated themselves with the British rule, Anglo-Indians created self-awareness and group consciousness within their community in the early nineteenth century: “In spite of their disparate origins, they came to regard themselves as possessing a distinct identity of their own”. (Hawes 1996: 34)

“By the 19th century the British separated themselves from the coloured people but accepted fairer (and often wealthier) people of dual heritage as ‘Anglo-Indian’. Darker (and usually poorer) people were given the name ‘Eurasian’” (James 2001: 2). Although Anglo-Indians were a mixture of both British and Indian descent, some of them claimed and still claim to be British in order to free themselves from any prejudice. But this discourse ended in more disappointment as the British themselves did not accept this identity put forward by the Community. They refused to accept any bond or kinship with the Anglo-Indian community thus the latter was socially regarded as ‘half-caste’ members who were not fit, culturally or by blood, to be the sons and daughters of the British.

The Anglo-Indians decided then to oppose this view by trying to be more like the British; thus their campaign to be called ‘Anglo-Indians’ instead of ‘Eurasians’. This self-designated term, rising out of political influence would make them be perceived as having closer links to the British while the term ‘Eurasian’ was indecisive and unidentifiable with native Indians. To contribute to this sense of identity and development of the Community, Anglo-Indians used to marry only among members of their own community. The British deemed it unacceptable to marry an Indian or Anglo-Indian at least by the end of the 19th century. But Anglo-Indians began to follow another discourse which would result in their rejection from both the British and native Indian communities. This included adopting some of the prejudices which the British practised towards their Indian counterparts due to their dark complexion, such as calling them ‘pariahs’<sup>10</sup>. Hence, Anglo-Indians always suffered from a lack of respect from Indians due to the rising mistrust between the two peoples. They were not allowed to identify themselves with the Indian scenario anywhere and were considered as foreigners not belonging in India.

At the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, Anglo-Indians realized that they would no more be a part of the British alliance which helped them survive earlier in India. When British rule did end eventually, they began spreading awareness in their community to help in the nationalist principles of a free India. In a more modern world, Anglo-Indian elites, sharing the multi-ethnic characteristics of the Community, urge their community members to establish strong, lasting bonds with their Indian counterparts.

Thus, as victims of continued tensions and dilemmas, thousands of Anglo-Indians migrated abroad to Britain, Canada, New Zealand and in particular, Western Australia. But for these Anglo-Indians, a similar situation arises in terms of personal, cultural and social identity.

#### 5. MIGRATION OF ANGLO-INDIANS ABROAD

Given that Anglo-Indians were attached to the British way of life, it can be understood that Indian Independence in 1947 disrupted life for Anglo-Indians. They began to worry about their future in India and this gave rise to three major waves

of migration abroad (Blunt 2005; Caplan 2001). After India got independence, thousands of Anglo-Indians migrated to England, because they had always thought this country to be like home to them. They wanted to feel at home and among people who behaved, talked and acted like them, in short, people with similar cultural characteristics as them.

The second major migration wave in the early sixties was in line with a new move to change the national language from English to Hindi. This new development was alarming for Anglo-Indians because they did not know any other Indian language well enough to serve them in getting employment and for other purposes. In addition to this, another big move which encouraged Anglo-Indians to move abroad for better prospects was that large international companies began closing down in the main areas where many Anglo-Indians had employment. Canada and Australia became the next favoured destinations for this second wave of migrants as there was some difficulty in immigrating to the UK due to “the introduction of controls to regulate immigration” (Massey et al 1998: 161).

The next wave of migration, which started in the seventies and which has been happening till now is referred to in India as the ‘family reunion’ wave (President of ‘The All India Anglo-Indian Association’ (TAIAIA)<sup>11</sup>, Personal correspondence, February 2002) In migration literature, this principle of migration is called “family reunification”<sup>12</sup>(example in Massey et al 1998 :161). This wave of migrants moved to settle in countries like Australia, Canada, England, and New Zealand. It is estimated that more Anglo-Indians may be living abroad than in India but there has been no solid proof to testify to this.

