Chapter 3

The Socio-Economic Profile of the Anglo-Indian Community

The socio-economic background of a community is an important indicator to measure its status, role and importance in the society. In the case of the Anglo-Indians, who form a very small group scattered in different parts of the country, a study regarding their social profile becomes all the more imperative. There are other minor groups, even smaller than the Anglo-Indians, such as the Parsis but on account of certain factors like their hold on business and industry, they have excelled over the others in making their presence felt in the country and elsewhere. The Anglo-Indians, on the contrary, depend on the private sector jobs and economically, barring exceptions, belong to the lower middle class category. A small community without economic clout has thus not been able to create a space for itself in the realms of public life of a vast country like India. It is either the economic clout of the community or its numerical strength, which helps it in getting recognition and adequate space in the society. As a travesty both these factors are lacking in the case of the Anglo-Indians. However, the community has played a significant role in the field of education, defence, sports, culture etc. This may be illustrated by examples of personalities like Denzil Keelor, the winner of ‘Vir Chakra’ in 1965 and the ‘Param Vishisht Seva Medal’ in

The present chapter attempts to analyze the profile of the Anglo-Indians residing in the towns of Chandigarh, Mohali, Panchkula, Ambala, Shimla, Solan, Dehradun, Mussoorie and Delhi. As mentioned, there are 80 Anglo-Indian families (358 individuals) in Chandigarh, 10 households (40 persons) in Mohali, five families (25 persons) in Panchkula and six families (25 persons) in Ambala. Likewise, in Dehradun there are 104 Anglo-Indian families (405 persons), Mussoorie eight families (46 members), Shimla 4 Anglo-Indian families (9 persons) and Solan one family consisting of two members. In the case of Delhi, it is estimated that

1 Supra, Chapter- 1’Introduction’, Pp.39-40.
presently there are 410 Anglo-Indian families (2000 persons) in the capital city. The present study could cover only 60 Anglo-Indian families (240 persons) in Delhi.

The Anglo-Indians belonging to Chandigarh were living in sectors 15, 18, 19, 31, 34, 44, 45, 49, 52 and Mani Majra. Similarly, in Mohali, they were residing in sectors 70, 71, Phase 4 and 7. In Panchkula, the Anglo-Indian families were living in sectors 20, 12 and 12A and in Ambala, in Gur Mandi, Prem Nagar and near the Convent of Jesus and Mary School in Ambala Cantonment. Likewise, in Shimla two Anglo-Indian respondents served in Auckland House School, one in Bishop Cotton School and resided in the neighborhood of these schools. In addition, one Anglo-Indian respondent was the caretaker of the Christ Church complex situated on the Ridge, Shimla. In the case of Solan, the Anglo-Indian respondent had his residence on Rajgarh Road. Regarding Dehradun, the Anglo-Indians were scattered all over the city. They were residing in the areas of Clement Town, Majra, Railway Colony, Ballupur and Prem Nagar. In Mussoorie, the residences of the Anglo-Indian families were in close proximity of various schools they were employed like, Wyenberg Allen, Woodstock School, St. Clare’s Convent and Hampton Court Convent as they were employed in various capacities in these residential schools. The Anglo-Indian community of Delhi too was scattered all over the city. They were residing in areas such as Lajpat Nagar, Jungpura, Defence Colony, Ashram, Nizamuddin, Bhogal, Saket, Moti Nagar, Paharganj, Mayur Vihar, Patparganj, Vasant Vihar, Janakpuri, Kalkaji, Delhi Cantonment, Pitampura, R.K. Puram, Kamla Nagar and Karol Bagh.
However, with regard to their background, the Anglo-Indians in Chandigarh, Panchkula and Mohali are migrants from states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and West Bengal. Initially, a large number of them came to explore the chances of getting jobs as teachers in schools of the newly expanding towns. Some also came on transfer in departments like defence, public transport, postal services, banks, the police etc. To begin with in the 1960s there were only 20 Anglo-Indian families in Chandigarh. Incidentally, the two satellite towns of Panchkula and Mohali hardly existed at that time. At the initial stages, seven Anglo-Indian families came to Chandigarh to serve in the newly established three Christian schools namely, St. John’s High School, Sacred Heart and Carmel Convent School. In addition, five families were serving in the Indian Army and eight were with the Indian Air Force. Originally these families belonged to states like Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Rajasthan. As the city grew, the number of Anglo-Indians increased. For example, in 1976-79, fifteen more Anglo-Indian families came to Chandigarh on account of transfer. They belonged to departments like the police, banks, public transport and postal services. Subsequently in 1995-97, five more Anglo-Indian families joined as teachers in St. Xavier’s and St. Stephen’s, the private schools in the city and its satellite towns. The further growth of the Anglo-Indian families could be attributed to divisions in the existing families. Those who came as teachers to serve in Christian schools settled down in Chandigarh after their retirement. Others also followed. For example, three brothers serving in a public transport corporation had come to the city on deputation. After retirement, they continued living here with their families. The factor of job opportunities has been the motive force behind the migration of the
Anglo-Indian community to Chandigarh and its satellite towns. Since Chandigarh is the capital of two prominent states viz. Punjab and Haryana and a Union Territory, there are a large number of bureaucrats, technocrats, professionals etc. living here making it a city of educated people. This obviously created avenues for more English medium schools in the city which inspired the Anglo-Indians from different parts to come and teach in these schools.

Out of the six Anglo-Indian respondents in Ambala, two had migrated from Kolkatta in 1976 and the remaining four individuals were from the town itself. As a matter of fact, the town of Ambala was a large cantonment during the British rule, it had a sizeable British population and so became a dwelling place for the Anglo-Indian community who had been employed in departments like the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs etc. In the case of Shimla, out of the four Anglo-Indian respondents in the town, only two belonged to Shimla The remaining two respondents one each had migrated from Lucknow and Delhi in 1978. Similarly, the birthplace of most of the Anglo-Indians of Dehradun and Mussoorie happened to be these two towns as their fathers and forefathers served here in various professions during the pre-independence and early post-independence years. A number of Anglo-Indians initially lived in Dehradun. As discussed earlier, after Independence, the community, motivated by apprehensions migrated to other countries on a countrywide scale. As a result of this movement, the town of Dehradun also saw many Anglo-Indian families migrating to the West. Statistics gathered from knowledgeable of the community show that only 40 families remained in

\[\text{(2) Supra, Chapter 2 ‘Origin and History of the Anglo-Indian Community’, P.93-94.}\]
the town and served in various capacities in the schools of the city and in the Railways. However, 20 more families migrated to Dehradun in 1978-79. Out of these families, 12 came to the town in connection with missionary work like running schools and eight families whose members were employed with the Railways were transferred to this town. The further growth of Anglo-Indian families could be attributed to divisions in the existing families. Similarly, in Mussoorie, four families have been living in the town since birth as their forefathers had retired from the Telegraph and Forest departments. In addition, in 1982, three families shifted from Dehradun to Mussoorie to serve in public schools such as Woodstock, Mussoorie International School and St. Clare’s. The year 1999 saw the settling of two more Anglo-Indian families, one each from Deolali (Maharashtra) and Lucknow respectively. They were employed in Wyenber Allen School and St. George’s College. Incidentally, Mussoorie is the residence of the famous Anglo-Indian writer Ruskin Bond. Similarly, Maj. Gen. R.G. Williams, a product of the IMA Dehradun, Mr. Francis Fanthome, the present nominated Anglo-Indian Member of Parliament in the Lok Sabha and also a popular educationist are residents of Dehradun.

