



ANGLO-INDIANS AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

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In this paper I follow the trajectory of the economic activity of Anglo Indians from their earliest days of establishment as a community to contemporary times. There was a pre-eminence of Anglo Indians in certain jobs created by the colonial powers at a crucial point in their history. This led to resentment of other Indians. After Independence the ambiguous nature of employment opportunities (that was a colonial hallmark as far as their economic lives was concerned), for Anglo Indians changed, and they either sought other professions to compensate for economic survival, or migrated in search of better employment and lifestyles. After a general outline of the economic spheres in which Anglo Indians are present these days, I discuss with a few women of two Anglo Indian families, the various entrepreneurial ventures and self-employment spheres in which they are engaged. The interplay of the local, the regional, the national and the transnational is an aspect of the community's culture and their engagement with employment, and it is seen and will be illustrated by empirical material garnered from the Anglo Indian respondents of this article.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

Anglo Indian participation in the economic arena has an interesting history tied up with the history of the Europeans and also the history of the European powers' struggle for supremacy in India (Abel, 1988).

Stark (1926) who himself was an educationist, is one of the earliest historians of Anglo-Indian employment with the East India Company (EIC), the English government and the Princely States. The earliest among ordinary Anglo-Indians were found to be useful in trading professions by the East India Company since they were able to understand Indian languages and were familiar with local conditions and of Indian customs, modes of thinking, of natural products and manufactures, and

of market places and facilities of transport. This made them invaluable assets to those whose chief concern was with the wealth to be derived from a lucrative trade, argues Stark. He asserts that the Anglo Indian's work in trade helped to augment dividends of shareholders of the company in England.

The community's earliest historian is also its most impassioned:

Through our agency, revenue and settlement operations, land surveys and road making became possible. But for us the telegraph and postal systems, river navigation and railway construction would not have been feasible. We were the first missionaries of the Christian religion, the earliest teachers in Indian schools, the pioneers of Western arts, industries and sciences. In truth, we took a leading part in every project that tended to advance the moral, material and intellectual prosperity of the land – our LAND and its people. (Stark, 1926)

“By the mid 18th century Anglo Indians were relatively prosperous and to be found among the wealthy sections of the communities, in positions of power”, (Moore, 1986). The English power growing rapidly required “More men to sail ships, to serve in the forces of the company or King, to discover new sources of precious metals and stones, silks and muslins. Anglo Indians made an invaluable contribution to this”, (Ibid). The EIC, however, was to adopt a policy of using Anglo Indians and discarding them according to expediency. “The East India Company had hardly cast Anglo Indians out of its array, when it found itself beset by foes,” (Stark, 1926) and so the community was recruited again and demobilized again and again. Thus because of these qualities that the English did not possess, the Anglo Indians managed to find jobs in the Company's armies as and when required, one of which was to safeguard the earliest English settlements, which would “Grow into forts, with their churches, arsenals and living quarters”, (Moore, 1986). The conflicts between the European powers at this early stage before the English established an edge over other competing European powers meant that, for example, Anglo Indians fought to help the English to lay down their supremacy over the French, Portuguese and Dutch colonists.

However, once there was no threat to the English they laid down promulgations that drastically changed the economic abilities of Anglo Indians. At first, the Anglo Indian sons of fathers who could afford the expense, went to England to study for the covenanted services. Once the English began to note that the mixed population was

becoming larger and feeling that jobs were being taken away from the 'Europeans', they started to lay down certain strictures. Gloria Jean Moore (1986) outlines these strictures that were passed: The first promulgation of 14th march 1786, put an end to the prosperity of Anglo Indians in that period. Wards of the Upper Orphanage which had recently been set up in Calcutta were disallowed from proceeding to England to continue education and thus could not qualify for covenanted service or attain high rank, no matter how talented or intelligent. The second order passed on 19th April 1791 declared that from now on only 'pure' English sons could travel to England to study and be qualified for lucrative posts in the civil services. Besides this job avenue, the Anglo Indians had always had a large presence in the English armies. The third promulgation of 1795 banned their entry into the army, except as fifers, drummers, bandsmen or farriers, (Moore, 1986). This on and off policy of giving Anglo Indians employment and then withdrawing it, critical for the Anglo Indians but expedient for the colonial powers, would continue until post independence when Anglo Indians became full citizens of India and had entry into all wings of the military as well as being free to pursue any jobs they were qualified for. They had fought for the English whenever they were called to, says Stark (1926), in foreign countries and at Gallipoli and Marne and other fronts. However, at times they were not 'English' enough to be employed by the colonizers or sometimes were not 'Indian' enough to be employed by the Princely States.

