DIASPORIC ANGLO-INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA, CANADA, NEW ZEALAND AND THE UK: A REVIEW OF THE SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

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ABSTRACT

This literature review discusses the experiences of Anglo-Indians who formed diasporic groupings in Britain, Australia and Canada after moving from India from 1947 onwards. I trace the paths that Anglo-Indian migrants took and examine generalized experiences common to Anglo-Indians worldwide and how Anglo-Indians conceive of the concepts of 'home' and 'belonging'. It also discusses how transnationalism has come to define Anglo-Indian culture and how Anglo-Indians were affected by experiences of racism and not being 'white enough' as well as the effects of being a visible, yet invisible, cultural group outside of India.

By drawing on specific Anglo-Indian diaspora experiences, I argue that overall Anglo-Indians have successfully integrated into their new countries, while maintaining many of the unique aspects of Anglo-Indian culture. The current question for the Anglo-Indian diasporic community is what will the future entail, and how will young Anglo-Indians engage with and shape Anglo-Indian culture?

INTRODUCTION

This aim of this literature review is to discuss and highlight the experiences of Anglo-Indians who formed diasporic groupings in Britain, Australia and Canada after moving from India from 1947 onwards. Anglo-Indians are a minority cultural group in India that is made up of people who are most commonly descended from a British paternal family line and an Indian maternal line. It also, less commonly, includes those who had other European paternal heritage in India, such as the Portuguese or French.

Drawing on British roots that were usually set down in India during the British 'Raj' era of colonization, Anglo-Indian culture traditionally leaned heavily towards the 'Anglo' side and away from the 'Indian' side. Anglo-Indians were also called 'Eurasians' before 1911 and were not accepted by the British as being part of them, or by the Indians either who saw them as colonialist traitors and outside of the caste system. When India was still a British colony Anglo-Indian's were afforded certain privileges and were concentrated in a number of occupations such as working on the Indian Railways in key roles.

Anglo-Indian culture developed along the lines of a community that saw itself as essentially British. They had Westernised names, wore Western clothing, attended British style schools, were Christians, ate British food and were often of a lighter skin colour than other Indians. They also mostly married within their own communities and were enamoured with Western music styles. Anglo-Indians tended to congregate in enclaves in the larger Indian cities, especially after independence, with Calcutta and Madras being particularly important.

When India started moving towards becoming independent from Britain in the 1940s many AI's were alarmed. They could see that their special status within British-ruled India would be ending. Would they be required to speak Hindi and wear saris in an independent India? What would be the prospects for their children if the special "reservations" guaranteeing them jobs in the railways and other public services were rescinded? Many decided not to wait around and find out; instead they applied to move to Britain, the country that many had always considered 'home' anyway.

In this review I trace the paths that these Anglo-Indian migrants took. The first section covers generalized experiences that were common to Anglo-Indians, no matter where in the world they went. In particular it examines how Anglo-Indians conceive of 'home' and 'belonging' and how they sought to ground these concepts in their new diasporic communities. It then goes on to discuss how transnationalism has come to define Anglo-Indian culture. Lastly this section considers how Anglo-Indians were affected by experiences of racism and not being 'white enough' as well as the effects of being a visible, yet invisible, cultural group outside of India.

The second section of the paper deals with specific Anglo-Indian diaspora experiences in the countries of Britain, Australia and Canada, and to a lesser extent in New Zealand and the United States of America. Finally, drawing on the literature, I consider the current, contemporary issues for the Anglo-Indian diaspora, and what the future may hold as the first generation of Anglo-Indian immigrants dies out and the new generation wrestles with what it means to be an Anglo-Indian in the early 21st century.

GENERALISED ANGLO-INDIAN DIASPORIC EXPERIENCES

Once one begins to examine and cross reference the literature that has been written on and by Anglo-Indians, there emerges a number of themes and experiences that can be applied to the Anglo-Indian Diaspora in general. These themes cross national borders and appeared whether or not the Anglo-Indian community discussed was resident in Britain, Australia or Canada.