Anglo-Indians always faced challenges when it came to migration to a foreign country, but it has become, in the recent years, more and more difficult to migrate to another country as the countries which have seen a lot of incoming migrants are now tightening their immigration policies.

## 6. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

The Anglo-Indians have greatly contributed to the Indian nation by their strong and constant endeavours in the domain of school education.

Only 300 Anglo-Indian schools were in count at the time of independence. One of the primary boards of school education in the country was run by Anglo-Indians – the ‘Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations, New Delhi’ (CISCE)<sup>13</sup>, which has now evolved into a major body of education conducting public examinations at the secondary and senior secondary school levels in India and abroad.

The Anglo-Indian minority community in India, supported by Article-30(1)<sup>14</sup> of the Indian Constitution has continued to set up and run educational institutions providing access to quality education and opportunities without distinction or preference to all sections of society. “In almost all spheres of life, Anglo-Indians in India feel threatened realizing the tentative position which they occupy socially and culturally within the new nation. Competition, and not ascription, is the keystone of the new nation. Although numerous Anglo-Indians are well-trained” (Wright and Wright 1971: 177)

At a dinner dance in Sydney, Australia, the following is a speech given by a senior Anglo-Indian on employment of Anglo-Indians in India : “We ran the railways, post and telegraph, police and customs, education, export and import, shipping, tea, coffee and tobacco plantations, the coal and gold fields. We became teachers, nurses, priests and doctors. If it had any value the British made sure we ran it. And when it came to secretarial duties no one could touch our Anglo-Indian girls - the best stenographers in the world and with beauty to match” (online resource)<sup>15</sup>.

Good quality education and vocational preparation have been the experience of many members of the indigenous society in the last twenty to thirty years. Thus, Anglo-Indians, who had traditionally occupied many areas of employment, in the past, are being replaced by better qualified members of the indigenous society. The Community members are left with the choice of pursuing higher education and becoming better qualified, entering new domains of employment, remaining unemployed, or migrating out of India.

The employment patterns of the Anglo-Indians have been changing since the 1950s. The Community has indeed seen a few professionals (teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc) but they are not the only ones among the dominant monopoly in the country. Anglo-Indian men hold jobs in commercial firms, the military, airlines, and entertainment industry (in particular the music industry), while a significant number are employed in jobs requiring mechanical skills, such as automobile companies.

“Even when, after sometime the British began distancing themselves from Anglo-Indians, they were given preferential employment in essential services in maintaining the infra-structure of British India. They worked in the railways, post and telegraph, customs, the armed forces, as well as in nursing, teaching and clerical positions”. (Andrews 2007: 37)

Many Anglo-Indian women have looked for employment in other domains of experience, such as nursing, secretarial and clerical fields. Anglo-Indian women had traditionally sought employment in the nursing profession, finding good paying jobs in many of the major hospitals in India. Today, other employment opportunities have come their way, especially as secretaries in the large commercial and business firms of India, based in Europe. With increased urbanization, Anglo-Indian women have found it easier in the recent years to find employment than men. This situation has changed the face of the Community and has brought major tensions between Anglo-Indian men and women. This is a psychological and social challenge that members are facing within the Community itself.

The ancient cultural and social heritage of India has been rejected by the Anglo-Indians, who find it more fulfilling to follow English ways and habits. Their sense of dressing and their gastronomy is British, their language is English, and European patterns are seen in marriage and their practice of religion. The literature, music and culture of Europe are embedded in an Anglo-Indian’s mind from birth by his/her parents, and does not identify, to any extent, with the cultural heritage of his/her birth land. Moreover, Anglo-Indians have become, over the years, more urbanized.