At the time that the railway networks, posts and telegraphs services and river navigation were set up, again Anglo Indians were recruited for this mammoth task. Lower caste Indians did some of the manual work but upper caste Indians were fearful of despoiling caste purity and were besides, occupied in higher education which was to help them in later years (Stark, 1926). Bill Aitken (1995), though starting with the disparaging "...the railways signified perhaps the unromantic reminder of half-caste liaisons", goes on to assert that,

It is now almost forgotten how the entire middle level of railway running was left in Anglo Indian hands...the Anglo Indian community monopolized the railway institutes all over India and for their brief tenure of glory they shone as some of the most professionally conscious railwaymen the world has seen. Whether as engine drivers, guards, station masters or working as supervisors or mechanics, the Anglo Indian was gifted with a verve and loyalty to the Raj that would cost him dear. (Aitken, 1995)

He goes on to say that “mechanically precocious, administratively meticulous and professionally tough, they echoed faithfully those qualities their British railway masters valued most”, (Ibid). He concludes that “Anglo Indians provided the foundation for today’s running virtues of Indian railways”, (Ibid).

Colonial economic exploitation of the Anglo Indians was possibly because the English felt confident that the community was rudderless without their patronage, extending and withdrawing it as it benefited the colonial enterprise, which is why the community would then turn to the Princely States. But at a crucial stage in their state of being excluded from employment by the English the Anglo Indians set up self-help ventures (Stark, 1926, Abel, 1988, Moore, 1986). They trained their fellow Anglo Indians in institutions they founded for professions in trades and industries. “In the charity schools, pupils specialized in handicrafts, carpentry, shoemaking, book binding and were apprenticed as seamen, bandsmen, printers, indigo planters and landsmen”, (Stark 1926). “Girls were also trained in needlework, dressmaking, housekeeping, lace making etc.” Other institutions set up for Anglo Indian vocational and professional training were: The Parental Academy, La Martiniere’s and the Sherbourne School which was also attended by well-heeled Indians, one of which was Rabindranath Tagore (Stark, 1926). Training went on at different levels of skills required for job seekers among the Anglo Indians. One of the many such institutions for training was the Madras Male Orphan Asylum (Caplan 2001). Caplan notes that pupils from here got posts as junior clerks, shipmates, sailors, musicians for regimental bands, as apprentices to printers, cabinet makers etc., though these pupils could only attain subordinate positions. Those with moderate education and who were semi-skilled attained a number of technical posts with the government. Caplan, quoting from the 1871 census, refers to those professions where the learned were found: ecclesiastical, legal, medical and engineering.

Henry Gidney, an active Anglo Indian leader who was an ophthalmic surgeon trained in England, and leader of the Anglo Indian Associations, presented a strongly worded petition to the English Parliament and managed to procure reserved posts for Anglo Indians in the upper subordinate positions in many services. He himself faced prejudice in his active life as a leader of Anglo Indians and as an Anglo Indian surgeon but he retired as a Lieutenant Colonel in the army and straightaway began

to take an interest in political life and with the Anglo Indian Associations. He urged Anglo Indians to take an active interest in political representation and of their "position as natives of India", (Abel, 1987). It was Gidney's successful petitions that helped the Anglo Indians to gain many privileges, for example twelve seats in seven provincial legislatures. After Gidney's death in 1942, Frank Anthony came to prominence as one of the community's most high profile and vocal leaders. He was a lawyer by profession and an active political leader as well as a fervent educationist. He wanted Anglo Indians to practice and hold on to their unique culture, but wanted them to always remember that they were Indians, (Abel, 1988). Frank Anthony was cold-shouldered by the British for his frank approach in speeches. He, nevertheless, stood up proudly for his community. He presented his case before the Sapru Conciliation Committee formed in 1945, that Anglo Indians must take part in the political life of the nation, that they be financially assisted in educational establishments as guaranteed to the community under Section 83 of the Government of India Act of 1935, and that the community's quotas of services and remuneration not be affected by the demands of other expedencies, (Abel, 1987). According to Abel, Anthony had the ear of Indian nationalist leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi (who at first was wary of Anglo Indians because of their allegiance to the British), Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. In 1946 Anthony requested Patel who was Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Minority Rights with a petition. Abel describes the outcome:

The safe guards for the community were rescinded by the Independence Act of 1947, but thanks largely to the support of the Indian leaders, these safeguards continued and were finally incorporated in the Constituent Assembly on June 16, 1949". Articles 297 and 298 (later renamed 336 and 337) gave the community quotas in the services and guarantees for education for a period of 10 years. Nomination of Anglo Indians to the Central and Provincial legislatures was secured through Articles 293 and 295 (later renamed 331 and 333), (Abel, 1988).

