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Anglo-Indian women in Western Australia: Past, present and future identities

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ANGLO-INdIAN WOMEN IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA:
PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE IDENTITIES

By

Erica Lewin, B. A. (Hons.), Grad. Dip. (Women’s Studies)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy

Edith Cowan University, Perth

2002
DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(i) incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

(ii) contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; or

(iii) contain any defamatory material.

Signature of Candidate:

Date: 18 Febr. 2003
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My deepest thanks to the women who participated in this study. Their willingness to share their journey along the road of Anglo-Indian identity is appreciated. This sharing included moments of exhilaration and fun and, at times, sadness, in remembering the satisfactions and disappointments of the past. Our discussions were also fruitful in mapping possibilities for the future. It has been a privilege to share these moments with other women of Anglo-Indian descent and to make these journeys known to others through this study.

My thanks to numerous scholars and friends for their encouragement and assistance in the completion of this thesis. They include Peggy Brock, Pat Baines, John Duff, Jan Grant, Anne Atkinson and Maureen Perkins. The variety and strength of their knowledge, skills and talents have contributed in no small measure to this study. In particular, I acknowledge Peggy Brock’s thorough approach to the writing process and Pat Baines’ warmth and enthusiasm. Maureen Perkins’ interest and empathy were also a timely source of support. My thanks to others who were helpful in a number of ways, sometimes sharing their own research and providing both practical and emotional support.

This research has also been supported by my children, who may not always have understood or appreciated my motivation or the topic itself. I hope that their reading of the thesis will remedy this. My thanks to them and to my partner, who has travelled my road of Anglo-Indian identity with me.
For Hazel and Fred, their ancestors and descendants
ABSTRACT

The Anglo-Indian community and Anglo-Indian women in particular have been described as 'mixed-race' and 'hybrid'. This study seeks to explore the identity of Anglo-Indian women through the process of migration and settlement in Australia, by following the lives of twenty-six women. Twenty of these women emigrated from India between 1963 and 1977; one arrived in Australia significantly earlier in 1947 and another significantly later, in 1996. Four women were Australian-born. This study traces their identity through their memories of life in India and the process of migration and settlement for themselves and their children, some of whom were born in Australia.

Gender and ethnicity have shaped the identities of these women, which are analysed using social identity theory and self-categorisation theory. This theoretical framework is applied to the changing context of the lives of Anglo-Indian women. This context includes the traditional and historical markers of Anglo-Indian identity, skin colour, interaction between ethnic groups and the idea of 'belonging' and 'home'. Feminist theories help to analyse the gendered nature of these women's lives, both historically and in the present.

The context of Anglo-Indian women's lives was initially in their country of origin, India. This context changed when they migrated to Western Australia. Intercultural exchange and interaction within the colonial context resulted in the origin and development of the Anglo-Indian community in India. The migration of Anglo-Indian women to Western Australia has resulted in intercultural exchange and socialisation with a range of groups within a 'multicultural' context. This change has impacted on their identity and that of their children.
The thesis investigates aspects of identity and how migration can impact on that identity. In the case of Anglo-Indian women, they moved from an environment where Anglo-Indian identity had meaning within the Indian ethnic landscape, to Australia, where these women find they have to redefine themselves. The changed context of their lives has meant that their 'hybrid' identity has lost relevance. Many have chosen to assimilate into mainstream society or to take on aspects of their partner's ethnicity rather than maintain a separate identity. This work considers this process of adaptation to the Australian environment. Feminist and social psychological theories of identity inform much of this thesis, which utilises a qualitative approach to explore the lives of Anglo-Indian women who live in Western Australia.

Anglo-Indian women have demonstrated agency in shaping and redefining their identities in the Australian environment. This process has entailed a critical analysis on the part of participants of many aspects of Anglo-Indian identities. Their redefinition and negotiation of identity indicates the dynamic and contextual nature of ethnic identity. The social relevance of Anglo-Indian identity in the Australian environment is brought into question in this study, and indicates the need for new directions in identity - a challenge that is taken up in various ways by women of Anglo-Indian descent in Western Australia.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration
Acknowledgments
Dedication
Abstract
Table of Contents
List of Tables

## Chapter One

ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN: AN INTRODUCTION

- DEFINITIONS OF 'ANGLO-INDIAN'
- BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
- ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN

## Chapter Two

IDENTITY: SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

- THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF IDENTITY
  - Social Identity Theory (SIT)
  - Self-categorisation Theory (SCT)
  - Categorisation
- GENDER AND SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY
- CONCLUSIONS

## Chapter Three

IDENTITY: CONTEXT AND CIRCUMSTANCE

- DEFINING OR CONFINING?
- ETHNICITY
- SKIN COLOUR
- CLASS
- ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE LIVES OF ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN
  - The Indian Context
  - The Australian Context
- EVERYDAY LIVES
- CONCLUSIONS
Chapter Four
METHODOLOGY AND RELATED ISSUES 99
  FEMINIST STANDPOINT THEORIES 99
  IMPLICATIONS OF GENDER AND ETHNICITY 103
  THE PARTICIPANTS 107
  THE INTERVIEW 111
  CONCLUSIONS 115

Chapter Five
FOUR SISTERS: ETHNIC IDENTITY IN INDIA 117
  ANCESTRY 118
  INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS 121
  CULTURAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY 125
  BELONGING 136
  'BEING' WOMEN 139

Chapter Six
FOUR SISTERS: ETHNIC IDENTITY IN AUSTRALIA 143
  INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS 143
  CULTURAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY 147
  BELONGING 162
  'BEING' WOMEN 175
  THE NEXT GENERATION 181
  CONCLUSIONS 183

Chapter Seven
CROSS-CULTURAL PARTNERS: IMPACT ON IDENTITY 189
  MARRYING 'OUT' 190
  CONCLUSIONS 199
Chapter Eight

INTRA-CULTURAL PARTNERS: IMPACT ON IDENTITY

INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS

CULTURAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY

BELONGING

'BEING' WOMEN

THE NEXT GENERATION

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Nine

MOTHER AND DAUGHTER: INTERGENERATIONAL ASPECTS OF IDENTITY

ANCESTRY

INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS

CULTURAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY

BELONGING

'BEING' WOMEN

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Ten

AUSTRALIAN-BORN WOMEN: IMPACT ON IDENTITY

SOCIAL INTERACTION AND MARKERS OF IDENTITY

BELONGING

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Eleven

THREE CASE STUDIES: FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS OF IDENTITY

Chapter Twelve

RECONCILING PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE IDENTITIES
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Age of participants</th>
<th>109</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Country of birth</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Immigration date</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Number of children</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>Country of birth of children</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>Country of birth of partner</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN: AN INTRODUCTION

Anglo-Indian women in Western Australia are part of the group that has been historically categorised as Anglo-Indian. This minority group originated in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar during the colonial period. The Anglo-Indians came to distinguish themselves as a separate group and were, in turn, distinguished by others as a separate group (Anthony, 1969; Gaikwad, 1967; Gist & Dworkin, 1972; Gist & Wright, 1973; Goodrich, 1952; Moore, 1986). Their history reveals the development of a cohesive identity, which was acknowledged by government and society.

The markers that have historically enabled the categorisation of the group 'Anglo-Indian' include their 'mixed racial' background, their ability to speak and write English as their first language, their predominantly Christian affiliations and their western style of dress. Their status has been described as 'inbetween' and as 'hybrid' (Caplan, 1995; Chandraratna & Cummins, 1988; Gist & Dworkin, 1972; Gist & Wright, 1973; Lugten, 1985), a social and cultural category that distinguished their ethnicity from that of the European and the Indian populations in India. The Anglo-Indian community was forced to develop an identity that was not 'Indian' or 'European' as a result of their rejection by the indigenous population and by the British (Anthony, 1969; Gaikwad, 1967; Gist & Wright, 1973; Goodrich, 1952; Hawes, 1996). They negotiated a place for themselves “within the gap between Western and Eastern cultures” (Gist & Wright, 1973, p.15). The identity that evolved was geared toward living in a colonised environment and was constructed as a result of prevailing social and economic forces.

The Anglo-Indians are not unique with respect to their ‘mixed-racial’ status. Many other such individuals and groups have existed in various societies (Gist & Dworkin, 1972) and continue to exist. Such groups have been identified in Asia and have been the subject of research (Daus, 1989; Koop, 1960; La Maria,
They exist in other locations as well and include combinations of Chicano/a, African, Native American, Caribbean and European communities and identities (Ihekwenigwe, 1999; Penn, 1997). It has been suggested that

Whether or not a community consciousness develops appears to depend in considerable measure on the nature of their relations with other groups as well as the relative size of the mixed-race population. If they are oppressed or exploited, subjected to discrimination, or labeled [sic] as inferior or immoral, a sense of community may emerge as a means of collective survival in an unfriendly milieu, provided that they are numerous enough to survive. (Gist & Dworkin, 1972, p. 6)

Although I use the term 'Anglo-Indian women' in this research, I wish to emphasise that women may self-identify as 'Anglo-Indian' in different ways and to different degrees. Pettman (1992, p. 15) suggests that women may or may not see themselves as belonging to a community identified on grounds of 'race', ethnicity or cultural difference. There can be many inconsistencies between categories, social identities and the lived experiences of individuals (Mason, 1990). The nature of this self-identification contributes to the recognition that social groups are not homogeneous. It also allows greater opportunity for recognition of affiliation and connection across category boundaries, rather than merely acknowledging difference (Meekosha & Pettman, 1991; Pettman, 1992). As Pettman (Meekosha & Pettman, 1991) suggests, "the big categories of nation, race, ethnicity and gender disguise differences within the categories and commonalities across their boundaries" (p. viii). Intercultural exchange and socialisation (Young, 1995) played a vital role in the lives of Anglo-Indian women when they lived in India and continues to do so within a multicultural environment in Western Australia. Stratton (1998) distinguishes between multiculturalism as a way of describing a practice of everyday life in Australian society, the mixing, merging and reworking of cultural forms in people's everyday lives, and the official policy of multiculturalism which has been built on an emphasis on discrete source cultures. (p. 34)
The former version of multiculturalism proposed by Stratton fits well with the approach used in this study, which explores the identity of Anglo-Indian women by addressing their everyday lived experiences. It also resonates with the three dimensions of culture as proposed by Hannerz (1992, p. 7) which are: ideas and modes of thought as entities and processes of the mind, forms of externalisation which are the different ways in which meaning is made accessible to the senses and made public, and thirdly, the ways in which the collective cultural inventory of meanings and meaningful external forms is spread over a population and its social relationships.

This introductory chapter incorporates a discussion of the definition/s of the term 'Anglo-Indian'. This is followed by a brief history of the Anglo-Indian community, which provides the reader with an understanding of the context within which the Anglo-Indian community originated and developed. It is not intended to provide a detailed and analytical historical profile. This chapter also includes background information about Anglo-Indian women who are the focus of this study, the rationale for undertaking this research, its significance and the structure of the thesis.

**DEFINITION/S OF ‘ANGLO-INDIAN’**

The origins of people described in this study as ‘Anglo-Indian’ date back to the first European encounters with people on the Indian subcontinent. Children born as a result of sexual relations between Europeans and Indians were referred to at different times as country-born, Indo-Briton, East Indian, Anglo-Asian, Asiatick Briton, Eurasian, and Anglo-Indian (Gist & Wright, 1973; Hawes, 1996). The term ‘Anglo-Indian’ is the most recent of these. It had originally been used to refer to Europeans who were domiciled in India and to their children. However, the meaning of the term has evolved as a description of people of mixed European and Indian ancestry. The term ‘Anglo-Indian’ will be used in this study.
In 1897, the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association in India petitioned the Secretary of State for India to have the name of the community accepted as 'Anglo-Indian'. Although Lord Curzon rejected this request, Lord Harding later ratified it in 1911 (Anthony, 1969; D'Souza, 1976). Even so, it was not until the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, that the term was given legal status (D'Souza, 1976). Section 6 of this Act offered the following definition:

An Anglo-Indian means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent and who is a native of India.

The new Constitution of India, 1950, defined an Anglo-Indian as:

A person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only.

This definition assigns a separate identity to Anglo-Indians in India. It includes both the children of European parents who had been permanently domiciled in India, and people whose patrilineal heritage only was European. These definitions also suggest that residency in India has significance for Anglo-Indian identity and this has implications for people who did not live permanently in India and for their descendants. Eventually, the use of the term 'domiciled European' came to refer to those who were only of European descent but who lived permanently in India. It excluded people of 'mixed-race' origin. As Anthony (1969) states, “Generally and also in official quarters the term ‘Anglo-Indian’ was, after 1911, taken to signify persons who were of European descent in the male line but of mixed European and Indian blood” (p. 3).

The patriarchal framework within which the identity of the Anglo-Indian was defined and developed is evident in the above definitions. The role of the male in determining ethnic identity was the dominating factor; the role of the female was subordinate. The European male played a pivotal role in the origins of the Anglo-Indians. This ‘white Anglo’ component signified difference from Indian
ethnic groups; this component created the Anglo-Indian identity. Claiming an Anglo-Indian identity was dependent upon it, and much of what passed as Anglo-Indian demonstrated this bias.

The constitutional definition confirmed a patrilineal social structure and the patriarchal values that underpinned that structure. It diminished the status of the Indian partner or any other female partner, by implying that the racial/ethnic identity of the female does not qualify or disqualify the identity of progeny as ‘Anglo-Indian’. The male European provides the route to identification as ‘Anglo-Indian’. This link also suggests that the Anglo-Indian identity is complicit in white, male supremacist discourse that is dependent upon the ‘othering’ of the non-white, non-European. It is also complicit in the sexual oppression of women, both Indian and European. This aspect is highlighted in Anthony’s (1969) recounting of an inquiry from Jawaharlal Nehru during the 1940s:

I remember distinctly his [i.e. Nehru] asking me whether his relative’s children were Anglo-Indians. As it happened, the relative in question, B.K. Nehru, who was later our Ambassador in Washington and is currently the Governor of Assam, had been a contemporary of mine at the Inner Temple, London. I mentioned that I knew him well and that although he had married a European woman under the definition of the term ‘Anglo-Indian’ the children would not be Anglo-Indians: I said that biologically they might be Anglo-Indians but not legally since the definition postulated European descent in the male line. (p. 182)

The issue of definition that I have discussed in this section demonstrates the gendered nature of Anglo-Indian identity and the incorporation of this in its legal status. It is not possible to circumvent the impact of these definitions, since the Anglo-Indian community has been traditionally described within their framework and has subscribed to it. The reality is that the Anglo-Indian community grew out of such a system. Consequently ancestry has constituted a
component of Anglo-Indian identity and as such will be included in this research.

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Anglo-Indian community can be said to have had its beginnings during the late fifteenth century when Vasco da Gama sailed to the Indian sub-continent. The opening of a sea passage from Europe to the sub-continent enabled direct trade and other contacts between the people of these regions (Gist & Wright, 1973; Moore, 1986). The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch in 1595, who developed a firm foothold by 1679 (Moore, 1986). The British too arrived at about the same time as the Dutch with the London Company being formed in 1600 (Goodrich, 1952). The French East India Company was established in India during the 1660s. However, the success of the British East India Company secured the supremacy of the British in India. Gender was a significant factor in this earliest phase of Anglo-Indian identity since these traders were men.

These trading interactions provide the earliest context for the beginnings of what came to be described as the Anglo-Indian community in India. Marriage between the early Europeans and Indian women was generally encouraged. The Portuguese governor, Alfonso d’Albuquerque, encouraged marriage between Portuguese men and Indian women (D’Souza, 1976; Hawes, 1996; Moore, 1986). The development of successful trading conditions and evangelisation provided motivation for this policy (Stark, 1936). The Dutch followed a similar policy (Hawes, 1996). Moore (1986) maintains that the first Anglo-Indians were born in 1601, after English merchants began trading with India under the aegis of the East India Company. Hawes (1996) suggests that, at first, such intermarriage was encouraged reluctantly. This was done by granting five rupees a month for each child born to British soldiers (Gist & Wright, 1973; Stark, 1936). This policy was directed at controlling the behaviour of the men, who were seen to be better behaved when married and with family ties than when unmarried (Hawes, 1996). Women were ‘used’ to manage the behaviour of men. However, commentators and historians do not concur in their
assessment of the nature of the relationships that were formed as a result of these policies. Hawes (1996) suggests that more men lived with Indian women than were married. This is in contrast to the view expressed by D'Souza (1976) and Anthony (1969) that the institution of marriage framed the origin of the Anglo-Indian community. It has also been suggested that the policies implemented by the British obligated them to consider the welfare of the Anglo-Indian community that resulted (Stark, 1936). These unresolved issues relating to the legitimate/illegitimate status of the Anglo-Indians have had implications for their self-identification and identification by others. It seems that the birth of a people, i.e. the Anglo-Indians, was based very much on social and economic imperatives.

Many children of mixed ancestry were born during this period. The children who resulted from these unions have been described as 'mixed-race' (D'Cruz, 2000; Gaikwad, 1967; Gist & Dworkin, 1972; Hawes, 1996). This identification as 'mixed-race' has persisted as a marker of Anglo-Indian identity. Stark (1936) suggests that in these family environments,

[T]he British husband found it easier to teach his Indian wife the English language than himself to learn her vernacular; and so the English language, English customs, and English practices became the predominant tone of his home and children. (p. 23)

Although it is generally acknowledged that the first sexual encounters occurred between Indian women and European men there were exceptions. Dover (1937) maintains: "The Indian nobility from Akbar downwards have shown a preference for European and Eurasian wives" (p. 121). This is also acknowledged by Ballhatchet (1980), who states that "certain princes enjoyed the favours of white women" (p. 8).

Gist and Wright (1973) identify four distinct periods in the history of the Anglo-Indian community. The first of these periods dates from the time of European arrival, primarily men, in the sub-continent to 1785. During this time, it seems that Europeans ensured that their offspring were identified as their equals. So,
Anglo-Indians prospered, having positions of power and wealth. They were educated in private schools or in parochial schools run by Company chaplains. If the family had a high status and income, the sons were sent to England for their education (D'Souza, 1976). Class played a role in determining educational prospects. During these early years, the Anglo-Indians were favoured over Indians by the British in many ways in military and commercial organisations (Gist & Wright, 1973). This was primarily because no distinction was made by the British between the Anglo-Indians and native-born Englishmen at that time (D'Souza, 1976). This was reinforced by the fact that the Indian population regarded the Anglo-Indians as foreign in the same way as they regarded the British. The Indians made no distinction between the Anglo-Indians and their European fathers at that time (Goodrich, 1952; Moore, 1986). Goodrich (1952) does however make the distinction between British prejudice against Anglo-Indians as a group and against individuals. Goodrich (1952) suggests that the latter had been prevalent in India since the first Anglo-Indians had been born, citing the case of an officer whose application for commission was refused as a result of his skin colour. This aspect of skin colour which was apparent during these early years has continued to have an impact on the way in which Anglo-Indians were/are identified and self-identified. Stark (1936) also cites the ready availability of Anglo-Indians and their acclimatisation to the harsh Indian environment as reasons for employing them over metropolitan soldiers and clerks.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the tide was turning. The Anglo-Indian community was increasingly identified as a separate entity in India by the British; separate from the British and in a class of their own. There followed a period until about 1860 when the descendants of mixed unions experienced repression and disadvantage. This period of repression sowed the seeds for the beginnings of a sense of community and identity. It is also identified by Gist (Gist & Wright, 1973) as the second main period in the history of the Anglo-Indian community.
In 1782, the Bengal Military Orphan Asylum was formed with the intention of providing funds to send children to England for their education and providing a dowry for girls who wished to marry. This development indicates that a number of Anglo-Indian children required financial assistance and no longer shared the class and status of their European parent. The issue of illegitimacy was brought up as a factor in determining eligibility for this assistance and was eventually overruled. Goodrich (1952) points out that a significant factor in reaching this decision was that the fund could not be raised without the support of those officers who had begotten illegitimate children themselves. The issue of illegitimacy was again raised in 1804 with the establishment of a Civil Fund for the widows and orphans of men who had died while serving the Company in a civil capacity (Goodrich, 1952). This growing concern with the illegitimate status of an unconfirmed number of Anglo-Indians signalled the forced development of a distinct group. It demonstrated the British concern to distance themselves from the Anglo-Indians and therefore reinforced the separate identity of the Anglo-Indian community. There is little recorded about the mothers when considering issues of legitimacy/illegitimacy.

The size of the Anglo-Indian community continued to increase markedly, so that they came to outnumber the British by the mid-eighteenth century (Gist & Wright, 1973; Moore, 1986). This increase also served to strengthen their identity as separate from the British. The size of the community posed a threat to the British. This, together with international instances of indigenous revolts such as the uprising in Haiti in 1791 (Anthony, 1969; D'Souza, 1976; Goodrich, 1952; Moore, 1986), the loss of the British North American colonies and the outbreak of war in Europe with republican France, brought about a change in the attitudes and policies of the British (Gist & Wright, 1973; Hawes, 1996). Fear and distrust of the Anglo-Indian community increased as a result of these international developments. The increased numbers of Anglo-Indians also represented a threat.
The thirty years following the 1780s highlighted the discriminatory nature of policy relating to Anglo-Indians. Firstly, an order was passed in 1786 whereby Anglo-Indian children in the Upper Orphanage School at Calcutta were not allowed to travel to England to complete their formal education (Gist & Wright, 1973; Moore, 1986). The order also had repercussions in terms of employment for men of the community. In 1791 the East India Company introduced a policy under which 'the son of native India', would no longer be employed by its civil, military, or marine services (Gist & Wright, 1973; Hawes, 1996; Moore, 1986; Stark, 1936). A third resolution in 1795 specified that employment in the army was restricted to those who were descended from European parents on both sides. The only work available to Anglo-Indian men was as fifers, drummers, bandsmen, and farriers (Gist & Wright, 1973; Moore, 1986). Unemployment and poverty resulted. However, official policy did not always reflect actualities. Hawes (1996) suggests that expediency and utility often took precedence over policy, and this impacted on the lot of Anglo-Indians in negative and positive ways. The developments mentioned above indicate a growing gap between the Anglo-Indian and British in India. They serve to separate the Anglo-Indians from the British even further, so that the Anglo-Indians lost opportunities to better themselves both through education and in the workplace. A separation of identities was occurring.

Orphanages had come about as a result of the death of fathers who often died young and poor, leaving behind children who could not be cared for by their mothers. By the 1830s there were probably between two and three thousand children in such institutions, and many of these were Anglo-Indian (Hawes, 1996). The literature does not clarify the social and economic position of the mothers in these situations. However, it does indicate the plight of the children and had implications for their future status and identity in India.

The disadvantage experienced by the Anglo-Indian community was reversed only when the British felt threatened by Indian ruling princes, some of whom had allowed the inclusion of Anglo-Indians into their forces. At this point, the
British ordered all Anglo-Indians to leave the employ of the ruling princes and return to positions in the East India Company. Then in 1808, they were dismissed again, as a result of prevailing economic and political conditions. Their status was negatively affected by the loss of guaranteed legal protections that they previously enjoyed. Also, as of 1790 Anglo-Indians and British subjects were not allowed to own land unless under particular circumstances. Although this regulation was relaxed in 1831, Anglo-Indians were nevertheless discouraged, in practice, from owning land (Hawes, 1996). This era was also characterised by increased racial stereotyping which included the 'mixed-race' groups such as the Anglo-Indians (Moore, 1986). 'Half-caste' was a derogatory term and Anglo-Indians were identified in this way.

During the 1830s travel restrictions from England were lifted, and as a consequence, increased numbers of British men and women came to India (Gist & Wright, 1973; Moore, 1986). English women rarely travelled to India before this time (Gist & Wright, 1973), and so relationships between the British and Indian women were common. The Company monopoly on trade no longer existed. Free traders and small businessmen came to India to seek their fortunes and set up businesses that rivalled those of the Anglo-Indians (Moore, 1986). "Fishing fleets' of women came East, looking for husbands" (Moore, 1986, p. 41). This resulted in a decrease in the number of intermarriages between Anglo-Indian and European. The increase in the European population resulted in the exclusion of the Anglo-Indians. This implies that their previous level of acceptance, however limited, into the European community in India had occurred because of the lack of a substantial European population in India. The decreased status of the Anglo-Indians meant that some tried to conceal their background, or tried to marry into more privileged groups (Moore, 1986).

Anglo-Indian identity was seen as second-rate in the eyes of Europeans. This suggests that Anglo-Indian women may have preferred, at this time, to marry European men if that option was available to them, in order to facilitate social mobility. However, the social environment dictated that it was less likely to occur.
The first official Anglo-Indian organisation was the Parental Academic Institution that was formed in 1823. This institution was concerned with providing English educational facilities for Anglo-Indian youths (Gist & Wright, 1973; Stark, 1936). It came about after a meeting at the home of John Ricketts, a prominent Anglo-Indian. The Parental Academic Institution drafted a petition, which was sent to London in 1830 (Gist & Wright, 1973). This petition included a number of grievances of the Anglo-Indian community. Following this and less clearly as a result of it, the Charter Act of 1833 no longer excluded Anglo-Indians from employment within the Company (Gist & Wright, 1973). The wording of the Act read: "No native... shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of these, be disqualified from holding any place, office or employment under the East India Company" (Goodrich, 1952; Moore, 1986). However, Moore (1986) maintains that although this Act specified that individuals would not be discriminated against as a result of 'race', it would be another twenty years before people from India were allowed to compete in England for admission to 'covenanted service' in the civil and military services as they had in the past.

Hawes distinguishes between the educated Anglo-Indians of early nineteenth century India and other sections of the Anglo-Indian population, maintaining that the former were more interested in complete integration with the British (Hawes, 1996). He suggests that the emergence of a Anglo-Indian community and identity came about as a result of British policy and opinion, which sought to confine and control the Anglo-Indian population (Hawes, 1996). Gist and Wright (1973) suggest that once this sense of community emerged, it never ceased to exist. Moore (1986) locates the achievement of a distinct identity during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, while Goodrich (1952) suggests that the separate identity of Anglo-Indians was recognisable towards the end of the eighteenth century. This separate identity came about because the European powers in India found it expedient to set their own interests apart from those of the Eurasians, and began to attribute an identity to the hybrid people as a class. (Goodrich, 1952, p.6)
Among the notable Anglo-Indians mentioned (Anthony, 1969; D'Souza, 1976; Moore, 1986) is the poet Henry Denazio, born in 1809, who is described as a reformer, intellectual and defender of religious and racial freedom (Moore, 1986). Hawes (1996) maintains that Denazio had both supporters and detractors. His role as educator and poet came to be valued by the Anglo-Indian community after his death in 1831. The leadership of the Anglo-Indian community played an important role in the development of its identity through its recognition in the British political agenda. Hawes (1996) points to John William Ricketts, Charles Fenwick and James Kyd and their efforts to advance the status of the Anglo-Indians. He (1996) also suggested that the leadership was:

informal in character and largely dependent on the commitment and activity of relatively few. It was not always united in its actions, nor fully supported by all educated Eurasians, but sufficient numbers of them were prepared to articulate their grievances for their arguments to require the attention of British authority in India and in London. (p. 90)

The growth in Anglo-Indian numbers and changing government policy pushed the community to defend their rights (Hawes, 1996). The Anglo-Indians had previously been inclined to self-identify as British as much as possible, until the leadership of John Ricketts provided a framework for positive self-expression (Hawes, 1996).

The next significant historical period is identified by Gist as from 1857 to 1920 (Gist & Wright, 1973). The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 had numerous consequences for the Anglo-Indian community and identity. Many died and were injured (Moore, 1986), and Indian nationalists had, in some instances, destroyed property belonging to Anglo-Indians because the Anglo-Indians had sided with the British and identified with them (Gist & Wright, 1973). Moore (1986) and D'Souza (1976) claim that the Anglo-Indians played a vital role in maintaining the power base of the British at that time. The demonstration of loyalty to Britain during the mutiny resulted in a period of hope, which is signified, according to D'Souza (1976) by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, which
brought India directly under the Crown and the British Parliament. D'Souza suggests that it was during this time that the Anglo-Indians received favourable treatment from the British. They developed a false sense of security and came to think of themselves more as British than as Indian (D'Souza, 1976). This identification continued into the twentieth century under the leadership of Sir Henry Gidney, chairman of the Anglo-Indian Association.

By the end of the nineteenth century, nearly a quarter of all Anglo-Indians were receiving relief payments as a result of increased costs of living, job competition with Indians and inadequacy of salaries (Gist & Wright, 1973). In terms of class, Anglo-Indians were now significantly removed from and inferior to that of their European forbears. The development of a railway and telegraph system in India had created employment for the Anglo-Indian community who constituted the majority of workers in those communication systems (Anthony, 1969; Gist & Wright, 1973; Stark, 1936). However, Indians increasingly gained employment in these areas, displacing Anglo-Indians. During the early 1900s government policy ensured that Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans made up at least two-thirds of the employees in the telegraph service. In 1920 it had declined to half. Nevertheless, many Anglo-Indian families continued to be employed in specific economic sectors including the railways, telegraph, police, army, navy, indigo plantations and tea estates and privately owned businesses (Moore, 1986).

Despite reforms that granted greater power to Indians, the early twentieth century brought with it a growth in anti-British sentiment. This increased power was demonstrated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919, which provided employment for Indians in occupations that were reserved for Anglo-Indians (Gist & Wright, 1973). Special treatment for Anglo-Indians by the British, especially in the area of employment, was withdrawn. The increasing marginalisation of the Anglo-Indian community is clear in this statement by the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, in 1925, as quoted by Gist and Wright (1973):
For purposes of employment under Government and inclusion in Schemes of Indianization, members of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community are Statutory Natives of India. For purposes of education and internal security, their status, in so far as it admits to definition, approximates that to the European British subjects. (p. 18)

D'Souza (1976) suggests that the above quote encouraged Anglo-Indians to consider themselves Indian, and that their welfare and prosperity was tied to India rather than England. However, the quote also recognised their separate social and cultural identity and their identification with the British persisted.

The increasing insecurity experienced by Anglo-Indians was reflected in the deputation that was sent to England in 1923 and 1925 led by Sir Henry Gidney. The petitions relating to the status of the Anglo-Indian community went unheeded. The legal and political status of the community had resulted in decreased job opportunities for men from the 1920s onwards. At the same time, Schermerhorn (1973) reports that Anglo-Indian women in India took on nursing, teaching and office work, occupations which were shunned by Indian women. However, the marginal identity of the Anglo-Indians persisted. Anglo-Indians identified as Anglo-Indian received lower incomes than those who were able to identify as European (Moore, 1986). As a result, Anglo-Indian people have, at times, resorted to the process of 'passing', which has been perceived as a covert process that is undertaken to access higher socio-economic status. A well-known example of 'passing' was the film star Merle Oberon, who rejected her Anglo-Indian background (Moore, 1986).

During the 1930s, the development of Anglo-Indian colonies such as Whitefield in Bangalore, Mogra (known as Clement Town) near Dehra Dun, and McCluskiegunj in Bihar, gained in popularity as the marginalisation of the community grew (Anthony, 1969). A colony for Anglo-Indians was set up under the leadership of Calcutta businessman and philanthropist, E. T. McCluskie. It was named McCluskiegunj and was a farming community (Moore, 1986). It allowed Anglo-Indian people the opportunity to develop their
community within a specific geographic location and as separate from other Indian communities. Initially, these communities fared well. However, the surge of emigration after World War II meant that the populations in these colonies decreased markedly and never recovered.

The Anglo-Indian community was not without its internal politics. Power struggles within the community occurred and Gist and Wright (1973) suggest that the resulting divisions still existed in the 1970s. The Calcutta-based All-India and Burma Federation, headed by Henry Gidney, objected to the Madras-based Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of South India granting membership to Indian Christians who did not have European blood ties. This conflict reflects the alienation of the community from other Indian communities. It also raises issues relating to the management and maintenance of identity among Anglo-Indians.

Sir Henry Gidney is regarded as one of the stalwart figures of the Anglo-Indian community, having been knighted by King George V for his championing of the rights of Anglo-Indians (Moore, 1986). He argued that Anglo-Indians guards should be paid more; that the earnings of a covenanted English guard on the railways of Rs125 per month could not be justified when compared with those of an Anglo-Indian guard at Rs35. He also fought against the ruling that Anglo-Indians “had to prove legitimacy and British parentage” (Moore, 1986, p. 69) before they could choose the nationality of a jury in case they ever came to trial. This was tied into an attempt in 1883 to introduce a Bill that enabled Indian judges to try European British subjects on criminal charges (Bulhatchet, 1980). There was considerable opposition to this and the Government gave in to European sentiments so that a European British subject could claim to be tried before a jury of whom at least half were European British subjects or Americans. The race of the judge was not mentioned, but the implication was that an Indian judge could not be trusted alone with power over a British defendant. (p. 7)
So, as Moore indicates above, Anglo-Indians had to prove legitimacy and British parentage to take advantage of this ruling. The ruling also demonstrated the desire of the British to dissociate themselves from the Anglo-Indians.

Gidney also fought for votes for women (Moore, 1986). He and Frank Anthony provided Anglo-Indian representation in the political arena during the first half of the 1900s. Under Gidney’s representation, a new government act in 1935 acknowledged the Anglo-Indians as a minority group in India. Their identity was formalised in legislation. He also ensured that certain Government services provided for a quota of positions to be allocated to Anglo-Indians (D’Souza, 1976). Seats in parliament and grants for education were achieved. In fact, four seats were to be granted to Anglo-Indian representatives in the Central Assembly and one in the Council of States (i.e. the Upper House) (Anthony, 1969).

Frank Anthony followed Sir Henry Gidney in leading the All-India Anglo-Indian Association in 1942. Anthony exhorted Anglo-Indians to regard themselves as Indians in order to encourage a sense of belonging in India, while still retaining their separate identity (Moore, 1986). Despite urging Anglo-Indians to self-identify as Indians in terms of nationality and birthright he also urged them to retain their distinctive culture (Anthony, 1969). He was also responsible for setting up a number of public schools in Delhi, Calcutta and Bangalore. Anglo-Indian education continued within the private school sector and was even expanding. Class was relevant, and access was often limited to those with financial advantage.

As the move towards Indian independence became inevitable, there were increased feelings of insecurity among the Anglo-Indians. Many emigrated from India, looking for political protection and economic security (Gist & Wright, 1973). Gist and Wright (1973) suggest that most Anglo-Indians identified more closely with Great Britain than with India and therefore looked to migrate. Others, including the leadership of the Association were interested in forming
alliances with the elite of the Indian nationalist movement. Frank Anthony chose to lobby key political figures such as Nehru, Gandhi and Indira Gandhi. The partition of India into India and Pakistan resulted in approximately 8,000 of the 140,000 Anglo-Indians being located in Pakistan (Anthony, 1969). Indian independence in 1947 brought with it a government that provided basic guarantees for all minority groups, including the Anglo-Indians. When the new constitution was approved in 1949, the Anglo-Indian community was the only minority to fight for, and receive, special guarantees in the area of education, appointments to certain services and political representation in both state and national assemblies. (Gist & Wright, 1973, p.20)

However, these gains only lasted for a period of ten years, having been granted on a gradually decreasing scale (D'Souza, 1976). Since that time Anglo-Indians have either opted to remain in India or, finding themselves unable to adjust psychologically, culturally, socially and economically to the prevailing condition in India, have chosen to migrate (D'Souza, 1976) to a range of English-speaking countries such as Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Many questioned their place and identity in the Indian environment.

The issue of language came to the fore during the 1950s when Frank Anthony had to fight for the rights of linguistic minorities (Anthony, 1969). The primary use of English in the home had been a significant marker of identity for Anglo-Indians. However, the policy of Indianisation meant that Hindi was increasingly emphasised as the national language. Even before 1950 Anglo-Indian schools took up the Three Language Programme, so that students educated in English had to learn Hindi and the regional language (Mills, 1998). In 1959 Nehru announced that English would be the associate/alternative language for the non-Hindi speakers (Anthony, 1969). He also agreed that there would be no compulsory Hindi tests for entry into the Central Government Service (Anthony, 1969). However, despite Frank Anthony's efforts, the status of regional languages was affirmed in 1967. This would have been a significant blow for Anglo-Indian identity in India.
The emigration of Anglo-Indians out of India since independence has been considerable. Up to 50,000 have left India during the post-war years (Gist & Wright, 1973). Nehru's death in 1964 further demoralised the Anglo-Indian community (Mills, 1998). Increased prejudice against Anglo-Indians in India resulted in many immigrating to the United Kingdom (Lobo, 1988); others to North America and Australasia (D'Cruz, 2000). Moore (1986, p.122) suggested that the most obvious country for immigration purposes was Britain since cultural, linguistic, historical, educational and religious links had always been strong and many had personal ties with Britain. Moore (1986, p.129) goes on to state that many of these Anglo-Indians remigrated from Britain to Australia and Canada. However, the main influx of Anglo-Indians to Australia occurred after World War II.

There is little recorded historical information about the Anglo-Indian community in Australia. Moore (1986) indicates that there were a number of links between Australia and Anglo-Indians. She indicates that the early Swan River Colony in Western Australia was home to people who had been born in India. She suggests that some of them were possibly Anglo-Indians. A proposal had been made in 1825 to establish an institution for Anglo-Indian children in Tasmania, the Indiana Institution. However nothing came of it. There was a scheme in Madras to settle 'poor whites' or Anglo-Indians in Australia. As a result one hundred and twenty-four individuals, five of whom were women, arrived in Sydney in 1854 (Moore, 1986, p. 129). Younger (1993, p. 24) also refers to Anglo-Indian migration in 1852-54. Two ships, the William Prowse and the Palmyra, brought numerous Anglo-Indians from India to Sydney in Australia at this time (Moore, 1986). Moore also maintains that there were other links between India and Australia, in particular Western Australia and Tasmania. Moore (1986) records both positive and negative experiences faced by Anglo-Indians in Australia during more recent years and comments on their contribution to sport, particularly hockey.
World War II and the following years signalled the first significant arrival of Anglo-Indians in Australia, and in particular, in Western Australia. This development was related to the increased realisation in Australia that the White Australia Policy was not sustainable. However, it was not until the 1960s that large numbers of Anglo-Indians immigrated to Australia. The revised Migration Act 1958 allowed for the admission of part-Europeans into Australia. The adoption of a non-discriminatory immigration policy in 1972 and the annulment of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 in 1973 opened the doors even further for immigration from the Asian region. The impact of these changes for Anglo-Indians is discussed further in the next chapter when the identity of Anglo-Indian women in the Australian context is discussed.

Jupp's (1988, 2001) The Australian People. An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origins, includes a section on the Anglo-Indian community indicating that the Anglo-Indian community had a profile in the Australian context. This inclusion also confirms that Anglo-Indians had, at the time of immigration, a strong sense of identity. Immigration to Australia became more difficult for Anglo-Indians after the late 1970s when skills and qualifications became important criteria for entry (Moore, 1986). Mills (1998) suggests that darker Anglo-Indians found the migration process difficult even during the 1970s.

ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN

This study focuses primarily on the experience of women of Anglo-Indian descent in Western Australia. The role of Anglo-Indians in colonial and postcolonial history has been neglected and misrepresented (D'Cruz, 1999), as has the gendered nature of Anglo-Indian identity. This section considers the position of women in the formation and maintenance of the Anglo-Indian community. The emphasis on colonialism and nationalism in historical studies serves to diminish the profile of women even further, since women have, in the past been relegated to the private rather than the public sphere (Nicholson,
The following section explores some of these aspects of exclusion and misrepresentation.

I have already indicated the gendered nature of the definition 'Anglo-Indian' and the devaluation of the status of women in this definition. The emphasis on their role in reproduction (Anthony, 1969; Ballhatchet, 1980; Hawes, 1996) also signifies their exclusion from the public sphere. In considering the origin of the Anglo-Indian community, the question of the legitimacy/illegitimacy of the first Anglo-Indians emerges as a contentious issue and has been discussed in the previous section. This issue is particularly significant for women who have historically borne the 'stigma' of giving birth to illegitimate children. It is also possible that the knowledge of such origins could be a source of discomfort for the generations that followed. This combined with the adoption of Christianity and its traditional position relating to illegitimacy would also prove problematic.

The first mothers of the Anglo-Indian community were Indian women. The patriarchal framework of colonialism and the legal formulation of the definition of Anglo-Indian were instrumental in ensuring that the experience of these women and succeeding Anglo-Indian women was generally subsumed and forgotten. The historical background and lineage of Anglo-Indians has often emphasised European ancestry; correspondingly, the 'Indian' heritage was ignored, partly as a result of the absence of personal documentation held by Indian women (Moore, 1986). Both Moore and Hawes expose the 'Indian' element of the origin of the Anglo-Indian community through the historical detail in their work. The destabilisation of colonial influence occurs through acknowledgment of an 'Indian' past; a past that was, at times, forgotten in the name of perpetuating the myth of a 'pure' European heritage. In this way, the status of the colonial past "as a totalizing agent" (Caplan, 1995, p. 59) has been destabilised.

Marrying or entering a relationship with a European man was undertaken at great cost to the Indian woman. These Indian women could have been of noble
birth, but were more likely to be slaves or widows from the battlefield. So, the class background of these women was not uniform. Often, an Indian woman who married a European ran the serious risk of becoming an outcast and losing the support of her own people, and her children usually lost their legal inheritance (Moore, 1986; Stack, 1936). This suggests that the conditions of life for these women were often difficult.

According to Moore (1986), Hindu women were, in these situations, freed from “the complexities of a rigid caste system, although they often had to learn the intricacies of an equally rigid class system as they moved into British society” (p. 5). Their new status in terms of class was aligned to the class and status of their husband or partner. Moore (1986) describes the experience of Job Charnock, ‘founder’ of the city of Calcutta, who married a young Indian widow who was destined for the ‘suti’ (funeral pyre). Moore falls prey to a prescriptive colonial discourse, which sees Hindu women as needing to be freed from the caste system. As Khan (1998) comments, the European coloniser’s supposed mission was to enlighten rather than exploit, and to deliver women from religious oppression.

Dover (1929, p.15) quotes Justin McCarthy (whose credentials are not given), who maintained that Indian women were flogged, and “(H)alf-caste women, almost as white as English women, were frequently to be identified by the brand on their breasts.” However, a different picture is painted by Moore (1986), who describes many unions between the upper class British and Indian women. For example, she writes about General Palmer and his Indian wife and about Sir Charles Malet and his ‘charming’ (to use Moore’s adjective) Rajput ‘bibi’ (unofficial wife) from Poona (now Pune) whose daughter married the Dean of Salisbury Cathedral. The romanticism and emphasis on the upper class in such examples are in great contrast to Moore’s acknowledgment that the relegation of the Indian wife or unofficial wife to a secondary status remained a feature of colonial history. Desertion of these women and their children by European partners/fathers was a common experience. These children, of course, were
Anglo-Indians who would be regarded in India as ‘foreign’, since the Indians, at
that stage, made no distinction between them and their European fathers
(Moore, 1986). There is also evidence that it was difficult for Indian women to
marry European men. Some were required to become Christian in order to
marry (Hawes, 1996). Their reluctance to do so resulted in many illegal
relationships. At times Indian and Anglo-Indian women were acknowledged in
wills at the death of their husbands, and if wealthy enough, their children were
sent back to England for their education. There is evidence that British men
respected the traditional way of life and religious beliefs of the Indian women of
high social standing with whom they had sexual relationships (Hawes, 1996).
The class background of Indian women before entering into relationships with
Europeans and of their children was variable and heterogeneous. This class
background altered after moving into these relationships depending on the class
of their husband or partner, and this too proved to be variable.

There is no doubt that Anglo-Indian children were, at times, the result of
informal unions (Hawes, 1996). Ballhatchet (1980) affirms this, stating that
during the eighteenth century, the “favourite after-dinner toast was to turn the
traditional lament ‘Alas and alack-a-day’ into ‘A lass and a lakh a day!’” (p. 2)
The women who worked in the ‘lal bazaar’ (brothel) in India were vulnerable to
contracting venereal disease and being sent to the ‘lock hospitals’ (Ballhatchet,
1980).

Policies that encouraged intermarriage between Europeans and Indians, as
discussed in the previous section, changed by the 1830s and 1840s. The
Renewal of the East India Company’s Charter in 1833 withdrew a former
restriction that only Company servants could reside in India. This, together with
the opening of the overland route via the Suez Canal made travel to India more
feasible, so that the number of British women in India increased and the practice
of marrying Indian women came to be frowned upon (Stark, 1936). However, as
indicated earlier in this chapter, Anglo-Indian women may have preferred to
marry Europeans if the opportunity arose, since it would have provided a
mechanism for social mobility. The overall framework within which the Anglo-Indian community originated and developed in India is indicated by Stoler (2000):

The management of sexuality, parenting and morality were at the heart of the late imperial project. Cohabitation, prostitution, and legally recognised mixed marriages slotted women, men, and their progeny differently on the social and moral landscape of colonial society. These sexual contracts were buttressed by pedagogic, medical and legal evaluations that shaped the boundaries of European membership and the internal frontiers of the colonial state. (p. 45)

The role of women was to be 'available' to European men in the colonial framework, an integral aspect of Anglo-Indian identity. Dover (1929, p.7), in admitting the practice of concubinage asked, "How could it be otherwise when the British were the rulers of the land and women were to be had as easily as cattle?" This reflects the problematic of sexuality in colonial theory (Young, 1995) and suggests a reassessment of the position of women who experience 'colonial violence' (Spivak, 1993). This revision has commenced in the work of writers such as Hawes (1996) and Moore (1986) whose research provides information about the lives of Indian and Anglo-Indian women who had participated in relationships with European men. This information displaces the dominance of the 'European' within that history.

The impact of stereotyping of 'mixed-race' groups has been significant for Anglo-Indian women, and is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. Hawes (1998) maintains that during the early 1800s, "the blame for their [i.e. the Eurasian population's] alleged moral shortcomings or personality defects was routinely placed upon the Indian mother rather than the British father" (p. 15). Indian women are depicted as degenerate partners. The stereotype of the Anglo-Indian woman as promiscuous has, as one of its causal factors, the issue of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the progeny of Indian and Anglo-Indian women. This issue has been a point of debate and concern within the Anglo-Indian
community and has contributed to the way in which Anglo-Indian women have been portrayed during colonial and post-colonial times. Stereotyping of Anglo-Indians, and in particular Anglo-Indian women, has also been prevalent in narrative fiction writing. Racist and sexist ideology has permeated the representation of the Anglo-Indians (Narayanan, 1986; Nicholson, 1972; Sainsbury, 1996; Singh, 1975). The threat of miscegenation (Sainsbury, 1996), which is simultaneously a threat to the empire, is transformed into the negative stereotyping of the Anglo-Indian. Nicholson (1972) points to this racist ideology, stating that the Anglo-Indian “has been portrayed displaying all of his weaknesses and nowhere has he been permitted to attract any real sympathy” (p. 237). Although Anglo-Indian men have also been subjected to stereotyping, this phenomenon is gendered and the stereotype of the promiscuous ‘mixed-race’ woman is evidence of this. This stereotype is constructed by racialising groups and therefore does not incorporate more positive aspects of the role of Anglo-Indian women. In the Indian environment, these racialising groups consisted of the colonisers and ethnic groups other than Anglo-Indians. Class intersects with culture in that Anglo-Indian women, as a result of their western culture, had been active in the areas of nursing, teaching and officework (Anthony, 1969; Moore, 1986, Schennerhorn, 1973). In particular, Indian women considered nursing to be unclean work and Anglo-Indian women undertook this work in both military and civilian contexts. Besides this, the more western background and lifestyle of Anglo-Indian families meant that they were more likely to enter the workforce at that time. The greater freedom granted to Anglo-Indian girls in their families (Schermerhorn, 1973) also served to promote a negative stereotype. In this way, stereotyping serves to normalise and naturalise the superiority of the coloniser and to create a deviant image for Anglo-Indian women in this instance. It also reflected popular discourse on ‘race’, within which the racial purity of ‘whiteness’ was perpetuated. Further discussion relating to stereotyping of Anglo-Indian women is undertaken in the following two chapters.
The issues I have discussed in this section have impacted on the identity of Anglo-Indian women. The framework of identity used in this study allows for a consideration of the contemporary identity of Anglo-Indian women. This study does not seek to ignore past influences on identity. Instead, participants in this study acknowledge these influences and position themselves in relation to them. They negotiate their identity in the current environment. Younger participants, when discussing identity, reveal their relationship to the past and provide insight into future directions for women of Anglo-Indian descent. The pathologisation of ‘mixed-race’ identities and of women of ‘mixed-race’ in the past invites this consideration of contemporary perceptions of such identities.

The focus on women in this study does not invalidate the experiences of Anglo-Indian men. It merely acknowledges the intersections between gender and ethnicity when addressing issues of identity and migration (Barot, Bradley, & Fenton, 1999; Davies, 1994). These intersections are discussed further in Chapter Three, which explores contextual issues for Anglo-Indian women, and provides further justification for the focus on gender in this study. The role of women in maintaining culture and ethnic values and the implications of this for identity are considered. The experience of migration itself is gendered (Pettman, 1992) and the potential for differences in experiences of Anglo-Indian men and women is acknowledged in this study. The patriarchal framework of the colonial environment within which Anglo-Indian women lived provides further perspective on the gendered nature of their experiences. This study will consider the impact of migration on this patriarchal framework through the experiences of Anglo-Indian women.

Since this study focuses on the experiences of Anglo-Indian women who live in Western Australia, it would be useful to identify the number living there. This is a difficult task. In order to identify the size of this group it is necessary to firstly ascertain the number of individuals in Western Australia who were born in India. This needs to be followed by identification of the primary language spoken by them, which is English.
The use of English in the home has historically been recognised as a definitive marker of the Anglo-Indian culture in India (Anthony, 1969; Gaikwad, 1967; Gist, 1972; Gist & Wright, 1973; Petersen, 1997) and served to distinguish Anglo-Indians from other ethnic and cultural groups in the sub-continent. Other Indian women generally spoke regional Indian languages in the home, and if English was spoken, it was as a second language. The validity of this contention can be questioned through recognition of the increased use of the English language by Indian women who now live in Western Australia. Nevertheless, by searching census data for country of origin and language it is possible to get a rough estimate of Anglo-Indian women from the 1991 Australian census.

The 1991 Australian Census identified that 10,227 individuals in Western Australia were born in India, were aged 5 years and over and spoke only English in the home out of a total of 11,451 who were born in India. The overall Australian figures indicate that among people born in India who were aged five years or more, more than two-thirds spoke only English at home. This was higher than the proportion of all overseas-born and considerably higher than for all persons born in a non-English-speaking country. It was suggested that this proportion might reflect the number of Anglo-Indians whose sole language is English (Bureau of Immigration, 1995). The 1991 census also showed that the proportion who spoke English ‘only’ at home was highest among those aged 65 and over, followed by those aged 45-64 years. It was again suggested that this group was likely to be those who left India after Independence and who were mainly Anglo-Indians (Bureau of Immigration, 1995).

Data from the 1996 Australian census has not been used to shed light on the Anglo-Indian community as a separate group, as described in the previous paragraph. However, it shows that the number of West Australian women born in India who specify that the language spoken at home is English is 5,531 out of a total population of 1,726,095 and a total female population of 863,450 (Figures obtained from Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996 Census). This represented 0.32% of the total population and 0.64% of the female population in
Western Australia at that time. So, women of Anglo-Indian descent represent a small section of the total female population in Western Australia.

In the post-migration situation, Anglo-Indians do not always express their ethnicity through membership of the Australian Anglo-Indian Association. The total numbers of females who are members of the Australian Anglo-Indian Association as at January 2000, is 308, of whom 9 constitute interstate and overseas memberships (E. D'Rozario, President, Australian Anglo-Indian Association, personal communication, 2000). This indicates that only 5.4% of Anglo-Indian females have taken up membership at this time.

This study aims to explore the identity of Anglo-Indian women who live in Western Australia. This involves the memories of some women who were born in India and immigrated to Australia. It incorporates the experience of relocation from India to Australia and the impact that this has had on their identities and that of the generation born in Australia. An important aspect of this study is the ‘mixed-race’ origins of Anglo-Indians and how this has translated into the Australian environment. The analysis of how identity changes through generations of migrants also contributes to an analysis of ‘Australian’ identity.

The research will focus on women, and in particular, on the identity of Anglo-Indian women. A qualitative exploration of the identity of Anglo-Indian women in Western Australia has not previously been undertaken, and while there is growing literature on Aboriginal people of mixed descent in Australia, there has been little investigation of other groups of mixed descent. In fact, a study exploring various aspects of well-being among Indian-born people in Western Australia excluded Anglo-Indians because it was considered more imperative to study less-Westernised people (Waddell, 1979). This study will suggest that when people of mixed descent move from their place of origin, their racial and cultural identity changes. As a result, this study also contributes to the area of immigration studies.
Models of cultural interaction and ethnicity are based on the notion of separateness between groups. The Australian population is categorised and identified in terms of this separateness and difference. This study will explore the notion of interrelatedness and fusion in respect to ethnic interaction. It will provide information about the impact of intercultural exchange and socialisation. Anglo-Indian women have negotiated their identity through interaction with a range of cultural groups, both mainstream and marginal and will provide a useful and appropriate model for an exploration of cultural exchange and socialisation.

This study has come about as a result of my own Anglo-Indian ethnic background. My experiences, together with my observation of the experiences of my parents, siblings and children have provided the main motivation for this research. The issues that I have encountered as an Anglo-Indian migrant and as a woman have informed this research which utilises feminist standpoint theory (See Chapter Four) to investigate issues of identity.

The broad framework of this study explores two main aspects of Anglo-Indian identity: ethnic identity and the ways in which this identity is lived in the everyday lives of women. Identity will be analysed both in terms of self-identity and identification by others. The backdrop of migration requires both spatial and temporal factors to be considered in the analysis. Since many of the participants were born in India, these questions need to be applied to both the Indian and Australian environments. A number of factors will be considered. These include: the markers of Anglo-Indian identity, social interaction between Anglo-Indians and other ethnic groups and the notion of 'belonging'. In addressing the everyday lives of women, this study considers the role of Anglo-Indian women in the home and in the workplace. In light of the above comments, the overarching focus of this study is on the identity of Anglo-Indian women and their descendants in Western Australia.
The next two chapters provide the theoretical and contextual background for this study. Chapter Two focuses on social psychological theories of identity. The main features of social identity theory and self-categorisation theory will be discussed with emphasis on the role of categorisation. The intersections between social identity theories and gender will also be discussed.

The social psychological theories discussed in Chapter Two are dependent upon the contexts within which individuals and groups are located and these contexts are described and discussed in Chapter Three. The differences between the Indian and Australian contexts in terms of their potential to impact on Anglo-Indian identity are highlighted. This is done through a focus on ethnicity and gender, while simultaneously acknowledging the relevance of 'race' and culture. This includes the 'mixed-race' and hybrid status of Anglo-Indians and their internalisation of a racialised identity, often articulated in terms of 'skin colour'. Discussion of gender and feminist theories is included in this chapter as well, since this study is primarily about women. The sexual division of labour and the precept that the personal is political are discussed since they impact on the everyday lives of the women.

Chapter Four provides information about methodology and methodological issues. It includes a consideration of feminist standpoint theories and their importance in this research. The impact of gender and ethnicity in the methodology will be discussed and the relationship of the researcher to the research process. Chapter Four also includes a profile of the participants, details relating to the interview schedule and issues in the interview process.

Analysis of data has been organised into a series of case studies, which are presented in Chapters Five through to Chapter Ten. The first of these chapters commences analysis of interviews with women who married outside the Anglo-Indian community. The analysis of the lives of a group of four sisters introduces themes that will be pursued in subsequent chapters. Chapter Five focuses on the sisters' identity in the Indian environment. Chapter Six considers their identity
in the Australian environment. Seven other participants were in relationships with men who were not Anglo-Indian and their responses are investigated in Chapter Seven. The analysis then moves on to women who were in relationships with Anglo-Indian men in Chapter Eight and provides some contrast to the preceding three chapters. Chapter Nine is concerned with intergenerational issues between a mother and daughter who had experienced two migrations in their lifetimes: from India to Britain and then Britain to Australia. The experiences of women who had been born in Australia are investigated in Chapter Ten. Chapter Eleven brings the analysis of the data to a conclusion with a consideration of three women’s lives. These three experiences raise issues that were not addressed in the previous case studies. The final chapter brings the analysis and conclusions of this study together.

Notes:

1 The use of labels such as Anglo-Indian, European, British and Indian in this study does not imply fixed or universal categorisation as a group. The fluidity and diversity within each category is acknowledged.

2 The use of descriptors such as ‘mixed-race’ and ‘hybridity’ in referring Anglo-Indians do not imply that purity of culture and ‘race’ exist. These terms are used in this research to signify the notion of inequality between groups and the social construction of such inequality. Although they have been used to categorise groups such as the Anglo-Indians in negative terms, especially in the colonial environment, Anglo-Indians persisted in pursuing their identity and resisted the negative implications of those terms. The use of those terms in referring to Anglo-Indian people in this research signifies the spirit and tenacity of the Anglo-Indian community despite such categorisation.

3 This brief history refers to the works of historians and other writers. These other writers include individuals who were not historians but were Anglo-Indian people. For example, Herbert Stark, Cedric Dover and Frank Anthony were prominent individuals of the Anglo-Indian community who were interested in redressing the exclusion of the Anglo-Indian community from the normative account of India’s colonial history (D’Cruz, 1999). This exclusion has been partly attributed to the identification of many notable Anglo-Indians as European or East Indian (Anthony, 1969; Moore, 1986). This inaccurate identification enhanced the reputation of other groups and detracted from the status of the Anglo-Indian community (Moore, 1986). The same can be said of the Anglo-Indian contribution to both World Wars (Moore, 1986) when Anglo-Indians were not accurately identified as Anglo-Indians, but were included as part of the dominant group. In fact, Anglo-Indians were the first Indian citizens to volunteer (D’Souza, 1976). The inclusion of the work of commentators who were not necessarily historians is an important aspect of this brief history.
Prominent Anglo-Indian hockey players include Leslie Hammond and Richard Carr (hockey players of the 1920s and 1930s), and more recently Colleen Pearce.

D'Cruz (1999) provides a study of the complicity of academic knowledge in the production of Anglo-Indian stereotypes, as well as the depiction of these stereotypes in the literature of the Raj and recent representation in postcolonial literature. For an overarching and significant consideration of various themes within intercultural literature see Sollors (1997).

LaFromboise and colleagues (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1992) provide a framework for theories relating to biculturalism and to the early pathologisation of "mixed-race" identities. They state: "Park (1928) and Stonequist (1925) developed the argument that individuals who live at the juncture between cultures and can lay a claim to belonging to both cultures, either by being of mixed racial heritage or born in one culture and raised in a second, should be considered marginal people" (p.395).
CHAPTER TWO
IDENTITY: SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

This research is about the identities of Anglo-Indian women. It incorporates notions of ethnicity, 'race', culture and gender, since women's lives need to be understood within these contexts (Pettman, 1992). The intersections between gender and ethnicity are integral to their identity and status. The interdependence between these factors is acknowledged within the framework of social psychology and feminist theory. The experience of gender in the lives of women is predicated upon their 'racial' and ethnic background (Davis, 1983; Lorde, 1984; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981; Pettman, 1992), and is addressed in this research through the lived reality of these women's lives.

Categories such as gender, class, ethnicity, culture and 'race' have been identified as the structural components of the social context of identity (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997). Identity refers to the individual's psychological relationship to such constructs or categories. These categories have, in the past, been applied separately so that one construct, for example, 'race' or gender has been prioritised. These approaches (e.g. Goodstein & Porterotto, 1997) have been rejected in this instance, in line with the need for a more comprehensive and inclusive exploration of identity.

LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) review the literature on the psychological impact of being bicultural. Such a review has some relevance for groups such as the Anglo-Indians. However, it deals primarily with biculturalism as a result of the migration experience, that is, second culture acquisition. The issue of 'mixed race', which is also relevant when considering Anglo-Indians as a group, has also been addressed (Poston, 1990). However, this has focused on racial identity only and applies to an American context. Research relating to 'mixed-race' groups such as Chicano/as and Hispanics has been undertaken in the United States (Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1994; Johnson, Jobe, O'Rourke, & Sudman, 1997; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Suarez, Fowers,
Garwood, & Szapocznik, 1997), and has been addressed in Australia, primarily with reference to the Australian indigenous population (Ferrier, 1986; Curthoys, 1997; Hollinsworth, 1998; Koefoed, 1988). Mixed cultural/‘racial’ heritage with reference to other ethnic groups within Australian society has not been adequately addressed.

Breakwell (1986, p. 36) suggests that the range of constructs that constitute identity are “nestled within one another”. The acknowledgment of multiple social categories when exploring identity is important. They provide a framework for individual psychological processes of identity. Frable (1997) expresses the need for such an analysis when she calls for “a continuously re-created, personalised social construction that includes multiple social categories and that functions to keep people whole” (p. 155). For the purposes of this study, the individual’s psychological relationship to gender and ethnicity are the constructs that are prioritised. However, these constructs impinge on the issues of ‘race’ and culture, which will also be considered in relation to the identity of women of Anglo-Indian descent.

In this study, Anglo-Indian women born in India and currently residing in Western Australia and the next generation, are considered. As we have seen, the identities of these women have grown out of particular historical conditions, but will vary according to the social, cultural and ethnic contexts in which they find themselves. Frable (1997) states the case for this approach strongly:

The empirical work that stands out in this literature [relating to gender, racial, ethnic, sexual, and class identities] acknowledges that the personal meanings of social group memberships change over time, and these meanings are best understood in the context of sociohistorical events. Work that is produced without taking this context into account can be nonsensical, trite, or harmful; such work usually applies as normative white, middle-class standard. (p. 155)
This chapter will discuss the relevance of social identity theory and self-categorisation theory for the identities of Anglo-Indian women. This discussion will include the work of Henri Tajfel, who was a European psychologist. Tajfel perceived an individualist bias in American psychology and the development of social identity theory contrasted directly with this bias (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997). This endeavour was complemented by the work of John Turner who focussed on the cognitive processes that create a collective sense of self, so that all identities are self-categorisations (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997). The pivotal role of categorisation within this social psychological framework will be a focus, followed by a discussion of the implications of categorisation for feminist identity politics. Finally, the intersections between gender, social identity and self-categorisation theories will be explored, since this study focuses on the identity of Anglo-Indian 'women'.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF IDENTITY

Numerous ways of defining and discussing the issue of identity have been suggested (Frable, 1997). However, it has been acknowledged that the notion of self and identity was first placed on the agenda of the discipline of psychology during the 1890s by William James (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997). The distinction introduced by Adams between the self as 'knower' and the self as 'known' provided a structural basis for subsequent theorising. Within this framework there exists a differentiation between self/identity as individual level phenomena and as societal-level phenomena (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997). The tensions between these levels of identity have a history within the discipline of social psychology.