“The Anglo-Indian as of today, as he has always been, is an urban dweller. The British were interned in the urban areas of India, and owing to the fact that the Anglo-Indian community maintained residence within a close proximity of the British it was natural that an urban pattern would develop. The jobs secured by the Anglo-Indians were usually located in cities, and the patterns of behaviour indicative of the Anglo-Indian way of life could more easily find acceptance in urban centres”. (Wright and Wright 1971: 178)

## 7. CULTURE AND ETHNICITY

Ethnicity is defined as being “connected with or belonging to a nation, race or people that shares a cultural tradition” (Hornby 2010: 518). Anglo-Indians’ cultural characteristics make them distinct from other minority communities in India and orient them towards a more Western culture. In the early seventies, this was the image portrayed by Anglo-Indians:

“The behaviour patterns of the membership of the Community could be generally characterized as expensive. In order to maintain the overt symbols of communal identification, such as Western dress, domestic help, recreation, home furnishings, etc, Anglo-Indians often sacrifice many items of necessity. Because they ignore the future they are usually viewed as being non-realistic in their approach to life. Many Anglo-Indians attribute this to the uncertainty of the future, enjoying as much of life as they can, while they can.” (Wright and Wright 1971: 179)

Social activities and gatherings have always been part of the Anglo-Indian way of life. The several Anglo-Indian clubs which exist, such as Delhi’s ‘Gidney club’ and Calcutta’s ‘Rangers Club’, located in the major cities of India are testimony to this. But only the elite members of the Community have access to these clubs of which they have to be members. European food, drink, recreation, entertainment and relaxation are offered to all members. Some of these clubs are located in buildings which originally served as British clubs during the colonial rule. Since the less affluent members of the Community cannot afford the cost of these clubs, they rely upon movies, informal neighbourhood parties, church organizations, supper clubs, pound socials<sup>16</sup>, etc, to render their social life active and interesting.

In contemporary India, not only are Anglo-Indians following a more rapidly growing ‘Westernization’ process; Indians too are getting to experience such changes. The simplest example would be the cinema industry. Our Bollywood movies use different cultural characteristics of the West in their films and thus spread a more mixed culture and image of the Indian community. This pattern can also be seen among the rich, creamy layer of the Indian population in modern Indian cities.

“Anglo-Indians were, and still are, a fun-loving lot. They have always had the capacity to thoroughly enjoy themselves at a dance, a sing-along session or a party. But the perception that this applies only to Anglo-Indians is outdated. In today’s Mumbai, Kolkata and Delhi, Indian yuppies gyrate with vigorous abandon on nightclub dance floors. The Anglo Indian women who were deemed “fast” because their necklines were daringly décolleté, who wore lipstick, smoked, drank and went out unchaperoned on dates, now have their counterparts in all three cities - most of them sophisticated, upper-crust Indian women”. (Deefholts 2004)<sup>17</sup>

## 8. ANGLO-INDIAN CUISINE

Among the popular dishes which figure in the unique cuisine of the Anglo-Indians are 'Indian railway mutton'<sup>18</sup>, 'Dak Bungalow chicken'<sup>19</sup>, 'Country Captain chicken'<sup>20</sup>, 'Yellow rice', 'Kofta curry'<sup>21</sup>, 'Madhur Jaffrey'<sup>22</sup>, 'Jalfrezi'<sup>23</sup> and some Christmas and Easter favorites are 'Kulkuls'/'kalkals'<sup>24</sup>, 'Dhol-dhol'<sup>25</sup>, chocolate cake, maple walnut fudge, etc. The most popular dish, however, is 'Yellow rice' which is coconut rice made with coconut milk, eaten with 'Ball curry' – a curry made Indian style but with minced beef rolled into small ping-pong size balls in it, and 'Devil's chutney' – a sweet and hot onion chutney which is mixed with the rice for extra flavour. Even Anglo-Indians abroad make these dishes and they have been passed down from generation to generation till today.