Abel declares that before 1857 certain petitions made to the English parliament meant that Anglo Indians were given posts in subordinate grades, without disturbing English covenanted services and commissioned ranks of the army. Anglo Indians had a marked aptitude for technical and mechanical work. The establishment of an Apprenticing Society and Marine School led to a number of trained and skilled Anglo Indians being able to enter the workforce. They became captains and second

officers, engineers, mechanics, telegraph operators, artisans and electricians. On the railways they gained employment as station staff, permanent way inspectors, guards and auditors, (Abel, 1988). They had by now become used to service jobs. Neglect of higher education was a negative point for them at that period in their history. It lost them many lucrative jobs in upper cadres of covenanted services when these were finally open to Indians after Indian nationalists agitated for these posts. The Anglo Indians would correct this anomaly only in the contemporary period. Abel comments:

Appointments in the lower and upper services, now brought within reach of Anglo Indians, began to find favour with them over trades and industries. Stark felt, so long ago, that Anglo Indians made a deadly mistake in losing the opportunity by opting for service, "the freedom, Independence and competence which Industrial vocations might have perpetuated to them". (Abel, 1988)

Modern Anglo Indians have started up business industries but long before this, Anglo Indian fortunes continued to be tied up with English needs. When services and amenities such as the railways were inaugurated, and whenever there were conflicts with local or other European opponents Anglo Indians would be recruited by the English into these services and armies only to be discharged after the danger was over. In later years Indians started agitating for more posts in all sectors, citing their superior education. There was an increased demand for Indianization of services. Indians with higher education were also finally admitted to upper positions of the covenanted services.

Anglo Indians began to form associations and to be represented by their leaders even more forcefully. Anglo Indians became aware that the situation was changing over the centuries in India and socially and economically they had to keep pace. Nationalism was also gaining momentum, leading many Anglo Indians as well as their leaders, in particular Frank Anthony to rethink their alliance with the English and to join the cause for independence. Following the First War of Indian Independence, an 'Auxiliary Force' was created by the English for Anglo Indians who now were forced to join. They were threatened with loss of jobs on the railways etc. if they did not sign up for service. This also had the malign effect by which Anglo Indians through force, during riots, had to shoot at Indians. This caused much bad blood between those who were to be the future citizens of India. Indians, contrarily, were not allowed into the Auxiliary Force. The colonialist's discriminatory policies were

thus making them more unpopular in India, (Abel, 1988).

The Independence era was crucial for the economic future of the community as well as for its continuing existence. Under Frank Anthony's leadership and negotiations with Congress leaders, positive changes took place. The Government of India Act of 1935 gave representation to Anglo Indians in the provincial legislatures – and thus Anglo Indians entered political activity and employment. Reservations in the railways, posts and telegraphs and customs were to continue for ten years after the laying down of the constitution, till 1960.

THE MODERN PERIOD

In the modern period it is necessary to take a brief look at the employment avenues and positions that Anglo Indians are seen in.

Caplan (2001), in his study of Madras (Chennai) Anglo Indians notes, "The contemporary Anglo Indian family has to be understood in context of the changing positions of men and women in the economy generally and the employment market in particular". He notes that Anglo Indian women did not enter the workplace in great numbers till the later end of the 19th century. When they did start filling up skilled and unskilled posts, he cites the exclusion of Anglo Indian men from the labour market as a cause. Indianization of the traditional sector meant displacement of Anglo Indian men, so women, both to meet financial needs and also to take advantage of the job situation started filling many posts. Caplan reports that in better off family's women took up employment only for a short period before marriage and this was in jobs where moderate skills were required: they worked as secretaries, typists, telephone operators, school teachers or shop assistants (Caplan, 2001).

Caplan gives an account of the hierarchy of classes within which Anglo Indian professionals and workers can be found. The elite among Anglo Indians, though small in number, are professionals in government service, business managers and people who see the new opportunities that they can avail of with education and a sense of enterprise. Today they are medical doctors, lawyers, dentists, engineers, architects, academics, members of the Indian Administrative Services, bank officers, business executives and computer professionals as well as officers in the armed

forces, (Caplan, 2001).