Anglo-Indians and the concept of 'home' and belonging

The concept of 'home' has been a contested and, at times, painful issue for many Anglo-Indians. This is true for those living in India but more so for diasporic Anglo-Indians, as Blunt points out 'where is home?' and the feeling of being 'at home but not at home' (Blunt, 2005). Both Cassidy and James also note the similar refrains that were heard throughout their research that asked 'who are we? and where and how do we belong?' (Cassity, 2011; James, 2003). Another common theme throughout the literature on Anglo-Indians is not feeling that they truly belonged anywhere (D'Cruz, 2007; Lewin, 2005; Williams, 2008). It has been suggested that Anglo-India is a liminal, imagined space that Anglo-Indians take with them when they emigrate from India (James, 2010). Platel sums this point up well:

> There was never a country called Anglo-India to which we can return. That magical place and time we yearn for was real enough, but the conditions which enabled that reality no longer exist. We had created a self contained little world of our own, with our traditions, culture, and even a bit of history. (Platel, 2008:141)

One of the main ways that Anglo-Indians have used to make their new countries feel like 'home' is through the role of food and cooking that links to both Anglo and Indian cuisine and the memories and traditions contained within preparation and consumption of these dishes (Caplan, 2001; Cassity, 2008, 2011; Chase, 2008;

Doshi, 2011b; M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012). How important food is as a vessel of memories, both personally and collectively, can be seen in the rather large number of cook books produced and circulated amongst the Diaspora Anglo-Indian community. Example of this genre include "Anglo-Indian Cuisine" (White, 2013) and "Anglo-Indian Food and Customs" (Brown, 2000). It has been pointed out that while Anglo-Indians lived in India they had tended to emphasis English food in keeping with the desire to be separate from the general Indian population, however once overseas curry became a central part of the Anglo-Indian Diaspora food experience (Andrews, 2008; Doshi, 2011b). This emphasis on maintaining food traditions, such as baking Christmas cake, is also associated with the importance of hospitality in Anglo-Indian culture, the so called 'dropping in' tradition, that was an integral part of life in India and is greatly missed by Anglo-Indians who have emigrated (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013; Cassity, 2008; Deefholts, 2008; Doshi, 2011b).

Transnationalism defines Anglo-Indians

Those who chose to stay in India after the country gained its independence were often either those who could not afford to leave, or the elites who would not have gained by emigrating (Caplan, 2001). Those who stayed have tended to 'Indianise', while those who left tended to be more Western focused, leading Caplan to refer to those who emigrated as 'transnational's of the mind' and that "life is only abroad and not here" (Caplan, 2001:153).

While each diasporic Anglo-Indian community formed differently based on the settling country, for example 'Kiwi' Anglo-Indians, British Anglo-Indians (Almeida, 2015), overall Anglo-Indians have formed a transnational, fluid identity, "which evokes the 'un-homed' postcolonial subject" (Cassity, 2011:6) and draws on cosmopolitanism as an identity marker (D'Cruz, 2007). Even the concept of 'Britishness' that was so important to Anglo-Indians in the past has now taken on a transnational quality by extending out this definition to include other former British colonies where Anglo-Indians have settled such as Australia and Canada (Blunt, 2005).

The 'culture of migration' (Andrews, 2007; Caplan, 1998) that is now an integral part of Anglo-Indian identity has a number of defining entities including the heartache of

families that are split up and scattered across the globe (Almeida, 2015; Younger, 1987). For many Anglo-Indians 'home' has become where the majority of your family is based   although this is difficult to achieve in reality when family members are based in India, Canada, Britain, Australia and elsewhere (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013; Cassity, 2008; Chase, 2008). Another aspect affected by split families is who will take care of elderly Anglo-Indian parents, and where (Lamb, 2009).

With so many Anglo-Indians leaving India to live overseas the traditional system of elder care, where parents would be looked after by their children, no longer functioned in many cases (Younger, 1987). There can be a lack of community for elderly Anglo-Indians who are brought to live with their families in diasporic countries since they lose all their familiar surroundings and friends, and can get stuck at home while family members are working (Caplan, 2001). There is, however, now care available for elderly Anglo-Indians in some diaspora locations, such as the St. Joseph's Hostel in Melbourne, Australia (Andrews, 2008). This challenge of elder care is exacerbated in that, unlike many other immigrant communities, Anglo-Indians do not tend to send remittances home to Indian based family members, instead they will pay for a specific event, such as a wedding or an unexpected bill (Caplan, 1998, 2001). However, the transnationalist tendencies of Anglo-Indians have also had a positive outcome for elderly Anglo-Indians in India with the coming together of the Anglo-Indian diaspora to help them out through setting up various funds for this purpose (Williams, 2008). A good example of this is the CTR organization set up by Blair and Ellen Williams which uses the funds from sales of Anglo-Indian themed books to help Anglo-Indians, including the elderly, in India (Cassity, 2011).

