



ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS AND ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATIONAL DISADVANTAGE PART 1

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Educational disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community is rooted in the size, language and religion of the community. These three issues are developed from an examination of the history of Anglo-Indian education since its inception in the sixteenth century and through an empirical investigation of Anglo-Indian schools in 1990. Anglo-Indian schools in India are conditioned by what may be termed as subordinate syndrome education for Anglo-Indians. The subordinate Anglo-Indian is a historical fact. The pervasiveness of this syndrome is in large part due to a failure by the Anglo-Indian community to identify its link to educational attainment. The widely hailed success and consequent prestige of the Anglo-Indian schools in India, and the growing acceptance of English as a universal language has created a hidden curriculum which has disadvantaged Anglo-Indians.

INTRODUCTION

Being an Anglo-Indian I witnessed what happened to my community during and after the final years of British Rule in India. The emergent contradiction in 1947 between the Anglo-Indian educational system and the conditions of economic life in post-independent India lay beneath the political dynamics of a community's struggle to survive. By 1960 my teenage years were spent saying goodbye to my family and friends who had decided to emigrate to Britain and Canada. My parents had decided to stay on in India. By 1990, the majority of the Anglo-Indians who had stayed on in India lacked educational qualifications. Many of them were drop outs from Anglo-Indian schools and were unemployable. Large numbers of Anglo-Indians lived in poverty.

It takes more than an analysis of a slum dweller's poverty or a community's unemployability in India and the depressing number of young people who are drop outs from their own schools to transform the structure of Anglo-Indian education. Essential to the success of a programme of change and egalitarian reform in Anglo-Indian schools would be a coalition of Anglo-Indian politicians, teachers in Anglo-Indian schools, Anglo-Indian and non Anglo-Indian students who attend Anglo-Indian schools, and Anglo-Indian community groups all over India.

Part 1 outlines the various plans and strategies used for writing the history of Anglo-Indian education in India. The historical research of the Anglo-Indian educational system, basically, neither adds to nor subtracts from the degree of inequality and repression which originated in colonialism. The history is divided into three periods.

Period I 1500-1786: India's European Connection: The Anglo-Indian Educational system.

Period II 1786-1900: The Expansion of Anglo-Indian Education: The English Language and Christianity.

Period III 1900 - 1995 Anglo-Indian Education: A Route to Privilege or Penury.

The field work rigorously examined the key and contentious issues of the size of the Anglo-Indian community and its ethnicity, language issues and the debate about religion in Anglo-Indian schools.

DISADVANTAGE: THE THREE ISSUES

The general disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community is rooted in the community's size/ethnicity, language and religion. These three issues are locked into the history of the community. Research Methods were studied to offer an objective contemporary investigation of Anglo-Indian education.

ISSUE ONE

The size and ethnicity of a community which is unable to establish itself as a cohesive whole. It is internally divided as to its constituent membership, that is, who is an Anglo-Indian? This is most clearly revealed by the continuing inconclusive

debates about the actual size of the community. If the community could agree on this issue, it might have a clearer sense of its own size and political power. It could seek to implement educational policies which would offer all Anglo-Indians greater opportunities to succeed along with the other Indian students in Anglo-Indian schools. This would enable the community to successfully face the challenges of modern India.

ISSUE TWO

These English language medium schools possess a curriculum which places undue emphasis on English as a second language for Indian students. This occurs at the expense of instruction for Anglo-Indians in the medium of an Indian language. This policy, evolved when India was under British (and English language) domination, places Anglo-Indian students at a considerable linguistic disadvantage in modern India. Indian students attending Anglo-Indian schools become bilingual in an Indian language and English. Anglo-Indians remain monolingual in English and are ineffective communicators in an Indian language.

ISSUE THREE

Christianity is the religion of the Anglo-Indian schools. Christianity is taught to Anglo-Indians in isolation from the Indian students. Christianity is considered by many other Indians as an imported religion associated with British and European Imperialism and linked with colonialism and oppression. There are few opportunities to reflect upon a shared human experience of religion between Anglo-Indians and Indians. This religious ethos has created a non-integrative factor in Anglo-Indian schools.

