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EDITORIAL

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In March of 2024 the *International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies* convened a Research Workshop in conjunction with the 12th International Anglo-Indian Reunion in Canberra. Hosting such events for interdisciplinary scholars to meet and present their research to one another as well as to a lay audience of Anglo-Indians has been a tradition of the Journal for the past four reunions spanning more than a decade. As in the past, some of the papers presented at the Workshop have been expanded by the authors and submitted to the journal for peer review and publishing. While this is a general issue of the journal it contains two articles that began as papers presented in Canberra, both of which address the watershed event for Anglo-Indians in India, Government's removal of their nominated MPs and MLAs by amendment to the Constitution of India in early 2020.

Our first article addresses the way in which language defines ethnic communities and particular subsets of them. Smita Joseph, Assistant Professor of Sociolinguistics at The English and Foreign Languages University, Hyderabad studied the slang employed by members of Hyderabad's Anglo-Indian Community to show how they apply it as a defining feature of their ethnicity and the manner by which they situate themselves in their Indian linguistic and cultural milieu while also maintaining their European ancestry.

The second article is by Upamanyu Sengupta, Assistant Professor at the Maharashtra National Law University in Mumbai, entitled 'Difference, Disadvantage and the Anglo-Indian Engagement with Affirmative Action'. In it he goes back to the legal arguments made in the Constituent Assembly by two Anglo-Indian leaders in favour of creating

the reserved, nominated, seats granted to the small and geographically dispersed Anglo-Indian community. He analyses these historic arguments in relation to the recent arguments made by government against the continuation of these reservations which resulted in their revocation.

Historian and Anglo-Indian leader from Kerala, Charles Dias, authored the next article which came out of the Workshop in Canberra: 'Solidarity of Anglo-Indians is Still the Question'. By recounting the history of Anglo-Indian leadership of the community, he concludes that a lack of solidarity among Anglo-Indians, a solidarity which has too often not been cultivated by Anglo-Indian leaders including the nominated MPs and MLAs, has been a weakness that has negatively impacted upon the community's social and economic fortunes. The Constitutional amendment (2020) that revoked the reserved nominated seats in the Lok Sabha and several state legislative assemblies, could have been avoided, in his view, by greater efforts at Anglo-Indian solidarity and the advantageous use by those who held those seats in serving the community's pressing needs in critical areas such as housing and education.

Finally, related to the articles concerning the Constitutional amendment that ended Anglo-Indian representation in parliament, we republish an opinion piece from scholars printed in *The Hindu* in December 2019 protesting the Government's announced intentions in this regard. They argue on national and historic grounds why the preservation of the nominated seats is consistent with the national project to which Anglo-Indians have served.

We encourage readers to promote the journal among their scholarly colleagues and friends.

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International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies

THE USE OF SLANG AS A LINGUISTIC RESOURCE IN THE CREATION OF AN ANGLO-INDIAN IDENTITY: THE CASE OF HYDERABAD ANGLO-INDIANS[1]

Smita Joseph

ABSTRACT

This study investigates how the Anglo-Indian community in Hyderabad uses slang, an ethno-linguistic artifact, to express their unique identity. A combination of interview and survey techniques was employed to elicit the data on slang. The data on slang were obtained through interviews, but the application of a t test ($p < .001$) on data collected from Anglo-Indians and their neighboring community, obtained through a survey, validated the usage of slang as an Anglo-Indian code. English-based slang (such as, plug, rubbermouth, fire off) and contact-induced borrowing from colloquial Telugu and Tamil (including, jao, pulling the jao, catching crows) combine to form Anglo-Indian slang. The study suggests that one of the strategies by which the community conveys its distinctive identity vis-à-vis English, and the regional second-language users of English, is through the integration of linguistic material from various sources into Anglo-Indian English. The study suggests that the Anglo-Indian community maintains distinct identities through the usage of slang or hybrid English.

INTRODUCTION

This study shows how slang, as an ethno-linguistic artifact, is used in marking the ethnicity of a speech community. The Anglo-Indian speech community in Hyderabad provides a unique opportunity to explore how speakers convey ethnicity through slang.

Ethnicity is not something that is biologically determined; it is a social category that is believed to be socially constructed through practices (Zack & Healey, as cited in Fought, 2002, p. 444), language being an instance of one such practice. Readers who are new to the concept of ethnicity can depend on the simplest definition of an ethnic group given by Giles which is based on individuals' perceptions of themselves as belonging to an ethnic category (as cited in Fought, 2002, pp. 444-5).

There are very few works on Anglo-Indian English. The huge corpus of literature on South Asian English, which has mostly concentrated on the English of second language users, has paid relatively little attention to their English (Coelho, 1997). Of the few works that exist on the variety, Spencer's work on the Anglo-Indians of Allahabad, for instance, contrasts the pronunciation of Standard British English with Anglo-Indian English and obliquely traces the differences between the two varieties to Bengali influences (1966, pp. 65-70). On the other hand, Coelho's research of the English used by Anglo-Indians in Perambur (Chennai) is a comparison between Anglo-Indian English and General Indian English[2] varieties. According to the study, the distinctions between the varieties mostly result from British English dialects, while the features shared by both types are viewed as influences from the local language or languages (1997).

By analysing how the Anglo-Indians in South Lallaguda use English as their first language, and that the Anglo-Indian English spoken in informal settings in this area exhibits linguistic innovation, I contribute to the study of South Asian English. The variety spoken by the community differs from non-native varieties of English or second-language users of English as well as from the native varieties of English, i.e., the British English dialects. This study, therefore, challenges Coelho's claims about Anglo-Indian English, according to which the variety cannot demonstrate independent developments since it is too recent (1997, p. 564). The Anglo-Indians focussed on in this study show a unique identity by mixing Telugu and Tamil slang into their English. In other words, by using slang, the community preserves a separate identity from both the local Indian communities and the British. The systematic investigation of slang in this study differs from previous sociolinguistic work as well. Additionally, it differs from other works on Anglo-Indian English, which have mostly concentrated on their phonological and syntactic features.

This study examines the use of linguistic features, as lexical items or slang terms, in the speech of Hyderabad Anglo-Indians, as indicator of acts of identity[3] associated with their ethnic group. There were two reasons why the speech of the Anglo-Indians of Hyderabad was studied. Firstly, the English used by the Anglo-Indians has received very little attention within the vast body of literature on South Asian English that has mainly focused on English as a second language (Coelho, 1997), and secondly, the Hyderabad Anglo-Indians were easily accessible through the local networks of the researcher.

To determine if the community uses particular examples of slang exclusively, the speech of the South Lallaguda Anglo-Indians (the place is one of the first bases of the community in Hyderabad [Sengupta, 2021, p. 117]) was compared to that of their neighbors. I investigated whether the use of Anglo-Indian slang acts as a community marker relative to its usage in the adjacent non-Anglo-Indian population while holding all other social factors (e.g., age, gender, region) constant in the two groups for comparison. By doing this, it was possible to rule out the influence of region, demographics, or even gender or age.

Accordingly, the following research questions are addressed in the study:

(1) Do the Anglo-Indians of Hyderabad convey their ethnic identities through language?

(1a) If yes, what kind of linguistic resources are used by Hyderabad Anglo-Indians as community markers?

(2) What attributes do the Anglo-Indian slang terms identified in the study, i.e., *plug*, *fire off*, *rubbermouth*, *catching crows*, *pulling the jao*, *jao*, show vis-à-vis the attributes of slang discussed in the sociolinguistic literature? There were six slang terms that emerged from the surveys undertaken in the study (a pilot study and a face-to-face survey; see a detailed discussion in the “Data Elicitation Methods” section).

(3) Is Hyderabad Anglo-Indian slang an instance of a hybrid variety?

(3a) Why or why not?

(4) Is Hyderabad Anglo-Indian slang an instance of linguistic innovation?

(4a) Why or why not?

The term ethnicity refers to shared traditions and practices. It is a group's shared linguistic, religious, and cultural practices that have helped shape its culture, value system, and attitude. Race, on the other hand, refers to the outward physical differences that members of a certain social group value highly (Little, 2014). Some sociologists make a distinction between race and ethnicity (Little, 2014), while others consider an ethnic group to be a combination of race and culture (Yang, 2000).

Additionally, some sociologists think that ethnicity and ethnic group are two distinct but connected ideas. For instance, according to Yang, "ethnic group" refers to a social category based on ancestry, culture, or place of origin, whereas "ethnicity" refers to affiliation with an "ethnic group." It is agreed upon that "ethnicity" is both "subjective" and "objective." It is the sensation of identification with a certain ethnic group, which is a "subjective" idea (Yetman, as cited in Yang, 2000, p. 40). In that one's nativity and ancestry cannot be chosen, it also has "objective" dimensions. The term "ethnicity" as it is used in a larger sense encompasses physiological, cultural, geographical, and emotive characteristics (see Yang, 2000, pp. 48-55, for more details).

It can be argued that Hyderabad Anglo-Indians belong to the same ethnic group since they trace their ancestry to Europe, evident through their surnames. They also show affiliation as a community through shared linguistic behaviour. The community members, for instance, use the six slang terms mentioned in the preceding discussions to construct their identity as Hyderabad Anglo-Indians.

The combination of many ethnic groups to create novel kinds and identities is known as "hybridity," and it is a key concept in ethnic studies (Little, 2014). Given that it combines English and Dravidian languages, the use of slang by the Hyderabad Anglo-Indian community (the community on which the study is based) is an illustration of a hybrid variety. The Hyderabad Anglo-Indian slang comprises English words (e.g., plug, rubbermouth, fire off), borrowed material from colloquial Telugu (e.g., jao), and translated idioms from Tamil (e.g., catching crows). The influence of Dravidian languages (i.e., Telugu and Tamil) in the slang illustrates their identity as an Anglo-Indian belonging to the southern region of the country. Although the variety does not integrate into the dominant languages that are in contact, it still challenges the supremacy of a particular variety or cultural identity, namely English. It differs from the

inherited British and the non-native Indian English varieties due to the fusion of vernacular Tamil and Telugu phrases with English. I argue that varying from the mainstream register is a strategy for claiming linguistic resources, that is, slang, for use as a community marker.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Slang words and phrases are categorized in sociolinguistics using a “set” of attributes rather than a single characteristic (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, pp. 71-74). The fact that slang words and phrases are closely related to informal contexts is one of their characteristic traits (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 71; Zhou & Fan, 2013, p. 2209; Hummon, 1994, p. 77). Thus, it is a type of code that deviates from formal, conventional speech (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, pp. 71-72; Zhou & Fan, 2013, p. 2209; Hummon, 1994, p. 77). Another attribute of slang is that it is frequently used by ethnic minorities to refer to other members of their group, often with specific group meanings. African Americans refer to one another using phrases like “bro,” “sister,” and “girl” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 72). Slang terms are linked to specific generations and close-knit social networks where they are used to denote membership (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 72; Moore, 2005). However, slang terminology might not always be connected to groups like ethnic minorities, young people, homosexuals, hippies, etc., who challenge mainstream discourses (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 72). Despite being a result of the youth revolution, for example, the American slang term “cool” replaced the word “swell” in the 20th century and quickly assimilated into mainstream society (Moore, 2005, pp. 360-361). Another attribute of slang is that it is a reprocessed form of vocabulary, idioms, or phrases of the mainstream language that have been given new meanings. The connection of slang to meanings that are not conventional is a deliberate effort to challenge accepted linguistic practices and standards (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, pp. 71-73). Finally, slang is also transient in nature. It is developed by a small number of individuals, often the young, and then other people adopt them (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006, p. 73).

Slang often consists of a specific set of words, idioms, and “holophrastic lexations.” “Holophrastic lexations” are linguistic constructions in which the meaning of the individual words or the arrangement of the words cannot convey the meaning of the

full phrase (Agha, 2007, p. 117). The Anglo-Indian slang *catching crows* would be an instance of a holophrastic lexation. The individual words in the phrase *catching* and *crows* do not give the meaning of the entire phrase. It is the entire phrase that gives the conceptual meaning of 'flattery'.

The degree of resemblance between slang and standard register is quite marginal. In other words, slang terms and expressions are partially similar and dissimilar to the linguistic material of the standard register (Agha, 2015, pp. 319-321). Partial similarity and dissimilarity to the standard register can be seen in the slang term *cool*. This is a term that shows similarity to the standard register since it is derived from it. But at the same time, it is also dissimilar in meaning. As a slang term, it refers to anything approved by the youth or positively evaluated. Thus, it is similar to the standard language as a lexical item but not in meaning, making it partially similar and dissimilar to the standard language.

Slang serves a variety of social purposes, including the rejection of mainstream culture and ideals (Zhou & Fan, 2013) and to project group identities; this is seen, for instance, in African urban youth languages (Kiessling & Mous, 2004). The social categories that are important for the members of the community are also considered in the creation of slang terminology. The use of student slang is one example of how it has a specific place in student life (Hummon, 1994; Dundes & Porter, 1963; McPhee, 1927). The creation of slang may also include psychological motivations, such as the release of unpleasant feelings. Gordon's (1983) research on hospital slang, for example, shows how slang may be used by medical professionals as a way to release their negative emotions. This slang is used for patients who demand unwanted attention or for whom services are a waste. The hospital slang *squirrel* for instance refers to somebody who complains all the time. The humorous connotations of hospital slang fulfill the personal and professional necessity of the medical staff in a hospital context where social bonding becomes important among the staff but personal feelings towards patients need to be kept away.

As indicated, slang serves a variety of purposes, from challenging mainstream cultures (as in youth slang) to providing a vent for unfavourable feelings (as in hospital slang). Slang is also employed to symbolize contemporary ways of living or new belief

systems that are connected to the next generation (such as youth slang). Student slang is one example of how slang may also represent the culture of a community.

THE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HYDERABAD ANGLO-INDIANS AND OTHER ANGLO-INDIANS

In this section, I will discuss the similarities and differences that Hyderabad Anglo-Indians share with the rest of the Anglo-Indian population in India.

Anglo-Indians throughout India have many things in common. They are almost all Christians, mostly Roman Catholics but also Protestants[4] (Andrews & Roy, 2021, p. 7; Muthiah & MacLure, 2013, pp. 5-6). Their mother tongue is English, though, in addition to English, they speak the local languages, perhaps as their first language, of the place in which they reside. However, the use of English is an important criterion for membership in the All India Anglo-Indian Association (AIAIA) which defines an Anglo-Indian as a person whose mother tongue is English. Hence, an Anglo-Indian must use English in their day-to-day lives to be perceived as a community member (Andrews & Roy, 2021, p. 9) by in-group and out-group members.