Caplan suggests that Anglo Indians with less education but good technical skills find jobs in industries as fitters, welders, electricians, lathe operators, mechanics and repairmen, for cars, air conditioners and engines. He also mentions that Anglo Indians have found work on oil rigs in India as well as in the Middle East. Those who excel in sports are given jobs in leading companies. There are also a number of Anglo Indians working in the hospitality industry at various levels from waiting and kitchen staff and who can rise to manager levels. The Anglo Indians lower down in this hierarchical ranking find jobs in construction sites, drive auto rickshaws, do house painting or work as security guards.

In the contemporary period women without education or skills are doing domestic work according to Caplan (2001). He concludes that women with basic literacy skills are doing work as untrained teachers or giving private tuitions. On the other hand women with university education are increasingly employed as civil servants, college lecturers, bank officers and computer specialists, among other professions. They also have excelled in computer professions but this requires money for the expensive training. Travel and tourism is another avenue of employment and Anglo Indians have also found work in hotels and offices in the Gulf, (Ibid). No doubt the English speaking abilities of Anglo Indians as well as their Westernized culture and skills are an asset in the job market, both in India and the Middle East besides other countries. According to Caplan some Anglo Indians continue to be poverty stricken. Anglo Indian charities try to help with funds and aid in the forms of scholarships. This charity comes from abroad as well as in India, (Ibid).

Gaikwad (1987) insinuates that “Anglo Indians are mostly economically backward”. How much has migration and education helped Anglo Indians to change this perception? He states that Anglo Indians are to be found mostly in the service sector, and are not active in business since, “No Indian business person would want to carry out business ventures with them”. How far this is true is to be judged by current employment of Anglo Indians in many a business venture. Anglo Indians were never considered to have the wherewithal to fund businesses or to own assets. After Independence and to the present day Anglo Indian migration has led to them

grasping opportunities for higher education and for highly skilled technical training too.

More recently, Gass (personal communication, May 2010, see 'Letters to the Editor', this issue) states that there is a large presence of Anglo Indians in the call centre sector and that they are still running the schools and kindergartens, as well as food production industry in India. He himself is part of a professional Anglo Indian business grouping called 'Anglo Indian Global Group'. Anglo Indians in all the English speaking, western countries to which they migrated, are also counted as being in a multitude of professions.

The International Journal of Anglo Indian Studies, the Anglo Indian Wallah, The magazine Anglos in the Wind, etc testify to the fact that there is plenty of Anglo Indian intellectual work going on. The number of PhDs in the community has risen along with those with professional skills such as Gass has attained. We know from their published books, papers, etc that Anglo Indian men and women are active in universities in many countries besides India, as academics, as lecturers and professors. They are also authors of popular novels and fiction and some are widely published. The CTR (Calcutta Tiljallah Relief) publications are a popular source of fiction for and by Anglo Indians and proceeds from the sales of these publications go towards funding the education of poor Anglo Indians in that part of the country. Anglo Indians are also present in media and mass communication and have a presence in the Information Technology sector. They are in publishing, editing and filmmaking. Anglo Indians still maintain a strong presence in the teaching profession at school level as well. They are likely to maintain some numbers in the traditional professions which in an earlier phase of independence were reserved for them. They are still present in the armed forces and women have the opportunity to be pilots and serve in the Armed Forces and civil aviation, and Anglo Indians still continue to be in the cabin crew service sector of world class airlines. They also figure in theatre, acting and the entertainment professions. Anglo Indians are also present in modern day politics as a profession: Derek O'Brien in Calcutta and Beatrix de Souza in Karnataka are members of the legislative assemblies of their states. In Australia Erica Lewin has joined a political party. Both these women have strong academic backgrounds and have Doctoral degrees.

INTERVIEWS

I now turn to the women I have interviewed for this article to understand the work they are engaged in. All are self-employed professionals in their various fields. They each have a positive approach to handling their own enterprises or field of work. All are Anglo Indians though only one is married to an Anglo Indian. They all give a strongly positive message about work participation and their interest in their own family lives as well as life within the community.

Maria Kapper

In 1985 Maria Kapper did a course in beauticians training from an Anglo Indian lady in her house itself for which she paid a small amount. She managed to get a job in a beauty salon. Her kids were small so she worked part-time. As her kids grew she could give her work more time, and now has been twenty five years in the business.