Two predominant conceptions of social identity have figured in the social psychological literature: individual-level and collective-level identity (Deaux, 1996; Thoits & Virshup, 1997), with both types of identity being social in origin. Jenkins (1996) suggests that all human identities are, in some sense, social identities. He arrives at the following definition:
Minimally, the expression refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities. It is the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectivities, and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference.

(p. 6)

The distinction has been made between personal identities as traits or idiosyncratic attributes and social identities as category memberships (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). However, Breakwell (1986) argues that the separation of personal and social identity does not constitute a workable model of identity and that they are in fact, intertwined and interdependent.

Social identity theory and self-categorisation theory provide a means of conceptualising and analysing both the self as 'knower' and the self as 'known'. Personal and social identities have been recognised and addressed by social identity and self-categorisation theories. The link between the self and the social is significant within social identity theory as it assumes an "interpersonal-intergroup continuum" of social behaviour (Tajfel, 1978, pp. 38-45). This continuum is conceptualised as varying from acting in terms of the self to acting in terms of the group (Tajfel, 1978). Self-categorisation theory extends this theorisation since it functions at different levels of abstraction, making "both group and individual behaviour acting in terms of self" (Turner et al., 1987, p. ix). Tajfel's (1978) original "conceptualisation of personal and social identity as forming a bipolar continuum was replaced by the notion that these identities represented different levels (of inclusiveness) of self-categorization" (Turner & Onorato, 1999, p.21).

Social identity theory focuses on the process of social comparison both on an individual and group basis. Individuals compare themselves with others, and their groups with other groups. So, they undertake both personal comparison and group comparison. This comparison between self and other, ingroup and
outgroup, is facilitated through a recognition of markers that distinguish one individual from another and one group from another. These markers are referred to as 'social categorisations' (Tajfel, 1978).

Social identity theory has been seen as a derivative of self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987). The two theories have also been referred to as complementary, with Tajfel emphasising intergroup relations as a product of social identity, and Turner emphasising intragroup behaviour (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Thirdly, it has been argued that self-categorisation theory is quite distinct from social identity theory (Hogg, 1996). The discussion that follows is consistent with the first position put forward by Turner and colleagues (Turner et al., 1987), since the overarching notions of group differentiation and identification continue to have currency within the framework of self-categorisation theory as proposed by Turner and colleagues. More recently, Turner and Reynolds (2001) refer to self-categorisation theory as being complementary to social identity theory. The following is a description of the main features of social identity theory and self-categorisation theory.

**Social Identity Theory (SIT)**

Social identity theory, which incorporates the way in which individuals identify with a group and are identified as a group, is a useful tool for this research. Tajfel’s (1978) often quoted definition of social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 63) expresses the cornerstone of this theory.

As such, social identity theory is well placed to contribute to a discussion of the interactions between Anglo-Indian women and the various ethnic and cultural groups that have surrounded them both in India and in Western Australia, and to the impact of these interactions for identity.

Social identity theory provides for self-conception as a group member through a consideration of the cognitive process of self-categorisation and for the ways in
which individuals come to conceptualise themselves in terms of social categories (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). The participants in this research claim membership of the category ‘Anglo-Indian’ at some level. Their self-concept is partially based on their membership of this group. The interplay between social identity theory and the identity of women of Anglo-Indian descent can be conceptualised as follows.

Social identity theory was primarily conceived as a theory of intergroup relations between large-scale social categories such as ‘race’, nationality, ethnicity and socio-economic groups (Hogg, 1996). The self-concept consists of social identification as derived from ingroup-outgroup categorisation and idiosyncratic descriptions of self, which in turn derive from differentiation of self as a unique individual from other individuals (Skovington & Baker, 1989). As such, it allows for a consideration of Anglo-Indian women as individuals and also as part of an ethnic group. Deaux (1996) suggests that the identification with one category results in particular personal characteristics that give meaning to the category. This research will give women of Anglo-Indian descent the opportunity to identify those characteristics and markers that may be relevant for them in the process of self-categorisation and the implications of these markers for their identity. This may differ for individuals depending on their particular life experience.

Since the primary concern of social identity theory has been with intergroup differentiation, it is implied that greater differentiation between groups is associated with less differentiation within the ingroup and greater ingroup definition (Hogg, 1996). Hogg (1996) also indicates that differentiation within groups has been of interest to theorists such as Brewer and Weber (Brewer, 1991, 1993; Brewer & Weber, 1994), who suggest that people conceptually negotiate group membership with individuality to achieve ‘optimal distinctiveness’ and that high levels of differentiation can exist within groups, which also elicit high levels of identification from members (Duck, Hogg, & Terry, 1995). Despite similarities with both the ‘Indian’ and the ‘European’
elements, the Anglo-Indian community developed an identity that came to be differentiated from that of groups that surrounded them within the colonial and post-colonial context in India. The focus was on differentiation between groups. The impact of the social environment in Australia on this aspect of distinctiveness will be a focus of this study.

Social identity theory perceives relationships between individuals as members of groups within a stratified society rather than as individuals (Tajfel, 1978, 1981, 1982). The focus is on the individual as a group member rather than the individual as an isolated entity. The individual self-identifies primarily as a member of a group rather than as an individual. Society is composed of social groups that stand in power and status relations to one another, and that group structure impacts on identity formation (Skevington & Baker, 1989). The place of Anglo-Indians within this power structure has had significant implications for Anglo-Indian women whose lives were moulded through their identification as 'Anglo-Indians' both in India and in the Western Australian context.

Social identity theory incorporates a social mobility belief system and a social change belief system. The former suggests that intergroup boundaries are permeable and that it is possible for individuals to move from a lower status into a higher status group. The latter suggests that intergroup boundaries are impermeable and that individuals of lower status can improve social identity only by challenging the legitimacy of the higher status group's position (Vaughan & Hogg, 1995). In other words, social change for a group can only be achieved through group action processes. Social mobility favours individual mobility between groups, while social change favours changing conditions for the group. These elements are reflected in the history of Anglo-Indians. The status of Anglo-Indians in colonial and post-colonial India varied depending on issues such as politics and economics, and the ability to move between social groups depended primarily on skin colour and connections with the ruling coloniser. The extent to which
social mobility occurs within the current Western Australian context and the factors that facilitate are explored in this study.

The development of the Anglo-Indian community in India and their experience as immigrants to Western Australia reflect the two basic tenets of social identity theory - categorisation and self-enhancement (Hogg, 1996). Self-enhancement has important implications for the cohesion of the group. Categorisation is the basis upon which groups such as the Anglo-Indian community, and women in this instance, are identified. Identification of an individual as an Anglo-Indian classifies her as a member of an 'ingroup' and, simultaneously, identifies other ethnic groups as 'outgroups'. This concept of categorisation will be discussed later in this chapter.

Self-categorisation Theory (SCT)
Self-categorisation theory is based on the vital groundwork done by Tajfel as outlined above. There are similarities and differences between social identity theory and self-categorisation theory.¹ Self-categorisation theory makes social identity the social-cognitive basis of group behaviour, the mechanism that makes it possible (and not just the aspects of the self derived from group memberships), and by asserting that self-categorizations function at different levels of abstraction makes both group and individual behaviour 'acting in terms of self'. (Turner et al., 1987, p. ix)

For Turner, all identities are self-categorisations, differing only in respect of their content and their level of abstraction or inclusiveness (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). These levels of abstraction are: the superordinate level of the self as a human being, the intermediate level of ingroup-outgroup categorisations, and the subordinate level of personal self-categorisations (Turner et al., 1987). In other words, the superordinate level is the most inclusive. The third level of personal self-categorisation is the least inclusive allowing for a consideration of the individual in isolation. Self-categorisation at the intermediate level produces
ingroup normative behaviour and self-stereotyping which underlies group behaviour (Vaughan & Hogg, 1995). The self is perceived as sharing a particular category with similar others.

Ingroup normative behaviour refers to the development of criteria by which individuals are judged to be members of a group. This can result in stereotyping since individuals are judged against these set criteria. At this theoretical level, individuals are deemed to behave as group members and not as individuals. Simultaneously, group phenomena reflect self-perception action in terms of the shared social categorical self (Turner et al., 1987). The individual is acknowledged as and perceives herself as a member of a group. This, in turn, reflects both the comparative and contextual nature of self-categorisation theory and highlights the emphasis on intragroup processes, which contrasts with the emphasis on intergroup processes of social identity theory. Deaux (1996) indicates that this is achieved through a diffusion of the concept of outgroups as originally espoused by Tajfel (1978), so that outgroups “may not have any independent existence nor its members have anything in common other than not being a ‘we’ from the definer’s perspective” (p. 779). The emphasis is deflected away from differentiation between groups to the differentiation between the ingroup and the rest of society, and to the processes of comparison within the ingroup itself.

The basic hypothesis of self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987) is that people are motivated to establish positively valued distinctiveness for groups with which they identify to distinguish them from relevant outgroups. When social identity in terms of group membership is unsatisfactory members will attempt to leave that group (psychologically or in reality) to join some more positively distinct group and/or make their existing group more positively distinct. There have been indications that the Anglo-Indian community has experienced dissatisfaction with their group membership. This was evident in the phenomenon of ‘passing’ that occurred during the colonial era (Singh, 1975), when Anglo-Indians may have ‘passed’ as British in order to access
higher levels of socio-economic status than was available to them as Anglo-Indians. It also had some relevance in the post-migration phase in the Australian environment.

The shift from personal to collective identity is facilitated through the cognitive process of depersonalisation. Through this process there is a shift towards the perception of self as an interchangeable exemplar of some social category and away from the perception of self as a unique person defined by individual differences from others’. (Turner et al., 1987, pp. 50-51)

In other words, the individual is no longer perceived only in terms of their distinct identity; peoples’ perceptions of themselves within a category take precedence. Turner goes on to suggest that this process allows individuals to act in terms of the social similarities and differences produced by the historical development of human societies and cultures. However, these differences occur within the context of the social group, and it is in recognising similarities between the self and members of the in-group that group cohesiveness develops.

Group cohesion was defined by Turner and colleagues (Turner et al., 1987) as mutual attraction between ingroup members, ethnocentrism as ingroup members’ positive evaluation of the group as a whole and interpersonal attraction as favourable attitudes towards an individual person (including one’s personal self) or towards people as unique, differentiated persons. (p. 57)

Group cohesion was manifest within the Anglo-Indian community during the colonial era. This was reflected in the policies of the colonial powers and in the practice of intermarriage within the Anglo-Indian community for many decades. The post-migration situation is markedly different however. Although associations that reflect ‘Anglo-Indian’ ethnicity, such as the Australian Anglo-Indian Association and the Old La Martinère Association, do exist, levels of group cohesion may alter in the new context after migration. The process of group cohesion is integrally related to the development of ingroup norms and
stereotypes that function to favour the ingroup. These norms and stereotypes came to exist within the Anglo-Indian community and among Anglo-Indian women.

Identity is context dependent (Breakwell, 1986; Nagel, 1994). Self-categories can vary with the social context of comparison (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). The word ‘context’ within SCT refers to the social context of comparison. So, the participants in this research express their own experience of ‘Anglo-Indianness’, allowing for an analysis of identity within the context of the historical and cultural development of the Anglo-Indian people. Group cohesion is assessed both in the Indian environment and within the Australian multicultural environment. Social environments present varying dynamics of ‘difference’ between individuals and groups. These differences impact on social identity and self-categorisation.

So, the development of self-categorisation theory incorporates a shift in emphasis from intergroup relations to intragroup processes and the social-cognitive basis of group membership and group phenomena (Hogg, 1996). It provides for a more general framework for the concept of social identity, since it deals with the processes of intergroup and interpersonal comparison, rather than on intergroup comparison alone (Turner et al., 1987). Both levels of comparison have a place in exploring the identity of women of Anglo-Indian descent. The ability to explore the markers that may characterise the identity of Anglo-Indian women is prioritised as against the markers that differentiate that group from others. It allows for an emphasis on the comparative life experiences of Anglo-Indian women themselves rather than on the processes and structures that provide information about individuals in isolation. Hogg (1996) makes an overarching statement about the implications of self-categorisation theory for social identity, stating that self-categorisation theory “has changed the emphasis from self-esteem to categorization, from motivation to process, and from group formation to salience” (p. 74). Self-categorisation has been described as a
"dynamic, context-dependent process, determined by comparative relations in a
given context" (Turner & Onorato, 1999 p.23).

**Categorisation**

A social category has been perceived as providing "a category-congruent self-definition that constitutes an element of the self-concept" (Hogg, 1996). Categories and the process of categorisation refer to the markers that define individuals as members of particular groups and as different from other groups. These categories are acknowledged from the perspective of a member who identifies with the particular category (Turner et al., 1987). It "refers to the cognitive process which allows people to 'streamline' perceptions of groups by recognising and differentiating between stimuli" (Thoits & Virshup, 1997, p. 114). A person's social identity is based upon the internalisation of categorisation. Anglo-Indians are a social group and as such have a social and psychological reality. Turner and Reynolds (2001) state that "part of their psychology is the way in which they [i.e. members of groups] create higher-order social categorical representations of themselves to transform their relations to each other and themselves" (p. 137). What are the intragroup dynamics experienced by Anglo-Indian women? How has the migration experience impacted on these dynamics? How do Anglo-Indian women identify themselves, and in what ways has this definition evolved as a result of the migration experience? How were they identified by others within these two environments? This study will allow an exploration of the issues that this question raises.

The process of categorisation incorporates the cultural and 'racial' background of Anglo-Indian women, who embodied aspects of both the Indian and European cultures and heritages and the complexities and diversities within these cultures and heritages. They lived in the Indian subcontinent. However, their ancestry incorporated a range of ethnicities and they themselves identified with Britain in many respects. As stated in Chapter One, the markers that have historically enabled the categorisation of Anglo-Indian include their mixed 'racial'
background; their ability to speak and write English as their first language; their predominantly Christian affiliations and their western style of dress despite the fact that they lived in India. They can be dark or fair-skinned. The evolution of the Anglo-Indian community, even after the process of categorisation was confirmed, resulted in a status that remains 'inbetween' and 'hybrid'. Nevertheless, they were able to establish a category that distinguished their ethnicity from that of the British and the Indian population as well.

After a category has been established, the concept of category accentuation becomes active, in that the differences between categories can be exaggerated. Indeed, Anglo-Indians came to be seen as a separate ethnic group and to perceive themselves in this way too. It can be argued that, the differences between them and other ethnic groups were exaggerated in many situations, depending on the economic and social climate of the time. It has been suggested that “the more salient category distinctions are, the less we notice individual differences within categories and the more we see each group as a single, homogeneous unit” (Brewer & Miller, 1996). When in India, Anglo-Indian women distinguished themselves by cultural markers that were 'western'. This resulted in making them a visible group in India.

In Australia too, dark-skinned Anglo-indian women may appear ‘Indian’ in popular terms as a result of the presumption that all Indians have dark skin. However, the Australian multicultural context serves to downplay the Anglo-Indian identity since the western style of dress, the Christian tradition, and English as the main language are predominant features of Australian mainstream society. Another factor is that it may be difficult to distinguish between Anglo-Indian and Indian women who may choose to wear western style of clothes and may also have dark skin. The same can be said of Anglo-Indian women and other women who may be fair-skinned. This demonstrates that category salience is itself context-specific. It is partially in keeping with Turner’s idea of meta-contrast (Turner et al., 1987). ‘Meta-contrast’ refers to the degree to which individuals perceive fewer differences among and between ‘us’
and others (Turner et al., 1987). In this way, categorisation becomes salient when intercategory differences are maximised and intracategory differences are minimised. So, the salience of the category 'Anglo-Indian' in Western Australia is minimised as a result of the similarities between them and Australian mainstream society. However, the category is further problematised by the fact that Anglo-Indians may be dark-skinned and therefore provides an element of maximisation of intercategory differences. So, the situation of Anglo-Indians in Australia is not clear-cut. They are similar to mainstream Australian society in that they speak English as their main language, are generally Christian, wear Western dress and can be fair skinned. However, many of them are dark skinned and this sets them apart from mainstream Australian society. So, the concept of meta-contrast partially addresses the Anglo-Indian position in Western Australia.

It has also been indicated that the meta-contrast principle highlights the process of categorising as comparative and therefore as intrinsically variable, fluid and relative to a frame of reference. It is always context dependent. Self-categories do not represent fixed, absolute properties of the perceiver but relative, varying, context-dependent properties'. (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994, p. 456)

Anglo-Indian women may categorise themselves as Anglo-Indian, Indian, Australian or Anglo-Indian Australian depending on the particular context or environment in which they are located. This may result from the variations in stimuli, that is, markers relating to their identity such as values, skin colour and so forth, that each woman may experience. Another significant theoretical tangent explicated by Turner and colleagues (1994) is that the content of categories themselves can vary, so that the categories just mentioned above can have varying meanings for different individuals. This theoretical suggestion implies that the individual exercises a high degree of agency in that she can, within the constraints of the social context, interpret her place in the world through the modification of self-categories and the meanings of those
categories. In other words, the markers of identity can evolve, change or remain the same.

Social identity depends on the individual's decision and choice to use a particular category. In order for an individual to be categorised as Anglo-Indian, she needs to be distinguishable as such by other people. She must also own and accept this category herself. For an Anglo-Indian woman to identify with other Anglo-Indian women, she needs to differentiate herself from other ethnic groups more than from other Anglo-Indian women. This difference must also be consistent with normative beliefs and theories about the substantive social meaning of the social category, 'Anglo-Indian women' (Turner et al., 1994).

She needs to have access to the category and there needs to be 'fit' between the stimulus input and category specifications. This is referred to as accessibility and is closely connected to two other factors: normative fit and comparative fit (Thoits & Virshup, 1997; Turner et al., 1987; Turner et al., 1994). "The idea of fit simply refers to the degree to which reality actually matches the criteria which define the category" (Turner et al., 1987, p.55). Normative fit refers to the extent that an individual 'fits' in with the stereotypical norms that define that category; comparative fit refers to the extent that differences within categories are less than differences between categories (Brewer & Miller, 1996).

Individuals can be categorised as a single entity to the degree that differences among those within the category are less than differences between them and the others within the comparative context. These three factors (i.e. accessibility, normative fit and comparative fit) are crucial in determining whether a self-categorisation will become a psychologically active or salient influence in a particular situation (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Herein lie some relevant issues for Anglo-Indian women, especially within the Australian environment. Anglo-Indian women may, at times, be categorised by others as 'Indian' because they emigrated from India. Some Anglo-Indian women may have fair skin, and for them, the statement that they emigrated from India may confuse the perceiver who may have internalised an inaccurate stereotypical notion that people who come from India are dark-skinned. As a result, category specifications with
reference to appearance, in respect of Anglo-Indian women, are problematic.
Access to the category ‘Anglo-Indian women’ and ‘fit’ are complex processes.
The category itself is not easily accessible to the perceiver: since it incorporates
conflicting criteria and this is reflected in the inability of all Anglo-Indian
women to ‘fit’ into a stereotypical notion of being Anglo-Indian.

The implications of categorisation for Anglo-Indian women are significant for a
number of reasons. Firstly, the critique of western feminism by women of
colour and the theoretical divide between varying cultural feminisms reflects the
theorisation of categories. It becomes important to acknowledge the identity of
groups that have not been acknowledged to date. Secondly, the status of Anglo-
Indian women has been a significant issue. As Anglo-Indian women in India,
this group was subject to stereotyping. The image of Anglo-Indian women in
the colonial context as immoral, promiscuous and beautiful has been reflected in
popular literature (Singh, 1975). More recently, in Australia, the image of
exoticism has been perpetuated by Moore (1986) whose representation of
Anglo-Indian women continues to emphasise their alleged ‘beauty’ (Lewin,
1999).

The ways in which women of Anglo-Indian descent self-identify and are
identified in Australia, is influenced by the effects of ‘naming’ within a
multicultural discourse. This naming is tied into the concept of categorisations.
Liberal-multiculturalist discourse in Australia has served to emphasise
difference between ethnic groups and has deflect attention away from the
interactions of class, ‘race’ and gender in the lives of women. The emphasis on
difference in the implementation of multicultural policy in Australia has meant
that the more different a group is, the more likely it is to be identified as an
ethnic group. The implication is that groups that are less different have
diminished validity as an ethnic group. Individuals such as those of Anglo-
Indian descent may be rendered invisible in this process. A recent analysis of
the identity of Australian women demonstrates this. Kilic (1997), in considering
‘Who is an Australian woman?’ suggests that this category is made up of
'mainstream', non-English-speaking-background and Aboriginal women. Many women of Anglo-Indian descent are migrants who speak English as their first, and usually, only language. They can appear to be either white or coloured. I suggest that they do not fit neatly into any of the three categories that Kilic (1997) mentions. The word mainstream needs to be defined and analysed. The identity and place of women of Anglo-Indian descent in Australia requires further analysis and represents an important aspect of this research.

Social identity theory suggests that groups seek positive self-identity and therefore endeavour to maximise the positive aspects of this identity. The desire for self-enhancement and self-esteem is a motive for the cognitive processes of categorisation. Self-enhancement refers to this motivation for positive social identity. Social identity can be a source of self-enhancement and self-esteem. Individuals attempt to maximise self-enhancement through their group membership. This is implicit in the emphasis on comparison in social identity theory. However, Turner and Reynolds (2001) suggest that social identity theory is concerned with positively valued social identity rather than individual-level self-esteem.

An individual's desire for a positive self-image in the face of discriminatory intergroup practices involves three psychological stages: social categorisation, social identification and social comparison (Wetherell, 1996). Social categorisation has been defined and discussed in the preceding section. Social identification refers to the cognitive process of being identified in relation to particular categories. Social comparison refers to the tendency to evaluate one's group as against outgroups. Each of these stages can be linked to the experiences of Anglo-Indians both in India and in Western Australia. Anglo-Indians have experienced the process of categorisation as 'Anglo-Indian'. Social identification and social comparison with other groups has had numerous consequences for their status. Both occur in differing ways, depending on the social context. This social context has been markedly different for Anglo-Indians who may have lived for a significant number of years in the
colonial/post-colonial context in India and who may now reside in Western Australia as migrants as against those who may have immigrated to Australia when they were very young, or may have been born in Australia.

Given that migration entails a significant process of change, this experience may have implications for the psychological processes involved in self-categorisation and self-image. This study examines the impact of this change for the social identity of Anglo-Indian women.

The implications of context for self-enhancement processes are directly linked to the criteria incorporated within a category. This may be a positive process and result in high self-esteem. On the other hand, it may be negative and result in a less positive social identity. Self-enhancement of the category Anglo-Indian requires an analysis of the relevant markers in terms of their effect in raising or lowering the status of Anglo-Indians. Although the processes whereby self-enhancement is related to social identification or self-categorisation at a more fundamental social-cognitive has been shown to be problematic, analysis at the group level is useful (Hogg, 1996). However, self-categorisation theory does not perpetuate the emphasis on self-esteem, which is present in the early work on social identity theory. Instead, motivation is integrally related to the process of self-categorisation (Hogg & Abrams, 1993).

GENDER AND SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Through the investigation of the identity of Anglo-Indian women, this research acknowledges gender as a significant marker of identity (Sherif, 1982). Gender can be understood as a primary social identity, which organises our experience from the earliest moment of our lives, and is integrated into selfhood (Jenkins, 1996).

Brown (1996) suggests that social identity theory applies most clearly when the examples used are large-scale categories such as gender, ethnic or religious groups since there are clear, collective images of group members. However,
these categories are not immutable or homogeneous. The socially constructed nature of groups or identities implies that social identity is both problematic and subject to change (Barot et al., 1999). They can incorporate a range of diversity, which may or may not indicate tensions within the group. Collectivities are not necessarily stable or homogeneous. There needs to be a clear recognition that there is not unitary experience that can be ascribed to particular groups and/or individuals, be they gender-based, ethnic, cultural or religious. Methodologies and strategies that can deal with the differences between individuals and/or groups must accompany social identity theory. The methodology used in this study allows for this diversity and is discussed in Chapter Four.

Social identity theory provides a theoretical framework for understanding the nature and content of women's group identifications during their lives, and also the intergroup relations between men and women and their consequences in social action (Skevington & Baker, 1989). It can include males and females as examples of majority and minority groups, without incorporating any notion of difference between the sexes when considering intergroup relationships (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994).

Williams and Giles (1978) were the first researchers to investigate gender salience at the intergroup level, and were instrumental in focusing on the role and status of women as a result of the women's 'liberation' movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The limitations of this approach have been suggested (Skevington & Baker, 1989), raising questions about the interface between social identity theory and gender issues. These limitations and their relevance for this study are outlined and discussed below:

1. Skevington and Baker (1989) suggest that, the ideological intergroup relations between men and women are described from a theoretical rather than an empirical stance, which results in 'womanhood' being presented as a unified social category. This concept of womanhood has been critiqued and rejected through the recognition of differences among women (Bulbeck, 1998; Minh-ha, 1989; Mohanty, Russo, & Torres, 1991; Pettman, 1992) especially through the
efforts of black women and women of colour. This development has demanded an awareness of the diversity and complexity of women’s experience, and the position of research within such awareness. This study attempts to address this very issue through acknowledging the experience of a particular group of women, whose experience has not been acknowledged in the past. Addressing issues relating to the identity of Anglo-Indian women in this study acknowledges the diversity and complexity of women’s experience, without suggesting any element of homogeneity among them. The methodology allows for expression of diversity and difference.

2. Williams’ and Giles’ (1978) perceptions of the relationship between group identification and the dominant ideology governing intergroup relations between the sexes assume that “only those women who reject the status quo identify strongly as a group and so adopt the collective strategies of social change to improve their group's status” (Skevington & Baker, 1989, p.6). In recent years there has been a clear acknowledgment of varying ‘feminisms’ which are dependent on the positionings of individual women and groups of women. It is anticipated that this study will allow expression of varying standpoints through the interview process.

3. Skevington and Baker (1989) also suggest that the type of social identification outlined in Tajfel’s (1978) theory is consistent with an instrumental orientation, more associated with masculine behaviour. This criticism is important for this study, which is primarily based on social identity theory and is therefore addressed in the following paragraphs.

Social identity theory has been criticised for not acknowledging different identity sources for males and females (Skevington & Baker, 1989). It has been suggested that it does not allow women’s lives to be addressed in their own terms, which enables theory to be grounded in the actual experience and language of women (Du Bois, 1983). It has been argued that male social identity is derived through competition and that female social identity is derived through personal attachment and intimacy (Williams, 1984; Williams & Giles, 1978). The basis of social identity theory lies in differentiation from others and social
comparison; a process of identity construction that is more important to males (Williams, 1984). As a consequence it has been suggested that social identity theory has a specific masculinist approach to intergroup relations (Michael, 1991).

Williams (1984) suggests that people define their identities as a result of their affiliations and attachments to others and not necessarily as a result of differentiation from others and social comparison, which is the basis of social identity theory. In other words, groups can derive meaning and self-respect through relationships within the group, and as Williams (1984) goes on to suggest, between groups as well. The process of relating to other groups in a cooperative fashion takes on new relevance, and therefore, states Williams (1984) “a whole range of intergroup phenomena await further definition and investigation” (p. 314). Notions of affiliation and attachment to others (Williams, 1984) have also been identified as instrumental in the way that individuals identify themselves (Chodorow, 1976; Gilligan, 1982). It has also been argued that the idea that “the social identity perspective sees ethnocentrism as a universal feature of relations between human social groups and that ingroup bias can be directly equated with social conflict and prejudice between groups” is a widespread misconception (Turner & Reynolds, 2001, p. 141).

With respect to the first criticism that differentiation and social comparison incorporate a process of identity construction that is more important to males, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the more recent developments in feminist theory outlined in the first two points above indicate a need to theorise in terms of differentiation and social comparison, especially in reference to issues of ‘race’, ethnicity and culture which engender varying notions of women’s participation in the liberation process. The notion of ‘difference’ has been instrumental in giving voice to various feminisms throughout the world. However, this theoretical stance does not exclude notions of affiliation and attachment for individuals. The mixed racial and cultural dynamics of Anglo-Indian identity suggest an element of affiliation between east and west. The
Anglo-Indian community has been, in many ways, a marker of this affiliation. This aspect of their identity has also played a part in the settlement of Anglo-Indians in many ‘westernised’ nations since 1947.

This study does not assume a strong, separate ethnic identity on the part of the participants. Criteria for participation involved the question: “Have you ever or do you still identify in some way as Anglo-Indian?” This wording allows for a range of identifications with the term ‘Anglo-Indian’. Participants in this research have the opportunity in the interview situation to express notions of similarity as well as difference in terms of their relationships with other Anglo-Indian women and other ethnic groups. This will contribute to the debate surrounding the issue of affiliation and competition versus comparison and competition. It is also worth noting the reminder by Turner and Reynolds (2001) that the social identity perspective emphasises the intergroup approach to social conflict, and that ethnocentrism and prejudice are not inevitable.

Social science research has, in recent years, pursued the reclaiming and naming of women’s experience, and posed a challenge to the male monopoly on truth (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1997). Much recent research in social psychology reflects this endeavour and includes research on women’s experiences as mothers, wives/partners and in the workplace; feminist analysis of a range of topics such as sexual violence, ethnicity, femininity, beauty and emotion has also been undertaken (Wilkinson, 1996). This research with Anglo-Indian women expands on this endeavour through acknowledging the experience of women who have identified/do identify as Anglo-Indian at some level. It also incorporates the notion of ‘being’ women of Anglo-Indian descent in Australia. This is accomplished through addressing the role of the participants in the home and in the paid workplace.

CONCLUSIONS
Social identity theory is concerned primarily with the concept of social comparison for both individuals and groups. This process of comparison allows
individuals to self-identify and to be identified by others in particular ways. The existence of particular markers enables this identification. The individual is seen, foremost, as a group member. However, the group member is able to move between groups if she is dissatisfied with the status of the ingroup. Another alternative is that social change can be facilitated through group action processes. Social identity theory provides a framework within which the participants in this study self-identify at some level with the category 'Anglo-Indian'. It represents one aspect of the individual’s self-concept, which is derived from her knowledge of her membership of a social group, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1981).

Self-categorisation theory allows for a consideration of the markers that identify the individual as 'Anglo-Indian' in contrast to all others, instead of differentiating between groups that comprise outgroups. The focus is on the participants’ conceptual and material attachment to the category ‘Anglo-Indian’, rather than differentiation between the in-group and out-groups. The experience of migration and the contextual changes that resulted have implications for the identity of Anglo-Indian women. Turner and Onorato (1999) acknowledge that “ideologies, theories, scientific knowledge, and reality, the relevant social contexts, do not change overnight, but they can and do change, sometimes gradually and moderately, sometimes rapidly and dramatically” (p. 38). The ways in which Anglo-Indian women conceptualised/identified themselves in India and do so in the current Australian ‘multicultural’ environment can be analysed by using social identity theory and self-categorisation theory, albeit within two significantly different contexts. Each context will reflect a particular backdrop of cultural interaction and socialisation. The ethnic and cultural categories that prevailed in India, during the time when the participants in this research lived there, were constructed within a particular social and historical context and this impacts on the way in which Anglo-Indian women identified themselves and were identified by others. The same can be said of the post-migration situation when they came to Australia. The way in which Anglo-Indian women self-identify and are
categorised by others in both situations means that they take identities and are identified in particular ways. The research will incorporate the notion of ‘being’ women of Anglo-Indian descent by incorporating information about their everyday lives, their roles within the home and in the paid workforce.

Self-categorisation theory does not however allow for some of the complexities that occur within the processes of self-definition and categorisation. Questions such as what motivates individuals to identify in particular ways with particular groups (and this may involve identification with numerous groups at varying levels of identification), and varying levels of membership of groups are not addressed. As Skevington and Baker (1989) ask:

How do people conceptualize their group memberships and what accounts for different levels of identification? Why do people belong to one group rather than another? How does group belonging become intertwined with history and ideology? (p. 9)

Turner and Onorato (1999) suggest that:

Social identities and other self-categories arise from an active process of judgment and meaningful inference in which they are constructed from an interaction between motives, expectations, knowledge and reality; they are not passive activations of a fixed self-structure. (p. 38)

It is intended that this research will highlight these complexities through a consideration of the context of Anglo-Indian women’s life experiences. This context is addressed in the following chapter.

Notes:

1 For a discussion of the similarities and differences between the two theories see Thoits and Vinhup (Ashmore & Jussim, 1997), and Turner and Reynolds (2001).
The social psychological theoretical context for an exploration of the identities of Anglo-Indian women was discussed in the previous chapter. The social context of comparison was identified as being crucial to a consideration of these identities. This notion of comparison requires a consideration of ethnicity and the social environment, and is a combination of a number of factors. One of these is history, which was addressed in Chapter One. When considering ethnicity, issues of culture and race and sub-topics such as ‘mixed-race’ identities and skin colour also need to be considered. Class too is a relevant issue in terms of context. All these factors will be discussed in this chapter.

The identities of women of Anglo-Indian descent have been shaped by the social and historical contexts within which they have lived. These contexts have differed for Anglo-Indian women depending on their individual circumstances. Many of these women have lived part of their lives in the Indian colonial and postcolonial eras and also within the postcolonial Western Australian context since migration. They have been subjected to the impact of colonialism during their lives in India. Some of these individuals immigrated to Australia during the years when the White Australia Policy and assimilationist attitudes influenced migration and settlement procedures. Others immigrated during the period when the policy of multiculturalism prevailed. These contexts are framed by the coloniser/colonised relationship; Anglo-Indian women “bear the stamp of this prior relationship” (Vasta & Stephen, 1996, p. 140). Some of the women participating in this study were born in Australia and have not experienced life in India, having grown up in multicultural Australia.

A study of Anglo-Indian women implies a focus on ethnicity, which has been acknowledged as an important component of a person’s identity (Modood et al., 1997), as well as a focus on gender. These two primary identifications are intimately bound up with each other (Davies, 1994). “The experience of
ethnicity is gendered and gender relations are ethnically distinct" (Barot et al., 1999, p. 1). These two aspects however, cannot be isolated from experiences of ‘race’ and culture. The use of the concept of intersectionality to interpret social phenomena is not a new strategy (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Collins, 2000; Weedon, 1999). Collins (2000) suggests that gender, sexuality, ‘race’, class and nation mutually construct one another. Pettman (1992) sees cultural practice as marked by and lived through particular ways of structuring gender relations and sex roles, notions of the family and particular constructions of masculinity and femininity. Women have been instrumental in the perpetuation of cultural mores and social values (Yuval-Davis, 1994, 1997). The implications of these factors for ethnic identity in the lives of Anglo-Indian women and the intersections of these factors with the immigration process will be discussed in this chapter. This will be done through the use of various theoretical approaches that complement the social psychological theory already outlined. As mentioned in the previous chapter, consideration of social context is crucial to the application of social identity and self-categorisation theory. In considering these theoretical strands, the location of the Anglo-Indian community and Anglo-Indian women, in particular, within the discourse of ethnicity is important. This incorporates their status as a ‘mixed-race’ or ‘hybrid’ group. Spatial and temporal identities come into play through the impact of immigration, which is a crucial factor in the lives of the participants in this research.

**DEFINING OR CONFINING?**

The task of definition when referring to constructions of ‘race’, culture and ethnicity is a problematic one, and this is evident in the status of ‘mixed-race’ groups such as the Anglo-Indians. These terms resist definition for a number of reasons. Firstly, the act of defining implies static meaning. In fact, meanings assigned to these terms have evolved throughout history (Malik, 1996; Young, 1995). They have been dependent upon changing historical contexts.

Secondly, the meanings of these terms have incorporated varying degrees of overlap and conflation, so that definition of each concept as distinct detracts
from the overall significance of each issue. The interconnectedness between these issues is integral to their meaning and impact in society. Is ‘race’ a component of ethnicity? Or is ethnicity a completely separate concept from ‘race’? Is culture a component of ethnicity? Is the concept of ‘race’ totally isolated from that of ethnicity or culture? The boundaries are blurred. Can these concepts be discussed individually or collectively? Either way, Sollors (1996, p. xxi) asks, “what is to be gained and what to be lost?” These questions reflect the complexity of the issues under discussion here. ‘Race’, culture and ethnicity are not separate strands of identity that exist independently of each other; gender too cannot be isolated in this way. There are numerous interdependencies and interactions that have been documented and discussed over recent years (Collins, 1991; Hollinsworth, 1998; Malik, 1996; Omi & Winant, 1994; Pettman, 1992; Sollors, 1996; Young, 1995). It has been suggested that ‘race’ and biology are related to each other, as are ethnicity and culture (Malik, 1996; Pettman, 1992). Theorists who assert that notions of ‘race’ and ethnicity are often conflated, question this. Malik (1996) maintains that ethnicity incorporates biological notions of ‘race’ as another aspect of identity. Conflations of ethnicity with culture and with identity itself are critiqued by Yuval-Davis (1994), who sees ethnicity as primarily a political category.

Thirdly, such definitions are problematic because they tend to limit understandings to the ‘centre’. Semantics favour central meanings so that the periphery of meaning is often excluded. This emphasis on central meanings results in the differential acknowledgment of groups or ethnicities, which can then be identified as ‘more different’ and ‘less different’ within any given context, with groups that are ‘more different’ having greater validity than those that are ‘less different’. Separate groups or ethnicities gain currency, while groups that incorporate similarities and commonalities with other groups lose validity. Emphasis is placed on stereotypical, fixed notions, rather than on fluidity and diversity and do not allow for individual/group agency. This is particularly significant for Anglo-Indians who were not totally separate in terms of diacritical markers of identity and ancestry from other ethnic groups. The
application of the concepts of ‘race’, ethnicity and culture to their situation challenges attempts at definition. Fluidity and variation within groups and cultures is one of Hannerz’s (1992) concerns. Hannerz (1992, p. 14) suggests that a major implication of a distributive understanding of culture is that all individuals are not alike and that people must deal with other people’s meanings. The ‘mixed-race’ origin of the Anglo-Indian community, the development of the community within the colonial era and their cultural adaptation of both the Indian and the European elements challenge the notion of defining ‘race’, ethnicity and culture. Limiting our understanding to the ‘centre’ serves to polarise issues, reinforces binaries and emphasises difference.

The issue of intercultural socialisation within the colonial context and within multicultural Australia has also had implications for boundaries and categories that enable definition. Pettman (1992) touches on this when she states that “the high rate of intermarriage, individual mobility across ethnic boundaries and the shifting politics within these boundaries over time and place means that categories represented as fixed and immutable are constantly changing” (p. 118). The complex intersections between ethnicity, ‘race’ and culture is synthesised in the lives of Anglo-Indian women in ways that make it difficult to maintain their ‘separate’ meanings. This is reflected in the following discussion.

ETHNICITY

It is generally acknowledged that two broad sets of theoretical perspectives on ethnicity have prevailed (Petersen, 1997; Thompson, 1989). There are theories that regard our ethnic nature as an essential aspect of our human nature - the sociobiological theory (universalist, because it asserts a single, common nature held by all members of the species regardless of social or historical circumstance) and the ‘primordial sentiments’ theory. Biological theories of multiple human natures argue that different human kinds are the product of different, unalterable biological natures (racist). This reliance on biology results in some degree of conflation with ‘race’ in considering the formation of groups. Secondly, there are ‘social’ theories of ethnicity, which explain ethnic behaviour
by social, rather than biological, forces. These are social theories of a nonuniversalist kind. They stress the existence of multiple human kinds or 'natures', but they also argue that significant human differences are the product of social, not biological, forces. Such social theories account for the more recent analyses of ethnicity.

The first of these perspectives incorporates a static version of ethnicity based on 'race'. However, the issue of what 'race' is, and whether 'race' exists, is secondary to the social meanings that have developed in relation to 'race', to the ways in which these social meanings change and the implications of these meanings for people. Its meaning at any "intersection of time and place is embedded in and influenced by the prevailing conditions within the social milieu in question" (Goldberg, 1993, p. 80). The reality of the impact of 'race' and racial difference in social and political terms needs to be recognised (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Barot et al., 1999; Frankenberg, 1993; Omi & Winant, 1994) in exploring the identity of Anglo-Indian women. Tizard and Phoenix (1993) also support such a perception in their research since 'race' is of both psychological and political importance. The internalisation of cultural values and racial ideology (Young, 1995) gives rise to the need for these same analytical tools. I concur with Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) in their assertion that 'race' denotes a particular way in which communal differences are constructed and therefore maintains validity as an analytical construct. To disregard the ways in which people have been racialised throughout history would facilitate the erasure and negation of numerous minority groups, and in this instance, the experience of women of Anglo-Indian descent. This is contrary to the purposes of feminist theory, which is concerned to rewrite the history of groups and individuals that have been rendered invisible within a patriarchal framework (Weedon, 1999). With this in mind, the status and identity of women of Anglo-Indian descent as a result of their 'mixed-race' origin takes on significance.
There has been, in recent years, a shift of paradigm in theories of ‘race’ and ethnicity, “a shift which can be seen as part of a general move in postmodern thinking from a concern with binaries, essences and difference to an interest in multiplicity, diversity, liminality and hybridity” (Lauret, 2000). The theorisation of hybridity in postcolonial studies, centred as it is on colonial discourse, and as argued by Bhabha (1990a, 1993, 1994, 1990b), opens doors for a consideration of the coloniser and the colonised in terms of ‘hybridity’ and ‘ambivalence’. Ahmad (1995) suggests that

[T]he basic idea that informs the notion of cultural hybridity is in itself simple enough, namely that the traffic among modern cultures is now so brisk that one can hardly speak of discrete national cultures that are not fundamentally transformed by that traffic. (p. 13)

This hybridity addresses the inability of the coloniser to control all aspects of their interaction with the colonised (Bhabha, 1984) and the ways in which ideologies and vocabularies evolved through cultural interaction. In this way, colonial hybridity, based as it was on cultural purity, was problematised. Bhabha extends Fanon’s recognition of internalised racism by maintaining that colonial identities are ambivalent, hybrid and constantly in a state of flux (Loomba, 1998). Ahmad (1995) described cultural hybridity as “a generalised condition of postmodernity into which all contemporary cultures are now irretrievably ushered” (p. 13).

This notion of hybridity has been critiqued at various levels. JanMohamed (1985) argues against Bhabha’s focus on discourse, suggesting that a Manichean dichotomy underpins colonialism/postcolonialism. A Manichean model of settlement takes account of the violence between settlers and indigenous peoples. JanMohamed (1985) suggests that ambivalence is “a product of deliberate, if at times subconscious, imperialist duplicity, operating very efficiently through the economy of its central trope, the Manichean allegory” (p. 61). Ahmad (1995) comments on cultural hybridity that is specific to the “migrant (postcolonial) intellectual” (p. 13) as a figure that has “a taken-for-grantedness of a male, bourgeois onlooker”. Class and location are not
incorporated in this analysis of colonial/postcolonial relations; neither does it address the issue of gender. “The analogy between the subordination of women and colonial subjects runs the risk of erasing the specificity of colonialist and patriarchal ideologies, besides tending to homogenise both ‘women’ and ‘non-Europeans’” (Loomba, 1998, p. 164). Papastergiadis (1997) provides an overview of the theoretical strands relating to cultural hybridity.

The notion that racial theory was never merely scientific or biologistic, but was in fact cultural (Young, 1995) problematises the notion that cultural hybridity has somehow superseded racial hybridity. As a result Young (1995) questions the apparent shift from biologism and scientism to the safety of culturalism. This shift is addressed by Ifekunigwe (1999) through the use of the terms metis(se) and metissage which allow for interrogation of theorising that is generally associated with bi-racialised and multiracialized metis(se). These terms account for individuals who embody two or more worldviews or “descent groups” (Ifekunigwe, 1999, p.19).

The social theories mentioned at the start of this chapter acknowledge the concepts of nation, ‘race’ and ethnicity as categories, which are not natural or predetermined identities (Modood, Beishon, & Virdee, 1994; Pettman, 1992; Thomas, 1999). Rather, they are political and social constructs whose membership and meaning is contested and shifting (Yuval-Davis, 1994). Ethnic identities are not fixed over time. Nor can they be perceived as a ‘given’. They are generally context-dependent and involve a consideration of the ways in which ethnic groups relate to other people, to other ethnic minorities and to the majority (Modood et al., 1994). Hanecz (1992) comments on the role of agency in culture, referring to people as actors:

As actors and as networks of actors, they are constantly inventing culture or maintaining it, reflecting on it, experimenting with it, remembering it or forgetting it, arguing about it, and passing it on. (p. 17)
Anthropological notions of groups and categories as bounded and self-perpetuating are shifting to allow for plurality and interconnectedness (Caplan, 1995). This research is situated within this framework.

Ethnicity is about both cultural differentiation and shared meaning. Jenkins (1997) suggests that ethnicity as a collective identity is externalised in social interaction and internalised in personal self-identification. It is shared and interpersonally negotiated. Ethnicity refers to relationships between groups, where members of the groups consider themselves distinctive and work to create that distinctiveness. Weedon (1999) suggests that ethnicity is about the sense of belonging to a particular group. It incorporates understandings of place, history, language and culture (Hall, 1992; Weedon, 1999) - issues that are considered in this research. Eriksen (1997) also makes the point that for ethnicity to exist groups must have contact with each other, and they must entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves. If these conditions are not fulfilled, ethnicity has no relevance as a social indicator. This is because ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship rather than a property of a group (Eriksen, 1997). In effect, ethnicity needs to be perceived less as an attribute of groups and more as an aspect of a relationship.

So, what is an ethnic group? The various approaches to this question acknowledge that ethnicity refers, in some way, to group classification and group relationships (Eriksen, 1997). The work of Barth (1969) initiated a chain of theorising, which has resulted in an ethnic group being viewed as a culturally distinct population which is set apart in various ways from the dominant population. Weber (1997) defines ethnic groups as

those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. (pp. 18-19)
Berthoud and colleagues (in Modood et al., 1997) emphasise heritage and distinctiveness in their definition of an ethnic group. Physical appearance, subjective identification, cultural and religious affiliation, stereotyping and social exclusion are seen as various facets of ethnicity. Social exclusion and rejection by other ethnic groups played a part in the development of Anglo-Indian identity in India. Berthoud and colleagues (Modood et al., 1997) suggest that "there is a boundary which separates 'us' from 'them', and the distinction would probably be recognised on both sides of that boundary" (p. 13). Ethnicity and culture are often referred to in everyday discourse as birth identity, as something that comes about as a result of their emigration or their parents' emigration from a particular country of origin (Pettman, 1992).

The discussion thus far has particular implications for groups, which, for a variety of reasons, are not quite as distinct as other groups. In other words, ethnicity seems to apply specifically to the 'more different' rather than to the 'less different' groups. This is important for the identity of 'mixed-race' groups such as the Anglo-Indians who took on the cultural markers of other ethnic groups as part of their identity. The identity of such groups and the women within these groups provide a backdrop for the consideration of Anglo-Indian identities.

For the purposes of this research, I use a concept of ethnicity that acknowledges a particular geographical and cultural background, and is inclusive of a concept of 'race' that is socially constructed and not biologically given. In this scenario, 'race' is one of the determinants of ethnicity and is treated as a social category. All aspects of ethnic identity as applied in this research are evolving and dynamic. Such an approach is based on the concept of ethnicity utilised by Omi & Winant (1994), which acknowledges the 'mixed-race' origins of the Anglo-Indian community, their original location in the subcontinent of India, and their ongoing cultural development.
The social and material impact of 'mixed-race' cannot be ignored in this discussion since the 'racial' origins of the community contributed to their identity. It is within these parameters that hybridity is discussed. Gordon (1995) asserts that on the existential level, biracial people have the unique experience of living the racial realities of more than one group in their innermost private lives. Ifekwuigwe (1999) maintains that such people have access to one or more worldviews. Biracial life experiences have also been depicted in negative terms. It has been suggested that 'mixed-race' people symbolise the realm of the unlivable (Ferber, 1997). The reality or otherwise of these statements is manifested in the lives of Anglo-Indians who are the subjects of this research. It has been suggested (Orni & Winant, 1994) that meeting someone of 'mixed race' and/or ethnicity becomes "a source of discomfort and momentarily a crisis of racial meaning" (p. 59). Identities of groups and individuals who do not have coherent identities are relegated to the "inhuman"; as having no identity (Ferber, 1997, p. 199). Clearly, 'mixed race' or 'racial hybridity' is seen as problematic. This 'racial hybridity' is discussed in the following paragraphs.

The term 'hybrid' first appeared between 1843 and 1861 (Young, 1995). Its origin lies in the sense of 'race' as 'type', since the word 'race' is sometimes used in the "sense of a pure or permanent type underlying the diversities of human populations" (Banton, 1998, p. 59). This perception prevailed despite widespread rejection by the scientific community, during the 1950s, of distinct differences between groups as a result of their genetic makeup (Zuckerman, 1990). Terminology relating to 'mixed-race' individuals was demeaning as it was based on animal breeding. 'Mulatto' is a Portuguese word for young mule and was used to refer to 'mixed-race' individuals in the United States and the West Indies. 'Metis', which means mongrel dog, was the French equivalent. 'Mixed-breed' and 'half-breed' were used in Britain and the USA. The 1900s brought the use of the term 'half-caste' to the fore, a term which has since been discredited (Tizard, 1993).
The claim that hybridity represented a 'degradation' of humanity was increasingly asserted by the 1930s (Young, 1995). The inferior status accorded to 'mixed-race' people has been attributed to racism; to the belief that they are less capable and moral than those of 'pure race'. Differences in intelligence, temperament, sexuality, and other traits were deemed to be racial in character. Racial intermixture was seen as a sin against nature, which would lead to the creation of "biological throwbacks" (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 15). Racial intermixture has also been perceived to be the "extreme expression" by the colonised to become equal with the coloniser (Memmi, 1965, p. 121). The desire to resemble the 'white' coloniser is reflected in communities such as the Anglo-Indians who took on the cultural mores and values of the coloniser.

The existence of the bibi or Indian mistress in colonized India together with the acknowledgment of marriage between the colonisers and Indians signal the origin of the Anglo-Indian community (Ballhatchet, 1980; Moore, 1986). However, the violation of racial boundaries was socially unacceptable and undesirable. This violation was played out in that groups such as the Anglo-Indians came to be seen as possessing the most negative qualities and characteristics of the races they were said to incorporate (Caplan, 1995; Hawes, 1996). Women in particular were said to have weak morals and to be sexually promiscuous. D'Cruz (1999) states that the demonisation of Anglo-Indians in colonial literature occurs through portrayals of them as "opportunistic whores", alcoholic 'loafers' and indolent miscreants" (p. 312). Stark's (1936) book "Hostages to India" was motivated by the desire to "remove the uninformed prejudice which has subjected its members to unmerited disparagement" (Preface). Dover (1937) refers to Anglo-Indians as "misrepresented" (p. 113). The identity of Anglo-Indians was marked by a range of negative qualities (Anthony, 1969; Caplan, 1995; Gisi, 1972; Hawes, 1996). In particular, the adoption of western values by Anglo-Indians meant that girls were allowed greater personal freedom than were girls in other families. Anglo-Indian women were also more prominent in the workplace, and in occupations such as nursing; a job that was not seen to be suitable for 'Indian' women by the Indian
community. It has been suggested that these factors may have contributed to the portrayal of Anglo-Indian women as promiscuous. This rationalisation of the stereotyping of Anglo-Indian women is based on notions of what was considered appropriate behaviour for women in the Indian context. Fears about transgression of racial boundaries are demonstrated in British concern about European, foreign and Anglo-Indian prostitutes in India during colonial times, but are not reflected in the statistics (Levine, 2000). Ballhatchet (1980) reports that, in 1880, when the registration system was operating in Calcutta, "there were 2,458 brothel-keepers on the books and 7,001 prostitutes. Only 8 or 10 of these brothel-keepers were Europeans and of the prostitutes only 46 were Eurasians and 65 Europeans" (p. 132). These figures suggest that few Anglo-Indians worked as prostitutes in brothels, challenging the stereotype of the promiscuous Anglo-Indian woman.

As indicated by Sharma (1999), 'caste' is not an Indian word. It is derived from the Portuguese casta, meaning pure breed. Sharma locates it within the discourse of orientalism (Said, 1979), and it is within this discourse that the term is applied to communities outside India and communities that were not categorised as Indian. The term caste and half-caste became instrumental in the racialisation of particular groups. In America, "the caste system ranked whites above blacks, prohibited intermarriage and placed the offspring of inter-caste sexual relations in the lowest category" (Banton, 1998, p. 122). The connection between hybridity and the Indian caste system is demonstrated in the application of the term 'half-caste' to Anglo-Indians. Gist (1972) maintains that the Anglo-Indians were rejected as 'half-castes' in India. The image is one of a people caught in an 'in-between' space; neither black nor white, yet both; neither 'Indian' nor 'European', yet both. The derogatory implications of being 'half-caste' have been an integral part of the identity of the Anglo-Indian community, especially within the colonial and postcolonial environment in India. The term 'chee-chee' has also been used as a negative descriptor of the Anglo-Indian community (Gist, 1972, p. 41). It also came to be used as an indicator of low socio-economic status within the Anglo-Indian community.
For Anglo-Indians, the term half-caste served to place them within a hierarchy of 'race' and class, which ensured their inferior status both in relation to the colonisers, and to the colonised. Mills (1998) maintains that among caste Hindus, the living evidence of pollution or interrupted lineage offered by the Eurasians, in keeping with what Eurasians represented to the 19th century Europeans, was possibly more abhorrent than the improper unions which gave rise to them; in this regard, brahmans and upper middle-class Britons understood one another well. (p. 110)

The inappropriate nature of the term 'half-caste' was suggested during the 1930s, when the colour-caste analysis was being developed (Banton, 1998). Its unjustified relationship with the Hindu caste system was recognised then. However, the term has, in recent years, gone out of favour (Sharma, 1999).

The illusion of a racially 'pure' white identity is central to white supremacist discourse (Ferber, 1997). 'Mixed-race' people represent a threat to the perpetuation of this racial 'purity'. Young (1995) highlights this discourse when he states that miscegenation has been perceived as resulting in corruption, degeneration and degradation of the originals; a subversion of the "pure races" (p. 103). He attributes this position to the works of Gobineau, Agassiz and Vogt. The regulation of racial boundaries is integral to the perpetuation of 'whiteness' as a racially pure identity (Ferber, 1997). The history of racial hybridity also demonstrated a fear of the reproduction of groups such as the Anglo-Indians. They were sometimes seen as a threat to the dominant group and were sometimes rejected by the indigenous population because of their affiliation with the dominant group (Gist, 1972; Ridgeway, 1990). This was particularly the case for the Anglo-Indian community in India during the colonial era. The adoption of Christianity and the use of English as the main language reinforced the threat that Anglo-Indians posed to the colonisers and distanced them even further from the Indian population.

As Phoenix and Owen (2000) indicate:
Although people with one black and one white parent have historically been categorised as black, they have simultaneously (and contradictorily), been identified as separate from both black and white people. (p. 74)

'Mixed-race' individuals are generally classified as black (Fanon, 1982; Gordon, 1995) despite the colour of their skin. The "one-drop" rule (Davis, 1991; Gordon, 1995; Ifekwunigwe, 1999), which originated in North America, served to classify individuals with any African ancestry or with "one drop of black blood", as black. "In the United States any outward sign of African descent served to assign an individual to the category black or Negro" (Banton, 1998, p. 129); so too for Anglo-Indians. This can be applied to the Anglo-Indian community as well, individuals with Indian ancestry were categorised as Anglo-Indian.

The urge by Anglo-Indians to be considered closer to their British colonisers than to the Indian population in terms of identity reflected a desire to be 'white'. Indeed, those who were fair and male had the ability to 'pass' as white and had access to other privileges such as an overseas education and employment (Caplan, 1995). Chew (1998) suggests that these colour-based distinctions also affected marriage opportunities. Fanon (1982) comments on the written experiences of Myotte Capécia and her desire to be white. This desire was manifested in the lives of coloured women through their relationships with white men. Fanon (1982) suggests that the Negress is concerned primarily with becoming 'white', while the Mulatto is concerned "not only to turn white but also to avoid slipping back" (p. 54), that is, slipping back to having black skin.

It can be argued that the situation of the Anglo-Indian woman is more in line with the latter than the former as a result of her 'mixed-race' status. Nevertheless, Anglo-Indians were the products of black and white, and, in political terms, the product of black and white have always been classified as black (Young, 1996; Young, 1995).

The recognition of 'mixed-race' groups has been demonstrated in the British population census of 2001, which included a direct question on ethnic groups.
(National Statistics. The Official UK Statistics Site, 2001). One of the optional answers to this question was ‘mixed’, and included the following options: White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, and, Any other mixed background. In the United States, the national consensus is that there are four distinguishable racial groups – Asians, Blacks, Whites, and Native Americans, and often Latinos are listed as well (Trickett, Watts, & Birman, 1994). It is significant to note that the inadequacy of the black/white divide is increasingly being acknowledged. In the United States, Suro (1998, July 19), writing for the Washington POST, suggested that the language of black/white differences is losing its validity because Latinos and Asians do not fit into a world in which people are permanently and definitively marked either as insiders or outsiders. These developments, it could be argued, reflect a healthy awareness of racial diversity that is seen as positive by the groups so acknowledged. It could also be argued that such emphasis on difference is divisive, politically motivated and is, in fact, racialisation.

SKIN COLOUR
Discussion relating to ethnicity and ‘race’ needs to incorporate a consideration of skin colour and phenotype, which have been identified as significant markers of difference in contemporary Western societies (Weedon, 1999). Skin colour was a signifier of status within the Indian and the Anglo-Indian communities. It is also significant within the Australian context. This discussion also needs to include an acknowledgment of the meanings of whiteness, its social construction (Frankenberg, 1993) and its relationship with the experience of Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Indian women in particular. However, in keeping with the aims and objectives of this research, this consideration is limited to the emergence of the term ‘white’ “as a key site in the forging of new mass political identities based on distinctions between coloniser and colonised, dominant and subject peoples” (Bonnett, 2000, p. 17) and the impact of this on Anglo-Indians. It was in such an environment that the Anglo-Indian community came into being and developed its identity.
Racial categories are often based on physical differences, particularly skin and physiognomy (Banton, 1998). "Skin colour and phenotype are among the most important signifiers of difference in contemporary Western societies" (Weedon, 1999, p. 153). Banton (1998) suggests that classifying humans according to their appearance is, in itself, acceptable. However, "[P]roblems revolve around the nature of the classes from which a classification is constructed and the significance of the differences between them" (Banton, 1998, p. 19). In the final analysis the signification of phenotypic features has been considered useful for representative purposes, even though it has also been used to effect exclusionary practices (Miles, 1989), which are reflected in racism and discrimination.

Weedon (1999) also indicates that non-Western, non-White 'others' have been perceived as more spiritual, intuitive, physical, sensual and sexual. Conversely, they are also seen as less rational and less sophisticated than 'white' people. Although discourses relating to skin colour have generally focussed on the meaning of being black/coloured and the material consequences of being black/coloured, there has occurred a growing awareness of the social construction of 'whiteness' and a critique of the ways in which 'whiteness' has traditionally been addressed (Bonnett, 2000, p. 119). This tradition has incorporated the naturalisation and omnipresence of a dominant white cultural system (Moreton-Robinson, 2000).

Even in the early stages of contact between Europeans and Indians the issue of skin colour and 'race' consciousness were part of policies relating to interaction between them. Skin colour has affected the lives of women since the early days of colonisation. Loomba (1998) addresses this issue, referring to the Portuguese governor, Alfonso d'Albuquerque:

Albuquerque invited his men to marry 'the white and beautiful' widows and daughters of the defenders of Goa, making a distinction between them and the darker South Indian women whom he called 'Negresses'. The Jesuit priest Francis Xavier, who worked in both India and the Spice Islands, drew sharp colour lines even as he urged the casados to marry
their local concubines, encouraging the men to abandon the dark ones and even offering to find substitutes for them. (p. 110-11)

Skin colour has been a problematic marker for Anglo-Indian women: as a result of the variability in skin colour that is prevalent among them. Anthony (1969) stated:

Colour has been one of the lesser determinants for the Community.

Persons, who might, because of their extremely dark complexion, provoke amused incredulity at their seemingly non-existent claim to the prefix ‘Anglo’ have over and over again been able to produce irreproachable evidence of European descent sometimes in the first generation. (p. 7)

Gaikwad (1967) elaborates further on the physical diversity among Anglo-Indians:

On the one side, persons belonging to many European countries and on the other side, persons belonging to different parts of India, were responsible for the formation of the community. This has resulted in great diversity in the physical features. There are very dark Anglo-Indians and there are very fair coloured Anglo-Indians. A great variation is also found in stature, hair form, colour of the eye and other physical features among the community. (p. 165)

Anglo-Indians have been aware of their reflection as being many ‘shades’ of black/white. Although Anglo-Indians vary in terms of phenotypic markers of identity, their cultural markers of identity distinguished them as a cohesive and recognisable group in the Indian environment. They have been identified as “one cultural, social and economic group by bonds, which distinguish them from the other communities and identify them with one another” (Anthony, 1969, p. 7). So, Anthony claimed that Anglo-Indian identity provided cohesion and superseded consideration of skin colour within the Anglo-Indian community.
The nonnative and supremacist discourses of whiteness and maleness have served to marginalise Anglo-Indian men and women, more particularly, Anglo-Indians of dark skin in India and more recently in Australia. As a result, skin colour played a significant role in the life chances of Anglo-Indians. The status of ‘mixed-race’ communities in the area of ‘whiteness studies’ is not conclusive. The significance of the responses of individuals of mixed-race background in Frankenberg’s (1993) informative study within the context of ‘whiteness studies’ was not clarified. However, communities such as the Anglo-Indians experienced life at the boundaries of what is described as ‘whiteness’. In India, light-skinned men were more likely to be sent to Britain for their education than their darker-skinned relatives (Moore, 1986). Fair-skinned men were more likely to attain employment. Anglo-Indian women were also advantaged if they were fair and looked more European than Indian. Anglo-Indian women in India benefited both economically and socially from their appearance (Anthony, 1969; Hawes, 1996). Chew (1998) argues that the identity of Anglo-Indian women has been defined solely by their sexuality and appearance. The portrayal of Anglo-Indian women in this way reflects a masculinist discourse that serves to homogenise and stereotype Anglo-Indian women. There is a complex interplay between being socially and economically advantaged, and yet also being classified ultimately as ‘non-white’. Younger (1983) states that “[T]he hierarchy of status in British India was determined by race and to a lesser extent by class” (p. 40). Racialism based on skin colour was also exercised within the Anglo-Indian community, as were class divisions. In this context it is significant to note that Phoenix’s study with young Londoners showed that mixed-parentage and black young people were most likely to report themselves to be aware of skin colour (Phoenix, 1997).