Another defining feature of transnational Anglo-Indian culture is the importance of new technology such as the Internet and Skype which has had a highly positive effect on the Anglo-Indian diaspora community allowing them to keep in touch with family members and connect with long lost friends (Cassity, 2008; Deefholts, 2008; Lumb, 1999, 2004; Masselos, 2015; Pritchard, 2008). It has helped to alleviate the loneliness and isolation that can plague some Anglo-Indian immigrants (Williams, 1998). It has also helped in placing Anglo-India firmly in a virtual, online 'space' through a proliferation of Anglo-Indian websites where Anglo-Indians can congregate as in times past. Lumb has referred to this online connectedness as a 'virtual

veranda', where Anglo-Indian communities can 'hang out' and enjoy each other's company as they used to in India (Lumb, 2004). The rise of the internet has made connections between the Anglo-Indian diaspora much easier and has been instrumental in helping to form a more globalised and transnational form of Anglo-Indian community, as well as helping young Anglo-Indians to learn about their heritage (Lumb, 1999, 2004).

A final interesting defining feature about Anglo-Indian transnationalism is that Anglo-Indians tend to identify with and link specific cities such as Toronto, Melbourne, London and Perth rather than identifying with their new countries as a whole (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013; M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012). This may be because in India Anglo-Indians tend to identify with specific cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, but not with India as a national identity (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013).

'Whiteness' and being an invisible, yet visible, community
The colour of one's skin and the concept of 'whiteness' also emerged as a rejoining theme throughout literature on Anglo-Indians, both in India and as part of the Diaspora experience. 'Whiteness' and complexions, along with accents and appearance had the effect of making the Anglo-Indian community very visible in Britain (Almeida, 2013), and yet in later times in more multicultural Australia, Canada and New Zealand the Anglo-Indian community has had the opposite experience of being 'invisible' (Bonnerjee, 2013; Faassen, 2008; McMenamin, 2010). This 'invisibility' factor was further compounded by the fact that Anglo-Indians integrated very well into their new countries and often identified readily with the "dominant, white, Western culture"(Blunt, 2000).

Michele Lobo (M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012) has reflected on how her "accumulated whiteness" (p 123) through wearing Western clothes, having a Western name and eating Western food confused a white Australian man she was interviewing, who was sure she must be some kind of 'ethnic' person. The things that had made her stand out in India were common place in Australia, which had the effect of rending her, and other Anglo-Indians, as invisible within Australian society when compared with other immigrant groups, including other Indians, who stood out through their different customs. Lobo further comments that "a discourse of whiteness… is a

feature of diasporic being and on-going performance" (Lobo & Morgan, 2012:126). However for Leslie Morgan, who was a child when his family immigrated to Britain from Lahore,

> We were indelibly marked by brown skin. While white skin is not in itself a signifier of whiteness, nevertheless outside the home, we were still seen as immigrants and 'Pakis'. So, I grew up just wanting to be the same as my white friends; however much I might mimic my peers, I was always going to fail. (Lobo & Morgan, 2012:127)

The development of the Anglo-Indian Diaspora was inordinately affected by the government policies of various British colonies which stipulated and maintained a colour bar and a rule of 'whites only' immigration up to the late 1960s and early 1970s (Blunt, 2005; Lyons, 1998). Ironically, while Anglo-Indians were considered to be 'white' in India, they were considered not white enough by the countries they wanted to settle in (M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012). This was especially pertinent for Anglo-Indians wanting to emigrate to Australia whose 'whites only' policies and racial rules were particularly obstructive (Blunt, 2005; Lewin, 2005; M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012); this will be discussed in further detail later on in this paper.