As regards the city of Delhi, most of the Anglo-Indians were from the city itself, as their fathers and forefathers had served here in various departments like the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, the Police and Customs in the pre-independence and post-independence period. However, some families have come and settled here from different states from time to time. For example, of the 60 families covered by the present study, five had migrated to Delhi between 1977-78. Of these, two each
were from Lucknow and Kanpur and one from Bareilly. In addition, two Anglo-Indian couples came from Patna in 1983 and joined as teachers in private schools and other private companies.

**Background Characteristics of the Respondents**

Regarding the socio-economic background, the analysis encompasses variables like age, literacy, occupation, income and sex of the 278 Anglo-Indian respondents covered by the study. As mentioned earlier, one person per family was selected on the criteria of male-female, earning capacity and sharing of family responsibilities. In all, the study includes 80 Anglo-Indian respondents from Chandigarh, 10 from Mohali, 5 from Panchkula, 6 from Ambala, 104 from Dehradun, 8 from Mussoorie, 5 from Shimla and Solan and 60 from Delhi.

**Age:** In terms of age, the single largest group of the Anglo-Indian respondents represented the category of middle-age of 36-54 years, followed by the young 18-35 years and old-age group of 55 years and above, respectively. Factually speaking, 136 persons (49 per cent) of the respondents represented the middle-age, 86 persons (31 percent) young-age category and 56 persons (20 percent) the old-age group of 56 years and above. This shows that the number of young and middle-aged Anglo-Indian respondents was greater than the proportion of the old-age category in the cities and towns covered by the present study. It may further be seen from the following table:
Table 2

Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Respondents by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</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>Young Age (18-35 years)</td>
<td>26 (29.6%)</td>
<td>4 (32.5%)</td>
<td>2 (37%)</td>
<td>34 (31.5%)</td>
<td>20 (34.4%)</td>
<td>86 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Age (36-54 years)</td>
<td>47 (52%)</td>
<td>5 (51.5%)</td>
<td>2 (37%)</td>
<td>53 (47%)</td>
<td>29 (47.6%)</td>
<td>136 (49%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old (55 and above)</td>
<td>17 (18.4%)</td>
<td>2 (16%)</td>
<td>1 (26%)</td>
<td>25 (21.5%)</td>
<td>11 (18%)</td>
<td>56 (20%)</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, 47 persons (52 per cent) of the Anglo-Indian respondents represented the middle-age category, 26 (29.6 per cent) young-age group and 17 persons (18.4 per cent) belonged to the old-age of 56 years and above. This reveals that a large number of them represented the middle and younger age groups. The same holds true about the respondents belonging to other places. The reason why the middle-age category was comparatively higher in proportion to the other age groups was that most of the Anglo-Indian households were dominated by the middle-age group people because of the nuclear character of the Anglo-Indian family. In other words, in the case of most Anglo-Indians, it is only the husband, his wife and their children that constitute an Anglo-Indian family. The next group of respondents was of the young ones, who were newly wed couples separated from their parents and serving in
different capacities like school teachers, clerks, telephone operators etc., whereas in some rare cases the children were living with their parents giving an impression of a joint family. In such cases, some wards were not able to sustain themselves independent of their parents whereas in some cases the parents were unable to sustain themselves. It was also observed that in such cases some wards were supplementing the family income through tuitions, part time jobs etc. whereas in some cases the wards were the major bread earners of the family.

In the case of the old-age group, the respondents in most cases represented the families of the retired persons living and managing their domiciliary independently. Of these, some were dependent on part time clerical jobs and tuitions. It may be mentioned that the Anglo-Indians retire with little benefits viz. they only have a contributory provident fund to depend on. Most of them, barring the government employees in the public sector retire without a pension. Hence, most Anglo-Indians have to continue working in some capacity even after retirement.

However, the researcher while interviewing 278 persons also collected information about the socio-economic background of the rest of the members of their respective families. It was found that the families of the 278 respondents consisted of 872 members. Out of these 872 persons, 261 (30 percent) belonged to the middle-age group, 292 persons (33.5 percent) represented the young-age group and 166 (19 percent) the old-age category. Interestingly, it was found that the proportion of children among the Anglo-Indian families in these cities was somewhat low. If compared with the below 18 age group of the population of India, the
minor group among the Anglo-Indians constituted only 153 persons (17.5 percent) of the total Anglo-Indian population in the different cities covered under the present study, whereas, according to the Census of 2001, 41.1 percent of the general Indian population was below the age of eighteen.\(^3\) Separately, in Chandigarh 32 percent\(^4\), Haryana 46 percent\(^5\) and Punjab 33 percent\(^6\) of the general population were minor’s viz. below the age of eighteen. Regarding the Anglo-Indians, the small number of children may be attributed to factors such as the system of nuclear families prevalent among them, most women being in jobs and late marriages. In fact, only five percent of the total female population of the Anglo-Indian families covered in the present study were housewives. Since the community is dependent on employment in private jobs and that too in subordinate positions, women are also compelled by circumstances to take up jobs to supplement the family income.

**Male-Female ratio:** Of the 278 respondents, 155 persons (55.7 percent) were males and 123 persons (44.3 percent) females. Their proportion differs from city to city. If in the case of Chandigarh and Mohali the respondents constituted of 46 males (50.8 percent) and 44 females (49.2 percent), in Panchkula and Ambala the males were as high as 8 (70 percent) to the ratio of 5 (30 percent) females. Likewise, in Dehradun and Mussoorie 60 (53.3 percent) Anglo-Indian respondents were males and 52 (46.7 percent) were females. In the case of Delhi the respondents consisted of 39 (64.5 percent) male and 21 (35.5 percent) female. In the

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\(^3\) [www.censusindia.gov.in/age_structure_and_marital_status](http://www.censusindia.gov.in/age_structure_and_marital_status), Table 6: Population in Different Age Groups and their Proportions to Total Population.

\(^4\) [www.censusindia.net](http://www.censusindia.net) Table B-1.


