Chapter 5

Interest Groups: Evolution, Role and Peoples Response

The present chapter attempts to examine the nature and characteristics of organisations that articulate and activise the Anglo-Indian members for purposes of safeguarding the socio-economic and cultural interest of the community. Since the Anglo-Indian community tends to be a miniscule minority, it can acquire the needed space and status and make its presence felt if it is well organised. A small size community like Anglo-Indians which is based in urban areas, is otherwise also expected to be better organised as its leaders and activists can easily sensitize and mobilize the members on common issues and demands. Moreover, the factors such as better education, and their status as employees in the private and public sector units also make it easier for them to get organised into associations and interest groups. This apart, in India the developments since independence indicate that there has been a considerable rise in the number of caste, community and language based associations in different parts of the country. In fact, the number of associations representing various primordial identities (caste, community, ethnic etc.) has proliferated as both the major and minor communities have organised into multiple groups to fulfill their socio-economic, political and cultural interests. The diverse identities have influenced the formation of a large number of voluntary groups or associations in India.
and for that account one comes across a myriad of associations ranging from caste associations to religion based organisations like the ‘Vishva Hindu Parishad’ (VHP), ‘Jamate-e-Islami’, ‘All India Christian Council’, the ‘Bombay Parsi Panchayat’, the ‘Chief Khalsa Dewan’ etc. The socio-cultural aspects apart, the community considerations have also led to the formation of a number of political parties, which can be illustrated by ‘Shiromani Akali Dal’, ‘Muslim League’ etc. Since the political process in the country, particularly the electoral politics, has been greatly influenced by primordial identities, the caste or community associations have acquired considerable importance. In fact, identity based associations often assert for more space in the realms of power in electoral democracies. On occasions, they seem more powerful than pressure groups representing business, agriculture and services. As politics is a process that reveals the interplay of power structures in society, such groups attempt to exert influence over the decision-making in the government and local authorities. They jostle for greater space in the socio-economic and political spheres. As a matter of fact, in several states of the Indian union politics cannot be realised without comprehending the interlocking of community. It has been rightly observed that ‘community organisations are the pillars of politics in the Indian state’. As Roman Kolkowicz remarked: “In a pluralistic system social groups are central to the political and social processes. They are presumed to be a vital faction in the political process and social transaction in which the political leaders

manipulate or accommodate the demands of various groups.” Although democracy is based on the principle of equality, yet knowledge, wealth, social position, access to officials and other resources are always unequally distributed. These inequalities are bound to affect the scope of groups to influence the decisions of the government at various levels. In other words, in a pluralist society power is non-hierarchically and competitively arranged. It is an inextricable part of an endless process of bargaining between numerous groups representing different interests, including for example, business organisations, trade unions, ethnic groups, women’s institutes, religious groups etc.

As a result the government tries to mediate, adjudicate between the competing demands of groups. In the case of the Anglo-Indian community, ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’ avoids direct and indirect participation in power politics and elections but endeavors to influence and affect the course of public affairs and decision making to safeguard and secure the interests of its constituents. Unlike other community based associations which tend to organise their own parties and contest elections, the Anglo-Indian association has been non-political pursuing economic and social welfare of its members through lobbying, meeting the politicians and administrators etc.

To what degree or how far has the association organised and consolidated its support base for enhancing the prospects of the community? What alliances, strategies and methods have the community influentials adopted for purposes of pursuing their communitarian ends?

What is the background of community leaders and how do they establish contacts with the members scattered in different parts of the country? All these aspects have been taken into consideration while analyzing the various associations representing the Anglo-Indian community. Broadly, the present chapter attempts to examine the genesis, organizational structure, nature of leadership, the functions and effectiveness of ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’, a voluntary organisation that pursues the socio-economic and cultural interests of the community. An attempt is also made to analyse the perceptions and views of the Anglo-Indian people regarding the working and achievements of the association and its branches.

**The All-India Anglo-Indian Association (AIAIA):** It is the largest organisation of the community with a network of branches in the different parts of the country. In fact, the Association with its headquarters at New Delhi has 55 branches in the various cities of the different states. Presently, it has 45,000 members. Bulk of the members represent the Anglo-Indians in cities like New Delhi, Kolkatta, Chennai, Madurai, Vellore, Kanyakumari, Tiruchinapalli, Kochi, Tiruvanthapuram, Kollam, Alleppey, Kottayam, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Vijaywada, Bangalore, Mangalore, Mysore, Hosepet, Hubli, Kolar, Pune, Nagpur, Mumbai, Chandigarh, Dehradun, Patna, Danapur, etc. In terms of financial resources the association mainly depends upon the subscription fee of Rs. 18 per person per month.\(^4\) According to Article 7(ii) of the Memorandum of the organisation, the subscription fee is exempted if the spouse of a

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\(^4\) Memorandum of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, P.6
member of the association is admitted as a member of the AIAIA. Every member is entitled to attend and vote at a General meeting of the Association, or, if he cannot attend the meeting, he is entitled to appoint another member (nominated by the governing body at the branch level), to vote as his proxy.

The annual General meeting of the AIAIA is held between the months of September and November each year. Incidentally, 185 Anglo-Indian members attended the General meeting of the Association, held in 2006 at Kolkatta. Similarly, in 2005 the meeting was held at New Delhi and was attended by 192 members. Every general meeting is held at places as decided by the ‘Governing body’ of the Association. The major issues that engage the general body meeting include socio-cultural and economic problems of the Anglo-Indians in the country. The matters concerning scholarships, financial aid to the weaker families of the community are also decided in the general meeting. Moreover, the members of the ‘governing body’ of the Association is also elected by the participants in the general body meeting. In all, the ‘governing body’ consists of 15 members. These members include the President-in-Chief, 5 Vice Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, 3 Office Secretaries and 4 Additional Secretaries. Mention may be made that a large number of members of the ‘governing body’ have been re-elected from one term to another. As regards their background, out of the 15 members of the present governing body 10 belonged to the middle-age group and 5 to the old-age category. Moreover, in terms of education 12 out of the 15

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5 Memorandum of The All-India Anglo-Indian Association P.6
6 Ibid. P.13.
members were educated up to the level of graduation and above while only 3 were high school but not graduate. With regard to occupation 13 were teachers. Only 2 were retired railway employees.