Rifts developed within the Anglo-Indian diasporic community, and even within families, between those who could 'pass' as white, and were thus afforded more immigration and employment opportunities, and their darker siblings, parents and fellow Anglo-Indians (Almeida, 2013; Blunt, 2005; Lewin, 2005). Especially for Anglo-Indians in Britain degrees of whiteness ruled their lives in many ways (Almeida, 2013; M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012). However as time has passed and societies have become more multicultural the 'whiteness factor' has all but disappeared for younger Anglo-Indians who are no longer interested in trying to be as 'white' as possible (Moss, 2008). Lewin has also noted that Anglo-Indian young adults have moved away from being ashamed of their Indian heritage and do not possess a desire to appear 'white' or fully Anglo (Lewin, 2005; Otter, 2006). Further specifics of how whiteness and in/visability affected Anglo-Indians will be discussed further in the sections on how the Anglo-Indian Diaspora fared in Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC ANGLO-INDIAN DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES

Anglo-Indians in Britain

Britain was the first country to receive the early waves of Anglo-Indian immigrants that surged out of the subcontinent when India gained its independence in 1947. Almeida has mused whether or not this initial group of Anglo-Indians were 'immigrants, refugees or something else' (Almeida, 2015). It seems that they were both, depending on the personal circumstances that caused them to leave. Political factors, such as fear of persecution, were cited by a number of Anglo-Indians as to why they wanted to leave, which fits the category of refugee (Almeida, 2015). However they came to stay in Britain and did not plan to return to India, which made them immigrants (Blunt, 2005; Caplan, 1998).

Anglo-Indians had long felt a strong cultural and psychological intimacy with Britain (Almeida, 2015). Many Anglo-Indians had chosen Britain as their new home because of a "felt, cultural affiliation"(Almeida, 2012:170). As a British Anglo-Indian pointed out "we were Westernized in our outlook and habits. Culturally, we always thought we'd feel more at home in England than we felt while actually living in India" (Almeida, 2012:170). The new immigrants thought that being English speaking, Christian, and having blood ties to Britain would help them to integrate easily (Almeida, 2013, 2015; Blunt, 2005). However the reality turned out to be rather different.

Firstly there were some unanticipated practical issues that confronted Anglo-Indians on their arrival in Britain. There were no servants or domestic help as there had been in India, requiring many Anglo-Indian women to have to learn how to cook, do domestic chores, look after children and juggle employment for the first time in their lives (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013; Blunt, 2005; Deefholts, 2008). Britain was still emerging from the Second World War and food was tightly rationed, the houses were small and damp (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013; Blunt, 2005; Moss, 2012); not to mention the cold weather and the 'cold' English people (Almeida, 2013; Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013; Blunt, 2005). There was also expectations from family still in India

for financial contributions and to help them start their own journeys to England through chain migration (Caplan, 2001).

While the above issues certainly had impacts, what most defined the Anglo-Indian experience in Britain was the racism experienced by many of the Anglo-Indian diasporic community who went to Britain soon after Independence. This was especially true for Anglo-Indians with darker skin (Almeida, 2013, 2015) who physically looked Indian (D'Cruz, 2007; Haliburn, 2008; Williams, 1999). One British Anglo-Indian commented "nothing had prepared us for the racism we encountered" (Almeida, 2013:4). British Anglo-Indians were also marked out as different by their accents (Doshi, 2011a).

Many British people had little knowledge of their country's colonial history in India, this led them to lumping Anglo-Indians together with all Indians and Pakistanis, thus giving the Anglo-Indians a cold reception when they arrived in Britain (Almeida, 2013; Blunt, 2005; D'Cruz, 2007; Haliburn, 2008; M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012). While the British may have not been able to differentiate between Anglo-Indians and other Indians, Anglo-Indians in no way saw themselves in the same category, "I do not know a single Anglo-Indian who ever described himself or identified as an Indian. It is simply not done" (Almeida, 2013:13). For many older Anglo-Indians it was common to still reject Indian culture and hold on to Anglo-Indian culture, even though the British saw them as Indian; these first generation Anglo-Indian immigrants tended to become stuck in a time warp of the 1950s and 60s (Almeida, 2013; Williams, 1999).