\(^6\) Census of 2001- Punjab, Table B-1, P.14.
towns of Shimla and Solan the ratio of female respondents was as high as 60 per cent (3) in proportion to 40 per cent (2) males. The reason being that out of the total of the five Anglo-Indian families in Shimla and Solan, two families consisted of single mothers. Of these two single mothers, one was a widow and the other was a divorcee.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</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>Males</td>
<td>46 (50.8%)</td>
<td>8 (70%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>60 (53.3%)</td>
<td>39 (64.5%)</td>
<td>155 (55.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>44 (49.2%)</td>
<td>5 (30%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>52 (46.7%)</td>
<td>21 (35.5%)</td>
<td>123 (44.3%)</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>

The number of females in the sample was less because in some cases the females declined to record their views and in some cases they were not available. However, the male-female ratio among the Anglo-Indians, unlike other communities is quite close. As a matter of fact, in the case of 278 families, the male-female ratio was 440 males (50.5 percent) and 432 (49.5 percent) females. Mention may be made here that in the case of other communities the male-female ratio has not been very close as the number of males tended to be greater than the females. For example, according to the 2001 census, the male-female ratio in the total population of Chandigarh was 56.28 percent males and 43.71 percent females. Similarly Mohali had 53.18 percent males and 46.82 percent females.

www.censusindia.net Table - T_00_006, Population by sex and sex ratio.
and in Panchkula it was 54.85 percent males to 45.15 percent females. In the case of Ambala it was 53 percent males and 47 percent females. Similarly, in Shimla the sex ratio was 52.7 percent males and 47.3 percent females. Likewise, the male-female ratio in Dehradun and Mussoorie according to the 2001 census was 53 percent males and 47 percent females and in Delhi it was 55 percent males and 45 percent females. These facts about the sex ratio suggest that there exists a considerable difference in the gender ratio of the general population of the cities covered by the study. Contrary to this, the sex ratio among the Anglo-Indians in these cities was marginal. Such a close gender ratio among the Anglo-Indians could be attributed to factors like literacy, religion, dependence on jobs and the nuclear family system. Although the Anglo-Indians are a patriarchal community, the norms of son preference were not so strong. Whereas, the tendency of son preference has been dominant in other communities of the region. For example, in Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand and Delhi the mindset is determined by patrilineal inheritance and son preference. It has also found expression in popular proverbs and sayings of the region. For instance, a daughter is considered as somebody else’s property (Beti to paraaya dhan hai.) Similarly, a local saying in Karnal illustrates that the birth of a son is as welcome as life giving rain, (Meehin aur bettya to koon dhappya

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8 Inderjit Singh, ‘Provisional Population Total, Census of India 2001’ Series 4, Delhi, Controller of Publications, P. 70.
11 Ibid., Table 1. Population Distribution Sex Ratio, ‘Provisional Population Totals’, P.33.
12 www.censusindia.net Table-T00-003: Population by sex and sex ratio.
Who can be satisfied without rain and son? The obsession with sons in this region is also illustrated from the blessings often showered by elderly women upon young married women: May you enjoy married status till your old age and be blessed with seven sons (*Budd Suhagin, Sat puttar ho!*)

However, the Anglo-Indian community does not suffer from the complexities of gender discrimination and son-obsession. The Anglo-Indian community is free from vices like infanticide as it is evident from the close sex ratio. During the fieldwork it was observed that foeticide is not at all a problem in the Anglo-Indian community. The Anglo-Indians are Christians and the Christians are by and large free from issue of son preference. In fact, there is a close gender ratio within the Christian community. For example, according to the census of 2001, the sex ratio of the total population of Christians in India was 49.78 percent male and 50.22 percent female. Likewise, in Chandigarh the sex ratio among Christians was 52 per cent male and 48 per cent female. During the course of discussions it was observed that the Anglo-Indians being Christians are influenced by the tenet of egalitarianism as can be seen in the close sex ratio of the community.

**Literacy:** In terms of education, the Anglo-Indian respondents have been divided into three categories i.e. (a) those educated up to the primary and middle school level, (b) obtained high school but not graduate and (c) who were graduates and above. The study finds that a large number of the Anglo-Indian respondents represented the category of graduates and

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16 Ibid., P.170.
17 [www.censusindia.net](http://www.censusindia.net) Table 1, Data on Religion.
18 Ibid.
above, next to them were High school but not graduates and the category of Primary and middle school had a representation of only 3.5 percent. Educationally, the Anglo-Indian community may be placed in the category of graduates and above which can further be seen from the table as follows:

Table 4
Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Respondents by Literacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</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>Primary and Middle School</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>1 (9.1%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>5 (4.4%)</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
<td>10 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School but not Graduate</td>
<td>9 (9.5%)</td>
<td>3 (24.9%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>18 (16%)</td>
<td>10 (17%)</td>
<td>41 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate and Above</td>
<td>80 (89.5%)</td>
<td>7 (66%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>89 (79.6%)</td>
<td>48 (79%)</td>
<td>227 (81.5%)</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>

The above table is revealing of the fact that the Anglo-Indian respondents in most cases had obtained college and university degrees. Numerically, out of the 278 Anglo-Indian respondents, 227 (85.5 percent) were in the category of graduates and above, 41 respondents (15 percent) were high school but not graduates and only 10 (3.5 percent) belonged to the category of primary and middle school. Separately, in Chandigarh and
Mohali 80 respondents (89.5 per cent) were graduates and above, 9 persons (9.5 per cent) high school but not graduates and only 1 person (2 per cent) represented the primary and middle school level. Similarly, in Panchkula and Ambala, 7 (66 per cent) Anglo-Indian respondents were graduates and above followed by 3 (24.9 per cent) high school but not graduates, and only 1 (9.1 per cent) represented the category of primary and middle school. So much so, in the case of Shimla and Solan, out of the 5 Anglo-Indian respondents, 3 (60 percent) were graduates and above and one each represented the category of high school but not graduates and primary and middle school. The proportion in Dehradun and Mussoorie was to the tune of 89 (79.6 percent) graduates and above, 18 (16 percent) high school but not graduates and only 5 (4.4 percent) Anglo-Indian respondents obtained education only up to the primary and middle school level. Likewise, in Delhi of the 60 Anglo-Indian respondents covered under the present study, 48 (79 per cent) were graduates and above, 10 (17 per cent) high school but not graduates and 2 (4 per cent) were educated up to primary and middle school level.

The rate of literacy among the Anglo-Indians tends to be far higher than the rest of the people in the towns covered under the study. For example, according to the census of 2001, the general rate of literacy of the total population of Chandigarh was 81.9 percent,19 Mohali was 78.49 percent,20 Dehradun 78.96 per cent, Mussoorie 78.47 per cent,21

19 www.censusindia.net Table T-00-006, ‘Number of literates and literacy rate by sex.’
20 Census of India 2001, Series 4: Punjab, Table 5 ‘Literacy rates by residence and sex’, P.90.
Panchkula 76.53 per cent\textsuperscript{22}, Ambala 76.19 per cent\textsuperscript{23}, Shimla 79.68 percent, \textsuperscript{24} Solan 77.16 percent\textsuperscript{25} and in Delhi it was 81.7 per cent.\textsuperscript{26} The high literacy rate among the Anglo-Indians may be attributed to the fact that the community is dependent on jobs. As a matter of fact, most of them were teachers. The Anglo-Indians are aware that in order to get jobs it is necessary to have College and University education.