The racist framework of the history of colonisation in Australia invites the suggestion that being ‘black’ or ‘coloured’ constitutes a disadvantage in society. The status of Anglo-Indian women within this context remains inconclusive. Forced participation in the language, traditions, institutions, and beliefs of the economically, racially, politically dominant group (Chabram-Dernersesian,
1997, p. 115) is assimilation and derives from the hegemony of ‘whiteness’. This has been an integral part of the history of ‘white’ Australia. The western values and tradition of Anglo-Indians have enabled Anglo-Indian access to ‘whiteness’. To the extent that Anglo-Indians have had access to ‘whiteness’ they too need to recognise whiteness as privilege and to participate in the project of deconstruction within the struggle against racism. However, dark-skinned Anglo-Indian women could be more aligned with the negative values associated with being black or coloured. It could also be suggested that the ‘less-ethnic’ appearance of Anglo-Indian women has implications for their status within the Australian environment. White Anglo-Indian women may be identified as mainstream, ‘white’ Australian women. They are less likely to be identified as ‘other’. The relationship of the Anglo-Indian community to ‘whiteness’ is not static or defined.

In Australia, in 1966, the Centre for Immigration & Multicultural Studies at the Australian National University published a booklet on “Racial Characteristics of the Australian People: Commonwealth Censuses 1911 - 1966” (York, 1966). This publication affirmed that:

- ‘race’ is a social construction;
- genetic variations do exist among social and cultural groups; they cannot be categorised into races;
- there is no ‘pure race’ of any kind;
- the history of census collecting in Australia reflected the basic objective of monitoring groups whose appearance and culture was at odds with the prevailing notion of a ‘White Australia.’

These points also explain the diminishing value of notions of ‘race’ in the public policy arena in Australia, and are reinforced by the fact that 1966 was the last year in which racial categories were tabulated in this way.

Although ‘race’ is no longer recognised in public policy as a basis for discrimination and despite the existence of anti-discrimination legislation
(Pettman, 1992), under multiculturalism, ‘race’ was and is used as a basis for categorising culture. It became a means of signalling a particular categorical cultural difference (Stratton & Ang, 1998) without direct reference to ‘race’. ‘Race’ has not disappeared as a symbolic marker of cultural difference in Australia, despite the emphasis on ethnic/cultural difference (Stratton & Ang, 1998). Culture and ethnicity serve to obscure recognition of ‘race’ and its implications. ‘Race’ came to be subsumed under notions of ethnicity and culture. Bernasconi (Willett, 1998) maintains that ‘race’ is addressed under the title ‘multiculturalism’ without being named, and that much of the incoherence and antagonism in contemporary discussions of ‘race’ are considered without being addressed directly. ‘Race’ has been subsumed under the title ‘multiculturalism’. The position of ‘whiteness’ as a dynamic and evolving marker of ethnic and cultural identity and as reference point from which ethnicities and cultures are constructed as ‘other’, reifies and naturalises white identity.

CLASS

Social theorists such as Marx and Weber have addressed the existence of social inequality. Both developed the concept of social class in their approaches to the issue of social inequality in capitalist societies (Jagtenberg & D’Alton, 1992). Marx’s theory was based on economic factors, with class defined in terms of ownership and control of the means of production. He argued that there would be a polarisation of society into the bourgeoisie, who owned and controlled society’s wealth, and the proletariat, who had nothing to sell but their labour. Although Weber agreed that economics and class were fundamentally important, he also maintained that status and political affiliation were additional basic dimensions that had to be included in any analysis of power relations (Jagtenberg & D’Alton, 1992).

In the Indian environment, ‘race’, ethnicity, gender and class intersected to produce particular life experiences for Anglo-Indians, and for Anglo-Indian women in particular. The hierarchy that was constructed under colonialism
ensured that the coloniser occupied the position of the upper class while the colonised was located at the lower end of the spectrum. The position of Anglo-Indians in this continuum was based on social, economic and political developments and was manipulated to ensure the hierarchical superiority of the coloniser. A hierarchical class system operated in Indian society. Stern (1993) who takes a Weberian approach to class in India, maintains that the Anglo-Indians were a ruling aristocracy of British families in India and were largely middle class. As indicated in Chapter One, Stern’s use of the term ‘Anglo-Indian’ does not include the Anglo-Indians who are the subject of this research. Instead, it refers to Europeans who were domiciled in India and to their children. When referring to prestigious clubs in India, Stern (1993) maintains that “[t]he Anglo-Indian community tabooed marriages between Europeans and Indians and closed its doors to their offspring” (p. 143).

Anglo-Indians were not always favoured in terms of social and economic policy in India. However, during the early years of British colonisation, Anglo-Indians were identified with the British, both by the British themselves and other ethnic groups in India. Power and wealth were accessible to them. Such an assessment of their class position however, does not account for factors of skin colour, which, according to Goodrich (1952), impacted on class position through discrimination against dark-skinned Anglo-Indians in the military services. Skin colour also contributed to location with the class hierarchy. Later, the formation of the Bengal Orphan Asylum in 1782 indicated the declining class position of Anglo-Indians. This organisation was concerned with providing financial assistance to Anglo-Indians. Unemployment and poverty were part of the Anglo-Indian at that time and status in terms of class continued to vary according to the political needs of the British. This has previously been demonstrated in the brief history of the community, which was presented in Chapter One.

Although it has been suggested that Australian commentators over the years have been reluctant to admit to the existence of class in Australia, class
awareness in Australia is very high (McGregor, 2001). The three main classes in Australian society have been identified as the upper, middle and working classes, and the location of boundaries between them is disputed (Haralambos, van Krieken, Smith & Holborn, 1996). The income and wealth of the top 5-10 per cent of the population who are identified as the upper class in Australian society is derived from their ownership and control of property and capital. Haralambos et al. (1996) describe the middle classes as people in non-manual occupations, in some way implying an intellectual element. The lower middle class comprises groups such as clerks, secretaries and shop assistants, whose position in the class structure has been widely debated.

The Australian working class incorporates a degree of racial and ethnic differences that parallel gender distinctions:

> These racial, ethnic and gender distinctions often overlap with divergent segments of the labour market, segments which also correspond to the distinction between skilled and unskilled manual labour. (Haralambos et al., 1996, p.75)

Immigrants to Australia are faced with “having to reconnect and reconstruct their social and economic worlds” (Jagtenberg & D’Alton, 1992, p. 5). The role of gender intersects with racial and ethnic issues and further exacerbates the impact of class in the lives of female migrants in Australia. Kilic (1997) suggests that multiple oppressions are not experienced separately or additively, one on top of the other; their cumulative effect is experienced in an integrated manner.

After World War II Australia’s immigration intake focussed on “able-bodied, male, manual workers from Europe” (Fincher, Foster & Wilmot, 1994, p.23). Immigrant women, during this time, were viewed in relation to this ideal so that they were dependants and their status relied on their marital and familial characteristics. However, their age was important because it indicated their capacity to bear children.
Although recent immigration policy favours wealthy immigrants who bring investment money into the country, the history of post-war immigration has largely been that of waves of European and, lately, Asian immigrants employed in the labouring and unskilled/semi-skilled workforce; “an ethnically segmented and stratified labour force” (de Lepervanche, 1984, p.194). Immigrant labour was at the bottom of the labour market and was crucial to the period between 1947 and 1961, because of the need for post-war reconstruction and the establishment of industry (de Lepervanche, 1984). De Lepervanche (1984) however, also indicates the importance of not generalising unduly by recognising that a number of English-speaking migrants entered high status jobs.

The quantitative section of Gilbert's (1996) research with Anglo-Indians who worked 35 or more hours per week suggested that, compared with people who have both parents born in the United Kingdom and both parents born in Australia, Anglo-Indians have substantially higher labour force participation rates. The place of women in this section of the research is not clear. The qualitative section of this research comprised of interviews with six women and nine men who believed that they have better job prospects and opportunities in Australia than they had before immigration. Despite Australia's racist history, Gilbert (1996) suggests that there is little evidence its impact on the academic and job achievement of Anglo-Indians in Australia. Since the 1980s, definitions of skill were used increasingly to define the ideal immigrant and referred primarily to occupational characteristics that men possessed (Fincher et al., 1994).

Many of the participants in this research indicated that their partners had well-paid, professional positions in India prior to migration. Many had been in the workforce in India prior to marriage. As I have previously indicated, Anglo-Indian women had taken on teaching, nursing and secretarial positions. Generally, they had not participated in the paid workforce in India during their married lives. They enjoyed a middle-class lifestyle in India. This situation changed in the Australian environment, when Anglo-Indian men were not able to access the same high-level positions they had held in India. Many of the
participants' husbands did not obtain employment of the same status as they had in India. In some instances, women had to upgrade qualifications and/or undertake working class positions in the workplace in order to maintain a satisfactory standard of living. Many of the daughters of immigrant Anglo-Indian women 'married down' in Australia and reflected a further loss of social status.

Contemporary feminism has contributed to a deeper understanding of class through its identification of the patriarchal nature of class relations:

Women's disadvantage takes many forms, but economic disadvantage is quite fundamental and reflected in rates of employment, unemployment and levels of income. (Jagtenberg & D'Alton, 1992, p.34)

This is reinforced by McGregor (2001) who comments on the negative impact of part-time and casual work in women's employment and their subjection to "invidious and not-so-hidden penalties of class within the general class system" (McGregor, 2001, p. 55). Many were and are exploited and tended to work at the lower end of the occupational scale (de Lepervanche, 1984). Women outworkers in the rag trade are among the most unprotected and low-paid workers in the entire system (McGregor, 2001, p. 56). Immigrant women have occupied jobs at the lower end of the scale in the manufacturing industry, in factories and in outwork (Fincher et al., 1994, p. 84). Contemporary feminism has also highlighted the double burden of paid employment and unpaid domestic labour in the home, which impacted on immigrant women (Vasta, 1991) and is clearly demonstrated in this study.

ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE LIVES OF ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN

The Indian Context

In everyday discourse, the merging of the European and the Indian is generally considered to be a basic marker of Anglo-Indian identity (Caplan, 1995). One of the primary aspects of the identity of Anglo-Indian women is the fact that they were neither Indian nor European in the colonial and postcolonial context in India. The ambiguous nature of the Anglo-Indian identity is demonstrated in the
fact that they have been defined by statutory definition as ‘Natives of India’ and also as ‘European British Subjects’. According to the former definition they were not accorded the same privileges as Europeans; they did not share the same status and class as Europeans. According to the latter, they were subject to certain military obligations while at the same time they were not allowed to accept their statutory position and align themselves with the majority of the Indian population (Caplan, 1995). This combination of the European and the Indian was integral to the ethnic identity of Anglo-Indian women, particularly in the Indian context.

This positioning between the Indian and European communities meant that the ‘hyphenated’ Anglo-Indian community was ‘less different’ than the Indian community when compared with the European community. Simultaneously, it was ‘less different’ than the European community when compared with the Indian community.

The hyphen suggests a joining together. Other being brought into the space of the Same. It is perhaps the way in which the Same come to tolerate the Other. And here, within this tolerance, we can perhaps sense another function of the hyphen: that of subtraction. The other is subtracted in the space of this tolerance. This also works across the axis of the hyphen. For example, with the term ‘Anglo-Indian’ one is both less English and less Indian at the one and the same time. (Perhaps one is also neither English nor Indian, or, “not-quite-not-Indian and not-quite-not-English’). (Seth, 1993, p. 67)

This ‘inbetweenness’ was perpetuated in the Anglo-Indian community through endogamy. For many generations, since the 1800s and before the migration event, Anglo-Indians confined their marriages within the Anglo-Indian community (Anthony, 1969; D’Souza, 1976; Gist, 1972). An increase in the number of women coming to India from Britain also resulted in fewer liaisons and marriages between British men and both Indian and Anglo-Indian women (Caplan, 1995). So, marrying within the Anglo-Indian community may have
been a consequence of lack of mobility into the ranks of the ‘European’ and also a resistance to blending into the Indian community. Confining marriage within their own community resulted in a widening gap between the Anglo-Indians and the Indian and British communities in India and a growing self-awareness in terms of community and consequently of isolation. Class played a role in the marriage market. It has been noted that Anglo-Indian women from the more well-connected and prominent families were inclined to establish relationships with members of the domiciled European community in India (Hawes, 1996). Relationships between Anglo-Indian women and poor Europeans who were mainly soldiers (Hawes, 1996) were significant during the formative years of the Anglo-Indian community. It was during this period that Anglo-Indian people developed a unique blend of culture and values that was to distinguish them until the time of Indian Independence in 1947. The issue of distinctiveness does not detract from the fact that community boundaries are porous and permeable. However, a group may seek to exercise negative sanctions to make boundaries less porous/permeable, as was the case when Anglo-Indians found it difficult to go to Britain for their education, as the domiciled British did.

The Anglo-Indian community in India was not always seen as a distinct population or ethnic group. This distinct identity did emerge in time as a result of the social, political and economic conditions of the time in colonial India (Hawes, 1996). The coloniser, at times, favoured Anglo-Indians; at other times Anglo-Indians experienced discrimination. Also, the Anglo-Indian community in India chose to identify themselves as ‘Anglo-Indian’ and to separate themselves from other ethnic groups in the community. The motivation behind the push to be so identified lay in the social and economic issues of the time and reflected a concern that Anglo-Indians be identified as a higher class than the Indian population.

The political underpinnings of words that identify groups play an important role in their interpretations. Naming groups can result in hierarchical ranking within society (Eriksen, 1997) and also in terms of class. The dominant population is
favoured politically and economically and allows for the development of such meanings. The consequences of naming are significant and often result in hardship and discrimination (Barot et al., 1999; Pettman, 1992) for the individuals and groups concerned. Developing a distinctive identity and owning the name ‘Anglo-Indian’ had a range of consequences for Anglo-Indian people in India. Part of this distinctive identity included the use of English as the first language, the adherence to Christianity as the preferred religion, and the use of the western style of dress. This implied that the early Anglo-Indians generally identified themselves with British interests (Hawes, 1996; Moore, 1986). In fact, Hawes (1996) suggests that the Anglo-Indians strove to belong to British society rather than forge an ethnic identity of their own. This suggests that they were keen to share the same status and class of the British. The primacy of European culture in the lives of Anglo-Indians was the result of the social, political and economic forces of the time. Younger (1983) maintains that Anglo-Indians, in their pathetic attempt to belong to British society, emulated many of that society’s prejudices. They expressed bitter contempt for Indians. However, in despising Indians because of their “native” blood, they were denying and despising themselves. By repressing distasteful memories of their Indian progenitors it took a heavy toll on their self-esteem. (p. 39)

This is disputed by Mills (1998) who suggests that Anglo-Indian culture does not merely emulate European culture, but has existed “as an identifiable force that was naturally perpetuated by an endogamous community” (p.12).

Nevertheless, the bias toward European culture set the Anglo-Indians apart from the Indian community. It explains the tension that existed between the Indian and Anglo-Indian communities and provides some background for the migration of Anglo-Indians out of India after Indian independence in 1947.

Research carried out by Gaikwad (1967) in India during the 1960s demonstrated that the people vaguely accepted that they have elements of both the cultures in them but when they are asked to indicate under fixed categories as to
whom they are nearer, they show a clear indication of being closer to Western culture. (p. 191)

Blalock (1982) suggests that “[M]any of these Eurasian descendants of mixed unions found themselves torn between two cultural traditions, trying to make it into the dominant white elite but never quite being accepted” (p. 43). Class differences were constructed partially as a result of both race and culture. The lack of acceptance of the Anglo-Indians on the part of the British has been attributed to the shame felt by the British about the origin of the Anglo-Indian community and to the acknowledgment of “the sexual act which was usually illicit, [and which] transgressed the “flawless morale” which the British felt was imperative to present to the outside world” (Younger, 1983, pp. 34-35).

Fanon (1982) maintained that, “To speak a language is to take on a world, a culture”. This language preference was instrumental in demonstrating their bias toward western culture. English was interspersed with words from local languages/dialects and from Hindi. At the same time, Anglo-Indians were also in some ways part of other local religious practices such as processions and celebrations in the workplace. Food was a mixture of both Indian and European styles. Indian servants cooked both styles for their Anglo-Indian employers in family homes. Nevertheless, the range of Indian and English dishes cooked and eaten varied in households depending on economic and lifestyle factors (Caplan, 1995). Even though Anglo-Indian women wore western dress in order to express their preference for a more British cultural heritage, they were nevertheless, despised for this choice by the British, since their frocks were often regarded as being too colourful and bright (Hawes, 1996).

As outlined in Chapter One, it needs to be recognised that the British did not maintain a consistent relationship with the Anglo-Indian community. At times, the community was favoured and at other times, this favour was withdrawn. The reasons for this ambivalence ranged from discrimination against Anglo-Indians as a result of skin colour, a fear of the size of the Anglo-Indian community in
terms of political power and the implication of their hybridity for British notions of superiority and ‘purity’ of ‘race’ (Hawes, 1996; Young, 1995).

Within the Indian context distinctiveness as a group was achieved through contrast with two significant overarching groups in India, that is, Indian and European. The British generally considered themselves superior to the Indians and Anglo-Indians in terms of class. Younger (1983) suggests that the Anglo-Indians were more despised than Indians and that the Anglo-Indians considered themselves superior to the Indians because of their European lifestyle and “that drop of white blood”, even though this view was not shared by the British or other Indians (p. 40). Younger (1983) maintains that, after Indian independence in 1947, the relationship between the Anglo-Indians and other Indians continued to be “governed by the legacy that the British had bequeathed them” (p. 40).

Both Caplan (1995) and Mills (1998) suggest that the distinctiveness of the Anglo-Indians as an ethnic group continues to be asserted in India.

However, within the Australian environment the range of ethnic groups that exist alongside Anglo-Indian women is much greater. The dynamics of the various ethnic and cultural groups in the Australian environment are extremely different. This concept of distinctiveness as a group has had a number of implications for the identity of Anglo-Indian people. Multiculturalism, as it has existed in Australian society, has been described as the recognition of co-existence of a plurality of cultures within the nation (Stratton & Ang, 1998). The place of Anglo-Indians within this framework has generated limited attention thus far.

The Australian Context

As suggested earlier in this chapter Anglo-Indian identity has been affected by pre-existing racialisation within Australian society. The desire for racial and cultural purity was embedded in the concept of the hierarchic ordering of ‘races’, which was based on racial inequality. This was reflected in the White Australia Policy and the Immigration Restriction Bill 1901, and indicated the
Anglo-Saxon basis of Australia's national identity. This self-imposed racialisation resulted in the 'othering' and 'homogenising' of those who did not come from Britain on the one hand, and the Indigenous Australian people on the other. The effect of the legislative restrictions of 1901 was to end immigration from Asia for several decades (Moore, 1992).

As mentioned in Chapter One, World War II and the following years signalled the first significant arrival of Anglo-Indians in Australia. The revised Migration Act 1958 signalled an important change of migration policy in Australia. Through this Act, the racist and discriminatory 'dictation test' which had been introduced in 1901 was dropped, although this was not significant for the Anglo-Indian whose spoke fluent English. It had become clear that Anglo-Celtic and Northern European migrants alone would not be able to sustain economic and demographic growth. As a result, eastern and southern Europeans were recruited (Castles, 1992) followed by migrants described as 'less desirable' from the Middle-East, Latin America and South-east Asia (Kilic, 1997). The immigrants who have come to Australia over the years have shared many experiences of prejudice at the hands of Anglo-Australians. Baldassar (2000) records that pre-war Italian migrants were not actively sought and that immigrants from the northern provinces were preferred over those from the south. Southern Italians were identified as being dark-skinned and as undesirable migrants (Alcorso, 1992; Price, 1963). Baldassar (2000) goes on to suggest that Australian interest in Italian consumer products did not necessarily extend to Italians themselves. The policy of assimilation, which maintained that immigrants be culturally and socially absorbed into the Anglo-Australian population, was adopted after World War II. Evans (2000) and Peters (2000), who interviewed Polish and Dutch women respectively, maintained that these women did not wish to negate their Polish/Dutch identities and backgrounds even though they were prepared to take on Australian identities. Yet, they were rendered 'invisible' in many ways in the Australian context (Zierke, 1997).
Anglo-Indian immigrants were subject to similar relocation and settlement issues in Australia. Integration came to replace assimilation, which was followed in the early 1970s by multiculturalism. These changes in policy direction came about because of the increased awareness of labour market segregation and social segregation that had resulted from immigration (Castles, 1992). Within this context of immigration, Blunt (2000) identified that in 1947, Western Australia was the destination of a ship, the Manoora, which carried 700 Anglo-Indians and 20 Polish refugees. These people were temporarily detained on board ship because of the dark skin of the Anglo-Indians. Skin colour was an indicator of class and status. Blunt (2000) suggests that the arrival of these Anglo-Indians was indicative of the ambiguity of the term 'Anglo-Indian,' which many officials still thought referred to British residents still in India; the austere conditions of the troopship, which meant that many Australians and British settlers preferred to wait for another passage; the political embarrassment for Calwell if the well-publicised evacuation ship should return to Australia virtually empty; and the political inexpedience of turning non-white migrants away at Fremantle, which would amount to a public admission of racist immigration policies. (p. 1)

Restrictions against people of mixed descent were a central part of Australian immigration policy and were related to fears of miscegenation (Younger, 1993). The revised Migration Act 1958 also stated that people who appeared to be less than 75 per cent European should be rejected as migrants (Jordens, 1995). This allowed the migration of people of 'mixed-race' such as the Burghers of Sri Lanka, Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Burmese and those of Dutch origin from Indonesia (Jayasuriya, 1999). The admission of part-Europeans into Australia in 1964 (Rivett, 1975) favoured the Anglo-Indians as migrants and privileged them. It reflected a change in the perception of whiteness as being a cultural marker rather than a 'racial' marker (Blunt, 2000). The adoption of a non-discriminatory immigration policy in 1972 opened the doors even further for immigration. It was not until the 1960s that large numbers of Anglo-Indians
immigrated to Australia. The Australian Citizenship Act of 1973 annulled the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901.

So, the 1970s brought increased Asian migration:

In 1966/67 the number of Asian migrants as a proportion of all settler arrivals coming into Australia was a meagre 4.7 per cent and this number included a large number of persons of Caucasian origin from Asia. By 1972/73, the time of the abandonment of the White Australia Policy, this proportion had increased to 12.5 per cent. (Jayasuriya & Sang, 1990, p. 6)

In her study about Malaysian Chinese women living in Australia, Ryan (2000) comments on their sense of separation from mainstream society and their lack of desire to pursue a western or Australian identity. Vietnamese-Australian women have experienced prejudice (Lange & Nisbet, 2000) and feel a sense of exclusion as a result of their physical appearance. They experienced racism that was directed at them by both Australian-born and European migrants. These experiences and many others indicate that diverse ethnic identities brought a number of issues to the fore in Australia.

The policy of assimilation in Australia during the post World War II years in Australia precluded the consideration of ethnicity. This policy had denied the right of human beings to retain their own cultural forms and it ignored the significant barriers to entry and discrimination that existed for non-English-speaking migrants (Jupp, 1984). Ethnicisation emerged as a concept after World War II and is used as a way of referring to social difference. Ethnicity is a new form of post migration identity that is constructed as a result of public policy and the impact of this policy on individual's lives. Ethnicity developed into an identifier through the experiences of individuals and groups and of treatment at policy level as 'different' (Pettman, 1992). Pettman (1992) referred to ethnicity as a "modern, post-migration political identity and process" (p. 119). This went hand in hand with the adoption of a multiculturalist strategy in Australia during the 1970s (Thomas, 1999) – a strategy that has been marginalised in more recent times (de Lepervanche, 1992; Kilic, 1997).
Migrants have generally been perceived within the Australian multicultural framework in terms of 'difference', which is allegedly valued. However, this valuing of difference concurrently serves to classify individuals as 'other' (Hage, 1994) so that migrants are denoted as both 'different' and as 'other'. This 'othering' of migrant groups continued to be evident in terms such as 'new Australians' and 'ethnics', and occurred alongside groups who did not attain distinctive ethnic status and were, to a large extent, invisible.

Hage (1998) identifies multiculturalism in the Australian context as 'White' multiculturalism, which is self-serving, in that it continually works for its own perpetuation as a 'White fantasy'. Pettman (1992) also suggested that 'race' generally referred to Aboriginal people and the context of colonisation, while ethnicity referred to people of non-English-speaking backgrounds, located within the process of migration. This distinction was aligned with the notion that 'race' was associated with physical characteristics like skin colour; ethnicity was associated with cultural characteristics like language (Pettman, 1992).

Racialisation and ethnicisation has particular implications for the way in which Anglo-Indian women are identified in the Australian context. Like many other immigrants, Anglo-Indian women are both immigrants and English-speaking. Anglo-Indian women do not fit into either of the categories suggested above, so that the above analysis excludes peoples such as the Anglo-Indians. Ethnicisation and self-identification are part of the process of identity construction.

It has been suggested that there has been a shift in the way 'racism' is constructed in recent years so that social factors such as values, attitudes and group mores take precedent over physical differences (Jayasuriya, 1999; Barker, 1981). These new expressions of racism indicate that racial exclusions or immigration restrictions are between "insiders" and "outsiders", "in-groups" and "out-groups", differentiated not in terms of 'race', but culture. (Jayasuriya, 1999, p. 27)
This emphasis on culture suggests that the English-speaking background of Anglo-Indians, their western manner of dress and Christian traditions make them more acceptable in the Australian environment. Nevertheless, Jayasuriya (1999) stresses that

[What this ‘new racism’ has in common with ‘old racism’ is the idea that it is natural and inevitable to keep ‘racial’ or cultural groups apart because of the naturalness of the fear or distrust of each other. (p. 25)]

Despite the western values of Anglo-Indians, Mills (1998) maintains that the Anglo-Indian community remains a distinct group in countries of resettlement, including Australia. Their history and migrant status serves to set them apart. However, it is reasonable to suggest that the migration of various ethnic groups to Australia since World War II has resulted in some level of racial and cultural hybridity. The history of the Chinese in the northern regions of Australia and the sexual contact with the white and indigenous population has been documented. More recently, a study undertaken at the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (Penny & Khoo, 1996) has provided some information relating to intermarriage in Australia. The immigrant communities chosen for this study were people from the USA, Netherlands, Italy, Lebanon, Indonesia, Singapore and China. This issue has received attention in Britain (Modood et al., 1997) in terms of the perceptions of minority individuals and white people. Liladhar’s (1999) experience highlights the contemporary issues of ‘mixed-race’ marriages within the British framework, and results from the fact that she is white and English and her partner who is the father of her children is a British Indian. In particular, her concern is for one of her sons, who identifies himself as Indian and English, and who is, in the course of day-to-day discourse, identified as ‘other’ as a result of his dark skin. The issue of visibility is paramount in such identification, while at the same time, visible markers are not reliable indicators of identity. It has been acknowledged that current methods of classifying ethnic groups do not cater for people of mixed parentage (Modood et al., 1997).
There is limited information about Anglo-Indians in Australia. Despite some opposition to the immigration of Anglo-Indians to Australia, they have been represented in the media as model migrants because of their western cultural and linguistic background (D'Cruz, 2000). Their performance in the Australian labour force has been explored (Gilbert, 1996), as has adaptation to the Australian environment among Anglo-Indians who had connections with formal Anglo-Indian organisations (Colquhoun, 1996). Blunt (2000) suggests that Anglo-Indians occupy an ambivalent space in multicultural Australia since they distinguish themselves from other Indians and from non-English speaking migrants.

The ambivalent space mentioned above has implications for perceptions of belonging and definitions of 'home', which have often been homogenised and naturalised:

Home for the exile and the migrant can hardly be more than a transitional or circumstantial place, since the 'original' home cannot be recaptured, nor can its presence/absence be entirely banished in the 're-made' home.

(Minh-ha, 1994, pp. 14-15)

Such perceptions are further problematised as a result of the 'mixed-race' origin of the Anglo-Indian community. Sarup (1994) reminds us that the meaning of the notion of home is not the same in every culture and that it is linked to identity. It has been suggested that the dilemma for Anglo-Indians is that, as a community, they cannot claim any land as their home (Seth, 1993). Their narratives incorporate the deprivation of "the comfort of social belonging" (Bhabha, 1990b, p. 2).

Social definition of the concepts of ethnicity, 'race' and culture are underlined by the issues of 'belonging' and home. The development of this signifier (i.e. 'belonging') of ethnicity, 'race' and culture is a modern one. It is symptomatic of the social and economic history of modern time. It has been suggested that home is "an ambiguous and fluid but yet ubiquitous notion, apposite for charting of the ambiguities and fluidities, the migrancies and paradoxes, of
identity in the world today” (Rapport & Dawson, 1998, p. 9). In this study, the words ‘belonging’ and ‘home’ are used to elicit perceptions and applications of spatial and temporal identity. They are not synonymous with identity, although they contribute to the understanding of identity. They are also linked to the concept of ‘diaspora’, in this instance, Anglo-Indian experiences of ‘diaspora’. Although the word ‘diaspora’ refers specifically to the dispersal of the Jews from their homeland (Skeldon, 1994), its current usage refers to the experience of displacement associated with migration and includes homelessness, painful memories and a wish to return (Talla, 1999). It is sometimes used interchangeably with ‘migration’ and has theoretical value when considering ethnic identity and cultural nationalism (Gandhi, 1998). It has also been argued that “the concept of diaspora offers a critique of discourses of fixed origins, while taking account of a homing desire which is not the same thing as desire for a ‘homeland’” (Brah, 1996, p. 180). Brah (1996) takes this stance, “not least because not all diasporas sustain an ideology of ‘return’” (p. 180). The concept of diaspora challenges notions of fixed meanings and identities and reinforces the fluid and unstable nature of identity as discussed in the previous chapter.

Diasporic journeys must be historicized and answer questions about who travels, and about when, how and under what circumstances this travel occurs (Brah, 1996, p. 182). Diasporas change over time and respond to the various political and social contexts in which people find themselves (Werbner, 2000). So, the Anglo-Indian diaspora refers to the journeys of Anglo-Indians to different parts of the world. Each of the political and social contexts within which Anglo-Indian people have found themselves has impacted on them individually and as a group. This study investigates the place of ‘belonging’ and ‘home’ in the lives of Anglo-Indian women in Western Australia both before and after immigration to Australia. The Australian environment and the migrant experience provided an opportunity for Anglo-Indian women to ‘belong’ or ‘not belong’ in the same way as other migrant women ‘belong’ or do ‘not belong’. This identity is not fixed and “is constituted within the crucible of the materiality of everyday life; in the everyday stories we tell ourselves
individually and collectively” (Brah, 1996, p. 183). This endeavour incorporates numerous instances of negotiation, assimilation and difference, which have impacted on the identities of Anglo-Indian women.

EVERYDAY LIVES

Through grounding this study in the everyday lives of Anglo-Indian women, it becomes possible to investigate particular aspects of feminist theories as manifested in the lives of the participants. The sexual division of labour and the argument that the personal is political are addressed through consideration of gender roles in the home and workplace. In a discussion about family ideology Richards (1997) notes that ideas about time usage were changing in Australian society. There was an increased ‘active’ component in the mothering role, so that the idea of giving the mothering role time comes second to taking a more active role in mothering during this time. A rephrasing of the traditional gendered roles within the family gives ‘ideological clearance’ for women’s participation in the paid work force (Richards, 1997) while maintaining the primary role as mother. Participation in the work force was linked strongly to home ownership. Probert (1997) suggests that it is also linked to the different kinds of jobs that have been created during the 1950s and 1960s, to maternity leave and childcare. However, increases in levels of women’s participation in the work force have not resulted in increases in men’s participation in unpaid work in the home, and unpaid work is generally separated as ‘indoor’ and ‘outdoor’ work (Gilding, 1997). It is significant within the framework of this study that Gilding states: “Women born in non-English speaking countries spend more time doing unpaid work than women born in Australia” (Gilding, 1997, p. 199). In this statement, groups such as Anglo-Indian women are included as non-English-speaking and the diversity of migrant women is lost. Nevertheless, the reality of the double shift experienced by women is reinforced and has been identified as being of concern to migrant women as well (Vasta, 1991). The gendered role of women through domestic labour and the inequities in the labor market form part of the analysis of this study. The objectification of
women as manifested in the stereotyping of women of ‘mixed-race’ is also part of this study and has previously been discussed.

This study also recognises the feminist deconstruction of the notion that women experience a common oppression. This resulted in the recognition of the distinctive and diverse experiences of minority women. The universal ‘woman’ was attacked as representing white, middle class, English-speaking women. “In other words, there is a universalised norm that lies behind all specificity formulae and pluralist prescriptions, and that decides what is different or specific, and what is not” (Martin, 1991, p. 129).

The construction of a monolithic ‘third world’ woman as an object of knowledge was highlighted by Mohanty (1993). Second-wave feminism has been criticised for marginalising both migrant and indigenous women, by ignoring differences as a result of culture, sexual orientation and ‘race’. In Australia this was highlighted at the 1984 ‘Women and Labour’ Conference, in Brisbane, when Aboriginal and non-English-speaking-background women expressed their dissatisfaction with the universalisation of the experience of women (Klic, 1997). Women experience the integration of racism, class and sexism differently as a result of their individual circumstances. Since that time, women’s gendered identity has increasingly been critiqued, so that issues of representation, voice and identity have come to the fore (Rani, 1993). The category of ethnicity has come to be seen as the primary marker of women’s identities (Larbiestier, 1998).

The issues of voice and representation have been further problematised through the suggestion that the oppressed subject, the subaltern, cannot speak (Spivak, 1993). The assumption that the oppressed can be heard is questioned. The idea of the subaltern, has, however, been criticised as not having the capacity to represent all oppressed peoples, since they occupy positions of variable collusion with the oppressor (O’Hanlon & Washbrook, 1992). In the case of Anglo-Indian women they were privileged in terms of their ethnic identification.
and collusion with the coloniser, but were also oppressed in terms of gender. They have been silenced and represented in particular ways. The integrated experience of privilege and oppression in the lives of Anglo-Indian women has been manifested in their relationships with other women, the coloniser and the colonised. These contextual aspects need to be considered when recognising the 'subaltern' position of women.

In Australian multicultural discourse women have been considered either as members of families or are subsumed into the category 'ethnic' (Martin, 1991). This study explores the identity of Anglo-Indian women through a consideration of their everyday lives. Consequently, their roles as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters come into play, together with their roles outside the home, in their social lives and in the workplace. The role of social construction in family structure is integral to this discussion. Experiences of discrimination and racism are also addressed, as they have been part of the life experience of many migrant women (Kilic, 1997; Vasta, 1991). Anglo-Indian women have experienced, in some way, the multiple oppressions experienced by migrant women. The focus on women only in this study reinforces a move away from presumed 'space' within the 'ethnic' category and allows for a more holistic consideration of the identity of Anglo-Indian women and their agency in the negotiation of that identity. As previously discussed in this chapter, the category 'Anglo-Indian' does not imply a static notion of identity. The women who participated in this research identified as Anglo-Indian at a range of levels. The impact of context on this identity is prioritised over a static notion of 'ethnic' identity.

Pallotta-Chiarolli (1998) in her essay on "Multicultural Feminism" distinguishes between non-English-speaking-background immigrant women and English-speaking-background migrant women. She maintains that the former have helped to generate a shift in Australian feminism from 'universalism' to 'unity in diversity' to 'creative ambivalence'. "Women from non-Anglo cultural backgrounds whose first language is English, and women whose ancestry is
multicultural rather than bicultural, cannot be located in simple oppositional terms" (Palotta-Chiarolli, 1998, p. 233). The place of English-speaking-background immigrant women, particularly those from non-European countries, constitutes a gap in the Australian feminist framework. This may indicate a reluctance to acknowledge a subjectivity that is not entirely ‘other’, and not entirely ‘mainstream’. In Australia, conceptualisations of difference need to cater for women, such as women of Anglo-Indian descent, who were or are not of ‘non-English-speaking-background’, but who are immigrants from non-European countries.

Ang (1996) proposes that ‘unity in diversity’ has been identified as a fantastic notion within a multicultural framework. Stratton and Ang (1998) suggest that, in the end, “multiculturalism can be seen as a policy, not to foster cultural differences but, on the contrary, to direct them into safe channels” (p. 157). ‘Creative ambivalence’ has been applied to the positioning and representation of the ‘Asian’ women through a process of inclusion by virtue of othering rather than the mechanisms of rejection and exclusion. Ang (1996) suggests that ‘Asians’ are no longer excluded or reluctantly included despite their ‘difference’, but because of it, and that the feminisation of ‘Asianness’ is incorporated in this ‘othering’ process.

In Australia, liberal-multiculturalist discourse has served to emphasise difference between ethnic groups and has deflected attention away from the interactions of class, ‘race’ and gender in the lives of women. The implication is that groups that may be ‘less different’ have diminished validity as an ethnic group. Individuals such as those of Anglo-Indian descent are rendered invisible in this process since their identity is generally not distinctive. Many of them were born in India, but may not self-identify as ‘Indian’. However, they may be identified as such by other sections of the population.

The status of migrant women as Australian women is relevant for this study. Brook (1997) suggests that, “[T]here are many different experiences of being a
woman in Australia but ‘Australian woman’ is a homogenised white being. She is also Anglo-Celtic" (p. 111). In her discussion on feminist theory in multicultural Australia, Canguly (1995) focuses exclusively on women of non-English-speaking-background (NESB). I am not suggesting that NESB women have not warranted a major focus in feminist theory. Migrant women constitute great diversity, and ‘non-English-speaking-background’ women constitute a significant section of this group. This is not to detract from the diversity even within this category. However, it needs to be acknowledged that many immigrants, like Anglo-Indian women, speak English as their first, and usually, only language. As Palotta-Chiarolli (1998) states; "Framing debates in categorical terms creates problems of omission so that the complex realities of many women’s lives are ignored" (p. 233). She acknowledges women of non-Anglo cultural backgrounds whose first language is English and also those whose ancestry is multicultural rather than bicultural. The voices of women with multiple cultural backgrounds have been highlighted in recent years in Australia and this study locates Anglo-Indian women within this framework.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have traced the place of Anglo-Indian women in the discourse of ethnicity. This has involved a discussion of ethnicity, gender, ‘race’ and culture and the intersections between them.

The discussion relating to ethnicity has focussed on the ‘mixed-race’ and hybrid ethnic identity of Anglo-Indian women. The implications of this for their identity in the Indian and Australian environments have been discussed. Their ambivalent place within the Australian context has also been highlighted.

Hybridity in its ‘racial’ and cultural contexts provides a framework for exploring aspects of their identity. Bulbeck (1998) maintains that hybridity serves as a reminder that “few of us are a product of pure uncontaminated culture, given the global exchanges of information, commodities, media messages and people” (p. 54). Langer (1998) also reminds us that the concepts
of assimilation and multiculturalism no longer recognise the heterogeneity of contested history, nor the complex and contradictory conditions of identity-formation within the global cultural economy. She suggests that, "[T]he assumption that there are cohesive communities bound by fixed cultures, which are both internally coherent and distinctively different, bears little relation to the hybrid 'cultures' that intersect through migration at the end of the twentieth century" (p. 175).

Having established the theoretical frameworks within which this research is located in this and the previous chapter, I move on to outline the methodology used in this research and other related issues.

Notes:

1 It needs to be acknowledged that all language related to racial difference is problematic. This language carries with it the stigma of racist discourses and therefore suggests an acceptance of the precepts of separate, biologically determined racial groups (Young, 1996). The use of such language acknowledges these constraints while rejecting these precepts of separate, biologically determined racial groups. I am dependent upon a readership that recognises the same.

2 Ahmad (1995, p. 7) argues that, in respect to India, "we should speak not so much of colonialism or postcolonialism but of capitalist modernity, which takes the colonial form in particular places and at particular times." Ahmad (1995) suggests that, in India, "it is very difficult to treat the social and cultural consequences of colonialism as discrete and autogenous; in histories of gender and caste and class, the precolonial and the colonial — and now, some half a century later, the postcolonial — are too deeply intertwined for that sort of treatment (p. 7)." As a consequence, the use of the term "postcolonial" in this study is not meant to signify an implied chronological separation between colonialism and its aftermath. Rather, it is used to indicate the extended history of colonial consequences (Gandhi, 1998).

3 Racialisation refers to the historical emergence of the idea of 'race' and to its subsequent reproduction and application" (Miles, 1989, p. 76). This reproduction and application has resulted in the naturalisation of dominant groups against which 'others' are represented in terms of difference and deviance, if at all (Peetman, 1991). Racialisation refers to an identity that is imposed upon groups from the outside, with the state playing an active constituting role (Peetman, 1991).

4 'Chee-chee' is a derogatory term used to refer to Anglo-Indians (Lewis, 1991, p. 84). It is also used by women in this research to refer to Anglo-Indians of low socio-economic status. Its origin is unclear.

5 Ethnicisation, as in the case of racialisation, refers to the emergence, reproduction and application of the idea of ethnicity.
This chapter will present information relating to feminist standpoint theories which underpin the methodology used in this research, the methodology itself, the implications of gender and ethnicity in the interview process, information relating to the participants, the dynamics of the interview situation and the questionnaire used. A significant aspect of this methodology is related to the authorship of this research. I, the researcher, am a woman of Anglo-Indian descent. My own identity as an Anglo-Indian woman inevitably affects the research process in particular ways. This could be viewed as a limitation to the research. However, I suggest that the acknowledgment of this stance can also open doors for research that seeks to explore issues of identity. This dynamic has particular implications for the research process and will also be explored in this chapter.

FEMINIST STANDPOINT THEORIES

Feminist standpoint theorists seek to "preserve the presence of the active and experiencing subject" (Smith, 1987, p. 105). Knowledge is grounded in experience and attempts to work through this experience to "provide a less biased, less defensive, less perverse and, most of all, a more equal understanding of human relations" (Rayaprol, 1997, p. 36). Feminist standpoint theories have their roots in a feminist critique of knowledge. They propose research that is located in and proceeds from the grounded analysis of women's material realities (Stanley & Wise, 1990). This grounding in women's experience of life has highlighted the multiplicity of feminist standpoints (Hawkesworth, 1999). There are multiple yet distinct feminist standpoint theories which are grounded in the tenet that knowledge is socially located and arises in social positions that are structured by power relations (Hallstein, 1999). Heckman (1997) comments that feminist standpoint theories have recently been described as a "quaint relic of feminism's less sophisticated past" (p. 341). This description fails to account for the continued interest in the material life
experiences of women from a range of backgrounds and situations (Allen, 1998; Collins, 2000; Iwama, 1998). Hartsock's (1987) statement that a standpoint carries with it the contention that there are some perspectives on society from which, however well-intentioned one may be, the real relations of humans with each other and with the natural world are not visible, (p. 159) continues to have relevance for feminist research especially in relation to marginalised women.

Harding (Alcoff & Potter, 1993) argues that feminist standpoint theories make for standards in research that can maximise objectivity. This appears to defy the illusion of standpoint theories: the complicity of the researcher in the research process, in other words, bias. Harding sees this process as the situating of knowledge projects in the most scientifically and epistemologically favourable historical situations. Feminist standpoint theories represent a crucial tool in giving voice to women and in presenting an alternative to the dominant, pre-existing hegemonic view (Sprague & Zimmerman, 1993). The knowledge that results is crucial, yet partial. The acknowledgment of this partiality is vital for feminist epistemology because it accommodates difference; it provides a framework for exchange and discussion.

Feminist empiricists do not foreground women's experiences in the same way as do feminist standpoint theorists. Although feminist empiricists question the ability of scientific methods of research to include the experience of women, they, nevertheless, use those same methods to maximise objectivity. The discourse of postmodernism has also prompted debate relating to feminist standpoint theories since the centrality of an epistemology of experience has been shifted through the discourse of postmodernism. Indeed, there is a resistance to the very act of 'giving voice' by some postmodern theorists. Feminist post-colonial criticism suggests that the subaltern cannot speak. Spivak (1990), in an interview, said,

"No one can quite articulate the space she herself inhabits... I'm always uneasy if I'm asked to speak for my space — it's the thing that seems to be..."
most problematic, and something that one really only learns from other people. (p. 68)

Trinh actually resists her writing being viewed as ‘giving voice’ to Third World women, or women of colour (Clough, 1994). These stances incorporate a criticism of relations of power and knowledge which problematise the notion of voice. However, they are, simultaneously, extensions of the notion of multiple voices and multiple realities that feminist standpoint theories propose, since both Spivak and Trinh are concerned with the ethics of speaking for ‘others’ and the construction of experience.

The tension between the reliance on experience in feminist standpoint theories and poststructuralist scepticism regarding the same, is reflected in Hazel’s (1996) response to Ram (1993), who takes issue with theories of structuralism, poststructuralism and deconstruction. I agree with Hazel (1996) in that this tension does not represent an “impossible conflict between the practice of a politics of voice and a critical examination of its ground” (p. 315). This tension can offer opportunities for progressing feminist theories through linkages between discourse and political practice (Patai, 1994). Despite this qualified support for the poststructuralist enterprise, Patai (1994) observes that:

postmodern scepticism has done nothing to chip away at the feminist pose of certainty, just as endless talk about the instability and unviability of “I” – as a unified self-identity – has not lessened out the staking of personal positions, predicated on highly individualised “I”s favoured by so many contemporary scholars. (p. 63)

I also value Patai’s observation that accounting for our positions can be granted too much space in academic discourse. In responding to Lather’s (1994) discussion relating to the “crisis in representation” (p. 38), Patai (1994) suggests that “notwithstanding, babies still have to be cared for, shelter sought, meals prepared and eaten” (p. 65). And this statement does indeed take us back to the standpoint of women, which locates the inquirer in her bodily existence and in the local actualities of the working world (Smith, 1990). These local actualities cannot be eschewed and it is this materialist reality that I emphasise in my
approach to the research project. Therefore, the questions posed in the interviews refer directly to the participants’ experience of life and their reflections on it. As Harding (Alcoff & Potter, 1993) suggests, the experiences and lives of marginalised peoples as understood by those people themselves provide particularly significant research agendas. Multiple standpoints have given voice to a range of groups and individuals, both marginal and mainstream. Farganis (1994) proposes that

[T]he question is not how to replace one standpoint (the masculine) with another (the feminine), but how to construct a politics that disavows any standpoint having an access line to something thought to be the “truth.”

(p. 34)

Although I agree with Harding, that the concept of socially situated knowledges is both desirable and possible (Alcoff & Potter, 1993), experience by itself is not sufficient. Experience needs to be perceived through the lens of ‘praxis’ in order to be useful in progressing the feminist cause. A partnership between experience and theory provides a basis for the interpretation of interview information. This is particularly important when considering the implications of how the individual gives voice to her own story and her complicity in ruling and oppressive structures. The subjective recounting of ‘experience’ involves the ability to analyse and critique experience both by the subject and researcher. As Alcoff (1997) indicates, “experience never grounds a systematic political analysis by itself without mediation through discursive interpretation” (pg. 18).

The claim that the subjective understanding of one’s own personal experience is the object and site of gender ideology excludes the coexistence of alternative ideologies. Acknowledgment and analyses of conflicting responses is an integral component of the research process. The problems associated with differentiating between legitimate and illegitimate interpretations of experience need to be addressed. Discursive, critical and caring interpretation of experience allows for such differentiation. It is imperative that the recording of data acknowledges differences in the recounting and interpretation of experience. The interpretation of this experience lies with the subject and the researcher and raises important
questions relating to the power of the ‘researcher’ within the research process. So, there is a discursive element in the articulation and interpretation of experience that has, superimposed upon it, another layer of discursive interpretation by the beholder and researcher. This latter interpretation requires a social justification of knowledge that is then either accepted or rejected in varying degrees by others.

Feminist standpoint theories provide an ideological and theoretical framework for this research. Hawkesworth (1999) has argued that feminist standpoint theories need to be valued as an analytical tool rather than as epistemic doctrine. Teo (1997) identifies feminist standpoint thinking as one of the recent developments in the philosophy of knowledge that can benefit the area of developmental psychology, while Weeks (1996) identifies the non-essentialist possibilities of feminist standpoint theories.

**IMPLICATIONS OF GENDER AND ETHNICITY**

The methodology chosen for this research is in keeping with the precepts of feminist standpoint theories as outlined above. It is an appropriate and effective means of learning about the identity of Anglo-Indian women in Western Australia through their own perceptions. I employ a qualitative approach, utilizing semi-structured, indepth interviews with twenty-six Anglo-Indian women. The use of semi-structured, indepth interviews allows for the infusion of the participants’ thoughts, feelings and interpretations of their experience. It also allows participants the opportunity to shape the interview process and findings. Participants also completed a short form, which provided information such as contact details, age, place of birth, immigration date and number of children.

The use of interviews to gather information about women of Anglo-Indian descent is indicative of a concern with allowing participants their own ‘voices’. Their perceptions are prioritised. This research is not restricted to the researcher’s observation of a group of people in the current context. It is
concerned with participants' perceptions about their experiences and identities in more than one context. This study seeks to explore change associated with migration from one context to another. An ethnographic approach acknowledges that the 'shared cultural meanings of the behaviour, actions, events and contexts of a group of people' are central to an understanding of that group (Robson, 2002), but does not include this element of change between contexts. An ethnographic approach also requires the researcher to become an 'insider' and to gain an insider's perspective. As I have previously indicated, I am of Anglo-Indian descent myself and could be classified as an 'insider'. Viswaswaran (1994) refers to such an approach as 'self-writing about like selves' (p. 32).

Modood (Modood et al., 1997) suggests that issues related to ethnicity may not have received explicit attention by individuals and that people may have a limited degree of self-awareness about the topic. As a result their responses may be of poor quality or may require lengthy interviews. The methodology allows for lengthy interviews.

The interviews that comprise the focus of the methodology for this research were undertaken by a female researcher, that is, myself. Only women were interviewed. Reinharz (1992) argues that women need to be interviewed by women if they are to be understood. She states that a woman's standpoint can be 'heard' only by women. Such an approach prioritises 'woman's' standpoint. Jones (1996) contests this. He chose to research a topic that involved interviewing participants who were mainly women. Jones used a feminist approach to his research and evaluation, and showed that the participants viewed the research process favourably. This does not necessarily mean that the research could have been accomplished more successfully if a woman had been the researcher.

It also needs to be acknowledged that a standpoint, which prioritises only the category 'woman' does not allow for the intersections of 'race', culture, ethnicity and class. Shared gender is not always sufficient in the interaction
between researcher and researched. I am a woman of Anglo-Indian descent researching the lives of women of Anglo-Indian descent. My authorship in this instance is, for me, legitimised through my identification as Anglo-Indian. It is predicated on a concept of some degree of difference from others and some degree of commonality with other women of Anglo-Indian descent. This does not necessarily imply an essentialist stance. Experience is constituted through social construction in a range of situations. Identity does not result from some 'common experience'. As Merleau-Ponty (1962) indicates, “[W]e are acted upon, but we are also open to an infinite number of possibilities” (p. 453).

Although I also see myself as identifying with the larger community of women in other ways I will first focus on this notion of a shared ‘Anglo-Indian’ descent. I acknowledge both commonalities as well as differences between women of Anglo-Indian descent and other women. The commonalities with the Anglo-Indian women provides some measure of rapport between us, which would not exist, if I was not of Anglo-Indian descent. Riessman’s (1987) assessment of the research situation demonstrates how the use of different narrative genres by women from culturally different backgrounds presents interpretative problems for the interviewer. I am not suggesting one common life experience for Anglo-Indian women. However, I am suggesting a greater degree of mutual understanding in the interview situation than if I was not Anglo-Indian. Cross-cultural research has been undertaken with great validity and sensitivity and this is not to be devalued in the stance that is taken for this research. As Robinson (1994) suggests, such research involves “consciously inhabiting and exploring the spaces of negotiated and partial meanings, which are all that our inquisitive investigations into others’ lives can ever produce” (p. 219).

The practice of feminist research has also demonstrated that social class and skin colour are a part of the research process. In a study of 16-19 year old first-time mothers Phoenix (1994) found that 71% of the women said that they had no preference for the colour of their interviewers. Phoenix does however conclude that the possibility that participants are more comfortable with interviewers of particular colour or gender is not ruled out. Neither is the fact
that they may consciously alter their responses depending on interviewer gender and colour. Phoenix (1994) argues that the power implications within ‘race’ and gender positions do enter into the research process, but that they do not do so in any unitary or essential way. She concludes that as a result of this, the impact of ‘race’ and gender within particular pieces of research cannot easily be predicted so that prescriptions for matching the ‘race’ and/or gender of interviewers and respondents are therefore too simplistic. Phoenix indicates that some studies have shown that the interviewer’s skin colour does have an impact on the data collection, but that definitive statements relating to this issue cannot be made. Common skin colour between participant and interviewer does not always ensure a better methodological result. As Phoenix (1994) states:

[T]he ‘simultaneity of ‘race’, social class, gender, (assumed) sexuality and age make it extremely difficult to tease apart the aspects of the interviewer which are having an impact on the interviewee or on the power dynamics between the interviewer and interviewee. (p. 56)

This situation can render invisible tensions that may be part of the interview situation and therefore mask responses. I may be of Anglo-Indian descent, but other factors such as social class or my role in the work force may position me somewhat differently from some participants. Factors beyond the interview relationship affect that relationship, as well as researcher access to participants (Phoenix, 1994). It is a situation of standpoints within standpoints and indeed, in practice, lines need to be drawn somewhere despite the fact that the intersections between ‘race’, social class and gender result in shifting commonalities and differences between the participants and the researcher. These shifts, I suggest, occur throughout the research process and, in particular, within the interview situation. This has to be considered as existing at different levels in all the interview situations. Differences between participants in terms of ‘race’ and class need to be considered and the ways in which the dynamics of each interview situation is affected. Statements about the nature of power relations in the interview situation cannot be seen as unitary or conclusive. In describing feminist activist scholarship, Fine (1994) suggests that authorship is
explicit about political and theoretical stance, even as the stances are multiple, shifting, and mobile. The dynamics of the interview situation in terms of constantly changing scenarios, which involve a variety of issues that serve to shift the stance of both interviewer and participant, are difficult to predict. Indeed, there is an element of risk in this project. The issues of 'race', social class, the topic of research, and the agenda of the participants affect the research process.

Solutions to the methodological issues I have discussed are not conclusive. The complexity of my relationship with other women of Anglo-Indian descent, with women generally and also the complexity of my own identity and authorship affect the research process. The way forward seems to lie very much in this framework of uncertainty.

THE PARTICIPANTS

The object of this research is to explore issues of identity for women of Anglo-Indian descent. Twenty-six women were interviewed, on a one-to-one basis in this study. This allowed them to express themselves freely and to determine the level of intimacy they wished in the interview situation. The varying levels of identification with Anglo-Indian identity may also not have been conducive to interviewing more than one participant at a time. There was only one instance when two women were interviewed together. In this case, the daughter felt that her mother, who was quite old, needed her support and therefore suggested that they be interviewed together. Her mother was happy with this suggestion. There were some sensitive issues that were included in the interview schedule, in particular, skin colour. I felt that this was more easily discussed on a one-to-one basis. In this way, participants had the option to speak about personal issues if they wished, knowing that the information would be known only to the researcher and not to other participants. The in-depth interviews were structured to maximize the opportunity for participants to express their experiences and memories. Two strategies were used to identify possible participants:
1. The Australian Anglo-Indian Association was informed of the research and a letter outlining the research and inviting participants was included in their newsletter.

2. Advertisements were placed in two community newspapers that each represented a large geographical area. The wording of the advertisement was as follows:

RESEARCHING 'ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN'

Have you ever or do you still identify yourself as 'Anglo-Indian' in any way? Perhaps you were born in Australia but your parent/s are Anglo-Indian? If so, and you are a woman over 18 yrs, you are invited to participate in a PhD. research project.

Exclusive reliance on the first strategy mentioned above would have resulted in a group of participants who may have identified strongly with their Anglo-Indian heritage. I have also established that membership of the Association comprised only 5.4% of Anglo-Indian females in Western Australia and restricting participation in the research to such membership would possibly have resulted in a biased sample. Women of Anglo-Indian descent may identify as Anglo-Indian at a range of levels. It was important to give a wide range of women the opportunity to participate in the research. Advertising for participants in this way allowed a range of self-identification levels to emerge and also increased the circulation of information about the research in the Western Australian community. It did eventuate that participants identified at various levels with their Anglo-Indian heritage.

These strategies and the 'snowballing' effect that followed resulted in the involvement of the participants. As a result some of the participants do know each other and in some instances they are related to each other. One of the participants is a distant relative of mine as well. Four of the participants are members of Anglo-Indian organisations. Anonymity of participants is particularly important since the Anglo-Indian community in Western Australia
is relatively small. Pseudonyms will be used throughout, using western names, as is the custom in the Anglo-Indian community.

The following tables provide some demographic details about the participants in this research:

Table 1
**AGE OF PARTICIPANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>NO. OF WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
**COUNTRY OF BIRTH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>NO. OF WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3
**IMMIGRATION DATE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. OF WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940s</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Four of the participants had been born in Australia.
Table 4

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF WOMEN</th>
<th>NO. OF CHILDREN TO EACH WOMAN</th>
<th>TOTAL NO. OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. In total, the participants had 57 children.

Table 5

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>NO. OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARTNER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>NO. OF PARTNERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Four participants were not in relationships, two were divorced, and two partners were deceased. The divorced partners had been born in Egypt and Britain, and both deceased partners had been born in India.

Only four of the participants were members of formal Anglo-Indian associations. One participant attended functions of one of these associations, even though she was not a member.
The sample included students, women who worked within the home and in the work force, retired women, unskilled workers and professionals. The socio-economic status reflected in these occupations was diverse.

The majority of participants (n=20) were aged over 40 yrs. Most of the participants were born in India (n=21) and one was born in Pakistan. This reflects the fact that Anglo-Indians also lived in what is now Pakistan and Bangladesh, when India achieved its independence from Britain and was subsequently separated into India, Pakistan and later, Bangladesh.

Most of the participants immigrated to Australia during the 1960s and 1970s. This reflects the changes that were implemented during that time in Australia's immigration policies, whereby the White Australia Policy was officially replaced by that of multiculturalism and resulted in the relaxing of restraints on Asian immigration (Jordens, 1995). Most of the participants had two children, and the majority of them had been born in Australia.

The participants' partners came from a number of different countries, with the majority from Australia and India, while six of the participants were not in relationships at the time of the interview.

THE INTERVIEW

The formulation of the interview schedule (see Appendix) posed numerous problems. The first of these concerned the implications of my identity as a woman of Anglo-Indian descent. I tried to ensure, as far as was possible, that I did not make presumptions about the experiences of the participants in the way that the questions were formulated. Secondly, certain markers of identity have traditionally been ascribed to the Anglo-Indian community, and these have already been discussed in Chapter One. The interview questions needed to cover these areas, but also needed to allow for the development of possible new ways of expressing ethnic identity. The inclusion of questions that encouraged the recounting of stories and experiences and a reflective response to the interview situation allowed for such expression.
The interview questions probed the social and personal lives of the participants. They elicited information relating to the experience of participants before they left India and within the Western Australian environment. This included information about a number of categories: ancestry, patterns of social interaction, self-identification and identification by others, information relating to markers of identity such as food, religion, mode of dress and language, roles within the home and in the workplace, parenting and child rearing issues, decision-making in the home, skin colour, issue of belonging and 'home' and the partner's role in the home. Questions were tailored to take into consideration participants who had been born in Australia or had come to Australia as very young children. Such flexibility in the interview situation was also required where participants may have had more than one partner during their life or may have lived in a country other than India or Australia for a period of time. This also demonstrates the appropriateness of the semi-structured interview as the primary information-gathering tool for this research.

The initial contact occurred through the participant telephoning me, expressing her interest. This happened as a result of either seeing the advertisement in the local newspaper or being informed about the research through a friend or relative. At this point, I explained the nature of the research to the participant. I also talked about my own background as a woman of Anglo-Indian descent. Issues of confidentiality were also mentioned. If women were keen to participate, I made an appointment to meet them for the interview. If individuals expressed a wish not to be involved, I thanked them for their interest and time and concluded the conversation. This occurred in one case only. I also explained to participants that I would send them a letter providing more information about the research, a short questionnaire asking for information such as contact details, and a consent form. Participants were asked if they agreed to be taped and they all agreed. Their rights as participants were outlined. I suggested that they contact me about any issue concerning this correspondence and about any other issues that may arise as a result of this research.
Most of the participants met me in their home. In two instances a coffee shop was suggested as a possible interview venue. I discussed this with the participants, pointing out that noise would impact on the recording of the interview. They subsequently decided to meet me in either their home or my home. I met with each participant separately, except on one occasion when a woman wished to be interviewed with a relative who she felt would need support in the interview situation. There were other instances where the participant’s partner and/or children were present during the interview. I encouraged the involvement of participants, despite childcare issues, by ensuring that the interview was minimally disruptive to their personal lives. The contributions of partners/husbands to the interview questions are not included in the analysis, except where the participant clearly agreed with the information provided. I placed the tape recorder to pick up the participant’s voice. As a consequence, if other people spoke, their voices were not always clear and could not be transcribed. One participant asked to see the interview questions ahead of the interview. I gave her a copy as she requested. I made it clear to participants that I would welcome further input from them following the interview itself.