In addition to the apex body at Delhi, the AIAIA has its branches in various cities of the different states of the Indian union. The power of establishing branches at various levels vests in the governing body of the association at the apex level. Like its central counterpart, every branch has a governing body elected annually by the members of the branch. It consists of 6 office bearers namely ‘President, Vice President, Treasurer, Secretary, Office Secretary and Joint Secretary. The city of Chandigarh, also has a branch of the Association, this branch includes the satellite towns of Panchkula and Mohali. Presently there are 87 members in the Chandigarh, Panchkula and Mohali branch of the Association. Most of them have been re-elected as office bearers for one year to another. All the six members of the governing body of the Chandigarh branch belonged to the category of teachers with qualifications of graduation and above. In fact, two were M.A. B.Ed. and four were B.A. B.Ed. In terms of age three represented the middle-age category of 36-54 years, 2 old and 1 young-age category of 33 years. With regard to ownership of property, only two members belonging to old age group own houses of their own, one in Mohali and another in Mani Majra. In terms of accommodation, both owned one-bedroom flats. The husband and wife in both the cases were teachers. Similar to Chandigarh, Dehradun also had a branch office of the Anglo-Indian Association. Presently, it has a membership of 95 persons. Of the 6 members of the governing body, three were teachers in

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8 Memorandum of The All-India Anglo-Indian Association, P.31
schools, 2 retired railway employees and one was a clerk serving in the office of a private firm. Educationally, of these six, one was M.A. B.Ed., 2 B.A. B.Ed. and the remaining three were educated up to high school. Age wise, four belonged to the middle age category of 36-54 years of age and 2 to the old age category. In terms of ownership of house 3 owned their houses in Dehradun whereas the other 3 lived in the rented accommodation. Those who owned houses included two retired railway employees and 1 teacher who had an ancestral house in Dehradun.

The annual general meeting of each branch is held between the months of April and August. Financially, each branch is self-supporting. The apex governing body may contribute to the funds of the branch in a limited manner. Mostly the branches depend on the subscription fee of Rs.18/- per member per month. However, 50 percent of the subscription fee is deposited by the branch to the head office of the AIAIA. In 2006-2007, the Chandigarh branch, which includes Mohali and Panchkula, collected Rs. 12,744/- as subscription fee from its 87 members on the basis of Rs.18/- per member. However, 56 members being husband and wife paid only for single membership as the spouse is exempted from the subscription fee. Therefore, the total collection in Chandigarh came to Rs. 12,744/- on the basis of Rs. 18/- each for 59 members. Moreover, 50 percent of the subscription was deposited to the central office, thus leaving the branch with a small amount of Rs. 6,372/-. Being a meagre amount the Chandigarh branch has not been able to give any scholarship to the Anglo-Indian students in the three towns. However,

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9 Memorandum of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, P36.
10 Ibid, P 35
during 2006-2007 the branch granted a stipend of Rs.100/- per person each month to five members of the community belonging to the old age category.

In the case of Dehradun, the total subscription collection was Rs. 14,472/-. Subsequent to depositing 50 per cent of the earnings, the branch was left with a sum of Rs. 7,236/-. The Dehradun branch has granted 2 Anglo-Indian students a stipend of Rs. 200/- each per person per month. In addition, Rs. 100/- per month each was granted to two old age persons.

Regarding functions, the AIAIA performs mainly educational, cultural and charitable activities. It helps the needy Anglo-Indian students to pursue their academics by granting them Scholarships. According to the Annual report of the Association, in 2006-2007 ‘a total of Rs. 10,06,890/- was disbursed as scholarship to ninety-three students from different states. The individual amount granted to a student ranged from Rs. 6,000/- to Rs. 12,000/- per annum. In addition, Rs. 10,00,000/- was disbursed as financial aid to the economically weaker families of the community.’

While discussing with members of the AIAIA it was found that most of the financial assistance went to the economically backward families of Anglo-Indians in Kolkatta, Delhi, Chennai, Madurai, Vellore, Kanyakumari, Tiruchirapalli, Vellore, Udhagamandalam (Ooty), Thanjavur, Perambalur, Erode, Villupuram, Coimbatore, Kochi, Tiruvanathapuram, Alleppey, Kottayam, Hyderabad, Mysore, Nagpur, Patna and Danapur. A number of Anglo-Indian families in these towns belong to the below the poverty line and were

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homeless. In Kolkata hundreds of Anglo-Indians live in slums. It was observed that the Association does not have much money nor do the members ever worked hard to tap the various resources and institutions to augment the finances of the Association.

The AIAIA also runs four schools known as ‘The Frank Anthony Public Schools’ established at New Delhi, Kolkata and two in Bangalore. These are the leading Anglo-Indian schools and forty per cent of the teaching staff of these institutions belongs to the Anglo-Indian community. Similarly, 15 per cent out of the total 3,500 students in these schools were Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian students are charged a nominal fee of Rs.1000/- per annum in these institutions. Apart from schools, the Association publishes a monthly magazine called ‘The Review’ which focuses on the community matters like socio-cultural activities and the coverage of the meetings of the association as well as the activities of branches in different cities. However, since the AIAIA has only meagre sources of income it has not been able to address the problems of the Anglo-Indians scattered in different parts of the country. Nevertheless, the four schools run by the association have gained popularity among the Anglo-Indians and the wards of many of them have also benefited out of the concessions granted to them by these schools.

Regarding the genesis, ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’ is the oldest association of the country which came into existence in 1870 under the title ‘Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association.’ However, in 1942, the term Eurasian was dropped and the Association was named as ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’. Mention may be made here
that in 1942 the Association was relatively bigger and had as many as 90 branches all over, including the areas now in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma. Even in 1947, it had 70 branches in independent India. Subsequently, it declined as many Anglo-Indians migrated to the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. However, the Association played a significant role in safeguarding the interests of the Anglo-Indians in the pre and post-independence period. The decisive role in the AIAIA had been that of the President-in-Chief of the association and the governing body. The Association became popular under the dynamic leadership of Sir Henry Gidney. He was an ophthalmologic surgeon and remained the President-in-Chief of the AIAIA from 1918 to 1942. He brought a number of concessions, relief’s and benefits to the Anglo-Indian community. Sir Gidney also represented the case of Anglo-Indian Community before the ‘Simon Commission’ (1927) and the ‘Cripps India Mission’ (1942). Prior to this, it was the efforts of Gidney that the community had been granted one reserved seat to be filled by nomination in the newly created Central Legislative Assembly under the ‘Montague-Chelmsford Reforms’ of 1919. Further, at the ‘Round Table Conference’ in 1930, Gidney asked for adequate statutory protection and safeguarding of interests by an inclusion of a protective clause that would secure representation of Anglo-Indians in all legislatures and jobs in government services. Consequently, the efforts of Gidney bore fruit in the form of Section 242 of the ‘Government of India Act 1935’. According to the Act the community was provided 8 percent direct recruitment in the Railways, 3 percent reservations in the department of Customs and 5 percent in the Posts and Telegraphic