With regard to the education qualifications of the rest of the members of the 278 Anglo-Indian families, out of a total of 872 members, 357 (40.9 percent) were graduates and above, 280 (32.1 percent) were High school but not graduates, 205 (23.5 percent) were primary and middle school and 30 (3.5 percent) were Kindergarten and non-school going children.

However, most of the Anglo-Indians were graduates and postgraduates in Arts and Humanities as only a small fraction of them had obtained education in science and related fields. For example, out of 357 Anglo-Indians in the category of graduates and above, 137 (38.41 percent) were B.A., 4 (1 percent) B.Sc, 1 (0.42 percent) B. Com., 79 (22 per cent) B.A. B.Ed., 68 (19.1 percent) M.A., 61 (17 percent) M.A. B Ed., 1 (0.42 percent) M Sc. B Ed., 5 (1.15 percent) Bachelor in Tourism and Bachelor of Communication 1 person (0.5 percent). This is revealing of the fact that only a small number of them were educated in the streams of science, commerce etc. It may be mentioned here that not even a single person

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{Gulati} Sunil Gulati, ‘Provisional Population Totals Series 7 Haryana-2001’, Delhi, Controller of Publication, P20
\bibitem{Census} Census of India 2001, Series 7. Haryana, Statement W, P.59
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid. Series 3. Himachal. Table 5. P.40.
\bibitem{Op} Ibid.
\bibitem{Census2} Census of India 2001, T00-0006. ‘Number of literates and literacy rate by sex’.
\end{thebibliography}
representing the Anglo-Indians in these towns had obtained education in engineering, medicine, management, law etc. They have completed graduation and post-graduation in Arts and Humanities to become school teachers or get employment in private sector jobs. During the fieldwork, it was observed that the main factor restraining the Anglo-Indians to go for professional education is their lack of resources because of the meager income, however, it was also found that the educated Anglo-Indians get adjusted in Christian schools, which has made them somewhat complacent resulting in lack of effort for better jobs by way of obtaining education in medicine, engineering, management and the like.

However, the detailed study of literacy among the Anglo-Indians in Chandigarh and its satellite towns as well as those in Ambala, Shimla, Solan, Dehradun, Mussoorie and Delhi suggests that it is perhaps the only community in the country that has 100 per cent literacy, a large number of them being in the category of college and university educated. Regarding this, an attempt was made to know the rate of literacy among the Anglo-Indian community in other parts of the country from the community activist, politicians and various Anglo-Indian associations working to safeguard the interests of the community. It was observed that there was a similar pattern of high literacy among Anglo-Indians residing in other parts of the country. In other regions too, the Anglo-Indians were better educated than their counterparts as most of them had obtained college and university degrees. An attempt was also made to know whether Anglo-Indians were employed in the private and public sectors as laborers. Regarding this, on the basis of facts gathered by activists and various community associations, it was found that the Anglo-Indians in most
cases were serving as teachers, clerks etc. None was found working as laborer because of education.

**Occupation and Income**: The Anglo-Indians in the towns covered under the present study were earning their livelihood serving in various categories like school teachers, office secretaries, telephone operators, receptionists, travel agents etc. Teaching has been the major source of employment for the Anglo-Indians. In fact, out of the 278 respondents, the single largest group of 143 (51.6 percent) were school teachers. Interestingly, all of them were teaching in private English medium schools, owned by either the church or other Christian managements. The Anglo-Indians get adjusted in these schools and find a congenial atmosphere there. Even Anglo-Indians with lower qualifications are adjusted at the kindergarten level. During the course of teaching, they also pursue their studies for B.Ed. and diploma courses through correspondence and on completion are given higher classes. Mention may be made here that their hard work as dedicated teachers has made them indispensable for the English medium schools of these towns and cities.

Apart from teaching, 80 respondents (28.7 percent) were clerks, receptionists, telephone operators etc, 43 (15.5 percent) Anglo-Indian respondents represented miscellaneous categories such as salesmen, travel agents, security men, drivers and musicians. Only 12 respondents (4.2 percent) were employed in the government sector like the Air Force, railways, roadways, banks etc. This shows that most of the Anglo-Indians are dependent on the private sector jobs, particularly teaching in the private schools. This can further be seen from the following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</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>School Teachers</td>
<td>42 (47%)</td>
<td>5 (46%)</td>
<td>3 (45.46%)</td>
<td>65 (58.5%)</td>
<td>28 (47%)</td>
<td>143 (51.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks, Receptionist, Telephone Operators etc.</td>
<td>30 (33%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>1 (27.27%)</td>
<td>26 (23%)</td>
<td>19 (32.1%)</td>
<td>80 (28.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Service (Railways, Roadways, Army, Air force, Banks)</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>4 (3.5%)</td>
<td>4 (5.9%)</td>
<td>12 (4.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous (Salesman, Travel agents, airline cabin crew, Security men, Drivers, musician)</td>
<td>15 (17%)</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>1 (27.27%)</td>
<td>17 (15%)</td>
<td>9 (15%)</td>
<td>43 (15.5%)</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, out of the total 90 Anglo-Indian respondents, 42 (47 percent) were employed as teachers in private schools. In fact, they were teaching in important private schools of the
towns namely, St. Xavier’s, St. Stephen’s, St. John’s, Carmel Convent, Sacred Heart, St. Anne’s, St. Peter’s, Saupin School etc. Similarly, in Panchkula and Ambala 5 respondents (46 percent) were teachers in Little Flower Convent, St. Xavier’s Panchkula and Jesus and Mary Convent, St. Paul’s school Ambala. In the case of Shimla and Solan, out of the 5 Anglo-Indian respondents, 3 (45.45 percent) were teachers in schools like Auckland House, Bishop Cotton School and St. Luke’s School, Solan, in Dehradun and Mussoorie, 65 (58.5 per cent) respondents were teaching in St. Thomas School, St. Joseph’s, Wellham’s, Carman School, Hilton School, White Fields school Dehradun and in Wyenberg Allen, Woodstock School, St. Clare’s Convent and Hampton Court Convent Mussoorie. Much the same, in Delhi 28 (47 percent) Anglo-Indian respondents were teachers in schools such as Carmel Convent School, St. Columba’s, St. Cecelia’s, Frank Anthony Public School, Father Agnel School and the Covent of Jesus and Mary.

Moreover, 30 (33 percent) Anglo-Indian respondents of Chandigarh and Mohali were clerks, receptionists, telephone operators etc. in various hotels, call centres, travel agencies, private banks, hospitals, nursing homes and media houses. The same holds true about the Anglo-Indians in other cities also. For example, in Panchkula and Ambala 4 (36 percent) of them were working as clerks, receptionists, telephone operators etc, in Dehradun and Mussoorie 26 (23 percent) and in Delhi 19 Anglo-Indian respondents (32.1 percent ) represented the category of clerks, receptionists, telephone operators etc.
In addition, 15 (17 percent) Anglo-Indian respondents of Chandigarh and Mohali represented the miscellaneous category comprising of nine salesmen and six travel agents. Likewise, one (9 percent) in Panchkula and Ambala, 1 (27.27 percent) in Shimla and Solan, 17 (15 per cent) in Dehradun and Mussoorie and 9 respondents (15 per cent) in Delhi represented the miscellaneous category.