These three issues can be traced in the history of the Anglo-Indian community. This is a major factor that underlies their socio-economic disadvantage. This community which developed in various parts of colonial India was encouraged, from its earliest days, to identify itself with its colonial masters and to segregate itself from the larger India. For the sake of clarity it is important to: identify the community as it is now locate the style of its educational system now specify its current socio-economic position.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY NOW AND ITS SCHOOLS.

The Anglo-Indians in India are of mixed parentage and are a small minority community in modern India. The community's singularity is partly explained by its unique combination of language, religion and race. Anglo-Indian mother tongue is English; their religion is Christianity and their parentage European and Indian. More formally, as the Indian Constitution states in Article 366(2), 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 territories of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only." (1)

This definition of the Anglo-Indian in India will be used to describe the community, although, as will be made clear its use is problematic. (2)

The protection of the community's rights are also enshrined in the Constitution of India. Article 29(1) and Article 30(1) state:

... Any section of citizens residing in any territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. This protection extends to its right to administer its own schools where the community's Christian heritage is fostered and the English mother tongue is reinforced through its use as the medium of instruction.

and

... All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.
(3)

The definition of the Anglo-Indian and the two Articles in the Indian Constitution protect the Anglo-Indian schools and guarantees their survival in India as schools for the education of the Anglo-Indians. However, the present system of Anglo-Indian education is a British legacy. They remain private and elitist: while some still bear a resemblance to the public schools in Britain.

These minority schools still exist, in theory, for the benefit and education of the community. They are a mixture of day schools and residential schools. These schools are much sought after by wealthy and influential non Anglo-Indian Indians, who want their children to acquire fluency in English. Yet, they are also schools which appear to fail the very children that they were set up to help.

In 1990, during the field research, an Anglo-Indian teacher commented about Anglo-Indian students in his residential school in Maharashtra.

Out of every twenty Anglo-Indians only one manages to complete twelve years of schooling. The reason lies in the language problem. Anglo-Indians are still failing to learn an Indian language. Anglo-Indians are forced to repeat a year in the same class if they fail the Indian Language examination.

The educational system has led to drop outs and/or poor academic qualifications for many Anglo-Indians. Success in an Indian language is linked to academic success at 16+ and 18+. The language casualty rate has reached epidemic proportions in Anglo-Indian schools because the Language policy and teaching methods have remained unchanged since 1954. (4)

On a political plane, the Government of India had done what it could to protect this minority community. But, even with a protected power base and voice in Parliament and the State Legislatures, the educational disadvantage has continued, with large numbers of Anglo-Indians failing to gain any academic qualifications at 16+ or 18+. Although, the community is represented in Parliament by two Anglo-Indian Members of Parliament who are nominated by the President of India, the educational disadvantage suffered by Anglo-Indians in their own schools has been ignored. This is largely due to the fact that there is no solidarity in the community.

Each State also has a nominated Anglo-Indian Member of the State Legislative Assembly. The MLAs do not necessarily belong to the All-India Anglo-Indian Association as the two Members of Parliament. This has proved to be unproductive because there is little or no communication between the various Anglo-Indian groups or associations.

Such disadvantage was apparent to the international community of Anglo-Indians who visit their relatives and friends in India. (5) The apparent disadvantage seems to have completely escaped the Anglo-Indians who are the decision-makers in the community.

THE EDUCATIONAL STYLE OF ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS IN POST INDEPENDENT INDIA: SIZE, LANGUAGE AND RELIGION

After Indian Independence in 1947, the emigration of the middle class and the skilled workers in the community gradually reduced the Anglo-Indian community to a pear-shaped community. The community has a narrow section of well-educated professionals and politicians at the top and a large, sagging base of ill-educated, semi-skilled and unskilled Anglo-Indians at the bottom. The Anglo-Indian middle-class was slowly disappearing from India. As one British Anglo-Indian commented, "Everyone, who could, left India for Britain". (6)

The issue of size affected the educational experience of Anglo-Indian students after 1947. These minority schools exist, in theory, for the benefit and education of the community. They are a mixture of day schools and residential schools which are much sought after by wealthy and influential non Anglo-Indian Indians, who want their children to acquire fluency in English. Anglo-Indians are offered "freeships" in these schools. (7) Yet the Anglo-Indian schools appear to fail the very children that they were set up to help.