Anglo-Indians had come to feel they were unwanted in both India and Britain (Almeida, 2013; Blunt, 2005). The racism and rejection they experienced led many Anglo-Indians to live together in certain neighbourhoods in London (Almeida, 2013). The 'in-betweeness' of Anglo-Indians meant they were separate from the mainstream British, and from the rest of the South Asian diaspora (Almeida, 2013). Racism also had the effect of limiting the types of jobs that Anglo-Indians were able to get in Britain. They became confined to blue collar positions in factories and office administration (Almeida, 2013; Williams, 1999) and tended to remain in the working class, with only a few achieving higher educational success (A. Lobo, 1988). Anglo-

Indians in Britain had come to live within a 'binary of acceptance' with limitations on one hand and rejection on the other (Caplan, 2001).

The current generation of Anglo-Indians do not experience the type of racism that their parents, or grandparents, did. They are not afraid to say that they are Anglo-Indians (Almeida, 2013), although they are most likely to identify as being British (Williams, 1999). It may be that this move of blending into the country they grew up in explains the dwindling number of organized Anglo-Indian community organizations in Britain compared to those in other countries, such as Australia (Blunt, 2005; Williams, 1999). Britain hosted the first Anglo-Indian International Reunion in 1989. Considering that Britain was the first destination for large Anglo-Indian immigration, it also has the oldest diasporic community, who are now beginning to die off, taking the last original links to the Raj with them.

Anglo-Indians in Australia

Anglo-Indians were the first large group of mixed-descent immigrants to enter Australia (Blunt, 2000). One of the earliest groups of Anglo-Indians to immigrate to Australia arrived on the ship 'Manoora', which docked in Western Australia from India in 1947 having been sent by Australia to help evacuate those Europeans who were leaving due to India gaining its independence (Blunt, 2005). However they were only let into Australia in the first instance because of a mistake made by the boarding agents in India (Gilbert, 1996; Masselos, 2015), since at the time Australia had a strict 'whites only' immigration policy (Blunt, 2005). After this error the policy was tightened even further and it wasn't till it was loosened in the 1960s that Anglo-Indians were once more able to enter Australia (Blunt, 2005; Caplan, 2001). There were a small number of Anglo-Indians who were allowed to migrate to Australia in the 1950s, these were ones who could "pass as 'normal Europeans', who could be easily assimilated alongside 'normal Australians'… the 'normality' of Europeans and Australians was defined by their whiteness" (Blunt, 2005:153). Thus pre 1970s entry to Australia for Anglo-Indians was based on levels of whiteness (Masselos, 2015).

Once the restrictions were lifted Australia became the favourite destination for Anglo-Indians to immigrate to, especially during the 1970s (Blunt, 2005; Caplan, 1998). As James points out "climate, proximity and the country's British roots meant

that many considered Australia a desirable destination" (James, 2010). Anglo-Indians and Australia became so linked together that the Deputy Editor of the Statesman newspaper in Calcutta commented that "when Indians think of Australia it is largely as the country where…good Anglo-Indians go to die" (Masselos, 2015:143).

Anglo-Indians were now seen to be desirable immigrants because of being culturally 'white' Europeans, Christians, and being able to speak English, unlike other new immigrant groups such as the Greeks and Italians (Blunt, 2000, 2005; Caplan, 1998; Colquhoun, 1997; Lewin, 2005). These, and other factors, meant that Anglo-Indians were seen as a model immigrant community by both Australians and themselves (Colquhoun, 1997; D'Cruz, 1999, 2007; Lewin, 2005; Lumb, 1999). Anglo-Indians became so good at integrating into Australian society that they were becoming invisible. What had made Anglo-Indians distinctive in India, such as speaking English, wearing Western clothes and being Christian, was the norm in Australia (Gilbert, 1996; Lewin, 2002). Lewin suggests that since Anglo-Indians in Australia showed a bias toward these Western 'markers of identity' this led to a loss of a distinctive Anglo-Indian identity, since there was no need to maintain the strict ethnic boundaries as they had done in India (Lewin, 2002).

It has been noted that Anglo-Indians appreciated that Australia placed less emphasis on status, religion and social standing that had been all encompassing factors for Anglo-Indians in India (Colquhoun, 1997). While Australia was less formal than India, it was more difficult for Anglo-Indians to get privileged positions and they had to work a lot harder than they had 'back home' to obtain and keep them (Colquhoun, 1997). While some Anglo-Indians felt there was more opportunities in Australia, others felt there was less Anglo-Indian community cohesion than in India; they missed the 'drop in' culture and intimate hospitality of the Anglo-Indian community in India (Colquhoun, 1997).