13 Ibid, P. 396
Incidentally, most of the Anglo-Indians had been working in these departments. These concessions for the community were procured mainly on the basis of personal influence and contacts with the authorities. Indeed, the Association provided a platform and infrastructure facilities to the activists and leaders of the Anglo-Indian community.

However, Sir Gidney’s death in 1942 created a vacuum for the community as no other person of his stature was available to tend to the problems of the Anglo-Indian community in the crisis times. According to Frank Anthony:

‘So great had Gidney towered over any other person purporting to speak for the Anglo-Indians, that the community found it difficult to believe that it could produce, particularly at this juncture a leader of sufficient capacity and vision who could achieve a position of all comparables with that which Gidney had secured in public life.’

After Henry Gidney’s demise, Frank Anthony, a lawyer by profession, was elected President-in-Chief of the AIAIA. He led the small Anglo-Indian community through critical times in the pre and post-independence period. Keeping in view the plurality and multicultural dimension of the Indian society, Mr. Anthony decided that the future of Anglo-Indians would be safe in India after independence. The Anglo-Indian community, according to him, was as strongly Indian as any other community in the country. He maintained, “The Community is Indian. It

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has always been Indian. Above all, it has an inalienable Indian birthright. The more we love and are loyal to India, the more will India be loyal to us.”

In 1946 Mr. Frank Anthony and Stanley Henry Prater, a naturalist at the ‘Bombay Natural History Society’, became nominated members of the Anglo-Indian community in the Constituent Assembly. The community secured special Constitutional guarantees in the form of Article 366, 337, 333(3) and 331. Frank Anthony, who was heading the AIAIA, maintained good relations with the Congress leaders, particularly Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, which enabled the Anglo-Indian community several benefits as mentioned above. However, he attributed it to the Association and said, “The All-India Anglo-Indian Association is the lifeline of the community. The well being, indeed, the very existence of the community, is synonymous with the work and achievements of the Association.” The AIAIA, which was put on sound footings under the leadership of Sir Gidney, was further activated by Frank Anthony. Some scholars described it as ‘the most influential organization to represent the community on a nationwide basis and identified the role of the Association and its branches to create and reinforce a sense of communal identity.’

The socio-economic and political safeguards granted to the Anglo-Indians for a period of ten years proved substantial and facilitated the

18 Frank Anthony, Op Cit., 394.
community’s transition and gradual adjustments in a new set up of independent India. The community being a meagre group, the Association and its leaders have been following methods of personal contacts to win favours from the ruling elites. However, to the dismay of the community, the AIAIA and its leaders failed to get an extension regarding the Constitutional safeguards, particularly Article 336 and 337, after the expiry of ten years. The major reason was that the safeguards accorded to the Anglo-Indian community, such as special representation by nomination in the legislatures, quotas in the services and of educational grants, came to be attacked by the leaders of different communities like the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Moreover, the community itself offended the ruling elite by resisting to the language Committee and the imposition of Hindi. According to the Anglo-Indian leaders, the efforts were aimed at effacing English from the official language in the country. The removing of English, according to them, would mean putting in jeopardy the culture of Anglo-Indians and destruction of their schools. According to Anthony “Without our language, without our schools, it would be only a question of time before the community was destroyed as a recognised identity.” However, he maintained that he was not opposed to Hindi per se, but objected to it being the sole official language. In fact he had insisted on Hindi being made compulsory as a second language in all Anglo-Indian schools. His commitment to the cause of English was not to preserve the language because it was the mother tongue of the Anglo-Indian community, but he believed that English was the ‘mortar of unity’ in India. He maintained: “Once language is made coterminous with

political power, regional-cum-linguistic chauvinism will raise their ugly heads throughout the country.”22 In addition to their objection to the Language policy, the inconsequential electoral strength of the community, its meagre resources and the objections raised by the counterpart communities worked against the safeguards granted to the Anglo-Indians ten years ago. Leaders including Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant and Jawaharlal Nehru thus became reluctant to continue the concessions to the Anglo-Indians. Pandit Nehru felt that such safeguards as were given to Anglo-Indians under Article 336 and 337 tended to perpetuate sectarianism.23 As a consequence, these Constitutional safeguards for the community were discontinued after ten years. The community being very small in number would have enjoyed such concessions only under political patronage, which it had lost in the 1960s on account of variety of factors as mentioned above. The discontinuance came as a jolt to the community and affected the entry of Anglo-Indians in the Railways, Post and Telegraphs and the Customs in a big way. In fact, the denial of these concessions forced the Anglo-Indians to harp on the private jobs, particularly as school teachers. It would not be an exaggeration to say that it is hard to come across an Anglo-Indian serving in the government sector. Whereas, their presence in the English medium schools as teachers all over the country has become a common feature. In fact, in Chandigarh there are only 3 Anglo-Indians serving in the government sector. Similarly, in Delhi it was found that only 4 Anglo-Indians, out of the 60 families studied, served in public sector in departments such as the Air force, tourism and transport. In terms of employment, the community is

23 Frank Anthony, Op cit, P, 221.
entirely alienated from the public sector. However, the continuation of facilities under Article 331 and 333 wherein two Anglo-Indians are nominated to the Lok Sabha and one to the several State Assemblies helped the community to reconcile and thus continued supporting Congress as Anthony himself continued to be nominated Anglo-Indian member to the Lok Sabha till 1996. With the demise of Frank Anthony in the year 1996, Major General (Retd.) Williams became the President-in-Chief of the Association and remained in office for only two years. However he also expired in 1998. Since then Mr. Neil O’Brien, a teacher by profession, continues to be the President-in-chief of the AIAIA. Both Maj. General Williams and Neil O’Brien represented the community in the 10th and 11th Lok Sabha, respectively.