Other aspects of their distinct shared culture and practices include Christmas parties, dancing, and special foods[5] that constitute their own cultural traditions. In addition, several of their relatives are likely to have “worked in the railways or armed forces or as teachers” (Andrews & Roy, 2021, pp. 7-9).

Another attribute that is associated with Anglo-Indians is western clothes (e.g., dress, frock) [see Andrews & Roy, 2021, p. 8; Muthiah & MacLure, 2013, pp. 5-6]. However, the majority of the female respondents to my surveys and interviews said that over time, their preferences had changed from Western to Indian fashions. The attire worn by Anglo-Indian women in South Lallaguda at home was an extension of any ankle-length formal attire that was worn in formal domains. The attire worn at home was shorter than the average person’s maxi yet longer than the ankle-length formal dress.

Since the middle of the 19th century, the community has dominated middle-level and technical employment in telegraphic services and the railways. The community was therefore primarily supported by employment in these two sectors during the first half

of the 20th century, but they also had jobs in other government services (see Muthiah & MacLure, 2013, pp. 36-37). The older men of South Lallaguda's Anglo-Indian community were largely employed by the Railways, while the women worked as teachers, nurses, and secretaries. When their reservations in telegraphs, railways, and other government services were removed in 1964[6], a large portion of community members migrated to Canada and Australia.

The development of the Secunderabad cantonment town as a railway center in the last decades of the 19th century can be linked to the origins of the Anglo-Indian community in the Secunderabad-Hyderabad area. The British had a long-standing desire to expand the local railway system in order to further their interests in the south by keeping a strategic presence there (Jaganath, as cited in Sengupta, 2021, p. 117). The railways provided the connection that was necessary for the rapid movement of soldiers and staff throughout the country. The Anglo-Indian community led railway services everywhere in British India and had to be present because they possessed the necessary skills in order to run them (Sengupta, 2021, p. 117).

As the base of railway operations at Secunderabad evolved to act as both a portal to the interior areas of the south and the Deccan, as well as the focal point for the operations of the enormous railway built by the Nizam of Hyderabad, a sizable colony of Anglo-Indians were relocated there. Over time, Secunderabad developed a unique identity of its own, was recognized as a twin town of Hyderabad, and presented a demographic contrast to its larger twin. Secunderabad was mostly populated by officials working for the British, including Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and members of various ethnic groups from all across the country (Kochattil, as cited in Sengupta, 2021, p. 117).

The army and the railways were the major service providers to the flourishing community in Secunderabad. A significant population of the residents in the area were the Anglo-Indians. They established extensive residential complexes in particular regions (e.g., Lallaguda, Mettuguda, etc.) of the new city (Sengupta, 2021, p. 117).

After employment reservations were discontinued, the community experienced a severe downturn. Since working for the railways was no longer a possibility, the

community lost numerous advantages and privileges. Children could no longer take advantage of reservation privileges at schools and universities, and the comfortable Railway residential quarters were no longer a residential option. Both men and women were driven into menial labour by a lack of education and railway reservations. From the 1960s until the late 1980s, the Anglo-Indian population's whole way of life underwent a significant upheaval[7]. After that, the call centre or the Business Process Outsourcing (BPO)[8] industry was a big benefit to the community starting in the early 1990s. Due to English being the Anglo-Indians' native language, they had an edge in these call centres. They could readily comprehend calls coming from Australia, England, and other Western nations, which allowed them to teach others how to speak English that was internationally understandable. Many Anglo-Indian teachers went to work in call centres at this time in order to increase their income[9].

The job opportunities that came through the call centres impacted the Anglo-Indians of Secunderabad differently. It was their command over the English language that required their presence in the call centres. The BPO or call centre industries in other cities such as Pune and Bangalore were more oriented towards engineering and technical fields. Thus, despite limited education, the community members in Secunderabad could secure a job in the call centres owing to their communication skills in English due to the IT boom that the region witnessed since the mid-1990s (Sengupta, 2023, pp. 116, 119).

The Anglo-Indian community had its bases in many parts of the country. Even though they were meant to serve the imperial objectives of the British (e.g., the railways, which served as the community's primary source of employment, were used by the British to access all regions of the country and for a quick movement of staff and personnel from one part to another part of the country; in addition, the railway colonies and the schools in hill stations served as sites for enforcing discipline to inculcate the British value system), it can be argued that their circumstances have been shaped by "the historical, sociocultural, economic, and political" factors of the region in which they lived (Andrews & Roy, 2021, p. 3). For instance, the members of the railway colonies would have different experiences than those settled in the hill stations. These experiences and conditions in turn affected the lifestyles and life chances of the community members differently. The railway colonies were centres for finding employment in the

railways whereas the hill stations were seen as the summer resorts of the resident Europeans and the Anglo-Indians. The latter were also places where the children of the resident Europeans and Anglo-Indians were trained in schools in the British way of life (Andrews & Roy, 2021, pp. 3, 14-15), and where Anglo-Indian teachers sought employment.

THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

It is very difficult to define a speech community. One way to approach the concept of a speech community is by starting with Marcyliena Morgan's definition: "it is the product of prolonged interaction among those who operate within shared belief and value systems regarding their own culture, society, and history as well as their communication with others." A speech community is not just about speaking the same language. It is an outcome of frequent and extensive contact between people who communicate with each other while adhering to a set of common ideologies and value systems about their own community (2004, p. 3).

Several scholars have highlighted the significance of face-to-face interaction and the notion of steady, recurrent, and predictable interactive networks essential for the existence of a speech community (Gumperz, in Morgan, 2004, p. 8). This feature was also found among the members of Lallaguda Anglo-Indians who knew one another and were connected to each other in some way (i.e., as relatives, friends, parishioners, etc.); thereby, belonging to a dense network. A dense network consists of members who are in multiplex ties. A multiplex tie is one in which individuals are connected to each other in multiple roles, such as a friend, relative, neighbour, etc.

A speech community forms a coherent system because of its association with a set of common social rules (Gumperz, in Morgan, 2004, p. 8). Hence, as mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the concept of a speech community is not just about language or regional boundaries (though I would argue that another reason why Lallaguda Anglo-Indians belonged to the same speech community was because they attended the same church, that is, the Sacred Heart Church, and shared a common geographical area) but it also encompasses "attitudes and ideologies" about the language being used by community members (Morgan, 2004, pp. 3, 8).

Participation in “a set of shared norms” may also refer to the linguistic variables or norms that cause social stratification in the community (Labov, cited in Morgan, 2004, p. 9). This means that members tacitly agree on the social divisions (e.g., class, style, etc.) that exist in the community and the role language plays in indexing these social divisions (Morgan, 2004, pp. 9-10). For example, the Lallaguda Anglo-Indians shared the same consensus on the usage of slang terms. That slang was to be used in the most informal contexts and between fellow Anglo-Indians was shared knowledge among community members. Nobody used slang in a formal, professional setting. In other words, members of the Lallaguda Anglo-Indian community shared similar linguistic and sociocultural knowledge of what constituted standard and nonstandard varieties of English.

The Anglo-Indian community of Hyderabad perceives South Lallaguda as their centre. In Secunderabad, South Lallaguda is located on the side of the road that leads to the Railway Degree College. The residential colony for Anglo-Indians is located at one end of the road, while the railway colony is on the opposite side (Borah, 2014, para. 5); see Figure 1. About 55 years ago, there were about 100 families residing in the Railway colony (Umanadh, 2011, para. 1). Currently, Anglo-Indians might be considered a dying community due to the large-scale exodus of members to Western countries. The Anglo-Indian community numbered 20,000 in the 1960s but is now on the decline, numbering a mere 2500 families in 2004 (Chinoy, 2004).

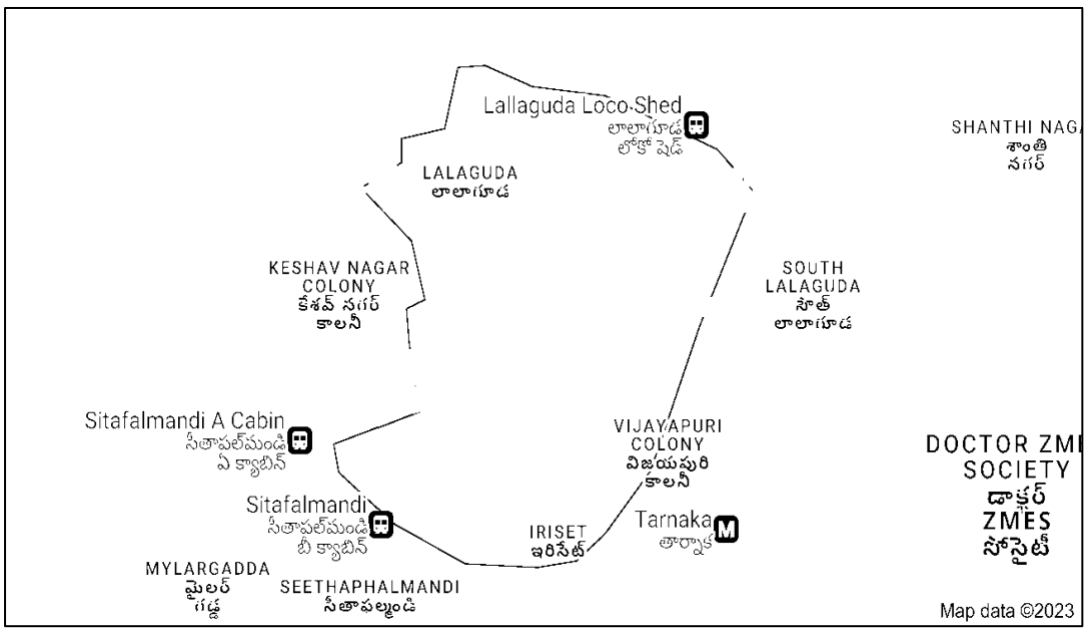

Figure 1: Lallaguda Railway Colony (Google Maps, 2023)

The Anglo-Indian slang were collected through a face-to-face survey in which participants were asked to respond to a set of direct elicitation test items out of which some were open-ended (see the next section on Data Elicitation Methods). The listener perceptions of slang based on the evaluation of the slang terms (i.e., plug, fire off, jao, pulling the jao, catching crows, rubbermouth) by community members in the survey was yet another factor that helped to establish the Lallaguda Anglo-Indians as a speech community. This agrees with Labov's idea of a speech community, which is primarily described as having "shared norms" in the evaluation of language usage (see Schilling, 2013, p. 20).

DATA ELICITATION METHODS

In order to elicit slang from the Anglo-Indian community, I used judgment sampling. Speaker categories, in judgment sampling, are predetermined by the researcher. The researcher chooses the appropriate number of informants for each of these categories after they have been identified. These are either filled randomly or using the social networks of the informants (Schilling, 2013, p. 35).

I looked at three age groups: 20-40, 41-60, and 61-80, to analyse generational shifts in the usage of Anglo-Indian English because I wanted to investigate the nativized variety of English in light of widespread migrations and inter-community marriage patterns. There were five men and five women in each of the three age group categories. So, 30 Anglo-Indians in all were surveyed on slang. In order to find contacts, I made use of oral introductions. The initial contacts were made through the parish priest and later the friend-of-a-friend method was used to contact community members.

I also tested the survey questionnaire on the general population (i.e., the non-Anglo-Indians) in the same neighbourhoods where Anglo-Indians lived (i.e., South Lallaguda, the native place of the community in Hyderabad) in order to rule out regional influences and establish the use of slang as a community indicator of the Anglo-Indians in Hyderabad. The demographic categories for the general population were the same as those of the Anglo-Indians. In other words, the social variables (e.g., age, gender, region) were held constant in the two groups for comparison while examining whether the use of Anglo-Indian slang serves as a community marker relative to its usage in

the nearby non-Anglo-Indian population. This was done to rule out the effects of region, age, or gender on the usage of slang.

A pilot study of the community was carried out. The sociolinguistic interview, which was designed to produce the “informal” speech style, was the main method used to elicit linguistic data. The sociolinguistic interview consists of different types of activities designed by the researcher. These activities make the informant pay more or less attention to their speech. Minimal pair, word list and reading passage styles generate formal speech styles. The interview generates an informal speech style and the casual style, the vernacular, which is also the most informal speech style. The vernacular speech is associated with the casual style of the sociolinguistic interview. In this style, the informant is the least conscious of their speech. This style emerges when there is a break in the interview due to the conversation between the informant and their relatives or friends. The presence of the interviewer and the recording equipment does not affect the flow of the conversation. A few slang terms appeared in the vernacular or the casual style of the interview, while others emerged as local knowledge shared by the community members. I gained a lot of understanding about the importance of slang as a community marker through my field notes and conversations with community members. An essential part of the ethnographic observation is listening for utterances that convey ‘common knowledge’ and belief systems regarding language use (see Schilling, 2013, p. 118).

A survey was used to further investigate the linguistic variables (*plug*, *jao*, *pulling the* jao, *catching crows*, *fire off*, *rubbermouth*) that emerged from the pilot study. The survey was conducted one-on-one, mostly face-to-face, but occasionally conducted using mobile phones. The test items were direct elicitation in nature. A direct elicitation frame mentions the linguistic variant that needs to be tested in the questionnaire (Schilling, 2013, pp. 69-70). The first test item asked the participants to choose the most frequently used verb to refer to failure in exams from the options provided to them as in “*flop*, *fail*, *flunk*, *plug*.” The test item also investigated the status of slang as transitive and intransitive verbs: “Fill in the blanks choosing the most frequently used verb given in brackets. Remember that this is the verb you use most often in informal conversations with friends, relatives, etc. (*flop*, *fail*, *flunk*, *plug*): The exam results are out. He _____; I’m not surprised he _____ his exam—he didn't try very hard!”

The second test item of the survey asked whether participants used *flop*[10] and *plug* as transitive and intransitive verbs in their vernacular. The test item was as follows: “Will you use these italicized verbs in the English you speak? If not, can you replace these with the verbs you use in informal conversations?: The exam results are out. He *flopped*; The exam results are out. He *plugged*; I’m not surprised he *flopped* his chemistry exam—he didn’t try very hard!; Adrian *plugged* his math paper.”

The next test item tested the use of another slang term jao. The test item was as follows: “What do you call that thing in meat, which hangs between the skin and flesh? It is a waste, also called *slops*. It is generally given to dogs. It is a mix of fat and veins. The hard, unused part of the meat. What is jao? Is jao only applicable to beef wastes?” The last two test items of the survey were also open-ended and were framed as follows: “When do you use the following phrases?: *pulling the* jao, *catching crows*, *fire off*”; and “Who is a *rubbermouth*?”