In contrast to Britain, Anglo-Indians were the first Indian group to migrate in large numbers to Australia and account for a significant proportion of the Indian-born population in Australia (Blunt, 2005; Costa-Pinto, 2014; Gilbert, 1996). Anglo-Indians settled mainly in Perth, Sydney and Melbourne, however they did not created

enclaves, as they did in Britain and India (Blunt, 2005). An Australian Anglo-Indian commented "we are not like the Chinese, Vietnamese, Greeks or Italians or whatever, where they sort of tend to congregate in one particular area" (Blunt, 2000). Anglo-Indians were employed in a number of different areas, although AI women tended to work in administrative jobs (Costa-Pinto, 2014).

Despite assimilating well Anglo-Indians still experienced racism and stigma because of their skin colour and Australian's cultural perceptions of India (Blunt, 2005; D'Cruz, 2007; Gilbert, 1996; M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012). They have, however, experienced less discrimination than other Indian groups (Costa-Pinto, 2014). Many Australians saw Anglo-Indians as Indian, they didn't know anything about Anglo-Indians or their history and culture (Lyons, 1998). Alison Blunt muses that "Anglo-Indians occupy an ambivalent place in multicultural Australia" (Blunt, 2000). Anglo-Indians have had their own prejudices, especially towards other Indian immigrants, based on skin colour and 'whiteness' levels (Lewin, 2002, 2005). As in Britain Anglo-Indians did not see themselves as part of the larger Indian diaspora in Australia (Lewin, 2005; Lyons, 1998). This view is underscored in that, unlike other Indian immigrants, Anglo-Indians have tended not to seek out Indian cultural touchstones, such as Indian films or Bollywood productions, as reminders of 'home' (Costa-Pinto, 2014). Anglo-Indians, as mentioned elsewhere in this paper, have tended to use food and cooking more as a way to remember 'home', especially particular spices that are common in Indian cooking (Andrews, 2008; Cassity, 2011; M. Lobo & Morgan, 2012).

Anglo-Indians are now well established in Australia, especially around Melbourne, where they have considerable networks within the local community, more so than other Indian groups (Costa-Pinto, 2014). Since the late 1980's there is an increasing community identity that is evidenced in a lively and active social calendar and the opening of the world's first Anglo-Indian Cultural Centre in Perth (Blunt, 2005). According to research done twenty years ago overall Anglo-Indians in Australia were doing relatively well academically and economically, there was high labour force participation and many earned good wages (Gilbert, 1996). However those who came to Australia with educational degrees earned in India didn't do as well as those with Australian degrees; Australian employers do not see Indian education as

equivalent to the Australian system (Gilbert, 1996). Research done by Gilbert asserts that Anglican Anglo-Indians earned more money Catholic Anglo-Indians and attributes this to Anglican Anglo-Indians generally being lighter skinned, and so experiencing less racism (Gilbert, 1996).

One of the challenges for the Anglo-Indian community in Australia, especially amongst the first Anglo-Indian immigrants, was finding suitable marriage partners for their children (Caplan, 2001). However as time has gone on this problem has disappeared as contemporary Anglo-Indians, like their British counterparts, now see themselves as Australian first and marry other Australians (Lewin, 2002).

Anglo-Indians in Australia keep in contact with relatives and family around the world through the use of modern technology such as email and Skype. Research has found that the mobile phone is the preferred way for Anglo-Indians to communicate with their overseas relations, especially those in India where the internet connections are sometimes unreliable due to electricity outages (Costa-Pinto, 2014).