**THE OTHER SPLINTER GROUPS OF THE ANGLO-INDIANS**

Apart from the AIAIA, some splinter groups have been formed by the local Anglo-Indian leaders in cities like Chennai, Bangalore, Cochin and Hyderabad. These groups include ‘The Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India’, ‘The Anglo-Indian Guild’, ‘The Anglo-Indian Federation’, ‘Union of Anglo-Indian Association’, ‘The Anglo-Indian Welfare Association’ and ‘Anglo-Indian Association.’ The leaders who founded these groups in the respective cities and states had been leaders of the AIAIA for several years. Factors like personality, region, intra-elite conflict etc. led to the formation of various associations from one time to another. Incidentally, the emergence of Anglo-Indian groups has taken place only in the southern states as the AIAIA continues to be the sole
organisation of Anglo-Indians in the other states of the country where the Anglo-Indian population exists.

**The Anglo-Indian Association of Southern Indian (AIASI):** This association, founded in 1974, is headquartered at Chennai. Presently it is headed by Mr. G.K. Francis who had represented the Anglo-Indian community as a nominated member of the State Assembly of Tamil Nadu during 1989-91 and again in 1996-2001. The reasons for the foundation of this association could be attributed to factionalism within the leadership of ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’. A group of leaders from Tamil Nadu felt that the interests of the Anglo-Indians in the south were not properly safeguarded by the AIAIA. The researcher, while contacting the leaders of the AIASI found that they had felt suffocated under the dominant leadership of the AIAIA which forced them to break away and establish a separate association for the Anglo-Indians in Tamil Nadu. However, the AIAIA leaders on the other hand, attributed the formation of a separate association to the factor of personal ambitions of individual leaders. A senior member of the governing body of the AIAIA told the researcher that “everybody wanted to become a powerful leader to get nomination to the Lok Sabha or the state assembly.” The researcher while discussing with the members of the governing body of the AIAIA in Delhi and other Anglo-Indian activists gathered that the formation of the south Indian association was necessitated on account of growing factionalism within the competing elites and a sense of discrimination and discontent against the dominant north Indian Anglo-Indian leadership. This resulted in split and formation of the ‘Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India’ with the objectives of uplifting the Anglo-Indian community in Tamil
Nadu in regard to its socio-economic and cultural pursuits. Since then the AIASI has started working separately and has raised the problems faced by the Anglo-Indians in the southern belt. Presently, the AIASI, according to the President Mr. G.K. Francis, has a total strength of 800 members. The subscription fee for each member is Rs. 25/- per month. If the spouse of a member of the association is admitted as a member of the organisation then the fee is Rs.30/- per month. In addition a member can opt for ‘life membership’ by paying Rs. 3000/-. Most of the members of the ‘Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India’ belong to Chennai where the Anglo-Indians of Tamil Nadu are concentrated. According to estimates of the Anglo-Indian leaders there are about 20,000 Anglo-Indians residing in Chennai.24 A large number of them, according to the President and members of the executive body, either earn their livelihood as teachers in schools, office secretaries, receptionists, factory workers, hawkers and vendors etc.

The AIASI has an executive body consisting of 15 members including the President. The ‘Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India’ publishes a quarterly newsletter called “Association News”. It highlights the socio- cultural aspects and economic life of the community in the state of Tamil Nadu. Regarding activities, this Association helps Anglo-Indians in terms of scholarships and exemption of fee in schools. The leaders claimed to have got one seat reserved for Anglo-Indians in professional courses like nursing and information and industrial training institutes. In 2007, the AIASI provided four scholarships amounting to Rs. 12,000/- to

24 As stated by the President of the All India Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India, Mr. G.K. Francis during a telephonic interview in July 2007. The facts were further confirmed from other members of the community like Mr. Harry MacLure editor of the Chennai based magazine ‘Anglos in the Wind’ and Mr. Richard Selvey a retired railway employee at Chennai.
Rs.15,000/- per student per annum, for getting education in the fields of nursing, information technology and industrial training.

During his tenure as member of the Legislative Assembly (1996-2001) Mr. Francis was able to seek complete exemption of tuition fee for Anglo-Indian students in 41 schools that are run by various Christian churches in Tamil Nadu. Incidentally, these schools, during the British rule, were established for the purpose of providing education to the Anglo-Indian community. Of these schools, 25 are governed by the Catholic Church and 16 by the Protestant Church. It may be mentioned here that of late, the Tamil Nadu Government has made higher education in the Government Arts and Science colleges free for all students in the state. This measure would benefit the Anglo-Indian community in Tamil Nadu in a big way, as most parents owing to hardships have faced difficulties in giving education to their wards.

In 1990, Mr. G.K. Francis also sought a ‘Backward Class’ status for the Anglo-Indian community in the state of Tamil Nadu. However, his efforts failed to materialize as the government did not consider this demand. The Anglo-Indians did not qualify the criteria for placing people in the ‘Backward Class’ category. According to the guidelines of the ‘National Commission for Backward Classes’ (NCBC), castes and communities, which mainly depend on agricultural or other manual labour for wage and are lacking any significant resource base, are considered as socially backward. In addition, the criteria furnished to Central

26 www.ncbc.in
government offices for identifying the socially backward people for non Hindu communities is: (1) a person will be deemed to be socially backward if either (a) he is a convert from those Hindu communities which have been defined as socially backward, (b) in case, he is not a convert, his parental income is below the prevalent poverty line, i.e. Rs. 71/- per head per month. (2) He will be deemed to be educationally backward if neither his father nor his grandfather had studied beyond the primary level. The Anglo-Indians do not fall in any of the above categories. However, the efforts have continued and in February 2007, the Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India along with the Anglo-Indian Guild at Bangalore and nominated Anglo-Indian members of the State Assembly of Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh (also including an ex-nominated Anglo-Indian to the West Bengal State Assembly) as well as one of the present nominated Anglo-Indians in the Lok Sabha formed the ‘National Forum of Anglo-Indians’. The ‘Forum’ was created to fight for the economic and educational problems faced by the community. Regarding this, they also met the Union Minister of Minority Affairs, Mr. Abdul Rehman Antulay. The minister sympathized with them but any concrete steps were yet to be taken.