Thus, to elicit data on Anglo-Indian slang, a combination of the sociolinguistic interview, survey, and ethnographic methods[11] was employed.

ANGLO-INDIAN SLANG AS COMMUNITY MARKERS AND A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF ANGLO-INDIAN SLANG

In this section, I will first discuss how Anglo-Indian slang can be proven to be used as community markers. I will also present the structural analysis of slang in terms of the partial similarity and dissimilarity model given by Agha (2015).

An independent-samples *t* test was used to determine if Anglo-Indian slang was used as a community marker. An independent-samples *t* test is an inferential statistical test that compares the means of two groups that are different from or unrelated to each other. The scores of the two groups (in this study, the frequency with which the two sets of populations use Anglo-Indian slang) are used to calculate whether the differences between them are significant or not. The following research question served as the basis for the independent-samples *t* test: “Do Anglo-Indians and the general population of South Lallaguda speak different varieties of informal English?” The null hypothesis (H_0) of the research question was as follows: “There is no

difference in the informal variety of English spoken by Anglo-Indians and the general population of South Lallaguda." The alternative hypothesis (H_1) was as follows: "The informal variety of English spoken by Anglo-Indians and non-Anglo-Indians of South Lallaguda differs significantly."

The Anglo-Indians and non-Anglo-Indians were comparable across the variables of age (three age groups: 20-40, 41-60 and 61-80), gender (five males and females each from each age group), region (both groups were from South Lallaguda), education (members of both groups had educational backgrounds ranging from Grade 10 to a Master's degree), and linguistic background (members of both groups used English fluently).

The responses of the survey were used to determine the differences between the two groups. The results of the independent-samples *t* test[12] attested to the usage of slang as a community marker of Lallaguda Anglo-Indians[13]. The Anglo-Indian participants used slang more frequently and perceived slang as an aspect of the Hyderabad Anglo-Indian identity. The non-Anglo-Indian population also perceived these slang terms as Anglo-Indian and either avoided their usage or used them in low frequency.

The effects of gender, age, and their interaction on Anglo-Indian slang were also tested for statistical significance through a two-way ANOVA[14]. The use of a two-way ANOVA investigated what impacted the more-or-less frequency usage of Anglo-Indian slang—gender, age, or the interaction between gender and age. The results of the two-way ANOVA[15] showed that there were no significant effects of these variables and their interaction on Anglo-Indian slang.

Let me now discuss the structural analysis of Anglo-Indian slang with respect to the partial similarity and dissimilarity model given by Agha (2015). The Anglo-Indian slang *plug* refers to 'failure in exam,' and hence it is used in the same grammatical contexts as *fail* (both as a transitive and intransitive verb) of the standard register. However, *plug* is not a new term created by the Anglo-Indian community; rather, it is a word from the standard register that deviates in meaning as an Anglo-Indian slang. Therefore, the Anglo-Indian slang *plug* shows dissimilarity in meaning from *plug* of the standard register but syntactic and semantic similarity with the word *fail* of the standard register.

Telugu *javvu*, *jaua* ‘the waste part of the meat that hangs between the flesh and skin’ appears to be the source language of the Anglo-Indian slang term *jao*. When two languages come into contact and the linguistic material of the source language is incorporated into the target language, the outcome is borrowing. Over time, the borrowed material completely integrates into the linguistic structure of the target language and is no longer recognized as being borrowed. The assimilation of the borrowed material is divided into two categories by Zuckermann: open borrowing and camouflaged borrowing (as cited in Mailhammer, 2008, p. 178).

In open borrowing, the borrowed material retains its non-native features for a while in the borrowed language. On the other hand, camouflaged borrowing rapidly transforms the borrowed linguistic material so that it ceases to look foreign (Mailhammer, 2008, p. 178). Camouflaged borrowing can be further divided into calques and phonetic calquing (Zuckermann, as cited in Mailhammer, 2008, p. 178). Calques include “loan translation,” “loan creation,” and “semantic loan” (Busse & Görlach, as cited in Mailhammer, 2008, pp. 178-179), and in this case, the target language material resembles the borrowed material semantically but not phonetically. However, in “phonetic calquing,” the borrowed content is right away modified in accordance with the phonetics of the target language. In other words, “phonetic calquing” imitates the phonetic form of the borrowed linguistic item while simultaneously changing phonetically to the target language (Mailhammer, 2008, pp. 179-180).

The Anglo-Indian slang word *jao* is a phono-semantic equivalent of informal Telugu *javvu*/*jaua* because it exhibits phonetic calquing, which involves imitating the phonetic shape of the etymon of the source language while also adapting it phonetically to the target language, similar to *how*, *cow*, etc., in English. This borrowed word is spelled *jow* by Anglo-Indians. The word retains the semantics of the borrowed language. This word is thus a case of phono-semantic matching since the borrowed word exhibits phonetic calquing and semantic matching (Zuckermann, as cited in Mailhammer, 2008, p. 180).

Jao substitutes waste meat in informal situations, making it a syntactic equivalent of waste meat in Standard English. However, because a borrowed word is included in

the slang register and results in fractional correspondence to the standard expressions, the slang exhibits morphological deviations across register boundaries.

Pulling the jao ‘stretching a conversation’ and *catching crows* ‘flattery’ are Anglo-Indian idioms. The Tamil idiom kaka piDikartu[16], which translates to ‘flattery,’ is the source of the Anglo-Indian idiom *catching crows*. This is an instance of loan translation—a type of calque in which the meaning of a linguistic component is replicated in another language via imitation by using the linguistic material of the target language (Larizgoitia, 2010, pp. 15-30). This Anglo-Indian idiom is an example of phrasal calque, which is the copying of an idiom in the source language, in this case, colloquial Tamil, by combining words of the target language. Though *catching crows* is a phrasal analogue of kaka piDikartu in colloquial Tamil, it differs syntactically from ‘flatter,’ its counterpart in standard English, resulting in partial correspondence with the standard expression.

Although *pulling the jao*, another Anglo-Indian idiom, is similarly a phrasal calque, in this case, the imitation is based on the Standard English idiom *pulling your leg*. As a result, Standard English serves as the source language for *pulling the jao*. The two Anglo-Indian idioms serve as examples of how calques and phonetic calquing can introduce a new word, a new phrase, etc., to the target language (Mailhammer, 2008, p. 179). *Pulling the jao* is similar to *pulling your leg* in the standard register phrasally, but it differs syntactically from the verb phrase of the non-idiom of the standard register ‘extending a narrative.’

Since *rubbermouth* ‘a talkative person’ is based on the modifiee of the exocentric compounds found in the standard informal register, that is, *blabbermouth* and *big mouth*, it is said to exhibit morphological similarity with its counterparts in the standard register. However, the slang exhibits deviation in the modifier of the slang *rubbermouth* by using a word not often employed in the standard informal register as a modifier, as in: *blabbermouth* and *big mouth*. With a similar modifiee but a different modifier, *rubbermouth* is thus only partially similar to its standard informal equivalents.

Fire off is a lexeme of the standard register. But since it is a slang variant, the meaning deviates from the standard register. The meaning of the phrasal verb in the standard

register is to write, say, or send something quickly or in anger. However, it takes on the meaning ‘steal’ when used as Anglo-Indian slang.

Instances of these slang terms being used in spoken conversations are: Peter fired off an expensive watch from the shop; She’s a rubbermouth; she can talk for hours about herself; You are pulling the jow, you must stop now; Are you catching crows with me?; He speaks all jow man; I plugged the exam or I plugged.

CONCLUSION

Ethnicity is constitutive and not reflexive. It is constitutive because an ethnic identity is constructed through social and linguistic practices unlike biological sex which is reflexive. When people perceive themselves as belonging to a particular ethnic group, they use unique linguistic features. The dialects of minority communities might show similarities in some linguistic levels such as the sound system and dissimilarities in other linguistic levels such as the grammatical features (Rickford, as cited in Fought, 2002, p. 446).

Instances of unique linguistic features could be a distinct realization of a variable (e.g., the constraints operating on word-final consonant cluster simplification in Chicano English, an ethnic variety, used by Mexican-American speakers in the southwest U.S. are different from the constraints found in the mainstream varieties of English) or permutations which are unique to a minority ethnic group (e.g., the use of negative inversion by certain groups of African-Americans) [Labov; Wolfram, as cited in Fought, 2002, p. 446].

This study demonstrates how slang functions as an ethnic marker among the Anglo-Indian community of South Lallaguda. The speech of the Lallaguda Anglo-Indians was contrasted with that of the neighbouring non-Anglo-Indian population in order to examine an aspect of ethnicity, that is, shared understandings and usage of slang. By comparing the varieties of English used by the two groups, one could see divergence between the two dialects at the level of the lexicon.

The six slang variants that emerged from the interviews and survey (i.e., plug, jow, pulling the jow, catching crows, fire off, and rubbermouth), identified as unique lexical

features, were compared with the local population across the variables of gender, age, and region. I was able to rule out regional, age, and gender-based slang usage by comparing the two groups. The results of the *t*-test were used to determine the differences in the usage of the lexical features or slang terms between the two groups. In other words, the *t*-test associated the use of slang terms with Hyderabad Anglo-Indians.

In my findings, Anglo-Indian slang, which includes influences from Telugu and Tamil in this study, is a combination of English-based slang and contact-induced borrowing from colloquial varieties in the same linguistic landscape. The partial congruence of Anglo-Indian slang with Standard English, such as plug (vs. fail of the standard register), rubbermouth (vs. blabbermouth of the standard informal language), etc., is seen as evidence of linguistic innovation.

Additionally, I suggest that Anglo-Indian slang demonstrates a hybrid variety since it contains contact-induced borrowings from informal Telugu and Tamil. The imposition of a single English language identity is contested by a hybrid variety, which is instead a product of several linguistic influences. Slang is one way that Anglo-Indians distinguish themselves from other Indians (i.e., speakers of Indian English) and Europeans (from whom they inherited the British English varieties) in this part of India.

It can be argued that Anglo-Indian English has unique lexical features in the form of slang terms and expressions. A few of these terms can be traced to the influence of Dravidian languages, while others represent independent innovations. The variety has integrated features of Dravidian languages and has also developed into a stable dialect with lexical norms of its own. Chicano English, a minority ethnic variety, shows similar patterns (see Wald, cited in Fought, 2002, pp. 446-7).

It would be interesting to investigate how Hyderabad Anglo-Indians constitute their ethnic identities through other means such as naming practices, etc., and the role language plays in such practices.

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NOTES

[1] The data and much of the content of this article is derived from my Ph.D. thesis, which was published as *The Anglo-Indians in Hyderabad: Sociolinguistic, Historical, and Anthropological Perspectives*, (Primus Books, 2020). Despite being referred to as twin cities, Secunderabad and Hyderabad have separate histories and cultures. Secunderabad was directly influenced by British authority until 1948, while Hyderabad served as the seat of the princely state of Hyderabad under the Nizams. Secunderabad, which is geographically separated from Hyderabad by Hussain Sagar Lake, is now a

part of the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation and no longer exists as an independent municipal body. Hyderabad, the name given to both cities together, is the sixth-largest city in India ("Secunderabad," 2023). In this article, both cities are collectively referred to as Hyderabad.

[2] Indian English is also referred to as General Indian English in sociolinguistic literature. The term Indian English or General Indian English refers to pan-Indian English features (Joseph & Suvarna Lakshmi, 2022).

[3] The language spoken by an individual and their identity as a speaker of the given language are intertwined. In this sense, language acts function as acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, as cited in Tabouret-Keller, 1998). Language can be perceived as an extrinsic activity that readily identifies an individual as a member of a group, and at the same time, language can also be seen "as the means of identifying" self as belonging to a linguistic group (Tabouret-Keller, 1998).

[4] In fact, practicing Christianity is central to an Anglo-Indian identity (Andrews & Roy, 2021).

[5] Some of the typical Anglo-Indian specialties include spicy sausages, ball curry and yellow rice, vindaloo, *kul kuls*, etc. (Andrews & Roy, 2021, p. 9). Anglo-Indians are renowned for their prowess in cooking and the production of drinks. For instance, the Lallaguda people are renowned for their ability to produce wines from fruits like grapes, gooseberries, and blackberries. On my frequent trips to their houses, they were provided as beverages.

[6] Christine Lazarus (personal communication, September 29, 2014). She was a nominated member of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly from the Anglo-Indian community, from 2004 to 2009.

[7] Christine Lazarus, personal communication, September 29, 2014.

[8] The terms call centres and BPOs are used synonymously (Sengupta, 2021, p. 130).

[9] C. Lazarus, personal communication, October 16, 2014.

[10] A few participants used *flop* more frequently than *plug* and hence the term was also included in the test item.

[11] The ethnographic method used in the study was participant-observation.

[12] The total scores of Anglo-Indian slang were computed for the two groups and a *t* test was calculated online. In order to calculate *t*-test scores, the following website was used: "GraphPad Software Inc." (2015). Cohen's *d* or *d* was computed from the following website: "EasyCalculation.com" (2016).

[13] The null hypothesis can be rejected since $p < .001$ and the standardized mean difference of $d = 3.53$.

[14] The two-way ANOVA examines the mean differences between groups that have been divided based on two independent variables (also known as factors). A two-way ANOVA is mostly used to determine if the two independent factors and the dependent variable interact. In the study, the independent variables were gender and age and the dependent variable was Anglo-Indian slang.

[15] The calculation of two-way ANOVA was based on Longstreet (2013).

[16] The orthographic symbol D in kaka piDikartu refers to the voiced retroflex tap or flap sound. It is articulated by curling the tip of the tongue and hitting it against the postalveolar or palatal region in the roof of the mouth.

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DIFFERENCE, DISADVANTAGE AND THE ANGLO-INDIAN ENGAGEMENT WITH AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Upamanyu Sengupta

ABSTRACT

Debates triggered by the end of legislative nomination of Anglo-Indian representatives in 2019 can be traced back to the founding moments of the Indian Republic. The Anglo-Indian representatives Frank Anthony and Stanley Henry Prater presented before the constituent assembly contrasting views of securing rights-based guarantees for their community. While Anthony foregrounded the community's position as exceptional, and its privilege symbolic of an aspirational modernity, Prater adopted a more needs-based rhetoric. He stressed the disadvantages that faced the Anglo-Indians, sought to dispel the stereotypes about their perceived privilege, and tried allying their demands with those of the other marginalised groups. Eventually, Anthony's viewpoint got more traction among all the members and prevailed. I show how these differing rhetorical stances impacted not just the nature of the safeguards subsequently made available to the community and their gradual withdrawal, but also the nature and scope of affirmative action measures more generally.