## 9. CHRISTMAS CAKE

The tradition of making Christmas cake is considered to be a sacred Anglo-Indian custom till today. Each family has a secret cake recipe, handed down to children from parents and grandparents. But due to busy work schedules and contemporary cake recipes, the tradition of making cake is slowly diminishing in Anglo-Indian homes. They prefer to buy cakes made in bakeries but in some Anglo-Indian households, this is considered a yearly obligation at Christmas. In those days, about a week before Christmas, Anglo-Indian families would inform their local bakers to come to their homes with two very large terracotta bowls, one for the egg-whites and one for mixing. All this was mixed with ingredients carefully chosen by the grandmother or mother and distributed into about a dozen cake tins and labelled with the family name. The baker would then bake them and bring them home to be shared with friends and family during the Christmas week.

Among my personal experiences, which I would like to add to this paper, is how Christmas cake was made in my home during childhood. My grandmother would buy the ingredients the day before the cake is made and my mother, brothers and I would sit around the dining table the next day mixing the ingredients, carefully decided by my grandmother, in a very large 'dekchi'<sup>26</sup>. We would knead the flour and my grandmother would get busy with the egg whites. After the mixing is done, she would carefully pour the batter in smaller aluminium vessels, label them with our family name and send them off to the baker's. Plum cake, chocolate cake or ribbon cake is considered to be a favourite among Anglo-Indian Christmas cakes.

## 10. MUSIC AND DANCE

Music, dance, movies and socializing are the very definitions of Anglo-Indian ethnicity and culture. Anglo-Indians love dance. Afternoon jam sessions on Sundays are very popular even today in Anglo-Indian homes where the family members would do the waltz<sup>27</sup>, jive<sup>28</sup>, or foxtrot<sup>29</sup> to fast or slow 'Country and Western' music<sup>30</sup>.

There are a few Anglo-Indians who rose to fame by forming music bands of their own and thereafter going solo to make music albums filled with the traditional 'Country and Western' music or 'Pop' music<sup>31</sup> from the early fifties and sixties. Entertainers like Sir Cliff Richard<sup>32</sup> from Lucknow and Engelbert Humperdinck<sup>33</sup> born in Madras (now Chennai) are claimed by the Community as some of their highest achievers.

Anglo-Indian dances and evening parties are very popular in the Anglo-Indian Community and many a couple found their respective life-partners on the dance floor. Many Anglo-Indian couples met their partners at dances and from there flourished a fully fledged marriage and life together. In fact, many Anglo-Indian girls are encouraged by their parents to dance with any boy who comes forward during a dance asking for a dance. It would be considered an offence to refuse.

"Anglo-Indian mothers would sit around the dance hall gossiping and seldom took their eyes off their darling daughters. I know from experience. I met my wife at one such event and 44 years later I still fancy her. The Anglo-Indian railways and cantonment towns that sprung up around the major cities cultivated a unique social and industrial blend with a heartbeat. Their dances were legendary. At the drop of a hat the city cousins would jump on a train and travel for anything up to six hours to get to that up-country dance".<sup>34</sup>

Anglo-Indians are slowly losing their ethnicity, a result of mixed marriages and negotiated cultures. The preservation of this ethnicity alone will ensure that the Anglo-Indian culture does not fade away in future. Many initiatives have been brought forth in this favour, for example, a convention of the Anglo-Indian community was held in Bangalore on Sunday the 26<sup>th</sup> of February, 2012. Member of Parliament, Charles Dias<sup>35</sup>, inaugurated the convention. The purpose of the meet was to underscore the need for second generation leaders and start an exclusive matrimonial service for the community. A decision was also taken to save their ethnicity from the verge of extinction.

The local Anglo-Indian MLA Derrick Fullinfaw, who represents the Bangalore Anglo-Indians' Guild, maintained that the community has very little presence in Karnataka and they need to focus on training the second rung leaders. They need to inculcate a sense of belongingness and inspiration to climb up the social ladder.

“We need to protect our culture and train our youth to take up higher positions in public service. In Kerala, we have a population of one lakh. But in Karnataka, we are only 8,000. We may become extinct, if proper care is not taken. Therefore, we would have to start an exclusive matrimonial service which will ensure the purity of our ethnic group, said Derrick Fullinfaw”. (Mohammed 2012)

Charles Dias said that several housing schemes are available for Anglo-Indians all over the country but many Anglo-Indians are not reaping the benefits of these schemes. These housing projects, which resemble some of the inner-city ghettos in America<sup>36</sup>, will ensure the togetherness of the community and help maintain harmony and ‘Anglo-Indian’ ethnic values.