Anglo-Indians in Canada

Anglo-Indians were allowed to enter Canada from the 1920s onwards, although this policy was not promoted and relatively few Anglo-Indians seemed to have known about it (Ralston, 1999). Canada became a destination for AI's during the 1960s and 70s (Bonnerjee, 2013; Caplan, 1998). Some Anglo-Indians moved to Canada from Britain, spurred by the racism they experienced in the UK (Bonnerjee, 2013). Canada's 'expansionist immigration policy' was attractive as was its multicultural political policies (Bonnerjee, 2013:435). Like Australia multiculturalism, in Canada it also turned out to be a double edged sword. While it meant that Anglo-Indians in Canada did not have to confront the amount of racism that they had in Britain and could blend in (Deefholts, 2008), it also did not allow "space for claiming an Anglo-Indian identity" (Bonnerjee, 2013:437), in other word it made Anglo-Indians in Canada invisible. Bonnerjee (2013) has argued that Anglo-Indians in Canada base their community identity around nostalgia and a longing for the golden era that they spent in India, mainly in Calcutta, that now exists only in their memories. She suggests further that the International Anglo-Indian reunions that have been held twice in Toronto are used in part to make the Anglo-Indian community identity visible

to wider Canada and as a way to "claim a stake in the multicultural mosaic of Toronto" (Bonnerjee, 2013:437).

Most Anglo-Indians settled in Toronto, although they did not congregate in specific neighbourhoods (Bonnerjee, 2013). With a smaller community than the Australian Anglo-Indian diaspora it seems to have been more difficult for Canadian Anglo-Indians to maintain their identity, although there are a number of lively Anglo-Indian associations. As in Australia, Anglo-Indians in Canada are also viewed as model citizens by the government, due to their ability to integrate quickly (Faassen, 2008; McGuinty, 2007). The older Anglo-Indians in Canada, like those in Britain, still feel like they are not really 'home'. A Canadian Anglo-Indian commented "we don't have a country! Canada is great, but this is not my country. I happen to live here. I don't have a country" (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013:227). As has been commented on various times in this paper, Canadian Anglo-Indians also miss the close knit relationships and spur-of-the moment hospitality of the Anglo-Indian community in India (Blunt & Bonnerjee, 2013; Deefholts, 2008).

Anglo-Indians in New Zealand

New Zealand was originally seen by some as a perfect place for Anglo-Indians to immigrate to. Dr John Graham, who attempted to settle Anglo-Indian young people from his "children's homes" in India to New Zealand as domestic servants and farm labourers in the early 20th century, "…came to regard New Zealand as the ideal destination for his graduates. It was the only settler colony that ever accepted groups of emigrants from Kalimpong" (McCabe, 2015:64), where the school was located.

However, like Australia, New Zealand's 'whites only' immigration policy, which changed numerous times during the first half of the 20th century, made it difficult for Dr Graham to send a continuous flow of his school's students to New Zealand (Blunt, 2005; Caplan, 2001; May, 2013; McCabe, 2014). Although Dr Graham thought of New Zealander's as "the freest people in the world as regards to their attitude to colour" (May, 2013), he also ended up petitioning the government of the day to change its policies, which kept Anglo-Indians out of New Zealand for nine

years (May, 2013). The government did lift its embargo, only to reinstate it in 1939 to exclude all mixed race peoples from migrating to New Zealand (May, 2013).

Once the 'whites only' immigration policy was permanently lifted Anglo-Indians were attracted to the country by the weather, outdoor lifestyle, free medical care and opportunities for jobs (McMenamin, 2006, 2008). The Anglo-Indians that decided to settle in New Zealand were generally hard working and well educated (McMenamin, 2010), and like the rest of the Anglo-Indian diaspora, pretty much invisible as a community within their new country. New Zealand does not have any Anglo-Indian Associations at the present time, although there was an organization called The Eurasian Society. This group hosted one of the Anglo-Indian International reunions in Auckland in 2000.

Anglo-Indians in the United States of America

There are only a few Anglo-Indians that immigrated to America, and this was mainly because of specific work or educational opportunities that were offered to them (Francis, 2008). The lack of an Anglo-Indian diasporic community has brought feelings of loneliness for those Anglo-Indians who have ended up living in the USA and, in the beginning, it was difficult to find Indian ingredients or shops (Pritchard, 2008; Williams, 2008).