A COUNT TOO SMALL?

Introducing the 104th Constitution Amendment Bill in the Lok Sabha (the lower chamber of the Indian Parliament), the then Law Minister Mr Ravi Shankar Prasad proposed an extension of the reservation of legislative seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Since the adoption of the constitution in 1952, five such amendments have been introduced to extend the initial ten-year limit on these

reservations ("*Supreme Court Observer*", n.d.). For the first time however, the amendment was silent on extending the nomination to two seats available to the Anglo-Indian community. By this omission, the bill effectively discontinued the last vestige of special constitutional safeguards available to the community. In earlier decades, the special grants for Anglo-Indian schools and preferential hiring in the railways, posts and the telegraph services had already been retracted. Responding to the opposition, the minister alluded to these measures as well, attempting to show an institutional continuity in reversing these affirmative action provisions earlier available to the community.

However, he also tried allaying the community's fears by pointing out that the bill did not explicitly shelve their representation and that the issue was still under consideration. A major pushback the minister had to contend with was when counting the number of Anglo-Indians at two hundred ninety-six as per the 2011 census records. Defending this number when other members cited thousands of the community in their individual constituencies, he argued it was based on the strict constitutional definition of an Anglo-Indian as per Article 366 (2) and did not include others who had married into other communities or migrated and were no longer citizens of India (2019).

I was particularly struck, however, by the minister's concluding remarks in the debate. He termed this bill as "historic" though it was a routine amendment, perhaps inadvertently acknowledging the unprecedented omission of the Anglo-Indians. More specifically, he hailed the extension of the reservation period as proof of the government's unparalleled commitment to advancing the interests of the most backward sections of the country's populace. Implicit in such an observation is a distinction he made between the Anglo-Indian community and the other beneficiaries of affirmative action in India. Clearly, in his view the Anglo-Indians did not fit into the category of the disadvantaged and therefore lie beyond the scope of the proposed amendment. While he did not quite spell out this reasoning as clearly as the diminishing numbers, it has a longer legacy in Indian constitutional rhetoric stretching back right up to the republic's founding moments and even beyond.

That legacy was far from uncontested. I show how the strongest battleground for the rationale, claim and nature of safeguards for the Anglo-Indians played out between two of the community's stalwart representatives in the constituent assembly. The first, Frank Anthony, was a seasoned lawyer and a man of politics, comfortable and well-versed within the corridors of power and among the foremost statesmen of his times ("*Constituent Assembly Members: Frank Anthony*", n.d.) The second, Stanley Henry Prater, was a naturalist by profession but propelled to the political high seat by dint of his excellence in his field of work ("*Constituent Assembly Members: Stanley Henry Prater*", n.d.). Like most of the other members in the constituent assembly, Anthony saw the need for safeguards chiefly stemming from the somewhat exceptional position and privilege his community enjoyed. Prater, on the other hand, outlined the specific disadvantages facing the Anglo-Indians more in line with the other marginalised communities. Unsurprisingly, Anthony's viewpoint eventually prevailed and the community's safeguards came to be linked with preservation of their perceived privileges. Based on their inputs in the Report of the Advisory Committee on the Subject of Minority Rights (1948) and constituent assembly proceedings as my primary sources, I examine their contrasting rhetorical approaches and their role in determining how special measures for the Anglo-Indian community come to be seen.

DIFFERENCES AND DISADVANTAGES

Rochna Bajpai (2011) outlines the importance of examining publicly-made commitments by political actors in understanding policy decisions. Her emphasis on rhetoric counters a tendency in political scholarship to distinguish between everyday public debates and the strategies underlying such enunciations. Public statements made via speech and writing, this line of scholarship argues, often offer an effective ideological cover for realpolitik powerplay. In contrast, Bajpai posits such political pronouncements as instances of 'public reasoning' at work. The mere iteration of an ideological standpoint defines the ideological norms around an issue. Speeches and writings in public forums thus assume a boundary setting function and set limits on what actions, policies and principles can be legitimately pursued. It defines both the actions of public figures as well as their reception among the constituencies. Sure enough, taking a political stance could be performative. However, as J. L. Austin (1962) shows, language performs a role beyond being a mere assertion or description and utterances actively shift the terms of engagement around an issue while also

altering the relations among the actors involved. Judicial pronouncements, for instance, are distinguished by this role they play. Similarly, when group representatives endorse or reject a policy action, their words extend beyond tokenism and remake the frames of reference in a debate. The applicability of political rhetoric Bajpai accords in her work nudges us towards this line of thought. In examining the words, idioms and phrases used in the Constituent Assembly debates and in the minority commission reports by Frank Anthony and S.H. Prater, I extend its function to a close-reading of legislative documents and drafting.

Seen thus, words in a report or in a speech do not merely reveal or conceal preferences – political, social or otherwise. They simultaneously create and impart meanings and values to a given situation that bolster or even remake these preferences. My interest in the legislative import of Anthony's and Prater's reports stems from this meaning-making function of texts. In particular, how both the Anglo-Indian leaders conceive and imagine the community's identity as a minority group in the newborn republic. Even as they highlight challenges unique to the Anglo-Indians, Anthony and Prater frame these within three parameters that were shared across all minority groups: social, cultural and economic. As Bajpai points out, contentions around competing group claims to equal rights in the Constituent Assembly applied these parameters to three groups. At the centre-stage of deliberations were rights against caste-based discrimination – more specifically, correctives to historical wrongs perpetrated against the Dalit communities. Safeguards against untouchability, and casteism more generally, strove to remedy a primarily social wrong that often also resulted in material disadvantages. Closely allied to such measures were the State's commitments to ameliorate widespread poverty through targeted planning, and sought to overcome the country's general economic backwardness. Somewhat at a remove from, yet related to, these two strands, was a third, posed predominantly by members of the religious minority groups. With uncertainties surrounding the partition of India along religious lines, Muslim, Christian and Sikh groups took the lead in demanding freedom to practise and profess their faith and also administer and maintain religious institutions, including educational ones.

Unlike inherited social or economic backwardness then, the claims for equality in this case emerged out of cultural, and more particularly, religious differences.

Representatives of these groups emphasised *preserving* their cultural distinctness as opposed to *overcoming* any disadvantage. Charles Taylor (1992) conceives of this differing approach in terms of two kinds of identity recognitions: one that strives for dignity by creating a level playing field for all and the other that privileges the rights of minority groups to highlight and maintain their distinctness. The first marks a "politics of universalism" (1992, p. 37) which aims at highlighting a shared form of identity such as the citizen over all other localised or traditional identities. The second invokes this universal basis to arrive at a "politics of difference" (1992, p. 38), underscoring the distinct and even unique nature of each identity and the corresponding rights needed to guarantee this distinctness. At the heart of the tension between these two forms of politics of recognitions lies the fact that claims to difference acknowledge certain universal rights of everyone regardless of their social origins. Yet, the same assertions of difference also push back against using the rhetoric of equality to deny additional and targeted support that historically marginalised groups might need in order to overcome chronic disadvantages. In the Indian context, this tension has been shown to play out within the fundamental right to non-discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or birthplace guaranteed to all citizens by Article 15, for instance. The non-discrimination mandate is partly qualified by a proviso affirming any State action aimed at "special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward sections of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes" as non-violative of the right ("Prohibition of Discrimination on Grounds of Religion, Race, Caste, Sex or Place of Birth", *constitutionofindia.net*, n.d.). In fact, various judgments have interpreted this proviso as reinforcing the fundamental right in its true spirit and for all classes of citizens, with differing socio-economic locations (Sitapati 2016). However, a close reading of the texts of subcommittee reports and the speeches by Anthony suggest that the choice between universalism and difference were often mixed and more nuanced than adopting one to the exclusion of another. While the dominant tenor for preservation of cultural rights favoured a politics of difference, strong universalising rhetoric was also often mobilised to secure such rights. In fact, as the differing approaches by Frank Anthony and Prater show, in such cases the aim itself underwent a change from being one of preserving differences to instead establishing common interests between Anglo-Indians and other marginalised groups.

GROUP RIGHTS AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

As a minority group, the Anglo-Indians sought three types of guarantees: economic, cultural/social and political. Each of these figured as debating points in the drafting process and found their way into the Constitution. Thus, a limited number of posts were reserved in railways, customs, telegraph and postal services initially for two years under Article 336, and extended up to ten years before being scrapped. Similarly, special financial support was extended to the Anglo-Indian schools under Article 337 for ten years before being eventually pared down with the guarantee to establish and administer religious schools extended to all minority groups under Article 30 (1). On the political front, Anglo-Indians were allowed two nominated seats in the Lok Sabha, or the lower house, as well as in legislative assemblies of states where the community had a sizeable presence for an initial period of ten years. It is this last provision that was discontinued in 2019 with the 104th Constitutional Amendment Act (Deshmukh and Mistry, 2022).

Even as a consensus existed in the constituent assembly regarding the need for special protection measures for the Anglo-Indian community, members differed significantly on the exact nature and extent of these measures. Objections were raised, for instance, against alleged overrepresentation disproportionate to their population in policy making bodies such as the Advisory Committee for Minority Rights. This line of criticism was most common among the representatives of other minority communities such as Jaipal Singh, one of the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes (Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume II, 2014). On the other hand, members like Mahavir Tyagi from the majority community often highlighted how these guarantees marked a departure from the principle of extending protection only to the most marginalised (Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume VIII, 2014). Crucial in this second view was the vastly better off status of the community vis-a-vis the Dalits, the Adivasis and even some of the other religious minorities. As Bajpai highlights, such objections to minority claims were usually extended/offered by linking the advancement of the community in question with an overarching nationalist rhetoric. Thus, a majority of the members in the Constituent Assembly saw merit in Anglo-Indian claims as long as they aligned with larger national interests. Extending additional benefits to the Anglo-Indian educational institutions, for instance, which educated a large number of students across communities, could be linked seamlessly

with the project of nation building. Similarly, the demand for preferential hiring of the Anglo-Indians in Posts, Telegraphs and Railways passed without any debate ("Special Provision for Anglo-Indian Community in Certain Services", *constitutionofindia.net*, n.d.). Given the ever contentious history of 'job reservations' in India, this near unanimous support for the community is striking. It is probable that the acumen and skill sets the community brought to these fields was perceived across the board as a national asset, especially at a time when technical expertise was not as easily available among other communities.

However, these discussions have been recorded at an avowedly public, performative level – within the chambers of the Constituent Assembly. As a result, much of the differences in opinion one comes across play out via emphasis on differences between the groups. To foreground these differences often required downplaying differing perspectives within these groups and levelling them out into a uniform group assertion. Thus, we see references made to Dalit or Christian interests as collectives while often sidelining the differences within each of these groups. Highlighting of inter-group differences is perhaps more pronounced for communities such as Anglo-Indians with miniscule representation. For all practical purposes in the Constituent Assembly, Frank Anthony's opinions became the voice of the community. Despite his active role in drafting the Advisory Committee report, Prater did not participate in any of the debates. Unsurprisingly, the Assembly's views about the community's situation and its corresponding claims from the new republic came to be informed by Anthony's inputs. Perhaps, his standing as an eminent lawyer with close friendships with stalwarts such as Vallabhbhai Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru also helped. In any case, I find it striking that Prater's policy recommendations for the community never even came up for discussion in the proceedings. Had they at least figured in the debates, not only could they have altered the nature of guarantees extended to the Anglo-Indians, but also reoriented the general drift of affirmative action measures in India. While bringing out these differences and their implications, I map them along the three strands of affirmative action: political, economic and social.

REPRESENTATION VIA EXCEPTIONS

A good starting place to examine Anthony's position on legislative representation would be to return to the objection on the community's numbers in the Advisory

Committee. This body was set up on 24 January 1947 to seek input on the framing of fundamental rights especially in tune with ensuring representation of the minorities, tribal peoples, and the members from areas excluded from direct British control, such as a few tribal territories and princely states (Rao, 1966). After it was disclosed that the Committee would include three Anglo-Indians, Jaipal Singh's point on their alleged overrepresentation was countered by Frank Anthony. I select this particular instance as it reflects both a typical strand of criticism of the community's numbers in the Assembly as well as the counterpoint Anthony and eventually a majority of the members advanced on the question.

Anthony sought to dispel the notion that Anglo-Indian representation outweighs their demographic strength by referring to the principle followed in the Cabinet Mission plan. As he pointed out, the Mission was not so much concerned with "numerical proportion" as ensuring that "smaller minorities [had] the opportunity of influencing minority decisions through [the] Advisory Committee" (Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume II, 2014 p. 340). Going much against the grain of contemporary politics, Anthony pitches for representation that, irrespective of numbers, takes into account a community's vulnerability precisely on account of its numbers not adding up to a sizable constituency. In effect, he introduces a crucial distinction between the minorities as a homogenous category and the smaller minorities seeking to claim space both within and outside this category.

While this debate was the only instance of Anthony explicitly arguing for representation of his community, it was echoed by Patel who supported Anglo-Indian reservation in the Parliament on the grounds of them being "a small community of a lakh people or more [...] spread all over India and not located in a particular province" (Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume V, 2014, p. 199). The need for representation via nomination arises out of this disadvantage the Anglo-Indians found themselves in. A few debates earlier, responding to objections against exclusive legislative reservations for the Anglo-Indians, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar likewise defends the provision citing their small numbers and being dispersed geographically (Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume V, 2014). Thus, we see a clear pattern emerge where Anglo-Indian representation was portrayed as an exception considering the unique position of the community. In all the instances cited above, Anthony, Patel and Ayyangar

acknowledge that the representation deviates from the norm. At the same time, they were able to justify this deviation as addressing a situation without any parallel for any other Indian community.

All of this support comes with an understated rider, though. Ayyangar, for instance, in his speech argues in passing about why such a departure could be 'safely' allowed as the nominations are only for the Upper House (later Rajya Sabha) and not the directly elected Lower House (Lok Sabha). The Upper House plays a secondary role in legislating and Ayyangar quite aptly describes its role as "innocuous" and therefore not particularly decisive for representative politics (Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume 9, 9.123.151, constitutionofindia.net). Much like the house itself, the nomination, as he perhaps inadvertently lets out, was merely ceremonial. Seen thus, the very exceptional nature of the community's representation also situates them clearly as outliers in the overall affirmative action design of the Republic. Sure enough, Anthony had garnered the Assembly's opinion overwhelmingly in favour of carving out this exception for the Anglo-Indians given their unique circumstances. In fact, contrary to what Ayyangar argued, the reservations were in fact instituted for the more powerful Lok Sabha eventually as the original draft proposed ("Representation of the Anglo-Indian Community in the House of the People", *constitutionofindia.net*, n.d). At the same time, such a move was bound to have limited traction within a political legislative setting where the logic of numbers was to prove more decisive. While highlighting the community's representation as an exception won the day, it failed to translate the Anglo-Indian interests in terms of allyship with other communities. The Anglo-Indians would always be seen as a legislative exception.