## 11. CONCLUSION

The Anglo-Indians have made several contributions to the nation in various fields like the armed forces, education, railways, post and telegraph, nursing, customs, etc. Social and community work have also been a key factor in the nationalistic interventions of the Community in India. This should be considered as a significant role played by the Anglo-Indians in favour of nationalist principles and as citizens of India, even though they had to fight their way to establishing an identity for themselves. But, these efforts have not gone in vain for the Anglo-Indians are the only Indian minority community defined in Article-366 of the Indian Constitution.

The challenges faced by the Anglo-Indian community in India are many. Among these challenges are the socio-economic difficulties faced by a major part of the population, regaining and revitalizing what is left of their respect among the indigenous population, finding the answer to their identity crisis, removal of the wrongly stereotyped images of themselves in the Indian society, effective assimilation into the culture and tradition of their homeland India, achieving credibility in terms of education and employment and development of community ideals which would serve not only them but all Indians. The financially stronger Anglo-Indians need to lend a hand to the less fortunate ones so as to encourage them to retain their self-esteem and image in society.

The survival of this vibrant community is possible only if certain issues are addressed by organizations such as ‘The All-India Anglo Indian Association’. There can be good or bad in any community but circumstances and human worlds of experience are very important in shaping a community and thereafter a nation. The Anglo-Indian community may be a scattered community but they are still emotionally attached to their roots as Neil O'Brien<sup>37</sup> said: “We are spread all over the world. Like the Jews, today we are a scattered community. Physically we are scattered, but emotionally united”<sup>38</sup>.

The efforts that the Anglo-Indians have taken in preserving their ethnicity and identity and removing conflict is a concrete example and resolution that all Indians should take up in order to build a better nation in democratic India. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while explaining the reasons and objectives of the draft Constitution of India, stated:

“Laws are made of words but this Resolution is something higher than the law. It is not a law; but it is something that breathes life into human minds. It is a declaration. It is a firm resolve. It is a pledge and an undertaking and it is for all of us, I hope, a declaration”<sup>39</sup>.

By these words, Pandit Nehru sought to inspire the citizens of India to believe in themselves, forget their differences and have faith in the destiny of a country known for its diversity. The Anglo-Indians are one of the few ethnic minorities in the country who intervened on behalf of this nationalistic ideal, had faith in the words of the fathers of our nation and lived up to these goals with a glorious record that only few communities in the country can match in proportion to their numbers. This is indeed a collage of multi-coloured threads spun together to achieve the vision of unity in diversity of India's forefathers, who battled bravely day after day in order to make their ideals seep through narrow domestic walls and minds. In a subjective tone, Anglo-Indians have contributed in inspiring other communities to build trust and live in solidarity thereby creating a new ‘ANGLO-INDIA’, an idealistic approach where ethnicity and multiculturalism are treated with the same respect, thus helping to shape a nation.

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**End Notes**

<sup>1</sup> A person would be called 'Anglo-Indian' only if one of the male progenitors in the family is Anglo-Indian. However, within the Community, even children born of Anglo-Indian mothers and Indian fathers, being raised in the 'Anglo-Indian way' are considered to be Anglo-Indian.

<sup>2</sup> The word 'Community' with capital 'C' being used throughout this document refers to the Anglo-Indian community. Cf. "*I use the term 'Community' in terms of a people who have a sense of 'groupness' because they identify with each other through geographical, historical and experiential connectedness, and they recognize the commonality of their cultural characteristics and ethnicity. Another significant reason for use of this term is that this is how they refer to themselves*" (Andrews 2005: 2)

<sup>3</sup> Anglo-Indians have their origins in India and thus they should be considered as natives of India, but what is furthermore important is that their domain of experience falls within their memories of India and constitutes a firm historical background for them.