By 1990, the issue of Indian language teaching to Anglo- Indian students was problematic. During classroom observations it became apparent that Anglo-Indians were failing to speak, read and write in an Indian language. Anglo-Indians were the "repeaters" in the class. They were the "duffers" and were accused of disrupting a class. Staged, polished performances of teaching an Indian language as a second language to mother-tongue speakers were observed. The Anglo-Indian students were to a large extent ignored in the classroom.

The Anglo-Indian system has not been made accountable for this academic failure among Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian English medium schools did not have a structured policy to teach Anglo-Indians an Indian language. The language policy was structured to teach English as a second language to Indian students. Anglo-Indians were avoiding their own schools.

The third issue is religion. In 1990, approaching the question of religion was fraught with political problems. The research had to be conducted with extreme caution. Any

attempt to change or reinterpret religious education could well be treated as stupidity or fraud. What this article will argue is that the insights provided by the various Indian religions should be taught in the context of personal, social and ethical problems. Christianity at the present time is taught outside the school timetable. The school experience of religious education continues to alienate the Anglo-Indians from the non Anglo-Indians.

Anglo-Indian schools were established in India for two reasons. The first was that the British colonialists wanted a pliant, cheap, literate and loyal workforce to fill "reserved" low-level positions in essential services such as the railways, (8) customs and excise, post and telegraph and police. (9) The second was that Christian missionaries wanted to evangelise the Indian population and saw the Anglo-Indian population as an ideal entry point. (10)

Today, the work ethic among Anglo-Indians remains the same. The British left the community a legacy for subordination. The schools have continued to consciously mould via a racial, linguistic and religious framework the Anglo-Indians to their political, social and economic roles in India.

The basic assumptions which underlay this helps explain the colonial legacy which still exists in these schools. In other words, the ostensible objective of the British administrators and Christian missionaries was to reduce inequality of educational opportunity for the Anglo-Indians. However, the educational system did not reduce inequality because the amount of schooling attained by Anglo-Indians has always been unequal when compared with non Anglo-Indians.

By 1934, some Anglo-Indians were being described as belonging to an underclass:

...whose intellectual level was exceedingly low, and whose development was so retarded that they did not seem capable of fitting themselves for the sort of position that one should hope every Anglo-Indian child should obtain. They were in fact, not to be distinguished culturally from the poorer Indian Christians, and that they would have to face the possibility of a large number of those Anglo-Indians being eventually absorbed in the Indian Christian community. They were only fit to earn their living as artisans, and unless they were prepared to adopt Indian standards of livelihood and accept an Indian wage, they would have to starve. (11)

Neither colonial administrators nor Christian missionaries, it seems, were committed to producing students who were competitive, ambitious and desirous of pursuing higher education. Inequalities in the Anglo-Indian's educational attainments and the rapid Indianisation of the services directly affected the income in Anglo-Indian families.

The Anglo-Indian's experience of school reproduced the class structure of a great divide which the British government and Christian missionaries had created for the community. (12) The schools also helped to preserve and extend the power, prestige and wealth of the British government and Christian missionaries, by linking the English language and the Christian religion to a specific community.

The British government created an educational policy which persuaded the Anglo-Indian community that they were the best workers in India for subordinate jobs. (13) The British recognised the sober necessity of limiting educational outcomes for the Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians set their sights on this limited educational experience which resulted in what they were given to believe was a fair shot at unequal economic reward. Young men left school and entered subordinate jobs which lasted a lifetime. They rarely left school to enter higher education.

The institutional basis of inequality led to an economic structure within Anglo-Indian social processes in which disadvantage was worn as a badge of honour. In other words, to serve the British, speak the English language and attend a Christian church was the honourable thing to do. The unequal incomes and inequality of access to higher education lay in the dynamics of economic life in the attainment-Indian colonies.