DISTINCT CULTURAL PROTECTION

Positing the community as an exception is a strategy Anthony adopts across the board, beyond the realm of legislative representation and into claims for cultural protection and preferential hiring. I now turn to examine how his proposals in the Advisory Committee Report bring out this pattern and make it a determining factor in how Anglo-Indian representation was eventually instituted. While schools and education have been central to the community's identity, Anthony puts it across decisively on legislative record for perhaps the first time. Preservation of their cultural identity, in his view, "is inseparable from the retention and continuance of the distinct

identity of Anglo-Indian schools" (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 343). We see here an instance of a conscious framing of identity around a stable institutional setup. Perhaps, Anthony saw in the legacy the schools carried something of a recompense for the community's lack of a constituency. It then became important for him to highlight the nurturing of schools as an aspiration universally shared by everyone in the community, and crucial to building trust between them and the state.

At the same time, cultural distinctness remains the dominant tenor in Anthony's rhetoric, even as he vouches for the importance of the schools in national life. Arguing for an increase in budgetary allocation, he cites three factors to justify a greater rise in state support for Anglo-Indian schools as compared to others: the community's standard of living, the predominantly residential nature of these schools and finally, the better standards of discipline and training in these schools. In a context of protection measures being extended to the most vulnerable, such reasons were unlikely to have the intended impact. Each of them served only to underscore the extent of the community's distinctness vis-a-vis the national mainstream and, if anything, foregrounded the undeniably elite status the schools enjoyed. I find it striking that Anthony also deploys this attribute to bolster his argument as he points out that the schools "represent a real national asset" (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 345). To the extent that the upkeep and expenditure around these schools were substantially higher as he himself points out, their being an asset was undoubtedly tied to educating the most privileged sections of the society. The national character of the schools thus came across more prominently as transcending religious and perhaps regional or ethnic divides, and not so much economic or caste barriers.

In marked contrast to other group claims then, Anthony appears to seek special grants for the Anglo-Indian schools not to overcome a systemic disadvantage, but to preserve and further an existing privilege. His emphasis on the better standing of these schools in comparison with other government-run schools runs counter to the predominant tenor of communities demanding better access to education to escape intergenerational disadvantage. It put forwards a flawed image of the Anglo-Indian schools as necessarily elite and exclusive, ignoring their legacy of service to the poor within the community and also the Indian Christians more generally. Despite these obvious problems in his depiction, Anthony's arguments do eventually lead to the

institution of special economic grants for the Anglo-Indian schools. Thus, Article 337 of the constitution guaranteed continuing the same grants as made in March 1948 for a period of three years, and then progressively reduced by ten percent every three years over the span of a decade. Predictably, its introduction caused some pushback in the Constituent Assembly, with Shibban Lal Saksena pointing out that the grants were "based on a principle which has not been followed anywhere else in the constitutions [sic]" (Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume VIII, p. 938). Even more instructive is the response by K.M. Munshi, who defends the grants on two grounds. First, the community "had been under the protecting wings of the old Government" and thus needed to be "spoon-fed by some kind of concessions for a small period of time" lest the abrupt end to these protections jeopardise their interests. Second, these schools which generally impart the highest quality education serve "members belonging to other communities in addition to Anglo-Indian children" (Constituent Assembly Debates, Volume VIII, p. 940).

Both these rebuttals illustrate that the stereotype of the Anglo-Indian as well-heeled, even undeservingly so, had been mainstreamed in the debates. More specifically, the first point squarely linked the community's privileges with colonialism and thus implied a gradual dismantling of these as part of the nationalist project. Even while subscribing to Anthony's point on the importance of preserving the community's cultural distinction, the Assembly flags it as undesirable in the long run, and meriting protection only to the extent it also served the larger national interest. In the constitutional scheme of things, and especially under the rubric of affirmative action plans, protection measures for the community became distinct, exceptional but also for that reason, relatively isolated from that of other minority groups.

PROFESSIONS OF PRIVILEGE

Perhaps the fullest expression of Anthony's strategy to foreground the Anglo-Indian situation as distinct comes in his arguments for preferential hiring in Railways, Posts and Telegraphs. In fact, it borders on the unapologetically colonial in borrowing directly from a Raj era legislation. To illustrate, the Government of India Act (1935) justifies preferential hiring on grounds of "*association* of the Anglo-Indian community with railway services in India, and particularly to the specific *class, character* [emphasis added] and numerical percentages of the posts hitherto held by members of that

community and the remuneration attaching to such posts" (1935, p. 147). In his report too, Anthony pleads for the safeguarding of this "class and character of the jobs" (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 346). Here again, the emphasis falls not so much on ensuring access to compensate for a historical wrong, but to protect and further an existing privilege, thus running counter to the broader design of affirmative action.

What, however, does Anthony mean by the "class and character of the jobs"? He frames it along three broad parameters. To begin with, the literally foundational role played by the community in the railways, posts and telegraphs. In fact, scholars such as Laura Bear (2007) have shown how the preferential hiring of the community in the upper and middle tier positions in the railways since the 1890s translated into full-fledged political demands by the Anglo-Indian Association for job reservations by the 1920s and their emergence as the "railway caste" (2007, p. 8). Anthony then posits this relation as one of near complete dependence that the community has on the government services, and especially those related to communication and transport. An abrupt change in the hiring patterns, Anthony fears, would deal a "death blow to the prospects of the community" (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 347). In addition, anticipating some resistance to such protection measures, he flips the question of proportionate representation. Instead of mapping the reservation of posts to the community's demographic size, Anthony points out the expertise and skillsets they bring to these sectors by virtue of long-standing association with the nature of the work. As he rightly points out, no other Indian community was a match for their levels of literacy and technical aptitude. The distinction the community claimed was thus as much a function of merit as legacy.

At the same time, Anthony's formulation of the "class and character" of these jobs presents a foundational dilemma for affirmative action measures. His emphasis on the community's role in these sectors is a simultaneous nudge at their widely perceived professional success. Quite apart from the fact that this very point often became grounds for opposing additional safeguards, it presents contradictory versions of the state's engagement with social stratifications, and specifically, caste. If Anglo-Indians were taking to technical jobs in the early 1900s, this was also decades before such jobs became respectable among the higher caste Hindu groups (Ajantha Subramanian, 2019, p.14), the other major constituents of the professional classes.

With their success in these sectors, the Anglo-Indians were, over the years, holding up to the rest of the country an aspirational model of life and work unfettered from the rigidities of caste. Despised within the caste hierarchies, manual and technical jobs became symbolic of modernity, advancement and better standards of living. The proximity these sectors afforded with the ruling classes also imparted an added advantage, the sort that the emerging middle classes of India would increasingly look up to. Anthony's reference to the "class and character" of the jobs, while borrowed verbatim from the colonial idiom, also alludes to this promise for all professionals regardless of their social positions in the founding moments of the republic.

At the same time, I find Anthony's use of this phrase remarkably oblivious to the socio-political imperatives of the time. The general drift towards affirmative action measures marked precisely a movement away from arguments based on "class and character". After all, in addition to political independence, this was also India's hour of liberating itself from the most pernicious expression of these privileges in the form of casteism. For a majority of the Constituent Assembly, "class and character" were barriers to be overcome, not preserved. In fact, the social exclusions that Anglo-Indians faced (and continue to face) often resembled, and were very likely expressions of caste discrimination itself (Bear, 2007). From this perspective, the playing up of preferential hiring as a privilege to be furthered looks like a lost opportunity in striking up formidable alliances with the other marginalised groups. More so, as the committee report on the rights of minorities would determine not merely where they were placed vis-a-vis the dominant groups but also in relation with each other. Article 337 did eventually guarantee this reservation to the community and thus marked a tactical victory for Anthony. However, it was instituted as a measure of exception, a time-bound privilege that had to be eventually retracted. While it did momentarily secure livelihoods for Anglo-Indians, it kept them on the margins of the larger social political coalitions that would firm up in the subsequent decades.

SHARED VULNERABILITIES

That such a tradeoff was not inevitable shows through in Prater's report on the three kinds of safeguards for the Anglo-Indian community. For legislative, cultural and economic safeguards, Prater adopts a more needs-based approach as compared to Anthony. Instead of framing these safeguards as a continuing privilege, he highlights

the multiple counts on which the Anglo-Indian community already stands disadvantaged and seeks to correct them. Further, he underlined their interconnectedness with the other communities and how every decision that affects the larger groups proves consequential for his people. In legislative representation, for instance, Prater's formulation of his community's position ties in with the political currents surrounding the Partition. He distinguishes between the largest minority groups that the division along religious lines would create on both sides, from the splintered minorities who would not feature in either nation as the main minority group. Between the Hindus and the Muslim would prevail what he calls an arrangement of "reciprocal treatment" where one community would effectively hold the other hostage in their respective domains (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 350). Thus, all distribution of power and safeguards including legislative reservation on one side would serve to check any overreach against the largest minority group on the other. No such balancing safeguard would devolve on the smaller minorities.

Prater's posing of the Anglo-Indian problem then, presents a more concrete articulation of the challenges faced by the 'smaller minorities'. Like Anthony, he too deploys this phrase from the Government of India Act but also shows how the community's problems go beyond mere lack of numbers. If Partition were to follow as planned, the adversities for the Anglo-Indians would span across borders with no corresponding cross-border constituency to secure their interests. For Prater then, the position of the smaller minorities is not so much distinct, as disadvantaged. As in the past, these minority groups risk not being able to wield sufficient leverage, but with the added drawback of being relegated to insignificance in the powerplay between Hindus and Muslims. His report contextualises better the handicaps facing such communities instead of merely restating the problem in imperial and abstract terms of competing group interests.

Prater's report also shows that the disadvantages incurred by the community were not so much a given as heightened by the prevailing political climate. Both he and Anthony draw attention to the splintered constituency of the Anglo-Indians. Prater, however, brings out clearly how the partition would compound their precarity. The existing populations of the community would be further dispersed and find themselves stranded on two sides of an international border (as cited in Rao, 1966). As discussed

earlier, the community's lack of constituency had been acknowledged in the Constituent Assembly. However, the standard ways of putting it would suggest this situation were a given, a historical inevitability. By forcing a recognition of how the shifting political currents would worsen the situation, Prater holds to account the more dominant players who could afford to obfuscate this problem. His attempts at forging broader alliance of the smaller minorities, such as the Indian Christians, in this context is also telling. Prater's Anglo-Indians, unlike those of Anthony's, were less a distinct group and more allied with the other marginalised groups claiming their space in an emerging nation-state.

FROM PRIVILEGE TO DISADVANTAGE

The larger network of allies Prater invokes shows through prominently in his arguments about steps to be taken for the betterment of the Anglo-Indian schools. In tune with Anthony's views, he too recognises their centrality in the community's life and advocates their right of instruction in English. In the same vein however, he "insists [...] teaching of such Indian languages as the state may prescribe, be made obligatory in its schools" (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 355). Clearly, protection of minority rights as Prater sees it extends far beyond mere preservation of cultural roots, and implies a means of empowerment. His emphasis on the acquiring of Indian languages, while symbolic of solidarity with other groups, more crucially highlights a unique disadvantage Anglo-Indians faced. Documenting the learning lag experienced by Anglo-Indian students in the community's schools across India, Antoinette Lobo (1994) identified inability to acquire an Indian language as the primary handicap. The curricular design in such schools would involve English as the medium of instruction in all courses, except for the daily-designated Indian language hour. Consequently, students from the other communities, already fluent in other languages, would get better exposure to English than the Anglo-Indian students did to Indian languages. The compulsory nature of these Indian language courses would mean failing in that subject and being held back in the same class. Lobo shows how this created and reinforced a systemic learning disadvantage that translated into backwardness for the community when it came to securing jobs. Seen against this backdrop, Prater's call for "Anglo-Indian education [to] be brought into alignment with the national education" can be viewed as timely, if also unheeded (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 355).

Perhaps the clearest difference between Anthony's and Prater's approaches is evident in their respective rationale for better funding of the schools. Like Anthony, Prater pitches strongly for an increase on this count, and points out the increasing gap between the rising expenditures and the stagnant budgetary allocation. However, where Anthony alludes to the better living and educational standards of the community and their schools, Prater focuses on the unique challenges facing them. Departing from the prevailing viewpoints, he contends that the plea for greater allocation does not "arise from privileged treatment", but an outcome of its "peculiar economic conditions" tied to the community's urban origins (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 357). Unlike other Indian communities then, Anglo-Indians did not generally own land as a fallback option and constituted a landless wage-earning class. Salaries were its sole source of sustenance and greater expenditure in the Anglo-Indian schools puts a disproportionately greater burden on the families for their wards' education. Further, the orphanages and boardings attached to these schools also force up their expenditure and compound the costs of education. By posing the Anglo-Indian educational situation in these terms, Prater acknowledges the distinctness of the community, but also formulates it in terms of a disadvantage.

I find Prater's position also more consistent in terms of emphasising this disadvantage. One could easily see how this precarity translates into challenges in education, which in turn further exacerbates the economic hardships facing the community. It is no surprise that in multiple reports of minority commissions post-independence, the socio-economic marginalisation of the community has been a recurrent theme (Deshmukh and Mistry, 2022). In fact, Prater could be credited with introducing a category of the marginalised that rarely finds any mention elsewhere in the constituent assembly debates, and even Indian political discourse generally, that of the urban working class and even the urban poor. His depiction of the vulnerability facing the Anglo-Indians throws light on a community that is not only almost completely urban, but also spans across multiple socio-economic levels. In taking this stance, he goes against the grain of overwhelming focus on poverty in rural India. He acknowledges as much, conceding this problem was "peculiarly applicable" to his people (as cited in Rao, 1966, p. 357). Implicit in this phrase is the limited solidarity he could expect from his peers, especially in a setting where the association of the community with prosperity had become normative.