In the early years when she had a young family her husband was working with a well-known business family of Pune and he helped her out financially too. After 15 years of work in India she went with her husband to Muscat, Oman. She had to leave her kids behind but she says the salary there was too low. She now runs her own enterprise after taking an initial bank loan. She managed to repay the loan and then bought the current location where her salon 'Marias' is located. Before that she was running her business in rented establishments. She, however, had to review her situation as rents were high.

After she returned to India it took about a year for her to build up this thriving business. She felt confident to do this and attributes this to the fact that she is hard working. From childhood she always had a passion for fashion and beauty and makeovers, and channeled that into making a career for herself. What Maria values greatly is client loyalty. So many years of being located in one place has meant that her clients have got used to her and are her well-wishers. They find she has no 'airs and pretensions' and plenty of modesty without being sycophantic. Maria recounts how her third child was a forty five day old baby when she was working from nine in the morning to almost eight o'clock at night. She underlines the fact that, "If you want to come up in life you have to sacrifice some of your time. You don't get anything by just sitting around".

Maria's daughter Suzanne who runs the second branch of the salon that she opened some years ago went to night college. By daytime she was helping her mother and then told her Mom she wanted to follow her in the business. She did her course and joined her mother till they opened their second parlour which she now manages.

Many of her clients say Maria is amazing. She works cheerfully and pleasantly the whole day. She has a friendly relationship with clients, knowing their personalities and preferences and individualizes each person's finished look. Her customers also come up with a diversity of ideas of what they prefer with which she conforms or advises against gently. The atmosphere of conviviality and hospitality, the gentleness of handling and the companionableness that is a good hairdresser's traits, all help her in her work. Clients love to talk and confide in their stylists so Maria is a patient and caring listener. After a long day at work, when she is mostly on her feet, she then goes home to look after domestic responsibilities. Doesn't she ever take a break? She just feels she has to go on because she loves what she is doing.

She has had to struggle. She did not have the finances for publicity for her business but it came all the same by word of mouth. She opened a Men's salon recently, buying some more space in the same premises and this enterprise also she promoted through her clients. Advertisements, she feels, don't really help if your work does not speak for its self. Her clients interact with her as a good person she says. "They don't care anything about your caste or your back ground as long as you are professional and maintain standards which are high". Caste as an exclusionary factor previously (and in pockets still continues to affect Anglo Indians) affected the community mainly because of the Christian religion it professes and its westernization, (Gilbert, 1996). This has no effect in urban, westernized areas of Pune however, so Maria can make such a statement. Most of her clients are elite/upper class people from the Koregaon Park area in Pune but she welcomes anyone who walks in and plenty of middle class people are her clients too. The beauty business thrives in India and there are all levels of beauty salons. She says some of her clients are demanding. They travel abroad and know how to get things done as well as what they want. They come to her because she is accommodating

and listens to what the clients would like, making this a distinctive feature of her work.

The whole family is involved in this enterprise. While her daughter runs the other salon, her daughter-in-law Rufina works with Maria. "They are very proud of what I do," says Maria. Her husband who is retired now also helps with dropping them off to work and picking them up, as well as seeing to her little grandson who is about three years old. They all live close to each other though in different apartments and much of their time is spent with each other. Though they have a circle of friends and acquaintances her family is at the centre of most of her social activities. Her son, who works in the IT sector stays in a bungalow nearby. This kind of joint family is not usual among Anglo Indians and it is a joint family but in a varied way, where there is interdependence and independence too.

She feels she does not want to belong to any upper class kind of society. And she feels that Anglo Indians as a community don't support other Anglo Indians. She says ninety nine per cent of her clientele is from other communities. "Anglo Indians are not necessarily friendly and supportive to someone who is an Anglo Indian running a business", asserts Maria.

She is forty six years old now and years of standing on her feet have given her a back problem but she ignores it. Once she comes to work she feels good and fit and feels perfectly alright. The day she is not working aches and pains plague her so it is work that keeps her going. She is not a party going type of person. Sometimes she is too tired to do anything else but still she is happiest at work. Work and family matters to her, she says - "no partying around".