This persistent institutionalised inequality in educational and economic outcomes created an element of backwardness in the community. Anglo-Indians do not want to be called backward because they speak English as a mother-tongue. The existence of the elitist much-sought-after Anglo-Indian schools creates a barrier for Anglo-Indians to admit to their own educational backwardness. (14)

By 1990, Anglo-Indians were staying away from Anglo-Indian schools because they were either too poor to attend them or knew that the schools would fail to educate them. The political representatives of the community were unable, or unwilling, to identify the reasons for the crisis. Instead, one continued to read of the excellent educational facilities offered in Anglo-Indian schools and its expansionist programme in India.

By 1990, the schools were unable to deliver the curriculum to Anglo-Indians, for whom the schools existed. This makes the Anglo-Indian schools unequal for Anglo-Indians. The chances of attaining much or little schooling depended on an Anglo-Indian child's economic level. The educational disadvantage has caught the community in its grip, because "... unsuccessful parents will inevitably pass along some of their disadvantage, and the cycle of disadvantage continues endlessly." (15)

A more effective and appropriate theory-practice for the Anglo-Indian schools would increase the academic achievement levels of Anglo-Indian students. Change and egalitarian reform should not hamper the outstanding academic progress of non Anglo-Indian students in these schools.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION OF ANGLO-INDIANS IN THE 1990S

British Anglo-Indians commented on both the educational and general social disadvantage of the Anglo-Indian community in India. (16) Their stories highlighted the inadequate educational qualifications, unemployment and poverty in the community. According to British Anglo-Indians who visit India, the unemployment and poverty are linked to the educational system. Their comments were on the lines of "Why can't the schools do something about the poverty? I don't know what, but, I doubt they even think about it?"

Or, "If, jobs are linked with educational qualifications, then the schools must be held accountable to some extent for the poverty and unemployment in the community."

And, "There are too many Anglo-Indians who drop out of school? Why does this happen? Anglo-Indians do not even go to their Anglo-Indian schools. They are too poor to attend their schools." This remark was repeated often by British Anglo-Indians.

The comments linked the poor educational qualifications of the Anglo-Indians to the number of unemployed Anglo-Indians. There were large numbers who were either unemployed or in low skilled jobs living in India's sprawling urban slums. Some of the British Anglo-Indians also visited the smaller railway townships and rural areas, and found widespread poverty among the community in those areas as well. Poverty and disadvantage were endemic in the community in the 1980s.

This picture was starkly confirmed in a two-part Channel 4 television programme about the Anglo-Indian community shown in Britain in 1986. (17) The programme portrayed the apathy and hopelessness felt by the community. Although the major criticism has been that the documentary focused only on poverty, and not the achievements and wealth of a few individuals, it was a fair summary of the socio-economic status of the community. Their comments about the programme fell into three categories.

- i. A feeling of sadness at the portrayal of so much suffering. "I felt very close to tears when I saw the programme."
- ii. A sense of relief that they managed "... to get away in time from India, otherwise the programme could have been describing me or my family."
- iii. A sense of frustration, that once again in the history of India, Anglo-Indians were being depicted as "failures". By the 1990s, Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians had commented on the poverty in the community in post independent India. (18)

PART 2 OF ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS AND ANGLO-INDIAN DISADVANTAGE

Part 2 of the article will draw the threads of the research about size, language and religion together. The theory-practice model to eliminate disadvantage among Anglo-Indians in their own schools will be discussed. The article will suggest recommendations to the Anglo-Indian community.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) CONSTITUTION OF INDIA (1974) Govt. of India Press. The definition of the Anglo-Indian is found in Article 366(2) of the Government of India Act of 1935 and in Article 366(2) of the Constitution of India 1950.

(2) Article 366(2) of the Constitution of India 1950.

(3) Yaqin, A. (1982) op. cit., (p.31) Articles 29(1) and 30(1) of the Constitution of India 1950. The Constituent Assembly did not concede any political rights to any other minority except the Anglo-Indians.