In pushing the question of school reforms beyond the ken of mere cultural privilege, Prater links the community's educational safeguards with economic challenges. Thus, he justifies preferential hiring on the grounds that government jobs remained almost the only source of employment for the Anglo-Indians. Again, he does not put it so much in terms of their historically greater employment in these jobs as the lack of adequate openings in the private sector. Identifying the "tardy development of Indian industries" as the reason for this lack, Prater shows how this situation disproportionately affects a purely services-based professional community (as cited by Rao, 1966, p. 353). He thus deftly moves the emphasis away from their presence being a colonial privilege to one of dependence on the government services. The positions Anglo-Indians held, or were demanding, resulted not so much owing to any proximity with the British as to their employability and lack of alternatives. It was thus less of a privilege and more a compulsion. Prater highlights how even within this limited scope the provincial level governments were increasingly restructuring themselves to have the community "steadily squeezed out [...] by the preponderant claims of the more powerful elements" (as cited by Rao, 1966, p. 354). Under such circumstances, the safeguards being claimed did not seek to perpetuate the older hierarchies but stave off any new majoritarian tendency from taking root.

CONCLUSION: ALLYSHIPS OVER DIFFERENCE

Identity recognition became a contentious issue in nation-states emerging from their imperial yokes in the twentieth century. On the one hand, nationalism took centre-stage inspired by decades of anti-colonial movements in these countries. At the same time, decolonisation also meant invoking a socio-political ethos that distinguished the newly independent governments from the erstwhile rulers. Even as formerly subject populations assumed the mantle of governance, they needed to ensure social, cultural and political rights of minority groups within their territorial jurisdictions. In many cases, this need to balance an overarching national identity with group rights surfaced as tension between instituting equality for all citizens and acknowledging differences. During constitution framing in India, this conflict found expression in the manner in which minority claims were proposed, debated and accommodated within a predominantly rights-based framework. As has been shown, these rights spanned primarily three domains: legislative, educational and economic. Terms in currency to

describe these rights included protection, safeguarding and at times, guarantees. For the most part, these words implied the inclination of the constituent assembly members towards deploying these rights as means of advancement for India's backward sections, particularly the Dalits and the Adivasis. However, while theirs was a case of socio-economical differences meant to be overcome, the same could not be argued for the religious and cultural minorities. For the latter, the differences in religion, lifestyles, languages, and culture were meant to be acknowledged, preserved and cherished. Recognising differences in socio-economic status, particularly for the Dalits and the Adivasis, was a necessary starting point on this mission, but definitely not an end goal. In contrast, rights claims for minority groups were pitched in terms of protecting differences, and designing institutional frameworks to enable distinct cultural and social lives. Measures aimed at securing rights for the Anglo-Indians fit squarely within the second category of affirmative actions. As I have shown, this category of difference-oriented affirmative action garnered limited traction within the constituent assembly, was adopted as a transitional measure, and failed to evoke the broad-based public support that affirmative action aimed at remedying disadvantages could muster.

After all, as opposed to claims to equality by the Dalits and the Adivasis, the demand for Anglo-Indian reservations and safeguards appeared as something of an outlier. Unlike the other marginalised groups, Anglo-Indians were seen as close to the colonial rulers, and protections extended to them perceived as a continuation of this legacy. In this case, the means and the end remained geared towards preserving an identity distinction – a position both advocated by Anthony and subscribed to generally by the Assembly. At best, the distinct status thus earned could symbolise India's commitment to diversity, without extending any substantive representation to the community. In the process though, views such as Prater's lost ground and a potential alliance between the Anglo-Indians and the other marginalised groups never quite took off. The multiple layers of disadvantage the community shared with these other groups that Prater tried to highlight never received the sort of traction that Anthony's views did. Concerns such as inclusivity, adequate funding in education, and employment crises among others that Prater highlighted in his report, never again found mention in terms of a shared, common interest with other marginalised groups. Perhaps, part of the reason could be traced to Prater's silence in the proceedings and the resulting lack of visibility of his

stance. In any case, the resulting loss was hardly the community's alone. Relegation of voices such as Prater's to the background also meant that issues such as the role of smaller minorities in the Indian federal structure, urban labour rights, and importance of multilingual education could not become more central to debates surrounding social justice. As a result, current understandings of affirmative action measures in India remain restricted by and large to tenuous claims for or against reservations in political, educational and professional sectors. In its worst iterations, such an approach spawns divisive intergroup rivalry, entirely missing the potential networks of solidarities cutting across, but also joining together, distinct identity formations.

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SOLIDARITY OF ANGLO-INDIANS IS STILL THE QUESTION

Charles Dias

INTRODUCTION

In this essay I address the efforts by Anglo-Indians to build solidarity and strength as a community, both historically and in recent times. The question of Anglo-Indian solidarity is especially relevant currently, as the last five years have brought a legal challenge to the Community's recognition, representation and benefits as a minority in modern India. This is not the first challenge faced by the community; for such contestations of rights for the mixed-race Anglo-Indians dates back to prescriptive rulings of the East India Company in the late eighteenth century. The present moment is critical, however, and a topic to which I can speak particularly because of my history of leadership of Anglo-Indian organisation for many years and having served in recent years as a nominated Member of Parliament representing Anglo-Indian interests. In this article I argue that a persistent problem of Anglo-Indians has been the community's disunity and failure to make good use of opportunities for solidarity that have both been provided legally and have been created by the initiatives by Anglo-Indians themselves, over many generations. Besides sharing my insights into past failures and triumphs, I sketch out the community's response to the Constitutional amendment in 2020 which removed Anglo-Indian representation in Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies, and suggest a way forward to provide for the good of the Community.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

What is now called the "Anglo-Indian" community came into being when Europeans, from the earliest period of Portuguese colonization and in subsequent colonial regimes

(French, Dutch, English), formed relationships with Indian women or women of the existing mixed-race communities in and around colonial ports, trading cities and military outposts. Over the centuries the community has gone by various names. This community, first known as *Feringhi* (foreigner in Indian vernacular) and thereafter as 'Eurasian' or 'East Indian', was defined and named as 'Anglo-Indian' first in the 1911 census, then in the Government of India Act 1935 and later after Independence included in Article 366 (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of India (1950). 'Anglo-Indian' endures as the name of this Community.

After an early period of general favour by colonial authorities towards this community of mixed heritage, a fear of its growing numbers animated a number of proscriptive rulings by the East India Company. Through the rest of the colonial period the Community's regard by the British colonial state ebbed and flowed, based on the degree to which the British thought the community could be helpful at protecting their interests. Meanwhile various initiatives from within the community consolidated a collective identity, advocated for legal recognition, and generated by the late nineteenth century various associations of Anglo-Indians across the country, many of which amalgamated in the early twentieth century. The community's origins had much to do with service in the East India Company's military, and yet Anglo-Indians were banned from arms-bearing military service by the end of the 18th century. An openness to reverse this began to emerge after the Indian Rebellion of 1857, when Anglo-Indians came to be considered potentially useful again in military service. At the time of the First World War Anglo-Indian writer, Herbert Alick Stark drew on this martial heritage to call for Anglo-Indian service once again, in his book *The Call of the Blood* (Stark, 1932). Anglo-Indians did see much more widespread military, and para-military (AFI), service during the Second World War. But the burgeoning infrastructure of India from the mid-nineteenth century – railways, post & telegraph services, for example – also became lines of employment where Anglo-Indians found a home, even though they were frequently discriminated against and denied opportunities of legitimate promotion because of their racial identity. The railways in particular came to be the largest single employer of Anglo-Indians, resulting in an almost indelible association between the Community and this key institution and infrastructure in India.

ANGLO-INDIAN ORGANISATIONS

Organising the Anglo-Indian community began long before the first Association was established, as the fruit of a community burdened and stifled by being prevented from going to England for education, from serving as soldiers and officers in the military, an ambiguous legal status, and restrictions on their property rights. By the 1820s they joined together in solidarity to advocate for the Community collectively. In all three Presidencies – Bombay, Madras and Calcutta – petitions were drafted and sent to Parliament for redress of their grievances.

John William Ricketts, was a Eurasian luminary and leader of the Community in Calcutta. In a 1825 meeting of the “East Indians” (as the community was called in those days) it was decided to petition the British Parliament concerning the grievances of the community. A committee was formed to draft the petition. Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the young poet by that time roused the feelings and enthusiasm of “East Indians” by his poetical narrations. Derozio has a unique place in the history of the European descendants as his writings played upon the feelings of his community and resulted in their coming together in raising voice against the British who were discriminating his community and for protecting their rights (Anthony, 1969, p. 61; Dias, 2019, pp. 86-87; Stark, 1932, pp. 95,96,105). In 1828 Ricketts formed the Commercial and Patriotic Association for providing training to Anglo-Indians to engage in agriculture, trade and commerce (Anthony, 1969, p. 47). In 1829 Rickets arrived in London and presented the petition to the House of Lords through Lord Carlisle (Anthony, 1969, p. 48; Dias, 2019, p. 87). As a result of this petition a clause was inserted in the Charter Act of 1833 proclaiming that all persons without reference to their place of birth or colour were eligible for Civil and Military Services of the Government (Anthony, 1969, p. 52).

A new era of organizing came about in the late nineteenth century with the advent of Associations, a characteristic of Anglo-Indian public life that has endured for the last century and a half. The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association established in Bengal by E.W. Chambers on December 16, 1876 was a first and a milestone in Anglo-Indian history (Anthony, 1969, p. 2; Dias, 2019, p. 89).In 1898 Dr. J.R. Wallace founded the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association (Dias, 2019, p. 89).The Anglo-Indian and Domiciled

European Association of Southern India founded in 1879 by D.S. White was involved in politics and was noteworthy (Dias, 2019, p. 90). It was his desire to have a township for Anglo-Indians in the suburbs of Bangalore and he managed to get 3,900-acre land from King Chamraja Wodeyar IX, the Maharaja of Mysore, for the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association in 1882 for the establishment of an agricultural settlement.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were a period of distress, particularly as Anglo-Indians had to compete with all Indians for many of the government jobs that had prior to 1919 (Montague Chelmsford Reforms).In need of a strong leader, Sir Henry Gidney entered the scene (Anthony, 1969, p. 87).It was his farsightedness to bring together various Anglo-Indian organisations into one block that could offer more strength and a unified voice. How he achieved this was by going around the country to meet leaders of the various Anglo-Indian organisations and convince them of the need for unity in order to argue for and claim their legitimate rights from the British authorities. He was able to bring together most of the active organisations of that time and to present the grievances of the Anglo-Indian community.[1]In 1926, the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, Bengal changed its name to the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association - All-India and Burma (Dias, 2019, p. 98). Building upon this greater unity and collective voice, Gidney sought to be the representative of Anglo-Indian interests in the midst of turbulent anti-colonial nationalism. He brought the Anglo-Indian voice to the table through his mission to London in1925 to meet the British authorities, his arguments before the Simon Commission (1928) and consequently in the three sessions of the Round Table Conferences (1930-32) (Anthony, 1969, pp. 100-104). His meetings with King George V and the Lords resulted in obtaining support for the cause of Anglo-Indians and had positive impacts. The definition of the community in the Govt. of India Act 1935,[2] the nomination of representative of the community in Central Legislative Assembly and then in the Constituent Assembly, exemplify the results of Sir Henry Gidney's efforts on behalf of the well-being of the Anglo-Indian community as one of India's many minorities. These contributions are generally heralded as laying the groundwork and securing the well-being for the Anglo-Indian community for the future. But perhaps, the greatest achievement of Sir Henry Gidney was that he could unify many of the then functioning Anglo-Indian organisations into an All-India organisation, which is what we now know of as the All-India Anglo-Indian Association (AIAIA).[3]

Frank Anthony, who replaced Gidney in leadership of the AIAIA, managed to convince Congress leadership in the waning years of British rule that Independent India should recognize Anglo-Indians as a separate minority with certain protections. No doubt, his capabilities and efforts secured several advantages for the Anglo-Indian community in Independent India. But his negative attitude towards Anglo-Indians in several Southern states can be considered unreasonable and the proximate cause for the formation of independent Anglo-Indian organisations in several States.[4]

While Gidney was amalgamating Anglo-Indian associations in the 1920s, D.S. White remained separate with his Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India, which also failed to attract a broad representation of Anglo-Indians in its membership. In some people's view, due to the self-centered attitude of its later office bearers, a large section of the community steered clear of the AIAIA. In 1952 when Andrew Antony Daniel Luiz (A.A.D. Luiz) an affluent law graduate who proved his ability as an effective leader and MLA, with several achievements to the community to his credit, tried for nomination to Parliament, Frank Anthony came out with a theory that the Portuguese descendants are not real Anglo-Indians but only '*Feringhies*'. At the same time Frank Anthony had praised the Luiz family earlier and was entertained by this family earlier. In those days he used to praise them as 'merchant princes'. People who saw both Frank Anthony and A. A. D. Luiz can vouch that A.A.D. Luiz had the more European features and complexion! Chev. Paul Luiz, his father, formed the first Anglo-Indian Association in Cochin as early as 1922 and was a close associate of the Raja of Cochin. So also, Frank Anthony was not prepared to approve the French descendants from Pondicherry as Anglo-Indians.

INDEPENDENCE & CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR ANGLO-INDIANS

Following Indian Independence in 1947, the Constitution was drawn up and introduced in 1950. In the Constitution Anglo-Indians were defined in Article 366 (2), and provided with a number of advantageous provisions, including: continued job reservations in Central Services and Railways as per article 336; educational grants provided to Anglo-Indian schools as per Article 337; two nominated seats in the Lok Sabha were reserved as per Article 331; nominated seats were also reserved for Anglo-Indians in certain States with a significant number of Anglo-Indians as per Article 333. The job

reservations and the educational grants as per Article 336 and 337 were to be phased out and cease after ten years.

Frank Anthony and A.E.T. Barrow were the first two nominated Members to the Parliament of India. They worked together and presented matters such as the protection of English language, which was to be identified with the Anglo-Indians, and also raised several issues concerning the special status of Anglo-Indian schools managed by the Anglo-Indian community. According to Frank Anthony, the securing of nominations to Parliament, state legislatures, the educational grants, reservation of job quotas etc. are his achievements. No doubt, Frank Anthony was a towering personality. The Anglo-Indian community will be ever indebted to him as he had a long innings of service. He continued uninterruptedly until 1977 as Member of Parliament. In 1977, when the Janatha government was elected, Jose Fernandez and Paul Mantosh were nominated for just a short time. In 1980 Frank Anthony came back as an MP and continued until 1993.