Interestingly enough, while meeting the Union minister, the AIASI leaders did not take into confidence ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’, including its branches in Tamil Nadu. There are as many as 19 branches of the AIAIA with a membership of 1815 persons in cities like Chennai, Madurai, Kanyakumari, Tiruchirapalli, Vellore,

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Udhagamandalam (Ooty), Thanjavur, Perambalur, Erode, Villupuram and Coimbatore. So much so the AIAIA in 2006-2007 had granted Rs. 7,08,890/- as scholarships to Anglo-Indian students.

Though the AIAIA has its branches in these cities, the AIASI under the stalwartship of Mr. G.K. Francis has emerged stronger in terms of mobilizing and articulating the interest of the Anglo-Indian community in the state. However, there has been hardly any change in the top leadership of the AIASI as Mr. Francis continues to be its President right from its inception in 1974.

**The Anglo-Indian Guild:** Mr. Ivan Surro, who retired as a technical officer in the Bharat Petroleum, founded ‘The Anglo-Indian Guild’ in 1979. Mr. Surro before forming the guild was a member of the AIAIA. The formation of this organisation could also be attributed to infighting as Mr. Surro and his group felt dissatisfied with the authoritarian attitudes of Mr. Frank Anthony, the then President-in-Chief of the AIAIA. ‘The Guild’ was initially registered as ‘the Anglo-Indians Club’ but soon its name was changed to ‘The Anglo-Indian Guild’ in 1984.

Mr. Surro died in 1986, and was succeeded by Mr. Joss Fernandez as the President of ‘The Anglo-Indian Guild’. He has continued as President of the Guild from 1986 onwards. Mr. Fernandez was nominated to the Karnataka Legislative Assembly in 1983. Subsequently, he was nominated to the 9th Lok Sabha from 1989 to 1991. However, he failed to get nominated to the Lok Sabha in 1991 from the ruling Congress. But in

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28 As stated by the President of ‘The Anglo-Indian Guild’ Mr. Joss Fernandez during a telephonic interview in June 2007.
1995, he was nominated to the State Assembly by the government headed by Mr. H.D. Devegoda. It may be mentioned here that ‘The Guild’ confines to Bangalore city where the Anglo-Indian population is concentrated in the state. According to the estimates of the Anglo-Indian leaders there are about 17,000 Anglo-Indians in Bangalore city. Of these, 700 are members of ‘The Guild’. The annual subscription per member is Rs. 100/-. In addition a member can opt for ‘life membership’ by paying Rs. 1,000/-. The organisation has a ‘managing council’ comprising of 11 members including the President, vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and seven core members who are elected annually.

‘The Guild’ has been able to secure free education for Anglo-Indian students up to Class 10 in government schools of Karnataka. In addition, one seat each is reserved for Anglo-Indians in the government Nursing College and Polytechnic College. In 2002, the guild also demanded land to meet the housing requirement of the Anglo-Indian community within the limits of Bangalore city. In addition, 40 houses under the ‘Ashraya scheme’ were also sought for the lower income sections of the Anglo-Indian community. It may be mentioned here that the ‘Ashraya’ houses are low priced houses for the less fortunate members of the society. However, the ruling party in the state did not meet these demands of ‘The Guild’. In February 2007, as mentioned, ‘The Guild’ along with others through the Forum put forward the economic and educational problems faced by the community before the Union Minister of Minority Affairs Mr. Abdul Rehman Antulay. But all in vain.
However, despite the formation of ‘The Guild’, the AIAIA also has 6 branches in the different cities of Karnataka like Bangalore, Mysore, Hosepet, Hubli, and Kolar with as many as 1007 members operating as a separate identity. In 2006-07, the AIAIA had granted Rs.95,000/- as scholarships to students of the community. However, both these associations on occasions have worked at cross-purposes. The conflict has been largely around the issue of leadership and nominations to the State Assembly.

The Anglo-Indian Welfare Association (AIWA): This association was founded at Hyderabad in 1982 by Mrs. Christine Lazarus. Prior to this, she was a member of the AIAIA. She was aspiring for nomination to the state assembly but the AIAIA leaders chose another person Lt. Colonel (retired) Scott, which had hurt her. As a result she left the AIAIA and formed the AIWA. Subsequently, she managed her nomination to the Legislative Assembly in 1989. Again in 2004, she was nominated to the present Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh. Since the formation of the AIWA in 1982, Mrs. Lazarus has been its Chairperson. The AIWA has a membership of 1200 Anglo-Indians. The organisation has an ‘executive body’ comprising of 9 members including the Chairperson. The AIWA has seven branches in various cities of Andhra Pradesh such as Hyderabad, Kassipeth, Vijaywada, Rajahmundry, Guntakal, Bichugunta, Kacinada and Vishakapatnam. According to the estimates of the Anglo-Indian leaders of the state, there are 80,000 Anglo-Indians in Andhra Pradesh.
During the course of interview, Mrs. Christine Lazarus claimed to have gained one reserved seat each in Nursing College and Polytechnic College for the Anglo-Indians of Andhra Pradesh. Moreover, she also procured school fee concessions for Anglo Indian students in the state. She further said that she had obtained accommodation for 5 poor Anglo-Indian families on subsidized rates, in the Rangareddy district of the state. In addition, under the ‘Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission’ (JNNURM), Mrs. Lazarus has requested the government to provide 150 houses to the Anglo-Indians in Chitraguntha, Ramagundam, and Kassipeth region. Under the JNNURM scheme the individual would pay only 50 per cent of the total cost of the flat. The flat owner is required to pay Rs. 10,000/- in advance and the rest of the amount of Rs. 90,000/- in 25 installments. However, if materializes it would be a considerable achievement, enabling some Anglo-Indians to become house owners.

Apart from the AIWA, there is another group in Hyderabad called the ‘Anglo-Indian Association’ (AIA), though it has a meagre following. In addition, the AIAIA also has six branches in the state. These branches of the AIAIA are located in the cities of Hyderabad, Vijaywada, Vishakapatnam, Nalgonda, Rajahmundry and Golkonda. During 2006-2007, the AIAIA also granted Rs. 1,65,000/- as scholarships to the Anglo-Indian students in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

However, the leadership of these groups has been competing for nominations to the State Assembly, or for that matter, the Lok Sabha. The AIWA had managed to get nominations in the year 1989, 2000 and 2004.
Whereas AIAIA secured nomination in 1969, 1973 and 1979. It was only in 1983 that both these associations had failed to get nomination, as Mrs. Marjorie Godfrey managed to gain an entry into the state legislature. Mr. D. Atkinson of the AIA was nominated only once as the member of the Lok Sabha in 1999. The decisive role regarding the nomination is personal equation of these leaders who legitimize their claim for nomination by virtue of being heads of these organisations.