With regard to the government sector, only 3 (3 per cent) Anglo-Indian respondents of Chandigarh and Mohali held government jobs. Of them, one was an officer in the State Bank of India, one as typist in the telephone department and one as mechanic in the Punjab State Road Transport Corporation. Likewise, in Panchkula and Ambala only one Anglo-Indian was in government service. He was an officer in the Oriental Bank of Commerce, Panchkula. Delhi was no different as only 4 respondents (5.9 percent) held government jobs. Of them, two were airmen in the Air Force and one was a receptionist in The India Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC) and another mechanic in the Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC).

In the case of Dehradun and Mussoorie too, only 4 (3.5 percent) of the respondents were employed in the government sector. Of them, one was employed in the Indian Railways as foremen, two were typist, in the Garhwal Mandal Vikas Nigam, Dehradun and Uttranchal Jal Vidyut Nigam, and the remaining one was an officer in the State Bank of India, Mussoorie. The occupations of the Anglo-Indians in the cities studied show that a large number of them were employed as teachers in private schools. Next, formed the group of subordinate jobs in the private sector.
Regarding income, the respondents were divided into four income groups namely, (a) those who were earning Rs. 15000/- to Rs. 20,000/- per month, (b) income of Rs. 10,000/- to Rs. 15000/- per month, (c) those having an earning of Rs. 5,000/- to Rs. 10,000/- per month and (d) those earning Rs. 5000/- and below per month. Of the four income groups, 14(5 per cent 14 percent) Anglo-Indian respondents belonged to the category of Rs. 15000/- 20,000 per month, 90 (32.3 per cent ) to Rs. 10,000/- - Rs. 15,000/, 163 (58.5 per cent) to Rs. 5,000- Rs. 10,000 and 11 respondents (4.2 per cent) represented the category of Rs. 5000/ and below per month. This shows that a large number of Anglo-Indians represent the income category of Rs. 5,000 - Rs. 10,000 per month. This can further be seen from the following table:

Table 6
Distribution of the Anglo-Indian Respondents by Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income per month</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>Rs. 15,000 - Rs. 20,000/ per month</td>
<td>3 (2.9%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>4 (3.2%)</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>14 (5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 10000/- 15,000/ per month</td>
<td>28 (31%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>32 (28.8%)</td>
<td>26 (43%)</td>
<td>90 (32.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 5000/-10000/per month</td>
<td>59 (66.1%)</td>
<td>5 (49%)</td>
<td>4 (80%)</td>
<td>68 (61.28%)</td>
<td>27 (44.2%)</td>
<td>163 (58.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Rs. 5000/ per month</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>2 (14%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>8 (6.72%)</td>
<td>1 (2.8%)</td>
<td>11 (4.2%)</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>
The table 6 is revealing of the fact that the single largest group of 59 Anglo-Indian respondents of Chandigarh and Mohali belonged to the income group of Rs. 5,000- Rs. 10,000 per month followed by 28 (31 percent) in the Rs. 10,000/ to Rs. 15,000/ and only 3 (2.9 percent) in the Rs.15,000/ - 20,000/ per month category. None of them was in the category of below Rs. 5,000 per month. Similarly, in Panchkula and Ambala 5 respondents (49 percent) represented the income group Rs. 5,000- Rs. 10,000/ per month, followed by 3 (30 per cent) in Rs. 10,000 – 15,000/ per month and 2 (14 per cent) belonged to the income category of below Rs. 5,000/ per month. Only 1 Anglo-Indian respondent represented the income group of Rs. 15,000- Rs. 20,000/ per month. In the case of Shimla and Solan, it was found that the income group of Rs. 10,000- Rs. 15,000 had a representation of only 1 person (20 percent) whereas the remaining 4 respondents (80 percent) represented the income group of Rs. 5,000 - Rs. 10,000. With regard to the towns of Dehradun and Mussoorie, barring 4 Anglo-Indian respondents (32 per cent), 68 (61.28 percent) belonged to the income group of Rs. 5,000/ - 10,000/ followed by 32 respondents (28.8 percent) in the Rs.10,000/ - Rs.15,000/ slab and 8 (6.72 percent) represented the income group of below Rs.5,000/. Delhi was no different, of the 60 Anglo-Indian respondents, only a small group of 6 (10 per cent) earned above Rs. 15,000 per month. The largest group of 27 (44.2 per cent) Anglo-Indian respondents represented the income category of Rs. 5,000-10,000/ followed by 26 (43 per cent) in the Rs. 10,000- Rs. 15,000/ and one (2.8 per cent) in the category of Rs. 5,000 and below. It may be mentioned that though the Anglo-Indian women are also working but in most cases they were employed on low salaries because in some cases their educational qualifications were lower than
required whereas in most other cases their employment being in close proximity to the place where their husbands were employed. Some women were also working in institutions and offices close to their residences. These factors obviously affected their income. In reality, their salary supplemented the family income, not that it added in a substantial way. It was only in some cases that both the husband and wife were drawing equal salaries and in such cases the economic condition of the family was comparatively better than most other persons of the community.

The study of the Anglo-Indians in these select towns indicates that most of the members of the community belong to the income category of Rs. 5,000/- 10,000/- per month. It was only 14 persons of the total 278 respondents that were drawing a salary from Rs. 15,000/- Rs.20,000/-. This shows that the income of most Anglo-Indian families fall in the category which could suffice the bare minimum requirements of the family. In this regard, some other studies on the Anglo-Indians also corroborate the findings of the present study. For example, V.R. Gaikwad in his detailed research work on the economy of the Anglo-Indians in the 1960s, maintained, “Economically, the Anglo-Indians cannot be regarded as well-off. They are a service class holding subordinate posts.”27 The monetary condition of the Anglo-Indians dictates their occupational patterns. Due to paucity of funds the Anglo-Indians do not venture in professional courses like medicine, engineering etc. The Anglo-Indian families even cannot afford to educate their wards in professional courses because in order to gain entry into such professions their wards would

need specialized tuitions over a period of time, for which they have no resources. Due to lack of finances the Anglo-Indians do not venture in professional courses like medicine, management, engineering etc. as education in these fields is expensive and beyond the means of the Anglo-Indians. Therefore, they orbit limited occupations such as teaching and other subordinate jobs in the private sector.