Each interview was preceded by a period of time during which I talked about myself, and the motivation for my research. Many of the participants were keen to locate me within their experience as migrants by comparing the year of arrival in Australia and location of ‘home’ when living in India. I asked questions relating to the participant’s interest in the research and encouraged communication. In some instances, photographs of family members were produced and other items of memorabilia were shown to me.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured fashion. I did not attempt to control the interview process to enable rigid adherence to the interview questions. Instead, if the conversation veered off in tangents I allowed this to happen. This often resulted in allowing the participants to think through issues at their own pace and resulted in the surfacing of events and thoughts that may not have occurred otherwise. Even if the discussion moved significantly away
from the research topic I did not draw it back in a hurry. Such episodes were often important in terms of getting to know each other, feel more comfortable with each other, and establish common ground. Although questions had been formulated, I found that I maintained a high degree of flexibility in each interview. For example, there were many situations where the interview may have been answering a particular question, but somehow also provided information relating to other questions. In these situations, I "went with the flow", which allowed participants to direct the interview in ways that suited their experience and interpretation of that experience. Generally, the interview situations were very positive.

The interviews themselves ranged in length from one hour to two and a half hours, depending on the experience of the participant. Women who had been born in Australia were asked fewer questions and therefore provided less information than those who recounted their experiences in India as well. All interviews were taped and subsequently transcribed. All participants were sent a copy of the transcript of their interview, which they reviewed. Two participants sent me further written information at this point, which was included in the analysis.

The process of transcription of the interviews was interesting but demanding. The process of transcribing enabled me to start the process of analysis. Analysis was undertaken with the assistance of NUD*IST (i.e. Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising), a software program designed to enable qualitative research analysis. I read through each of the transcripts and coded them into NUD*IST. Coding was based on the various aspects covered by the interview questions. I was then able to read the responses of all participants in relation to particular aspects of the research and undertake analysis. As analysis progressed and trends in the data became evident, I was able to amend the coding and further develop the analysis. This software also enabled me to use a number of search techniques to refine the analysis.
CONCLUSIONS

It may be suggested that one of the limitations to this research is the reliance on self-reported information. However, such information is vital for developing a knowledge base about people's lives and is validated in the discussion on feminist standpoint theories. I am also reliant upon a measure of trust between researcher and participants. Another perceived limitation might be the relatively small sample size. Twenty-six participants represent a small but manageable group in light of the qualitative nature of the research. The interviews were 'information rich' and were not designed to be a representative sample. Rather, the emphasis was on indepth exploration of these women's experiences.

I acknowledge that the power imbalance between the researcher and the participants cannot be completely restored. The uses of semi-structured and open questions have been used to allow the participants to influence the research process and findings. The interview situation was used by participants to ask me, the interviewer, about my experiences. The element of this sharing of experience in the interview situation facilitates some restoration of the power imbalance in the researcher/researched relationship. This chapter also included discussion relating to my identification as Anglo-Indian and its impact on the research. The final section in this thesis is a Postscript, in which I write myself into the research. In this way I acknowledge my standpoint within this study. This notion of self-writing about like selves (Visweswaran, 1994) serves to diffuse power imbalance in the research process to some extent. The historical and social position of the researcher shares some common ground with that of the participants. Although it is not possible to overcome this positioning completely, this situation of self-writing for like selves, does offer new angles of vision and depths of understanding. Such accounts are both empowered and restricted in unique ways (Clifford, 1986).

I have discussed the methodology of this research with particular emphasis on those factors that make it 'feminist'. At the same time I acknowledge that there is no 'one' feminist methodology. There is not a list of common criteria to
which all feminist researchers adhere (Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991; Reinharz, 1992). I have discussed feminist standpoint theories, the validity of women's voices, the impact of gender and ethnicity in the research process and the relationship of the researcher to the research process. I have also provided a profile of the participants and details relating to the questionnaire and issues in the interview process. The chapters that follow describe and analyse data as it was obtained using the methodology described. 'Being Anglo-Indian' and 'being a woman' will be explored in the Indian and the Australian environments.

Notes:

'The process of transcribing was especially difficult when the experiences being described by participants were unpleasant or sad. It also brought back memories of my own experience of immigration to Australia. Debriefing for me as the researcher, became necessary as a result of the shared understanding between the participants and myself in the research process.
CHAPTER FIVE
FOUR SISTERS: ETHNIC IDENTITY IN INDIA

The identity of Anglo-Indian women has been shaped by numerous factors in India and since immigration to Australia. Some of these factors were common to the participants and these included cultural markers of difference, although there was some variation even in this respect. Difference between individuals’ experiences included the age of participants and the age at which migration occurred, location in Western Australia after immigration, ethnicity of parents and/or partners, and birthplace. These commonalities and differences are highlighted in the process of analysis that follows. This process is structured through a series of case studies, some of which reflect family relationships between participants while others reflect similar responses to identity development. Case studies that incorporate similar responses by participants work in a dialectical fashion to highlight differences between participants’ experiences. One of these differences that proved to be significant in the life experiences of participants was the ethnicity of women’s partners. This, combined with the existence of family relationships between participants, in particular, the case of four sisters, provides a starting point for analysis.

The four sisters provide the opportunity to investigate the formation and development of identity for a group of people who have shared a particular family environment. This case study also allows for a consideration of idiosyncratic factors within their individual lives, the impact of this on identity formation and evolution, and the identification of similarities and differences in self-conceptualisation in terms of ethnic identity. These factors together with their shared experience of marrying outside the Anglo-Indian community provide fertile ground for the exploration of ethnic identity in their lives.

The structure of this thesis and the progression of analysis in this and the following chapters have been outlined in Chapter One. This chapter focuses on the four sisters and their lives in India.
The four sisters discussed in this chapter will be referred to as Anne, Penny, Caroline and Deidre. They were all born in India and immigrated together with their parents to Australia during the 1960s. Their father’s profession in the shipping industry provided a middle-class lifestyle for the family in India. Immigration to Australia resulted in a significant drop in social and economic status for the family, as the father was unable to get a job at the same level as in India. As a result, their mother who had not worked outside the home during her married life, had to get a job in Australia after upgrading her qualifications. Both parents died in Australia, with the mother having passed away some years before the father. Not all sisters maintained the same middle-class lifestyle they had experienced as children after they married. All four have Australian-born children. Anne was seventeen years old at the time of immigration. She married an English immigrant after she came to Australia. Her husband has his own business in the food industry and Anne works as a teacher. She has four children. Penny, the next sister, was fifteen years old at the time of immigration. She married an Australian. Both she and her husband are professionals in the education sector, and they have two young children. Caroline was thirteen years old when she arrived in Australia, and is married to a European immigrant who is self-employed in the construction sector. Both her children are young adults. She does not work outside the home, although she does undertake duties that support her husband’s business. The youngest, Deidre, was twelve years old at the time of migration. She married an Australian who is a skilled worker and administrator. Deidre herself works as a professional/administrator status in the primary education sector. She has three children who are in their late teens and early twenties.

ANCESTRY

The sisters’ mother was of Anglo-Burmese descent. Her mother had French and Malaysian background, and her father had Dutch and Burmese background. The sisters’ father was Anglo-Indian. His grandmother had German, Portuguese and Indian background. Anne did not know much about her paternal grandfather, as he had died when quite young. Penny maintained that both grandparents on her
father's side were Anglo-Indian. She believed her maternal grandmother had Chinese ancestry. She concluded by saying, 'So, we're one of those sorts of happy mixes.' Self-identification and identification by others as 'Anglo-Indian' serve, in this case, to render invisible a complex ancestry, which incorporates a great deal more than 'Anglo' and 'Indian' components. This is confirmed by Mills (1998), who highlights the "broad collection of humanity represented among the Eurasians [sic] forbears" (p. 67). Although many ethnic backgrounds were mentioned, there was no knowledge of the point at which the Indian component came into the ancestral picture. This seems incongruent in light of the fact that the participants were born in India. Information about other aspects of ancestry was known, suggesting a preoccupation with the non-Indian side of their ancestry. The paucity of documentation relating to Indian women has been seen as contributing to the lack of knowledge about Indian ancestry (Mills, 1998).

These four women were aware, to some degree, of the complexity of their ancestry. Yet, they self-identified as Anglo-Indian and were identified as such in the Indian environment. In this way, they were categorised as different from other ethnic groups in India. Group differentiation was an important factor for the Anglo-Indian community.

Anne had spoken about a conversation with a friend who said that she could not be Anglo-Indian because her mother was born in Burma. In response to this Anne said,

I always knew my mum came from Burma, I knew about the cousins and that, but I never identified with them at all. I know I've got cousins there. So I ended up saying to him, "Well, what about Eurasian." Because that's a word that's used quite loosely. I said, I guess I would be Eurasian.

Anne had spent her life self-identifying as Anglo-Indian. The above quote shows that she was prepared to self-identify as Eurasian, a term that has been used to describe the Anglo-Indian community in the past and has been discussed in Chapter One. The location of the family in India rather than Burma could have
been a significant factor in terms of self-identification. This, aligned with the patriarchal origins of the Anglo-Indian community in that ethnicity is derived from the male line, provide a possible explanation for Anne's self-identification. The mother's ethnic identity did not seem to be an important factor in the sisters' self-identification.

The third sister Caroline said that she had little knowledge about her ancestry. At one stage in the conversation she said that her mother had some Armenian blood in her, which contributed to her mother's and to her own fair looks. Deidre, the youngest sister, also said that she knew very little. However, she was happy to acknowledge that her oldest sister had a great deal more information about her ancestry. Indeed this was the case, as Anne had a more detailed knowledge of ancestry than did the younger sisters. Deidre spoke of a book that was being passed down from her parents, which contained information about the family tree. She said, 'One of us must pick it up and keep going, for our own sake.' This was important to her. She was concerned about 'why' she did not know about her ancestry. Penny however was dubious about the value of recording heritage details. She said,

I'm not really that interested, in either his [i.e. her partner's] or mine. Also with my father dying, something that's, it's not a big thing but, you think about heritage and history and all the rest of it. In the end it doesn't really make a whole lot of difference to the individual because my kids, at this stage, aren't interested at all in where their grandfather came from and all the rest of it. And when you look at all the stuff that my father and mother had kept, and we're saying, what are we going to do with the stuff. All these old photos, what are we going to do with it? And you think well, why write everything down? [Italics added] In two generations time, they're going to say, what are we going to do with this stuff? (laughs) And they're just gonna chuck it and, so yeah, the temporary nature of things.

Yet, Penny was the person who was responsible for initiating her and her sisters' involvement in this research. She obviously wanted something written down and took advantage of the opportunity for this writing to take the form of a doctoral
thesis. This suggests a tension in Penny's identity between remembering and forgetting: between claiming the past and moving on. Penny wanted to create a silence about ancestry, but was, nevertheless, drawn to it.

The sisters' ancestry is complex; even more complex than is suggested by the category 'Anglo-Indian'. However, their self-identification as Anglo-Indian suggests that social and economic factors play a more dominant role than actual ancestry in this process of self-identification. How was this ancestry, which incorporated both Western and Eastern strands, reflected in cultural patterns in the lives of these four sisters? The self-identification as Anglo-Indian that evolved out of this ancestry suggests that patterns of social interaction with other Anglo-Indians and with other ethnic groups in India reinforced the identity of the Anglo-Indian community there. To explore this further I will now consider their socialisation and interaction with the ethnic groups that surrounded them in the Indian environment.

INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS

The process of social comparison that individuals undertake in relation to ethnicity, both on an individual and group basis, warrants a consideration of the interaction between various ethnic groups within particular contexts. The following discussion focuses on this interaction in the Indian environment.

Anna, the eldest sister, recalled having friends from a range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds when she lived in India:

All different. I had Bengali friends, I had Muslim friends. Cos I remember my Muslim friend. We visited there when they had 'Eid'.² At the end of 'Eid', and they'd give us you know, they had all the food cooked and when they break their fast at the end. And I had friends that were south Indian, from Kerala and you know really, really, you know they look really dark and they've got the really curly hair. And they used to plait it all up. And I had a Parsee³ friend, [friend's name] and Anglo-Indian friends as well. So, ye, I had lots of friends. I used to write to quite a few of them. One of
my other friends that has been my best friend forever, she had come from China to live in Calcutta.

Despite describing a range of ethnicities among her friendships, Anne later said that her family had very few close friends and that she was very sheltered as a child:

Most Anglo-Indian families had nice, you know, you have nice feelings. You did things together and went out to things and things like that and ... But always very sheltered. You know, even though we went to a lot of places and saw lots of things.

Penny the second sister, remembered going to a school with both Indian nationals and Anglo-Indians. But she said that most of the family’s socialising occurred with Anglo-Indians. ‘But as a general rule, the family, we socialised with Anglo-Indians, Yeah.’ Having more control over their private lives enabled them to demonstrate their preference for restricted interactions with other ethnic Indian groups and reinforced their status and class as being superior to that of other ethnic Indian groups. This could also indicate that Anglo-Indians were shunned by other ethnic Indian groups, who may have perceived Anglo-Indians in a negative light.

Penny distinguished between the Anglo-Indians and the ‘real Indians’. This comment may reflect the critical environment within which Penny is now speaking. In this way she also positioned herself within the social and cultural context in India as she sees it now with hindsight. She also acknowledged the separate identity of the Anglo-Indian community as not being Indian in some way. She talked about housing which demonstrated her awareness as a child that other Indian communities had different lifestyles:

They were the Muslims and the, aa, the Sikhs, and aa, yeah, just different groups and I used to wonder what their houses looked like, because you knew when you walked past the street, that those houses that looked different were the one which weren’t high rise mansions.

Anne did not go into the homes of people of other ethnic communities. Caroline too said that the family did not have a lot to do with ‘actual Indian people’. This
terminology serves to distinguish the Anglo-Indians from the other ethnic communities around them in India. Caroline said,

We went to you know, school and everything with Anglo-Indian friends. Everything was with the Anglo-Indians. So we didn't really, apart from Indian weddings, I don't really remember us having much to do with the Indians at all.

Caroline remembered having a few Indian friends at school, but she said, 'You'd never actually go and visit them at home or anything like that, you know.' She pointed out that in India, you never really went into people's homes much. Indeed, this is a strategy for maintaining social distance and managing ethnic boundaries.

The responses from the sisters indicate that although they had contact with various ethnic groups in the school environment, the situation changed dramatically at home. As a family they interacted socially only with other Anglo-Indian families. This may not have been a unique experience for an ethnic group in the Indian environment. However, such restricted interaction between the Anglo-Indian community and the rest of society would have served to set the Anglo-Indian community apart as a distinct identity and would have resulted in some degree of isolation. This also suggests that differences within the group were minimised. Comparison between self and other, ingroup and outgroup, was reinforced. Individuals maintained identity through definite lines of demarcation that characterised socialising patterns. The Anglo-Indian community carefully maintained ethnic boundaries. There was a process of negotiation between individuals through patterns of socialisation.

Anne said that visits to other homes were always formal; 'not really relaxed and comfortable.' This seems odd in light of the fact that socialising only occurred with other Anglo-Indians. The maintenance of social standards through restraint was important. She referred to it as contributing to a 'sad sort of life'. Anne remembered that you had to behave properly or you would get a 'jolly good
There was one family with whom she felt a sense of relaxation and comfort:

They're the ones I can remember doing lots of things for their children and being very relaxed with them you know. The mothers would breastfeed the babies together and all that sort of thing, but not with anyone else.

The youngest sister Deidre did not remember a lot about her school days in India. However she did remember one aspect:

I guess the only thing I can really remember is er, mum, I can still remember her always trying to make us feel that we were better than the others, like we weren’t ‘chokras and chokris’ running down the street, and I always remember she didn’t like me playing with the kids, you know like I was saying I used to. So I think she always tried to make us feel that we were better than the Indian people as such but, at that age it didn’t bother me.

The hierarchy of class structures that existed among ethnic communities in India surfaces in this quote. Intragroup processes incorporated an element of restraint to maintain social standing. The implication that Anglo-Indian people thought themselves ‘better than’ Indian people comes through clearly in this response and may be a factor that explains the lack of interaction with other ethnic groups in India. However, as I have previously indicated, Anglo-Indians themselves had been stereotyped in particular ways in the Indian environment. Therefore it may be valid to state that the other ethnic groups in India did not regard the Anglo-Indian community highly, and so did not socialise with them. In particular, the stereotype of the ‘promiscuous’ Anglo-Indian woman would have been significant. Also, the Anglo-Indian community existed outside of the caste system in India, and this would have impacted on their relationship with the Hindu community. General expectations relating to social and cultural interaction in India may also have dictated patterns of socialisation between various ethnic and cultural groups in India.
Despite living in India, the Anglo-Indian community chose to separate themselves from other ethnic communities in India. Stereotypical notions relating to Anglo-Indians and to women in particular would have reinforced this separation. The pattern of social interaction demonstrated the hierarchical class structure that existed among ethnic groups in India. It revealed the separate identity of the Anglo-Indian community and the desire to maintain this distinct identity. The resulting differentiation between ethnic groups went hand in hand with greater ingroup identification. This distinct identity is apparent in the cultural markers of the community, which were religion, mode of dress, language and food. A discussion of these aspects as represented in the data follows.

CULTURAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY

When living in India, the practice of Christianity was a significant and distinctive component of Anglo-Indian identity. It ensured a distinct identity. It affiliated the Anglo-Indians with their Western ancestors and distanced them from their Indian ancestors and contemporaries. Although Indian Christians comprised a minority group in India, many Anglo-Indians distanced themselves from this group as well. This distancing was motivated by the fear that by becoming Christian the Indian Christians could claim membership of the Anglo-Indian community. It is reasonable to suggest that Indian Christians may have 'passed' as Anglo-Indian. However, the Anglo-Indian community was intent on maintaining its status, which had placed it above other Indian communities in the colonial and post-colonial environment despite the fluidity of its boundaries.

Catholicism was a significant aspect of the sisters' lives in India. Their parents were Catholics and as Anna said, it was a 'huge' part of their lives and most of her Anglo-Indian friends were Catholics too. They went to a Catholic school, attended the Catholic church regularly and three of them were involved in the church choir.
Like religion, language too marked the Anglo-Indian community as distinctive and separate in the Indian environment. All four sisters identified English as being the primary and only language spoken in the family environment. Other Indian languages were used minimally, and were definitely not used to communicate with family members. Anne, the eldest said she spoke 'good old kitchen Hindi with the servants'. Penny too mentioned that they 'had what they needed to talk to the servants in Hindustani.' Anne said,

And then we had to learn Hindi as well. So that was my biggest fear when I got to the end of my school, my senior Cambridge and I had to do my exam in that, you know. I was terrified ... and we had to do a Bengali test and a Hindi test, and all the rest. And then you had to pass it though. And I could barely speak it, write it or anything. We used to have a Bengali master, used to come and tutor us (laughs). But it didn’t help.

She went on to say,

It was really awful, because you had, you know, all your subjects were in English. Then you had both of these languages to do and my third sister, she was just terrified. She didn’t like anything like that at all.

Deidre had similar responses as well. She also said that she had tended to combine languages when she spoke with servants and other children in India.

Deidre stated, 'I think I did because I used to hang around a lot with, you know, the servants and the kids around. And I must have had to, to, you know, communicate with them.'

The parents only spoke English. Indian languages were used minimally, to communicate with servants and 'they could joke around with their Indian friends and bits and pieces, but…' Caroline said, 'Mum and dad, they didn’t even speak fluent Bengali and Hindi. They were the same as us you know. Mixture.'

The idea of using 'servant Hindi' to communicate with the servants was acknowledged. There was a strong resistance among the sisters to learning languages other than English. Indian languages were learned to comply with the education system and to facilitate communication with servants and
shopkeepers. English was certainly the preferred language. The bias toward their 'western' heritage in terms of language and religion was strong. There were some elements of this bias in relation to food as well.

The eldest sister Anne had many memories of issues related to food and cooking habits in India. In relation to the management of cooking she said,

*Every day the cook would come in. He'd say, what do you want for meals and she'd tell him. Then he'd go to the market and get the food. I remember once ... So she [i.e. her mother] was sick for a while in hospital, and I had to do it, and I used to love doing it. But what are we having tonight for our meal you know - 'Country Captain' amongst other things and 'pantras' and all those things. And then I'd tell him what we wanted, told the cook and gave him the money, and off he'd go.*

The other sisters also recalled this aspect of their home environment. The Indian cook was subservient to the Anglo-Indian mother in the household. Although the mother was in charge of the kitchen, she did not cook as a general rule. She had a management role. Nevertheless, Anne slips into speaking as if her mother does cook by saying, 'well, she didn't make us very spicy food' and 'Mum probably hid to make unspiced type mince things to go with it.'

Questions about the type of food cooked and eaten brought responses, which indicated links between western and Indian food. As Anne said,

*I think, in India we didn't eat a lot of Indian food. We ate, it was probably what was carried on from when the British were there, and I'm just trying to think, it must have been more Anglo-Indian food because, you know, we didn't eat roasts and things like that. But we ate things that came from that, you know, like 'Country Captain'. I can remember that.*

She went on to say,

*So I think it's all come from when the British were there, you know. We used to have those and we used to have lots of 'pantras', you know, the pancakes. We put mince and then roll them up, and then 'aloo chops'. I have Irish friends who married into Anglo-Indian families, and they...*
always said to me, “Do you make ‘aloo chops’?” “No, I don’t make them (laughs), it takes too long”. That’s the sort of thing we used to have and, as children, mum didn’t, well she didn’t, well she didn’t make us very spicy food. We used to have different food than them. They had a curry. We used to have ‘pishpash’, you know, yucky rice and smashed up with peas and stuff in it. Yes, and so we, she didn’t give us a lot of spicy food. I don’t know why. That was just the way our family was. But we ate lots of rice, and veges important for us kids. Mum probably had to make unspiced type mince things to go with it. We used to have these mince things to go with it. We used to have this mince thing, I don’t know what it was. But not very spicy food. It was only when we came here that we kind of ... It wasn’t that we didn’t want the curry. Mum just didn’t give it to us.

The second sister Penny did not have as clear memories of food and diet in India, although she did remember the dish ‘Country Captain’. She also recalled having Burmese food in the house as well as Indian food. ‘Mum used to have him making “hin cho” and things like that which are Burmese soupy things.’ She went on to say,

Um, I would say mostly everything we ate was with an Indian sort of flavour or might just be my imagination because the cook was Indian. But we ate very well, very well there.

The third sister Caroline said,

I know we didn’t eat really hot curries and stuff when we were little. I remember dad eating the same meals, but adding his chilli. But um, I remember having really wide variety. I mean every day we had something different you know.

She also remembered the cook preparing separate food for the children, although they ate mostly Indian food. She said,

I mean I don’t think dad really liked ‘aloo chops’ and things that we used to as kids, things that we used to like. I don’t know why, but ‘aloo chops’ was one and I think, ‘Country Captain’ and stuff like that so ...
She later mentioned that food at home was not as 'Indian' as she would have liked to have it. 'Because we used to have all the, a lot of the English food.' She did not remember being served curries.

The children did not eat 'Indian' food as the adults did. Words that were used to describe the food that the children ate, such as yucky rice, smushed up peas and soupy things are reminiscent of food given to babies and toddlers to protect their digestive systems prior to eating adult type food. They suggest that the children were being protected from Indian food; they were being protected against contamination by things that could be described as Indian.

Caroline had a particular memory of Christmas cakes in India:

Like he always used to, I can still remember him in India when the Christmas cake time came. Dad used to, they used to buy the fruit and dry all the fruit outside, and er, and then the baker used to actually come to the house with big pots and he used to actually mix the whole... We all used to sit and we used to mix all the cakes. I think they used to make about a dozen cakes or something. So the cakes were all mixed in our home and then they'd take them away and put them in the tins, and they take them away and bake them in the bakery. And then we'd get all the cakes. Dad used to make heaps of yeah, fruit cakes, and then 'thala' cakes and... But dad, that was dad's thing. He got the recipe and he's made up the same sorts of cake every year.

This ritual was special for the family. It was significant that the father took it on as his project since they were living in an environment where the mother managed the kitchen and the Indian servants did the cooking. It was too important to leave to the mother and the Indian servants. In fact, as Caroline says, her father maintained that tradition even after coming to Australia. This was a special treat in the family and reflects their 'western' values in terms of food and religion through the celebration of Christmas.

Deidre also remembered the 'pujas' and the spicy food that she ate at those occasions. She spoke of 'Divali', 'Holi' and her disappointment at not being
able to eat with her hands, 'I just remember always wanting to eat with my hands.' Anne too had spoken of her enjoyment when she ate with her fingers at 'pujas'.

But we liked it when we went to all the 'pujas', when they had all their festivals and then, we'd get to eat yummy lamb curries and eat with our fingers and 'pulao' on banana leaves and that. So we did like it, but it's just that, I don't know. Perhaps mum just thought it wasn't good for us. I don't know.

There was a childhood fascination with the Indian custom of eating with fingers rather than cutlery; the former was not permitted in their home. The use of cutlery distinguished the Anglo-Indians from other groups in the Indian environment. The children were drawn to Indian customs and food, but were restricted by their parents who perpetuated links with western influences. Nevertheless, food and cooking incorporated greater Indian influences than did other aspects of Anglo-Indian identity such as religion and language. It is a reflection of the fact that Indian servants cooked for the participants' family, and ultimately of geographical location and social context.

The participants' style of clothing ensured a distinctive identity for them in India. The four sisters only wore western styles of clothes when in India. The eldest sister Anne said, 'Just wore European dress. Just used to look through all the magazines and choose all our dresses and then the tailor would make them.' The other sisters also remembered the tailor's role in their lives. Deidre said that she did not remember ever going to a shop to buy clothes. 'It was always the dressmaker's. Probably we didn't ever have to go to the shops because there were just no clothes there for us.' Caroline remembered that the 'dressmaker' was called a 'dersi'. She said,

Anyway, yeah, he used to come to the house and we could pick out the patterns out of our pattern books and mum would, we'd go and buy the material with mum and he'd make us up, we were always in fashion (laughs).
The ritual of visiting the dressmaker was a special occasion. Deidre said, ‘Yeah, I remembered I used to love buying the dresses, it was rather special getting measured up and choosing a colour. It was always the same material, similar styles.’ The choice of women to dress in western clothes demonstrated the desire to be distinguished from other ethnic communities in the Indian environment and the bias toward western influences. They wanted to be identified as ‘not’ Indian. Opting for a western style of dress meant that clothes could not be bought since the market catered for Indian styles of clothing. Instead, clothes had to be made by a tailor.

Anne also recalls that she and her sisters had ‘salwar kameez’ made just before they left India in order to take them to Australia. They were very proud of those clothes. Penny and Deidre remembered this too. Anne said, ‘I used to love ‘salwar kameez’, because my Muslim friends used to wear it and I used to think it was so graceful.’ She also talked about the Indian style of dresses, which had mirrors on them:

> Well, I remember when I was a kid, well I remember when I was a kid in India, kids used to wear them and I wouldn’t have been seen dead in one of them there, because I wanted to look European there. And my sisters got hankering to have one of those dresses, and I said, ‘[Deidre] buy it’, and she said, ‘I’m too old.’ I said, ‘You’ve got to wear it once in your life you know.’ But back there I wouldn’t have worn it because I would have, I don’t want to look Indian, you know.

Penny commented on this issue as well:

> Oh we, mum made us a ‘salwar kameez’ thing before we left, and we bought some saris and, no, no. I mean we had long hair, so we used to make plaits and the rest of it. But it wouldn’t have ever happened that I would lean towards the Indian, because the Indian part of me has never been a big thing ... Um, I don’t think there was any conscious move to reject anything Indian; it just happened that we were Anglo-Indian so we moved with Anglo-Indians. We didn’t seek to um, have contact with
foreigners or anything like that in India. So, it was just your Anglo-Indian community and that’s where you stayed.

In this quote Anne makes a distinction between individual and group identity. As a person she maintained that she did not consciously reject Indian culture; group identity resulted in this manifestation. Like Anne, Penny too expressed distance from the Indian communities, saying that they never mixed with any Indians. Both sisters express the bias toward the western traditions. Penny said that her mother ‘might have worn a sari in the same way she would have worn a ball gown.’ Deidre also knew that she had not worn Indian clothes as a child in India. Penny did remember wearing ‘nagras’ at one stage, which she described as ‘more novelty value than anything else’.

Despite an admiration now for Indian styles of dressing, the sisters chose to adhere to western styles. Indeed, when placing themselves in the Indian environment, the sisters recognised their preference for western clothes, and the novelty value of Indian styles of dressing. As Anne said, she did not want to look Indian. It is only with hindsight that they value Indian styles of dressing. They became receptive to Indian styles of clothing only when they knew that they were immigrating. Perhaps the certainty of leaving India provided ‘safety’ to move outside traditional cultural markers without risking their ethnic identity as separate from other ethnic identities in India.

Penny remembered being well-dressed in India:

Um, well my mother always used to dress us beautifully when we were dressed up. You know, with similar clothes and everything. Mum was very particular about having special dresses. I, you know, I have difficulty remembering what I used to wear on a day-to-day basis. I guess they were just normal old clothes.

Caroline too remembered that her mother dressed the children in dresses that were alike, but in different colours. She especially remembered new dresses at
Easter and Christmas and birthdays as did Penny. Deidre also recalled that her mother used to dress them well and that all her clothes were made. She said,

And the funny thing when we, a photo, I haven't got it here of mum and all the grandchildren. We made all our children clothes of the same material. That really meant something to mum. And the very last photo we took of her before she died was to keep all the children around her in all identical material, the boys had shirts, the girls had dresses.

The tradition of similar clothing was adhered to on this occasion and was important enough for Deidre to refer to it and to recognize its significance for her mother. It may also have provided a sign of identification with each other; a means of defining themselves as a group.

Penny saw clothing as an indicator of economic status in the intragroup framework, that is, within the Anglo-Indian community, and suggests the existence of class structure and hierarchy:

Um, so yeah, when we, when we were in India, our family, this is my perception, used to dress, just, a cut above, some of the other people we went to school with, because, I think our family's situation was, we were in a wealthy position than lots of the others that we went to school with. Um, so, we were quite affluent, um, because, yeah, I'm just thinking about some of the other Anglo-Indian families even, my uncles ...

She also added:

Because we had more servants than the others. We used to dress better than the others. It was, we, I can't remember ever having had an attitude about it. Now when I think back on it, it was just one of those things, you know. We used to be conscious that there were others that were struggling a lot more than us.

These quotes indicate the existence of variable class status within the Anglo-Indian community in India. The sisters' middle-class lifestyle was not enjoyed by all other Anglo-Indians or by relatives.
In the Indian environment the sisters’ family had constructed an identity that served to distinguish them from other ethnic communities. This was reflected very much in the development of cultural aspects of identity. Cultural markers of identity demonstrated a significant bias toward western influences and low levels of differentiation between the sisters. How have the various aspects of identity that have been discussed thus far impact on notions of ‘belonging’ and ‘home’ in the lives of these participants? How has the bias toward the ‘west’, which was illustrated in the previous section, influenced notions of belonging in India?

BELONGING

As discussed in Chapter Two, the concept of ‘belonging’ incorporates numerous aspects of identity. These include self-identification, identification by others, visible markers of identity like skin colour and a sense of ‘fitting in’. Political, social and economic factors influence notions of belonging.

Questions about belonging brought up a range of responses from participants. In India, Penny and Caroline self-identified as Anglo-Indian. ‘Oh, definitely Anglo, Anglo-Indian. We used to use the term “Anglo-Indians” or the adults would.’ Anne did feel that she belonged in India as a girl and she saw India as being her home. ‘But I felt like India was my home. That was all I ever knew, [name of city].’ Penny had a sense of belonging in India until close relatives started emigrating from India. She also said that issues of nationalising universities and the focus on Indian languages caused uncertainty about their future in India. Penny also recalled that

lots and lots of the more affluent Anglo-Indians were jumping off ship as well. So, in terms of the pool of partners and future for their daughters, I guess, I mean, that’s going pretty sort of heavy, but I imagine that probably was in the fore in parent’s thoughts.

There are a few aspects of this response that are interesting. Firstly, Penny mentions that the more ‘affluent’ Anglo-Indians were leaving India. She implies that her future lay with the more affluent sections of the Anglo-Indian community and that she placed herself within this same socio-economic group
and class. If her family had stayed on in India, the girls would have married affluent Anglo-Indian men. In India, their parents had wanted the girls to marry Anglo-Indian men. Two of the sisters recalled their father's negative attitude toward the possibility of marrying Indian men. Anne and Caroline recalled her father saying that he did not want the girls to marry Bengalis or Indians.

The issue of exogamy, together with the migration of close relatives and the new emphasis on Indian languages in India played a part in the motivation to immigrate to Australia. It was perceived that the new emphasis on Indian languages was a threat to the identity of the Anglo-Indian community. Policies of Indianisation threatened the identity and sense of belonging of the Anglo-Indian community. However, until the need to migrate surfaced within the family, India was the only place for Penny’s family. She said, 'There was a significant enough Anglo-Indian community there for me to feel that I was one of many.' Individual identity was supported through the presence of a strong Anglo-Indian group identity. Carolyn also felt that she belonged in India; it was her home. 'I mean, because your family’s there, you belong there I suppose.' Family was important for a sense of belonging. Yet, she remembered always feeling a little odd because her mother constantly watched out for the children. They always stayed in the compound and had a sense of being confined. Her mother warned her about being 'touched' by Indian men. This demonstrated a fear of anything Indian; a sense of being 'polluted' by the Indian. There was a sense of unease and insecurity about belonging. Deidre was the only sister who felt that she did not belong in India, even though she did not expand on why this was so. In fact, she responded to this question with certainty and passion. There was no expression of nationalistic fervour or loyalty to India by the sisters.

Carolyn suggested that her mother may have made her feel a little different when she was young because of her fair skin. 'But mum used to always point me out as being different. So might be that’s why I felt different. I don’t know.' Carolyn's sense of belonging was affected by her mother's response to her skin colour. She had a sense of being different from her sisters and from the
communities around her. She remembered having Anglo-Indian friends who were fair too. She also remembered walking down the street and being stared at. She jokingly recalled her sisters who used to tease her by calling her the 'white cockroach', saying that the sisters were the ones who gave her the most 'hassle'. She equated this with sibling teasing, recalling the expression 'longchin pugli' (mad woman with a long chin) which was used to tease Penny. Anne said that as sisters, they all had good relationships with each other, but she felt that Caroline was made aware of her fairness. Anne laughingly recounted their mother's use of the phrase 'my white cockroach' with reference to Caroline. However, Penny remembered using the term when she wanted to be unpleasant toward Caroline. Penny said that comparisons and distinctions were made on the basis of this difference in skin colour between Caroline and the other sisters. Joking, Penny came up with the comment that Caroline was the 'fairest of us all'. So, Caroline was set apart and was identified as different in some way because she was fair.

Deidre did not recall skin colour being an issue for her as a little girl in India. She remembered having friends at school who were both fairer and darker than her. Anne, the eldest remembered the following:

I think, I'm sure that when I was there [i.e. in India] I used to think that I was better than Indian people. I'm sure I did. You know how you have this feeling. Not my friends, not really my friends, because they were my friends, but other people out in the street, you know. And I don't know whether that was because of skin colour or whether I wasn't Indian, and I know I was Anglo-Indian.

Anne later said,

My sister Caroline is fair, and two of my sisters have blue eyes. And a lot of people used to comment on their blue eyes, and I used to think, I used to wish I was blonde and had blue eyes too because I used to read all these you know English things. Oh, I wish I had blonde curly hair and blue eyes, but I didn't. But people always used to comment and Carolyn, my sister was quite fair, and mum reckons she looks like her mother, which is probably like her mother was, French origin, very fair skinned
and looked very, well, we used to say in India, we used to say, very ‘European’. People used to always comment and the servants used to favour her all the time, and so, I think we realised as children that it was important. But, yet with our friends it didn’t matter, you know.

Skin colour did have a role in terms of identity. It had an impact at both the individual and group levels. Also, Carolyn was favoured by the Indian servants. Anne thought herself ‘better than’ Indians when she was a child. She was brutally honest about herself. She demonstrated an element of internalised racism in her childhood desire for ‘whiteness’; the desire to look like her sister. She also acknowledged the hierarchical status of ethnic groups in India, with the Anglo-Indian community perceiving themselves as having higher status than other ethnic communities. Anne’s responses also indicate awareness that fair skin was valued over dark skin within the Anglo-Indian community, and that this aspect of identity determined status within the community. Skin colour impacted on both intergroup and intragroup identity processes. There is also an indication that skin colour plays a part in providing a means of social mobility; being fair provided Caroline with the opportunity to transcend the ‘Anglo-Indian’ category and to be treated as different from other Anglo-Indians.

Penny also spoke about ‘chee-chee’ Anglo-Indians who may have been fair, but whose socio-economic status was lower than that of other Anglo-Indians:

They just dressed poorer. You know, I can remember two families who always seemed to be wearing second hand clothes and whatever, and one, you had the realisation that they didn’t have that much money. Two, you made some sort of assumptions about their, the educational levels of their parents, and I suppose in the general terms about their quality if you like. And you sort of knew that as a family you would probably, wouldn’t have a whole lot to do with them. You might play with them in church, choir, school and the rest of it, but you were sort of different.

Anglo-Indians of low income were referred to as ‘chee-chee’ in this instance. They were identified as being of lower socio-economic status even if they may have been fair. This implies that income is a significant indicator of status within
the Anglo-Indian community. Class played a role in determining social relationships. Quality of attire and educational levels were seen as indicators of class.

Deidre recalled her father's assertion that he came to Australia only for his children's sake. It was a cause of some sadness for Deidre who said, 'And that's why I feel sad for dad, because he had to have such a miserable life and always he said, I came out for you girls.' Caroline recalled her father's assertion as well and his feeling that he would have been better off for himself if he had stayed in India. He may also have been referring to his middle-class status in India as a result of his occupation, and the loss of socio-economic status in Australia. The sisters' responses about their father indicate that he felt as if he belonged more in India than in Australia. They did not express such thoughts about their mother, implying that she was perhaps more settled in Western Australia.

So, some aspects of identity were consistent in the lives of all the sisters. These were ancestry, patterns of interaction with other ethnic groups and cultural markers of ethnicity. They served to mark the Anglo-Indian community as a distinct group in the Indian environment. They facilitated self-identification and identification by others. They also signified a distancing from the Indian component of identity and a bias toward the western component. One aspect that differentiated the sisters was the fairness of one sibling, who was treated as different and in some ways, as better than others. Skin colour and income were indicators of status and influenced identity within the Anglo-Indian community and in terms of identification by others. Age too was significant since it was the youngest who expressed dissatisfaction with her sense of belonging in India.

Indian independence from Britain in 1947 and the subsequent policies of Indianisation did pose a threat to the Anglo-Indian community who "feared reprisals" (Younger, 1983, p.40). Their place within the economic and social structures became uncertain. Although they had received variable treatment from the British in terms of employment issues during the colonial era,
employment opportunities decreased. The new emphasis on Indian languages meant that the English speaking tradition of the community was under threat.

The intergroup dynamics had altered dramatically after 1947 and the effects of this alteration impacted on the sense of identity and belonging of the Anglo-Indian community. The balance of ingroups and outgroups had changed. The Anglo-Indian identification with the British lost substantive meaning without British presence in India. Anglo-Indians had been dependent on the presence of the British to signify their superiority to the Indian communities. The departure of the British from India brought the hierarchical status of the Anglo-Indians into question as a result of Indian independence from Britain and the policies of Indianisation.

‘BEING’ WOMEN

The identity of women was framed by their everyday lives. How did Anglo-Indian women live their daily lives in India and then in Australia? How did the context within which they lived in India impact on their daily lives? This family was very used to having servants. They had a ‘bocci’ (cook), an ‘ayah’ (nanny/nursemaid/housemaid) who used to bath the children, dress them and do their hair, the ‘mali’ (gardener), and the ‘dobhiwallah’ (washerman), the ‘jamandar’ (sweeper) who came in to sweep and mop every day, a car cleaner who came in once a week, and a relief cook who was brought in when the regular cook went on holiday.17 As a result Deidre speculated: ‘I often wonder now what mum used to do. It must have been a real life of leisure.’ Penny said, ‘I don’t have a picture of my mother cleaning. Occasionally she might have dusted or something if someone was coming over.’ She describes her mother’s role as more of a management role: ‘Mum’s role was just looking after us for most of the time and managing the servants and managing the house.’ It was a middle-class lifestyle that reflected the hierarchical status of the Anglo-Indian community and the availability of cheap labour in India.

Penny saw her mother’s role as the main carer and disciplinarian and her father’s role as the breadwinner. Caroline too saw her mother’s role in terms of
management. She said that her mother managed the house and her father went out and worked. Caroline remembers that her mother always played with the children in the evenings. Penny also recalls her mother socialising in the evenings with her father and others. Penny thought that her mother probably made the day-to-day decisions when they lived in India and that other decisions were made jointly. Anne said that decisions were generally made jointly. Penny recalled there never being any visible conflict between her parents so that she 'couldn't even begin to say who made final decisions because by the time we heard about it, it was just the way it was.' This has been a topic of conversation among the sisters, because Caroline commented that,

I would assume dad did [i.e. make the decisions]. But er, I can remember mum and dad being very, well not secretive, but they just kept this, this and anything like that quiet. I mean we never hear anything about it. So I presume that dad would have. I mean they always talked. They always talked to each other. But some, we always laugh, because we, like we always say we never ever heard mum and dad argue, never once in their (laughs) lives, you know. But er, I suppose they had their own bedroom, and they'd go and talk about whatever and, but we weren't involved in any of that, not that I can remember.

Caroline remembered that her mother had to play the hostess role when they lived in India for occasions when her father brought friends and work colleagues home. She maintained that there were expectations that a mother's role in India was to look after the children while the father went out to work. Anne, in notes to me after the interview, pointed out that the woman's place was always in the home, and that the husband had to be obeyed and respected. The family had operated very much within a patriarchal framework in the Indian environment. Anne did however remember enjoying the tasks she did for her father, 'laughing and giggling' while they were done. This familial arrangementsubsumed ethnicity.
Despite lower status in terms of gender, the four sisters enjoyed high socio-economic status within the wider social and economic context in India and within the Anglo-Indian community itself. Class played a significant role in their experience of life as Anglo-Indian women.

How and why did Anglo-Indian identity change after migration in the Australian context? Obviously the ancestry of the participants remains unchanged. The self as ‘knower’ is aware of this unchanged ancestry. However, the Anglo-Indian as ‘known’ is subjected to perceptions of other, different ethnic groups and individuals in the Australian environment who may not be aware of this ancestry. This and other aspects of identity will be explored in the following chapter. In making this leap to the next phase in the lives of the participants, suffice to state that the sisters perceived migration as positive. As Anne said,

I just, I mean the biggest one [i.e. decision] I can remember is emigrating and we all, we didn’t actually, we weren’t making the decisions with them, but we all wanted to come. We all just wanted, everyone was going. All our friends were going. So we just wanted to go. We didn’t really understand what was happening, you know.

Notes:

1 Penny’s children were the youngest out of all the sisters’ children and perhaps their interest in their mother’s background was still limited as Penny herself suggests.

2 ‘Eid’ refers to a Muslim celebration.

3 ‘Parsee’ refers to a minority community whose religion dates back to before 3000BC, when it was founded by Zoroaster.

4 ‘Chokon’ refers to a boy who is of low status and income; ‘chokri’ refers to a girl in the same manner.

5 Caplan (1995) discusses the porous boundaries of community with reference to Anglo-Indians. He documents the incidence of Indian Christians who came to be identified as Anglo-Indian.

6 ‘Country Captain’ is a fried chicken or mutton dish. Numerous spices are added to it.
7 'Pantra' refers to a variety of pancake.

8 This dish consists of chunks of potato fried with spices, coconut and tomatoes.

9 'Hin cho' is a mild chicken and vegetable soup.

10 This is a type of sweet cake.

11 'Puja' refers to a specific form of Hindu worship which involves an offering of a material object, or the mind, or the body, or the soul, to God.

12 'Divali' is the Hindu festival of 'lights'.

13 'Holi' is the Hindu festival of 'colours'.

14 'Pulao' is a spicy rice dish.

15 'Salwar kameez' is a style of dress. The salwar is a loose-fitting trouser, which is drawn tightly at the waist and ankles, and the kameez is a loose tunic that is worn over the salwar.

16 'Nagras' are embroidered, pointed toe shoes.

17 See Lewis (1991) and Yule and Burnell (1903) for the meanings of many such terms.
Chapter Five described and analysed the experience of four sisters during their lives in India. This chapter continues to explore their identity after emigration from India to Australia in 1968. The patterns of ethnicity within India and Australia, which were markedly different at the time when the sisters came to Australia, have been discussed in Chapter Three. The Anglo-Indian community had attained a distinctive identity in India, which reflected particular local ethnic patterns. However, within the Australian environment the range and variety of ethnic groups that exist alongside Anglo-Indian women was much greater. The dynamics of the various ethnic and cultural groups in the Australian environment were/are extremely different. This difference had important implications for the identity of Anglo-Indian women and for their everyday lives.

INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS
Anne remembered working with indigenous Australian people in one workplace and meeting many English, Scottish and Irish families. She said that many of the Irish friends were married to Anglo-Indians. Deidre's workplace had many Asian people in it, and they often asked her to explain her ethnic background. Deidre's circle of friends included Polish, English, and someone from Ukraine among others. However, she did not socialise with Anglo-Indians except with those Anglo-Indians associated with her workplace, and these social contacts only occurred at work social events. Penny came across a whole range of ethnicities through her workplace. Anne recalled having Italian neighbours when she first came to Australia. Caroline, the third sister, said that about half of her friends would be Anglo-Indian or Anglo-Burmese. However, these friendships are a result of her partner's involvement in sport and not her own background.
Penny recalled that during her early years in Australia her family socialised primarily with other Anglo-Indians. This strategy for coping with migration issues did not persist for long and also indicates a generational pattern. She said,

It’s only since we’ve grown up that we’ve moved into mixing with non Anglo-Indians if you like, because we’ve been to university with them, and as we’ve grown up and married and met and the rest of it. So, I don’t think I have anything to do with, other than in my family situation or, Anglo-Indians that I’ve known from when I was young. I don’t really have contact with Anglo-Indians. I suppose my husband’s Australian so, um, he’s not inclined to go to Anglo-Indian Associations things or anything like that.

Having married outside the Anglo-Indian community, the partner’s ethnic affiliation restricted the participant’s involvement with other Anglo-Indians. Nevertheless, the participant had already been encouraged to minimise her involvement with other Anglo-Indians by her parents, and this is reflected in the fact that Penny did not express any concern or regret about this aspect of her relationship with her husband.

Deidre, the youngest sister, remembers the following incident:

I remember we both went to a wedding once, [Caroline] and I. We’ve got photos of it. There’s these two Anglo-Indian boys. Mum was very anti us going. It was just a wedding. They were asked to bring a partner, and I remember now that she was very clear, “I don’t want you to have too much to do with them.” So, mum must have been there very strongly steering us away.

This episode demonstrates reluctance on the part of the parent to associate with other Anglo-Indians. Deidre herself later added, ‘She probably knew what could happen and she didn’t want it to happen. So she didn’t want us to be involved in the Anglo-Indian community.’ After immigrating to Australia, the parents displayed signs of disapproval when the daughters associated with Anglo-Indian boys. It eventuated that they all married non-Anglo-Indians and non-Asians. There is a shift from a concern about involvement with the Indian community in
India, to a concern about being involved with the Anglo-Indian community in Australia. After having confined social relationships to other Anglo-Indians when living in India, such an attitude does not seem logical. I suggest that the opportunity to interact with a wide variety of ethnic groups in Australia enabled Anglo-Indians to bypass their ties with other Anglo-Indians. It presented the Anglo-Indian community with a greater opportunity to move further away from the Indian component of their heritage and towards a more western and 'white' identity; a move that also implies class considerations. Younger (1983) indicates that a participant in her research suggested that marriage prospects provided a motivation for migration, that "a great number of prospective white husbands and wives would be available outside India" (p. 40).

Penny also said,

I often find myself wanting to go and talk to someone who I suspect may have some kind of Anglo-something background. But I find myself wanting to approach people and say are you from somewhere. Sometimes just from the way they speak over the phone. So, you know, I'm always seeking to get that confirmation or do that relating and say I'm from there as well.

I suggest that 'Anglo-something' does not imply 'Anglo-Celtic' in this instance. At the same time, Penny does not directly use the term 'Anglo-Indian'. Instead, the 'Anglo' is prioritised over the 'Indian' and illustrates the bias toward the European aspect of Penny's ethnic identity. This also suggests that although Penny was drawn to people who have a similar ethnic background she does not commit herself totally to Anglo-Indian ethnic identity. Anne had this feeling too when she saw Anglo-Indian people whom she did not know. The sisters were keen to acknowledge and share a common past with people who were not necessarily friends or relatives. The need to do this implies that they do not have the opportunity to do this in their usual circle of friends or through their partners. They are aware of the lack of Anglo-Indians in their social lives.
When the participants had lived in India, the phenomenon of socialising primarily with Anglo-Indians in India was linked to the need for a distinct identity. This distinct identity ensured a particular status and class level. In the Australian environment, this distinct identity no longer ensured the same sort of status or class. The dynamics in terms of ethnic groups were very different in Australia. There was no need to restrict interactions to the Anglo-Indian community alone in order to ensure privileged status. The 'dangers' associated with interaction with the Indian communities in India no longer existed in Australia. Anglo-Indians did not need to fear a loss of status as a result of ethnic interaction with Indian communities in Australia. In fact, the opportunity to interact with western ethnic groups increases and the participants have demonstrated this in their choice of partners. Membership of local Anglo-Indian associations and groups would be one strategy of maintaining contact with Anglo-Indians. However, this sibling group has not taken this on, with only one sister mentioning attendance at formal Anglo-Indian functions, and that occurred over a limited period of time. This progression of distancing themselves from the Indian communities in India to distancing themselves from the Anglo-Indian community in Australia suggests that 'danger' is now associated with interaction with the Anglo-Indian community in Australia. They wish to sever their links with anything 'Indian' and the Anglo-Indian community signifies this link.

Issues of social mobility impact on socialisation patterns.

So, patterns of social interaction changed markedly in Australia compared with those in India. This is in keeping with the changed social context and highlights the comparative and contextual nature of self-categorisation theory. The Australian multicultural context brought Anglo-Indians into contact with a range of ethnic communities, and in particular, 'western' communities. They no longer had to maintain control over their own community to ensure that it remained separate from the Indian communities as they did in India. If being 'separate' and distinctive lost significance in the Australian environment, how did this impact on the cultural markers that had served the Anglo-Indian community so well in India?
CULTURAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY

The Catholic background of the family continued to have significance in the Australian environment, but only during the early years after immigration. The sisters attended a Catholic school. Penny said that her friends tended to be Catholic because they were from school. Parental motivation for continued adherence to the Catholic faith was reflected in this choice. This situation changed as the sisters grew older and became independent of their parents.

When Anne was asked how she would describe herself now in terms of religion she said, 'Lapsed Catholic.' She elaborated further:

When I was younger, it was different though, cos I wanted to take the children, my children, and I wanted them to be baptised and I wanted them to do all those things, but now as the years have gone, it doesn't seem so important. I do wonder about God. You know, I wondered if we're just told these things and we just accepted. And I've been reading lots of books about life after death, you know. All those sorts of things, but it doesn't give me any answers.

Anne questioned the religion she practised when she was younger. She concluded that she is not a very religious person now. A number of factors seem to have influenced this development in Australia including, the age of her children, her own age, her busy lifestyle and perhaps a more liberal social environment in terms of religion and its practice:

But there again I don't take the time to actually think about it. You know, I think I'm just too busy. I think yes, yes, I should go to church. I should take [son's name] to church cos he's an alter server, and I don't go and I don't stop and think about it, actually think, what do I think and what do I believe.

Penny, the second sister, has not maintained her Catholicism either. She has taken on her partner's religious affiliation, which is Christian though not Catholic. Her children are brought up in that tradition as well. This change in her life was very upsetting for her father (her mother had passed away previously).
This was a significant change in Penny's life and had a marked effect on her father. This episode demonstrates the strong Catholic tradition within the family and the impact of Penny's partner in her life.

The third sister Caroline said that the only aspect of her religion that has changed since living in Australia is that she does not attend church. She said, 'I'm still a, I'm still Catholic, I'm still a Christian I suppose and I haven't changed myself in any way, apart from not going to Mass every Sunday.'

The youngest sister Deidre said that her involvement with the Catholic church continued after she came to Australia and that she is still quite involved in her parish. Her workplace also incorporates an involvement with the Catholic church. Yet, she said that she is not 'super religious':

    I've still got my faith and I enjoy going to Mass, but I'm not, I don't go every Sunday. I'd like to but, we, I feel anyway that our quality time for us is more important.

So, every second Sunday is spent with her family and she does not attend church. She concludes saying, 'Yeah, I certainly enjoy my own religion, my faith, my own faith, that's how I see it.'

All four sisters have experienced change in terms of religion to varying degrees. Certainly, none of them can be said to practice their religion to the same extent here in Australia as they did under their parent's guidance when they lived in India. The experiences of these women demonstrate a significant break from the parameters of 'Anglo-Indianness' as established in the Indian environment. In the Australian environment the practice of Christianity no longer served to distinguish the Anglo-Indian community from other communities. It lost value as a distinguishing marker. This same can be said about the use of the English language, which is the focus of the next section. Although language set the Anglo-Indian community apart as a distinct identity in India it did not serve the same purpose in Australia.
There was a nostalgic component in many comments made by the participants about Indian languages that they had learned in India, albeit minimally and reluctantly. They expressed regret at their inability to speak Indian languages now. Anne, the eldest sister, wished that she could remember more of the Indian languages now. She wondered whether the languages would come back to her if she went back to visit India:

That’s what they reckon, but I don’t know, because sometimes I watch the things on TV and just can’t understand. I can understand a few words here and there you know, ‘challo’ and all that, and they’re things that everyone knows about. We say to the rickshaw man, ‘Challo, challo’ (laughs). Do you remember those ones? But er, yeah, we just spoke English all the time.

Although English continued to be the primary language spoken by Deidre after arriving in Australia, she said that she occasionally used a few Indian words. Penny, who has been learning Bahasa Indonesia said,

And there are a lot of Hindi type words in Indonesian. And er, sometimes I think, wish there was someone here who knew the Hindi so I could say, hey look at this word, you know, it’s just like the Hindi. Yeah, so, um, in terms of the Indian languages, they’re just gone.

These comments suggest a longing and an awareness of a loss; the inability to be part of another society, another culture. This is despite the fact that their use of Indian languages was minimal and that they vigorously opposed learning Indian languages when they were younger. In fact, this issue was a significant contributing factor to the desire to leave India.

When Anne started talking about her current use of language she said that she found herself using occasional Hindi words more often as she grew older. She had noticed this in her father as he got older and her cousin had made the same observation to her. Penny said that she did not use Indian words in her own home at all. Neither did Caroline. However, Penny commented that,
Yes, since we’ve come to Australia, I can’t even remember the Hindustani we used to talk to the servants. But there are, it’s always good to get together with people who do mix a lot with other Anglo-Indians and do use the language in a joking sort of way. They don’t use it in communication, but all the terms and things, common expressions, I really like that because it takes me back and makes me think, oh, yeah I used to know that word. There was a time when I used to know it (Erica laughs), but just forgotten it now.

There is a nostalgic impact on Penny when she uses her limited knowledge of Indian languages when in a group of Anglo-Indians. Although Penny said that Indian words were not used in her home now, there was a proviso:

With my sisters you might occasionally, if you want a descriptive word and the only one you can think is like ‘bow-kah’ for example, ‘bow-kah’, do you know what they means? It’s like a ‘thlcko’. You know, you’d call some dopey boy or something, someone who hasn’t got too many clues. So, it’s a derogatory term. You’d say, oh, what a ‘bow-kah’ (both laugh), or ‘chputowing’ you know. Sometimes, we’ll talk about, if you’re fussing around and, I’ve probably even got the wrong connotation because you lose things over years.

These quotes show that coming together as a group initiates identification with India and with their Anglo-Indian background through the use of Indian words in conversation. It takes them back to a past world, to a world of memories. It sets them apart as an ethnic group for a brief period of time, while they are together. In this group environment they are not identifying ‘publicly’ as Anglo-Indian, but are affirming their past with individuals of similar background. Identification as Anglo-Indian is restricted to family environments. In this way, the sisters are managing their identity and maintaining it at a level that suits their needs. The quote also highlights Penny’s migrant identity in that she is able to link her limited knowledge of Indian languages with Australian slang (i.e. ‘thlcko’). Penny also expressed the impact of age at time of migration on this issue of language. She suggested that it impacted on the way the sisters could
relate to each other about the past, and demonstrates one way in which the past ‘lives’ in the participants’ lives.

The issue of accents and the difficulty in identifying ethnicity as a result of accent was also raised. When asked whether people have commented on her speech, Anne said,

> Not really. I think that I sound like everyone else until I hear myself on a tape or something. And then I think it sounds quite different. A few times I’ve heard it, and then I think oh, I sound like my cousin [name of cousin]. So obviously we do have some way that we speak that must be similar, which is why I think I sound like [name of cousin]. Um, couple of, dad used to speak very proper and a few people used to think he sounded Welsh. So don’t know what Welsh people sound like. But no one’s ever, I just think I sound the same, because as I’ve said a lot of [name of occupation] have never, a lot of the times when I say I was born in India they seem quite surprised. So, just because Australia’s such an ethnic you know, there’s so many ethnic people around that it’s hard for people to tell you know, there’s different accents aren’t there?

Caroline commented on her own accent:

> Um, people know when, I’m not a big talker. But when I do talk, they do know there is an accent there. They can tell there’s something there. But they never can figure it out. They never know what it is. I don’t feel as though I’ve got an accent. Feel as though, be interesting to hear that tape back. (laughs)

People had said that she sounded Swedish and they suggested that she came from Europe. Caroline attributed this to their knowledge that her partner was European. It may also be relevant that Caroline is a fair, blonde woman, as she herself acknowledged.

Deidre too commented that people found it difficult to pick her country of origin. When asked whether people commented on her manner of speech, she said, ‘Yes, very, very often they do. I think mainly because they can’t work out
where I'm from.' She said that people often took her to be Italian and are surprised when she says that she was born in India. Deidre suggested that her accent had an 'English tinge' to it and that it was not an Australian accent. So, although the use of the English language no longer serves to distinguish Anglo-Indians from other groups in the Australian environment, their accent can serve such a purpose. However, this identification is limited in that they are recognised as being migrants, without a clear indication of the country of origin. When the country of origin becomes known, Penny said, a common question she was asked was 'What Indian languages do you know?' She said, 'And I always disappoint them by saying, English is the only one I've ever spoken.' So, the task of identifying Anglo-Indians as Anglo-Indians is problematised as a result of the tendency to identify people according to their country of origin. It is also problematised by the fact that their accent serves to identify them as various ethnic identities. An underlying factor is the appearance of Anglo-Indians, who may not exhibit visible physical markers of difference other than accent. The criteria used by Australians to categorise migrants become unworkable when used with Anglo-Indian women as a result of the western markers of identity that they exhibit, the accents they may have and the range of skin colour they may have. These criteria allow for the placement of individuals within a hierarchy of accepted as against more marginal ethnic identities. So, Anglo-Indian women are identified as 'other' rather than as Anglo-Indian.

Anne also talked about how her children do not like hearing Anglo-Indian accents:

And er, they, I don't, have you ever heard where sometimes Anglo-Indians talk about things as 'men' and 'men' then, 'men' this, and she said something ... she said it, oh no, they've got those real 'chee-chee' accents you know. And er, the kids just can't, they think that's terrible when they hear some of our friends talking like that. They've never lost it [i.e. the accent].

This quote suggests a desire to become unidentifiable as Anglo-Indian, and the question of why this is so becomes relevant. The response by the children is
indicative of a negative view of Anglo-Indian people with accents. The next generation growing up in the Australian environment has not been subjected to the close ties that Anne's family had with the Anglo-Indian community in India. As a consequence they are less accepting of Anglo-Indian accents and of Anglo-Indian identity. Anne said that some people do not lose their accents. 'But some people don’t. You meet some people, it’s like they’re still back in India... it’s like they just came here yesterday.' Anne referred to this retention of a strong accent as 'strange'. Penny too spoke of relatives who had come to Australia as adults and who had strong accents:

Even [name of partner] has a bit of trouble understanding some of my cousins. I have some second cousins I mentioned who lived in the different sort of a housing situation where they shared rooms and whatever, and they talk, they talk more Anglo-Indian than I do. Penny also attributed the strong accents to the fact that these relatives mixed much more with Anglo-Indians:

They still use quite a bit of the lingo if you like, and they'll talk about 'jhaaps' and things like this you know, 'give you one jhaap'. It's funny when we get together because it, you hear that sort of language. My kids don’t know anything about that. Nor does [partner's name], but yeah, I was going to say, [partner's name] has difficulty understanding [name of relative] some of the time. But you wouldn't have met [name of relative]. Because he talks very fast and he talks very Anglo-Indian.

Anne mentioned that others have observed that she and her sisters sound more 'Anglo-Indian' when they are together than when they are talking to others. Being together brings out the 'Anglo-Indian' in the sisters both in terms of accent and use of Hindi words. This suggests that the extension of this communication with Anglo-Indians to others outside the immediate family could result in further self-identification as Anglo-Indian. Such an extension did not exist in the lives of the sisters and therefore limited such self-identification. As suggested earlier, they choose to maintain their Anglo-Indian identity only at the family level and not to claim it in the extended family or the wider...
community; they are managing their identity in the way that they wish to do so. Being identified as Anglo-Indian by the wider community is not important to the sisters.