Union of Anglo-Indian Association (UAIA): This association was founded by Mr. A. D. Luiz in 1962 at Kochi. Like the leaders of the other splinter groups, Mr. Luiz was also a member of the AIAIA. When he was nominated to the Kerala State Assembly in 1952-1956 he was a member of the AIAIA. However, in 1962, he founded the UAIA. He left the AIAIA because of differences with the leadership in the apex body particularly, on the issue of depositing 50 percent of the membership amount to the AIAIA at Delhi. Moreover, he felt that the AIAIA paid scant attention to the problems of the community in Kerala in regard to education and employment. Since 1962, the UAIA has been working as a separate organisation for the Anglo-Indian community in Kerala. Presently, the UAIA has a membership of 300 persons. The membership fee is Rs. 20/- per person per month. The organisation has an executive body comprising of five members including the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Jt. Secretary and Treasurer. According to the estimates of the Anglo-Indian leaders and community members of Kerala, there are approximately 90,000 Anglo-Indians residing in the state. They are concentrated in the cities of Kochi, Alleppey, Kollam, Tiruvanthapuram and Calicut.
The Secretary of the UAIA, Mr. Charles Dias, told the researcher that it was on account of the persistent efforts of his association many benefits have accrued to the Anglo-Indian community in the state. For example, in the 1980s the association had secured one reserved seat for Anglo-Indians in the Industrial Training Institutes (ITI) courses of the state. Similarly, the Anglo-Indians have one seat each reserved in professional courses of Medicine, Engineering, Nursing, Bachelor of Veterinary science (B.VSc) and Engineering Diploma in all government institutions of the state.

In addition to the UAIA, there are some more micro splinter groups of the Anglo-Indians in Kerala, though they hardly count on account of their nominal following. However, ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’ has five branches in the cities of Calicut, Kochi, Tiruvanthapuram, Alleppey and Kollam having a total membership of 341 Anglo-Indians. In 2006 the AIAIA had granted scholarships amounting to Rs.26,000/- to the Anglo-Indian students. Comparatively, the UAIA has been able to get a larger share of the nominations to the State Assembly, as its members had been the representing the Anglo-Indian community since 1967-2006. Prior to this, i.e. from 1952-1967, the members of the AIAIA had been represented in the State Assembly. However, the present Anglo-Indian MLA Mr. Simon Britto is not a member of any of the Anglo-Indian associations. He is a member of CPI (M).

The various associations of the Anglo-Indian community, which operate in different states, have never launched any movement separately or unitedly, regarding the problems of the Anglo-Indians. Most of them
are leader-based organisations and operate locally in towns where they originated. The personal ambition of the competing elites like winning nomination to the State Assembly has been the major motivating force for the leaders. The growth of splinter groups can also be attributed to this factor. That is why these groups have failed to attract the Anglo-Indian people to become its members. In fact, the membership of these groups reveal that many Anglo-Indians, though most of them are educated and articulate, have not become their members. For example, the UAIA has mustered a membership of only 300 Anglo-Indians in a state where the size of the Anglo-Indian community is as high as 90,000. This makes it evident that lots of Anglo-Indians do not take much interest in the activities of the associations.
However, as discussed above, there have emerged two types of associations representing the Anglo-Indian community in the country. The first category includes the AIAIA, an oldest association of the community, which has as many as 55 regional branches in different states of the Indian union. In the second category there are splinter groups which have emerged only in the four south Indian states in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. The factors that inspired the formation of these groups were not ideological or programme oriented but factional squabbling and personal ambition of community influentials. Except south, the Anglo-Indian community in the other states is represented only by the AIAIA which maintains its branches in different states. In the south Indian states too, the AIAIA has its branches in cities where the Anglo-Indians are concentrated. Since the present study covers the Anglo-Indians in Chandigarh, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Delhi and Uttrakhand, where only the AIAIA is the sole group of the community, the respondents were asked questions focusing on the role and functions of the AIAIA.

Perceptions of the Anglo-Indian Respondents regarding the role and performance of the AIAIA

With a view to knowing the working and effectiveness of the AIAIA, the perceptions of the respondents were ascertained through a
‘Schedule’ which included questions on the role and performance of the association concerning the socio-economical and cultural interests of the community. In addition, they were also asked if they were members of ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’. Out of the total 278 respondents, representing the Anglo-Indian families of the cities covered in the study, only 70 were members of the Association. Whereas the remaining 208 were not its members. Interestingly, out of the 208 non-members, 75 had been its members in the past but discontinued, as they felt no utility in being a member of the AIAIA. However, the remaining 133 respondents had never been associated with the Association. These non-members were further asked ‘if they had heard about the Association and its activities?’ In reply it was found that all the non-members knew that there existed an association of Anglo-Indians including the branch in the towns they belonged. The facts about membership of the AIAIA can further be seen from the following table.

### Table 14
Membership of The All-India Anglo-Indian Association

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chandigarh and Mohali</th>
<th>Panchkula and Ambala</th>
<th>Shimla and Solan</th>
<th>Dehradun and Mussoorie</th>
<th>Delhi</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>23 (25%)</td>
<td>5 (45.45%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>28 (25%)</td>
<td>14 (24%)</td>
<td>70 (25.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>67 (75%)</td>
<td>6 (54.55%)</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
<td>84 (75%)</td>
<td>46 (76%)</td>
<td>208 (74.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90 (100%)</td>
<td>11 (100%)</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
<td>112 (100%)</td>
<td>60 (100%)</td>
<td>278 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Separately, in Chandigarh and Mohali 25 percent (23 persons) of the Anglo-Indian respondents were members of the AIAIA whereas 75 percent (67 persons) were non-members. A similar pattern is revealed in the other towns of the study. For example in Panchkula and Ambala 45.45 percent (5), Dehradun and Mussoorie, 25 percent (28) and similarly in Delhi 24 percent (14 persons) of the Anglo-Indian respondents were members of the AIAIA. In the case of Shimla and Solan there was neither a branch nor many families of Anglo-Indians resided there. Hence, the leaders of the association, hardly ever motivated the people there to become members of the AIAIA. The study, thus, reveals that only a small number of Anglo-Indians were members of the Association.