ADVOCATING FOR ANGLO-INDIAN INTERESTS: ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANISATIONS

Hand in hand with the Constitutional provision of MPs and MLAs went the presumption of active local and regional associations of Anglo-Indians as well as a national body, the AIAIA. Through these associations' leaders the British government had dealt with the Community in the closing decades of colonial rule, and it was the organizing principle by as well by which leaders would rise in the Community to be nominated to serve as MPs and MLAs. But the strength and unity of these organisations, as well as just how representative they were, remained open questions and a source of disunity as much as of unity.

After Independence, in several States, independent organisations were established, mainly because of neglect from leaders of the central organisation and efforts to undermine representation from certain areas. The so-called central leadership failed to understand the real situation and the problems of Anglo-Indians in most of the areas. The independent organisations formed at this time included the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations (Kerala) formed in 1951 and registered in 1953; The Anglo-Indian Educational & Charitable Society, Kerala established in 1964; The All India

Progressive Anglo-Indian Social, Cultural, Educational and Economic Welfare Association (Bangalore) in 1972; Calcutta Anglo-Indian Service Society (CAISS) in 1976; The Anglo-Indian Guild, Bangalore formed in 1980; The Anglo-Indian Welfare Association, Hyderabad; The Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India, Egmore, Madras; The Anglo-Indian Association of Assam, Guwahati; The Anglo-Indian Association of Orissa, Khudra; The Anglo-Indian Association Faridabad, Haryana; The Ambernath Anglo-Indian Association, Maharashtra; The Anglo-Indian Suburban Front, Chennai; The Anglo-Indian Women's Forum, Chennai etc. The Central Board of Anglo-Indian Education, Kerala established in 1945. Recently, in 2020 at Hyderabad a New Anglo Community Association (Telangana)was formed with membership from around the city limits; the Anglo-Indian Community Association Andhra Pradesh was formed in 2021 with their headquarters at Vishakapattanam and branches at Vijayawada, Rajahmundry and Guntukal. Apart from all these, local groups of Anglo-Indians formed their own groups and organized welfare services and get-togethers for Anglo-Indians in the locality.

The AIAIA which claims to have 60 branches cannot claim that they represent the majority of Anglo-Indians in the country. According to the statistics collected by Blair Williams in 2000 only around10% of Anglo-Indians in India are members of this organisation (Williams, 2002, p. 157). With Railway colonies withering and job reservations lost, the majority of these so-called branches became moribund. The Anglo-Indian & Domiciled European Association led by D.S. White since 1879 also lost its vigour and the later leaders could not retain the members. As a result, in Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, etc. independent Anglo-Indian organisations were established and the majority of the community enrolled themselves in these organisations. Their leaders approached their respective Governments and secured reservations of seats for Anglo-Indians in professional colleges even though there were few seats in each course.[5] In Kolkata, the Calcutta Anglo-Indian Service Society (CAISS), focused largely on social welfare concerns, made a huge impact with their programmes to help Anglo-Indians in need – financially as well as the care of elderly people.[6]

As discussed, the early leaders of the Anglo-Indian community, first struggled for unification of the community, with the pioneers in those years being Herbert Alick

Stark, William Ricketts, J.R. Wallace and E.W. Chambers, who each had a prominent role. This early phase of struggle by Anglo-Indians occurred while the British was ruthlessly suppressing Indians and their demands for humanitarian consideration towards them. When the British Government was convinced that their rule in India was seriously threatened, the roles of Sir Henry Gidney and Frank Anthony were invaluable in their fight for the community's demands for consideration. D.S. White also played a prominent part in South India in the struggle to gain consideration for the community from the British. But his 'lonely' operation with his Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India since 1879, and refusal to join with the leaders from other parts of the country, had a negative impact in the solidarity of Anglo-Indians in the national level.

Later, with the formation of the Anglo-Indian Association in Malabar at the initiative of Chev. Paul Luiz at Cochin in 1922, apparently in neighboring areas of Madras, Bangalore and adjacent States, Anglo-Indians gained confidence and started showing allegiance to some extent with the freedom movement and also organized themselves to form Associations. All over the country at most of the Railway Junctions and major Railway centers, Anglo-Indians formed their associations, and conducted meetings and dances in the Railway club auditoriums. Railway clubs were often the centre of Anglo-Indian social life those days. Life in railway centres also provided protection of their culture and language.

In West Bengal Ms. Philomena Eaton, as the long-serving convenor of the Calcutta Anglo-Indian Service Society (CAISS) made a mark in the service of the community. As mentioned earlier, after the formation of the Anglo-Indian Association at Cochin in 1922 by Chev. Paul Luiz, Lawrence Anthony Fullinfaw in Bangalore, Chev. C.J. Luiz, Stanly Luiz and Stephen Padua in Cochin, Chev. Denzil D'Monte in Madras, Joss Fernandez in Bangalore and Mrs. Christine Lazares in Hyderabad.[7]had already established independent Anglo-Indian Associations with beneficial services to the community such as fee concessions and reservation in Professional colleges for Anglo-Indians. The Association in Kerala was able to sanction twelve Anglo-Indian schools as early as 1945. Allotment of lands to Anglo-Indians for housing was yet another project in these States. As a result, Anglo-Indians in these States developed more confidence in their Associations and leaders than in the other parts of India

where with the end of job reservations in Railways and other Govt. Departments, severe un-employment and housing problems were experienced by Anglo-Indians. Their leaders could not attend to these problems.

Despite numerous associations and a number of charitable organisations such as CAISS, the community faced persistent problems exacerbated by the end of reservations, the migration of many Anglo-Indians to foreign countries, and a sort of cultural dilution as Anglo-Indians stopped living together in some of their traditional urban neighbourhoods and railway colonies.

The very existence of the Anglo-Indian community firmly rests on the cultural identity of the community. English language has arguably been the binding force of that cultural identity. Also, the style and way of life, to a very great extent, was instrumental in keeping the uniqueness of the community. With the three Frank Anthony Public Schools and the hundreds of Anglo-Indian Schools managed by Anglo-Indians (as well as the Church authorities and religious congregations) a large section of the community has been assisted in obtaining an education at least to the level of Matriculation. Higher education was a big challenge to many.

I found in my role as MP that the educational institutions established by Anglo-Indians and funded by them, and those managed by religious congregations, slowly started discriminating against Anglo-Indian students and some felt pushed out. As India has changed, access to higher education has become a necessary condition of higher incomes and better employment. Blame for the failure of some sections of the Anglo-Indian community to access these tools for financial success, and thriving culturally, lie partly with the disunity and lack of leadership among Anglo-Indians' collective expressions in associations and in politics. There are counter examples as well. For instance, I would assert that leaders of the Anglo-Indian community in Kerala foresaw the developing circumstances and, in an attempt to remedy the situation, established the Central Board of Anglo-Indian Education and started twelve Anglo-Indian schools as early as in 1945.[8] They also established institutions such as the Southern College of Engineering (Aeronautic) in 1955, the first one of its kind in South India.

ROLES AND ACTIONS OF NOMINATED MPS AND MLAS

It is still a big question why, with two MPs in Parliament and twelve MLAs in various States, for seventy long years after Independence the Anglo-Indian community could not address vital problems like facilities for higher education, housing and taking suitable steps to protect their culture and language. This question deserves research.

Sir Henry Gidney and Frank Antony did their might in the most crucial days of Anglo-Indians, unparalleled in their history. In one step further, Frank Anthony provided a beautiful book on Anglo-Indians containing their history with several narrations on important and relevant aspects on the community and its organisations (Anthony, 1969). After Frank Anthony's term, in my opinion, the only Member who had a positive impact was Dr. Mrs. Beatrix D'Souza who was nominated during 13th Lok Sabha in 1999. She travelled all around the country, met Anglo-Indians and offered her Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme (MPLADS) funds wherever it could be utilized.[9]

In 2009 when I was nominated (15th Lok Sabha) I made an effort to meet the Anglo-Indian leaders and called several meetings at Delhi and other places to hear their needs. As a result, I prepared a memorandum and submitted it to the President of India, the Prime Minister, and concerned Ministers. In it I drew attention to the requirement of homes for the homeless Anglo-Indians. In response, a special Order from the Ministry of Housing &Urban Poverty Alleviation was issued in 2010 (D.O. No. 10415-D/AS & MD (JNNURUM) 2010 Dated May 12, 2010).

Later, my efforts were concentrated on approaching the Government to appoint a committee to study the socio-economic and educational situation of Anglo-Indians in the country. The socio-economic study was conducted by the Ministry of Minority Affairs in 2013, and the resulting directions issued as a report from the Ministry D.O. NO. 29-10//2013-SS Dated: the 27th January 2014 represent a significant record. Due to this report, I could allocate funds to nine Anglo-Indian schools in Kerala, three other Christian schools, five community centres for Anglo-Indians and allocate computers to several schools and undertake hundreds of civil works such as roads, drainages, culverts and bridges wherever Anglo-Indians were staying and also in places they suggested.[10] Through my efforts, Higher Secondary course status was allocated to

the C.C.P.L.M. Anglo-Indian High School, at Perumanoor, Cochin. In addition, by combining with Latin Catholics, 1% seats in Professional courses were allocated for Anglo-Indians in Kerala.[11]

While A.A.D. Luiz and Stanley Luiz were MLAs in Kerala, they secured benefits for Anglo-Indians. Besides educational and job reservations, several acres of land were allotted to Anglo-Indians for housing colonies. This example was quoted by Chev. Denzil D'Monte at Tamilnadu, Joss Fernandez at Karnataka and Mrs. Christine Lazares at Andhra Pradesh and secured seat reservations for Anglo-Indians in their respective States. Mrs. Christine Lazares, in her role as MLA in Andhra Pradesh, secured more than 150 seats in Professional Institutions in various courses including Medicine, Engineering, Law, Computer sciences.[12] She was also instrumental in building Community Centres for Anglo-Indians in Andhra Pradesh. Christine Lazares could convince the Government of Andhra Pradesh that the Anglo-Indians were allocated seat reservation in professional colleges in Keala, Karnataka etc. and the government of Andhra Pradesh allocated these reserved seats by issuing about five Government Orders (GOs).

MY EFFORTS AS MP AND THEREAFTER

Drawing from my own experience as a nominated Member of Parliament since 2009, the disunity of Anglo-Indians was the main problem I faced. There were so many organisations for Anglo-Indians, but it was not clear what their requirements and demands were. As a person associated with activities of Anglo-Indian organisations for about forty long years, I had first-hand knowledge of the community in India and their requirements. One issue was that of the housing of Anglo-Indians, which was addressed by the Government and a Special Housing Scheme for Anglo-Indians was announced by the Ministry of Urban Poverty Alleviation in 2010 which I quoted earlier in this article.

As the representative of the community, I wanted to hear the views of the Anglo-Indian leaders and the nominated MLAs (Members of the Legislative Assembly). Several meetings were held with them during 2010 and 2011 and I appealed to the Government to entrust an officer in the Ministry of Minority Affairs to listen to the grievances of the Anglo-Indian community. After the meetings with Anglo-Indian

leaders and listening to their demands, memoranda were given to the President of India, Prime Minister and various Ministries of the Central Government concerning the requirements of the Anglo-Indian community. Considering my continuous appeals, the Honorable Minister for Minority Affairs was pleased to depute an officer in the Director rank in the Ministry who was given responsibility, as Nodal Officer for Anglo-Indians, to attend to the memoranda and requirements of the community.

A historic Anglo-Indian Convention was held at Delhi at my initiative as sitting MP, in the Constitution Club of India New Delhi on 27thNovember 2011. It was attended by Central Ministers, Members of Parliament, higher officials, nominated MLAs, Mr. Neil O'Brian as President-in-Chief of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, office bearers of Anglo-Indian organisations from various States of the country and other prominent delegates. It was the aspiration of many who attended it that there should be an umbrella body for the whole Anglo-Indian community to come together. Several prominent delegates who attended this Convention raised this matter and determined to join forces to achieve it. This prompted me to call leaders of several Anglo-Indian organisations from various States and to discuss this issue. Meetings were held in Bangalore and in Delhi by Anglo-Indian leaders in order to work towards forming a national organisation to co-ordinate their activities. I had made it clear to the leaders that each organisation would have the right to retain their freedom to work independently and to keep their identity. Nominated MPs, Ex. MPs, MLAs and Ex. MLAs and leaders of Anglo-Indian organisations including that of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association took part in these discussions. After lengthy deliberations a draft bylaw was prepared and circulated among office bearers and leaders of various organisations for discussion in their respective Committees and to obtain their approval. I had discussions with Neil O'Brien, the then President-in-Chief of the AIAIA, on this draft bylaw. He suggested certain changes in the clauses which I brought to the consideration of the Drafting Committee. Finally, after considering and incorporating the suggestions of all, The Federation of Anglo-Indian Associations in India was formed in 2012 with its headquarters in Bangalore.[13] It was registered under the Societies Act in Karnataka with scope to function across the country of India. Unfortunately, for reasons known only to the leaders of the AIAIA, this organisation declined at the last minute from joining this Federation. This has to some extent adversely affected the aim of forming a united front which would have been in a better

position to approach the Central and State Governments with common demands for Anglo-Indians.

Since the formation of the Federation, associations from different parts of the country have joined and, as of 2024, seventeen Anglo-Indian organisations (both registered and unregistered) belong to the Federation of Anglo-Indian Associations. The structure is that branch organisations function under State organisations. The Federation has submitted memoranda to the Government on several problems the Anglo-Indian community is facing. In the memoranda submitted to the President and Prime Minister of India on 12th December 2012, for example, the following points were included:

a) Housing problems of Anglo-Indians.
b) The requirement of Community Centers for Anglo-Indians.
c) To provide positions and memberships for Anglo-Indians in various Govt. bodies.
d) To establish an 'Anglo-Indian Desk' at the Ministry of Minority affairs to address the complaints and grievances of Anglo-Indians.
e) To reserve seats for Anglo-Indian students in central Universities.
f) To conduct enquiry on the properties earmarked/given by affluent Anglo-Indians to Bishops and Trusts for the welfare of Anglo-Indians.
g) To declare Anglo-Indian community as an 'Ethnic and Linguistic Minority'.