Ownership of House: In the case of the Anglo-Indians, only a meagre number i.e. 15 that comprises 5.3 per cent respondents owned houses and 14 respondents (5per cent) were provided accommodation by the institutions they were serving. Whereas, the remaining 249 (89.7 percent) respondents were residing in rented accommodations. It may further be seen from the table as under:

Table 7
Distribution of Anglo-Indian Respondents by Ownership of House

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</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>Owned house</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>1 (4.6%)</td>
<td>1 (18.18%)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>15 (5.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented accommodation</td>
<td>85 (95%)</td>
<td>7 (72.6%)</td>
<td>4 (81.82%)</td>
<td>99 (88.2%)</td>
<td>54 (91.1%)</td>
<td>249 (89.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (official accommodation)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>3 (22.8%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>5 (4.8%)</td>
<td>4 (5.9%)</td>
<td>14 (5%)</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>

The above table reveals that in Chandigarh and Mohali only 3 (3 percent) Anglo-Indian respondents owned houses. Of the remaining,
barring 2 (2 percent) with official accommodation, the rest of the 85 respondents (95 per cent) resided in rented accommodation. Much the same, in Panchkula and Ambala, out of the 11 Anglo-Indian respondents 1 (4.6 per cent) respondent possessed a house, 3 (22.8 per cent) were living in accommodation provided to them by the institutions they were serving, whereas the rest of the 7 respondents comprising of 72.6 per cent were living in rented houses. In Shimla and Solan, it was found that only the family of Solan had its own house, whereas the 4 Anglo-Indian respondents in Shimla were living in rented accommodations. Similarly, the condition of the Anglo-Indian respondents of Dehradun and Mussoorie was no different as only 8 (7 per cent) of a total of 112 Anglo-Indian respondents owned houses, 5 (4.8 per cent) were provided with accommodation by the government departments they were serving, whereas the remaining 99 respondents (88.2 per cent) lived in rented houses. Likewise, in Delhi, out of the 60 respondents, 2 (3 per cent) possessed their own houses, 4 (5.9 percent) lived in official accommodation, the rest of the 54 respondents (91.1 per cent) were residing in rented houses. However, in the case of other groups of society, a large number of people own houses in the towns included in the present study. For example, according to the census of 2001, 45.7 percent of the general population of Chandigarh owned houses, 42.9 percent resided in rented accommodation and 11.4 percent formed the category of others.\textsuperscript{28} Similarly in Mohali 89.1 percent owned houses, 8.2 percent lived in rented houses and 2.7 percent others\textsuperscript{29}. Likewise, in Panchkula, 90 per cent of the total population owned residences, 7 per cent lived in rented houses.

\textsuperscript{28} Census of India 2001, Housing Profile Chandigarh (04), P.3
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid Housing Profile Punjab (03), P.3
houses and 2.4 per cent were in the category of others. In Ambala 87 percent of the people owned residences, 11 per cent lived in rented houses and 2 per cent represented the category of others. According to the 2001 census, in Shimla 66 per cent owned residences, 28 per cent lived in rented houses and 6 per cent others. Much the same in Solan 69 per cent had their own houses, 23 percent resided in rented houses and 8 percent were in the category of others. In Dehradun and Mussoorie owned residences were as high as 75 per cent followed by 11 per cent rented and 6 per cent others. In Delhi, it was observed that 66.3 percent of the people owned houses, 26.1 percent lived in rented houses and 7.6 percent formed the category of others.

The reason that the Anglo-Indians live in rented houses can be attributed to their economic condition. They do desire to own houses, but cannot afford because of financial constrains. Most of them are either employed as teachers in schools or hold subordinate positions in the private sector. Their limited income can sustain them but cannot generate any surplus for making or buying a house in a city. Moreover, they do not approach the banks for loans because they find it difficult to pay the installments. The meagre salary certificate in most cases hardly suffices for the purpose. During the course of fieldwork it was observed that the Anglo-Indians perceived it was futile for them to go for a house as they could not make the payments. The Anglo-Indians feel that the whole family life will be disturbed if they go for a house and so seldom approach

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30 Census of India 2001, ‘Housing Profile Haryana (06)’, Pg.3
31 Ibid. Table H.6 , P.239.
32 Census of India 2001, Series 3 Himachal, Table H-6, Pp. 280 and 282.
33 Ibid., Series 6, Uttranchal, Table H-6, P. 270
34 Op.cit. Housing Profile Delhi (07), Table 7(J) Distribution of Housing by Tenure Status, Pg.3
banks for home loans. It has also been observed that in most cases their meagre salary certificates hardly qualify them for such loans. For example, in Chandigarh the ‘low Income Group’ flats comprising of two-room attachment built by the ‘Chandigarh Housing Board’ costs between Rs 18,00000/- to Rs. 20,00000/-. These houses are situated in Sectors 41, 46 and 52. Regarding this, both private and public banks offer home loans. However, the maximum loan amount is 85 percent of the total cost of the property and the loan is based on the repayment capacity of the customer. In addition, 25 percent i.e. the initial deposit has to be arranged by the customer, which is perceived as an unfeasible task by the Anglo-Indians. This apart, according to bank regulations, ‘a salaried person is eligible to a loan amounting to 60 times his gross monthly income’ Thus, if a persons gross monthly income is Rs. 12,000/-, taking in account the banks rules of granting a loan up to 60 times his gross monthly income, makes him eligible for the amount of only Rs.7,20,000/-. This loan is not an adequate amount for securing a house in the city.

Briefly, the Anglo-Indians form a group that hardly owns property like houses, plots etc. Their meagre income generates no surplus to buy such assets. Their salaries, including part time earnings, in most cases can allow them rented accommodation of single room attachments.

Religion, Caste and Culture: The Anglo-Indians are Christians. They represent both the denominations of Christianity i.e. Roman Catholics and Protestants. Though they are Christians, they hardly compare with other fellow Christians. The difference is manifested in various ways such as

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35 www.hdfcindia.com/loans/homeloans , www.obcindia.co.in. Also see Appendix 4
36 www.obcindia.co.in, Rules and Procedures regarding loan amount for a salaried person.
language, lineage, caste etc. The Anglo-Indian community, unlike other religious groups, including Christians, does not hold caste or sub-caste as a stratification system. They do not have any caste hierarchy as prevalent in other communities. Scholarly works show that the caste system in India is not confined only to the Hindus, even those belonging to other religious communities, including Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have not been able to overcome the caste factor. They are patterned after the Hindu system, since most of them originally came from the Hindu stock. The conversions that have been going on for centuries have not been able to dissociate them from the caste system. In fact, most Christian groups tend to be caste endogamous. For example, the Syrian Christians in Kerala, Catholic Reddys in Andhra Pradesh and Christian Nadars in Tamil Nadu prefer to marry among their own caste than form an alliance with a lower caste Christian. According to some scholars, “Christian groups cannot gain independence from Hindu ideas no matter how hard their own value system presumably veers in a different direction”. In fact, converted Christian Dalits face the same humiliating disabilities that they had intended to flee from. They are still less represented in positions of authority and power in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For example, in Tamil Nadu, the Dalit Christians are not only restrained from mixing with the other Christian communities, but also have separate seating arrangements within the church. This apart, even the place for the burial of the Dalit Christians is marked separately within the cemetery. Recently, the ‘National Council of Dalit Christians’ (NCDC) has represented against this practice to the apex Christian body at Delhi, ‘the Catholic Bishop