Maria blends in with the multi-ethnic nature of her clientele who nevertheless want all the most current in western styles. She easily copes with the national and transnational scope of her profession. She is confident about the way she contributes to the family's financial status through this small business, which is expansionist in nature in accordance with her financial output. She also tries to save for their old age and for the kids needs. She has one daughter who is twelve, so her studies etc are still going on and she is yet to be settled, which is years ahead. Much

of what she earns goes back into the business. Her salon is clean and hygienic and has a friendly atmosphere with a lot of friendly camaraderie. She invests in better products to use for clients, and sends the girls for courses in upgrading skills. Two of them will be going to London to do an advanced course. So she is growth oriented and wants to open more branches in Pune or even outside Pune.

Maria and her husband own their own apartment in a decent part of town and are glad to live there, not very far from work. With the success of her business she and the family are able to go on holidays together and even travel abroad. She and her husband have just returned from a trip to Italy and Spain. They travel within India too, to Kerala or other hill stations. It is all, or sometimes partly funded by Maria's earnings.

She insists that clients and her ideas are in tandem. If she knows what style will suit a client as a hairdresser she will give advice. She will not, however, bulldoze someone into accepting something with which they would be uncomfortable. She does not mind going with the 'funky' or the conservative, whatever the client finds more suited to them. Choices depend on the client. The hairdresser has the responsibility to do the correct thing by them or the client will not be satisfied and seek other people. Now she has reached a level of financial security where she could invest in another branch and is exploring that possibility. Her daughter will also follow this line - help her in advancing their business.

Maria and her husband are members of the Anglo Indian Association but she is not happy with how it functions. She feels the milieu is not friendly, that people gather in clumps and do nothing to welcome newcomers so she feels a sense of alienation there. She feels Anglo Indians as a community should be inclusive to new members but they are not. So in the final analysis it is work and more work that is her mainstay in life.

Claire Datta

Claire Datta comes from a talented, transnational Anglo-Indian family who migrated to Canada in 1967. Her father was a well-known small arms designer for the military. His design of the Peter's Pistol (in use for many years by the Indian Army) made a

name for him in the small arms design sector. Her first cousin is the celebrated stand up comedian Russell Peters who now has a luxury home in the Hollywood hills in the United States. Claire's sister Patricia Brown is also known on the Anglo Indian circuit as the author of well-received cookery books and most recently, a novel. She has two other sisters who are artists. One of them is a respondent in this article.

Claire started her bakery/confectionery business in 1985 in Bombay (Mumbai now). When her husband was posted to Delhi she began to work from home. Through word of mouth in the Air Force she began to get plenty of VIP dinners and coffee mornings as commissions. The Air Force Wives Welfare Association ran an exclusive shopping destination called Santushti in the heart of Lutyens Delhi. Claire sought and was given permission to sell her baked wares every Saturday under a banyan tree. She became famous for the looks as well as quality of her baked goods and every Saturday the crowds came early and she mostly sold out by noon. This led to her being allowed to set up shop twice a week and finally to being offered a small shop in the same premises when it fell vacant.

At the time she was the only serving officer's wife to own a shop in this exclusive location. This was a formidable feat. She had to have finances to pay a deposit and to cover running expenses. Taking a loan of four lakhs (400,000 rupees), she got the business up and running. She baked all day, did the deliveries in her Maruti car herself and prepared all evening for the next morning's production. It was hard work, blood, sweat and tears, according to her family, that brought her to this point of financial success. The quality and innovative nature of her baked goods soon became known to a select clientele who remain loyal to her brand till today. She put in long hours of work to keep up with fulfilling the demand of the specialty brand she produces. She does all this cheerfully and pleasantly and success has seen her making copyrighted photos of her brand "Claire's" as advertisement. The decorative nature of her confectionery and the quality are what clients swear by. Claire's westernization is seen in her products, sometimes a cake made in the shape of a Louis Vuitton handbag – a westernization matched by buyers with influences from regions around the world and India. She is able to adapt to the economic niche of this sophisticated group of patrons.

She has seen financial success and recognition over the last ten years also among family and friends. She has to fulfill orders for customers with very demanding standards and she is able to keep a promise of quality because she meets these standards with regularity, if not going well beyond. Her reputation as a creator of high quality baked goods has grown tremendously along with her business output. Anglo Indian women are not really known for entrepreneurship skills (but they are increasing in numbers). Claire puts such misconceptions to rest by being a tireless business organization head. Her successful small industries skills are such that she attracts orders because the cakes are mixed and baked to perfection first, following stringent procedures and no short cuts, and then decorated with creative ideas that are extremely attractive to her fastidious clients.