The above quotes also indicate that having a strong accent was not seen as being positive by the sisters and by the children. To be easily recognisable as Anglo-Indian as a result of accent was described as ‘strange’ in one instance. However, having an accent that allowed for recognition of ‘difference’ was acceptable. The sisters recognised that they had accents themselves, but these accents were not recognised as Anglo-Indian accents by others. However, they themselves recognised strong Anglo-Indian accents in other people, whom they felt should have lost this accent. They found it unacceptable that Anglo-Indians in Australia should still have strong accents, in light of the fact that their own accents had changed. They had distanced themselves from their Anglo-Indian identity in this way. The strength of the accent mattered. It was preferable to be less easily identified as Anglo-Indian than to be identified as such easily. They do not wish to be identified as Anglo-Indian.

Penny said that her partner found it quite a ‘strain’ to attend her family get-togethers. She said,

_“But every now and again he’s got to come to one of my family things, and he gets quite stressed because he’s just not sure when he’s, it sounds crazy but, he’s going to be expected to make a response, and he really hasn’t understood what they’ve said, because they talk so fast.”_

Communication becomes an issue in this scenario and could impact on family cohesion and unity. Communication within extended family environments can be a problem when various ethnic groups come together. It is worth considering whether Penny’s relatives may have found it difficult to understand her partner as well. However, in this instance, the Anglo-Indian is ‘othered’; the Anglo-Indian has the different accent.
The Australian experience with regard to food is relevant in considering the identity of Anglo-Indian women. Anne said that, ‘when we came here, we ate a lot more curries than we did in India.’ Having protected the children from eating ‘adult’ curries in India, the situation was turned around in the Australian environment.

The sisters remembered how their mother had to learn to cook curries after arriving in Australia. The sisters were aware of their mother’s learning experience. Penny said,

Um, my mother, poor old thing, had to learn how to cook when we came to Australia. So, we never had that great variety of things that we’d have in India, which mum could just say, you know, cook this and that would be it. Just beautiful things. I don’t even like thinking about it because I start to feel like I’m missing out [both laugh].

As the interviewer, I reflected her thoughts, ‘You’ve lost something really vital’, to which she replied, ‘Yeah, like never in my life again will I have that wonderful experience of...’ She had been referring to the wonderful dishes that the cook used to prepare for the family.

In India, cooking for oneself would have indicated a loss of status since it implied financial inability to employ servants. However, in Australia this was not so, and Anglo-Indian women adapted to the changed environment. This adaptation came at a cost, since the Anglo-Indian community was accustomed to their place in the ethnic hierarchy in India as being ‘better than’ many of the communities that surrounded them. The dependence on cooks in India impacted on their diet and cooking habits in Australia. The family had to learn about both Indian cooking and about other mainstream Australian food. For example, Anne talked about eating grills:

We didn’t eat things like steak or chops or anything because we just didn’t eat them and ... I remember having this meat in the fridge and his [her husband’s] sister came over. I thought what do I do? There was this one steak and one chop, what do I do with this? I don’t know what to do with
this. (Erica laughs) Went to visit his family the night before we got married and I couldn’t cut my chop, because I didn’t know, how do you get this meat off this bone? I was so embarrassed. I had to sort of, he had to cut if for me (both laughing). We just didn’t eat things like that.

Anne told the following story with affection and enjoyment:

And the most amazing thing mum used to do which we liked was, give us potato crisps on the plate at dinnertime (laughing). She thought well, this is potato (still laughing). So we had crisps (Erica joins laughter). I still remember that to this day and my children loved it. Cos they’d go to nan’s house and they’d get crisps (both laughing).

The youngest sister Deidre also remembered the ‘crisps’ story with amusement. The status of crisps as ‘junk food’ was not apparent to their mother, who saw crisps as a source of potato in the diet. They saw their mother’s attitude as one of cultural ignorance. The sisters too experienced this cultural change and this is evident in the nostalgia expressed about food and unfamiliarity with particular dishes such as grills. There was a process of cultural adaptation that was experienced by these women.

One of the important aspects of the mother’s experience was the determination to maintain a link with their Anglo-Indian background through food, while also learning about Australian dishes. Indian food was an important aspect of the family’s identity when the family first immigrated to Australia and continued to be so in the parents’ home.

It is significant that when their mother died, the father took on the role of cooking Indian food. According to Caroline, he continued the Christmas tradition of making fruitcake and salted meat. Caroline said that her father was a ‘really good cook’, even though he had never cooked before in his life. Caroline said that people were amazed at the proficiency her father displayed in the kitchen after her mother died. In fact, Deidre said that her father was a better cook than her mother was. He ensured that this element of the Anglo-Indian
culture was maintained in Australia after his wife passed away. Again, this aspect of their lives represented an important part of their identity and the parents wanted to maintain it. Despite this role modelling, the daughters did not accept this aspect of their ethnic background and did not continue the tradition of Indian cooking in their homes.

Penny also recalled that the cooking patterns in the home during their early years in Australia varied depending upon the presence or absence of her father:

So mum would probably, when my father was here she, when he was back from the [location of employment] or whatever, she’d probably cook more, more rice and curry. I’m thinking back to different houses that we, that I’ve had contact with my parents in. So the first house we got to, um, yeah, we’d probably have curry and rice once a week or something like that. And then when my father got a job where he was stationary here, then probably, we probably used to have it three times a week. It was cooked in the pressure cooker, quick curry, curry and rice. Nothing exotic you know, no 'Pullaos' or anything like that. Just chicken curry or fish curry or whatever.

The father’s wishes in respect of food were prioritised. He was considered the most important person in the home and in this way, the patriarchal structure of the family continued. There is an emphasis on the time factor in this quote. Indian food was cooked, but using as quick a method as possible. A busy lifestyle and the lack of servants does not allow for the same amount of time to be spent on cooking as was the case in India. As Caroline recognised, the style of cooking at home changed when her mother went out to work. There was more cooked food including curries in the home on weekends when the mother was at home. During the week other sorts of meals were eaten including ‘pies and stuff’ because ‘mum just didn’t have time to cook’ on some days. ‘We just ate curry and a lot of stew, mum made stew, cos she could do that and use mince in different ways.’ Maintaining this aspect of Anglo-Indian identity became a struggle in the Australian environment. Cooking and the employment of servants for this work had been tied into class status in the Indian environment.
The changed social and economic context in Australia dictated lifestyle changes which impacted on identity issues. This struggle continued to be the case in the homes and lives of the daughters after they married, with one of the main reasons being lack of time due to work schedules.

The sisters were generally restrained in their cooking and consumption of Indian food as a diacritical marker of Anglo-Indian identity. Penny said,

Yeah, the most I get to is a curry pie from the bakery or something. Food is not that much of an important part of my life. So, when I get the chance to go out to, if we go to a food hall or something, I'll often have the Indian. Um, or occasionally I'll get down to that place in [name] Street and buy three 'khari' rolls and stick them in the fridge and, in the freezer and sort of, manage that way.

This quote shows an underlying interest in Indian food on Penny's part. When given the opportunity, she will choose to eat Indian food. Yet, these opportunities arise rarely and are not actively pursued or created. So, despite an underlying interest, there is a resistance to perpetuating this aspect of Anglo-Indian identity. Penny also said,

So, that's part of my heritage which I think I really, I don't miss it, because I try not to think about it. But it's sort of gone, that it's lost because, none of my sisters are overly into it. So I can't go and visit them and think, and know that there's a curry in the freezer.

It is clear that Penny does, in fact, miss Indian food. When I referred to it as 'one of the last vestiges of our heritage' she agreed with me, saying,

But no, I won't let myself think about it as being one of the last vestiges, because I'll just feel sad (Erica laughs). So, I try not to think about it, and to think when I have the opportunity I'll go ... I have a friend, she's a friend of my mother's who really likes cooking and whenever she has family things. She makes 'pulao', 'biryani', and that sort of thing, and I feel like making a pig of myself on those occasions because you know that that's the only time it's going to happen for the next year or something.
A 'longing' for Indian food is evident here, as is a resistance to it. Penny avoids thinking about the loss of this aspect of her identity because she is afraid of losing it. There is ambivalence about 'longing' for Indian food and not being prepared to put any time and effort into it. Food is a symbol of Anglo-Indian identity within the Australian environment. Other than accent, food is the only diacritical marker of a 'different identity'; an Anglo-Indian identity. The ambivalence relating to food can be related to ambivalence in terms of identity as well.

Anne said that her family ate a variety of foods. 'Just living in this country you eat all sorts and whatever.' The foods cooked and eaten in the sisters' homes reflect the diverse range of ethnicities in the Australian environment, the time constraints in the mother's lifestyle and the partner's preferences. The role of the cook in the family has changed too, in that, the children or the husband may even do the cooking. Semi-prepared or pre-cooked meals were also mentioned and again reflect the mother's busy lifestyle. Attitudes to Indian food varied from family to family, with some members wishing to have more of it and others being quite content to have little or none. The role of the mother in the home has changed markedly within the lifetime of two generations as a result of changing social environments. The cooking and eating habits of these families has broken away from the traditional cooking and eating habits of Anglo-Indian families.

Only the eldest sister spoke of Anglo-Indian food. The others spoke about Indian and other ethnic types of food. Their experience of less spicy curries as children contrasted with the increase in curry cooking that happened after they arrived in Australia. Their mother had to learn how to cook these curries while also coming to terms with the new food products and cooking styles in the Australian environment. The parents perpetuated the tradition of cooking Anglo-Indian and Indian dishes. The participants have feelings of wanting to cook the dishes they had in India, but numerous obstacles seem to come in the way of it actually happening. They were drawn to Indian food. Time also seemed to be an
important factor since three of the participants had jobs outside the home.

Anglo-Indians have experienced a cultural loss. The emphasis on food is related to its status as the final diacritical marker of Anglo-Indian identity. It is clear that the sisters resist this marker of their identity. Indeed, they seem to be working to erase distinctive markers of Anglo-Indian identity.

The final cultural indicator to be discussed is style of clothing. When in India, the participants had worn western dress and a dressmaker generally made these clothes. Caroline talked about how the dressmaking tradition continued after her family came to Australia. Her mother found another dressmaker, an old Italian lady, who used to make their clothes. She also added:

And then mum used to sew. So she taught us how to sew. So, then, I remember when I was in school, so I must have been fourteen, fifteen. I started sewing my own clothes and my sisters did too. And then slowly we didn’t want our clothes made. We would rather buy them, like everyone else did.

The western clothes worn by the family did not need to be made in Australia; they were readily available. Nevertheless, the mother tried to perpetuate this tradition for a period of time, which is indicative of the changed context in the Australian environment and the cultural loss experienced by the Anglo-Indian community. This tradition was superseded by the ready availability of clothes and the daughters’ needs to ‘fit in’ in their new environment. They wanted to buy clothes, just as everyone else did. The fact that the girls were either teenagers or moving into that developmental stage would have influenced their responses to this issue as well.

Anne referred to the ‘salwar kameez’ as ‘very graceful’. She said,

I’ve only ever worn a sari once to a fancy dress and that was, and people often say to me, why don’t you wear one. It’s too much both trying to put it on and, I wouldn’t you know, I wouldn’t not want, I would like to wear it. It’s not that I don’t want to wear it. I can’t imagine I’d know what to do
with it. It would be flying everywhere and I'd, the women used to tuck it in so comfortable and work in it.

The idea of wearing Indian styles of clothing was foreign to the participants, even though they were admired in hindsight. It had never been part of their identity. It now seems to have "novelty" value rather than being valued for itself.

Anne remembered that when she first immigrated to Australia many people walked around in bare feet. She said,

I remember my mum just losing it because my sister, and none of us would, none of us, but my sister [Deidre]. She was ten at the time. She used to put her shoes on, walk around the corner and take them off. (Erica laughs) We all knew that. Mum'd die, it was shock, horror. "Oh, people don't wear shoes because they're too poor. We're not too poor" (Erica laughs).

The wearing or not wearing of shoes reflected economic status and class in India and this is reflected in the response of Anne's mother. Shoes and attire generally, as previously mentioned, were indicators of class in the Anglo-Indian and wider community in India.

The need to be distinctive and also the need to align themselves with western influences as was the case in India, was overtaken in Australia by the need to be considered on a par with those around them. They wanted to 'fit in'. The threat to their ethnicity in the Indian environment seemed to relate to the Indian communities around them. In Australia, the threat lay in not being able to meld in with the mainstream communities, which were primarily western.

In the light of the changed social contexts in Australia, Anglo-Indians came to lose many aspects of their distinctiveness as an ethnic community, mainly as a result of the western aspects of their lifestyle and culture. Skin colour remains as one marker of identity as does accent. The strength of the accent and graduations of skin colour are relevant. The sisters demonstrate a desire to break away from their past identity together with a need to share their past with others.
BELONGING

Caroline, the third sister, continued to self-identify as Anglo-Indian in the Australian environment. 'That's how I was born. How can I suddenly change? (laughs)'. Her rationale is based on a biological concept. Anne, the eldest, is quite adamant that she does not consider herself to be Australian. She said, 'I've never thought I'm Australian. I think my children are Australian because they were born here'. Anne reiterated this point later saying, 'Where you're born always influences how you identify yourself.' This is interesting because despite her birth in India she would not self-identify as Indian herself. The reason for this differentiation may lie in the social and political consequences of self-identifying as Anglo-Indian in the two environments. It was more advantageous to do so in the Indian than in the Australian environment. Despite this it meant a lot to Anne that she acknowledge her birthplace as being India. She disapproved of Anglo-Indians who migrated to England and then to Australia and who did not acknowledge their origins in India. She also said, 'But I, like I said, I think I consider myself Anglo-Indian, but I've not, I've not thought about it. I've just, like I said, I've just been fitting in all the time.' So, in fact, although she self-identified as Anglo-Indian, she had not given that issue much thought.

Anne also referred to 'fitting in', stating that she always fitted in well with the people around her. This need to 'fit in' seems to have been an imperative for her, superseding the need to think about her identity in other ways. Fitting into mainstream Australian society was Anne's focus, even though she self-identified as Anglo-Indian. The need to be part of mainstream Australian society is prioritised. Anne has negotiated her position in mainstream Australian society while simultaneously acknowledging her Anglo-Indian background. Anne later said,

Well I have to be Anglo-Indian, I can't be anything else. I never think that I'm Indian. I've, I never say to people I'm Indian. Sometimes when I say I come from India, people say, oh you're Indian. And then I, usually I say I'm Anglo-Indian. So I've just got myself as Anglo-Indian.
The response described here is indicative of the lack of knowledge in the Australian community about the distinction between the Anglo-Indian community and other Indian communities. It is particularly significant because the Anglo-Indian community strove to maintain this distinct identity from other Indian ethnic communities. The social value of Anglo-Indian identity is diminished in the Australian environment as a result of this. However, it works in favour of the Anglo-Indian community in some ways because it allows the sisters to 'move on' in terms of identity.

Penny remembered trying to fit in during her early years in Australia. However, Penny now felt that she fitted in well with the people around her and that she belonged in Australia. Nevertheless, she said,

I could probably live in any country I chose to, if there weren't language barriers. But yeah, for the purposes of my family, my children and all the rest of it, yeah, I'm Australian, if you like because, that's where I live.

This quote embodies ambivalence about adopting Australia as a home. It implies a resignation to a situation, which is governed by concerns for her family and children rather than a personal identification as Australian. It has a functional flavour. When asked about self-identification here in Australia, Penny said she had an Australian passport. But she also said that she was always happy to tell others that she was Anglo-Indian:

So, yeah, if it ever comes up, I'm still Anglo-Indian. I always have to specify that I'm not Indian, because it's confusing. That's when they say, but you don't talk different, you don't look different and all the rest of it. And usually it's followed by a description that I'm this merry mix of all sorts of things. So I don't really know that I can call myself anything in particular.

So, Penny is a little more reticent to name her ethnicity. She expresses the dilemma of the 'invisible' Anglo-Indian in Australian society. As discussed in the previous section, many of the markers of Anglo-Indian identity serve to render that identity invisible in a 'white', western society, albeit multicultural and incorporating an indigenous population. Accent, diet and skin colour can
still distinguish the Anglo-Indian as migrant but not necessarily as Anglo-Indian, and all three are unstable diacritical factors.

Caroline now feels that she belongs in Australia; that she is an Australian citizen; that she is Anglo-Indian; that her children are Australian. She referred to her adaptability as contributing to her ability to 'belong' in Australia. For her, self-identification as Anglo-Indian is compatible with Australian citizenship, with belonging in Australia and with her identification of her children as Australian. She is able to assume many aspects of 'Australian' identity while retaining self-identification as Anglo-Indian.

Deidre, the youngest sister said that she always made it a point of stating her birthplace as being India. However, she did not concur with her sisters' responses about belonging. As stated earlier, she felt that she did not belong in India and does not feel that she belongs in Australia either. Despite this she sees Australia as her country now for the sake of her children. She said that she fitted in very easily with the people around her, even though she did not have a sense of belonging. A sense of belonging does not seem to be an essential aspect of Deidre's identity; she is comfortable with a cosmopolitan identity.

Anne, the eldest was often taken to be Italian. In fact, she said that when she first arrived in Australia many people would speak to her in Italian. She said, 'In Italian, and they would think that I was pretending that I didn't understand, and I'd say, “But I'm not, I'm not.” Guards on the train and everything. It was quite strange.' So, Anne was identified as having her origins in Europe rather than Asia. It seems that her appearance indicated this identity to others. This is further reinforced by another story that Anne told me. She recounted a story about a colleague who confided in her about her view of Anglo-Indians as being pretentious and arrogant, not realising that Anne was of Anglo-Indian background herself. This suggests that a stereotypical view of Anglo-Indian people may prevail in Australia. It reinforces the fact that Anne was not visibly different. Anne's appearance, speech and other behavioural traits served to
distance her from connection with an identity associated with India, and emphasise a European connection. Anne reinforced this later. She included a note to me when she returned the interview transcript that I had forwarded to her. It said:

Recently someone commented that my home reminded them of something out of the "Sullivans" (an Australian television show) and then I said to the friend, "And I'm not even Australian", and my friend said, "Yes, you are!"

When asked about how other people identified her Anne said that people never asked her. The above comment suggests that all indications to others are that she is Australian. But Anne said, 'It's really strange.' So, she felt that she should be identified in terms of difference even though she was not overtly different. She accounted for this by saying,

I always put that down to the fact that Australia's so multicultural. That there are Italians, and there are Greeks and, and even when I went to college there was, you know, girls of all different nationalities. And, I would like to tell people I was Anglo-Indian, I think. I used to like to say it. Probably, probably felt quite proud that I was.

Penny thought that the multicultural environment in Australia could facilitate a greater sense of belonging in Australia:

If I was the only Anglo-Indian and everyone else was third generation Australian, I possibly could feel a little bit out of it. So, I guess the fact that Australia is multicultural gives me some, not that I'm uncomfortable but, gives you more of a sense of belonging because you're just another 'blow-in' from somewhere else and I guess it gives you a healthier feeling of being accepted. But then again I don't have any issues with sensitivity to not being or being accepted.

Penny said that she was not identified in terms of difference because of the multicultural environment in Australia. She aligned herself with the immigrant population. Her self-identification as a 'blow-in' indicated a distinction between immigrants and other sections of the Australian population in this multicultural environment. In light of the fact that many of the diacritical markers of Anglo-
Indian identity do not distinguish Anglo-Indians as Anglo-Indians in the Australian environment, it would be reasonable to suggest that Anglo-Indians are not as different as other ethnic groups may be. As previously discussed, Penny and her sisters were at times taken to be Italian. So, Anglo-Indians who may be visibly identified as 'Anglo-Indian' or 'Indian' may experience their 'otherness' differently in the Australian environment.

Participants' comments relating to multiculturalism also imply an awareness of a lack of ethnic tension in Australian society. Despite Penny's self-identification as an immigrant it is not clear whether she aligns herself with non-Asian migrant groups or with Asian migrant groups. Their father's experience in Australia, which is discussed later in this chapter, suggests that his death kindled awareness of their Asian immigrant status in Australia.

As stated in Chapter Two, the differences between Anglo-Indians and other ethnic groups needs to be consistent with normative beliefs and theories about the substantive social meaning of the category, 'Anglo-Indian' women (Turner et al., 1994). Other individuals and groups in Western Australia were not always aware of this meaning, and, as a result, Penny found that she was not identified as Anglo-Indian. Her experience was similar to Anne's. She said,

Well, people are often surprised when they hear I'm Anglo-Indian. I mean, if they heard me talk enough, they wouldn't be surprised. But I guess, looking at me, you might not guess I am, because my skin's not overly olive or whatever. So, they're quite often surprised and immediately they start thinking about that exoticness that goes with coming from somewhere else. But you know, for us it's just, that's where we're from. Um, how, they want to know, they say how interesting and they go from there. And so I often find myself talking about the fact that my mother was from Burma and my father was from India, and the names and that sort of thing. Because people just think it's interesting.
Like Anne, Penny's appearance did not serve to identify her as 'different', and she sees this difference in terms of skin colour. However, Penny did identify that her accent and speech serve to mark her as being 'different':

Yeah, appearance, I don’t think anyone would wonder that I was anything other than the average Australian, with its usual mix over the years. It's when I speak, that people will comment.

Penny implies here that she saw herself as 'mainstream' Australian since Australians have incorporated a range of ethnicities through multiculturalism. Penny implies that multiculturalism results in a biological 'melding', and therefore does not acknowledge difference. Deidre said that other people were always curious about where she came from. But she always found it difficult to elaborate on her heritage and background because she felt she knew little about it.

Anglo-Indians can have various shades of skin colour. This has already emerged as a relevant aspect of this research. As acknowledged by the sisters, Caroline was the fairest sibling. Penny thought that only the three darker sisters looked Anglo-Indian, despite the fact that they were not necessarily identified as such in the Australian environment. This indicates a subjective judgment about ethnicity that reflects Anglo-Indian values relating to skin colour. Skin colour is an 'intracroup' issue. Caroline said that people were always shocked when she said that she was born in India, which suggests that skin colour is an 'intergroup' issue as well. She said that this was probably because she was fair and blonde. Many of the experiences mentioned by the sisters reinforce the existence of stereotypical notions about people from India as being dark. Despite Anne's experience that she was not identified as Anglo-Indian or as having any connection with Asia, she suggested that Anglo-Indian people could be recognised by sight. She said,

Isn’t it, even at the shops nowadays, there’s a lot more coming into our area, which is lovely and I sort of walk and I try not to look at them. I think, I sort of hope they’re looking at me and I’m thinking, oh, she’s
Anglo-Indian. You know, like you hope they’re thinking that and I just think, do I look it to them? You can just kind of tell.

The implication here is that Anglo-Indians are more readily recognised by other Anglo-Indians than by other sections of the population in Australia. How this recognition occurs is not revealed. After having spoken about lack of identification by others as Anglo-Indian, she expresses a wish to be identified as such by other Anglo-Indians. Anne felt drawn to Anglo-Indians even though she may not have met them in her usual social environment. She also reinforces her ability to recognise them as Anglo-Indian:

But like I was saying to you, when I see Anglo-Indian people, I get really, I feel really nice, you know. I wish I knew them, and I wish I could say something, but I don’t and I think ...

The implication that Anglo-Indian people are visible in some way to other Anglo-Indians contradicts the comments of the sisters that they themselves are not identifiable and recognisable as Anglo-Indian by others. This suggests that they may somehow see themselves as being separate from, or different from other Anglo-Indians, even though they self-identify as Anglo-Indian. Anne also recognised the fact that she sees her friends’ dark skinned children as being Anglo-Indian, but she does not see her own children as being Anglo-Indian because they are not dark skinned. Skin colour provides an opportunity for social mobility in the Australian environment, since the possibility of an Anglo-Indian being identified as Anglo-Indian as ‘other’ is higher if the individual is identified as being dark skinned. There is a suggestion here that some Anglo-Indians are ‘passing’ into a ‘whiter’ society. This has some similarities with the phenomenon of ‘passing’ in the Indian environment, which has previously been discussed.

As already mentioned, Anne related a view of Anglo-Indians as being pretentious and arrogant. She referred to people whom she was acquainted with and also a relative. However, she qualified this by saying in a light-hearted manner that not all Anglo-Indians were like that. Anne also reflected that the Indians did not look favourably on the Anglo-Indian community and that the
'British went off and left them there and didn't really care'. She suggested that this double dose of unfavourable treatment by the Indian communities and by the British contributed to the development of traits such as pretentiousness and arrogance, and which served as a means of maintaining self-esteem and status. These aspects of pretentiousness and arrogance link in with comments made by Deidre, the youngest sister. She did not have a high regard for Anglo-Indian men. She said,

And perhaps this isn't the right word, 'up themselves' is the best way I can describe it. You know they sort of think that they're better than the others. They come out with this great bravado, but I'm sure it just hides their inadequacies.

In particular, Deidre thought that this arrogance was a mechanism that served to counteract their colouring, as they were dark skinned men. Attitudes attributed to the dark Anglo-Indian men were perceived to be the result of skin colour and perhaps the stigmatisation and discrimination they may have experienced as a consequence. This suggests an element of internalised racism. Anne too said,

And I think do you know, I think colour comes into it quite a lot because that was a bit of a thing I think with my grandmothers. I'm sure it was something to do with that. I've heard them talking you know, when I was little. And you sort of pick up things you know. They say, oh yeah, these cousins are darker and all this stuff. And I never understood it at the time. But I think that had a lot to do with the way people looked at other people and you know ...

It is reasonable to suggest that a community who aspired to be 'western' may possibly also aspire to be 'white', or at least to be treated like 'whites'. The sisters indicate that this may have been the case in the lives of men they knew and in the lives of their grandparents. It may also indicate reasons for the sisters' choice of partners who were not Anglo-Indian. Marrying into western ethnic groups meant that the Anglo-Indian heritage was further diluted and, perhaps, concealed.
The desire to be white is a recognised feature of other societies as well and is not restricted to Anglo-Indians. It is a part of attitudes in India as well and was reflected in the attitude of servants toward the fair sister. These attitudes are demonstrated in a major newspaper in India, which carries advertisements for brides and grooms (Classifieds: Brides Wanted for, 2000, September 24). These advertisements regularly use the word 'fair' as a desirable feature of the prospective bride and groom. The following is the relevant wording of one advertisement: “Alliance invited from tall, very beautiful, fair, smart, slim, Computer Engineer .... For tall, handsome, fair, Chauhan Rajput”.

Deidre commented that in Australia, comments about her skin colour have always been positive. She has at times, received the gendered/ethnicised compliment relating to 'beautiful olive skin'. This was Penny’s experience as well. Deidre said that once people found out about her background and heritage, “they sort of connect you know, skin colour and that sort of thing.” She thought that she was probably the darkest among the sisters, but it had never been a problem for her in any way.

Penny recalled the less affluent living conditions of some of her relatives who happened to be darker than her family was. Variable class background among Anglo-Indians is evident in this observation and skin-colour is linked with class. Both aspects relating to class had also been evident in the Indian environment and have been discussed in previous chapters. Penny thought that as a result of this she had associated skin colour with affluence:

Not that I consciously do it, but when you see African Americans who are successful, it’s just a realisation to me that that’s not a white person, it’s this underdog if you like and I mean, I don’t think that’s prejudice at all.

It’s a realisation and an affirmation that anybody can achieve.

As previously mentioned, it had been suggested by one of the sisters that some ‘chee-chee’ Anglo-Indians also spoke with a ‘thicker accent’. She found that she often assessed an individual’s background if they looked ‘different’. So, she would think about how they might have come to live in an affluent suburb for
instance. Penny’s comments were motivated by a desire to convey the complexity of the social environment in India. She concluded this discussion with,

I mean, you’re doing this for research purposes, so I’m talking, but someone else hearing me would think I’m this horrible prejudiced thing (Erica laughs), but I’m being analytical in the way I look at it. Penny was challenging this research and herself to explore these issues as effectively as possible.

The sisters were aware that in Australia, their father had some issues in his life about his skin colour, although they found this difficult to understand. Deidre said,

But dad wasn’t dark. I mean, he was, compared to Australians, but in terms of Anglo-Indian colour, he was, I mean his hands were just a little bit darker than mine, but he had this thing, he must have had some dreadful experiences which he never told us about.

She and Anne pondered about whether negative issues related to employment and other opportunities had affected their father. The impact of immigration on class had been a negative factor in the settlement process for her father. Deidre concluded that, ‘It caused too many heartaches for him. He just didn’t want to, ever wanted to talk about it.’ Instead, much of the information about this was gleaned from his correspondence that was found after his death. So, the sisters, and as Deidre also suggested, their mother, did not know about the impact of this issue in his life. Penny said,

He’s even written letters to the papers and I think, at times, maybe rung radio stations to comment on particular things that he felt, where he’s been discriminated against, because of his colour of skin.

The sisters did not share their father’s negative experience relating to skin colour.

In discussing the concept of ‘home’, Penny mentioned that she would have trouble calling Australia her home if she found herself alongside the politician
Pauline Hanson, leader of the One Nation Party, whose anti-immigrant stance has been a focus in Australian politics. This implies that Penny sees some element of racism in Australian society.

Anne also tells an interesting story about her father and grandmother:

So his [i.e. her father’s] parents were quite old, and his father died quite young, and then his mother was very, very old by then and she was a bit crotchety and cranky and they didn't actually used to speak. I remember she used to visit and sit outside and we’d bring her a cup of tea and she wouldn’t come inside. She didn’t approve of dad marrying mum apparently (laughs). Oh, I really didn’t ever hear the full story. I think while dad was travelling we sort of picked this up from photos and things like that. While he was on the ships he was travelling. Mm, and he met a girl. Her name was [girl’s name], because he has these pictures of, lots of, lots of love and thing written. And I think they were quite serious and I think possibly grandmother wanted him to marry [girl’s name]. She was English I think, or Scottish or something else. Where are the ... Glasgow, Scottish cos I remember when we went back to England after mum died. I went with Dad and he went by himself to Glasgow. So she must have been Scottish. Grandmother was a bit disapproving of mum (short laugh).

This story seems to imply that the ‘other’ woman was more acceptable to the grandmother as a result of being ‘British’. Later in the interview, Anne suggests that it may have been the whiteness of the ‘other’ woman that was the relevant factor and that this might have impacted on her father’s perception of his own colour negatively. The value placed on ‘whiteness’ as desirable and the role of exogamy in this value system is, in this case, traced back to the grandmother’s generation.

All four sisters are Australian citizens. Anne said, ‘Yeah, we became naturalised not long after we arrived. We were still quite young and mum and dad just thought that was the right thing to do. I guess you had to.’ The coercive component of this statement was not borne out by Anne in her conversation. She
added that she had a British passport because her husband was an English migrant. Penny’s response was, ‘That was just automatic with my parents.’ However, the youngest Deidre said, ‘I say I’m a naturalised Australian, but that wasn’t my choice. My parents made that choice. And I wonder if I would have made it when I was older, if they hadn’t.’

As has already been mentioned, these participants are all married to men who are not Anglo-Indian. This has had some consequences for their identities as has already emerged in the discussion above. Anne’s partner is an English migrant, having come to Australia when he was a child. He self-identified as Australian. He also spent some of his childhood in other locations in the world. Anne did not think that his cultural background had impacted on her. Her family was quite close in the initial stages of their relationship and he found this somewhat difficult to cope with. Anne feels that her partner has learned a lot about Anglo-Indian culture because of her close family and their relationship with cousins. Caroline’s husband was of European background; he had immigrated to Australia as a boy. He had memories of his country of origin that were important to him, and he sometimes compared Australia with it.

Deidre’s Australian partner jokes about her ethnicity, saying that he married her because he expected her to walk ‘two steps behind him’, to do as she was told and to cook him lovely meals. Deidre accepts this teasing in a light-hearted fashion, saying that he probably wished she was less independent when he first met her. A stereotypical image of the ‘Indian woman’ is applied in this instance. Stereotypical images of Anglo-Indian women, as had evolved in the Indian environment, were obviously not known to Deidre’s partner (this stereotype has previously been discussed). He also imitates Anglo-Indian accents and still does it to ‘stir’ Deidre. He also jokingly referred to ‘all you darkies’. Deidre recalled that it used to upset her father, until he got to know Deidre’s partner. After that, her father was able to laugh with him, but Deidre now wondered if her father had continued to be hurt by it. Deidre concluded: ‘But, it’s a very Australian sort of thing, you know. They sort of rubbish everyone and take rubbish as well.’
may be useful to note here that the use of jokes to cope with tensions in the social fabric may suggest that visible markers of difference are problematic in Australian society.

Deidre commented on her partner’s easygoing nature, which she thought, was good for her. She said that she would have been a lot more reserved if she had married an Anglo-Indian man. Penny’s partner is Australian as well. Penny referred to him as ‘laid back’. ‘He’ll do what he had to do without pushing himself any further.’ She attributes this partly to personality and partly to life experience. ‘He’s not “gung-ho”, the way I am. You kind of wait and let it happen if it’s going to happen, Whereas I’m saying, if it’s going to happen, I’m gonna have to do it.’ Penny also suggested that his decision to marry an Anglo-Indian would have probably been a surprise to his family as they had socialised mainly with ‘mainstream’ Australians. She also said that he probably did not know she was Anglo-Indian when he first met her.

Anne had visited India with her father in 1986, but the other sisters had not made that trip. Anne mentioned the possibility of going back again to India to visit and states that her partner wants her to go more than she does herself. He seems to be keen for her to reconnect with her past and her childhood. Nevertheless, there is very little indication in the sisters’ responses that the partners actively encouraged the sisters to maintain affiliations with the Anglo-Indian community or had an interest in it themselves.

In drawing together the various strands of this discussion about belonging, it seems that the concept of belonging is a complex issue for Anglo-Indian women. The combined effect of distancing themselves from their Anglo-Indian heritage and the lack of recognition of Anglo-Indian ethnicity in the Australian environment is to diminish the profile of that ethnic group. These participants certainly did not see themselves as ‘Indian’ even though they were born in India. They self-identified as Anglo-Indian, but were not readily identified as such by others in Australia. They were happy to call themselves Australian citizens and
also claim their Anglo-Indian heritage. They saw the birthplace of their children as being the deciding factor for the identity of their children, while this was not the case for themselves, even though their children were subject to mixed 'racial'/cultural issues as they were. 'Allowing' their children to belong in Australia also meant that they were more inclined to lean towards the concept of belonging in Australia themselves despite some ambivalence about this issue. The participants were not prepared to claim 'Indian' identity. They also distanced themselves from Anglo-Indian identity. Nevertheless, the category 'Australian' remains an option and this option is readily conferred on the participants' children.

'BEING WOMEN

The context of the mother's life changed markedly after immigration to Australia. This impacted on her role as a mother, wife and member of the workforce. At one stage Caroline affectionately said, 'We laugh when we think of poor mum when she came, and she had to do everything. Over there she did nothing.' Anglo-Indian immigrants to Britain experienced this change in their lifestyles as well (Mills, 1998). Both Caroline and Anne recognised that their mother did not enjoy housework in Australia, and that she welcomed and enjoyed working outside the home. Anne said, 'So she became quite a career person. But yet she never, ever complained that she was tired you know or anything.' The experience of having the housework done for her in India may have contributed to her attitude toward housework in Australia. She was obviously keen to take on the opportunities in Australia in terms of a career and juggled the demands of family and career in her life. The mother's lifestyle in Australia was significantly different from what she had experienced in India, since she worked outside the home and took on household duties - both these occupations had not been a part of her life in India and reflected issues relating to class and socio-economic status.

Caroline suggests that life was very hard for her mother after arriving in Australia. Because her father worked away for long periods of time, her mother
had to care for the home (something that she had never done before) and for the children on her own. Deidre felt that her mother had to take on a great deal of the decision-making in Australia because her father worked away from home a lot. Caroline remembered this too. After a period of time in Australia, the mother started working, after having to upgrade her nursing qualifications. She experienced the double burden of working both outside and within the home. Deidre remembers having a very social home after immigrating to Australia; friends were always visiting. During these times there was always a lot of food around. This had been cooked by her mother who "used to sit in the kitchen cooking away all day and feeding the hoards, and it didn't seem to bother her. If it did, she never said.' This is stark contrast to the 'waited on' lifestyle that the family had in India and represented an enormous change in the mother's life. Her status and class in society had changed. In fact, the children all had chores in the house that they had to do on a regular basis, said Deidre, Caroline and Anne, so that the housework was shared by everyone in the family. This did not include the cooking which was done primarily by their mother, because the children could not cook. (Anne mentioned that her partner says that she could not even boil water when they were first married.) Their mother also enjoyed the gardening too. Deidre and Anne remembered that even though her mother had not worked outside the home when she had children in India, she had to work here. The sisters had to do a fair bit for themselves after this. So, the mother had to combine working outside the home with her role as mother and carer. The role of housekeeper came to be shared by the children. Indeed, much of this scenario can be seen as similar to other homes in Australia, but it is significant in this instance because it represents a significant break from the privileged Anglo-Indian lifestyle in India, which included the presence of servants.

Anne remembered her father being favoured in the family environment in a number of ways. This may have resulted from the father's expectations and/or from the mother's attitude toward her role in the family. Nevertheless, this resulted in her mother missing out. She said,
Everything was done for dad, and er, I remember when mum bought any treats it was, we shared and then dad got his always. And mum, possibly didn't get any if there wasn't enough you know. Mum made decisions with dad, but you know, we always knew dad was the one that we had to do everything for. It was just the way it is. You know, he came home and we took his shoes and socks off and all that sort of stuff. Because he was the most important person in the family.

Deidre reaffirms this saying,

Yeah, yeah. I mean he never, in India he never cooked. I mean he never, don’t think he even knew how to boil an egg. And here, when they came here, mum just spoiled him rotten. He didn’t have to do a thing. We always used to laugh because er, he was really fussy. He didn’t like anything that was, he had to dirty his hands with, you know. He only liked bananas, or you know fruit. Yeah, and even his lunch, when he used to go to work. I still remember mum making his lunch in the morning and cutting his sandwich up in little, in squares so all he had to do was pop them in his mouth. He didn’t even have to bite his sandwich (both laughing). Mum spoil him really badly like that you know.

Anne also recalled the following, which suggested that her father devalued her mother’s intelligence:

But you know, I always got the impression that dad loved mum a lot, but he always thought that he was just a bit better educated than her or, in some sort of way. It was never said, but he’d always laugh because she couldn’t spell and yet she was very intelligent, you know.

The patriarchal framework within which the family operated persisted, in some ways, in the Australian environment through the status of each parent. This does not preclude the fact that patriarchal family models already existed in the Australian environment, both within mainstream and migrant communities. The father was privileged in the home environment.
The sisters said that they took on most of the housekeeping and childrearing roles in their own homes for a whole host of reasons. It was also mentioned that the men did ‘outside’ work and the women did ‘inside’ work, a traditionally sexist break-up of duties. As far as house management and cleaning was concerned Penny found that her partner just did not ‘see the dirt in the room and all that kind of thing until I start making a noise about it.’ Deidre commented that her husband did not spend a lot of time involved with the children when they were young because he worked long hours. ‘So, I mean he was a fantastic dad, and he used to build stuff for them and that, but actually bring them up, he wasn’t there a lot.’ She also said that he was very good with them now, as adults, even though he found it difficult to spend time in the home when all the children were there. Anne referred to her partner as a typical man of his generation. In her notes to me after the interview she states that he ‘definitely does not believe in sharing “womanly” chores – washing, ironing, dusting, vacuuming. Caroline felt happy in the role of mother and housekeeper and did not work outside the home. Her husband had never wanted her to work outside the home either. Anne too had always wanted to get married and have children. She enjoyed being a parent very much and said that she had not really wanted to go out of the home to work, but that it had been necessary because she wanted to send her children to a Catholic school. Being a mother was very important to Anne, but she now felt that this role was not as important for her identity and she needed to think about ‘who am I really?’, implying that there is more to her identity than the mothering role. So, there were some indications of changes to these roles in the home. For example, Deidre’s partner has recently started doing the ironing to help her out when she is busy with job-related work. The employment of a cleaner was also mentioned. Another example was the fact that Penny does not generally cook; she dislikes working in the kitchen. Her partner does the cooking, as does Anne’s partner. When referring to cooking Penny said,

I think I’m doing my daughter a real disservice because she’s getting no role model, if that’s the expectation of what a mother and wife should be doing, she’s not getting it at all. But, on the contrary, I’m just saying, it’s
not something I like. It's not something that should or shouldn't be done.

Um, so I, my eating life is dead boring.

Here Penny verbalises a break from traditional gender roles for women and for Anglo-Indian women. Her attitude demonstrates the impact of feminism on patriarchal constructions of gender. She summed up her attitude as a mother and parent in the following words:

Certainly in terms of being a mother and a responder to all their needs, yes, I think that expectation is a fair enough one, and so I'm happy to fill it. So, mostly I'd be weighing them up and say, do I consider it a reasonable expectation, or is it one that I am happier not to go along with.

Penny constructs the mothering role herself as much as possible, weighing up the expectations that her children and husband may have of her.

So, although the sisters' roles are markedly different from that of their mother when she lived in India, they are not markedly different from their mother's role after immigration to Australia. The women juggle many aspects of their jobs and caring for the children in the home environment. Anne found it stressful to do all the tasks that fell to her. As she said,

But I think in Australia, you see, the thing is, they [i.e. partners] work, but then I, see well we work too. Cos most of my friends are working as well. And then you have to do everything. You have to balance the budget, you have to make sure the bills are paid, and all those sorts of things which are, might not be physical things, but it's always on your mind, all the time, you know.

In light of their father's occupational status as an engineer in India, it can be said that the sister 'married down' after they came to Australia. Their husbands' occupations could be described as middle and working class.

A significant consequence of the migration experience for Penny was the increased opportunities:

I think the range of opportunities to choose from are much greater here.

But, I don't know, I guess things, I suppose for an English speaking
person, that's what I'm saying, for an English-speaking person who didn't want to assimilate with the Indians, now your chances are much greater here than they would have been there.

The positive impact of fluency in English for settlement in Australia is significant in this statement, which also states quite clearly the Anglo-Indian bias toward the west during their lives in India. The issue of renewing qualifications did however have an impact for the mother.

So, what of the future for the participants and their Anglo-Indian heritage? As Penny said,

How do families keep together, how do migrant families, Anglo-Indians or whatever, do they hang in together once they get to another country. And now is when the testing time sort of comes, because we only have one aunt left.

She later says,

[name of aunt] is the last of that generation. Of my father's generation. And er, you know, the family starts to fall away because there's no pivotal place where they come together, I mean, my father, we're gonna have to work hard as sisters, getting together now that dad's gone. Whose house do we get together at and do we get together? That kind of thing.

Deidre commented that Anne organised a 'relly-bash' once a year. This provides some framework to bring the extended family together on an annual basis. Deidre also suggested that growing older initiated an interest in family structures and heritage. 'It's when you get to a certain age, you do start feeling like you've got to make those contacts, don't you?' Anne also identified this need in her life, especially as a result of making contact with old friends from India. She said, 'Friends and I have noticed a need to reach into our past and contact old friends from our younger days.' The need to feel close to the past seems to develop with age. Yet, as already mentioned in this chapter, there was no overwhelming urge to return to India on the part of the sisters.

Overall, Anne felt positive about her experience of migration. She said,
Really if I'd stayed there [i.e. in India] I would have just not thought about myself at all and I would have just been, you know how you can just not find out things about yourself, you just, does that make sense? Do you know what I'm trying to say? Because you just, that's just the way you're brought up, you know, you're somebody's daughter, and then you just become somebody's wife and then you're somebody's mother. And whereas in Australia, that's not how it is. You have to be your own person.

Anne suggests here that Australia has provided a more liberal environment than would have been present in India. The societal imposition and passive acceptance of women's roles as daughter, wife and mother, she suggests, are not as dominant in the Australian environment. In fact, however, traditional gender roles continue to predominate in their homes, with some changes that came to the fore primarily in Penny's relationship with her children and in attitudes toward cooking. The main difference lies in their roles in the workforce.

**THE NEXT GENERATION**

The future of Anglo-Indian ethnic identity lies with the children of the participants. This needs to be discussed in light of the ethnic background and heritage of the partners as well, which, as I have already indicated was not Anglo-Indian or Asian. The sisters described their children as having a range of friends in terms of ethnicity. Penny's children who are quite young have a limited understanding of their mother's background, although they have identified her as being Indian or Anglo-Indian. Caroline said that her children told their friends about her Indian origins but that they do not think very much about her ethnic background and culture.

Caroline's children said that they self-identified as Australians and were identified by others as such as well. Again, the issue of birthplace was considered important. Deidre said that her children knew they were Australian because they were born in Australia, but they were also aware of their Anglo-Indian heritage and discussed this with Deidre herself and with their friends. Describing such conversations she repeats her children's words, 'Like, my
mum's Anglo-Indian. So I'm not Australian. I'm half Australian.' Although
Deidre was pleased about this she commented that convincing others that they
were not Australian was difficult. She said, 'Again, you wouldn't think of them
as being Asian, or I wouldn't and I know most kids don't. But they seem to be
quite, very easy with it. If anything they can't convince people you know.'
Identification by others as Anglo-Indian is problematic; even more than it was
for the sisters themselves. Deidre said that her children's friends identified them
as Australian unless the children said otherwise.

Identification with the Australian side through their father and the Anglo-Indian
side through their mother did not pose a problem for Deidre's children. Deidre
concluded that, 'They've sort of got a bit of both I think, you know, both the, got
the olive complexion from me, and the easygoing attitude of their father. So, it
doesn't seem to bother them.' This statement implies that the cultural aspects of
their identity are derived from their father and their current environment, and
that there is some aspect of the biological aspect of ethnic identity that is derived
from their mother. Caroline mentioned that her children were always quite
brown; Penny said that her son had olive skin and that this may make a
difference in terms of identification by others. Penny said, 'I guess he does look
something other than Australian.' She said that her daughter who is quite fair
'just looks Australian'. Anne too thought that skin colour made a significant
difference in terms of identity. She said she was able to identify her children as
Australian because they were not dark. Anne mentioned that her children do not
self-identify as Anglo-Indian, even though they identify her as being Anglo-
Indian. Others identified them as Australian as well. She said that, 'The further
we get on in our lives, I've got my sisters and I have lost both parents now. It
just goes further away from you, doesn't it. You become more part of this
country, and er.' Anne was saddened by the loss of the Anglo-Indian identity.
She commented about her children's identity:

Mm, cos I don't think they could ever think they were English or Anglo-
Indian cos of where we live and, um, I think by the time their children are
born, they probably won't even think about the fact that I, you know, or
that they've got some Anglo-Indian blood in them. I think it will just all be forgotten.

So, for this group of children and young adults, self-identity was based on birthplace and the fact that they have lived in Australia. They were aware of their mother's ethnic background and heritage and acknowledged it. However, they did not identify with her ethnicity. The sisters were aware that skin colour did impact on how the children could be identified by others. This marker enabled them to be identified as Australian, that is, 'white' Australian, and perhaps as a migrant; but not as an Anglo-Indian.

CONCLUSIONS

The sisters had a complex ancestry. They were aware of this, but chose to self-identify as Anglo-Indian when living in India, suggesting that ethnic identity was not related directly or solely to ancestry or heritage. Ancestry was less of a determining factor than prevailing social and economic factors. The naming and categorising of ethnic groups are affected by social and economic factors and do not necessarily reflect ancestry or heritage. Nevertheless, the term 'Anglo-Indian' does reflect an element of hybridity, albeit simplified. It does not reflect the diverse ancestry and heritage of Anglo-Indians. It's meaning suggests an ancestral combination that is restricted to the British and the Indian, when in fact, many other ancestries are acknowledged by participants.

The transition from the Indian to the Australian environment had significant consequences for the identity of the sisters and their mother. This transition reflects the difference in emphasis between social identity theory and self-categorisation theory. The former focuses on intergroup processes whereas the latter focuses on intragroup processes. The transition from India to Australia and its impact on identity can be analysed in terms of these two processes.

The sisters had identified quite strongly as Anglo-Indian when they had lived in India. Individual identity was supported through the presence of a strong Anglo-
Indian group identity. Both as individuals and as a group, they classified themselves as Anglo-Indian. Low levels of differentiation based on class indicators such as level of education and wealth existed within the Anglo-Indian community, despite some indication of flexibility of cultural markers. The Anglo-Indians perceived themselves as different from other ethnic groups in India at that time. The cultural markers that identified them served to distinguish them clearly from other ethnic groups in India. In order for this distinction to exist, the cultural markers needed to reflect the values and lifestyle of the colonisers. Through these cultural markers intercategory differences were maximised. Comparison between the self and others was facilitated through the cultural markers that the Anglo-Indian community adopted and maintained in the Indian environment. Self-conceptualisation as a group member was dominated by parental values since the sisters were quite young when they lived in India. Resistance to these values took the form of childhood desires to eat like other children and dance like the Indian children around them. Class and skin colour were identified as linked and as significant markers of difference within the Anglo-Indian community. This was transferred from the Indian to the Australian environment.

In Australia, the sisters continued to identify as Anglo-Indian. However, the Anglo-Indian identity became less distinctive for the participants and even less so for their children and grandchildren. The very factors that served to distinguish the Anglo-Indian community as separate in India served to make it less distinctive in Australia, reinforcing category salience as context-specific. As already mentioned factors such as the use of the English language, western mode of dress and adherence to Christianity served to blur the identity of the Anglo-Indian community. This was further blurred if the individual was not visibly different by having darker skin or an accent. Identification as Anglo-Indian by others was problematised in the Australian environment. Lack of knowledge about Anglo-Indians by the mainstream Australian population meant that this group was not generally identified as such. Group cohesiveness broke
down as a result of the post-migration diaspora. This made it easier to distance oneself from the original identity and to explore other possibilities.

The ethnic composition in Australia also resulted in the possibility of greater interaction between Anglo-Indians and other ethnic groups. In fact, the sisters discussed in this chapter were encouraged to and chose to marry and enter into relationships with men who were not Anglo-Indian or Asian. This relationship meant an affirmation and reclaiming of the western component of their heritage. Intragroup factors determine the cohesion or otherwise of the community. People's perceptions of themselves within a category takes precedence so that there is greater potential for differences within the group.

Despite self-identification as Anglo-Indian, the sisters experienced tensions relating to the markers of identity. This was often expressed through a sense of loss and longing when discussing their experiences. They wanted to identify with people who shared their past experience in India, but did not wish to mix with them. This suggests a break from Anglo-Indian identity. They had not been encouraged to marry within the Anglo-Indian community and had ultimately married outside the community.

The responses of the sisters demonstrates the power and status relations between groups. In India, self-identification was associated with a perception that the Anglo-Indians were better than other Indian ethnic communities in terms of class. Socialisation with groups other than Anglo-Indians outside of the school environment was limited. In Australia, the partner's ethnicity played a role in determining interaction with other ethnic groups. Estrangement from the Anglo-Indian community was accompanied by an increased appreciation of the partner's ethnicity. Although there was mention of interaction with Anglo-Indian family and friends during the years soon after migration, this aspect faded away. 'Rally bashes' were organised on a yearly basis and provided an opportunity for remembering the past and their Anglo-Indian identity. Yet, they also were situations when differences between cousins were noted and, as
previously mentioned, a partner had difficulty fitting in at Anglo-Indian gatherings. Deidre mentioned that they only have one Aunt now who was not liked and concern was expressed about the future of family gatherings. It seems that the number of extended family members around the sisters had declined over the years and this was coupled with the tendency to assimilate into the mainstream Australian population. Concern that was expressed about the future of family gatherings and the loss of knowledge about Anglo-Indian background was attributed to the passage of time and to age and indicates a measure of guilt about the loss of Anglo-Indian identity. The sisters had effectively distanced themselves from the Anglo-Indian community.

Intrapersonal relationships within the Anglo-Indian community also highlighted factors that determine such status, such as skin colour and income. The difference in skin colour among the sisters served to distinguish the sister who was fair skinned from the others. This distinction was recognised by the sisters and impacted on their self-perception and identity. However, despite the status of skin colour as a subjective aspect of identity, it did not impact on the socio-economic status of the sisters. It is more related to the internalised racism that is evident in their identification of others. The sisters distinguished Anglo-Indians as being fair or dark and were more inclined to identify the former as Anglo-Indian. This conflicted directly with their experience in that one of the sisters was fair and self-identified as Anglo-Indian. They also identified their own fair children as Australian and recognised that they identified the children of dark relatives as Anglo-Indian.

The three older sisters had experienced a sense of belonging when they lived in India, albeit with some reservations, which was not shared by the youngest sister. This suggests that age contributed more significantly to a sense of belonging than other factors such as skin colour. The participants' views about belonging were influenced by their children's status as Australia-born. They all felt as if they fitted in very well with others around them. They did not however feel a sense of community with other Anglo-Indians in Australia. This was
sometimes tied in with the fact that their partners were not of Anglo-Indian background.

Although the sisters still identified as Anglo-Indian, evidence of supporting the maintenance of an Anglo-Indian community or ethnic group in Australia was not present. Identification as Anglo-Indian in India provided a source of self-enhancement, since the community considered itself 'better than' the other surrounding ethnic groups. Participants have, in their own way, undertaken an evaluation of their membership of the Anglo-Indian ethnic community. The experience of their children suggests that the value and emotional significance attached to Anglo-Indian identity has decreased, and this has implications for the way in which ethnic identity is managed and maintained by individuals.

When considering the everyday identities of Anglo-Indian women, it was agreed by the sisters that the transition from India to Australia had been difficult since the Anglo-Indian community no longer had the status in Australia that they had in India; their status in terms of class had altered. The lack of servants meant a greater burden of household chores for the mother. She had to undertake domestic tasks in Australia that had been done by servants in India. She also had to go out into the workplace; something else that she had not done in India. Neither did she always have the support of her partner who worked away for periods of time. The sisters too had 'married down'.

For the sisters, self-identification as Anglo-Indian prioritised their father's background and was also related to their location in India; their mother's Anglo-Burmese background was not incorporated directly into their self-identity. Their father's needs were given priority within the household both in India and in Australia. Gender roles were set so that the father was considered the breadwinner and the head of the household. Nevertheless, there was a system of shared decision-making in the family home in India and this continued in Australia. Patriarchal aspects of family life persisted in Australia for the participants when they first immigrated to Australia. Identity in terms of gender
roles within the family underwent change. The sisters’ lives did not mirror their mother’s experience in India. The mother’s experience also changed in that she worked outside the home in Australia. Three of the sisters worked outside the home, while the fourth assisted with her partner’s business. They were not all tied into total financial dependence on their partners. There were signs of a break from traditional mothering practices and marriage relationships.

This and the preceding chapter have been concerned with the identity of four sisters in the Indian and Australian environments. One of the main aspects of their lives, that is, the ethnicity of their partners, provides common ground with seven other participants who married non-Anglo-Indian men. The next chapter analyses the interviews of these seven women. These women raised many issues that have already been discussed in relation to the sisters. These overlapping issues will not be reiterated in the following chapter, which will focus on other aspects of their experiences and identity.

Notes:
1 'Challo' means 'let's go'.
2 'Chutputowing' refers to wasting time.
3 This was an expression used mainly by young Anglo-Indians. It did not have specific meaning other than signifying a youth identity and culture.
4 'Jheaps' refers to a slap or a whack.
5 'Kharti' rolls is a dish made of meat and Indian bread.
6 'Biryani' is another spicy rice dish.
7 In 1996, Pauline Hanson was elected as an independent member of the Australian House of Representatives. Her platform resulted in hostility toward various minority groups in Australia.
8 The word 'rely' is a colloquial term referring to relatives. A 'rely-bash' refers to a social gathering of relatives.
9 For an interesting contrast see Baldassar (1994), whose “basic premise is that the return visit is part of the migration experience. Migrants are not only expected to return, they are morally obliged to do so” (p. x).
CHAPTER SEVEN
CROSS-CULTURAL PARTNERS: IMPACT ON IDENTITY

The seven participants who are included in this chapter shared many of the life experiences of the four sisters. In particular, they shared the experience of being in relationships with non-Anglo-Indian men. However, despite this common experience there were differences in the way some of these women reacted to their environment in Western Australia compared with the four sisters. This chapter will focus on aspects that either further or reinforce the analysis thus far. The experience of ethnicity is not universal and differences in this experience point to some of the limitations of categorising groups in particular ways.

The seven participants discussed in this chapter include Sylvia who was just eight years old when she immigrated to Australia in 1947. She married an Italian man and is now retired. She has four children and many grandchildren. Sylvia's experience is important because she was the earliest immigrant to Australia, and her experience in Perth reflects the postwar changes in Australia's immigration policy and the policy of assimilation of that era. Another participant was Wilma, a veterinary nurse, who immigrated to Australia in 1970. Her husband is an immigrant from Burma and was described as Anglo-Burmese. They had no children. The third woman was Bernadette, who immigrated to Australia with her family when she was four years old in 1969. Both her parents are Anglo-Indian. She is a high school teacher, but was on leave from her job at the time of the interview, caring for her two young children. Her husband is Australian-born and a teacher by profession. Marilyn was in her mid-twenties when she immigrated in 1971. Her mother was Anglo-Indian and her father was Goan. Her parents had been separated since she was a little girl and her mother had taken care of her. When Marilyn immigrated to Australia she married an English man but is now divorced. She has two children who are in their twenties. She is a teacher’s assistant. Veronica had immigrated to Australia during the 1960s. She has no children and is married to an Australian. She is a member of a formal Anglo-Indian group and attends some of its gatherings. She is the only one in
this group to have such membership. She described her occupation as an education assistant. Ursula, like Veronica, had immigrated to Australia during the 1960s. She is an accountant and has two young children. Her current partner was born in Germany. She had previously been married to an Anglo-Indian for a brief period of time. The last person in this group was Yvette, who has three children. She has had three partners over the years and describes her occupation as a mother and student. Yvette immigrated to Australia during the 1960s as well. Yvette changed her name by deed poll in order to take on a first name that linked her more closely with her Indian background. However the name is not an Indian name.

MARRYING ‘OUT’

An area in which there was some difference between the four sisters and this case study was that of skin colour. This issue has already been shown to be significant in the lives of the four sisters in terms of their subjective identification of ethnicity. However, the sisters did not report negative experiences relating to their own skin colour, even though their father had experienced racial prejudice. However, other participants and their relatives did have experiences of racial and cultural prejudice. The paragraphs that follow discuss various aspects of skin colour and prejudice as experienced by these participants.

Sylvia, who had immigrated to Australia in 1947, experienced racial abuse as a child and still feels wary about developing relationships with white Australians. She said,

And then, when I came out here I mean I never actually thought about it that I was different. But, it was rubbed into me, I was different. And I was beaten up every day after school. There was never ... I never went home one day that I hadn't been beaten up. I had black eyes and bruises and that and that. Never.

Sylvia could remember being called a 'dirty little black bastard' and being told to 'go back to where you came from'. She also mentioned that teachers at a school...
gave her 'a very hard time' because she was not Australian. Sylvia recalled a bottle of ink being tipped over her. She also felt left out of sports groups and social groups. In identifying the reason for this ostracism, Sylvia put it down to her skin colour saying, 'Yes, but I suppose I looked more Indian then. My skin was dark. They knew that I'd come from India. They knew that.' Sylvia was classified as 'other' in Australia. These experiences affected Sylvia's pattern of socialisation over the years and plays a part in her sense of belonging in Australia.

Sylvia's experience may have influenced her choice of marriage partner; she married an Italian migrant. As a result her family came into contact with people who spoke Italian and Yugoslav. Sylvia's children became familiar with these languages and tried to use them at school. But they found that they were teased whenever they tried to use these other languages and, as Sylvia said, 'So, they stuck to English.' The cultural marker of ethnicity, that is, language, was the cause of prejudice against the children. The ethnic environment in Australia was not welcoming to either European or non-white migrants.

Another participant, Wilma, said that people made racist comments about Asians around her. When she reminded them that she was Asian they would say that they were not referring to her. 'And they're probably talking about specifically Vietnamese or something like that.' This response reflects the more recent influx of Vietnamese people in Australia. It also indicates that Wilma is not recognisable as 'other'. She referred to herself as fair skinned which may have been a contributing factor to her exclusion from the category 'Asian'. It is important to note however, that Wilma did identify as Asian herself. In this instance, Wilma resists identification with mainstream Australians and strives to identify and be identified as Asian. She is not satisfied with the identity imposed on her by others in the Australian environment.

Bernadette, who had come to Australia when she was only four years old, said that she was the fairest person in her family. However, she did recall instances
when people were racist toward her, calling her black. She found that very hurtful and feels sensitive about it. She recalled defending her brother who was very dark because he would get into fights because of people calling him black. She did feel that the situation is better now as a result of multiculturalism. She concluded, 'And I mean, really who’s an Australian in the end? But then, we were very much made to feel quite different, and like we didn’t fit in type of thing.' Her father experienced some problems:

Yes, so we were all like very anti, you know, like I say, we didn’t feel at that point that we were really a part of the community, the mainstream. I do feel that now, like a lot of people say to me, when I tell them I’m Anglo-Indian they wouldn’t know, they say, are you? We didn’t know that. We thought you were just Australian, you know. So, it’s not a problem now.

She suggests that this represents a problem for others because they do not know what she is. ‘They don’t see me as being different now. They don’t really know what I am.’ This reinforces the ways in which particular ethnicities can be rendered invisible through assimilation, without necessarily being an ethnocentric response on the part of the mainstream population, since ‘difference’ is not always visible. This lack of visibility provides a challenge for many Anglo-Indian women who do not demonstrate visible difference. They have to reconcile their heritage and background with a new environment within which these same factors do not translate into ‘difference’. Nevertheless, Bernadette perceived her assimilation as positive since her family no longer felt the same isolation that they felt when they first immigrated to Australia.

Bernadette has experienced tensions in her relationship with her Australian born husband’s mother. When her first child was born her mother-in-law would comment on the child’s fair skin comparing it with Bernadette’s darker skin. Before the baby was born comments like ‘I wonder what the baby’s going to turn out like?’ were made. This hurt Bernadette. Questions about finding the right colour foundation (cosmetic) for her skin had also been made. She also recalled feeling hurt by an incident when she was referred to as a ‘nigger’ by her sister-in-
law in a manner that could have been described as joking. Again, as suggested earlier, jokes can be indicative of tension in the social fabric.