When the respondents were asked the reason for not being a member of ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’, amazingly, out of the 208 Anglo-Indians, 74 percent (154 persons) said there is no benefit in being a member of the association, 18.5 per cent (39) maintained that no one had approached them to become a member whereas 7.5 per cent (15) declined to comment. However, an Anglo-Indian mechanic in Ambala maintained “No value in being a member of the Association. In reality you have to fend for your self.” Likewise, an Anglo-Indian receptionist in Chandigarh stated: “Being a member of an association doesn’t help in acquiring a job, employment is difficult.” Similarly, an Anglo-Indian travel agent from New Delhi said “The Association does not help to procure a job”. A teacher from New Delhi on the other hand told: “There is no leadership. The Anglo-Indian Association is not helping. The community is struggling to survive.” An Anglo-Indian teacher from
Shimla stated, "No body has ever asked me to join the Association."

These statements indicate that the Anglo-Indian respondents in our study do not find much relevance of the Association nor they are ever motivated to become its members. The facts thus show that only one-fourth of the Anglo-Indians in the study were members of the AIAIA. The Association has not done much towards fulfilling the aspirations of the community. As a result majority of the Anglo-Indians feel indifferent and alienated from it. Some other scholars too have revealed a similar type of indifference among the Anglo-Indians towards ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’. For example, according to a study, the membership of the AIAIA is less than 10 percent of the total Anglo-Indian community existing in India.  

Interestingly, the number of branches of the association in various cities has also decreased over the years. For example, in 2002 the organisation had 85 branches that were reduced to 63 in 2004 and further to 55 branches in 2006. The decline in the number of branches and reduction in membership of the Association has taken place simultaneously. The total membership of the AIAIA in 2002 was 48,000, which came down to 45,900 in 2004 and in 2006, 45,000 members. The decline could be attributed to factors such as the migration of Anglo-Indians from smaller towns to bigger towns in search of employment and better avenues of education. As most Anglo-Indians have migrated to the Metropolitan cities it has led to the closure of a

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number of branches in various towns of different states like Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Rajasthan, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh etc. Earlier, several towns of these states had branches of the AIAIA but with the dwindling number of Anglo-Indians there those branches had to be closed forever. For example, in Rajasthan the association used to have branches in Ajmer, Bandikui, Abu Road and Phulera, but subsequently they ceased to function because of migration. Presently, the state of Rajasthan has only one branch of the Association at Jaipur. Incidentally, Jaipur did not have a branch of the association earlier as the meagre population of Anglo-Indians in the city were associated with the Ajmer branch where the community was relatively more concentrated. Similarly, in Haryana the association had its branch in Rewari, which is now closed. Likewise, in Madhya Pradesh the branch at Neemuch no longer exists due to migration of Anglo-Indians to other places like Delhi and Jaipur. Similarly, the branches at Kanpur and Gorakpur in Uttar Pradesh, Sholapur in Maharashtra and San Thome and Royapuram in Tamil Nadu have become dysfunctional because of the decline in the population of the Anglo-Indians who have migrated to other cities. Interestingly, the migration of Anglo-Indians from these places could be attributed mainly to their reduction in the number of employees in the Railways over decades. As discussed in earlier chapters, bulk of Anglo-Indians had been employed in selected departments like Railways, Customs, Post and Telegraphs because the community was granted a fixed quota in services of these departments till 1960. Their strength obviously dwindled with the retirement of the incumbents from there.

33 www.aiadanapur.org
Hence, there was migration of Anglo-Indians from the Railway colonies of different towns in search of new avenues elsewhere.

With regard to membership of the AIAIA, several Anglo-Indians have withdrawn from the Association as they felt that the organisation was not effective in terms of getting jobs and other benefits. Interestingly, in Chandigarh itself 58 members have disassociated from the AIAIA since 2002. The branch had a membership of 145 in 2002, which, of late, has been reduced to 87 in 2007. When asked ‘why did you withdraw your membership?’ An Anglo-Indian teacher said: “There is hardly any activity visible in the Association, only scant attention is paid to community matters.” Likewise, a student maintained: “The Association is hardly competent to get us jobs.” Similarly, a telephone operator in a Chandigarh hotel said, “The Association does not matter in power circles, hence we do not gain much.” A retired teacher remarked: ‘It is a waste of Rs.18/- every month as subscription fee.”

However, regarding the question whether ‘the AIAIA was playing an effective role in safeguarding the interests of the community?’ 74.12 percent (206 persons) of the respondents replied in negative and said the Association had hardly done anything for the community. It was only 21.21 percent (59) of them spoke positively and maintained that in the past, it was the efforts of the Association, which had gained Constitutional guarantees. They also stated that had the AIAIA not been there the privileges and benefits accrued to the community in 1950 would have hardly come. In line with this an Anglo-Indian teacher of Chandigarh said, “The Association has done a lot in the past, let us support and
strengthen it to fight for the common interest of the Anglo-Indians.” Similarly a retired Anglo-Indian clerk in Dehradun maintained, “Anglo-Indians should join in large numbers to make the Association strong.” A retired defense personnel at Delhi said “We Anglo-Indians should unite and help the Association to become a meaningful organisation acquiring gains for the community.” However, such views were held only by a small group of 21.21 percent of the respondents who perceived that the Association had played a positive role in safeguarding the community’s interest. Strikingly enough, as many as 37 Anglo-Indians who were the members of the AIAIA and paying Rs. 18/- per month as membership fee also felt dissatisfied with the organisation. When the views were crossed by age, it was found that the youth was totally disappointed and alienated by the Association. It was observed that the AIAIA has not proved effective so far as the requirement of the educated youth of the community is concerned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 15</th>
<th>Effectiveness of The All-India Anglo-Indian Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chandigarh and Mohali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect</td>
<td>19 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not effective</td>
<td>68 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No comments</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>90 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table reveals that most of the Anglo-Indian respondents from the selected towns were dissatisfied with the working of ‘The All-India Anglo-Indian Association’. If in the towns of Chandigarh and Mohali it was 76 percent (68 persons) of the respondents who had perceived that the Association was not effective in safeguarding the socio-economic and cultural interests of the community such proportion in Panchkula, Ambala, Shimla, Solan, Dehradun, Mussoorie and Delhi was 72.2 (8), 60 (3), 74 (83 persons) and 74.5 per cent (44) respectively. Those who felt the Association was not effective were of the opinion that it has failed to help the Anglo-Indians in terms of employment and prevent the socio-political marginalisation of the community. Some of them also felt that the Association lacked competent and hardworking leaders like Sir Henry Gidney. That is why they have failed to convince the ruling elite about the miserable plight of the community. A retired teacher from Chandigarh maintained, “leadership neither takes interest in the community nor has it mobilized the community to join the ranks of the Association.” Moreover, a person retired from the Army in Delhi maintained, “Leadership is meek. No one will grant benefits unless you have the zeal to fight for your cause.” Further he felt that the AIAIA should have fought for the continuation of the privileges granted to the Anglo-Indians by the Constitution in 1950. However, ‘the community being small and scattered has neither any cohesiveness nor a spirit of participation.’34 Regarding this, some scholars maintain that size decrease of a group has been related to frustration, non-participation,