Claire's work has gained her enormous financial and personal security. She and her family are comfortably off, having their own well-maintained and elegant home in a suburb of Delhi where this writer was served delectable eats. They are also able, when she can spare the time, to take holidays abroad and within India. She is an example of a person who breaks the stereotypes of the typical Anglo Indian woman, as she states: "living in a lower Middle class milieu and satisfied with her lot". She also treats her workers with humorous affection along with dignity and respect.

Claire's is today a distinctive and sought after name in this business in Delhi. Her clientele includes very high profile and elite Delhi socialites, business people and politicians, as well as her own old friends who she never lets down. She has catered wedding cakes, birthday cakes and confection to countless friends, thus keeping a down to earth aspect to a loyal client base.

Now that Claire is unwell she still refuses to take a defeatist attitude and religiously goes in every day to her office and her bakery in Delhi's Race Course Road area. She oversees the carrying out of her orders which are still pouring in, testifying to and a celebration of the triumph of her spirit over her travails. During this interview she was currently fulfilling an enormous order from a well-known businessman.

Her charges are according to her expertise and expenses and form no barrier to her success. She is understanding of friends needs and adjusts accordingly. She has been channelling much of her financial gains from her ten year old enterprise

towards growth and improvement of her staff, the mechanics of the business as well as to improve quality so that her business grows and prospers. It is all honest hard work. Far from being the small bakery on the corner 'Claire's' is an exclusive and well-recognized brand name for confectionery (giving 5 star upmarket and 'spiffier' outfits a run for their money in upper class Delhi circles), all due to the channelling of her efforts continuously in this direction.

The writer Khushwant Singh (2002) mentions her in a column. They had been corresponding and he says he places an order once a year for a turkey or a capon (specialities that Claire will produce besides her other items). He has the most to say on her thoughts about the loss of the family tradition of eating around the table where everyone shared their thoughts and the day's events. Claire writes to him. "As a working Mom I appreciate all the conveniences, the escape from drudgery in the kitchen but I also miss the security and love that came from being at the table with my family. We discussed school and boyfriends, Mom's day and Dad's day and there was a feeling of steadfastness that no matter what happened this would never change". She tries to keep this tradition alive. She also tells him how her husband shares her views on food (and drink) as bonding factors in a family. "My husband says he learnt to drink at family dinners when he was eighteen. A beer was poured for him and he watched how his dad and grandfather sipped it and made it last through the meal". Women professionals mention domestic and family responsibilities and parenting as work too – if this is not shared then the burden falls on only one person within a couple. Claire's husband is indeed a supportive presence in her life, helping her start up and now helping her through a difficult phase of illness and her insistence on working.

Ann De Lorme

Ann De Lorme is an artist and sculptor who did her art training at the JJ School of Arts in Mumbai as an external student. She started with sketching, drawing and painting in college. Then she started moulding in clay from live models, finally moving into carving stone. Though she has had some technical training she mostly worked things out herself and used books to guide her. Her artistic influences are Somnath Hore, a Punjabi north Indian sculptor, and Constantin Brancusi who is a Romanian sculptor. They are her two main influences, though she admires the work

of many others.

She likes to play around with dimension, sometimes working with two dimensions and then onto three dimensions. These dimensions take on the power to suggest analogies that she is playing with. She also experiments by making 'windows' within her sculpture...these are open spaces that she incorporates into some of her sculpture and which form important elements of her composition. To a complete outsider Ann describes sculpture as being the language of form, such as music is something for the ear.

Out of her many pieces displayed in her studio cum home she picks the 'pregnant woman' as one of her favourites. She is a reclining woman and she seems to be contemplating her condition. The sculpture is called 'Expecting'. She is not just waiting for the birth of her child, much more to what she is expecting is wrapped up in that foetus in her swollen womb, her hopes, her expectations. These figures are an expression of her own beliefs, infused with her own mind and spirit and exude a vitality and presence. Most of her figures are female though there are some male figures too. She has never been a mother but she has tried to feel that experience through her sculpture, and to express those thoughts. "In our lives there are so many emotional ups and downs", she says, which she tries to capture in her works. Another female figure is 'Sunday Rose'. She has a crucifix around her neck and is supposed to be a Catholic and seems to be saying "So what if you are cynical about all my church going". She continues to develop style and meaning in her works.