Marilyn was in her mid twenties when she immigrated in 1971. As mentioned earlier, Marilyn's mother was Anglo-Indian and her father was Goan. The colour hierarchy that existed in the Indian environment has previously been discussed. However, Marilyn's experience of having a Goan (Indian and Portuguese ancestry) father throws further light on this issue. Marilyn suggested that Goans were generally darker than Anglo-Indians because she used to be questioned in India as she was not as dark as other Goans. She attributed this to the fact that her mother was Anglo-Indian. Her father was darker than her mother. The Goan identity was perceived as distinct from the Anglo-Indian identity since the former was linked specifically with Portuguese ancestry. This aspect of Marilyn's experience was also tied into the patriarchal notion that ethnicity is derived from the father's identity. So, she identified as Goan until such self-identification became an issue when her father started to work for the Indian government. As Marilyn said,

I think a lot of people would ask us whether we were Anglo-Indian and then we'd say we're Goan, because over there we went as Goan, because you take your father's you know, whatever he was ... I think you just did that, you know. Your father was the important figure there or something, I don't know. They said you take your nationality from your father or whatever.

The porosity and fluidity of ethnic identity is manifest in this scenario. The 'separateness' of ethnic groups becomes questionable. The patriarchal underpinnings of ethnic identity have more recently been highlighted in the Australian context. A recent article in a prominent Sydney newspaper stated:

The average university entrance score achieved by students from an Asian background was 78.9 — at least 10 percentage points higher than for students whose father was born in Australia (the study's definition of Australian background). (Noonan & Gotting, 2002, January 18)
Not only does this reaffirm the role of the father in the determination of children's ethnicity, but it also implies that country of birth determines ethnicity.

Responses to 'mixed-race' couples were important for Marilyn who had been married to an English man. Marilyn recounted incidents when other people presumed that they were not 'together'. It is reasonable to assume that visible markers such as skin colour played a major part in these incidents. The responses she described indicate that inter-racial relationships are not perceived as mainstream and are not totally accepted in Australian society.

Some of the participants in this case study experienced self-identification in different ways than did the four sisters. Marilyn talked about identifying herself as Indian in the Australian environment as did some of the other participants. This is significantly different from the responses of the sisters who self-identified as Anglo-Indian. Marilyn did this mainly because it was easier in terms of identification by others. I asked her, 'So the fact that you have that Goan heritage or that Anglo-Indian heritage isn't as important to you?' Marilyn replied,

No, over here it isn't. I guess it was important over there, but over here I think people don't know much about Goa or much about Anglo-Indians. That's why India is, like they can relate to India more as a country than all these other little things in India.

Marilyn tailored the expression of her ethnic identity to the knowledge levels in Australian society about minority ethnic groups in India. This self-labelling of ethnicity impact on the social construction of identity as immigrants adjust to the new environment and find a place within its ethnic landscape. At the same time however, Marilyn expressed a need to be acknowledged as a person aside from her ethnic identity. Marilyn's response also demonstrates an awareness of the lack of social value of the Anglo-Indian identity in the Australian environment.

Several of these participants demonstrated a marked tendency to distance themselves from their Anglo-Indian background, as did the sisters. However,
one of the participants, Veronica, describes in some detail her thinking processes relating to her interactions with other Anglo-Indians, which highlight many aspects of social identity and self-categorisation. Veronica has no children and her partner is Australian. She is a member of a formal Anglo-Indian group and attends some of its gatherings. She is the only one in this group to have such membership. She described her occupation as an education assistant.

Veronica felt less and less comfortable with Anglo-Indian people, despite her membership of a formal Anglo-Indian group. She said that this was because 'a lot of them have stayed Anglo-Indian. They haven't moved on, whereas I have.' Veronica thought that she was 'Australianised' and that eastern European or Asian people needed to 'become Australian' for her to 'be real friends with them.' She said that this would not reflect well on her, but it was the truth. Although she valued European and Asian cultures she said, 'But as a real deep-rooted friendship, I can think I can only be friendly with them if they thought like me. If they were Australianised in other words.' A shift toward mainstream culture was expressed by the shared categorical self in this instance. Veronica was suggesting a high level of assimilation. She perceived that shared patterns of thought with other Anglo-Indians no longer existed and had been replaced by such sharing with mainstream Australian people. Veronica cut herself off from Anglo-Indians and other ethnic groups if they did not conform to her perception of Australian culture.

Veronica described herself as being fair skinned. She was married to an Australian. She felt 'slighted' by Anglo-Indian people in Australia, but is not sure why. She thought that perhaps they felt threatened by her in some way or that she had 'rubbed them up' the wrong way in some way. She said that most of the Anglo-Indian women she knew were married to Anglo-Indian men, 'If you're married to an Anglo-Indian you tend to naturally go that way and just associate with Anglo-Indians.' She finds that she does not like to be with them a lot now because she feels like an alien, an outsider when she is in their company. Veronica has distanced herself from other Anglo-Indians and they have
distanced themselves from her. Intragroup processes have been activated so that differences within the group, between Veronica and other Anglo-Indians, have taken new prominence, resulting in modifications relating to self-identification for Veronica. Nevertheless, Veronica continues to be a member of a formal Anglo-Indian group, and this suggests a reticence to discard this aspect of her identity. She is managing her identity, coping with tensions and negotiating her way through her social environment.

Ursula has also been disillusioned by Anglo-Indians in Australia. Both Ursula and Veronica acknowledged the influence of their husband's ethnicity in their lives. Ursula and her husband have links with people from Germany and socialise with them. Ursula also was aware that she had adopted German values and culture. Veronica said that her husband had played an important role in developing her knowledge of the Australian lifestyle and culture.

Wilma too found the Anglo-Indian community to be 'narrow'. However, she was referring primarily to the community in India. She felt that living in another country such as Australia enabled her to see this 'narrowness' which meant their inability to mix with the Indian community and to value Indian culture. Mixing with other ethnic groups 'gives you a perspective on your beliefs, more like you can see things in a wider sense, when you mix with other people.' This move away from Anglo-Indian heritage is accompanied by a new recognition of the Indian component of this heritage. When asked about languages she spoke when she lived in India Wilma said, 'I am very, very ashamed to say that I know nothing but English'. She continued:

Mm, yeah, I suppose, I'll say why, it's because I suppose in many ways the Anglo-Indian community in India always tried to associate with the British side and therefore they dressed in western style and talked English and ate a lot of English food at home and all that sort of thing. So, therefore, the Indian languages were not given a priority or even much of a place.

This response demonstrates a respect for Indian culture. Wilma seemed to have been very influenced by her uncle (she had lived with her aunt and uncle for
most of her childhood) who self-identified as Indian although he was Anglo-Indian. He had recognised that Anglo-Indians, 'were too fond of dissociating themselves form their Indian side and adopting the other side.' Yvette, another participant, also felt regret at not having learned any Indian languages. She said that Hindi was a beautiful language and that she was discouraged from learning it as a girl in India.

Wilma, who had not had children, is able to travel, but as a result feels less anchored in Australia. She feels she is an outsider. Yvette also feels she does not belong in Australia, but for different reasons. She feels like a foreigner even though she lives in close proximity to a range of other ethnicities in state housing. She finds she has limited privacy and finds this environment a little threatening.

As in the previous case study, these women reflect a tendency toward a weakening adherence to institutionalised religion. But some of these women have developed an interest in eastern religions. Yvette was drawn toward eastern religions, with Indian culture taking on a new status; far above what it had been accorded in the Indian environment. Yvette described her own mother's attitude, who was 'obsessed with being white and being Western and rejected everything Indian.' This reinforces previous findings about racist attitudes of Anglo-Indians toward Indian people.

The shift in thinking with respect to religion in particular, I suggest, is more a recognition of other ways of living and being rather than a shift toward the Indian component of the Anglo-Indian heritage. It may also be an indication of the impact of the New Age Movement on religious thought. This is a significant development however, because 'India' takes on new meaning in the lives of these participants. India is no longer associated with difference that implies impurity, but with a difference that implies exoticism and lifestyle. The new perspective is more in line with a white, western view of India as 'other'. 'Otherness' is not a
homogenous or static entity. It is fluid, dynamic and constructed through social and economic circumstances.

Veronica talked about being asked to explain aspects of the Indian culture. She said, ‘And actually I’m ashamed to say that in a lot of cases I can’t, because they’re asking about the Indian culture and I don’t know a lot about the Indian culture. Isn’t that a shame to say? It’s very sad.’ The sense of shame that Veronica expresses here is indicative of a more critical appraisal of Anglo-Indian identity. Wilma also regretted the western bias in her life in India:

I have to say I’m Anglo-Indian, because yeah, because it is both. I mean I was born in India, I never knew England. And yet, we were, because of the way we kept ourselves separate from the Indian community and know so little about the religions and the language and the customs and everything, that I can’t say I’m Indian. And I feel I’ve missed out for that, for not having known more. But when I look back on it now, I know that we, you know, we made that niche for ourselves, the Anglo-Indian community, and yet it was such a fragile thing and we were so insular, and cut ourselves off from so much that we could have experienced.

In effect, many Anglo-Indians had rejected the country in which they had been born and raised and the shame of this is now being recognised. These participants are responding to the racist and ethnocentric views of their predecessors, which led to identification with the coloniser and not the colonised.

Some of the participants spoke about the social isolation they felt in Australia. In India, living arrangements allowed for a high degree of interaction between families and other people generally. As Veronica said,

You’re more like a part of a very large community that helps each other and you tend to know everybody, whereas here you’re thrown into this big wide world of Australia and no one knows ... You, you hardly ever know your next door neighbour in a lot of cases.
This would have been particularly important for women who may not have worked outside the home soon after immigration and suggests that kin groups and community contact was important in India. Four of these women had returned to India since migration. Three were primarily interested in visiting family who had been left behind and the fourth wanted to see India again.

Wilma suggested that her family immigrated to Australia mainly because of the future of the boys in the family. With reference to the girls she said, 'It's because you get married and get looked after by your husband, whereas the boys are the ones who have to provide for the family.' This issue of privileging sons' futures over daughters' did not arise in the previous discussion, as the four sisters did not have brothers.

Bernadette was conscious of her career and was empowered by the thought that she did not fit the image of the stereotypical Australian woman as subservient and independent. She taught in a male dominated area quite successfully and felt that this made her different from the stereotypical images of Australia women.

CONCLUSIONS
This chapter has incorporated the responses of seven participants. Like the four sisters they married non-Anglo-Indian men. With the exception of one participant all were in relationships with men of various European ethnicities. The exception was Wilma who was married to a man of Anglo-Burmese descent. For these women, as with the sisters, the transition from the Indian to the Australian environment had significant consequences for identity.

The weakening of Christianity as a marker of Anglo-Indian identity that was manifested in the sisters' lives in the Australian context was extended in this chapter through an interest in eastern religions. This extension is indicative of a paradigm shift in relation to Anglo-Indian identity. Christianity has always been a cornerstone of this identity and the new regard for eastern religions subverts this core aspect of Anglo-Indian identity. Intragroup processes take on greater
significance since there is a greater degree of difference within the group in terms of religion. The fluidity and dynamism of the concept of ‘otherness’ also came to the fore.

Self-identification in India was broadly similar to the sisters’ experiences. However, there was an indication that even in India, multiple self-identifications were possible. One of the participants, Marilyn, identified as Goan and also as Anglo-Indian when she lived in India. This was a reflection of local and national politics. However, the Goan identity also can be referred to as ‘mixed-race’ since it refers to Portuguese and Indian ancestry. The impact of context on identity is evident here. In Australia, these women continued to self-identify as Anglo-Indian. However, some of them chose to also identify as Indian in order to conform to the ways in which others identified them. As indicated, at times women who emigrate from India are labelled ‘Indian’. Although the sisters had recognised the lack of knowledge in Australian society about the Anglo-Indian community in India, they did not identify as Indian. However, some of these participants were prepared to do so. Wilma did not exhibit markers that identified her as ‘other’. Nevertheless, she wished to be identified as ‘Asian’. The tailoring of expressions of self-identity to conform to public knowledge about minority ethnic groups can contribute to reducing the profile of these same groups even further. This tailoring of self-identification is indicative of the fluidity of ethnic identity. It suggests that Anglo-Indian women cater for the contexts from which other people speak. It is an indication of adaptability and of the ability to manage identity. This phenomenon also reflects the limitations of terms used to categorise groups of people.

The political context within which migration occurs has a marked impact on identity and feelings of belonging. The political upheaval in India at the time of Indian independence and the implications of policies of Indianisation had impacted on the status of Anglo-Indians in the Indian context. In Australia, the impact of changes in immigration policy and the dismantling of the White Australia policy had implications for identity and belonging among Anglo-
Indians, as would have been the case for many other groups as well. The date of arrival in Australia impacted on the participants’ experiences since some arrived in Australia when Australian society was less receptive to non-British immigrants. This influenced interactions with other ethnic groups and notions of belonging. Individuals who experienced prejudice during their early years in Australia now feel less threatened in this manner. This may indicate a growing acceptance in the mainstream community of ‘difference’. It may also be indicative of a decrease in levels of difference exhibited by individuals as they become familiar with their new environment and accommodate themselves to it in terms of accent, dress and other cultural markers.

Physical and cultural markers served to identify some people as ‘other’ and therefore, as members of ‘outgroups’ in the Australian environment. Skin colour plays a role in terms of identification by others and in terms of ‘belonging’ in Australia. This case study indicates that decreased recognition as an ethnic group does not imply a decrease in recognition of difference. Women were identified as ‘other’ without being identified as Anglo-Indian. Skin colour also has implications for the status of ‘mixed-race’ couples; an issue that was raised by a participant as being unresolved in the Australian environment.

Some of the participants in this chapter were aware of the racist implications of Anglo-Indian identity. The evidence supporting the racist attitudes of older Anglo-Indians toward Indians is countered by one of the participants whose uncle, when she was a child in India, had identified as Indian. The awareness of the racist implications of Anglo-indian identity was expressed through an increased respect for Indian culture and feelings of shame for a past that denigrated the Indian aspect of their heritage. It is reasonable to suggest that such awareness leads to an interest in negotiating identities that do not espouse racist tendencies. Such an interest may possibly contribute to a rejection of Anglo-Indian identity, which was forged through a rejection of Indian ancestry. This awareness opens a door to negotiating and reshaping identity in a self-conscious manner. Interpersonal social behaviour takes precedence over
intergroup social behaviour. However, despite the awareness of racist implications in their identities, there is no indication that Anglo-Indian women have sought relationships with Indian immigrants in Australia. Social distance from Indian communities is maintained, suggesting that intergroup differences between Anglo-Indians and Indian ethnic communities are still important.

There is evidence of a rejection of Anglo-Indian identity in the previous and present case studies despite continued self-identification as Anglo-Indian. This distancing from Anglo-Indian identity may be related to the awareness of racism within it. It has also been paralleled with recognition of the value of 'India' as part of the Anglo-Indian heritage. The blurring of Anglo-Indian identity in Australia is furthered through recognition of the lack of social value assigned to the Anglo-Indian identity. Negotiation and reshaping of identity is evident in the high levels of assimilation exhibited by some of the seven participants discussed in this chapter and the four sisters as well. Assimilation represents one path taken by Anglo-Indian women; others were inclined to take on aspects of their partner's ethnicity. However, this group of seven participants also expressed a greater sense of not fitting into Australian society. They articulate an ambivalence, a cosmopolitan approach to identity.

Negative stereotypes that were imposed on Anglo-Indian women and on Anglo-Indians as an ethnic group in the Indian environment were no longer of consequence in the Australian environment. The attribution of negative behavioural traits to 'half-caste' people such as Anglo-Indians was not an issue in Australia as it had been in India. There was not an awareness of this stereotype and therefore the participants were not subjected to it in their new environment. Although there was evidence of prejudice as a result of skin colour in Australia, for Anglo-Indians it was not as a result of being 'half-caste'. Instead it related to Australia's racist history. If Anglo-Indians look or sound different, they are classified as 'other' and 'migrant' in Australia.
The seven participants who had been discussed in this chapter demonstrate that ethnic identity is dynamic. There is significant evidence that these individuals manage and negotiate their identities just as the sisters did. The next chapter analyses the responses of women who were married to Anglo-Indian men, and will highlight the role of these partners in the participants' ethnic identity and other related factors.

Notes:

1 Yvette's decision to change her name in this way is indicative of the nostalgia she feels for India. As a child she had lived in McCluskiegunj, the Anglo-Indian colony that has already been discussed in Chapter One. She had fond memories of the flora and fauna of the region and the freedom of movement in the colony that she had experienced. Yvette's experience and response is unique among the participants.

2 Carton (2000) comments on the ambiguity of the identity of individuals of various European origins, citing that Goans, who have Portuguese ancestry, are not always classified as Anglo-Indian, as in this instance.
CHAPTER EIGHT
INTRA-CULTURAL PARTNERS: IMPACT ON IDENTITY

This chapter focuses on seven participants who were in relationships with Anglo-Indian men. All these women were sixteen or older at the time of migration. Only four of the other nineteen participants arrived in Australia at the age of sixteen or older. The remaining participants were under this age at the time of migration, or were born in Australia or had experienced multiple migrations. This suggests that migration at the age of sixteen or seventeen may have represented a pivotal stage in terms of choice of partner for Anglo-Indian women. Four of the seven women in this case study had married in India. The significance of this group lies in the potential impact of their Anglo-Indian partners on the participants' identities. This and other relevant aspects of analysis relating to identity will be raised in this chapter.

These women share many characteristics in common with other Anglo-Indian women in this study. Their self-identity was not based directly on heritage, but was influenced by social and economic factors. They too identified strongly as Anglo-Indian in the Indian environment. Their interactions with other ethnic groups in India reflected similar group identities. The transition to the Australian environment in terms of housework and childrearing was similar to that experienced by the other participants as well.

However, there were differences in relation to patterns of ethnic interaction in the Australian environment. Food and religion, as markers of Anglo-Indian identity, played a greater role than in the previous case studies. These differences can be, at least partly, attributed to the influence of Anglo-Indian partners. There was also little indication of longing and nostalgia among this group, suggesting that their ethnic identity was more active than in the lives of other participants. They were less prone to distance themselves from their Anglo-Indian heritage and background. The impact of phenotypical markers on
Identity, both in the Indian and Australian environments, was evident among these participants as well.

The participants demonstrated a greater tendency to identify as Indian and Anglo-Indian. In some instances, their children showed a greater tendency to self-identify as Anglo-Indian. Although they emphasised parenting issues, identifying such issues as cultural and as part of their ethnic identity, they critised the patriarchal aspects of parenting that they had experienced as children. These participants reiterated the positive impact of migration in the lives of Anglo-Indian women in terms of gender and career prospects. All these factors are discussed in this chapter.

The participants in this case study include Kate who was born in 1950 and immigrated to Australia in 1973. Her father was an accountant in India and eventually worked for the Indian government. Kate's parents and grandparents were Anglo-Indian. She had two Australian born children, aged fifteen and twenty-nine years, the older being a stepdaughter. Kate's husband was Anglo-Indian. They had both immigrated to Australia separately and had not known each other in India. Kate came to Australia in 1973, while her husband came out with his previous wife during the late 1960s. He now works as a welder (foreman), and Kate is a teacher, as was her mother.

Lorena was born in 1955 and immigrated to Australia in 1972. On her father's side, Lorena's grandfather came to India from England. He married an Anglo-Burmese woman. Lorena did not know a lot about her mother who died when she was five years old. She mentioned that her mother was of English descent and that there was more 'English blood' on her side of the family. Lorena was adamant about identifying as Anglo-Indian even though she said that there was no Indian in her background. Her father's second wife is Anglo-Indian. Lorena's partner is Anglo-Indian. He immigrated to Australia in 1969 when he was about 19 years old and married Lorena later. He originally worked as a diesel fitter although now he does clerical work in the area of sales. Lorena works as a
domestic and her children were fourteen and twelve years old at the time of the interview.

Odette was born in 1946 and immigrated to Australia in 1971. Her husband is Anglo-Indian. He is an engineer. Odette described her job as 'personal assistant'. She has two children in their twenties; both live at home. She and her husband are members of a formal Anglo-Indian group and often socialise within it.

Patsy was born in 1945 and immigrated to Australia in 1968. Patsy's husband is Anglo-Indian. He has quite a senior position in a government department as a systems analyst. When in India, he had worked as a welder. They did not come to Australia together. Patsy described her occupation as 'Co-ordinator, Human Services'. She has two Australian-born teenage children. She is a member of a formal Anglo-Indian group and attends most of its functions.

Nancy was born in 1931 and immigrated to Australia in 1963. Her father was Irish and her mother was Anglo-Indian. Nancy's husband is Anglo-Indian. He experienced a dramatic change in status in Australia. He had worked in a supervisory capacity as a foreman in India, but in Australia, he worked as a tradesman. Both Nancy and her husband are now retired. They have six adult children, the youngest of whom was born in Australia. They are members of a formal Anglo-Indian group and attend many of the meetings and functions of the group.

Rose was born in 1942 and immigrated to Australia in 1977. She mentioned Indian, Portuguese, Anglo-Indian and Irish in her ancestry. She recalled having to speak Portuguese when visiting one set of her grandparents. Rose's late husband was Anglo-Indian and she remarried an Anglo-Indian. She has three adult children and describes herself as 'self-employed'. Although she is not a member of any formal Anglo-Indian group she attends some functions that they organise.
The final woman in this group was Maggie. She was born in 1932 and immigrated to Australia in 1969. Her husband is Anglo-Indian and she has four adult children and grandchildren. All her children were born in India. Maggie's grandparents on her mother's side were Irish and Anglo-Indian. On her father's side she can remember that her grandmother was Anglo-Indian. She was keen to establish the European side of her ancestry and said,

I do remember my maternal grandad, he was definitely Irish. His name also suggested it, he was a [Irish surname], and he was fair, and he had blue eyes and black hair. I remember that. I was a child. My mum was, she's passed away now, she was very fair with auburn hair and hazel eyes.

Maggie's husband had an engineering background and worked in Australia in the car manufacturing industry. He had been a factory manager in India and had experienced a drop in status in terms of work in Australia. Maggie and her husband are now retired.

INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS
This group of participants demonstrated an increased tendency to interact with other Anglo-Indian people in the Australian environment. This contrasts with the experience of women who were married to non-Anglo-Indian men.

Interaction that occurred between the participants and other ethnic groups was characterised by significant differences between the social/home and workplace environments. Participants who were still in the workforce said that they were in contact with a wide range of ethnic groups in the workplace and this reflects the experiences of women in the previous case study. However, unlike those women, their home/social life brought them into contact with many Anglo-Indian people. As Kate said,

But I must say with regard to social life, most of the social life is with Anglo-Indians, with other Anglo-Indians. Very few er, Australians. Unless it's a work, a work social, a work 'do'. Then that is mostly Australian and I fit in very well.
Although there was mention of extended family relationships while they were living in India, this was not transferred into the Australian environment. Lorena and Odette also had predominantly Anglo-Indian friends. Patsy socialised with people from a wide range of ethnic groups including many Anglo-Indians. Nancy mentioned that she socialised mainly with Australians and Anglo-Indians. Rose mentioned that although she had Australian and English friends, she felt most comfortable with her Anglo-Indian friends. Finally, Maggie said that she had a few Anglo-Indians friends. These women had a relatively high level of involvement in formal Anglo-Indian organisations. Four of the seven participants were members of such organisations and took an active role in them. In contrast, only one other participant in this study had such membership, and, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, this involvement was fraught with tension. All the participants in this group had visited India since migration unlike the previous case study where four of the seven had done so.

There is no indication of the nostalgia expressed by 'the four sisters' about the lack of other Anglo-Indian friends in their lives. Only Odette mentioned that if she thought people were from India she would approach them and talk to them about it. Any need that the other participants may have for interaction with individuals of similar background was met in their lives. Self-identification as Anglo-Indian may be reinforced through living with another Anglo-Indian adult.

This difference in the lives of these seven participants indicates that it is likely that having an Anglo-Indian partner results in greater interaction with other Anglo-Indian people and that kin networks reinforce ethnic identity. It indicates that age is a factor that influences maintenance of Anglo-Indian identity. Older immigrants are more likely to maintain Anglo-Indian identity. This also suggests that perhaps historical markers of Anglo-Indian identity may prevail more strongly among this group of participants and self-identification as Anglo-Indian may be more prevalent. The following section follows this line of discussion.
CULTURAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY

Responses relating to markers of identity such as mode of dress, language and accent showed similarities with those of other participants. There was also some indication of knowledge of Indian languages, even though English was the only language spoken in the home. Nancy mentioned that she knew Tamil very well and was able to understand it when others spoke it. Participants’ responses indicate that food and religion played an important role in the maintenance of Anglo-Indian identity in the Australian environment. This contrasted with the responses of other participants for whom religion and food had fallen away as markers of Anglo-Indian identity.

Indian styles of food were prepared more often in these households. Kate said that she had to cook curry and rice now because her husband wanted it. ‘In Australia, well my husband likes his rice and curry. So, that is something that I've got to cook, and it's mostly rice and curry.’ However, she herself did not feel a need to eat Indian food. Her husband’s preferences ensured that this marker of identity prevailed in the home. Although Lorena cooked a variety of styles of food, she said that she cooked mainly Indian food. When she entertained, it was mainly with Indian food as well. Curry and rice was Nancy and her husband’s favourite meal too. Odette’s husband always liked to have Indian food.

Husbands play a significant role in maintaining this cultural marker of identity, by expecting their wives to cater for their tastes. There is a greater preparedness to acknowledge the importance of Indian food in their lives, which then serves to perpetuate this as a marker of ‘Anglo-Indian’ identity.

Religion, in the form of Christianity, was more important in the lives of these participants than in other participants’ lives. All seven participants identified it as being important. Most of them still practice their religion, although Lorena, who works on weekends, finds it difficult to attend church on Sundays.
There were some general, though significant comments made by these seven participants about the impact of their partners in their lives, which support the analysis thus far. Kate felt that coming from the same background meant that she did not have to 'venture too far out' of what she was used to. She felt there was a connection because they both had the same cultural background. She said that they had the same values; ate the same food; and had the same religion. Lorena expressed similar sentiments. She said that it made life a 'lot easier' for her. She and her husband had an understanding of each other's needs as a result of having similar backgrounds. As Kate said,

I'm not quite sure that if I had married Australian or somebody from another culture, I'm not quite sure whether I would feel that it's, especially being married to an Australian. If I had married a Malaysian or somebody from an eastern country, like er, I might have felt [pause] more comfortable than marrying somebody from a western, total western. Because I am more, I am more accustomed to the Indian, rather than the western way, although the western ways did play quite an important role in our lives. I think in that respect I feel more comfortable.

Lorena also felt uncertain about the option of marrying an Australian man. When asked to identify some of the eastern ways in her life, Kate mentioned 'the culture, the food that we eat, we, the way we relate to people, the way we greet people, respect.' She said that her values were different from Australian values, especially in terms of the family. She felt that, in Australia, 'family life takes a second place, whereas in India, it's different. Families are important; they take priority. Whereas in Australia I can't see it.' Maggie too talked about respect shown for elders by use of terms like aunt and uncle, rather than children referring to adults by first names. She saw this as being a cultural issue and said that it was one thing that she wished had continued in Australia. Odette said that being of the same cultural background certainly helped, but this was not something they thought about a lot. Patsy said that she and her husband think alike in lots of ways. She also mentioned that they like the same sort of food.
Let me add that one of the participants from the previous case study, Ursula, who was married to a German man, had a different perspective on this situation. She immigrated to Australia when she was sixteen years old. Her first husband had been Anglo-Indian. She said that she should never have married him because they were 'poles apart'. This is in stark contrast to the perceptions of women who are in continuing relationships with Anglo-Indian men. In Ursula's case, it seems that common ethnic identity did not overcome other relationship issues. Another possibility is that she wished to distance herself from Anglo-Indian identity, which may have been difficult to achieve with an Anglo-Indian husband.

Although the evidence from these few examples is not conclusive, it suggests that choice of partner is an indicator of identity. Those women with Anglo-Indian husbands tend to be less assimilationist in their lifestyles and attitudes towards identity. They maintain a stronger sense of difference from mainstream Australia not only within their domestic lives, but in their values. Shared ethnic identity with partners was important to these participants.

**BELONGING**

When in India, all seven participants had self-identified as Anglo-Indian. The motivation for this strong and distinct identity has already been discussed. This sense of identity was carried over to Australia for these women. The distancing of the self from Anglo-Indian identity or from other Anglo-Indians in the Australian environment is not evident among these women.

Kate now identifies herself as Indian. She said, 'Indian. Not as Anglo-Indian. I identify myself as an Indian because that's where we come from. My passport says Indian, not Anglo-Indian.' However, Kate added that if people asked her further questions about her identity she then explained that 'our ancestors did have, we did have European ancestry.' She expanded on this saying,

Well, I'm quite happy to call myself Indian. I'm not unhappy about it because that's what I am. I am an Indian. Although we do have European
ancestry, because that's where I was born, that's where I was brought up.

And I will expand if I'm asked.

However, she said that she did not have negative feelings about being Anglo-Indian because, as she said, 'as a culture we've got to sort of form some sort of group.' She implied that people in Australia generally could not differentiate between Indians and Anglo-Indians, which concurred with the experience of the four sisters:

Generally the questions are, where are you from? It is not are you an Anglo-Indian or an Indian? They don't, they don't know what an Anglo-Indian is and what an Indian is. So, they will ask you, what country are you from? I'm from India, you know.

This comment reaffirms the blurring of Anglo-Indian identity and its lack of social relevance in the Australian environment.

Kate was happy to be identified as Indian, however she was not prepared to identify or be identified as Hindu or Muslim. She said,

I come from India, so I must be cast as an Indian, you know. I mean, I, I will object to anybody saying, first question they ask me, Are you a Hindu? Well, then I will say, No, I am not. Because I don't relate to being a Hindu. I don't relate to being a Muslim, you know. But I do relate to being an Indian. So that is my er ... I know what you mean, cos I know there are some people who will never say they are Indian, they are always Anglo-Indians.

Kate's response is significant because she relates to being 'Indian'. However, she also indicates that she differentiates between religions quite strongly. This may reflect the strength of her religion in her life, which as previously indicated, has continued to be a significant marker of Anglo-Indian identity for these women in the Australian environment. Kate's identification as Indian is more than mere avoidance of being obliged to explain the Anglo-Indian identity to others. It is a genuine identification justified through birth in India having lived in India.

However, this identification is not based on ancestry and does not seem to acknowledge it. She is Indian only because she comes from India. We see here
another indication of the lack of relevance of ancestry for self-identification purposes.

Lorena’s experience had many intersections with that of Kate because she too came to refer to herself as Indian. When she first came to Australia Lorena used to say that she was Anglo-Indian. She said,

If an Australian person was to ask me who, what I am, I just tell them I’m an Indian. Because it’s too much to go into, to try and explain so some people what an Anglo-Indian is, who an Anglo-Indian is. Some of them do understand, and straight away they’ll come back to me and say, ‘You’re not Indian. You must be Anglo-Indian. And I said, yes I am. We did, you know, and I said, because it’s so much easier to say that we’re Indian because, really, born and brought up in India.

This is the first and only indication of knowledge of Anglo-Indian identity in Australia. It is particularly interesting since Lorena did not have any Indian ancestry. Again, factors other than ancestry predominate in determining ethnicity.

As stated earlier in this chapter Lorena had no Indian ancestry. She made this quite clear to me during the interview. Despite this, she identified very strongly and adamantly as Anglo-Indian. Lorena’s Burmese ancestry allowed access to this ethnic identity and reflects the diverse origins of the Anglo-Indian community. When asked about her identity Lorena said, ‘Well, we grew up as Anglo-Indians. Oh yes, I always do, I mean, I don’t really, I’m an Anglo-Indian as far as I know I am an Anglo-Indian.’ Lorena’s responses are significant because they reinforce the contention that ancestry is less of a determinant of ethnicity than other factors. Context and environment take precedence and the individual exercises agency in managing her identity.

Lorena’s identification as Anglo-Indian was also demonstrated in her observation that other Anglo-Indians tried to ‘pass’ as other ethnicities. She mentioned an Anglo-Indian woman at her workplace who did not identify
herself as Anglo-Indian. This colleague used her Irish husband's surname to justify this. Lorena recognised this and said to her, 'Well, you're the first black Irishwoman I've met' (laughs). It seems that although the women who participated in this research were happy to self-identify in some way as Anglo-Indian, there were others who avoided such self-identification.

Not all these women felt comfortable identifying with their birthplace rather than their ethnicity. Rose was affronted when described as Indian. She had noticed that her children were sometimes referred to as Indian. She told a story of her daughter's English friend who referred to her as 'this Indian lady with her daughter [name]' when he did not realise she could hear him. Rose said, 'But I didn't correct him you know, it's a bit hard for me. He's one of my daughter's friends.' She thought that 'by now, they would understand what kind of Indian we are.' Rose wanted to be identified as Anglo-Indian; she was not happy to be identified as Indian. She still differentiated clearly between those two categories. Greater acceptance of Indian ancestry does not necessarily imply a decreased identification with Anglo-Indian identity.

The experience outlined above also demonstrates that the self as 'known' continues to be a source of discomfort for Anglo-Indian women; identification by others is problematic. The following anecdote told by Lorena confirms this issue and its basis in people's assumptions about skin colour, language and other cultural markers of identity:

So, um, like dad's greatest joke was, when they asked him here, because being so dark, when he first came he went to [name of location] to work on the oil rigs. And they couldn't understand why, how he had such good command of the English language. And er, one of his greatest jokes was, "Don't you know I had an air hostess to teach me in the aeroplane" (both laugh).

She also mentioned her father's surname, which was western saying, 'So therefore they couldn't understand where such a name like [name] came to such a black man' (laughs).
The significance of surnames for Anglo-Indian identity emerges as an important aspect of identity. Indian women married to British men and later Anglo-Indian men took on their husband’s surname. This demonstrated the gendered nature of Anglo-Indian identity. In India, the use of western first names was also an important aspect of Anglo-Indian identity. In the Australian environment, these names are not distinctive and contribute to the blurring of Anglo-Indian identity.

The issue of skin colour was identified in the last chapter as being important in the Indian environment. Subjective judgments about status within the Anglo-Indian community persist in this case study. This is reinforced clearly in this case study. Even as a little girl in India, Lorena remembered that skin colour was an issue for some relatives:

I was very much aware of an issue as a child, because in our family we’ve got blonde hair, blue eyed, really white cousins, and we’ve got, like my sister who’s really dark skinned, and it was like you know, there was always much made, even amongst the cousins, I mean in that generation, I mean, they’re older cousins to me. I’m talking about my dad’s first cousins OK? So, even amongst them, there was always sort of a, how to put it now, [pause] oh yes, “she’s blue-eyed and blonde hair” and this that and the other. O she was you know like, she thought herself better than some of the others.

She continued:

And then you always got the Anglo-Indians who were fairer, with the lighter hair and blue eyes who thought they were always more superior, or whatever, to the other Anglo-Indians. But it wasn’t really very true at all. I mean, as far as I’m concerned, to me, everybody’s a human being.

So, skin colour was identified as a sign of status within the Anglo-Indian community.

When asked whether skin colour had an impact in Patsy’s life in any way, she responded:
Oh yes. And it did to the extent that, again it comes from the elders. OK. We hear, as I was growing up hear things like, “So and so’s going to marry so and so. Oh, their children are going to be fair ... Oh their children are gonna, they’re gonna have grey eyes like the father.” And you know, this was the thing. It was good to marry a lighter skin than yourself ... That was approved ... OK. It didn’t matter if so-and-so, so-and-so didn’t finish Senior Cambridge. “Doesn’t matter my girl, they’ll have fair children.” And that was very real.

Racist aspects of Anglo-Indian identity are especially identified in the lives of older Anglo-Indians, and younger women are aware of this. Patsy recognised that skin colour was perceived to be a stronger indicator of socio-economic status than class indicators such as education level and income within the Anglo-Indian community. It follows that in India there was social pressure to move closer to this 'white' ideal and marriage provided one avenue to achieve this. It is significant that Wilma was the only participant married to an individual who was not of Anglo-Indian or European heritage; her husband was Anglo-Burmese.

Nancy recalled feeling self-conscious of her skin colour before leaving India:

Towards the end I did feel a bit, because er, once I went in a bus and I heard, I knew Tamil very well and I heard one of the women there saying, “See the white woman had to come in the bus now”, you know.

She also remembered taking her children out to buy shoes before coming to Australia:

And a busload of university students passed and they whistled and you know, really went off and I said “Thank God I’m taking these girls out from this country”, you know (Erica laughs).

I suggested to Nancy that this might be a case of young kids being foolish, to which she responded, 'But I just felt because we were light-skinned or something and they were dresses, you know.' Skin colour was a significant marker of identity, both in the Anglo-Indian communities and in the wider
Indian community. Nancy and her children were recognised as different because of their 'light' skin and also because of their mode of dress, which, as has already been indicated, marked the Anglo-Indian community as distinctive when they were in the Indian environment. It also needs to be acknowledged that wearing western clothes can signify sexual immorality to individuals in the Indian environment.

During the interview with Patsy she referred to her cousin who had visited Australia from Goa. She described her cousin as very intelligent, outgoing and as being 'dark-skinned'. After her cousin returned to India Patsy commented on her cousin's good qualities to an older relative. This relative responded to Patsy by focusing on the cousin's dark skin. Patsy found this unacceptable. The desire for 'whiteness' on the part of the older relative is articulated and acknowledged in this instance. Only one of the participants, Rose, thought that colour was not an issue in India. This comment did not correlate with other responses.

In Australia, the issue of skin colour and visible difference had not had a marked impact on the lives of 'the four sisters' other than their father's experience of discrimination that was not uncovered until after his death. They had found it difficult to understand his experience. However, it had a more obvious and definite impact on the lives of other participants. Maggie, another one of the participants, said that people recognised her as being different because of her skin colour and accent. Lorena maintained that prejudice does and did exist in Australia when she first immigrated:

It does. It does exist. I know it exists. I experienced it very much when I came to Australia, in the first couple of years or so. Things have got better over the years, but in 1972 I can honestly say when I came to Australia, it was terrible.

The interview continued in the following manner, revealing much about prejudice in the Australian environment:

Erica: For you personally?
Lorena: Oh, for me personally, for me. I have had people in the shop turn around and say, "I don't want that nigger to serve me. How dare that nigger look in my bag?" And my manageress has come up and said, "Well, if you don't want the nigger to serve you, well get out of the shop. Because 'the nigger' is employed here and she will serve everybody who goes through the checkout and if you don't like it you can leave."

Erica: Well it would have been nice for you to have that support.

Lorena: Oh, she was wonderful, you know. She was really wonderful, on that. And then when I went to the city a couple of times, they didn't want me to serve them because I was a 'wog'. I've been called all sorts (laughs). You know, whatever came to mind, I was it. "Black bloody foreigner".

Erica: You were different.

Lorena: I was different. I was a foreigner. And I am a foreigner [italics added]. And I suppose you know, but fortunately for me, wherever I worked they were always told that if they didn't like it they could leave and not to come in there, just leave the groceries behind and walk out, sort of thing, you know. Oh, I was, I must say I was fortunate in that respect then, because we had other Indian, we had another Anglo-Indian girl working with us and she was even darker than I was. So, I mean if they were going to make a ...

Erica: And I mean you're not exactly, I wouldn't call you dark (laughs).

Lorena: Exactly (laughs).

Erica: Yeah, at all. Amazing.

Lorena: It is, very amazing. Maybe because I, I mean a lot of people mistake me for being Chinese of Singaporean.

Erica: Because of your eyes?
Lorena: Or Malaysian or something, maybe because of my eyes. So maybe that they saw past the colour, that they could see that there was you know.

Erica: Something there. And that's the Burmese isn't it?

Lorena: I would say so. About a year ago or so, I was going to work one day, in the morning, and minding my own business, and up the stairs and down the stairs at the [name] railway station and this fellow went past me. He grumbles, mumbles something to himself, and I just moved aside and said let him go, you know. And he got to the bottom of the steps and turned around and said, "If I had a bloody gun, I'd shoot all you bloody Asians." And I thought, "Sugar me dad." And I was the only one there beside him and I thought, no, I don't need this. I'm not catching the train any more, and I never caught the train again, other than to work. Never.

The above conversation is important to this study for many reasons. The racial prejudice Lorena experienced was not a result of being identified as Anglo-Indian. It came about because of the shape of her eyes, which identified her as 'other'; as a foreigner. Incidents of prejudice or racism that participants experienced were not as a result of being identified as Anglo-Indian. They resulted from being identified as 'different' and as 'other' and sometimes as Asian. This reiterates the lack of knowledge about Anglo-Indians in Australia. It is also significant that Lorena still feels like a foreigner, despite feeling that she belongs in Australia now. This suggests that there are other positive aspects about her life in Australia that influence decisions about her identity. This evaluation of the positive and negative aspects of her identity in Australia had been undertaken by other participants who had negative experiences as well. They negotiated and managed their identities to accommodate these tensions and inconsistencies.

Visible difference led to the prejudice that Lorena experienced. Although skin colour was not a factor in this racial incident, it was a factor in other situations.
that Lorena described. She spoke of the Australian family who took her in when her father and stepmother forced her out of their home:

And I stayed with them for a little while. But then unfortunately what happened was, they were lovely people. I hold them very dear, in a, you know, they’re very special people to me. And, but their daughter who worked with me, she got friendly with an Anglo-Indian boy, and they didn’t like that because he was dark. I was acceptable because I’m fairer skinned. But when she started bringing [name of boy] home, it was not on. Lorena went on to say that she could not bring her friends back to their home. When one of her Anglo-Indian friends visited the family would ‘just go away into their rooms’. They responded in the same way to Lorena’s sister. But Lorena noticed that if another relative who was fair visited, the family would buzz around her, making her cups of tea and entertaining her. I asked Lorena: ‘And when did you associate the situation with colour? Were you aware of it at the time?’ She responded:

Oh, I was very aware of it at the time. But I had nowhere else to go, so I couldn’t very well, and also there was also a bit of a guilt complex in the sense that these people were so good to take me in when I had nowhere to go. How do I turn around and tell them that I can’t stay with them any more. But then things started getting really bad with the daughter and this boyfriend. And I sort of got blamed for it for some reason.

Rose also recounted an experience in Australia that she linked to the issue of skin colour. A car driven by a white woman had knocked down her daughter:

We went to the hospital. My daughter was on the table, we were waiting for the doctor to come. And I was standing at the side of her, and there was this nurse, white nurse, and she completely ignored me and my daughter and she was worried about the lady who had knocked us down. She was running around getting her to sit on the lounge, giving her a cup of tea and this got up my nose you know. I went to her and I said, “What do you need, do you need to be white to get some attention around this place?”
Rose linked the responses she received with skin colour. Rose also felt that some of her friends whose children are darker skinned than her own have been treated like Aborigines, 'and they always treat Aborigines like you know, third class citizens, you know.' She also said,

And there's another thing, you know, sometimes the way people treated you, it's very subtle, but because you're educated enough you just don't take umbrage. No, I mean a lot of the times, you just think well, if that person's ignorant they can wallow in their ignorance, and you just move on yourself.

The experiences of dark skinned women and the treatment of Indigenous Australians are linked in this quote. It is not ethnicity but skin colour that evokes prejudice; visible markers of identity take precedence over ethnicity.

Some participants identified themselves as being fair skinned. This applied to Nancy who said that when they were moving into a house after arriving in Australia, the neighbours were told that an Indian family was going to live there. After the neighbour saw Nancy he went back into his own home and told his wife that Nancy was as white as she was. She was not as 'different' as he had expected and he certainly did not expect her to be white. This reinforces the identity of Anglo-Indians as having various skin colours, which contributes to the way in which they are identified by others in Australia.

Lorena suggested that increased levels of education and travel opportunities have resulted in Australians being more accepting of difference. Patsy too felt that people were more accepting of difference in Australia now:

In Australia, I think because er, er, migration and er, is so common, and it's you know, they're taking in so many coloured people from so many countries that, I don't think it matters. In the early days when if first came here, my colour would turn heads. And they'd ask me where are you from and where did we learn to speak English. You speak very well.

Certainly, Lorena's experience of prejudice in the workplace showed an awareness of racial issues within management; there were policies in the
workplace that dealt with discrimination. This is an indicator of acceptance of difference in Australian society.

When discussing the participants' children and grandchildren there was a range of responses relating to the markers of Anglo-Indian identity. There was an overall decrease in the manifestation of diacritical markers in the lives of the participants' children. This has been reflected in the previous case studies. Having Anglo-Indian partners reinforced Anglo-Indian identity in the lives of the seven participants of this case study.

'BEING' WOMEN
Like the other participants, these women took on traditional gender roles. Many comments reinforce previous observations about the patriarchal framework in which families operated. Kate made connections between gender roles in the family in India and the ways in which they persisted in Australia. She said:

I don't know whether the lifestyle has changed because he's still a very, er, he still does what I used to see my father do at home. Sitting down on Sunday reading the papers, and that's all he did. And he used to take us out on Sunday evenings, sometimes he used to take us out to the movies. I don't know, in Calcutta we used to have some theatres and that's where we used to go. But here, er, [partner's name] virtually does the same. And the only reason I don't nag at him and get him to do a little more housework, because I know because of his job how tired he is. That's what's stopping me. But otherwise I would certainly get up and nag at him a little more.

And also the fact that I don't really have a full time job.

In Kate's family the father's role had not changed substantially from her father's generation. Lorena's experience was that in India, women did all the housework and childrearing duties and the men were waited on when they came home from work:

So woopydoo, when he came home he didn't do anything you know. He expected his slippers brought to him, his paper given to him, and he expected a cup of tea in his lap when he turned up. And you know,
basically, very much so that, I think that you know, I mean I know that dad would not eat until my stepmother served him his food and things like that. And if he came over to my aunty's place, Aunty [name] had to serve him, and say, '[name of father], food's on the table.'

Patsy remembered that in India, her father never spent his annual leave at home. Instead he went on a 'big shoot' or 'shikari' with a shooting club every year. Odette recalled that her father did not have much to do in the organising of the family. She referred to him as the 'broadwinner', the 'brealearner'. Rose said, 'You know, I still always dished up the food on my husband's plate and gave it to him, you know. Even while he sat at the table, he'd say, 'serve me and I would serve him.' She said she got this habit from watching her parents do the same with the best food given to the father. Rose said that her husband (now deceased) had always considered himself to be the head of the house.

As other participants have stated, the mother managed the home in India. Kate said that her mother was in charge of ensuring that the home was organised in all respects. 'She was the one who directed it. It was her job, so to speak.' She remembered having to do some dusting on Sundays for her mother because she was a girl. She also put the clothes away for her brothers. She maintains that her husband now still expects the same. Everything in the home has to be done by her, except for the outside tasks and maintenance inside the house. This experience was not common to all the women in this group. For example, Odette's husband was helpful when the children were babies, even though he does not play a big part in the management of the home now. Lorena said that her husband had been supportive when the children were babies. He works during the week and Lorena works on weekends to ensure one of them is available to look after their children. Maggie too had found that her husband was very supportive in the home and childrearing/decision making was a joint effort. She mentioned the help they had received in India from servants and they realised that in Australia this help was not possible. So, her husband used to help with household chores. So they worked jointly to overcome this problem.
At first Maggie's mother was living with them and helped in this way, until she passed away.

Patriarchal notions of gender roles continue to prevail in terms of housework in the homes of Anglo-Indian women in Australia whether they were married to Anglo-Indian men or not. The women did the housework/childrearing and the partners 'helped' them. In Australia, fathers have participated to a greater extent in childrearing. Some of this change is related to the absence of servants in the home in Australia, so that the male partner is forced to take on a helping role. The stereotypical role of father as 'breadwinner' and as the head of the household persists despite some evidence of change through the role of women in the workplace.

The participants indicated that their role as wife and mother was an important part of their lives. Their responses demonstrate this, together with an awareness of changes to this aspect of their identity. Patsy felt that in her mother's life, 'you get married first and then you see to your career. Not vice versa.' Rose remembered that her mother was fifteen years old when she was married. It was an arranged marriage and she said, 'Now this is the Indian part of it coming into the Anglo-Indian.' This comment is another sign of a greater acceptance of the Indian influence in the lives of participants. It diverges from the stereotypical view of Anglo-Indian women as having greater individual freedom within the family and indicates the fluid nature of ethnic identity.

Kate wanted to be a good wife and mother. Maggie said that she had wanted to be a good wife and mother. Nancy said that her husband's colleague was interested that she got up in the morning to prepare her husband's breakfast, whereas his own wife was still in bed when he left the home. She suggested that this demonstrated her role as a good wife and that this was not the normal pattern of roles in other home in Australia.
Interestingly, however, Rose remembered leaving her children with the ‘ayah’ when she worked in India. She was in her late thirties when she immigrated to Australia during the late 1970s. She said,

For my first baby I gave up my job and stayed home for about a year and a half. But for my second baby onwards I kind of stayed home for about six to eight months and then went back to work.

Rose was the latest immigrant to Australia and her experience may be reflective of changing conditions in India during those years. Rose may also have been influenced by the fact that her mother was a teacher as well and had provided a role model for Rose.

As with the other participants, these women felt that living in Australia provided more opportunities for them for personal development and for their roles in the workforce. Their status, in terms of class, was less tied to their partner’s occupation because of these increased opportunities in the Australian environment. Nancy felt that coming to Australia has toughened her up and made her more confident because she had to do so much more for herself.

Odette felt that there were no significant constraints on women in Australian society; there was more freedom in Australia. Patsy illustrated the different attitudes towards women in India and Australia in the following anecdotes:

We had to laugh, our aunt and uncle, they are from [name of Indian city].

Er, he was you know, having an argument, so, and she'd always give in to him you know, she's always, she was very quiet. She said, “Yes [name of husband], yes [name of husband], yes [name of husband], yes anything you say.” One day she stood up and she said, “You, you”, and she let him have it. She said, “You think you're in India, So this is Australia.” And I thought, “Good on you,” you know, “you've sat down and you've let him put his thumbprint on you for, you know, for twenty-five years.” And er, now she's learned after so many years, she can get up and say, you know, “Bugger you,” you know, “my opinion does count.”

She also told of another couple who were related to her:
Yes, quite a few, quite a few years after, you know. "[woman's name] cut my toenails, [woman's name] put on the kettle." She says, "Bugger you mate, get up and do it yourself (both laugh)." And you know that's wonderful. You know, go for it. Give him some more (Patsy still laughing). So, I think that women were, were suppressed and they allowed themselves to be. They knew that if they didn't allow themselves to be they were not going to get the backing of the family. So, they might as well just shut up and carry on. And er, and things changed, you know. There is another life for them.

Patsy thought that women are valued more in Australia than in India. She said that this attitude was rooted in the greater value that is placed on the human person in the west as compared to the eastern countries. She went on:

So even more for the women that you know, the, the women in, they're expected to er, er, their opinion is not sought after, it's not used enough, in spite of them giving so much. There's, the balance isn't there, the balance is lost.

I responded, 'And that's better in Australia?' And Patsy said, 'I think it's better in Australia. Yes, yes, because you are heard. And there are departments where, you know, you can work through er, where you, you can be sure that you are heard.'

Rose talked about how, in India, the mother was responsible if a child was sick at school and had to take time off work. 'Like his job was preserved, cos in any time if you lose your job, your husband's job has to be there.' In Australia, the situation is more equitable. She progressed very well in her position here in Australia even compared with her husband. She did many courses to better herself too and her husband supported her in all this. Nevertheless, Rose said that it was hard work coping with a family in Australia and working outside the home as well. Rose saw herself as being a progressive woman. She said,

Well, it was opportunities you never got in India, because first you were a woman, second you were Anglo-Indian [italics added], you know. Women
didn't get that many opportunities in India, and Anglo-Indian women again
were never given those opportunities in India. But I've seen so many
Anglo-Indian women doing so well here, in Australia, because they were
given the equal opportunities as a man, you see. And I took it. So, er, and
my husband didn't mind. The time came when I did have to fly out to Perth
for course and all that. The family had been living in the north-west of
Western Australia at that time. He took care of the children, you know.

Gender preceded ethnicity as a source of oppression. The participants saw
themselves as having gained many advantages in terms of personal development
and their careers by immigrating to Australia. This was despite the persistence
of stereotypical gender roles that impeded this progress and placed the burden of
childrearing, home management and career on them.

Parenting issues came to the fore very much in the interviews with these seven
participants. They made reference to the strict parenting practices of their own
parents and the authoritarian role of the father in the Indian environment.
Although this was touched on briefly in the case study of the four sisters, its
importance was highlighted in this case study.

Nancy said that children were seen and not heard in her day, which she saw as a
negative thing. Lorena spoke of her father as being an authoritarian figure - fear
of the father was remembered. Nancy thought that children should not be afraid
of parents. She thought that children now were closer to their parents. Patsy said,

Now when we were at home, our opinions didn't matter. We were not
allowed to express them as children. So, we did what we were told,
virtually. Whereas now, the way I looked at things now here, if I want my
child to do something I've got to explain to her why I want it done that
way. Whereas at home we were told, do it, and that's it.

Patsy also recalled that touching and close communication like sitting on
parents' laps just did not happen. She talked about repressed feelings and
described an incident where she was told to stop crying before a visitor arrived.
Patsy said,
And that, maybe the control, the control was definitely there. Some of our friends at, if the daughter was going even slightly off the rails, it was a huge thing was made of it. You know, look at Mrs so-and-so's daughter you know. I don't want you to walk on the same side of the pavement as her, you know. (Erica laughs) It was just totally out of proportion.

Girls who did not conform to societal expectations were not sympathetically treated. These attitudes toward children and the patriarchal notion of the role of the father reflect the attitudes in the Victorian and Edwardian eras in England. It seems that these attitudes persisted in the Indian environment and suggests that they may have been perpetuated through the patriarchal systems that existed in India.

Patsy felt that parenting was much more a shared process in Australia than it was in India. Even though her mother had worked outside the home in India, she still felt her mother's influence in her life as being stronger than her father's. She talked about how her disciplining style is different from her parents. She is more flexible and less rigid than her parents were.

After coming to Australia Rose's husband had trouble adjusting to the greater freedoms that young people had and she had to 'make him understand you know, we had to talk and I had to say, Look, this is happening here in this country so we have to accept that and give our children some leeway in allowing ....' Women's networks were emphasised. Rose suggested that being in the workforce helped her to adapt to the Australian community and to interact better. She spoke about going for coffee with friends, interacting with other mothers when children were at various classes as being helpful in this respect. The following quote highlights this, together with the impact of communication styles of men and women. She said,

I think I accepted it, as I explained to you, cos I would see my work colleagues who were women tell me about what their children were doing. I said, “Oh, well, they're doing it, so it must be OK.” But [partner's name]
worked with men and they never talked about, as much as what their children were allowed to do. So, he was still a very strict parent.

Odette spent a lot of time in boarding school in India, as did many Anglo-Indian children. She felt that the situation in Australia was better: 'I think we have a more bonding process when you're physically involved with bringing up your own children.' She added, 'Not that we didn’t have, you know, a good relationship with our parents or anything like that.' Her husband had more interaction with their children than her father did with her and her siblings. She mentioned the reliance on quality childcare centres in Australia.

Lorena said that her children were a lot more outspoken and open than she was as a girl. They have greater freedom of expression, whereas the previous generation were not allowed to express themselves. This expression sometimes took the shape of teasing their parents about Anglo-Indian identity, which can also indicate a distancing of self from this identity. Lorena thought that her strict parenting style was part of her Anglo-Indian culture and her older child had trouble coping with this. Yet, Lorena identified other Anglo-Indians as having less strict parenting styles, of which she disapproved. So, although Lorena perceived her parenting style to be cultural she nevertheless acknowledged differences in parenting styles within the Anglo-Indian community. Patsy felt that she was more flexible as a parent, so that the relationship is non-threatening:

My parents never once told us that, that they loved us. But we knew in our heart that they really did love us and that we loved them. But those lines of communication were never opened to us. And er, I can't remember spontaneously going and sitting on my mother's lap and giving her a hug or a kiss. Or my father's.

Referring to adult family friends as 'uncle' and 'aunty' was considered respectful in India, but this tradition was not continued in Australia. Another recurring theme was lack of respect for elders. Nancy thought that children did not have enough respect for their elders now. It was not passed down through
the generations. Patsy felt that older people were respected more among Anglo-Indians than among Australians. Respect and discipline 'comes back to the upbringing in India.' Kate commented that the Australian culture included things like placing ageing parent into nursing homes whereas this was not the case in Anglo-Indian culture. So, although participants did express disappointment at a perceived lack of respect for older people, they were pleased to have moved away from an authoritarian approach toward parenting. However, they acknowledged that their parenting styles were sometimes stricter that those of Australian parents. This suggests a protective and controlling approach to parenting.

THE NEXT GENERATION

The generation of women who immigrated to Australia with their Anglo-Indian husbands or who married Anglo-Indian men in Australia retained a strong sense of Anglo-Indian ethnic identity. This identity has not been passed on to their children effectively; they have generally followed an assimilationist path. Although children in these families have tended to have relationships with other Anglo-Indians, this is a result of socialising as a family when children are younger. One of the features of growing into adulthood has been a move away from socialising with Anglo-Indians. None of the older children in these families has married other Anglo-Indians.

Kate said that most of her daughter's friends were Anglo-Indian. The daughter has had a medical condition for most of her life and the local church and youth group, which included many Anglo-Indians, was an important source of support for her. All other participants said that their children socialised with a range of ethnic groups including a few Anglo-Indians.

All of Maggie's and Nancy's children have married non-Anglo-Indians. Maggie equates her children's decisions to "marry out" as a loss of Anglo-Indian identity. Maggie said that none of her four children married Anglo-Indians. "One is an Irish, one married an Irish girl, my daughter married Australian, my son..."
Nancy and her partner also talked about how their children are married to a Dutch man, three Australians, a Maltese person (mother is Maltese and father is Australian), and a New Zealander. Maggie said that she identified her Indian born children as Anglo-Indian and Australian nationals. She felt that this would be different for her grandchildren because they were not Anglo-Indian. 'So, we are losing our identity. I think my children would be the last generation of Anglo-Indians in Australia from our family line. That's it. So, we've gone.' Maggie equates marrying outside the Anglo-Indian community with assimilating into the wider Australian society, and the loss of a specific Anglo-Indian identity. She did not articulate this in negative terms, and commented on the 'Australian' ethos of giving people 'a fair go'. Her use of this colloquialism reinforced her point relating to assimilation. 'We've integrated well into the Australian community, and the Australian way of life. We are very broad-minded and we mix with anybody.'

Nancy also told me about one of her son's reasons for not marrying an Anglo-Indian:

So I said, "[name]," I said, "Can you tell me why you didn't want to marry Anglo-Indian?" He says, "Mum, he says, you marry into your own community and then you form a group." And he said, "I didn't want to form any groups. I just wanted to be Aussie, and just you know, mix with everybody." He says, "Otherwise you tend to form groups, like groups of Italians, groups of Slavs, then you have groups of Anglo-Indians." He says, "I didn't want that to happen to me." So that was his reason.

Clearly the son did not wish to perpetuate the Anglo-Indian community as an ethnic group. He saw the maintenance of ethnic groups as being incompatible with being 'Australian'. The son suggests that the maintenance of ethnic boundaries is not desirable, and that being Australian overrode these boundaries. It is also possible that his reasons for not marrying an Anglo-Indian are more indicative of a distancing from Anglo-Indian identity rather than sensitivity about ethnic groupings.
Self-identification by children as Australian was common to all but two of the families in this group. Only Lorena and Patsy said that their children identified as Anglo-Indian. Although Lorena herself referred to her children as Australian, mainly because they were born in Australia, the girls identified themselves as Anglo-Indian. Patsy’s children identified as Anglo-Indian and are identified by others as such. In discussing why this might be the case, Patsy said that her children’s friends visit their home a lot. In this way Patsy said that they saw ‘our attitudes and our, the way we behave with the boys and the respect that they give us and um, er, ... the food that we eat.’ Some of the friends have also been to Anglo-Indian dances and enjoyed the experience. One of her sons wrote down his identity as Australian Anglo-Indian on a form once and his mother had to dissuade him. In effect, there was no need for such a direction from Patsy. Her son was happy to identify as Anglo-Indian on this form whereas his mother was not. She seemed to be encouraging a move away from Anglo-Indian identity in this instance. The boys do sometimes tease their parents about their ethnicity by mimicking an Indian accent.

The children in the remaining families identified themselves as Australian. Maggie described her children as being ‘very Australian’. However, she said that they also recognised their parents and themselves as Anglo-Indian as well. Maggie was not sure how other people would identify her children. When I asked her, ‘Would you say they look, your children look Anglo-Indian?’ She said, ‘Oh definitely, definitely.’ She suggested that they could be identified as Anglo-Indian as a result of skin-colour. Kate said that her daughter identified herself as Australian. ‘And to her, skin colour is not an issue because there are other cultures with different skin colour and they all call themselves Australian.’ It was important that her daughter was born in Australia in this respect. ‘People look on her as Australian. They identify her as Australian because there’s no accent, you know. There’s no foreign accent there.’ The relevance of accent continues to persist.
Nancy said that her children identified as Australian because they were quite young when they came to Australia and did not remember much about India. The youngest child was born in Australia too. She thought that other people would identify them as Australian too. Nancy told of an incident when someone used the term Anglo-Indian when talking with one of Nancy's grandchildren. The grandchild responded saying, 'Anglo-Indian? What's that?' Kate said that her daughter found aspects about Anglo-Indians to be very funny or very puzzling. Odette said that her children do not identify with India in any way, even though they have visited there. She and her partner encouraged them to identify as Australian because they were born in Australia. But they always tell others about their parents being Anglo-Indian and coming from India. Odette's children have an Indian lunch at the grandparent's home every fortnight, when they 'talk about India.' Rose said that her children did not think of themselves as Anglo-Indian. They think of Anglo-Indians as being older people, not young people. The implication is that the Anglo-Indian identity belongs to a past era; to another historical context. Rose felt sad that her children did not know more about being Anglo-Indian. 'But I have to accept, be realistic and accept. They live here, they um, they work here and they marry Australians. So, I think its better for them to be what they are.' Here, Rose is affirming the social context of her children's lives as the deciding factor for ethnic identity.