(4) See, AIR 1954, Supreme Court 561 (pp.568-69). In 1954, Justice Das of the Supreme Court offered the most balanced description of Anglo-Indian education. He observed during the Bombay School's Case that: "...a minority like the Anglo-Indian community, which is based, inter alia, on religion and language, has the fundamental right to conserve its language, script and culture under Article 29(1) and has the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice under Article 30(1), surely then there must be implicit in such fundamental right the right to impart instruction in their own institutions to the children of their own community in their own language. To hold otherwise will be to deprive Article 29(1) and Article 30(1) of the greater part of their contents." (pp.568-9). See, DeSouza, A.A. (1976) *Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. See also, Kumar, A. (1985). *Cultural and Educational Rights of the Minorities under Indian Constitution*. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications.

(5) See, Lobo, A.I.G. (1986) *Christian Immigrants from India and Pakistan to Britain after 1947: Their Education and Aspirations*. Unpublished Dissertation (B.Ed. Hons.)

Bulmershe College of Higher Education, University of Reading; see also, Lobo, A.I.G. (1988). *Anglo-Indians in Britain: An Educational Perspective of an Urban Ethnic-Minority Community*. Unpublished Dissertation Master of Arts Degree in Urban Education, The University of London, Institute of Education.

(6) Maher, R.J. (1962) *These are the Anglo-Indians*. Library of the University of Illinois. Calcutta: Swallow Press (p.68). Maher's description of the exodus of Anglo-Indians is described in the Chapter "Sinking Ship?" (p.68) Maher describes the departure of the wealthier and more influential members of the community" as a "draining of its very life-blood." See, Malelu, S.J. (1964) *The Anglo-Indians: A Problem in Marginality*. The Ohio State University, Ph.D. Sociology, Race Question University Microfilms, Inc. Ann Arbor, Michigan. In Malelu's research, he identified the Anglo-Indians as being marginal to India's culture. In his empirical research, Malelu contacted Anglo-Indians who had relatives and friends living in England, Australia and New Zealand. (p.43) See also, Abel, E. (1988) *The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India* Delhi: Chanakya Publications (p.44)

(7) The scholarships offered by the European and Anglo-Indian Association to poor Europeans and Anglo-Indians were known as "freeships". This was a derogatory term applied to Anglo-Indians who had to apply for assistance to pay for their schooling in Anglo-Indian schools. "Freeship" scholars rarely "amounted to anything, because when it is free you don't care too much. They just waste the Association's money and the teacher's time." This comment was made by an Anglo-Indian in 1992, who was concerned about the apathy among Anglo-Indians on "freeships" in a residential school in Tamil Nadu. See also, Maher, R.J.(1962) *These are the Anglo-Indians*. Calcutta: Swallow Press (p.15). Maher's book can be obtained on an inter-University library loan from the University of Illinois, U.S.A.

(8) See, Allen, C. (1977). *Raj: A Scrapbook of British India 1877-1947*. London: Andre Deutsch (pp.90-1) Allen describes the occupations "chiefly on the railways and in lower provincial appointments" which were offered to all Anglo-Indians, unless they were educated overseas." (p.15) Anglo-Indians who were educated in Anglo-Indian schools were barred from all the senior and covenanted posts". (p.15) See also, O'Malley, L.S.S. (1941) *Modern India and the West* London: Oxford University Press (pp.238-39); see also, Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) *Hostages to India or The Life Story of the Anglo-Indian Race* Calcutta: Star Printing Works (A facsimile reprint was published privately in 1987, through the agency of the British Association for

Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) Putney, London.) Stark, H.A. (1936) described the Anglo-Indians as "... telegraph operators, artisans and electricians. They supplied the railways with station staffs, engine drivers, permanent way inspectors guards, auditors - in fact every higher grade of railway servant." (p.135) See also, Westwood, J.N. (1974) *Railways of India*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. Westwood refers to most locomotive drivers as either European or Anglo-Indian. Station masters at large stations and important junctions were British or Anglo-Indian. The Anglo-Indians secured these jobs because correspondence was conducted in English. (p.82) See also, Gidney, H. (1925) 'The Status of the Anglo-Indian Community under the Reform Scheme in India', *The Asiatic Review*. Vol. XXI pp. 657-62. Gidney refers to the "... record of honest and faithful service in all Government departments, including the great railway administrations." (p.661)