The 'Handicapped Priest', another work, is indicated by a cross carved into his chest (also an example of a 'window'). He has only one arm. He signifies what a priest tries to do, tell people about the church and religion that he himself is not fully convinced of. Another male figure is 'The Taster'. While one hand is near his mouth, he holds a prism in the other hand, which reflects the multiple images of life and he wants to taste life itself. There is a compositional unity in the forms and human figures she creates, an abstract, almost metaphysical allusion in her work. The dynamism is palpable and her perception of the ambiguity of human nature infuses her sculpture.

Ann does take an interest in Anglo Indian culture and mundane activities such as

cooking and visiting old memories. She often discusses with her siblings how their parents were and what their life was like in the military cantonments when they were younger. She doesn't consider herself unique but feels fortunate to be able to express her thoughts through art and she asserts that her Anglo Indian background is a heavy influence in her art. She is very proud of the creative ability of this family.

She describes the process by which she makes a bronze sculpture. This is known as the ceramic shell process. First a model is made of wax which is then covered with a mixture of colloidal silica and zircon. After the layers form the shell, the wax is burnt out and bronze that has been heated in a crucible is poured in at a molten stage. When the metal is cooled the shell is broken and the sculpture inside is ready to be seen. She uses what is called a spruing system which consists of runners for the metal to go down and risers for the gas to come up. If the gas does not escape the shell can explode. It is a complex technical process. "As an artist you must know the technical processes, the difficulties and the complexities, if you are doing it yourself".

It requires expert marketing skills, quality of product and originality for a creative person to be financially successful too, say Ann. Of course Ann has had to struggle financially. "Unless you sell your work it is very hard to progress", in her words. She mostly sells through art dealers but has other avenues. Though her basic craft is art the aim is also to sell. Her 'product' is also meant for the 'creative' buyer whose acceptance and appreciation of her creativity is important in a sale transaction. And that intent is there in many a buyer she declares - they will ask for guidance and information and be well tuned with the creative expression of the artists that they patronize. As an artist she may want to have her work known and appreciated and for it to belong in collections is also an aim. So art finally turns into a form of self-employment, where investment in materials and processes is set off by sales - art evolving into economic activity. Her prices are quite high and it is mostly industrialists or business houses that buy her sculpture. But she is satisfied with where she has reached, never having looked for too much fame, mainly wanting personal and artistic satisfaction. However, through her art she has also been able to earn a sizeable amount because of the nature of her significant work. She stands on her own feet financially and manages all her own work herself.

She lives in a house she owns, a neat, sizeably large bungalow with a garden and plenty of pet dogs for company and security. She has a car of her own. She has not been as successful financially as her sister Claire whose business is roaring, but she is a restless artist satisfied with her life but not ever completely finished with artistic expression.

Ann believes that if you have a creative spirit you must let it run free and overcome obstructions to it. Her art is her life's meaning and what she hopes to be remembered by. She remembers events related to the creation of every piece. "It all tells the progress of my life through my art". She is in touch with artist friends and exchanges views and news with them. Her art has given her some riches but now Ann is writing as well and in the future she wants to open an artist's commune where artists and sculptors will reside with each other. She also hopes to be able to start her own foundry. She has to get someone else to do the work required from a foundry and would like to have one of her own. Ann lives in quiet, contented comfort, and is yet another Anglo Indian with a modern day occupation.

CONCLUSION

Anglo Indians have been pursuing different economic activities at different periods. Starting with an uncertain footing during the era of colonization when the community itself was established, they finally found ways and means to help themselves. At Independence Anglo Indians had reservations in upper subordinate posts in the railways, posts and telegraphs and customs only for ten years after the laying down of the Indian Constitution till 1960. However, many of the community continued in traditional services because of their aptitude, or found new avenues of work. Independence meant reservations would last only for a limited period so Anglo Indians had to find new areas of employment. Mass migration of the community at and the continuing years after independence led to a greater scope of employment positions, though not necessarily all highly paid ones. The community also took advantage of higher educational opportunities and more advanced technical skills in countries of migration. If English as a mother tongue helped Anglo Indians to get jobs in the traditional services they were entrenched in in India, it also helps them to now get employment in businesses and service industries that are more global in nature. As a transnational community they also adapt to the needs of work in sectors

that require skills particular to different regions. Within India itself the community has found many new avenues of employment, breaking stereotypes about their economic backwardness and lack of capital and assets. Though some continue to be poor and to work in poorly paid jobs many Anglo Indians in India and within the diaspora are now pursuing a great variety of well-paid professions.

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