The examples described above demonstrate that self-identification as Australian is favoured by most of the participants' children; an assimilative trend continues. It also suggests that skin colour remains to be a marker of identity within the Anglo-Indian community; accent is identified in the same way. There was little indication however that the children experienced prejudice as a result of these markers of identity. Only Patsy noted that her children had negative experiences in terms of skin colour. When one of her sons was seven years old, a girl at school told him that he must have been born in a cow dung heap because his skin was coloured. He also said that he would never do well in class because 'dark boys don't have enough brains.' This son did end up having a fight because of such incidents. Patsy said that by the time this son finished high
school he was very popular at school and the colour issue was no longer relevant for him.

CONCLUSIONS

The participants who had Anglo-Indian partners were more inclined to acknowledge the Indian component of their ancestry and heritage. Although there was an indication of this among the participants discussed in Chapter Seven, it came through even more strongly among those women. There was no expression of desire to distance themselves from their Anglo-Indian heritage.

The relationship between ethnic identity and social and economic factors rather than ancestry continued to be affirmed. Participants manage their identity by using ancestry and biology at their discretion; in ways that suit their social/cultural context. The participants in the previous chapters used ancestry to identify as Anglo-Indian despite distancing themselves culturally from Anglo-Indian identity. The identities of participants in this chapter incorporate ancestry with a greater adherence to traditional markers of identity. These markers of identity are used by participants in a flexible manner, allowing greater or less identification with Anglo-Indian identity, which also indicates the porosity and fluidity of ethnic categories. However, identification by others continues to be an issue in that participants are often not recognised by others as Anglo-Indian. Women who identified strongly with Anglo-Indian heritage were less aware of the racist underpinnings of the Anglo-Indian identity in India. They emphasised the positive aspects of Anglo-Indian identity rather than taking a critical approach to it.

Having an Anglo-Indian partner would appear to indicate a stronger attachment to an Anglo-Indian identity. The partner's ethnicity impacted on patterns of interaction and socialisation in the Australian community. The participants themselves expressed relief that they did not have to negotiate relationships with partners from a different ethnicity. There was a greater inclination to be associated with formal Anglo-Indian groups and to socialise with Anglo-Indians.
As noted earlier in this chapter, three of these participants were active members of a formal Anglo-Indian group and another participated in many of its social events. This confirms the observation made in the last chapter that individuals express their ethnic identity culturally when in a group situation. This went hand-in-hand with the perpetuation of certain markers of identity such as religion and food in the lives of the participants. These diacritical markers were less intense in the lives of other participants who have previously been discussed. The perpetuation of Indian food as a cultural marker in the household is linked to the participants' relationships with Anglo-Indian partners and the implications of a patriarchal family structure.

Many aspects of the distinctive identity of the Anglo-Indian community are carried over from the Indian to the Australian environment, although many of these women have taken advantage of the more liberal attitudes towards women in Australia and have established careers for themselves. The significance of marriage to identity is seen in the next generation. Where children have married non-Anglo-Indians, it is assumed the Anglo-Indian identity will not be perpetuated. A few of the next generation acknowledged their Anglo-Indian background more strongly than others. However, grandchildren were depicted as having little, if any, understanding of this background. To this end, Maggie had made up a folder containing information about the history and background of the Anglo-Indian community for her grandchildren. The context dependent nature of categorisation is further reinforced in this case study. The process of reshaping identity was more gradual in the lives of women with Anglo-Indian partners.

There was acknowledgment of racist tendencies among older Anglo-Indians in particular. Prejudice based on visible difference such as skin colour and phenotypic features in Australia was also identified among these participants. Prejudice continues to be related less to ethnicity and more to phenotypic markers such as skin colour. Both participants and their children experienced this prejudice. Participants balance these negative issues with more positive
outcomes of living in the Australian environment to achieve a comfortable level of belonging.

Participants discussed in this and the previous chapters acknowledged that grandchildren were much less likely to self-identify or be identified by others as Anglo-Indian. The grandchildren were also seen to be less respectful of older people than their parents’ and grandparents’ generations. This was seen as a loss of Anglo-Indian culture and identity.

A positive outcome identified by Anglo-Indian women was personal development in terms of confidence and self-esteem both in their personal relationships and in the workplace as well. They recognised a greater opportunity to advance their careers in the Australian environment. Despite this, they experienced the double burden of the workplace and household tasks since partners, although supportive, did not take on many aspects of home management and childcare. The participants described a patriarchal family framework especially in the Indian environment, but were also pleased to develop less authoritarian relationships with their children in the Australian environment. These relationships were however identified as incorporating more discipline than in mainstream Australian families. The family was identified as a more important focus of Anglo-Indian life than is the case in mainstream Australia.

Participants actively managed their identities to the level that suited their situation, maintaining cultural indicators in the same way. The next chapter goes on to investigate intergenerational issues and other aspects of Anglo-Indian identity through consideration of a mother/daughter relationship.
CHAPTER NINE
MOTHER AND DAUGHTER: INTERGENERATIONAL ASPECTS OF IDENTITY

Some intergenerational aspects of identity have emerged in the analysis thus far. The following case study extends this analysis. It involves a mother, Florence, and her daughter Evelyn, presenting an intergenerational perspective. Florence, who was eighty-three years old, was the oldest woman interviewed. Florence's long life provides chronological depth to our perspective of Anglo-Indian identity. The family migrated from India to Britain, where they lived for some years, before coming to Australia. Evelyn's two children were born in England. This may have implications for their identity in Australia.

These two participants were interviewed together as Evelyn wished to be with her elderly mother during the interview. Evelyn took it upon herself to clarify questions if her mother appeared to misunderstand them or to correct her mother if her mother's responses did not tally with her own memories. This introduced a dynamic into the interview process that allowed for greater insight into Anglo-Indian identity as will become evident in the following discussion.

The family immigrated to England from India in 1956. Florence was a widow of forty at that time and had three children. She and her husband had decided to leave India for England when her husband died. She continued with the planned migration a few months after her husband's death. Evelyn was twelve years old at that time. The family spent seventeen years in England during which time Evelyn married an English man and had two children. Evelyn's partner worked in the manual side of the printing trade. Evelyn and her family moved to Australia in 1973, and her mother followed a few months later. Florence and Evelyn were 57 and 29 years old and Evelyn's children were five and six years old when they arrived in Australia.
Florence's husband had been born in Calcutta. He and his father were identified as Anglo-Indian. The family had lived a privileged, middle-class lifestyle in India as he was employed as an engineer. However, 'he [i.e. the father] could see what was going to happen. That the Anglo-Indians weren't ever going to have decent positions or decent jobs there.' This resulted in the decision to immigrate to England. Florence had trained as a nurse in India and worked as such after her training for some time in India before she was married. Evelyn was a secretary and describes her occupation at the time of the interview as 'housewife/secretary'. Both Florence and Evelyn self-identified as Anglo-Indian.

**ANCESTRY**

The family's ancestry proved to be a contested subject between mother and daughter. Evelyn said that her mother's (i.e. Florence's) side could be traced back to Ireland when her great grandfather came to India after the potato famine of 1845. Florence was born in India and Evelyn said that Florence's heritage was Irish and French. Evelyn said that her grandfather on her father's side was born in France. When asked about the point at which the Indian came into her ancestry Evelyn said: 'So we don't know where. Somebody must have married on my father's side or my, you know, married an Indian lady or vice versa, but don't know.' She is suggesting that the Indian part of her heritage was on her father's side. Complexity of ancestry is again evident in this case study, as is the acceptance and choice of the term 'Anglo-Indian' by individuals of mixed ancestry in India. There was also a lack of knowledge about the Indian side of their heritage.

Mixed messages relating to ancestry came through at various points in the interview with Florence and Evelyn. At one stage Florence disputed the idea that she had any Indian ancestry and her daughter responded, 'Oh mum, there's some Indian in you.' Florence then said, 'Eurasian', which did not seem to contradict her daughter, or perhaps she did not hear it. Evelyn then said, 'This is new, this is new. Please, please.' Evelyn implied that Florence shared her
Anglo-Indian heritage and that Florence was now changing her position on this issue. Her mother’s statement surprised her very much. Evelyn’s response suggested that this was the first time she had directly confronted this issue with her mother. It seemed to have been something that had been avoided in the past.

At one point Evelyn mentioned the fact that they were referred to as ‘pariahs’. She added that her mother used to refer to the children as ‘pariah dogs’. ‘It was just an Anglo-Indian expression,’ she said. The significance of this comment is difficult to gauge since it was passed over quite quickly during the interview. Thinking back on the interviews, it seemed we had touched a taboo subject; we glossed over it quickly. I too have a memory of Anglo-Indians being referred to in this derogatory fashion. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary is, it refers to a member of a low caste in S. India; member of low or no caste; (fig.) social outcast. It suggests that the Hindu community in India may have regarded the Anglo-Indian community in extremely negative terms. It explains that division between the Anglo-Indian and Hindu communities in India and the social stigma attached to being Anglo-Indian in a predominantly Hindu society.

Evelyn pointed out to her mother that she (i.e. Florence) had called herself an Anglo-Indian in India. Florence’s response to this drew on the politics of ethnicity in India when the community, through the Anglo-Indian Association, decided on the term ‘Anglo-Indian’ to describe their community. She spoke of the politics of Sir Henry Gidney and Frank Anthony¹ and said that the term ‘domiciled European’¹ lost its significance in India. She seemed to identify as ‘domiciled European’ and Anglo-Indian as well. She gave many mixed messages about her identity in this respect. She later said that she was born a Eurasian. There had in fact, been a blurring of meanings of such terms, and the term Anglo-Indian had been used to refer to domiciled Europeans for a long period of time, before it came to refer only to the ‘mixed-race’ category in India. Florence was also concerned that the umbrella term, Anglo-Indian, permitted the inclusion of Indian Christian people as Anglo-Indians. Her responses indicated that she was very keen to distance herself from any Indian
ancestry, while her daughter was happy to acknowledge such ancestry and would have welcomed information about it.

Later in the interview I probed the issue of ancestry further, saying, ‘So really, any, the Indian in you comes from your dad’s side?’ And Evelyn replied, ‘I’d love to know where it came from. But nobody’s willing to tell me’ [italics added]. This suggests some element of deliberate secrecy. Soon after this she implored her mother, saying,

Oh, but mummy please, look at me. I mean you can’t say, of course, I’ve got some Indian blood in me somewhere, you know. It’s got to have come from somewhere. Where it came from nobody’s going to tell me [italics added]. Not that it bothers me anyway.

However it is obvious that it did bother Evelyn, who seemed to be using this interview situation to gain further insight into her ancestry and heritage. Her mother did not respond to her plea. I said, ‘Well, I’ve actually got my mum talking about some of her ancestry now. I’ve been trying to do the genealogy thing. So, I’m hoping to find out … ’ To this Evelyn said, ‘They’re only interested in doing the European bit.’ She said that she would love to know about the Indian side of her heritage. She later said, ‘But it’s not, with the Anglo-Indians, there’s so much cover up, you know. There’s so much cover up. I mean, look, like Merle Oberon’, you know. Terrible.’ Evelyn suggests that Indian ancestry is hidden, and that it is sometimes not acknowledged through the phenomenon of ‘passing’. She refers to it as a dishonest practice. Florence resisted talking about her daughter’s Indian heritage and therefore, about the possibility of Indian heritage in her husband’s life. She did not wish to acknowledge it. Indeed, she was editing it out and controlling the knowledge about it. She was rejecting the mixed ancestry of her children. The responses of these two participants concur with the lack of knowledge exhibited by other participants about their Indian heritage, and their preference to cite their western origins. Florence was resistant to any suggestion that her ancestry may be partly Indian. Evelyn was eager to acknowledge it as part of her identity, and even wishing to pursue it further.
At one stage Florence said to her daughter, 'And your husband asked me, "Mum, you’ve got Indian blood?" I said to him, "No, nobody's Indian in my house." This is a very complex statement for a number of reasons. Is Florence denying the Indian component of her heritage and her children's heritage? Or, is she just maintaining that none of her household is 'Indian'? By this stage of the conversation Evelyn was not paying attention to these comments by which Florence was distancing herself from any Indian background. She had given up on trying to ascertain greater detail about the Indian component of her heritage through her mother in this situation. It is clear however, that Florence perceives anything 'Indian' as undesirable. This is reflected in the patterns of socialisation that existed in her life and her family's life. In fact, the question of Indian ancestry in Florence's background remained unresolved.

INTERACTION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS

Unlike the experience of other participants, Florence, the mother, recalled socialising not only with Anglo-Indians but with Europeans as well when in India. This may be the result of her age since she was the only participant who was old enough to remember colonial India. Her identity was framed with a greater awareness of and connection with white, western sections of the colonial population. Florence distinguished clearly between Europeans and Anglo-Indians and self-identified as Anglo-Indian. Yet, she inferred that there was some commonality between the two since they socialised together and excluded other Indian communities. She referred to 'Mah-jong afternoons' as such a social event. Evelyn was quick to remind her mother that the clubs that her parents belonged to did not permit Indian membership. This reflected hierarchy and class among the various ethnic communities in India, with the Anglo-Indians having higher status than Indian communities in the eyes of the colonisers. Younger (1983, p.37) refers to "all white" clubs such as the Calcutta Swimming Club, which excluded Anglo-indians. Evelyn recalled her mother going off to dinners and dances at the club, getting dressed up in beautiful, long dresses with her father in a white dinner jacket and bow tie. The image is of a white, western, upper middle-class family. As for friends, Evelyn said,
I can't remember having an Indian friend. I can't. There was one little girl and I can very clearly remember who she was. I can very clearly remember going to watch her doing dancing lessons, and I desperately wanted to dance with her, bells around her ankles. I didn't have an Indian friend. Anglo-Indians, they were all Anglo-Indians.

The distinction and social distance between the Anglo-Indian and other Indian communities is obvious here, as is the preference for associating with Anglo-Indians only. The quote also demonstrates Evelyn's desire to be more like the other children around her, to be more Indian; a desire shared by some of the other participants as children.

Evelyn said that Florence looked for Anglo-Indian connections among people around her. This seems to coincide with the experience of women who had married non Anglo-Indian men. However, this was coupled with the tendency to associate only with Anglo-Australians. This tendency was not shared with women who had married non Anglo-Indian men. When I said, 'What about other cultural groups? Italians for instance?' she quickly replied, 'No, no.' Evelyn, the daughter, felt that her socialising and work environment brought her into contact with mainly Australians and English people. She felt that communities such as the 'Italians and the Slavs kept themselves to themselves.'

She met a few Anglo-Indians through her mother who kept contact with old family friends from India. Later however, Evelyn commented on how 'you're lucky to find some true blue Australians sometimes.' There is a definite inclination here to favour interaction with Anglo-Celtic groups and a disinclination to interact with other European ethnicities, suggesting greater levels of ethnocentrism.

The distinct identity of the Anglo-Indian community in India is invoked in this case study, as is the subjective perception on the part of Anglo-Indians of their position above other Indian ethnic communities in terms of class. In fact, this perception did not account for the perceptions of Indians who treated them with abhorrence because of their 'lowly origins', which were the result of 'temporary
liaisons between a British soldier and an Indian woman' (Younger, 1983, p. 37). However, links with white, western communities in India are more pronounced in this family environment. Their immigration to England perpetuates a social milieu, which was threatened by Indian independence. In Australia, this preference for the company of people with a British background continued, as Florence and Evelyn interact mainly with white Australian and English people, and Anglo-Indian contacts from India who visited them.

Interaction with Anglo-Indians is restricted to old family friends from India and does not include new relationships formed in Australia. Interaction between ethnic groups is weighted heavily in favour of Anglo-Celtic ethnicities. Interaction with Anglo-Indians is not desired. This preference is reflected in the cultural markers that had served to distinguish the Anglo-Indian community in India and the evolution of these markers after migration.

**CULTURAL MARKERS OF IDENTITY**

Cultural markers of ethnic identity generally served to distinguish the Anglo-Indian community from other Indian ethnic communities in India. Evelyn's experience in terms of language when she lived in India as a girl had been very similar to that of the other participants, as was her experience in terms of style of dress. Evelyn referred to 'day' dresses and 'evening' dresses, indicating her middle class background. When referring to food, Florence said, 'In India, we had to mix, we mixed both. At lunch we'd have curry and rice. At dinner we'd have soups, side-dish and pudding.' The latter meal was very western in style. Despite acknowledging a taste for Indian food Evelyn did not express the same sense of loss and nostalgia that had been expressed by the other women who had married non-Anglo-Indian men.

This family was 'Church of England'. 'Everything revolved around the church, didn't it, mum? It was the hub of your community.' Her mother agreed with this. Evelyn then went on to prompt her mother, 'I wouldn't say that was so after you left India, though, was it? And Florence responded, 'No.' Evelyn said
that as a child she had to attend church and that her mother tried to keep up this tradition after immigrating to England. As the children got older they dropped away from this practice and she herself, is no longer a practising Christian. This experience of a decrease in the manifestation of religious belief was shared by the participants in the first case study. Neither of Evelyn's children had any religious affiliation now. This represents a significant break from their grandparent's generation and identity as Anglo-Indian.

Some cultural aspects in Florence’s and Evelyn's lives in India were even more strongly western than those in the lives of other participants. Feelings of nostalgia and ambivalence were not a significant part of Florence and Evelyn's experience. This differed from the reflections of the participants in the first case study on the cultural markers of identity and was more in line with the women in the previous chapter whose partners were Anglo-Indian. I suggest that they were less ambivalent about their identities than the women who were married to non-Anglo-Indian men. This greater stability is reminiscent of the firmer grounding in Anglo-Indian identity that was experienced by women who had Anglo-Indian. Florence and Evelyn's immigration to England reinforced their 'western' background just as the Anglo-Indian background of some participants' partners reinforced their Anglo-Indian identity.

**BELONGING**

Florence stated that skin colour had not been an issue in her life. As discussed above, Florence maintained that she did not have 'any Indian' in her. She commented:

"We still, my son-in-law says, "Yes, you must have some Indian." And I said, "I haven't got any Indian." You see my grandfather was very brown because he worked in the vineyards in the south of France. He got very brown, and he holds that against him.

Florence interpreted her son-in-law's comment as suggesting that being 'brown' was something negative. Evelyn then reminded her about her Anglo-Indian friend who married an Indian. In making this connection Evelyn equates being
Indian with being ‘brown’; skin colour had relevance in this marriage situation. This woman had to get married from Florence’s home because the woman’s mother would not accept the match with the Indian man. This suggests that Florence sympathised with the woman who was getting married. Evelyn also said later that if she herself had married an Indian she would have been ‘an outcast’; an outcast from the Anglo-Indian community in India is my presumption here. She went on to talk about the prejudice of Anglo-Indians against Indians. She said, ‘I mean, I read somewhere once, that the Anglo-Indians are so prejudiced, and that’s so true.’ The conversation continued thus:

Florence: Because I mean, the fact that Ahos here, my gosh, ours were gems, tried to educate themselves, they tried to work for a living. These ...

Erica: The Indians you mean.

Evelyn: Yeah, but, while you were in India Mummy, that’s not how you thought it.

Florence: No, no love, I never did.

Evelyn: It was very prejudiced. It was so prejudiced you know. And that’s the way it was.

Evelyn is, in effect, stating that her mother was prejudiced against Indians when she lived in India. This conversation indicates the perception that the Anglo-Indian community considered itself to be superior to the other Indian ethnicities around it. It was racist. Florence’s identity as an Anglo-Indian incorporated racism. This racism has previously been identified among older Anglo-Indians, “who were dogged by the legacy of the British in their attitudes to Indians” (Younger, 1983, p. 41). There is also an element of transference of this prejudice toward the Australian Indigenous people on the part of Florence. This is indicative of her collusion with western colonisers both in India and now in Australia. The family’s migration pattern from the colonised environment in India to the land of the coloniser, followed by immigration to another colonised environment allowed for the transference of racist attitudes and values. Evelyn, was conscious of this prejudice in her mother’s life.
Evelyn went on to explain that there were both fair and dark Anglo-Indians, even within the same family. She said, 'If you’re fair and Anglo-Indian, they say, oh, very fair, but it was more a jest as opposed to a serious comment, you know.' She acknowledged that her understanding would have been limited at the age of twelve years when she left India, but she said,

It’s only from what I’ve heard in talk, but I would say that, if you were fair, they’d say oh, she’s very fair, a fair Anglo-Indian, but there was, you didn’t hold it against them or you didn’t say they were up themselves because they were fair, did you?

She went on to say that some people used their fair skin colour to their advantage if they did not want to admit they were Anglo-Indians. This implies that having fair skin allowed Anglo-Indians to claim European status. However, Evelyn maintains that it did not advantage people within the Anglo-Indian community. As Evelyn added, ‘I don’t think it gave them any extra status and standing in the community, you know.’ Nevertheless, being ‘brown’, as I have already indicated, had consequences in the lives of people around them and for themselves as the following paragraphs demonstrate.

When discussing discrimination Evelyn said, ‘But mum’s fortunate, mum’s you know, quite fair and …’ and I responded, ‘It’s interesting you use the word fortunate.’ Evelyn replied, ‘Well, it is as much as she doesn’t have to explain herself, you know.’ This suggests that being darker than fair requires explanations about one’s self as being ‘other’. Evelyn recalled that when she attended school in England in the 1950s there were very few non-English children there.

I can’t remember another nationality in that school in England when I went there. This was in ’56. There wasn’t an American, Nigerian, Indian, Chinese. We must have been mindblowing when we, (laughs) back in school.

Evelyn implies here that she was visibly different and was therefore identified as ‘different’. Mills (1998) reports that prejudice was experienced by Anglo-
Indian immigrants in Britain “who appeared more Asian than Caucasian” (p.285). Evelyn also recalled the following incident:

Sometimes in England like I say, I never, I actually went on the train once with this English friend of mine and somebody made a comment about me and this friend of mine got up and went hell for leather. You know, and I thought oh, she's over reacting. I mean I took [laughs] didn't bother me. I mean, but she really went hell for leather.

So, Evelyn was conscious of the fact that her skin colour was an issue. When Evelyn first started applying for jobs in England she would ask the employment agency to mention that she was Anglo-Indian to prospective employers. She said,

Not that that would have made any difference to the person on the other end of the phone. But I didn't want to say I'm coloured, you know. I used to give myself that title, I mean I know I'm coloured, I know I've got a tanned skin.

So, why mention it if it would not matter to the employer? Evelyn stood by her statement that her skin colour was not of consequence in her life. Yet she later said,

It didn't matter. Except when I went for my first job, I think. Like I said to you I did not want to go to an interview for a company and then sort of see shock on their face or something, cos as I said, in '56 we were very much a minority then.

Despite Evelyn's statements to the contrary, her skin colour did impact on her life experience. Her responses indicate that she was aware of racist elements in society. However, she controlled her responses to them carefully in order to avoid confronting racism.

Both Florence and Evelyn were Australian citizens. Evelyn said that in the past she and her son had dual passports (Australian/British) but she said that when she had to make a definite decision about this they would have Australian passports 'because this is where we're happy. We certainly don't intend going
back to live in England.' She saw herself as an emigrant from England and not from India; she did not have meaningful ties to India.

Florence had no doubt about belonging in India when she lived there. She had not thought she would ever leave India because of the good lifestyle the family enjoyed there. She spoke of the respect she received in one instance with the touching of her feet by an Indian man. When she told him not to do it he said, 'I have to do it. It's in us that we have to touch our elders' and our bosses' feet.' When I suggested that she had power and status in India she agreed with me completely as did her daughter. Then I said, 'And it felt like your land, your home?' And Florence replied, 'Yes, yes, I fell in with them so much I thought I was Indian' (laughs). For a woman who refused to accept any Indian heritage, this was an interesting comment. Florence's identification as 'Indian' in this instance, I suggest, reflects her power and ability to claim that she was 'Indian' rather than genuine self-identification; she had been powerful enough in the Indian environment to make such a statement. Clearly she aligned herself with the coloniser and accepted the subservience of the Indian people around her. Her comment is in direct contradiction to her claim that there is no Indian component in her ancestry as discussed in the previous section. Now, however, Florence felt that she belonged more in England than in Australia. Her original immigration to England allowed her to reconnect with her colonial ties and consolidated her identification with the coloniser and with her Anglo-Celtic ancestry.

Evelyn recalled that when she first immigrated to England she would be asked whether she wore different clothes in India and whether she spoke 'Indian'. This used to irritate her. She said,

And to this day they cannot understand what an Anglo-Indian is about. They cannot understand. And I get so irritated. To me it is quite simple. We're just a cross-bred culture, with western habits. I sit at table and I eat with a knife and fork. I do not sit on the floor and eat with my fingers. And yes, I've always worn dresses and shoes and socks.
Evelyn went on to mimic others’ responses to her saying, "But she’s from India, you know, she’s Indian." I say, "I’m not Indian, I’m Anglo-Indian." Evelyn certainly self-identified as Anglo-Indian and distinguished this from an Indian identity. She identified herself as western in terms of culture. This response is similar to that of other participants when they had to explain the meaning of the term Anglo-Indian.

Evelyn felt that as a child she did not need to think about issues such as belonging. As for her sense of belonging now, she said, ‘I belong anywhere. Uproot me, put me somewhere else. That’s it. I’ll make my home there. I have no allegiance to any country. Not really. I mean, I love living here, it suits me living here.’ The ambivalence about belonging that was expressed by women who married non-Anglo-Indian men is now echoed in Evelyn’s ambivalence about belonging. It is very different from her mother’s definite sense of belonging in England rather than in Australia. Having lived in England seemed to have confirmed Florence’s identity. Instead, Evelyn is inclined to be more fluid in her approach to belonging. In fact, she does not seem to need to belong, and this too, is expressed by some of the participants who married non-Anglo-Indian men. Belonging does not seem to be an integral part of identity for Evelyn. Nevertheless, self-identifying as Anglo-Indian is important to both Evelyn and her mother, just as it was important to the sisters. This is reinforced through Evelyn’s strong opinion that the Anglo-Indian in Australia denies being Anglo-Indian more than did Anglo-Indians in England. She found this attitude very difficult to understand. Other participants too have commented on Anglo-Indians in Australia who do not wish to admit their Anglo-Indian identity.

Evelyn later commented that her daughter in particular self-identified as Anglo-Indian. She described her two children as having different skin colours to each other, and in terms of looking Indian or European. She also said that other people now identified them as Australian.
During the course of the interview Evelyn wondered if her being Anglo-Indian or her appearance (which affirms the suggestion that skin colour was an issue in her life) ever caused a problem for her children, and whether they had been hurt through such an experience. But she added, "Well, they never said anything." It was almost as though she had not considered this possibility before and supports my earlier observation that Evelyn avoided confronting the issue of racism.

Florence’s reasons for leaving India to live in England concur with those of other Anglo-Indian emigrants from India. However, Evelyn’s reasons for immigrating to Australia related to conditions in England in comparison with her memories and experience of life in India. Florence had worked in factories in England; their socio-economic status was markedly lower than their status had been in India. Evelyn was more interested in having a better lifestyle for her children and related this to her childhood in India. She said,

And I just thought, after having the lifestyle I had in India, I just wanted my children to have something better than what they were having in England ... In India, you know, all this open air, pleasant space, good weather.

Evelyn said that a carefree childhood was her memory of India, ‘playing out in the open and climbing trees and doing nice, simple, ordinary things you know.’ This was what she wanted for her children by immigrating to Australia, implying that England did not provide this. India was seen in a positive light and this contrasts with the attitude of the four sisters discussed previously. The factors relating to job opportunities, which had led them to leave India in the first place were no longer significant. Instead, the physical environment took on significance in Evelyn’s mind and reflects a romanticising of the Indian environment and of her childhood there, which becomes the impetus for yet another migration.

Both Florence and Evelyn felt that other people did not identify them as Australian. Evelyn felt that her accent identified her as English and that her
appearance mattered less in this respect. This is in stark contrast to other participants who identified accent as a marker of Anglo-Indian identity in the Australian environment. Evelyn was definitely identified by others as English and this is the result of the multiple migration experience, and in particular, her English accent. Evelyn had lived in England between the ages of twelve and twenty-nine. She and Florence both felt that they fitted in with people around them here in Australia. However, Evelyn said that she fitted in as a ‘Pom’; she was recognised as a ‘Pom’. She had no problem with accepting this identification by others despite the fact that she self-identified as Anglo-Indian. This identification by others was a result of her migration experience in England and represents a significant difference from the issue of identification by others as experienced by other participants. Evelyn had also married a non-Anglo-Indian man. This factor, together with her experience of immigrating to England, has allowed her to embrace the western component of her Anglo-Indian identity. Her life in England affirmed this aspect of her life. The shift toward greater identification with the ‘west’ may be a factor in her lack of acknowledgment of racism in her life.

‘BEING’ WOMEN

There were many similarities between the experiences of Florence and her daughter and those of other participants. These relate to childrearing and housework. Florence had not worked outside the home when she lived in India, although she was a qualified nurse. When the family immigrated to England, she first took on factory work. After the privileged lifestyle that she experienced in India, this was a significant change in status. In this situation Florence recalled being ‘poo-poohed’, relating how people spoke to her. She said, ‘They, especially if they know, they poo-poohed us. “You eat at the table?” I said “yes, we do eat at the table and have the table set for us you know.”’ ‘Having the table set’ by a servant demonstrates the middle class lifestyle the family had enjoyed in India.
Evelyn was aware that she had experienced a privileged childhood in many ways. Florence identified herself and Evelyn identified her as a 'proper memsahib' when they lived in India. Florence said that the help she got from servants was the only reason she would return to India. Evelyn remembered that when they were at day school in India, 'mum used to send the bearer, on his push bike and he used to come to the lunch room and lay the table, serve us our lunch and ride home with the tiffin on his handlebars.' Evelyn gave the example that the family could go out to big picnics 'without having to worry about getting it all ready and, going out all afternoon, because you didn’t have to rush home to put the dinner on.' The lifestyle that was maintained in India resulted from many factors. These included the hierarchal structure of ethnic groups in India and the socio-economic status and class of the family.

Evelyn recalled how she changed her meal habits in England because of the dishwashing involved in having 'tea' in the afternoon. They skipped that ritual which was based very much on an English model and 'just got straight on to dinner more often than tea. It was just another extra thing to clear up and wash up. It was so funny. I thought now that habit had to go, you know.' This demonstrates the western lifestyle of the family while they had lived in India. Interestingly, this was an erosion of a western cultural habit that had been inculcated in the Indian environment which then could not stand up to the rigours of real life in its country of origin, England. Florence could no longer sustain the privileged lifestyle she had maintained in India with the use of Indian servants.

Despite the complicit nature of their lifestyle in India, they were not accepted by the colonial society with whom they had identified so strongly. Florence later upgraded her qualifications and worked as a nurse. She worked both in England and Australia. She did experience some level of prejudice in her life when she lived in England. This prejudice was based on being identified as Indian and as coloured. Identification of Anglo-Indians as 'other' seemed to relate to one or a combination of factors, including knowledge of immigrant
status and phenotypical/cultural markers of identity. This identification may not concur with Anglo-Indian perception of themselves and their differences from others. Florence suggested that prejudice was 'incorrectly' directed at Anglo-Indians because they were culturally western. She implied that it could have been justified if it was directed at a different culture. Being culturally western did not prevent some level of discrimination in their lives; their status as migrants from India superseded their cultural status.

Evelyn commented that her partner did not understand her emphasis on respect and good manners in her parenting style because it was not such an integral part of his upbringing. There were overtones of good manners and good 'breeding', implying class distinctions. Evelyn said that she was more involved in childrearing issues than her partner. She said that her partner did not participate in this because he had not experienced such input from his parents when he was a child. When asked whether her partner's family had an impact on her life in any way she replied,

No. No, not really. They must have thought I was, you see, like I say, they didn't have any money. I mean mothers always owned, all my family, my mother's mother, owned her own property. My mother owned her own property. So, when I got married, there was no question. I was going to own my property. I was going to buy something. But, [partner's name] family and that group, you put your name down for state housing, you see. So when they heard they were going to buy a property, "oo she's up herself, isn't she?" The accent and a property (all laugh). "Oh, who does she think she is, buying her own," you know that sort of ... [partner's name] never said to me, "Oh, I don't want to do that." But we were very lucky, mum gave us the deposit and we were very fortunate, but a lot of people have to save for their deposit first. So we were fortunate, we had our kickstart, and there was no question. But they thought we were above our station. But it wasn't above mine, you know.

There was a generational emphasis on having a career and being financially independent, which was not generally considered appropriate for women during
the first half of the 20th century. However, even when Evelyn was working on a part-time basis, she ensured that her duties as a housewife and mother were completed, and she "fitted" her job in. Gender roles in the family were given higher priority in her life. The above quote also demonstrates that Evelyn 'married down'. Her background in India gave her higher socio-economic status than that of her partner's family. Evelyn said that her partner had experienced a hard life compared with her childhood; there was a class difference between her and her husband's family.

Evelyn thought herself to be rather authoritarian in manner and therefore prone to give orders because of the authority she had wielded over the servants as a child. Evelyn was quite a strong person. She said, 'To be honest Erica, I'm my own person. I couldn't care less what anybody else expects of me.' She felt that both she and her mother set their own agendas. Florence recalled her mother saying that all her children should have a career, and as a consequence Florence trained as a nurse. Evelyn and Florence saw good financial management as one of the hallmarks of Florence's mother. This aspect of their background does not reflect the patriarchal structure of other participants' lives.

There was an element of racism in the Florence's responses, which was not present in Evelyn's responses. This seemed to stem from Florence's experience, which reinforced her alleged superiority to other ethnic groups in India more so than did Evelyn's experience. This ties in with the historical context of Indian nationalism, which came to the fore by the time of Evelyn's birth in the 1940s. Instead, Evelyn's responses demonstrated an awareness of class and socio-cultural status, which placed her above the other Indian ethnic groups and above many other Anglo-Indians in the Indian environment. Both 'race' and socio-economic status contributed to the hierarchy among ethnic groups.

The first migration experience to England consolidated Florence's links with western influences and distanced Evelyn from her childhood in India. Florence had a sense of belonging in England whereas Evelyn was ambivalent about this.
The generational issue and a shorter term in the Indian environment may have affected Evelyn's responses in this manner. Generally, these two participants were further removed from Anglo-Indian identity than the other participants. Although she resisted acknowledging it, the issue of skin colour was significant in Evelyn's life. It certainly had an impact in terms of intragroup identification processes while they lived in India and was significant when they lived in England as well. Cultural markers were always identified in the lives of these participants as 'western' rather than as 'Anglo-Indian'. This has encouraged and enabled further distancing from the Indian component of their heritage.

Many aspects relating to their lives as 'women' were similar to that of the sisters. The burdens of housekeeping, cleaning and child rearing, together with the necessity of working outside the home impacted on cultural markers of identity such as cooking styles and patterns. The inability to employ servants resulted in downward economic and social mobility for Anglo-Indians in their adopted country. They were encouraged to be financially independent and took on challenges relating to their roles as housewife, mother and as members of the workforce.

Florence and Evelyn's sense of identity was influenced significantly by the years they had spent in England. Both had emphasised their western culture and their years in England seemed to distance them from their past lives in India. Although Evelyn enjoyed Indian food now, she did not express the nostalgia and tension that was apparent in the lives of the four sisters. Their experiences highlight an even more distinct break from Anglo-Indian identity than that experienced by the sisters. Multiple migration served to distance the participants from their past experience even though they still self-identified as Anglo-Indian. Just as with the sisters, identification by others was an issue. However, in this instance the participants were identified as English and were granted a western identity mainly as a result of the accent they acquired in England; appearance became secondary to accent. Others, however, identified Evelyn's children as Australian.
CONCLUSIONS

In this case study ancestry remains a problematic indicator of identity that is subject to individual and group attitudes and values. Subjective attitudes toward ancestry shape self-identity and self-categorisation. The meanings assigned to ethnic categories vary depending on context and the impact of this context on individuals. Subjective values and attitudes, in this instance, have extended my contention that identity is managed and controlled.

Evelyn insisted that information about ancestry was kept from her. This information concerned her mixed ancestry and suggests that such an ancestry is undesirable; it still has negative connotations in Florence’s mind. Elements of secrecy were also identified about the ancestry of other participants. The fact that participants found it difficult to identify the Indian component of their ancestry also attests to this conclusion. Cultural transmission of identity has been identified as part of the generational process; the role of women in this transmission has been documented. In this instance however, the generational process has been used to stop this transmission; women have resisted passing on relevant information. This has been demonstrated through the experiences of other participants as well.

The experience of multiple migrations in this instance has served to consolidate identity as English. Immigration to England in the first instance served to reinforce this component of Anglo-Indian identity. It confirmed England as ‘home’ for Florence. However, Evelyn is ambivalent about her sense of belonging.

Florence and Evelyn had primarily been reliant for their class status on their husband/father and his occupation as an engineer in the Indian environment. His death and their subsequent migration to England and then Australia resulted in decreased social and economic status and class for both women. This experience is in line with that of the four sisters, whose experience has already been discussed.
Anglo-Indian identity has, thus far, been explored through the immigration and multiple immigration process, the practice of exogamy/endogamy, and through the generations. The next chapter focuses on women of Anglo-Indian descent who had been born in Australia.

Notes:

1 Sir Henry Gidney and Frank Anthony were champions of the Anglo-Indian community in India and details of their lives have been outlined in Chapter One.

2 ‘Domiciled European’ referred to people of British parentage who had lived in India all their lives.

3 Merle Oberon was born Estelle Merle O’Brien, to an Anglo-Indian mother and white Australian father. She was born in India in 1921 and died in 1979. She is said to have ‘passed’ as white in order to establish herself in the film industry.

4 ‘Abos’ is an abbreviation of the word Aboriginal, and is a derogatory term for Indigenous Australian people.

5 ‘Pom’ is a terms used to describe British migrants in Australia.

6 ‘Memsahib’ is a respectful title for a European married woman (Lewis, 1991, p.164).

7 A ‘bearer’ is a domestic servant/valet/waiter (Lewis, 1991, p.61).

8 ‘Tiffin’ refers to a meal generally stored in a tiffin-carrier, which consists of several metal containers superimposed on each other (Lewis, 1991, p.236).
CHAPTER TEN
AUSTRALIAN-BORN WOMEN: IMPACT ON IDENTITY

Three of the participants were born in Australia and therefore did not experience the Indian environment. However, they identified in some way as Anglo-Indian. In light of their exclusive socialisation within the Australian environment, to what extent do these participants see themselves as part of the ethnic group that came to be referred to as ‘Anglo-Indian’ in the Indian environment? What are the factors that influence this process? How do others identify them? Issues relating to the transmission of Anglo-Indian identity from parents to children will be of significance in answering these questions. I will refer briefly to issues previously analysed and will continue to tease out new aspects of identity highlighted by these participants.

There were marked differences in the circumstances of these three women. Glenda was a young university student at the time of the interview. She lived with her parents who are both Anglo-Indian and who immigrated to Australia around 1970 when they were in their late teens. They did not know each other in India, but married after coming to Australia. Her father works as a courier and her mother as an accounts clerk. The second member in this case study was Helen, a twenty-seven year old teacher, who shared a house with other friends. Her mother, who is Anglo-Indian, has participated in this research as well, while her father is English. The third member was Irene, a thirty-four year old, who described herself as a housewife and as working in the hospitality industry. She had seven children from two different relationships. At the time of the interview she lived with her partner and three preschool children. Her partner worked in the hospitality industry as well. Her father was Anglo-Indian while her mother was Australian. Out of the three, only Glenda’s parents were both Anglo-Indian.

Glenda described both her parents as Anglo-Indian. She did not know much about her grandparents on her father’s side. However, on her mother’s side both were Anglo-Indian. She described her father as being part Armenian and as
having some German background as well. Her mother had French and Portuguese in her background. Her parents met in Australia after having immigrated separately. Helen's mother was an Anglo-Indian born in India and had immigrated to Australia during the 1960s as a teenager, while her father was an English immigrant to Australia. Irene's father was born in Burma in 1932, but the whole family moved to India and lived there for fourteen years. She referred to him as Indian. Irene said that her grandmother on her father's side was born in Madrid and her grandfather was born in Pondicherry in south India. Her father came to Australia when he was fourteen years old in 1946. Irene was born in a small country town in Western Australia. The family surname suggests that Irene's father was probably of Anglo-Indian or Anglo-Burmese background rather than of exclusively Indian or Burmese background.

SOCIAL INTERACTION AND MARKERS OF IDENTITY

In comparison with the other two participants in this case study, Glenda had experienced a high degree of interaction with Anglo-Indian people, especially as a child. She had known many Anglo-Indian people through school and through her parents' friends. This seems to be related to the fact that both her parents are Anglo-Indian. As a girl she also went to Armenian gatherings as a result of her father's background. Although Glenda had a high level of interaction with Anglo-Indians when she was younger, her patterns of social interaction as she grew into adulthood came to parallel those of the other two participants, in that interaction with Anglo-Indians was minimal. This suggests that her parents, who were both Anglo-Indians, chose to interact with other Anglo-Indians when she was a child. This confirms my analysis relating to the socialisation patterns of women who married Anglo-Indian men.

Cultural patterns of identity in the participants' lives also confirm the impact of having both Anglo-Indian parents. Glenda identified two aspects of her life as markers of Anglo-Indian identity. One of these was religion:

I've never specifically known any of their (i.e. her parent's) tradition or cultures but just the whole atmosphere sort of, you know, like in other
cultures, OK, you do this because you're that culture or whatever. I haven't done any specific things like that, but, I mean, the only thing I can think of is that I think that most Anglo-Indians are Roman Catholic. I'm Roman Catholic myself. So, I don't know if that comes down the line somewhere, but, that's the only thing I can think that's linked.

Glenda had difficulty identifying meaningful markers of identity for the Anglo-Indian community. She did not see her ethnicity as being culturally distinct. This observation by Glenda demonstrates an awareness of the overlap between Anglo-Indian markers of identity and the mainstream Australian population. Nevertheless, she recognised religion as being some sort of cultural marker. Glenda also expressed a gradation in levels of practising Christian beliefs through the generations. She said,

My grandparents are very strong, very strong. They go to church every weekend, say your prayers. My parents aren't as strong, but I still go to church once a week. I'm not like really very strong, but I believe it. I went to a Catholic high school though, catholic primary school. I've really grown up around it, all my friends are, go to church, sort of thing, yeah.

The fact that she regularly practices her religion places her apart from the other two participants in this case study and from other participants. This marker of identity may be reinforced through the impact of both parents practising Catholicism, a marker of Anglo-Indian identity.

Helen identified less with the formal structure of the Catholic church than did Glenda. She demonstrated a more reflective approach to religion, which may imply greater maturity since she is ten years older than Glenda. It may also reflect a more liberal approach to religion displayed by Helen's parents and a more conservative approach by Glenda's parents who adhered more strongly to Christianity as a marker of their Anglo-Indian identity. Irene did not follow formal religious practices. She did not express any knowledge of cultural markers of Anglo-Indian identity. The range of experiences in relation to religion suggests that high levels of differentiation exist among Anglo-Indian women. The self takes precedence over the group. The pattern of decreased
awareness of Anglo-Indian identity through a generational pattern is confirmed by the experiences of these participants as well. This is coupled with a critical awareness of the implications of the western bias in Anglo-Indian identity.

Helen also raised the issue of meaningful markers of identity in relation to language use in India. She said, 'Um, they didn't have a language as such, apart from what they learnt at school.' She implied that the Anglo-Indian community could not claim English as their language despite their fluency in it. She was also suggesting that English could not be a valid marker of Anglo-Indian identity in Australia. This is an important underlying issue for the identity of the Anglo-Indian community in general. This level of articulation about markers of identity has come from the second generation in Australia; a level of self-awareness that would be difficult for first generation Anglo-Indians to recognise perhaps because of their psychological and emotional proximity to their past in India. By saying that Anglo-Indians did not have a language she is questioning the validity of Anglo-Indian ethnic identity even within the Indian environment.

The other marker of Anglo-Indian identity that was recognised by Glenda was food. She said, 'That's where you might see that I'm Anglo-Indian.' This is because her family ate curry and rice fairly often. Indian food was also eaten when the extended family got together. Although she loves eating Indian food, she does not cook it. Helen takes up this aspect of food as well. She associated Sunday lunches during her childhood with curry and rice because it was usual to visit her mother's parents who always cooked Indian food. These memories were very meaningful to her. She herself eats little Indian food now and cooks a variety of ethnic and vegetarian dishes in her home. This marker of Anglo-Indian identity is associated with extended family gatherings. This marker of identity is not as important for these women as for other participants.

Helen located Anglo-Indian heritage as being 'western' and therefore as not being essentially different from an 'Australian' way of life. She suggested that it is not possible to pursue an Anglo-Indian way of life because it exists already, as
an 'Australian' way of life. The cultural markers of Anglo-Indian identity are also markers of an Australian identity. The Anglo-Indian way of life is not readily distinguishable from an 'Australian' way of life. The boundary between Anglo-Indian and mainstream identities is not clearly defined, especially in relation to markers of identity.

Markers of identity, which were meaningful to women who had lived in the Indian environment, were markedly less significant for the participants who were born in Australia. However, religion was more significant in the life of the participant whose parents were both Anglo-Indian. These participants found it difficult to identify a culture and way of life that could be attributed to Anglo-Indian people and that served to distinguish Anglo-Indian people from other ethnic and cultural groups. The ability to identify one's self as part of an ethnic group becomes even more difficult because of this. As purported in social identity theory and self-categorisation theory, greater differentiation between groups is associated with less differentiation within the group, and conversely, diminished differentiation between groups is associated with greater differentiation within groups. So, Anglo-Indian women and women of Anglo-Indian descent may identify at varying levels with Anglo-Indian identity as a result of the diminished differentiation between Anglo-Indian and mainstream ethnic groups in the Australian environment.

BELONGING

The three women in this case study had very different life experiences. Consequently, most of this section focuses on each participants' responses separately.

Glenda maintained that it was important for her to recognise her Anglo-Indian culture although it had never been a major issue in her life. She spoke quite clearly about her Anglo-Indian identity and its intersections with her Australian identity:
Like we're Australian and everything, but when you go down the roots you can say OK, yeah, I'm a bit of this and a bit of that. So, I think, I mean Anglo-Indianness, if that's a word, has been pretty important to me in my life cos I know a lot of Anglo-Indian people, lots went to my school, we go to the dances and stuff that the Anglo-Indian association has.

She later added:

Well, I, I don't know how to say it, but with that whole Anglo-Indian thing, I mean my parents are Anglo-Indian and stuff and I'm Anglo-Indian myself I guess, but when I do things I don't consider myself traditional Anglo-Indian because I guess I'm quite westernised, cos when I go out with my friends I don't hang out with Anglo-Indian people. I'm like the only Anglo-Indian person of my group, but in my group there's you know, Asian, there's Australian, Italian. We're all different cultures so, I don't specifically stick to one sort of group.

In this statement Glenda distances herself from her parent's Anglo-Indian identity. She is creating one of her own; one that acknowledges her parents' background but also allows her to be part of the society around her. She states that she is quite 'westernised', implying that other Anglo-Indians and perhaps even her parents are not as 'westernised'. This comment flies in the face of the Anglo-Indian tradition, which sought, through as many means as possible, to identify with the western component of their heritage. Glenda was not aware of this historical endeavour on the part of the Anglo-Indian community. Glenda is also referring to intercultural exchange and socialisation, to the lack of Anglo-Indians among her close circle of friends. It suggests that the Anglo-Indians whom she knows outside this small circle of friends associate with and socialise primarily with other Anglo-Indians. So, she is distancing herself from these other Anglo-Indians, including possibly, her parents. Nevertheless, Glenda had not worked through this aspect of her relationships because she also spoke of having a 'slightly' stronger link with a Burmese friend and a few other Anglo-Indians because they preferred Asian food. She wanted to claim a link with a generalised Asian identity.
A significant aspect of her response is that she did not initially identify the Indian component of her heritage. When I posed a question about this she said, I think somewhere along the line, some, maybe an Indian married an English gentleman or verse visa, but, I’m not really sure. All I’ve been told is like you know, you’re Anglo-Indian sort of thing, and yea, I don’t really know where the Indian and the English came about. I think probably you know in the second world war or whenever the English colonised India, maybe around there somewhere, but ...

Since both Glenda’s parents were Anglo-Indian it would be reasonable that such information about the community would be passed down through the generations. Instead, the history and background of the Anglo-Indian community does not seem to have been emphasised in the family environment. The intergenerational pattern of withholding information about Anglo-Indian heritage, which has already been identified in this research, is further confirmed. Knowledge about and appreciation of life in India was not evident in Glenda’s life, even though both her parents were Anglo-Indian. Glenda has been given limited information about Anglo-Indian heritage; her identity has been controlled and managed by her parents’ role in this. Although I can only speculate about the reasons for this lack of knowledge about the history of the Anglo-Indian community in India it begs questions about the desire among Anglo-Indians to maintain the cohesion and identity of the community.

Glenda felt that she belonged in Australia. She elaborated thus:

Yeah, I feel I belong in Australia, because, I don’t know, I haven’t known any other, do you know what I mean. I consider myself pretty westernised, I mean, I’m not the typical Australian if you’d like to say, I mean, nowadays, it’s hard to define what a typical Australian is because it’s so multicultural, but, I guess I’m not the typical one with the blonde hair, blue eyes sort of thing, you know, earlier years you might have associated with, but, um I guess I consider myself Australian, cos a lot of people say to me, oh yeah, you’re very westernised, you know, just by the way I speak you
know, sometimes I might say G'day mate or something, um, but yeah I guess I consider Australia my home.

She admits that it is difficult to define a typical Australian, but then goes on to define one as being blonde and blue-eyed. Again, she reinforces the idea that other Anglo-Indians are not as 'western' as she is. The use of Australian colloquialisms allows identification as Australian.

Glenda felt that she fitted in well with people around her. This feeling of belonging and 'fitting in' was shared by the other two participants, whose experiences will be discussed below. Glenda was quite comfortable about referring to herself as Australian in terms of nationality. She also linked her belonging in Australia with her perception of markers of Australian identity:

I feel like I really fit in with Australia because, I do a lot of, I guess Australian things, as you'd say, to other people in other countries. You know, go to the beach, you know like, you know, throw the ball around and go camping, great outdoors sort of style, you know, I do all that sort of stuff.

Glenda referred to herself as having olive skin. She often found that she had to explain her ethnic background to others as a result of this factor. She used her adherence to the 'Australian' lifestyle to self-identify as Australian. As D'Cruz (2000, p. 149) suggests, dark-skinned Anglo-Indians can merge into the field of 'Whiteness' through the adoption of an 'ocker' accent for instance and a passion for sport and therefore individuals can come closer to the ideal of Whiteness despite their dark skin. This type of self-identification seems to collude with a white supremacist discourse since it conforms to a stereotypical 'white', Australian lifestyle. Nevertheless, such merging does not necessarily transcend the impact of having dark skin in the Australian environment.

Glenda self-identified as Australian mainly because she was born in Australia and had lived her whole life in Australia. However, others did not see her as Australian or as Anglo-Indian, and she had to explain her ancestry and background to them. As with other participants, she too was often identified as
Italian or Greek. She often found that she needed to explain her Anglo-Indian
background to others. She mentioned that other Anglo-Indians and some Indians
recognised her as Anglo-Indian. Rarely was she identified as Anglo-Indian.
When this has happened she has asked why the person identified her as an
Anglo-Indian and was told, "Oh no, you still got that Anglo-Indian look to ya." I
don't know what that look is." This is in keeping with the contention by other
participants that Anglo-Indians can recognise each other. At no stage did
participants talk about the specific markers that facilitate this recognition of each
other.

Glenda said that her olive skin often resulted in her being identified as Italian. In
this respect, her experience was similar to that of women who were born in India
and immigrated to Australia. Age has made a difference in terms of self-
perception:

When I was younger I used to say I was more Anglo-Indian, I don't know
why. Maybe because when I grew up and got older I could understand my
culture a bit more, cos you know, I'd always grown up thinking yep, I'm
Anglo-Indian, yep, we'd go to dances blah, blah, blah, sort of thing. So
when somebody asked me when I was young oh, what nationality I'd say
I'm Anglo-Indian. But now, I'm older. Since I was probably about sixteen
or fifteen I've always said I'm Australian and my background's Anglo-
Indian, so, yeah.

Glenda referred to herself as being 'pretty much mixed', and equates this with
being Anglo-Indian. She said,

When I think of myself, I think of my nationality as being Australian but
my background as being Anglo-Indian and Armenian, blah, blah, sort of
thing. But I guess you'd say Anglo-Indian the most cos it's the most
dominant I guess, like, from what I've known.

This idea of being 'mixed' was expressed only by Glenda. 'Cos mostly you know
I'm, joke around a lot, so, I just say yes, I'm a bitsa, cos I've got bits of this and
bits of that in me.' She was more aware of a 'hybrid' background than the other
two participants. Glenda also saw herself as being ‘half-caste’, the one in the middle. According to Glenda, her friends at university talked about this in a good-natured way, and she was never offended by it:

Because most of my friends are Sri Lankan and Indian and also my other friends who are Australian, so, and I’m the one in the middle. Do you know what I mean? I have a bit of both cultures in me, the half-caste one (laughs). Yes, so I’m just the one in the middle.

In fact, she maintains that saw it as a positive identity saying, ‘Um, but yeah, I’ve got more in me and blah, blah, you know rather than being a pure bred of culture of whatever, do you know?’ Glenda was the only participant out of these three who used ‘racial’ terminology when referring to her identity. The use of the word ‘blah’ may, in this instance, reflect some discomfort with the topic.

Like Glenda, Irene too had a sense of being ‘in-between’. She told a story of filling a form at a hospital when one of her children was born. One of the questions on the form gave her the option of choosing between being of Aboriginal descent, of Torres Strait Islander descent or being Caucasian. She chose the last of these options, even though she was not totally comfortable with doing so. Irene linked the incident relating to the form at the hospital with skin colour. When recounting the story she said, ‘I’ve never thought I’m black, never thought it, unless somebody, you know, comments on it.’

When asked about how other people identified her, Helen said, ‘People that don’t know me wouldn’t probably even question it.’ She implied that others identified her as mainstream Australian. She referred to herself and her siblings as being the ‘pale ones’ among the cousins who were teased for being ‘whities’. Skin colour is a determining factor in identification by others in the Australian environment and has currency among Anglo-Indians themselves.

Helen knew that her grandmother, who was Anglo-Burmese, was quite fair, and her Anglo-Indian grandfather was quite dark. She said that nobody ever commented on the grandfather’s dark skin and that she had not given it a lot of
thought. She said, ‘It’s always just been a bonus that you know, we had mum’s skin as well as dad’s skin, or else we’d all be very, very pale.’ In this comment Helen is not conscious of the fact that the opposite was also possible; that in fact, they could all be very, very dark. Helen has alienated herself from the idea of being black. She commented that in one of the families, the cousins would become black during summer ‘if they were allowed, you know.’ She also commented that the other families teased her family because they had to be careful in the sun as they might burn. There were subjective judgments made about Anglo-Indians by other Anglo-Indians, which included consideration of their skin colour.

Helen did enjoy being able to identify as Anglo-Indian because of her mother’s background. However, she was more attracted to the fact that her mother came from India than to her mother’s Anglo-Indian background. This is an important distinction and became obvious when Helen said that in explaining her identity she would say that her mum was born in India and her dad was from England:

I would probably say, well, my mum’s Anglo-Indian and my dad’s British so, um, yeah. Or, or I probably wouldn’t even say that. I would say my mum was born in India, and my dad was from England. That’s probably what I more commonly would say.

It has only been in recent years that Helen has been more aware of the distinction between Indian and Anglo-Indian, with reference to her mother’s background:

I don’t know. I’ve never really thought of the whole Anglo-Indian versus Indian things as much, as far as identification goes. And it wasn’t until I started reading and listening and paying a bit more attention did I realise that, I mean, you know, probably in my childhood I thought India was one just big happy place and everyone was the same and, you know.

Helen enjoyed the ability to claim cultural difference. As in Glenda’s life, ‘hybridity’ had taken on new meaning. She was very used to being identified as Italian as was her mother, to the point of being treated as a ‘fellow Italian’. She
then found that when she mentioned that she was of Anglo-Indian background she had to explain what that meant. Helen suggested that being able to claim Anglo-Indian heritage was more 'different' than an Italian identity. 'It wasn't so common.' This reflects the pattern of migration policy in Australia. So, she was identified as 'other', as a migrant. She enjoyed being able to identify with the 'whole India thing.' The novelty of this idea appealed to her sense of identity. Although Helen had travelled quite a lot overseas she had only passed through Delhi and found that brief glimpse of India disturbing. She was sixteen years old at the time and felt intimidated by the military presence at the airport and the women begging in the toilets. With hindsight she knows now that she was not prepared at the time for such a visit. She realised that she had a romanticised notion about India and referred to her lack of knowledge about the 'other side'. She did not share in this 'India' at all. However, she feels that she is more aware now and intends to travel to India in the future. She now feels that her interest in yoga and spirituality will support her if she visits India. She had her nose pierced recently and she described a female cousin who had her nose pierced some time ago and used a nose ring. I indicated to her that this was an Indian adornment and not an Anglo-Indian one. In fact, Anglo-Indian women would have distanced themselves from such adornment in India. I said, 'So in some ways I mean, you're identifying more with the Indian culture than you are with the Anglo-Indian.' The conversation continued thus:

Helen: Exactly. And probably, I don't even know whether it's so much the culture, but even just the country, you know, just saying well OK, there's these differences that, I'm just taking one little part of it, and just going well, you know.

Erica: Yeah. So it makes you wonder whether in fact your attraction to your mum's culture isn't because she was Anglo-Indian, but because of the Indian part of it.

Helen: I think so. And, cos I think essentially the Anglo-Indian part of it is much more a British way of life anyway, which I think well, that's what we've got here.
So, Helen's interest lies more with India, the country, and the novelty of some of its cultural markers such as facial adornment, rather than with her mother's Anglo-Indian heritage. India is exoticised, imagined and constructed as 'other'. Value is placed on that aspect of Anglo-Indian identity that was totally rejected by Anglo-Indians who grew up in India and maintained a very western style of life. This aspect was the 'Indian' component. The fear associated with Indian ancestry, its potential to pollute, is not significant in the Australian environment and this is reflected in Helen's responses.

As already discussed, Glenda saw herself as more 'westernised' than other Anglo-Indians whereas Helen recognised the bias within the Anglo-Indian identity toward western influences. This suggests that Glenda saw her background as being more aligned to 'Indian' culture. It may also be related to the fact that both Glenda's parents were Anglo-Indian while Helen's father was English.

Helen also recognised the diminished emphasis that her mother placed on Anglo-Indian identity. She said,

I suppose I'm trying to recognise more what I've got and you know, even with the whole wanting to go to India thing, it's wanting to find out more about my heritage as such. But then at the same time I know, you know, it's, I don't have a yearning desire to delve too deeply into anything, because that's not really what my family was as well. You know, like, if mum and all that had a really strong attachment to it all, I probably would be more so.

Helen recognises that India does not equate with her family's identity; she recognises an ambivalence in her mother's attitude toward India. The Anglo-Indian identity and 'India' do not go hand in hand. Helen recognises that her mother's background is not 'Indian'.

Helen distanced herself quite clearly from her mother's Anglo-Indian identity. Glenda had attempted to do this as well, but was closer to Anglo-Indian identity.
than was Helen. When asked if she identified with her mother’s background in any way Helen responded, ‘Not really. It’s more mum’s background, I suppose.’ I affirmed her response saying, ‘The Anglo-Indian is really hers.’ Helen responded:

Yeah. More so, and my nanna and pop’s, and the whole you know, like, looking through old family albums and like we’d sort of traditionally have you know, go over to nanna and pop’s for Sunday, after church, and you know, we’d have curry and rice on Sundays for lunch type of thing. And just sitting around with family and you know, and you hear pop tell old stories about this that and the other ... I suppose as a child it was more just listening to the stories, um. So it wasn’t a personal identification really.

Helen has been exposed to many familial memories of the Anglo-Indian community in India and has chosen to reject Anglo-Indian identity. Anglo-Indian identity is assigned to the past. It had diminished relevance in the present. This is in line with the children of other participants who associated Anglo-Indian identity with older people.

Helen’s involvement with both her mother and her mother’s parents as outlined in the above quote played a significant role in the passing down of information about the past. Helen identified her grandfather as a ‘storyteller’ and said that his death represented a certain ‘break’ from the past. Helen was aware of some aspects of their lives and had an appreciation for their lifestyle in India. As a consequence she is interested in going to visit India:

I want to go because of the connection and to see where, you know, mum and that grew up and, and sort of get a bit, some sort of understanding. Like you said before, even take away that whole romantic, you know, connotation of it all and maybe make it a bit more real.

Helen also described the contrast between the contact she had with her mother’s family and her father’s family. She grew up more closely associated with her mother’s family. She felt that she grew up with her nanna and pop, uncles and aunts:
We always, I mean, at school everyone always laughed cos, oh, here comes all the mob. Cos all, there was one stage where all the cousins were at school together and there was like eight of us and, you know, there was the four aunties and, you know, if we ever did things, like family picnics and that, we all did it together. So, there would always be a great tribe and nanna was always a sort of, the chief organiser there, but whereas with dad's side of the family that really never happened.

It is interesting that when travelling in England and America, Helen was asked if she was English. This had never happened in Australia and suggests the context-dependent nature of identification by others.

The third participant in this case study, Irene, did not seem to have an understanding of the term 'Anglo-Indian' as it has been discussed and defined in this research. She said that she grew up thinking she was Burmese:

Well, because dad was born in Rangoon in Burma, so we always thought we were Burmese, part-Burmese, part Australian. But you know, Burmese, not the Anglo-Indian. Yes, it was many years later, mainly at the wake [after her father's death], that we ....