<sup>4</sup> Guinea or coin.

<sup>5</sup> British rule in India.

<sup>6</sup> An umbrella term refers to a working definition which comprises of several functions or criteria which all fall under the same category.

<sup>7</sup> Diaspora is defined as "the movement of a people from any nation or group away from their own country" (Hornby 2010: 418). Even though, in the case of the Anglo-Indians in India, there is no such 'movement' that has taken place, the mention of a diasporic construction of homeland is integral to establishing the connection of the Anglo-Indian to his/her homeland.

<sup>8</sup> For example, when I went a few years back to Madurai, the native place of my father, he asked me to go to a particular sweet shop at a specific location to buy and bring home some sweets. But when I went there, instead of finding a sweet shop I saw a tailor shop. My feeling of wanting to be 'at home' in India had no relation to my father not being able to specify the location of a shop correctly in his native place, but it had everything to do with his memory of it being there. To him, 'home' had not changed but in reality it has and will continue to.

<sup>9</sup> This was mainly because of their mastery over the English language.

<sup>10</sup> 'Pariah', in this context, is a term used often to refer to 'outcast' or a person of low caste. It actually originates from the anglicised version of the 'Paraiyar' caste found in the south Indian states of Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Sometimes, the term 'pariah dog' was also used as an intercommunity term to refer to native Indians. This was a term rising out of the Anglo-Indian feeling of superiority (due to British origins) over dark coloured people of south India. Derogatory terms of racial prejudice like this are less heard of now even within the Community as Anglo-Indians are now identifying themselves more and more with Indians.

<sup>11</sup> The All-India Anglo-Indian Association was established in 1876 and has over sixty branches in the country. Neil O'Brien has been the president of the TAIAlA since 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Family reunification is a policy of migration which several countries follow and which allows a resident member in a foreign country the opportunity to bring his family over to the same country. An example of this is also immigration through marriage, which allows one spouse to bring the other spouse to the country of which he/she is a national.

<sup>13</sup> CISCE is a private board of school education in India, based in New Delhi. Two examinations are conducted by the CISCE in India: the 'Indian Certificate of Secondary Education' (ICSE) and the 'Indian School Certificate' (ISC). This board of education was started in 1956 when the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education met for talks on the appointment of an Indian council to run the 'University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate's Examinations' in India.

<sup>14</sup> Article 30(1) of the Constitution of India states that "All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice". <http://www.indiankanoon.org/doc/1687408/>

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.ongardens.com/aisinto/history01.htm>

<sup>16</sup> Pound socials are common among the Anglo-Indian social scene, when friends and families from within the Community get together on Saturday evenings generally to enjoy a small party with song and dance, each family bringing a considerable quantity of food (not necessarily a pound) and drink from their homes to share with other Anglo-Indian families who attend.

<sup>17</sup> This is quoted from "Anglo-Indian Memoirs" found on the official website of Margaret Deefholts, writer on Anglo-Indians <http://www.deefholts.com/anglo-indians.html>.



<sup>18</sup> 'Railway Lamb' or 'Mutton Curry' is a very popular dish which was served on trains during long distance journeys when travelling by train was considered to be the privilege of the elites. This curry was not too spicy as the British are only used to eating bland food. But the dish has a history especially among the railway staff who found it to be filling due to their long periods of work. The curry was ideal for travellers as it lasted for a few days due to the vinegar or tamarind juice used in its preparation. <http://anglo-indianrecipes.blogspot.in/2010/07/railway-lamb-mutton-curry.html>

<sup>19</sup> 'Dak bungalow' curry is a dish that is famous since the colonial times. Dak bungalows were rest houses where the British officers used to take rest while on a journey, or used as a night stop during a hunting trip. These rest houses were very well equipped with bedrooms, kitchen etc. A *khansama* (orderly) used to handle the kitchen. Generally, the Dak bungalows used to have their own chicken, goat and cows, both for meat and milk. Other than these, the animals killed as a part of the hunting were also cooked and served to the officers. <http://www.colorandspices.com/2013/02/chicken-dak-bungalow.html>

<sup>20</sup> A very popular chicken preparation among Anglo-Indians made with Indian spices and string fried potatoes.