Conference of India’ (CBCI) seeking redressal in this respect. They had also resorted to hunger strike for a couple of months. However, their pleas have gone unheard.\(^{38}\) Much the same, the structure of caste discrimination in the Sikh community has no scriptural sanction, yet among the Sikhs the Jats-‘Grewal’, ‘Gill’, ‘Maan’ and ‘Bhatti’ etc have graduated to a position of a ruling class, followed by the artisan castes such as ‘Saini’. The menial or untouchable castes are at the bottom just as among the Hindus.\(^{39}\) Similarly, among the Muslims the old caste pattern is not forgotten and the Dalit Muslims are treated differently. According to some, “The Muslim community remains diversified, fragmented and as caste- ridden as any other community of India.”\(^ {40}\) Recently, the Andhra Pradesh government, keeping in view the condition and problems faced by the Dalit Muslims has granted them 4 per cent reservation in government jobs and educational institutions of the state. However, in a plethora of caste identities each privileging an angular hierarchy of its own, the element of caste is non-existent among the Anglo-Indian community.

Culturally, the Anglo-Indians are influenced by the western idiom in terms of language dress, religion, way of life, attitudes and cuisine. The mother tongue of the Anglo-Indians is English. Nonetheless, most Anglo-Indians are able to talk, read and write Hindi as well as the regional language of the area they represent.


The Anglo-Indians are nuclear family oriented. The reason being their dependence on jobs and the influence of the western way of life. In terms of dress, the Anglo-Indian males, like most other communities, wear shirt and trousers while the females go for western dresses. However, a majority of the Anglo-Indian females have adopted the Indian styles of dress such as salwar-kameez and sari because of socio-psychological factors. They do not want to be identified as different from those in the Indian mainstream.

As regards marital relations, the Anglo-Indians like other Christians, follow the code of consanguinity of the Anglican and the Catholic Church. Marriage among the Christians is prohibited within shared genetic relationship e.g. parents, siblings, children, uncles, aunts, nephews, first cousins, and second Cousins. Nonetheless, the marriage pattern in the Anglo-Indian community has changed with changing circumstances. They have started marrying out of the community.

Though several Anglo-Indians apparently marry within their community, a number of marriages occur across community lines. For example, in Chandigarh, there were several cases of inter-community marriage of Anglo-Indian girls to boys of other communities.

**Inter-Community Marriages**

It may be mentioned here that marriage within the community (endogamous) is not taboo among the Anglo-Indians. However, the

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Anglo-Indian girls prefer to marry outside the community for better prospects in terms of housing, status and role. This aspect was systematically probed in the case of Chandigarh city where it was relatively easier because of the researcher being a local resident of the city. A similar phenomenon was found in the other towns too covered under the present study, but it could not be methodically analysed as the Anglo-Indian people belonging to these towns were hesitant to reveal about their personal lives. However, in the case of Chandigarh, it was found that the Anglo-Indian girls were inclined more towards the boys (in most cases well placed in terms of status) of other communities and religious identities owing to the subservient economic conditions of the Anglo-Indian community, inconsequential status and role of a micro minority in society as well as the paucity of professionally educated people in the community. For example, Marilyn a 24 year old graduate trained as an office assistant was the daughter of a clerk serving in a travel agency in Chandigarh. Her nuptials to a Brahmin (Sharma) serving as an engineer in Quark, has made her economically prosperous as well given her status in society that is far better than her Anglo-Indian identity. It may be mentioned that Marilyn had a love marriage and her parents hardly objected to it though there was resistance from the grooms parents in accepting her as a member of the family.

Likewise, Brenda a 23 year old under graduate belonged to an impoverished Anglo-Indian family, whose father was a motor mechanic. However, her marriage to a Sikh gentleman (Saini by caste) holding the post of Assistant Sub-Inspector in Chandigarh police has broken the barrier of non-recognition of Anglo-Indian identity as well as economic
backwardness. In this case also it was observed that the parents of the girl supported her in her decision to marry out of the Anglo-Indian community. However, the parents of the boy were reluctant to the marriage but ultimately the boys wish prevailed. While interviewing Brenda it was observed that both she and her spouse are enjoying a happy married life. In fact, she feels much better belonging to a community that is dominant in this region.

Much the same is the case of Donna the 26 year old graduate, daughter of an Anglo-Indian school teacher wedded to a Punjabi Hindu (Bhatia) shopkeeper in ‘Shastri Market’ situated in sector 22 Chandigarh. During the fieldwork Donna mentioned that she had willingly abandoned her Anglo-Indian identity to acquire a financially better life than she had experienced in her paternal home. In her case too, the girls’ side had hardly objected to an inter-community matrimonial alliance. It may be mentioned here that generally Christians and particularly Anglo-Indians do not strictly oppose inter-community marriages as compared to other communities and religious identities in society. One hardly hears of ‘honour killings’ among Christians as prevalent in other communities of the northern region. Moreover, since Chandigarh is a cosmopolitan, modern city, having a high rate of literacy making it a town of educated people, bureaucrats etc. provides more opportunities to marry outside the community.

As regards Pauline a 25 year old graduate, lived a life in straitened circumstances as a receptionist in a city hotel. However, a ‘love marriage’ to an affluent Jat Sikh landlord (Garewal) owning vast land in the village
and a well built house in sector 9 Chandigarh has provided her propitious opportunity to a more desirable status in society and an opulent lifestyle. During the course of interview Pauline admitted that matrimony had transported her to a magnificent environ, which she had never imagined. However, her husbands’ family had strongly opposed their marriage but ultimately the boys wish prevailed and now the couple is enjoying marital bliss and considers their decision was a right one.

Similarly, being espoused to a Punjabi Hindu (Kapoor) officer in the State bank of India has changed the fortunes of the 27 year old B.A., B.Ed., Joanna, a teacher in one of the convent schools of the city. She grew up with her three siblings in a two-room rented tenement with hardly any luxuries of life. However, today she owes a car and other assets for a comfortable living.

Much the same is the case of Michelle, a 27 year old M.A. B.Ed serving as a school teacher in St. Xavier’s School Chandigarh. She perceives that matrimony to Vijay Gupta, a property dealer, has fulfilled her aspirations for a good life in terms of psychological, emotional and economic security as well as other materialistic requirements like a house, car etc., which may have not been possible had she married within her community because the Anglo-Indians can hardly imagine having their own house, better modes of transportation and other modern assets of life.

Likewise, Sylvia a 28 year old post-graduate was of the opinion that being connubial to an Anglo-Indian would hardly have provided her a life of solace. In fact, she perceived such wedlock would have lead her to a life of socio-economic hardships which she had seen as a daughter of a
telephone operator employed in a media house. It was on this account she had decided to espouse a descent and well settled Punjabi Khatri (Kumar) doctor serving in a private hospital.