(9) Gidney, H. (1934) 'The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community', *The Asiatic Review*. Vol LXXXIII, pp. 27-42. Gidney refers to the Anglo-Indian "... who helped the pioneer Britisher to lay the first sleepers of that great system of railway administration...". (P.30) Or "... it can truly be said that the Anglo-Indian helped to erect the first telegraph poles... and ... the great services the community has played, particularly in the engineering branch of the Telegraph Department. And,... no one will deny that the community has played a great part in the development of the Customs of India, especially the Preventive Branch ...". (pp. 30-31). Gidney describes the "distinguished services" in the Indian Medical Department and the Civil Service in which Anglo-Indians held "... important subordinate appointments in these departments and Secretariats ..." (p.31)

(10) Dalton, E. (1966). *Mission of Help. Church Mission Society Triple Jubilee Souvenir*. Kottayam, Kerala: Church Mission Press p.5; see also, De Montmorency, G. (1939) *The Anglo-Indian Community: An Indian Problem United Empire*. Vol.XXX pp. LXVII-LXIX; see also, Eapen, K.V. (1979). *A Study on the contribution of the Church Mission Society to the Progress and Development of Education in Kerala*. Unpublished Thesis Ph.D. in Education University of Kerala (p.51); see also, Laird, M.A. (1972). *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, (1793-1837)*. Oxford:Clarendon Press (p.35); see also, Law, N. N. (1915). *Promotion of Learning in India by European Settlers up to 1800 A.D.* London: Longmans, Green & Co., (pp.80-1); see also, Sinha, S.P. (1978) *English In India: A Historical Study with particular reference to English Education in India*. Patna, India: Janaki Prakashan (p.12); see also, Yaqin,

A. (1982). *Constitutional Protection of Minority Education Institutions in India*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications (p.31)

(11) Graham, J.A. (1934) 'The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child', *Journal Of The Royal Society Of Arts*. November 23 pp. 21-46. After Dr. Graham read his paper to the Royal Society of Arts a discussion took place. This quote on p. 44 of the Article was said by Mr. P.B. Haigh, Hon. Secretary, European Schools in India Improvement Association who referred to the economic position of the Anglo-Indian community. Haigh, went on to say that a portion of the Anglo-Indian community lived a miserable existence and were supported by the charity of wealthier Anglo-Indians. He described the existence as "... degrading position, and it would be far better for them to recognise that the lower strata of Anglo-Indians must be absorbed in the poorer of Indian Christians." Statements made by British administrators in Haigh's position did irreparable harm to the community and its relationship with the Indian Christians or Feringhees.

(12) The Great Divide in Anglo-Indian education had started in the nineteenth century. Craig, H.I. (1990). *Under The Old School Topee*. Putney, London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia. This book was based on anecdotal accounts by students of Anglo-Indian schools. The "old tie" or in this case the "old school topee", (Topee: hat.). A network of upper and middle-class Colonial India continues in these privileged Anglo-Indian schools in the foothills of the Himalayas in the north of India, and the Nilgiris in the south of India. Craig, H.I. (1990) who described some of the criteria for non admission to the Lawrence Military Schools. This included illegitimacy, being classified as an "idiot" or not being the child of a soldier (p.35 and p.39); see also, Graham, J.A. (1934) The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child. *Journal Of The Royal Society Of Arts*. November 23 pp.21-46. See also, Tiwari, R. (1965). *The Social and Political Significance of Anglo- Indian Schools in India*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of London, Institute of Education. (p.79) The Bishop Cotton Schools were "founded in favourably hilly climates". (p.79) See also, Daniell, H.R.H. (1941). *The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and its Problems*. Unpublished Thesis University of Leeds, Master of Education, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. Daniell, H.R.H. was an Anglo-Indian educationist who was respected by both Europeans and Anglo-Indians. He was aware of the problems in the community, although his thesis did not offer a model of theory-practice for Anglo-Indian schools he advocated that in Anglo-Indian schools "curriculum needs to