<sup>21</sup> A curry made with hamburger meat, coconut milk and Indian spices.

<sup>22</sup> Anglo-Indian sausage puffs made with minced pork.

<sup>23</sup> A colourful spicy, sweet and sour stir fry dish made with vegetables and minced beef.

<sup>24</sup> Kulkuls/kalkals are very Anglo-Indian. They are made as a Christmas treat, mostly at Christmas time only. Every household would participate in the ritual of making kulkuls. It is tedious and time-consuming but a wonderful opportunity to socialize with neighbours and friends. Everyone would gather around the table mixing flour with eggs, sugar and butter and rolling the flour on a fork, piece by piece, and creating these tiny shell-like creatures. Shaping the kulkuls is considered to be very important and it's great fun in every Anglo-Indian household at Christmas. They are then deep-fried and stored in airtight containers.

<sup>25</sup> This is a well-loved Anglo-Indian recipe made with black rice flour or 'puttu' flour as Indians have named it, sugar, butter, coconut milk and essence. This can be baked in a micro-wave oven easily and then cut into Halwa-like square cakes.

<sup>26</sup> A very large bottomed vessel generally used to cook briyani, originating from Bengali cuisine.

<sup>27</sup> The waltz is a ballroom and folk dance from Austria and Southern Germany.

<sup>28</sup> The jive is a ballroom dance, started in the United States by African-Americans in the early thirties.

<sup>29</sup> The foxtrot is a smooth, progressive dance created by Harry Fox in 1914. It originated in the United States and is characterized by long, continuous, flowing movements across the dance floor.

<sup>30</sup> 'Country and Western' music has its origins in the rural areas of the Southern United States in the 1920s. It has its roots in southeastern American folk music and is also referred to simply as 'Country music' which often comprises of ballads and dance tunes with simple harmonies accompanied by mostly string instruments such as banjos, electric and acoustic guitars, violins and harmonicas.

<sup>31</sup> 'Pop' music (originally derived from the term 'popular') originated in its modern form in the 1950s. Pop music is very eclectic genre of music, which borrows elements from other styles of music including urban, dance, rock, Latin music and Country music.

<sup>32</sup> Sir Cliff Richard, born in 1940 in Lucknow, United Provinces, British India is an Anglo-Indian born British pop singer, musician, actor, performer and philanthropist.

<sup>33</sup> Engelbert Humperdinck, born Arnold George Dorsey in Madras, India is an Anglo-Indian born British pop singer.

<sup>34</sup> This is an extract from a speech given by a Senior Anglo Indian at a dinner dance in Sydney last year. <http://www.ongardens.com/aisinto/history01.htm>

<sup>35</sup> Dr. Charles Dias, born in 1950, is a Lok Sabha MP, elected from 'Nominated Anglo-Indian' of Kerala state as a member of the 'Indian National Congress Party'. He is the office bearer of the Anglo-Indian Association since 1978.

<sup>36</sup> Even though the ghettos in the United States of America have a history of segregation, poverty and other negative aspects, they have helped America's immigrant population to live amongst the members of their own community thus preserving their ethnicity. The housing schemes for Anglo-Indians are however nothing like the inner-city ghettos but the concept of bringing together the Anglo-Indian community is what must be taken into consideration and given importance.

<sup>37</sup> Neil O'Brien was born and brought up in Calcutta. He was educated at ST.XAVIER'S School and College, Calcutta. Mr. O'Brien is a national figure in the Anglo-Indian Community and Anglo-Indian education. Since 1998, he has been the unanimously elected President-in-Chief of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, which has a network of sixty branches all over the country.

<sup>38</sup> This is taken from an article on the Anglo-Indian Association website of Danapur titled "Anglo-Indians a micro-minority" [http://www.aiadanapur.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=64&Itemid=79](http://www.aiadanapur.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=64&Itemid=79)

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

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