Similarly Audrey a 29 year old post-graduate was of the view that inter-community marriage is a step to elude the problems faced by the Anglo-Indians in terms of status. Her nuptial to a Punjabi Hindu (Dutta) army officer has provided her with a superior lifestyle. During the conversation, Audrey admitted she had never anticipated she would be leading such a respected and comfortable life.

Likewise, the 25 year old graduate Faith married a Punjabi (Bhasin) owning a catering business and belonging to a relatively well-settled family to get better recognition in society. During the course of interview she told the researcher: “There is no regard for a small, scattered and economically meagre Anglo-Indian community. It is better to merge into other communities for better social and economic prospects in life.”

Much the same, marriage to a Jat Sikh Mahindra Singh Jubbal, a businessman in the Industrial Area of Chandigarh has changed the fortunes of Shirley a 27 year old graduate leading a humble life employed as a receptionist and was the daughter of a clerk in a private school. Her decision to form a matrimonial alliance with a Sikh was a conscious effort to abandon her identity as an Anglo-Indian which she perceives was of little worth. In fact, she had rarely disclosed her identity as Anglo-Indian. Today Shirley is proud to proclaim her identity as a Sikh. Though the Sikh family was unenthusiastic to accept Shirley in their fold, her parents
did not strongly oppose her decision to marry out of the community. When her parents were asked, “how did you feel about your daughter marrying out of the community?” They replied: “It did hurt, however, we are now happy because this marriage has wiped off the stigma of belonging to a micro minority.”

In the case of Martha a 28 year old post-graduate, being wed to a Punjabi Khatri (Arora) computer engineer has bestowed her with a comfortable life and freedom from hardships which she had faced being a daughter of a school teacher working in a private Christian school of the city. During the course of interview she expressed: “Identity does not matter to a small and economically non-viable community. It is better to get rid of this Anglo-Indian tag for a better recognition in society.”

Much the same, Anne a graduate working as a school teacher in Chandigarh belonged to an Anglo-Indian family whose father was serving as a Foreman in the Railways at Gorakhpur in the 1980s. She met and married a south Indian Brahmin Air Force officer. Matrimonial alliance outside her community had changed her fortunes. She is also one of the few lucky ones to own a house, a car and other assets for comfortable living, which most Anglo-Indians can only dream about.

The above facts reveal that problems faced by the Anglo-Indian community in terms of socio-economic status and role have motivated the girls to strive for a match outside their community. In some of the above mentioned cases the husbands were smart and fine-looking but in most cases the boys were hardly comparable with the girls. However, all the girls were attractive, educated and articulate. This reveals that the Anglo-
Indian girls do not go for good looks while seeking matrimonial alliances with other communities. They are primarily interested in joining the non-Anglo-Indian families with better socio-economic status. This apart all the mentioned cases were love marriages and in most cases the Anglo-Indian parents have hardly objected to their daughters marrying out of the community. During the fieldwork some parents stated: “Marrying out is a bane for the community, but what to do there is no status and hardly any recognition for the Anglo-Indian community. It is better our daughter join other major identities for a better socio-economic life.” Most Anglo-Indian parents felt it was better to dissolve the Anglo-Indian identity and integrate into the mainstream.

During a course of interviews with community activists and members of the Anglo-Indian associations in the different towns covered under the present study, it was found that like Chandigarh, a similar pattern of inter-community marriages between Anglo-Indian girls and boys of other communities prevailed in the other cities too. For example, in Dehradun within the same period of three years (2004-2007) there were 10 inter-community marriages of Anglo-Indian women to males of other communities. Out of these, two Anglo-Indian girls married Khasa boys (a tribe of Kumaon and Garhwal region), six to Hindus and two had married Muslim boys. In the case of Delhi, there were 19 inter-community marriages of Anglo-Indian females with Hindu males from 2004-2007. The number of inter-community marriages has been increasing over the years, which in a sense suits the Anglo-Indians because the community is moving out of its boundaries and getting integrated into the larger community in the surroundings, though the Anglo-Indian ethnic lineage is
getting blurred by such marriages. According to some, “intermarriages of Anglo-Indians into other Indian communities have increased. These marriages diminish the Anglo-Indian way of life, yet there are no strong sanctions on the part of the Anglo-Indians against such marriages.”

However, it may be mentioned that the number of inter-community marriages are relatively higher among Anglo-Indian girls than in the case of boys. The reason being that Anglo-Indian boys are not well placed and hence may not have good prospects of marrying into other communities. Whereas, the Anglo-Indian girls, though not well placed, yet on account of their being articulate and English speaking are accepted by the boys of other communities. It may be mentioned here that the Anglo-Indian women who have married into families of other communities can retain their membership of the various Anglo-Indian associations as well as within the community. As a matter of fact, in Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal such women have been nominated to state assemblies as representatives of the Anglo-Indian community.

**Political Orientations:** The Anglo-Indians being numerically insignificant and dependent on the jobs sector do not take interest in politics and public life. Most of them serve as teachers in private schools and supplement their income by way of undertaking miscellaneous activities like tuitions and part time work. They are hardly left with any time to participate in political activities. Moreover, the institutions they serve do not encourage them to form associations or unions which could

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help them in increasing their awareness and participation in political activities. During the fieldwork it was observed that their cognitive map regarding political matters was low and they were least interested in the affairs of political parties, leaders, electoral politics and the like. Further, most Anglo-Indians did not know the name of the elected councilor representing their ward. As discussed later,44 most Anglo-Indians also did not exercise their franchise during the national, state and local elections. They perceived that their vote hardly made any difference in the political processes of this vast country. So much so, out of the total 278 Anglo-Indian respondents, 15 (19.8 per cent) did not possess a ‘voter card’. Moreover, only four Anglo-Indians from the towns covered in the present study were members of political parties. Of these, three were members of the Congress party and one belonged to the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP). This indicates that most Anglo-Indians maintain indifference and apathy towards politics. An overview of the demographic characteristics of the Anglo-Indians suggest that apart from their small number, their relatively low economic status is also a handicap in ensuring a meaningful participation in the political process. Many of them perceived that in electoral democracies the dominant groups and relatively large sized minority groups matter the most than a small and scattered minority like the Anglo-Indians.

The aforesaid discussion in brief, shows that the small and scattered Anglo-Indian community is urban, casteless and relatively better educated than most other communities in India. Moreover, the Anglo-Indians, a nuclear family oriented patriarchal community, have no strong norms of

son preference. The Anglo-Indians serve in various categories like school teachers, office secretaries, telephone operators, receptionists, travel agents etc. and ironically most of them live in rented accommodation because of their non-viable economy which can sustain them but cannot generate surplus to enable them to make or buy a house in cities. The economic conditions of the Anglo-Indians also dictate their occupational patterns, as due to lack of resources, they do not venture in professional courses like medicine, management, engineering etc. However, it may be mentioned that the Anglo-Indians enjoy teaching and it would not be an exaggeration to say that they have made themselves indispensable teachers in the private English medium schools by their dedication and hard work though they may not be remuneratively compensated. Moreover, the Anglo-Indians on account of being economically backward and numerically insignificant are apathetic towards politics and political life.