be based on activities and on psychological interest". (p.230) See, Allen, C. (1977) op.cit., (pp.90-1). Anglo-Indian schools were built in the plains and in the hill-stations. The hill-station schools were situated in the foothills of the Himalayas in the north and the Nilgiris in the south. The hill-stations at Murree, Simla, Mussoorie, Naini Tal, Darjeeling and Shillong were in the foothills of the Himalayas. Ootacamund and Kodaikanal were two hill-stations in the Nilgiris or Blue Mountains. The schools were elitist and reflected the exclusive and isolationist social practices of the British in India.

(13) Gidney, H. (1934) op. cit., Gidney states: "... It is universally accepted that efficiency should be the only test for employment, especially in subordinate appointments, carrying monthly salaries of from R6.30 to Rs. 250 and over. We know that by 'efficiency' today is understood a working knowledge of English--i.e., up to the secondary standard." (p.39)

(14) The word backward occurs in Indian education. It describes the weaker sections of Indian society. There is no definition of the word backward in the Constitution of India. However, the qualities of a backward person are described. Some of the Backward Classes are listed. See Article 15(4) in the Constitution of India which described socially and educationally backward classes of Indian citizens. See also, Article 46 which mentioned the weaker sections of the people and included in that expression of weaker sections in Indian society the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 46 directs the State to protect them from exploitation. In Part XVI the Anglo-Indians are grouped with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are backward in different fields -- political, social, economic and cultural. (pp.55-7) Read the Havanur Report (1975) *Government of Karnataka Backward Classes Commission Report in four volumes*. Volume I Part II. See also, Justice K. Subba Rao, the Former Chief Justice of India's statement in the Karnataka Backward Classes Commission Report (1975) that "... economic backwardness is the basis of all backwardness." (p.67) See also, Government Order No.8940-90 Edn. 96-16-1 dated May 1917, and Government letter No.3949-Edn.42-17, dated 13th October 1917, where the term backward classes was recognised to include all the communities in the State other than the Brahmin. The Europeans and Anglo-Indians "... who have English for their mother-tongue will of course be excluded by that fact." (p.1). Therefore, the English speaking Anglo-Indian community did not accept the backward label, although the evidence of being educationally backward has been

linked to their unemployment and poverty in India. See also, *Report Of The Committee Appointed To Consider Steps Necessary For The Adequate Representation Of Communities In The Public Service* (there was no date on this report). This Report was sent to the researcher by the Secretary Menzies, H.L. of the Anglo-Indian Activists in Bangalore. The original copy is in the State Central Library, Bangalore; see also, Wadhwa, K.K (1975). *Minority Safeguards in India: Constitutional Provisions and their Implementation*. Bangalore: Thomson Press (India) Limited (pp.16-21)

(15) Rutter, M. and Madge, N. (1977) *Circles of Disadvantage A Review of Research* London: Heinemann; see also, Ramsay, H. (1977) 'Cycles of Control' *SOCIOLOGY*. 11(3) September. See also, Jencks, C., Smith, M., Acland, H., Bane, K.J., Cohen, D., Gintis, H., Heyns, B., and Michelson, S. (1972). *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America*. London: Allen Lane; see also, Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

(16) Lobo A.I.G. (1986) op. cit., and Lobo A.I.G. (1988) op. cit.

(17) Channel 4 (1986) *The Anglo-Indians*. Central Television Producer Zia Mohyeddin. Narrated by Tim Piggot-Smith. The Channel 4 television programme (1986) was shown in two one hour episodes. The British Film Institute has a copy of the programme. Lingarajapuram a large slum in Bangalore was featured in the television programme. There were many Anglo-Indian families who live in this slum.