At this point her partner interrupted her and she did not complete the sentence. She later said that she was very surprised at the people who came to this wake; people she had not known of before. She said, 'And it wasn't until at the wake when I actually talked to my aunty who gave me the actual story, the full story.' However, the implication is that she has become aware of strong links with India. Her father died in 1997 and Irene was quite surprised at the people who came to his funeral because she did not know them. Again, secrecy comes to the fore and suggests that people control information about heritage.

Irene found that she too was questioned about her identity and had to explain her background to people. People did not accept that her background was Australian. She said: 'It gets to the stage where you sort of, you know what the questions are 1, 2, 3, and you probably answer them before the questions are
even asked.' She said she was normally identified as Italian, but rejected this identity even though she grew up for many years in an Italian household from about the age of eight years and even learnt a little of the language. This was because her mother had married twice and the second husband was Italian. However Irene did self-identify as Australian and felt that she fitted in well with the people around her.

Irene regrets not having spent more time with her father after her mother's first marriage broke up. She wished her father had married an Indian rather than an Australian woman. Irene did not understand the term 'Anglo-Indian' as defined in this research. She saw it as the combination of an Anglo-Celtic and Indian heritage. She did not have an understanding of the Anglo-Indian community in India or here in Australia. She seemed to have a desire to invent a label or category for herself. Wishing to participate in this research despite her lack of understanding about the Anglo-Indian community showed that she was searching for a label or a category for herself.

Irene too received comments that she had beautiful skin, and that she did not need suntan lotion. Yet, she said that she tended to forget about her skin colour and was not conscious of it all the time. Irene was often taken to be Italian as well, or something else. She does not feel the same sense of discrimination now. She does get stared at occasionally now. Irene has two families of her own from two relationships. The first family consisted of four sons, with three being much darker than the fourth. They took a bit of teasing about their colour, with the fair child being teased because his brothers were dark. But Irene also felt that difference in terms of 'race' is much more accepted now.

The comments made by these three participants about their cousins and relatives further demonstrate the blurring and ambivalence of identity in the Australian environment. Glenda commented on her cousins' parentage, which was not totally Anglo-Indian as was her own; they were quite fair, she said. She also said
that unlike her mother, all the other siblings in her mother's family had married
out of the Anglo-Indian community. She said,

That's why my family, when I go to like a 'rely' thing, its, if you saw some
of my reliess you wouldn't think they're Anglo-Indian because they're fair
or just like, look ... I think we're probably one of the darkest ones of my
mum's side, so ...

Being Anglo-Indian is associated with being dark skinned. Glenda's situation is
opposite to Helen's experience as she is one of the fair cousins in her extended
family. Helen, when referring to her cousin who had her nose pierced said,

And um, and I just remembered thinking, gosh, you really look very
Indian, you know. She really had that whole, cos she's very dark skinned
in comparison to us. And she's got very dark hair and all the rest, and
with her nose pierced she just looked really quite beautiful.

Helen herself associated dark skin with looking Indian, while also stating that
she did not have dark skin. She succeeds in exoticising and 'othering' her cousin
because she is dark skinned. This reflects a colonial response to 'others'; a
defining of difference in terms of skin colour. Helen herself was quite fair. She
said that she had olive skin like her mother. Conversation about skin colour
related to the ease in attaining a tan. She was aware that many of her cousins
were a lot darker than she was. The awareness of skin colour continues to play a
part among women of Anglo-Indian descent.

Some of the stories that these participants told implied that there was a
generational pattern in relation to racism and to being the victim of
discrimination. Irene said that her father was the 'first black apprentice jockey in
Australia'. He had immigrated to Australia in 1946 when he was fourteen years
old and Irene was born in 1964. She remembered newspaper headlines referring
to him as 'black apprentice rides a winner', 'black man does it again'. She said
that her father did not seem to mind this at all. She said that her mother and
father 'stood out' when they were together because her mother was fair and her
father was dark. She said: 'In those days black people and white people just
weren't, you know, were frowned upon. But I went through that sort of drama.'
She recalled that her parents were called the 'black and white minstrels' when they first started going out with each other. As discussed earlier, another participant who was married to a white man raised this aspect of 'inter-racial' relationships. Irene went on to talk about her own 'terrible' childhood experience:

As a child, now living in [name of country town in the wheatbelt region of Western Australia] was very hard as a child I can tell you. Because I was dark skinned, me and my sister and brother were dark skinned ... we weren't accepted by the Aborigines and we weren't accepted by the whites. We were like inbetween, you know.

She later said,

I mean, the whites, sort of, weren't too sure, but you know, to the whites we were actually, you know, we were actually you know we were black. So to them we were Aborigines. And the Aborigines knew that we weren't Aborigine, so they sort of shunned us as well.

The environment in a small country town about thirty years ago imposed the burden of being 'inbetween' in 'racial' terms and in negative terms. This type of identification by others did not occur in the lives of other participants. It suggests that the visible presence of Australian Indigenous people was an important factor and reflects the composition of ethnic groups in some country towns as compared with the metropolitan area.

Irene recalled the discrimination that she received from the hands of the 'nonna' (grandmother) in her home. As mentioned earlier, Irene's mother had married twice and her second husband was Italian. The nonna lived with the family and did not like Irene or her two siblings because they were dark. However, the two sons from the Italian father were cared for and loved.

Glenda suggested that some people and particularly elderly people, were more likely to have problems with skin colour. Glenda later talked about her grandmother as being one of the people with such problems. Glenda said,
She is pretty dark herself, but I don't even know what she calls herself. Like sometimes, she'll say she's this, sometimes she says that ... when it comes to this cultural stuff.

Racism is again linked to older Anglo-Indians who had lived within the colonial environment. These women clearly identified racism in the lives of their grandparents, as both victims and perpetrators.

During the interview Helen spoke very much in terms of memories: memories of her Anglo-Indian grandparents on her mother’s side; and also memories of conversations with her mother when Helen was younger. Glenda on the other hand, was still living with her Anglo-Indian mother and father and continued to have regular links with her mother’s Anglo-Indian parents. Her Anglo-Indian experiences were still current. As a consequence there were elements of a sense of loss in some of Helen’s comments and a sense of establishing her own identity. Glenda, on the other hand had not distanced herself from her parents in the same way and her identity was still linked to theirs, although there were signs of a break here as well. Helen reinforces this sense that her Anglo-Indian identity belonged in the realm of memories when she observes that her youngest brother and other very young cousins had missed out on knowing grandparents. She associated the passing of an era with the deaths of her grandparents. Perhaps this also signifies the passing of an era in terms of Anglo-Indian identity in her life.

CONCLUSIONS

Both Helen and Glenda had some understanding of Anglo-Indian identity. There had been some transmission of information about Anglo-Indian identity, albeit limited. Elements of secrecy relating to this transmission were present in each of their lives. Irene had almost no knowledge or understanding about the origin and background of the Anglo-Indian community. However, she did identify with the term ‘Anglo-Indian’ because of her father’s background.
Both Glenda and Helen demonstrate signs of distancing themselves from their Anglo-Indian heritage at different levels. Glenda's age and having Anglo-Indian parents resulted in a stronger sense of Anglo-Indian identity. Glenda distinguished between traditional Anglo-Indians and herself; she said she was more westernised than other Anglo-Indians. She distanced herself from her parents' identity. The recognition of an Australian lifestyle, characterised by outdoor activity and Australian colloquialisms has significance in Glenda's life and provided a means of transcending her Anglo-Indian heritage. Helen distanced herself from her mother's identity as well, confining Anglo-Indian identity to her memories. She was less attracted to Anglo-Indian ethnicity than to Indian ethnicity, which had been exoticised in her mind. This exoticisation was not related in any way to the place of 'India' in Anglo-Indian identity. The third participant Irene had not been exposed to Anglo-Indian identity and therefore was not concerned with distancing herself from it. Instead, her recent and limited understanding of it produced a level of ambivalence about her identity. All three scenarios are indicative of a lower profile for Anglo-Indian identity in the Australian environment. Helen, in particular, reaffirmed that Anglo-Indian identity had lost social value and emotional significance in the Australian environment. Anglo-Indian identity was no longer needed to distinguish that group from the other ethnic communities in India, and to claim higher status in relation to them. This source of self-enhancement ceased to exist in the Australian environment. There is no 'need' to maintain an Anglo-Indian identity in the Australian environment as there was in India.

Skin colour continued to play a role in terms of group identity. There was a perception that racism was more prevalent in their grandparents' lives and less so in their own lives. It is significant that Glenda and Irene, both of whom said that they had dark skin, commented on having an 'inbetween' status in Australian society. Helen did not see herself as having dark skin and there was no reference to ambivalent status. Both participants also indicated that dark skin was associated with Anglo-Indian background despite having 'white' cousins and in Helen's case darker cousins. The issue of skin colour continues to impact
on their subjective identities at an intragroup level. It has been transferred to the Australian environment and still has meaning for Anglo-Indian women.

These participants felt a sense of belonging in Australia. This correlates with the perceptions of first generation migrants about the identity of their children. A woman's birthplace is an important determinant of identity. There is a stronger sense of belonging in Australia than was the case among the four sisters. However, identification by others continues to pose questions about the criteria for 'belonging' in Australia and identifying as Australian, and about the impact of these criteria on identity for women of Anglo-Indian descent. All three women are managing their identities, distancing themselves from that of their parents at times and thinking through the options before them. Anglo-Indian identity as formulated in the Indian environment becomes increasingly unimportant for these women. They are using their environment in Australia to shape their identities. The final three participants to be discussed develop this thesis further.

Note:

1 This full story was not told during the interview and the participant is no longer contactable.
CHAPTER ELEVEN
THREE CASE STUDIES: FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS
OF IDENTITY

The three women to be discussed in this chapter do not fit into the previous case studies. Their experiences incorporated significant differences and provide avenues for further analysis of identity for Anglo-Indian women. The first of the remaining three participants, Adele, was a single woman who had been born in India. She described her occupation as a librarian/specialist researcher. Although Adele was born in India and came to Australia in 1964 when she was ten years old, she was very aware of her Anglo-Indian background. Both her parents were Anglo-Indian. This awareness was combined with an acknowledgment of the need to adapt to her surroundings and context in Australia. Adele expressed this sense of moving on, of changing with the new environment in Australia:

You can't really hang on to what we used to be in a way, because whether you like it or not you have changed, and whether you can hold on to some cultural values as part of your ethnicity or whatever, that's fine. But you also have to assume that you are now part of the greater culture.

She considered herself to be Australian, but did not disregard her Anglo-Indian heritage. She talked about accommodating feelings about what had been lost with an appreciation for what has been gained. Adele is negotiating and managing her identity through recognition of the changed environment, while accepting her Anglo-Indian heritage. This meant acknowledging both the Indian and the western influences in her life, while at the same time identifying as Australian. This is in contrast with the experience of many participants who distanced themselves from their Anglo-Indian identity and heritage. Adele balances both aspects of her identity. This unique position may be the result of her status as a single woman with the personal space to negotiate her identity without the counterpressures of spouse and children.
Adele expressed some of the challenge that the issues of skin colour had posed in her life in Australia. As a teenager, it was always difficult for her to accept her skin colour. This issue continues to impact on identity within the Anglo-Indian community. She said,

Certainly as an adult, um, I worked on that issue in terms of who I am and my identity, and I think it was with the help of my own study, and with the help of travelling, certainly with having educated friends, and certainly my family background certainly gave me a great deal of security and stability in being able to accept myself.

It was significant that Adele's responses about religion concurred more with those of women who were born in Australia than those who were born in India. She came to find orthodox western religion unfulfilling and has adopted 'an extremely eastern spirituality, mainly based on the Hindu system.' She did not affiliate herself with western Christianity at all. Indian culture is taking on a new status here; far above what it had been accorded in the Indian environment.

The final two participants in this research were each unique in terms of their ancestry and background. The first, Leanne, immigrated to Australia by herself in 1996. Her father is Anglo-Indian, her mother Indian, and she cited this fact as the reason for not having immigrated to England as her father's family had in the past. All other members of her father's family married Anglo-Indians and one married an English woman. Her parents' marriage does not fit with the patterns of social interaction in the other case studies. However, it may be relevant that Leanne's mother grew up among Anglo-Indians, speaking English, and felt quite comfortable with them. Leanne herself married an Indian man in India, which may be indicative of changing patterns of social interaction in India in recent years. She lived in the Middle East for a few years before immigrating to Australia. She was in the process of being divorced at the time of the interview and is in a relationship with an Australian man. Leanne describes herself as an atheist, a dramatic break from the historical markers of Anglo-Indian identity. She has no children and works as a marketing coordinator. The recognition of
racism as part of traditional Anglo-Indian identity and the pursuit of a western lifestyle influenced Leanne’s identity. This manifests itself as a dilemma in Leanne’s life and impacts on notions of belonging. The following discussion highlights Leanne’s dilemma.

Leanne’s knowledge of Hindi was stronger than that of other participants. This may reflect the policies of Indianisation that drove many Anglo-Indians away from India after 1947. Nevertheless, Leanne expressed regret at learning only English in India:

But, there was so much emphasis on us learning English, and speaking English well and writing English well, and if we came back, came home with just past pass marks in Hindi and Marathi, we were doing fine. That was OK. And I think that’s really wrong and I think that comes from that Anglo-Indian thing.

Leanne, like the younger participants, was aware of the western bias and racism inherent in Anglo-Indian identity. The postcolonial policy of Indianisation may also have impacted on Leanne’s feelings about belonging in India. Leanne’s sense of belonging in India and in Australia was dominated by a concern about belonging to a ‘valid’ ethnic group. She said,

And it’s really funny, I remember as kids when we were growing up, you know how you grew up and everybody was you know, Punjabi, you’re Singalese, you’re Goan, or Mongolian or ... They have some sense of belonging to something. When people always asked me who I was, I was ... I’m not quite sure. And it always felt strange. It was kind of weird. And I think, even as a child, I would get all indignant and say, I’m Indian, you know. I didn’t feel like I needed to kind of identify myself as part of the sub kind of culture.

She is suggesting that being Anglo-Indian lacked a certain validity; it did not provide a sense of belonging to a place. The Anglo-Indian culture seems to have been demoted to the status of a sub-culture; it is not a culture in its own right.
This is compounded by Leanne’s feelings about ethnicity as the cause of division and conflict in society. She said,

All cultures can either enrich your life, or do negative things obviously and divide people. And I see a lot of division. Which is why I don’t like to identify myself with a sub-culture. I just like to say that I’m Indian, you know.

Leanne referred to herself as Indian, but was always conscious of the Anglo-Indian layer of her identity. It is reasonable to suggest that her mother, being Indian, may have played a major role in her thinking about this issue. She said that she always knew that her family was slightly different in the Indian environment. She said,

I don’t know why I don’t like to say I’m Anglo-Indian. I have no idea. It’s like (pause) I feel like by saying I’m Anglo-Indian I’m trying to pretend that I’m anything but Indian. I’m trying to pretend that I’m not completely Indian, I’m half English or half western. And I don’t want that. I’m really proud of being Indian. I think that’s the reason.

I responded to Leanne, suggesting that she wanted to affirm the Indian side of her identity and she agreed with this completely. This was even more important to Leanne because she lives in a western culture:

Whilst I completely adapt to western culture and I involve myself in western cultures and I think that’s really important as a migrant, you know, you don’t, you know, become insular and you know. It’s really important to integrate with whichever culture you are living with. I still want them to know that I have my own identity and my own culture - and that’s an Indian culture. So by saying I’m Anglo-Indian it must be like, you know, I’m kind of eroding that Indian culture that I have in me. I don’t know, I’m ... I’ve always done it sub-consciously. I’ve never actually really thought about it or rationalised why I do it.

The need to adapt to western culture but retain migrant identity is expressed by other participants as well. The above quote also reinforces Leanne’s perspective
of Anglo-Indian culture as a sub-culture; it is not a 'pure' culture. Leanne expresses her dilemma:

It's really funny actually. Absolutely, because whilst I, I want to stress my Indianess, at the same time I know that because I have quite an Anglo-Indian upbringing, I'm able to so much better live in a western culture now. If I had a very, very traditional Indian upbringing I would find it so hard to adjust to this world's western culture. So, I'm thankful for that.

The intersections of ethnic affiliation here are complex. Leanne is trying to accommodate her Anglo-Indian heritage with a desire to express her Indian heritage and to maintain a western lifestyle. She also said,

It's funny because on the one hand, I really want to say I'm Indian and I want to portray myself as being Indian, but on the other hand I try very hard to be very western. So, and I think because I know I'm trying so hard to be western, I'm trying to cling to my Indianess.

Leanne felt that Anglo-Indians thought themselves to be superior to Indians (this was borne out in the experiences of other participants and in quoted literature) and for this reason, she preferred to call herself Indian. She still refers to herself as Indian and tries to de-emphasise the 'Anglo' part of her ethnic identity.

Although Leanne is not yet an Australian citizen she intends to become one in the near future. However, she is not sure that she will always live in Australia. Her career played a part in this too. She certainly does not feel that she belongs in any country now. She said, 'It's funny, I feel a bit of a nomad.' As she was getting a little older, Leanne felt the need to be closer to her family. However, she did not think she would ever go back to India to live. Her feeling that she did not belong in a country now contrasts markedly with the responses of many other participants but concurs with a few who were ambivalent about this issue. The insecurities expressed by Leanne about belonging incorporate a conscious evaluation of Anglo-Indian identity as being racist and divisive. She wanted to disassociate herself from her Anglo-Indian identity.
I have been discussing issues of self-identification thus far. Leanne was aware of issues about identification by others. She suggested that other people found it difficult to categorise her because she had travelled quite a lot:

Er, I think a lot of people see me as a bit of an anomaly, because they want to try and put me, when you don't know a lot about other cultures, you like to stereotype people, and put them into little boxes, and whilst they'd like to put me in a little Indian box, I don't quite fit there.

Many of her reasons for this are similar to issues of identification by others that other participants experienced. When I asked her whether people identified her as Australian, she said,

Oh, no (long pause). No, I'm not sure. Because when I tell people sometimes that I've only lived here for three years, they go, "What! You know, seems like you've lived here forever, you've lived here since you were a kid or you were born here." So, er, I'm not sure really. Probably has something to do with the way I speak, the fact that I don't have a very Indian accent, I don't know. But, by the same token I don't have an Australian accent. So, yeah, I think I'm a bit of an anomaly and a bit of an enigma for most people (both laugh).

Accent continues to be an important marker of identity. Leanne also identified the problem that white Australians may have in identifying others who look different. She cited the case of her Chinese friend who came to Australia when she was a baby and her negative response to being identified as 'other'. Leanne herself appreciated looking different because, as she said, 'people can identify me as coming from another culture.'

Leanne told an interesting story that reinforces the hierarchy in relation to skin colour that existed in the Indian environment. This story is about the romance between her grandparents on her mother's side, both being Indian:

He left the seminary and my mum's mum was going to become a nun and he ... It's really lovely, I think this is so romantic, I'd love to write a book. He saw her and mum's mum was very beautiful, and you know how especially down south, there people are quite dark skinned. If you're light-
skinned or fair-skinned, you're regarded as being beautiful. You might be ugly as sin, but as long as you had light skin you're still beautiful. So anyway, she was beautiful, regardless of her white skin. And so my grandfather saw her and fell madly in love with her apparently, and er er, he had left the seminary by then and he ...

Leanne felt that skin colour mattered in India and that 'fairer is nicer'. She was conscious of this even though, in the family environment, a conscious effort was made to link beauty with dark skin. Leanne remembered an incident when someone commented that a person was nice looking. Her mother responded, 'No, I don't think so. All she has is colour.' Nevertheless, Leanne also recognised that such strategies are double-edged in that they can serve to emphasise the very notion that they attempt to deconstruct. She went on to say, 'Yeah, but mum, I know would, would say outwardly that she would prefer to comment positively on a dark skinned person's looks than a light skinned person's looks.'

Having thought through these issues, Leanne said, 'When I was young I would have preferred to be lighter skinned, but now, the darker the better.' She said that she tends to forget that she looks different from mainstream Australians, but she becomes conscious of it from time to time when she notices other people looking at her. She referred to Perth as a very 'white city' compared to other cosmopolitan cities like Toronto. She was conscious of her career prospects and this played a part in Leanne's decision-making about belonging.

Leanne's responses suggest that 'belonging' in India became more tenuous for the Anglo-Indians during the 1970s, and continued to be so into the 1990s. Leanne's experience suggests that Anglo-Indian identity had lost status in India; Leanne had lost the sense of belonging in India that many participants had experienced during their lives in India before migration. Government policy influenced issues of citizenship, belonging and identity.

The last participant to be discussed is Jeevana, a young university student who lived in her parents' home. Her pseudonym is Indian because her actual name is
Indian. Jeevana’s mother is a teacher and her father is a geologist. Jeevana is not of Anglo-Indian descent as discussed and traditionally defined in this research. Neither of her parents are Anglo-Indian. Her father is Indian and her mother is of Danish and English descent. Her mother was born in New Zealand but grew up in Australia. Her father emigrated from India during the early 1970s when he was in his late twenties or early thirties. Jeevana was born in Australia. She often referred to her father as Kashmiri rather than Indian. So, Jeevana was not aware of the origin, history and status of the Anglo-Indian community. Nevertheless, she responded to the advertisement for participants in the research and identified in some way with the term ‘Anglo-Indian.’

Jeevana did not express any knowledge of cultural markers of Anglo-Indian identity in her responses. She did not practice any religion and took care to distance herself from both her mother and her father’s religions, saying that although she did believe in God, this God was ‘not as the Christians see it, and not as the God that the Hindus believe in.’ She felt that she had defined her ‘own sort of belief.’ Jeevana went to Anglican schools as a girl. Neither of her parents practice their religion in a significant manner. Jeevana did mention that her father does however make his contributions to the temple. Jeevana is forging her own identity, which entails a critical appraisal of her parents’ backgrounds.

Jeevana’s paternal grandmother had come to Australia and stayed with her for quite a long period of time before she went to school. Jeevana said that she spoke Hindi when she first went to school and that her teachers could not understand her. However, she learned and spoke English from then on. It is significant that her knowledge of Hindi was not fostered in her family. It demonstrates a break from that aspect of the family’s identity. Jeevana did not speak Danish and neither did her mother. She did however speak Japanese well because she studied it at school, and had lived in Japan on student exchange for a few months.
Jeevana described herself in many seemingly contradictory ways during the interview. At one point she said,

Well, I see myself as being Indian. When I look at myself in the mirror I see an Indian face. So yeah, I think when people ask me where do you come from, that sort of thing, and I say, I'm Australian, I'm very quick to add, "but my father's Indian and my mum's, you know, European." I've noticed that a lot, I'm very quick to point out my background, if people don't ask me straight away. So, I think people, I make people aware that I am Anglo-Indian, you know, when I meet them.

She used the term Anglo-Indian in this response and so I asked, 'Do you ever use the word Anglo-Indian though, when people ask you?' Jeevana responded:

No, I don't. I think it's because, I think the word Anglo-Indian, it sort of doesn't describe you in any way other than what your ancestry is and I am Australian, because I was born here, so I am of Australian birth, and I think my background is a bit more interesting than just simply Anglo-Indian because my mum's got this Danish side of her and her mother wasn't Australian, she was actually British. It's a bit more interesting than just you know Anglo-Indian. And my dad's not, to me, my dad's not just Indian, he's Kashmiri.

So, Jeevana has described herself as Indian, Anglo-Indian and Australian in her responses. The 'Indian' seems to be very related to her appearance, the 'Anglo-Indian' to her ancestry, and the 'Australian' to her birthplace. Her understanding of the term 'Anglo-Indian' seems to suggest a commonsense biological understanding, without any knowledge of the ethnic group that is the subject of this research. She is trying to reconcile many aspects of her identity in the Australian environment; she is attempting to manage her identity. When pressed to give a more definitive answer about her identity, she said, 'I'd have to say Australian. I like to think of myself as Australian, so yes, definitely Australian, with a little bit more (laughs).' This quote suggests that this 'little bit more' is something that is not incorporated in being Australian; it enriches the 'Australian' identity. This reinforces other participants' interpretation of their 'hybridity' in positive terms.
As in the lives of other participants, skin colour and racism played a part.
Jeevana talked about her grandmother’s (on her mother’s side) racist behaviour toward her father. She said,

My mum’s mum was very, very racist, and she was very nasty to my father. And I always thought it was very ironic because here she has all these three grandchildren who she doted on a lot, and yet she didn’t see us as being from this person that she seemed to have so much against. And it was all because of his skin colour, and I used to think, we’ve got part of that too. I just could never understand.

Despite this, Jeevana’s mother took on some aspects of her husband’s ethnicity. She cooked Indian food and wore the ‘dedero’ (a style of jewellery) in her hair, which, Jeevana explained, is the symbol of marriage in Kashmir. So, the Indian side of identity was demonstrated in the home environment in this way. Jeevana recalled that it was only at Christmas that her Danish background came to the fore through the food and the language. She said that her father’s culture was manifested in the Indian food that was cooked and eaten when he was at home (he worked away from home). At other times a wide range of Asian and European food was cooked in the home.

Jeevana recalled that, as a child, her family mixed with many Indian families. She said that she felt a greater affinity with that culture than her mother’s. She also commented that there were many Indian ornaments in her home. However, socialisation with Indian people has fallen away over the years. She attributes this to the fact that her father has become more Australian. It also has something to do with the fact that the Indian families they associated with mix exclusively with each other. This has resulted, according to Jeevana, in the development of differing sets of values between her family and these Indian families. She said,

I don’t think I’d feel as comfortable with those same people any more because there are so many different expectations of me. Like they have to go to medical school or they have to go to law school; they want to go back to India or they know they are going to have an arranged marriage or
... and those things, they don't really apply to me any more. I don't have much in common with them.

Jeevana now interacts with a wide range of ethnic groups, but she feels that she has an 'affinity with Asian people and the Asian mindset as well'.

Jeevana recounted an incident where her cousin, a young man, recently visited her from India and dressed in Indian clothes for a party. Jeevana told him that it was not really acceptable. 'So I think, I don't really have an affinity or I don't really like to wear Indian clothes other than if I was to go to an Indian family's house.' In not allowing her cousin to dress as he wished, Jeevana was concerned about presenting an image that was acceptable to the people at the party. This suggests a tendency on the part of her social group to exclude people who are 'different'.

Jeevana thought that people usually identified her on the basis of her skin colour and her features. She said,

So they assume I'm Mediterranean, or Spanish or something like that, but they can't quite pick it and then when they hear my name they like ‘Oooo (laughs), where does that come from’, and I give them three guesses, knowing that they'll never get it.

Jeevana’s real name is and sounds Indian, especially if it is pronounced correctly. This is in contrast to Anglo-Indian first names, which are western. Jeevana’s real name allows some identification of her Indian heritage, whereas that of Anglo-Indians does not. The use of western names in the Indian environment had served as a marker of identity in India; an identity that was obviously closer to that of the coloniser. For Jeevana, her appearance combined with her name lead people to identify her as 'different', as 'other' and as not belonging in Australia.

Jeevana, when asked about skin colour said, after a long pause,
I’ve never really thought about it that much. Um. I think its because, like whenever we’ve been to India, people ask us where we’re from. We’re not seen as being Indian, and I’ve asked my cousin on several occasions, “Do you think I look Indian?” He’d say, “No.” But when I look at myself in the mirror, I think I look Indian. But to Australians, I don’t look Australian as such, and people will often ask me if I’m Italian or Spanish or something like that.

Jeevana said that her two sisters had varying shades of skin colour. One is much darker than her and the other much fairer. She said, ‘And I’ve never actually suffered any, sort of discrimination, because of my skin colour. Except for once in primary school, I can remember one girl, she made some sort of comment once, and that’s probably it.’

Jeevana also told a story about a Scottish man and his Anglo-Indian wife:

When he and his wife first got together they were living in a country town down south and the wife went in to buy the dinner or something, and the guy just refused to serve her, because of her colour. That sort of, ‘in your face’ discrimination would be shocking. I thank God that I haven’t had to deal with that sort of thing.

Jeevana was aware of skin colour as a source of discrimination in the Australian environment.

Yet, Jeevana felt that she belonged in Australia because she grew up here and that she too fitted in with the people around her. She felt that she had more to offer society than many of her white Australian friends because of the diversity in her life, her travels overseas and her parents diverse backgrounds. Perhaps this is what she was referring to when she described herself as ‘Australian, with a little bit more.’

These last three participants confirm and extend my contention that Anglo-Indian identity is of decreasing relevance in Western Australian society for Anglo-Indian women, their children and grandchildren. Adele expressed the
need to move on from Anglo-Indian identity while at the same time acknowledging it as being a part of the past. The lack of a partner and children may be crucial in her assessment of her identity. Leanne described herself variously as Anglo-Indian, Indian and as ‘western’. However she sought, with passion, to disassociate herself from her Anglo-Indian background. Jeevana’s self-identification as an Anglo-Indian even though she is not Anglo-Indian in the historical sense, affirms the decreasing social value and relevance of Anglo-Indian identity in Australia. Jeevana did not have an understanding of the term ‘Anglo-Indian’ in its historical context. Her response suggests that a lack of knowledge about the origin and background of the Anglo-Indian community facilitates a change in the meaning of the term ‘Anglo-Indian.’ It retains the notion of mixed ancestry without the legal and cultural connotations associated with colonial India. This demonstrates the context-dependent nature of categorising. Jeevana is constructing her identity using her parents’ ethnicity and the context of her life.

It is significant that this group of participants is instrumental in shifting analysis from the issues of transmission of Anglo-Indian identity to a greater self-conscious management of identity. This is not to say that other participants did not manage and control identity. Other participants did. However, they were managing and controlling Anglo-Indian identity, whereas these three participants demonstrate a continuum away from Anglo-Indian identity. The direction of this continuum is unclear. However, it clearly signals a weakening profile of Anglo-Indian identity and a greater concern with contexts unrelated to India. Despite this shift in the status of Anglo-Indian identity, skin colour and accent continue to have significance within the Anglo-Indian community and are markers of difference in the wider community.

Jeevana felt that she had more to offer Australian society because of her mixed ancestry. This ancestry is not related to the Indian environment in the same way that Anglo-Indian identity is. Instead, it is located in the Australian multicultural context. Self-identification and identification by others in her life present issues
that relate to interaction between ethnic groups in the Australian environment rather than a mere transposing of ethnic and racial issues from India to Australia.
CHAPTER TWELVE
RECONCILING PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE IDENTITIES

The porosity and fluidity of ethnic identities and categories is investigated in this research. The complex ancestry of women who chose to identify as Anglo-Indian demonstrates that ethnic identities and categories are not determined by ancestry alone. Women with a wide range of ancestries identify themselves as Anglo-Indian, including women with no Indian or British ancestry. This suggests that the term 'Anglo-Indian' as it was defined at the beginning of this thesis has taken on different meanings in the Australian context. Contextual factors play a significant role in both individual and group identity. In colonial India, labels such as 'domiciled European' and 'Anglo-Indian' were imbued with meaning, which has not translated into post-colonial society in Australia. This shift in meaning has implications for those people within ethnic communities, such as the Anglo-Indian community, concerned with the preservation of a particular identity. This reshaping of identity occurs over a generation or two and can be a source of both tension and fulfilment in the lives of individuals.

Social identity theory and self-categorisation theory have been useful tools in analysing these shifts in ethnic identity. Both identification by others and self-identification warrant discussion in this conclusion since they represent significant themes of this research. The self as 'known', that is, identification by others, experienced a dramatic shift as a result of immigration. This came about as a result of the contextual changes between the Indian and Australian environments, which had marked consequences for the ethnic identity of participants. This contextual change related primarily to the composition of ethnic groups in the two environments. Intercategory differences were maximised in the Indian environment. However, intergroup social behaviour was problematised in the Australian environment since group comparison was less definitive. Consequently, self-conceptualisation as a group member was destabilised. The 'western' bias demonstrated in the markers of identity claimed
by Anglo-Indians in India and transferred to Australia, combined with the lack of knowledge on the part of many individuals in Australian society about the Anglo-Indian community in India has resulted in the loss of a distinctive identity in the Australian environment. This suggests that ethnic identity is more dependent on contextual factors than on ancestry. This conclusion may also be applicable to other 'mixed-race' or 'hybrid' groups in Australia.\(^1\)

Self-identification as Anglo-Indian in the Indian context was based on racial, cultural and contextual factors. The self as 'knower' strove to maintain some constancy in self-identification after immigration. This was demonstrated in that the participants continued to identify as Anglo-Indian in the Australian environment. However, cultural criteria had decreased relevance in the Australian environment and the motivation to maintain strict ethnic boundaries no longer existed. This has been a source of tension in the lives of Anglo-Indian women. Both these factors will be discussed in this concluding chapter.

Both self-identification and identification by others have been influenced by the experience of immigration. This experience had a marked effect on the distinctiveness of identity that the Anglo-Indian community strove to create in the Indian environment. Boundaries between the Anglo-Indian community and other Indian ethnic groups had been closely guarded in India and intermarriage with Indians was considered taboo. In the Australian environment, this pattern shifted. Women were more inclined to marry or develop relationships out of the community. Immigration to Western Australia resulted in the loss of the 'distinctive' aspect of Anglo-Indian identity since many cultural markers paralleled those of mainstream groups in Australia. This loss of distinctiveness may also apply to other 'mixed-race' migrant groups and to migrant groups whose first and only language may be English. The dynamics of ethnic groups in Western Australia meant that the Anglo-Indians needed to reassess their identities. The increased range of ethnic groups and the increased opportunity to interact with ethnic groups which originated in Europe meant that they did not need to guard their ethnic boundaries and that they no longer felt threatened by a
predominantly Indian population. The experience of multiple migration, and in particular, the experience of immigrating to England before immigrating to Australia, also resulted in greater identification with the European component of Anglo-Indian identity.

The two diacritical markers of identity that maintained validity in the Australian environment were accent in speech and skin colour. It is necessary to distinguish between the subjective recognition of difference within the Anglo-Indian community and the identification of some Anglo-Indian women as 'other' in the Australian environment. The Anglo-Indian community has transferred their preoccupation with skin colour to the Australian environment. Skin colour was recognised as a signifier of status within the Anglo-Indian community in India, even though it may not have resulted in material benefits. Accent was also recognised by Anglo-Indian women as a marker of difference within the Anglo-Indian community in Australia.

It is important to remember that skin colour as a diacritical marker of 'difference' applies only to a percentage of Anglo-Indian women since they can have various skin colours. Women marked by difference reported racial prejudice in their lives. It is crucial to recognise however, that these markers were no longer a marker of Anglo-Indian identity but of being 'other' and 'migrant' in the Australian environment. Women who were identified in this way were prone to prejudice and some level of discrimination, particularly those who came to Australia before the formal abandonment of the White Australia Policy. The woman who grew up in a country town also experienced high levels of abuse, as her family did not fit into the categories of 'white' or 'Aboriginal'. However, many participants indicated that levels of prejudice in Australian society had fallen over the years, so that they felt increasingly comfortable in their lives.

The pre-existing values and attitudes toward difference in Australia were imposed on Anglo-Indian women without regard for their particular history and
ethnic background. These pre-existing values and attitudes reflect Australia's history and serve to erase crucial aspects of Anglo-Indian identity. This was also demonstrated in terms of the historical stereotypes applying to 'mixed-race' populations that have affected the lives of such groups. There has been no indication in this research that the mainstream population in Australia was aware of the historical negative stereotypes associated with 'mixed-race' populations in India and with the women of those populations, in particular; the stereotype of the promiscuous Anglo-Indian woman. It is significant that although this stereotype persists in the Indian media (Mills, 1998), it does not have currency in the Australian environment, despite the historical recognition of such issues with reference to the Indigenous Australian population. There was no reference to this stereotype by participants. Migration, for Anglo-Indian women, facilitated an opportunity to move on from such stereotypes in terms of identity. It is also significant that many participants subverted their 'hybrid' backgrounds into a signifier of cultural wealth, which was contrasted with other ethnicities.

The focus on women in this study has resulted in several conclusions that apply exclusively to them. As already suggested, the positive impact of immigration on the historical stereotyping of Anglo-Indian women is significant. Emphases on the military and economic aspects of Anglo-Indian history and descriptions of the Anglo-Indian community, which were indicated in Chapter One, precluded a consideration of the status and role of women within that history. The depiction of Anglo-Indian women as exotic served to limit the discourse relating to their identity. This study contributes to restoring some balance in this respect. The patriarchal framework within which Anglo-Indian women lived in India suggests that the life experience of women and men differed markedly. A gendered approach, therefore, makes women visible and highlights issues that have confronted them both in India and Australia.

This research has demonstrated agency on the part of participants in the management and negotiation of their identities. The management of self-identification is indicative of this. The ethnocentric behaviour patterns of Anglo-
Indian families indicate their management of a separate identity in the Indian environment. The practice of endogamy was also instrumental in this respect. Maintaining ethnic boundaries reinforced their identity. There is evidence that Anglo-Indians have been selective about what information about ancestry is transmitted from one generation to the next. This secrecy implies a desire to mould ethnic identity, rather than base it purely on ancestry; to discard undesirable aspects of the past.

After immigration to Australia, many participants chose to distance themselves from their constructed Anglo-Indian heritage. This was managed through socialisation patterns, particularly in adulthood, and a move from the endogamy practised in India to exogamy. There was a shift away from the practice of Christian religion, which was a cornerstone of Anglo-Indian identity. Cooking and eating patterns too reflected this change. Low levels of membership of Anglo-Indian organisations suggest the desire to move away from this identity as well. These changes in the lives of the participants suggest an assimilationist approach to their ethnic identity in Australia, or an approach that incorporates the ethnicity of their partners. The western component of their identity, which was derived from their 'mixed-race' origin, allows them access into mainstream Australian society. This was very clearly demonstrated by the adolescent participant who felt that she was more 'western' than other Anglo-Indians. She felt that her participation in 'Australian' activities such as going to the beach and camping demonstrated this. The inclination by the women to categorise their children as Australian rather than Anglo-Indian adds weight to this argument. However, the attempt to assimilate into Australian society is problematised by the issue of skin colour since Anglo-Indian women can be dark skinned. This marker of identity can be used to block this process of assimilation and is discussed further when considering the lived experience of Anglo-Indian women. Exclusion as a result of this marker individualises this aspect of ethnic identity.
In India there was a strong inclination among Anglo-Indians to identify with the British primarily through the adoption of western cultural markers. This brought with it advantages and privileges. The origin of the Anglo-Indian community through sexual contact between the coloniser and the colonised established a basis from which a separate identity could be constructed, which ensured that Anglo-Indians would be placed in a favourable position within the hierarchy of ethnic groups in India and in terms of class. As history has shown, this did not always work in favour of the Anglo-Indian community and although they experienced favourable treatment, they also experienced discrimination at the hands of the coloniser and the general Indian population.

Ethnocentric patterns established in India were related less to the maintenance of ethnic boundaries generally and more to maintaining a specific boundary between the Indian and Anglo-Indian communities. Anglo-Indian women, particularly older women, had internalised racist attitudes toward the Indian ethnic communities in India. Historical and political context contributed to the development of racial attitudes. The colonial environment within which these women were born and their position vis-a-vis the coloniser and the colonised provided fertile ground for the growth of such attitudes. Some participants were less conscious of this than others. However, many Anglo-Indian women interviewed recognised the racism and prejudice that had been manifested in Anglo-Indian identity through ignorance of Indian culture, a disregard for the ethnic groups that surrounded them in India, and a belittling of the Indian ancestry that was a part of the Anglo-Indian identity. Many of the participants consciously worked against this. Some were ashamed of this racist and prejudiced aspect of their ethnic identity. Despite this greater awareness, many Anglo-Indian women have not overcome these racist assumptions. As stated earlier, this is evident in the preoccupation with skin colour where dark skinned relatives are identified as Anglo-Indian more readily than fair skinned relatives. As women are distanced from India by time and generations, there is an increased inclination to value Indian culture for itself and not as part of the Anglo-Indian heritage, especially among younger women. The meaning and
interpretation of ‘India’ and ‘Indians’ has changed in the minds of Anglo-Indian women. They no longer imply a threat to Anglo-Indian identity in the Australian environment. This re-evaluation of identity is indicative of an ‘undoing’ of negative attitudes toward Indian ethnic groups. It is a self-conscious process and is indicative of the agency of the participants in creating identity. It suggests a ‘healing’ of the rift between ethnic groups. The romanticising of India and its culture among younger women also indicates an evolving relationship between Anglo-Indians and India. This relationship is reflective of the changed context in Australia.

All participants were accepting of Anglo-Indian identity at some level. Self-categorisation does not necessarily reflect intensity of self-identification. Some participants were also inclined to identify with more than one category. The role of Anglo-Indian partners in reinforcing Anglo-Indian identity was evident in the lives of participants. However, it was less significant in the lives of their children. Young participants, in particular, demonstrated an awareness of the markers of identity that they shared with mainstream ethnic groups in Australia. The social value of Anglo-Indian identity as it had been constructed in the Indian environment was less relevant in Australia. If the primary purpose of Anglo-Indian identity was to distinguish it from Indian ethnic communities, as I have suggested, its relevance in the multicultural environment in Australia is questionable. It is not surprising then, that many participants chose to distance themselves from their Indian and Anglo-Indian heritage in the Australian environment. This was verbalised even more clearly by women who had been born in Australia. There was a significant decline in knowledge and understanding of Anglo-Indian identity and heritage among the children and grandchildren of the participants. The diminished understanding on the part of these young people and children of the Anglo-Indian identity and background is instrumental in the changes in Anglo-Indian identity.

The challenges to Anglo-Indian identity posed by the Australian environment brought to the fore the lack of social value of the Anglo-Indian identity in this
new context. Many women welcomed the reinforcement of group identity when they first arrived in Australia, but later distanced themselves from it as they made new friends through work, marriage and other interests. The lack of distinction and social value of Anglo-Indian identity was identified by younger women and opens the door to new ways of negotiating identity. 'Anglo-Indian' is perceived as an irrelevant social label; the implication is that it belongs in a past era. Doubt was also placed on the Anglo-Indian identity as an authentic ethnic identity because of its western bias, in particular, the use of the English language. Concern was expressed about self-identification that resulted in the formation of separate ethnic groups and the perpetuation of these groups. These ideas of irrelevance and inauthenticity of ethnic groups and their tendency to create divisions in society provide new avenues for the individuals to shape their identities in the Western Australian context. They represent a self-conscious and critical approach to identity formation and development. These insights into Anglo-Indian identity articulated by participants contribute to new ways of perceiving the category 'Anglo-Indian'. Also, as demonstrated in the data, the meaning of the category itself is subject to change. Identification with the term 'Anglo-Indian' does not necessarily infer identification with the Anglo-Indian community that has been the focus of this research. Instead, the term can be used to identify individuals of 'mixed-race' background in a multicultural context rather than as defined by the Indian constitution. There are indications that the term 'Anglo-Indian' is being reconstructed to give meaning to identity issues arising from immigration and the multicultural context in Australia.

Another aspect of this research has been the development of an understanding of what it means to 'be' Anglo-Indian women, both in the Indian and the Western Australian contexts. Implicit in this process of 'being', is the acknowledgment of the intersections of gender, ethnicity and class in the lives of participants.

Many of these women experienced a privileged lifestyle in India. Their ethnic status allowed this and superseded the impact of gender in their lives. Most of the participants had not participated in the workforce during their married lives.
in India. Immigration to Australia resulted in a significant change of lifestyle for many of these women. The changed social and economic context meant that they had little choice in accepting an increased burden of housekeeping and child rearing. Most joined the paid workforce, which involved upgrading qualifications. In Australia, this was often an economic necessity, especially in light of the fact that men could not find work of equivalent status and salary as in India, and many of those who married in Australia 'married down'. Socio-economic status and class was not maintained after immigration to Australia.

The participants brought with them a patriarchal family structure that has persisted in the Australian environment. Although there were some signs of greater involvement of partners in housework and child rearing, the major burden still falls on the women. However, signs of change are evident in participants' lives. Some women recognised their subordination in the family structure and identified increased autonomy and self-determination in the Australian environment. They have also experienced success in the workplace.

The key role that women have traditionally played in ensuring the transmission of culture and heritage through the generations is brought into question in this research. Although the community had ensured this transmission of culture in the Indian environment, there is little evidence to suggest an active effort to maintain ethnic identity in Australia. Membership of Anglo-Indian organisations was not encouraged and there was minimal interaction with other Anglo-Indians in the community. The role of women in this regard is less tied to gender than to the social context of their lives and may be more aligned with the desire to assimilate into Australian society.

Despite some ambivalence about 'belonging', most of the participants felt that they belonged in Australia and that they 'fitted in' with the people around them. Their sense of belonging was tied to the identity of their children, many of whom were born in or had spent many years of their lives in Australia. Certainly, there was little evidence of attachment to India. In the case of a
young participant, multiple migrations resulted in ambivalence relating to perceptions of home and belonging.

The impact of migration on identity is the major theme of this study. The motivations for immigration were both economic and social. Anglo-Indians believed that the policy of Indianisation following Indian independence discriminated against them in terms of their career prospects and social well-being. They perceived themselves as a minority group that was legally and culturally separate from 'Indians'. It would appear that an important motivation for migration was to escape this discriminatory environment. In the short term this was to their economic disadvantage since the first generation found less skilled and prestigious employment in Australia. Many of their children also 'married down'. Women had more work in the home, as they did not have servants and had to work outside the home to attain a satisfactory lifestyle.

As indicated in this study, the Anglo-Indians in India had practiced endogamy over many decades in order to maintain their ethnic boundaries. This practice was not sustained after immigration to Australia. Instead, the majority of the participants married men from European and white ethnic communities. If the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and the perpetuation of the Anglo-Indian identity was so important to the Anglo-Indian community, it would follow that the practice of endogamy would have been maintained after immigration to Australia. However, this was not the case. This suggests that the practice of endogamy in India was motivated by a desire not to integrate with the Indian communities. It also implies that another, albeit unsaid, major motivation for immigration was integration into European ethnic groups. The opportunity to assimilate and integrate with European and white communities was not possible in the Indian context but was achieved in the Australian context. I suggest that both ethnic identity issues and economic issues were the underlying motivation for immigration. There is no doubt that participants identified economic issues and feelings of exclusion in the Indian context as their motivation for immigrating to Australia. They did not foresee the loss of a distinct identity or
its irrelevance in the Australian context. Nevertheless, the new context in Australia provided an environment that favoured a break from Anglo-Indian heritage in the lives of Anglo-Indian women and favoured assimilation into mainstream Australian society. Responses about the two remaining markers of identity, skin colour and accent, indicated this desire to assimilate. Comments relating to strong accents held by Anglo-Indians in Australia are not complimentary, and suggest that assimilation in terms of accent is important to the participants. The dark children of ‘other’ Anglo-Indians are identified as Anglo-Indian, when fair children are not identified in the same way. Such differentiation on the part of participants demonstrates a willingness to ascribe mainstream identities to individuals who do not exhibit ‘difference’ and for whom assimilation is an easier process. In effect, both identity issues and economic issues provided motivation for immigration to Australia. This study suggests that the former, identity issues, have been more effectively resolved than the latter.

The concept of ‘passing’ in India, which has historically been perceived as a covert and dishonest method of social mobility, has been transformed into the process of assimilation in the Australian context. ‘Passing’ has been converted into negotiation of identity through assimilation. It is no longer a covert process; Anglo-Indian women can claim their Anglo-Indian identity, while at the same time reject many aspects of this same identity. Assimilation, with its emphasis on cultural markers of identity, can facilitate ‘passing’ into Australian mainstream society. This transformation is reflective of a move from a racial to a cultural discourse. However, this move is more apparent than real, since the process of assimilation and social mobility is generally more difficult for women who exhibit visible ‘difference’.

The practice of multiculturalism in Australia does not favour the perpetuation of Anglo-Indian identity for Anglo-Indian women. Instead, it results in a high degree of assimilation for this group. This has important repercussions for the place and status of Anglo-Indian women in Australia. As previously indicated,
the in/exclusion of English-speaking migrant women within the overall context of 'Australian women' needs to be addressed. The diversity within the category 'migrant' women requires greater analysis and the partial nature of the category 'non-English-speaking-background' in migration issues should be acknowledged. Proficiency in English also has enabled identification with mainstream Australian society and signifies advantage in comparison with the status of non-English-speaking migrant women. On the other hand, the migration experience itself and the markers that signify difference such as accent and skin colour may align these women more closely with women from non-English-speaking-backgrounds. The ambivalent status of Anglo-Indian women in the Australian multicultural context is highlighted in this discussion. This status may be related to the concept of separate groups and identities in multiculturalism, which does not account for socialisation and interaction (Young, 1995) between ethnic groups. Such socialisation and interaction facilitated the origin of the Anglo-Indian community in India. It is also instrumental in the reshaping of ethnic identity in the Australian environment for Anglo-Indian women.

Note:

1 These statements do not refer to the same issue with reference to the Indigenous Australian population, which requires a separate and appropriate theoretical and contextual framework.
POSTSCRIPT

In the early chapters of this thesis I indicated my personal interest in and motivation for carrying out this research. My experience as an Anglo-Indian woman played a significant role in this. I am thankful that many of my deepest thoughts and feelings about my identity have been given voice by the participants in this research.

I immigrated to Australia with my family in December 1967. I was thirteen years old and one of seven children. Both my parents were Anglo-Indian and we were Catholic (I am now atheist). Many of the stories told by the participants reflected my early experience and that of my family in Australia. They are similar to the life experiences of many other migrants as well.

My father had been in the Indian Army; he retired as a Lieutenant Colonel just before we left India. His first job in Australia was clerical in nature; he worked his way up to an administrative position. This represented a significant drop in terms of status for him. He always resented the workplace in Australia and did not really ever come to terms with the loss of status he experienced after migration. Dad was a dark-skinned man. I always felt that he was uncomfortable in his body; he could never escape it. He was an authoritarian father. I always felt nervous with him and could never really express myself with him. He died a few years ago.

My mother spent her married life bearing seven children and caring for them. She is a fair woman and I’ve always been struck by this difference in skin colour between mum and dad. I always have a sense that this had implications for their lives in India – but it was never discussed. She had worked as a telephonist before her marriage. After we came to Australia she did factory work and cleaning jobs. This experience was difficult for her. I remember how readily we changed our eating habits to include western food and how mum had to develop
her own cooking skills. I have memories of her helping servants and cooks in India – but primarily they did the cooking.

The older children were sent out to work in order to help with household finances when we arrived in Western Australia. My two younger siblings and I were allowed to continue our schooling.

My name, Erica Maria Lewin, has never felt quite right. Like Jeevana, one of the young participants in this study, I've looked at my face in the mirror and felt that something was out of kilter. My name is a white woman's name. It is not my name; I am not a white woman. When I tell other people that my name is Erica, I do not feel comfortable about it. I feel like an impostor at times.

I am a migrant. Yet, I've never felt 'ethnic enough'. After all I do speak English fluently; it has always been my first and only language. I also wear western clothes. Yet, I am identified as 'other'. My potential to bear dark-skinned children was an issue for parents-in-law when I married a white Australian.

None of my siblings married Anglo-Indians. In fact, when the possibility arose, my parents were adamant in their opposition to it. This study has elaborated on the racism that has been identified as part of the Anglo-Indian identity. I was thankful to hear it acknowledged by participants. They expressed regret for past prejudices and injustices, and so do I.

My children identify themselves as Australian, but they are also aware of their 'difference' in the Australian environment. They have occasionally been identified in derogatory fashion as 'wog' or 'curry puff'. However, they have wonderful relationships and positive lives.

I have always identified myself as Anglo-Indian and Australian. I see myself firmly positioned in the Australian environment. As other participants have suggested, Australia is the home of my children and therefore I am happy to call
it 'home' as well. I have developed and maintained good relationships with people of various ethnicities. This has been an experience shared by many of the participants in this research. Yet, I have always had a feeling of unsettledness about my ethnic identity. This unsettledness has been explained by one of the major findings of this research — the irrelevance of the Anglo-Indian identity in the Australian environment. Some Anglo-Indians may interpret this as a 'loss' of identity, and for me, this 'loss' is felt most strongly when I think of the past, of my parents' and grandparents' experiences, their sorrows and joys. I do not want to devalue or negate their experiences as Anglo-Indians. So, analysis of this 'loss' as a re-shaping of identity comforts me in that it allows me to value the past but also look to the future. And yes, it is a painful process.

My experience as a visitor to India recently suggests that Anglo-Indian identity has evolved in different ways there compared with the Australian experience. This reinforces the importance of context in identity development. The role of Anglo-Indian women in the evolution of 'Australian' identity and of 'Anglo-Indian' identity intersects in this study. The place of Anglo-Indian women in the broad spectrum of immigration to Australia has not been acknowledged to date. I would like to think that this study plays a part in addressing this lack.
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APPENDIX A - GLOSSARY

aloo  potato
ayah  nanny/nursemaid/housemaid
bearer  domestic servant/valet/waiter
biriyani  spicy rice dish
bocci  cook
challo  “Let’s go.”
chokra  boy of low status and income
chokri  girl of low status and income
chutputowing  refers to wasting time
Divali  Hindu festival of ‘lights’
dhobiwallah  washerman
Eid  Muslim celebration
hin cho  mild chicken and vegetable soup
Holi  Hindu festival of ‘colours’
jamandar  sweeper (person who sweeps dirt and dust off the ground)
jhaap  slap or a whack
kameez  loose tunic that is worn above a salwar (see below)
kharti roll  dish made of meat and Indian bread
mali  gardener
mensahib  respectful title for a European married woman
nagras  embroidered, pointed toe shoes
pantra  variety of pancake
Parsee  a minority community, whose religion dates back to before 3000BC, when it was founded by Zoroaster

puja  specific form of Hindu worship that involves an offering of a material object, or the mind, the body, or the soul, to God

pullao  spicy rice dish

salwar  loose-fitting trouser, which is drawn tightly at the waist and ankles

thala cake  type of sweet cake

tiffin  a meal generally stored in a tiffin-carrier, which consists of several metal containers that fit into each other
APPENDIX B – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

NOTE: Not all questions will be applicable to all participants.

The following questions will be discussed with all participants:

1. Can we start off by talking a bit about your history—things like ....
   • where you were born;
   • when you arrived in Australia (if not born in Australia) and how old you were when that happened;
   • whether you have lived in countries other than Australia; how and why that came about.

2. Can you tell me a little about your ancestry? Your parents, grandparents and so on - What was their ethnic and cultural background and heritage?

3. What were your reasons for immigrating to Australia (if not born in Australia)?

In our discussion today we will be talking about what life was like in India and how things have changed in your life since that time.

(Many of the following questions presume that the participant lived in India as an adult. Therefore, these may need to be modified if the individual was not an adult when in India.)

4. Did you work outside of the home when you lived in India? If so, what kind of work did you do?

5. If you worked outside the home when living in India, which communities were you in contact with during that time?

6. Do you work outside the home now? If so, what kind of work do you do?

7. Which ethnic communities are you in contact with through your work? Or through your involvements even if you do not work outside the home?

8. Did you manage the home when you lived in India? Did you have any help with managing the home in India? If yes, who helped you?

9. Do you manage the home here in Australia? Do you have any help now in Australia with managing the home? Has the way in which you managed your home changed since you came to Australia? If so, in what ways and why?

10. How were decisions made in the home in India? Who was involved in decision-making and in what way were they involved?
11. Has this changed in any way since coming to Australia? If so, how?

12. Can we talk about how childrearing happened in your home in India? Who was/were the main caregiver/s? Did people other than immediate family help with this, for example, relatives, babysitter, and so forth?

13. Has this changed in any way since coming to Australia? If so, how?

14. Did you feel there were any particular expectations of you as a woman, wife and/or mother when you were in India? Did you have any expectations of yourself as a woman, wife and/or mother?

15. Do you feel there are any particular expectations of you as a woman, wife and/or mother now in Australia? Do you have any expectations of yourself as a woman, wife and/or mother?

16. What language/s did you speak/write when you lived in India? If you used a number of languages what was the reason for this? Did you find that you tended to combine languages in any way? If so, can you tell me a little more about it?

17. What language/s do you speak/write now? If you use a number of languages what are the reasons for this? Do you retain any elements of the language/s you used in India? If so, can you tell me a little more about it?

18. How do you compare your way of speaking with that of people around you? Have other people commented on your manner of speech?

19. What style of dress did you wear when you lived in India? Did the style vary and why?

20. What style of dress do you wear now? Does the style vary and why? Is there any aspect of the ‘Australian’ way of dressing that you would like to comment on?

21. What kinds of food did you cook/eat in India?

22. What kinds of food do you cook/eat here in Australia?

23. Did you have any religious affiliation when you lived in India? If so, what was it?

24. Has this changed in any way since you came to Australia? If so, how?
25. One of the things I need to talk about in this research is the issue of skin colour and our looks. This is because I think that our appearance can affect the way in which we see ourselves and how other people think about us. Did your skin colour and appearance matter in any way when you lived in India? Did it affect your relationships in any way?

26. Has your skin colour and appearance affected your relationships since you came to Australia? Does the colour of your skin and your looks matter here in Australia?

27. How did you identify yourself in terms of ethnicity when you lived in India? Did the way in which you identified yourself vary during that time? Why was this so?

28. How do you identify yourself now in terms of ethnicity? Why do you see yourself in this way? Is this important to your identity and why?

29. Did you feel like you ‘belonged’ in India when you lived there? Did you see India as being your home?

29. How do you think people in Australia identify you?

30. Do you feel that you ‘fit in’ with the people around you?

31. Do you feel as if you ‘belong’ in any country now? If so, why? Where is home?

32. Which cultural/ethnic communities did you relate to in India? Who did you socialise with? Were there any aspects about these communities that you particularly liked or disliked?

33. Which ethnic communities do you relate to and socialise with here in Australia? Is there anything you particularly like or dislike about these communities? Do you think these communities have affected you in any way?

34. Are you an Australian citizen? What are your reasons for becoming/not becoming an Australian citizen?

35. Can you tell me about your memories of India? Are some memories particularly important to you?

36. What would you say are the main changes in your life now compared with what it was like in India?
37. Do you think you’ve changed in any way since coming to Australia to live? Do you think any of these changes have come about because of the various cultural/ethnic groups in the community? Can we discuss this?

39. What would you say are the most important aspects about you as a person? Why?

If the participant was/is in a relationship, the following questions will also be discussed. (Some will need modification if the participant was not an adult when in India.)

40. What is your husband/partner’s cultural background? Has this background affected your life in any way?

41. Who did your partner/husband socialise with when you lived in India?

42. Who does he socialise with now in Australia?

43. Did your husband/partner work outside the home when you lived in India? If so, what sort of work did he do?

44. What is the situation now in Western Australia?

45. If your partner/husband worked outside the home in India, which communities was he in contact with during that time?

46. What about here in Western Australia?

47. Can we talk about your role and your partner’s role in childrearing while you lived in India? Did other people, for example, servants, relatives, play a part in this too?

48. Has this role changed here in Australia?

49. What was your partner’s role in managing the home when in India?

50. Has that changed in any way since moving to Australia? If so, how?

51. What do you think are the main changes in your husband’s/partner’s life now, compared with what it was like in India?

If the participant was a child/adolescent when living in India the following questions will also be discussed:

52. Which communities did your family socialise with in India? Who did you socialise with at school and at home?
53. Can you tell me about the school you attended? What was the language used, subject taught, cultural/ethnic groups in the school and so on?

54. Can we talk about the roles that your mother and father had in the family home when you lived in India?

55. Did your parents work outside the home when you lived in India? If so, what sort of work did they do?

56. What is the situation now in Australia?

57. How were decisions made in the home in India? Who was involved in decision-making and in what way were they involved?

58. Who managed the home when you lived in India? Did other people help, for example, servants, relatives and so on?

59. Did you feel that you ‘fitted in’ with the people around you when you lived in India?

If the participant has a child/children the following questions will also be discussed:

60. Where were your children born? If not in Australia, how long have they lived here and how old were they when they arrived here? Have they lived elsewhere as well?

61. How do your children respond to your ethnic background and culture? If applicable - How do they respond to your partner’s ethnic background and culture?

62. How do your children identify themselves in terms of ethnicity? How do you feel about this?

63. How do other people identify your children in terms of ethnicity? How do you feel about this?

64. Do you think your children are very different from the way you were at their ages? In what ways?

65. Which cultural/ethnic groups do your children socialise with?

66. Can you tell me about the schools they attend? What is the primary language, subjects taught, ethnic groups in the school and so on?

67. What kinds of foods do you children eat?
68. What mode of dress do they wear?

69. Do they have any religious affiliation?

The following questions will be directed to Australian-born daughters of immigrants:

We might start by talking about your mother's and/or father's cultural background....

70. Can we talk about your mother's ethnic/cultural background — what is it? Is this background important to you in any way? Do you identify with this background?

71. Can we talk about your father’s ethnic/cultural background — is this background important to you in any way? Do you identify with this background?

72. Do you feel as if you belong in a particular country/countries? If so, which one/s and why?

73. What is your occupation? If you work, what sort of work do you do?

74. What language/s do you speak/write? And why?

75. What style of dress do you wear? And why?

76. What kinds of food do you eat/cook?

77. Do you have any religious affiliation? If so, what?

78. One of the things I need to discuss in this research is the issue of skin colour. This is because I think that our appearance can affect the way in which we see ourselves and how other people think about us. Does the colour of your skin colour and your appearance matter in any way? Does it affect your relationships in any way?

79. Which communities do you socialise with and have contact with in your work/study/leisure time? Is there anything you particularly like or dislike about these communities? Has your contact with these communities affected the way in which you see your own culture/ethnicity?

80. How do other people identify you in terms of ethnicity?

81. Do you feel that you ‘fit in’ with the people around you?

82. Do you feel as if you ‘belong’ in any country? If so, why? Where is home?
83. How are decisions made in the home? Who is involved in decision-making and in what way are they involved?

84. What are your thoughts about your upbringing in relation to what happens in other homes?

85. (If the participant has a brother/s) Have you noticed differences or similarities between the way boys and girls are catered for in your family?

86. How do you identify yourself in terms of ethnicity? Why do you see yourself in this way? Is this important to your identity and why?

87. What would you say are the most important aspects about you as a person? Why?