After my continuous requests to the Ministry of Minority Affairs, a Fact-Finding Team was constituted, headed by Mr. Ninong Ering, Minister of State, to study the problems of the Anglo-Indian community and to suggest remedial measures. This team visited Kolkata, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Chennai and Cochin and other Anglo-Indian centers. They met nominated MLAs and leaders of the organisations, Bishops and other church leaders, after which they prepared a report which was published in 2013. In this report it was pointed out that:

> It is observed that amongst the various challenges and problems being faced by members of the Anglo-Indian community in India; the more significant ones are related to (i) identity crisis, (ii) lack of employment, (iii) educational backwardness (iv) lack of proper housing facilities and (v) cultural erosion. (page No.7 of the Report)

The Minister, in his letter dated 27th January 2014, had written to all the States that the Government would see to the following for Anglo-Indian advancement:

(1) To provide land to construct Community–cum-Skill Development Centers
(2) To provide 'Special Reservation of seats in professional institutions to Anglo-Indian students.
(3) To allocate land/plots to implement housing scheme for Anglo-Indians
(4) To upgrade schools established by Anglo-Indians

In my representative capacity I wrote to all the Anglo-Indian organisations, nominated MLAs and leaders with copies of the letters from Mr. Ninong Ering, Minister for State for Minority Affairs and Government Orders from Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh to advise that seats for Anglo-Indians in Professional colleges had been authorized, and that they should approach their respective Governments to securing such welfare measures. Even after my period as Member of Parliament was over, in 2014 I continued my efforts to pursue this matter through the Federation of Anglo-Indian Associations in India.

The Federation convened a Seminar at Bangalore on 28th October 2017 on 'The Anglo-Indians and their Future' which was attended by nominated MP Prof. Richard Hay and several leaders and delegates from various States. Mr. Gordon Maher, President of the International Federation of Anglo-Indian Associations (Perth), Dr. Robyn Andrews (New Zealand), Dr. Dolores Chew (Canada), and Prof. Blair Williams (U.S.A.) presented their views through their papers and Wg. Cdr. Nester de Concessao, Mr. Collin Timms and Mr. Colin Fitzgerald attended and presented their views. A 'Vision Statement' was also discussed and approved in this Seminar with a plan to strengthen the solidarity of Anglo-Indians through the following events and initiatives:

1. A biannual get-together of Anglo-Indian leaders to discuss the various issues of the Anglo-Indian community.
2. Annual Youth Meet at the national level to encourage youngsters of the community to present cultural shows and to discuss on problems of the youth and community.
3. To conduct music and cultural programmes and Anglo-Indian Food Festival.

4. To establish ‘Community cum Skill Development Centre in Anglo-Indian concentrated areas for the community to meet together.
5. A Common newsletter to exchange news and views.
6. To cooperate with the International Federation of Anglo-Indian Associations for larger solidarity of the community.
7. To establish a Central Headquarters and a museum for the community to meet and to showcase their cultural identity.

Those involved, both associations and the individuals, felt hopeful about the future as a more united community, particularly under the leadership of the nominated MPs and MLAs. In the light of this, what I describe next was particularly devastating.

CHALLENGING & REVOCATION OF ANGLO-INDIAN REPRESENTATION, 2019

Without any prior warning, the Anglo-Indian reserved seats in the Lok Sabha and state Legislative Assemblies of India were discontinued by the 126th Constitutional Amendment Bill of 2019, when enacted as the 104th Constitutional Amendment Act, 2019.The withdrawal of representation was initiated on 9.12.2019, when Sri Ravi Shankar Prasad, the Honourable Minister of Law and Justice, Communications and Electronics and Information Technology, introduced the Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty Sixth Amendment) Bill, 2019 before the Lok Sabha. The said Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 10.12.2019, that is, within a day.

The reason the Minister for Law gave for the discontinuance, as stated in Parliament was that according to the Census of 2011, Anglo-Indians numbered only 296 in all of India, and they are well-off. Both the reasons contradicted the facts. The 126th Constitutional amendment, was therefore enacted without considering the real situation of Anglo-Indians, and without any scientific study of their population. The Government has acted with callous indifference towards this community which has been plunged into the precarious situation of having no government representation either in the Lok Sabha or state legislative assemblies. In both the Houses of Parliament, Members have objected to the endorsement of the act. Several memoranda and representations were presented to the President of India, the Prime Minister of India and other Ministers. A case against the action was filed by the Federation of Anglo-Indian Associations in India in Supreme Court and later the case

was shifted to the Delhi High Court. The one question in front of the Parliament and the Supreme Court is about the population of Anglo-Indians in the country.

This is the State-Wise Enumeration as quoted by the Government from Census report 2011:

West Bengal	9
Odisha	4
Chhattisgarh	3
Maharashtra	16
Andhra Pradesh	62
Karnataka	9
Kerala	124
Tamilnadu	69
Total	**296**

The Federation has collected the population figures and spread of Anglo-Indians in India through the constituent organisations. This is the data we received:

Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Population in India:

West Bengal	45,000
Assam	8,000
Chhattisgarh	5,000
Uttarakhand	5,000
Jharkhand	7,000
Utter Pradesh	15,000
Delhi	7,000
Haryana	5,000
Punjab	3,000
Madhyaparadesh	20,000
Maharastra	25,000
Andhra	15,000
Telengana	20,000
Karnataka	45,000
Tamilnadu	42,000
Kerala	80,000

The total population is estimated to be 3,47,000 plus about 50,000 more who are scattered all over the country in other States and Union Territories including Goa.

COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ACT (2019)

When the nominations of Anglo-Indians to Parliament and State Legislatures were lost through the 104th Constitutional Amendment Act of 2019, the response from the community was muted. Even though the national organisations attempted to plan big protests, the community at large was reluctant to come out and protest.

My impression is that after the initial years of Independence, our representatives in Parliament were more concerned about protecting their educational institutions and not so concerned about the educational and economic advancement of the community at large. They also seemed to have ignored the housing problems faced commonly by Anglo-Indians. While Anglo-Indians donated their lands and properties and good sums of money to churches and educational institutions, they were less motivated to ensure they had their own offices and community centres. Apart from the nominated MLAs from the South, MLAs seemed less bothered about securing welfare measures for the community. This issue was compounded by the process of ruling parties nominating MLAs of their choice, ignoring the leaders of the organisations who worked for the community. In many cases, the persons nominated lacked sufficient engagement with the community to have a full awareness of its problems or commitment to their amelioration.

CONCLUSIONS: A WAY FORWARD?

The only way forward is for the community is to come together and raise their demands in one voice. While maintaining the individuality of each organisation, it is surely possible to come together and discuss the common needs and concerns shared by the community as a whole. A yearly convention of representatives of organisations should be held, conducted in a different centre each year. A National Steering Committee could be formed. After discussing the shared issues of concern, letters and memoranda can be drafted and presented to the authorities concerned. Such issues to be raised would include: the need for continuing English in our schools; cultural events to be held annually; a ‘Museum of Anglo-Indian Culture’ to be set up.

We sadly missed the opportunity to use MPs and MLA funds, to the tune of about seventy crores rupees for community welfare schemes (2 MPs and 12 MLAs – 14 x 5 crores each = Rs70 crores. Each MP is allocated Rupees five Crores every year. So also each MLA is allocated Rupees five crores every year). But, lost is lost, and we still have resources nevertheless. In Kerala, for example, at least five Anglo-Indians have donated large parcels of land, and built churches. One Anglo-Indian, Mr. Harold Carver of Chandigarh built and donated (in 2023) a church worth about 55 crores! We still can survive with pride through our resources and talent, provided the so-called leaders, community members and organisations are prepared to unite to build our future.

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NOTES

[1] Sir Henry Gidney's efforts to meet the leaders of Anglo-Indian organisations were something unparalleled in the history of Anglo-Indians, for Anglo-Indians have historically been hesitant to join forces across regions. In this context Gidney succeeded in bringing them together.

[2] The Government of India Act (British Act) is considered a landmark in the history of India as well as important for the Anglo-Indian community. It was in this Act the definition of Anglo-Indians, notifying '*Progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent',* was specified, which was later adopted in the Constitution of India in Article 366 (2).

[3] The formation of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, after passing several phases of coming together and separation from the previous stages, happened in 1926. No doubt, it was Sir Henry Gidney's farsightedness and power to bring the others to his line of thought, that resulted the formation of the AIAIA.

[4] While the Government of India Act 1935 and Article 366 (2) of the Constitution of India clearly defined an Anglo-Indian as having '*Progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent'*, Frank Anthony tried to keep away potential leaders from the South especially from Kerala. His infamous attitude that *'Feringhies'* of Kerala who are Portuguese descendants were not Anglo-Indians, was made unacceptable by the then Home Minister of India Pandit Govind Ballaba Pant during a debate in Lok Sabha. Also, Frank Anthony refused to accept the French descendants from Pondicherry as Anglo-Indians. Later, in both these cases the AIAIA had to accept the realities and law of the country.

[5] Kerala initiated the required steps to secure 'special reservations' for Anglo-Indians in professional institutions and earned seat reservations in Medicine, Engineering, Law, Computer courses, etc. in the 1950s. Karnataka followed further and in Andhra Pradesh, while Mrs. Christine Lazares was MLA she secured more than 150 seats in professional colleges for Anglo-Indians.

[6] CAISS runs a Night Shelter and home for the aged and a scheme to help the poor and provide medical assistance regularly.

[7] These leaders have earned a mark in the history of Anglo-Indians in India especially in the South. They secured several benefits for the community unlike the representatives in the North, who were under pressure from their so-called central leadership. The result was that little was accomplished in their period of office.

[8] *Jubileu de Ouro* Golden Jubilee Souvenir, The Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Kerala State, pp. 142-144.

[9] From the MPLADS Fund of Dr. Beatrix D'Souza, five Anglo-Indian schools were allocated funds to construct new buildings. She was prepared to allocate funds for other States but as there was no land owned by Anglo-Indian Associations, she could not allocate funds in these centres.

[10] Govt. of India MPLADS site; D'Rozario (2023, pp. 37, 38).

[11]D'Rozario (2014-15, pp.16,17); G.O. No. 10/2014 dt 23.5.2014

[12] G.O.Ms.16, Higher Education (EC2) 19th February 2009 and other consequent Orders allocating seats for Anglo-Indians in Professional Colleges; Dias (2019, p.247).

[13] Reg. No. DRO/SJN/SOR/133/12 Karnataka State.

International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies

The following invited opinion piece, by three Anglo-Indian Studies scholars, appeared on 17 December 2019 in The Hindu*, in response to the Government's move the previous month to revoke reservations for Anglo-Indian MPs and MLAs. It is republished here with permission from Srinivasan Ramani, Deputy National Editor of* The Hindu, granted on 8 November 2024*. The authors' original title was* "Anglo-Indian Reserved Seats Still Very Much Needed" *but* The Hindu *gave it the headline below. It may still be read online at: https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/reservations-need-to-continue-for-anglo-indians/article30323462.ece*

RESERVATIONS NEED TO CONTINUE FOR ANGLO-INDIANS: THE COMMUNITY'S TROUBLES WERE HIGHLIGHTED IN A 2013 REPORT

Robyn Andrews, Uther Charlton-Stevens, Dolores Chew

The Union Cabinet approved a proposal on Wednesday to abolish the Constitutional provisions that guarantee the reservation of two seats for the Anglo-Indian community in the Lok Sabha, as well as seats in particular state assemblies. The decision not to renew this provision is based on the view that the community is doing well and does not need these political reservations. Our view is that this premise is inaccurate.

While census data is not available (as Anglo-Indians are no longer identified as a separate category in the ten yearly census survey) those working on the ground with the Anglo-Indian community, to ameliorate and improve the situation of its community members, have experience and evidence that tell a different story. And this is supported by the Government-commissioned Ministry of Minority Affairs report (2013) on the situation of Anglo-Indians.

The report, based on surveying Anglo-Indians in a number of cities, documents poor economic and social conditions for too many in the community. For example, it notes that ‘unemployment is a common and major issue’ in all the cities surveyed. It explicitly states and commends the assistance Anglo-Indians receive from MLAs, stating ‘Representatives of the Anglo-Indian community in the State Assemblies and local leaders of the community are working hard for the welfare and progress of the community’.

The Anglo-Indian nominated seats in the Lok Sabha are a testament to the fair-minded and forward-looking vision of the founding fathers of the Republic of India, whose understanding of how to build a successful democracy has rather uniquely stood the test of time. Shri Frank Anthony made the case for special representation on behalf of the Anglo-Indian community. Gandhiji first agreed to Anthony’s request for three seats on the Constituent Assembly, thereby giving Anglo-Indians a voice in the creation of India’s constitution. However, this was only a chance for Anthony to plead his special case.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Iron Man of India, as Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Minority Rights in the constitution, proved to be the most directly responsible for the granting of these special concessions to Anglo-Indians’ unique position as a thinly scattered All-India community. It was from the British that Anglo-Indians should have expected something, but from that quarter there was nothing. The magnanimity, generosity and farsightedness of great Indian statesmen like Sardar Patel saw the wisdom and the justice of supporting the Anglo-Indian claim, and recognising the positive role Anglo-Indians could play in the national debate.

Representing an All-India community, Anthony and his successors in the Lok Sabha have always used that voice to provide an independent national view of the interests of India as a whole. Even when supporting their own community’s causes, particularly in areas like education, they have advanced the national interest and greatly benefited the country. The presence of Anglo-Indian MLAs in many state legislatures has similarly provided a constructive pro-national voice, less tied to parochialism or

provincialism, and emphatically against linguistic and religious separatism and similar narrowly communal interests.

In recent years, under its current President-in-Chief, Barry O'Brien, the All-India Anglo-Indian Association has continued to expand, creating and promoting positive political engagement and broad national perspectives, where there might otherwise be despondency and alienation. Other community organisations have been engaged in this work as well. It is in India's interests that the All-India Association and its branches continue to play a role in India's national life. It would be a great loss to the nation if these voices were to be further marginalised by hasty decisions or short-term political considerations to remove their representation from key positions.

While there certainly are success stories in the community the existence of many less successful ones must be acknowledged. Such a radical decision ought to be based on a thorough and comprehensive examination of the position of Anglo-Indians as a whole. It should also be noted that many individual success stories exist because of the work of dedicated community members, including those who serve or have served as MLAs and MPs, to improve the situation of their constituents as well as the wider community.

We would therefore conclude that the recognition of the need to continue reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be extended to the reserved seats for Anglo-Indians in Parliament and Legislative Assemblies. The costs to the government of this are minimal. But retaining the reserved seats would demonstrate the government's ability to respond to the needs of those among the most vulnerable in the nation. It would demonstrate recognition and support, whilst encouraging the community work being done on the ground. Moreover, it would be an added step in this direction for a member of the Anglo-Indian community to sit on the National Commission for Minorities.

A stronger, less socio-economically marginalised community would benefit the nation as a whole. And the community needs all the support it can get. Not less.

Signed, 8 December, 2019:

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