(18) For a discussion on Anglo-Indian poverty see, Arden Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India' *The Asiatic Review. (New Series)*; see also, Blunt, E. (1937) *The I.C.S.: The Indian Civil Service*. London: Faber and Faber Chapters 1 and 2; see also, *Calcutta Review*. (1867) 'The Bengal; Military Orphan Society' (p.57); see also, Macrae, J. (1913) 'The Problem for Charity Among the Anglo-Indian Community' *Calcutta Review New Series*. Vol.I January pp.84-94 and July pp.351-392; see also, O'Malley, L.S.S. (1965) *The Indian Civil Service 1801-1830*. London: Frank Cass & Co (pp.228-30); see also, Thurston, E. (1898) 'Eurasians of Madras City and Malabar'. *Bulletin Of The Madras Government Museum*. Vol.II pp.94-6; see also, Valentia, G. (1809) *Voyages and Travels in Ceylon, The Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the Years 1802, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. 3 Volumes. London: William Miller (pp.241-42). See, Anderson, G. (1939) 'Anglo-

Indian Education' *The Asiatic Review*. Vol.35 pp.71-96; see also, Arden Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India' *The Asiatic Review*. Vol. 24 pp.417-46; see also, Gidney, H. (1934) 'The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community'. *The Asiatic Review*. Vol.LXXXIII. pp.27-42; see also, Nundy, A. (1900) 'The Eurasian Problem in India'. *The Imperial And Asiatic Quarterly Review And Oriental And Colonial Record*. Vol. 9 Part 17018 pp.56-73. See also, Arden-Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India.' *The Asiatic Review (New Series)*. Vol.24 pp.417-46. There were important documents about Anglo-Indian poverty in post-independent India. See, *Baptist Mission Report or The Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report* (1959). *Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian community 1957-1958 Calcutta*. Baptist Mission Press; see also the work of two American sociologists, Brennan, N.L. (1979) *The Anglo-Indians of Madras: An Ethnic Minority in Transition* Ph.D. Thesis Syracuse University. Ann Arbor, Mi.48106: University Microfilms International p.9. Brennan, was an American sociologist, who lived among Anglo-Indians in the late seventies, in Madras. Brennan described the "significant number of the children of the poorest families who are not in Anglo-Indian schools or do not reach the upper levels," (p.9) and the stereotyping of "illegitimate and immoral" (p.160) Anglo-Indians. Brennan was also approached by "Anglo-Indian beggars" (p.121) in Madras. Her thesis was a powerful, indictment of Anglo-Indian schools and the inability of the schools to educate their own minority students. Her thesis was substantially supported by case studies; see also Wright, R.D. (1970). *Marginal Man In Transition: A Study of the Anglo-Indian Community of India*. University of Missouri, Columbia, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University Microfilms a XEROX Co. Ann Arbor, Michigan. p.63 Also read Francis, G.F. (1986) see also, Chatterjee, E.P. (1982) *Adaptation In A Changing World. The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909-1935*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University Montreal Quebec, Canada. Microfilm. see also, Wright, R.D. (1970) *Marginal Man in Transition: A Study of the Anglo-Indian Community of India*. University of Missouri, Columbia, Ph.D. Thesis. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms a XEROX Co. Indian Journalists had also documented the poverty in the community since 1947. Mihir Bose examined the position of Anglo-Indians in 1979 and referred to them as the "heirs of the Raj, caught between two worlds." (p.7); see also, Bose, M. (1979) 'One corner of an Indian slum that in forever England' *New Society*. 4 January pp.7-9. Zareer Masani describes the Anglo-Indian schools as

"crucial stepping-stones to the more select colleges" and describes the racism suffered by Anglo-Indians by Indians. He mentions the "affluent Indians" who "looked down on the Anglo-Indians, who once had basked in the reflected glory of the Raj." (p.10); see also, Masani, Z. (1986) 'The Raj through Indian eyes' *THE LISTENER*. 1 May pp. 10-11; see also, Bobb, D., and Ahmed, F. (1991) 'McCluskieganj: The Dying of a Dream' *INDIA TODAY*. 31 October pp. 42-49. This article was accompanied by photographs of the poverty in the community.