dissatisfaction.\textsuperscript{35} The Anglo-Indians, in most cases have felt handicapped because of their limited number. It was because of this that the community failed to mount pressure on authorities when the Constitutional privileges were scrapped in 1960. Yet some Anglo-Indians perceived that the discontinuation of benefits should have been prevented by the leaders by way of mobilizing the community in different parts of the country.

Some respondents also viewed that had the Anglo-Indian leadership been active and competent, the community would have managed nomination at the local levels in the Municipal Councils and Corporations. A retired Anglo-Indian said that “The 74th Constitutional amendment\textsuperscript{36} talks of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes, women etc. but not at all about the Anglo-Indians consisting of an urban based minority and working for the development of the country.” It was found that in the towns covered by the study, the Anglo-Indians had no representation in the Municipal Corporations or Councils. As a matter of fact, during the course of discussions with leaders and activists of the Anglo-Indian community, it was observed that no municipal body in the country had an Anglo-Indian representative. Presently, the city of Kolkatta has as many as one lakh Anglo-Indians, but hardly ever any representation even though certain areas of the city like


\textsuperscript{36} V.N. Shukla, The Constitution of India, New Delhi, Eastern Book Company1998, P.1091 (Seventy-Fourth Amendment) Act of 1992. Clause 3 e) reservation of seats in every Municipality- (i) for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in proportion to their population of which not less than one-third shall be for women; (ii) For women which shall not less than one-third of the total number of seats; (iii) In favour of backward class of citizens if so provided by the Legislature of the State; (iv) For Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women in the office of Chairpersons as may be specified in the State law.
Picnic Gardens, C.N.Roy Road, Behala and Elliot Road enjoy some concentration of Anglo-Indians. During a telephonic talk with the leaders of the AIAIA in Kolkatta, it was gathered that the community had no representation in the city’s Municipal Corporation. Some activists suggested in favour of a nominated seat in the municipal institutions on the lines of the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha wherever Anglo-Indians form a sizeable group of a couple of thousands or so. However, the Association and its branches have never launched any campaign nor submitted a memorandum regarding such a nomination in the Municipal bodies in their area.

The present trend shows that any space on the horizon of decision-making depends on the efficacy of minority groups in mobilizing themselves to protest. Regarding this, some Anglo-Indians while criticizing the strategies and method adopted by the Association said that the AIAIA has never organised any processions, rallies, dharnas etc. that would have proved more effective for the demands of the community. The leaders have rather adopted the technique of personal contacts and face-to-face meetings with the decision makers. It had paid in the past but now things have changed. Some respondents also suggested that the Association should find appropriate allies to pursue the matter with vigor. Some felt that the community was lagging behind the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as most of its members have been surviving on the meagre salaries in the private sector.

The researcher, while interviewing the office bearers of the Association in Chandigarh, Dehradun and Delhi found that the association
was handicapped of finances as well as dedicated workers. Being a small community, the leaders of the association hardly receive cooperation from the officials and elected leaders occupying powerful positions at different levels. Even the nominated Anglo-Indian members were ignored by the powerful leaders and ministers. For example, In 2002, the two nominated Anglo-Indian members in the Lok Sabha took up the issues of job reservation and educational grants for the community but their demands were not heeded by the ruling elite. In fact, they were told that the privileges of Article 336 and 337 had long lapsed and could not be reinstated. The community influentials attribute their predicament to the meagre strength of the Anglo-Indians to exert pressure on the government. During the course of discussion, the Anglo-Indian leaders told that even if they work hard it would be difficult to make the Association a force that could put pressure on the decision-makers. Some of them said that the members of the Association being employees in the private sector never get the time to mobilize people or, for that matter to sensitize them on issues concerning the community. Moreover, since the community is scattered all over the country, the Association on account of paucity of resources has found it arduous to establish contacts with the members.

Further, it was observed that there was lack of cooperation between the Association and the nominated members of the community in the state assemblies and the Lok Sabha. For example, both the nominated members of the present Lok Sabha are not members of the AIAIA. Of them, one was a member earlier but left the organisation in 2004 and got the nomination on the basis of his own contact and personal equations. The
second, a lady, Mrs. Ingrid McLeod has never been a member of the AIAIA. Thus in such a situation neither the Association can have claims over the nominated members nor these members attach any significance to the leadership in the Association. In fact, the nominated members work independently of the AIAIA, which has obviously minimized the importance of the organisation.

Incidentally, the AIAIA was no longer a sole spokesman of the Anglo-Indians in the country as it used to be earlier. The fissures and factions which developed on account of infighting, personal ambitions and regional pressures have weakened its position among the Anglo-Indians of the country.

Initially, the factions were manifested in the form of pro and against Frank Anthony which had resulted in “the loss of faith in the leadership of Frank Anthony as well as the Association.”37 The growth of the splinter groups in the southern states may also be attributed to the factor of personality-based activities of the Association in Chennai, Bangalore and Hyderabad. Factionalism resulting in the formation of splinter groups which work at cross purposes has weakened rather than strengthening the cause of the Anglo-Indian community.