CURRENT AND FUTURE TRENDS FOR THE ANGLO INDIAN DIASPORA

The most relevant current trend for the Anglo-Indian diaspora has been the way that Anglo-Indian culture has gone from being largely invisible entity in diasporic countries to 'coming out of the closet' and becoming visible. Anglo-Indians realized that they were so good at integration that their culture was fading away, they needed a resurgence in order not to lose Anglo-Indian culture forever (Blunt, 2005). There is now a renewed sense of being Anglo-Indian through such events as the International Anglo-Indian Reunions and a new generation's interest in what it means to be Anglo-Indian (Blunt, 2005; May, 2013; McMahon, 2008). Interest in Anglo-Indian family roots has been stimulated by increasing activity around genealogy research as a hobby, and a "rise in Raj nostalgia" (May, 2013). The rise in Anglo-Indian pride can also be seen through the increase in self-representation in movies, books, websites and academic literature (Blunt, 2000; Cassity, 2011; Lumb,

2004; McMenamin, 2010). Anglo-Indians are no longer content to be misrepresented by non-Anglo-Indians in the media.

The historical shame that was attached to not being 'white enough' has largely disappeared for the current generation of Anglo-Indians. Penny Stevens said in 2001,

> To someone of my generation (born 1950) to have such a genealogy is an exciting prospect and certainly nothing to be ashamed of, but I am afraid that my father's generation was brought up to feel it a stigma. (May, 2013)

Anglo-Indian youth in India have merged into normal Indian culture, whilst being proud of their roots; "Anglo-Indians in India today are a good example of how several identities can co-exist effortlessly" (Faassen, 2008).

Changes that can be seen with the current Anglo-Indian generation include some of the following features. The mixing of English and Hindi is disappearing, with second generation Anglo-Indians in the Diaspora only speaking English and Anglo-Indian in India speaking full Hindi (Doshi, 2011b) as well as very good English. The Anglo-Indian accent is also waning in the Diaspora, but remains in some form amongst Indian based Anglo-Indians (Doshi, 2011a). Whilst first generation Anglo-Indians in the Diaspora were often confined to blue collar jobs this is now not the case. The current generation of Anglo-Indians, both in India and abroad, are often well educated, although there are some in the community who feel that there needs to be even more emphasis on education (Williams, 1998). Anglo-Indians who came of age in the 1990s in India have had a different experience from their predecessors. Those with good education and English skills have found that, due to the booming Indian economy, there is a high demand for their skills (Francis, 2008). For this group of Anglo-Indians migration may be then more for adventure than out of necessity (Francis, 2008).

The main argument being made by younger Anglo-Indians is that the definition of what constitutes an Anglo-Indian, and who can be considered an Anglo-Indian, needs to change and adapt to be relevant to the current generation (Faassen, 2008). While older Anglo-Indians will keep their distinctive culture, their children will not;

they have become part of the culture where they were raised (Lyons, 1998), and yet they can still be Anglo-Indian, if the older generations will make way for new expressions of Anglo-Indian culture that move beyond the glory days of the Raj and into the wide open space of a transnational, multicultural world.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen through this literature review that, while members of the Anglo-Indian diaspora have not had an easy life in many cases, they have generally come through the post Independence years in their new places of residence with determination and, eventually, success.

When Anglo-Indians moved out of India they came to see that they were in fact not British, and that they had gained treasures from their Indian upbringing that they now looked back on with fondness. While feeling that they had no home, Anglo-Indians instead became apt at making wherever they were living into a place of belonging, while also living in a transnational space of international families and internet connections. The fact that Anglo-Indians could blend so well into their various adopted countries has eventually led to re-evaluation of what it means to be Anglo-Indian and a renewed interest in the culture and stories of life in India, especially among the younger generation.

While the Anglo-Indian community in Britain has dwindled and appears to be becoming less active, Anglo-Indians in Canada and, especially, Australia have a lively community life. The effect of the International Anglo-Indian Reunions has also invigorated Anglo-Indian identity and made way for the rediscovery and continuing enactment of Anglo-Indian life. While much of these activities are taking place outside of India there are still Anglo-Indians who continue to invigorate the community within India. This can be seen by the fact that Calcutta hosted the International Anglo-Indian Reunion in 2013 and Chennai will host it in 2019.

The great question for the Anglo-Indian Diaspora currently is what the future will entail, and how young Anglo-Indians will engage with and shape Anglo-Indian culture. There are those who feel that Anglo-Indians will no longer exist, while others argue that the community will continue, as long as older Anglo-Indians are willing to

acquiesce to new forms of being and belonging. The challenge for the future is to find these new ways. Given all that the Anglo-Indian community has adapted to in the past seventy years there is a high chance that Anglo-Indians will continue to exist and thrive for years to come.

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