



ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS AND ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATIONAL DISADVANTAGE PART 2

Dr. Ann Lobo 8, Radcot Close, Woodley. Reading. RG5 3BG. U.K.

In the second part of her article Dr. Lobo continues her analysis of Anglo-Indian educational disadvantage in India. Further she suggests an educational framework that may help Anglo-Indians in India to overcome many of their educational problems.

INTRODUCTION

Contrary to popular thinking, the community's current educational disadvantage in India is rooted in the Anglo-Indian community's history. Historical evidence shows that the British deliberately created a policy to educate Anglo-Indians for a subordinate role, (1) exploiting the size, language and religion of the community for their benefit.

The comparative study of the historical evidence and the field study findings suggest that Anglo-Indian schools are the process which creates a mind set in Anglo-Indians. This mind set legitimizes inequalities which:

- attributes low academic aspirations of Anglo-Indians to personal failure;
- justifies the academic success of privileged Indians;

thus creating educational disadvantage for Anglo-Indians.

So, the current curriculum policies do not embody the preferences and decisions of Anglo-Indians in India. Therefore, the curriculum should be shaped to overcome the issues arising from the minority size of the Anglo-Indians, the first language which is English and Christianity which is the community's religion. The educational change

advocated in the new curriculum should exploit the protection given to the community by the Constitution of India.

The structure of this article is:

- (i) Historical evidence and the field study data
- (ii) The research question and the answer
- (iii) The theory-practice model in the socio-practical field of Anglo-Indian classrooms
- (iv) Recommendations.

2. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE AND THE FIELD STUDY DATA

The historical evidence documented:

- education for subordinacy, (2)
- inequality of access to further and higher education, (3)
- repressive policies by the British which created the stereotype Anglo-Indian who was landless, unemployed, illegitimate, immoral and untrustworthy, (4)
- segregation in various "quarters and colonies in India" (5) which discouraged integration into Indian society, and
- powerlessness by the community to forge a solidarity. (6)

The three issues of size, language and religion are central to the structures and processes which lie at the heart of the Anglo-Indian educational system. (7)

The curriculum was conceived by colonialists and Christian missionaries. The concentration of power and decision making was in the hands of European colonialists and Christian missionaries. Significant among the factors affecting the delivery of the curriculum was the reservation of subordinate jobs for Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian educational system thus legitimized inequality. The ideology and structure of this system fostered and reinforced the belief held by Anglo-Indians that literacy in English and belief in Christianity assigned them to important jobs.

Yet, beneath the facade of meritocracy, the community's size, language and religion have long been negative curriculum determinants. However, the symbolism of this influential curriculum is deeply etched in the Anglo-Indian consciousness. The Anglo-Indians were literally "schooled" to accept their unequal economic positions. Nothing

exhibits this more clearly than the unequal educational outcomes and poverty in the community described in the history of Anglo-Indian schools.

2.1. THE FIELD STUDY DATA: ETHNICITY AND SIZE

The field study evidence about ethnicity and size described the community as being not less than 300,000 and not more than 400,000 in India today. Anglo-Indians have not benefited from the reasonably well developed statistical and survey methodology in India. (8) The knowledge of the racial characteristics (9) demographic processes (10) and conditions of the Anglo-Indian community was superficial, peripheral and limited. (11) Since 1961, there was little reliable information about the distribution of the Anglo-Indian community's population.

This was important to this research because the social process of funding education depends on population statistics. (12) The last number count given in research was 150,000 in 1988. (13) The Anglo-Indian community was unable to offer a number from their own census, because the community lacked solidarity. (14) Each association appeared to be the legitimate representative of the Anglo-Indians.

Although, most Anglo-Indians accepted the Constitution of India's definition of an Anglo-Indian, this acceptance was attenuated by race and cultural marks. For example, the Keralite Anglo-Indians, who are known as Other Backward Classes and the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians who are known as Scheduled Tribe should be included in the census of the Anglo-Indian community.

Conflict between the associations prevented a nationally agreed viewpoint on the size of the community. Conflict created differential provision according to social class in the schools and this reinforced inequality between Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians. Conflict closed communication channels between the powerful All-India Anglo-Indian Association with its headquarters in New Delhi and the other Anglo-Indian associations. This had created diverse educational policies in the Anglo-Indian schools.

The field study data identified areas of weakness by the associations in managing their own schools. These were related to:

- Goal identification for Anglo-Indians;
- Implementation and outcome of educational strategies and policies to eliminate disadvantage for Anglo-Indians;
- In-Service Training for Anglo-Indian teachers to improve their educational qualifications;
- Appraisal of all teaching staff;
- Accountability to the community.

The conflict and fragmentation of the Anglo-Indian community have given different schools different goals in dealing with the issues of size, language and religion. Some schools have attributed different priorities to these issues, or have been unable to define these issues which have any operational meaning. Since these three issues are so unclear to the Anglo-Indian associations, the processes of teaching and learning are clouded in ambiguity.

The conflict has reinforced boundaries between the schools administered by different associations. Thus, the schools fall back to a defensive position from which they perhaps use their claim to professional autonomy to fight off demands for accountability.

Thus, it can be argued that the fundamental importance of unclear membership of the community is affecting educational goals in Anglo-Indian schools. The notion of membership of Anglo-Indian association is ambiguous. The fragmentation of the community is existing within a turbulent environment. The field study data revealed a tendency to confuse rather than clarify the definition of an Anglo-Indian.

The Anglo-Indian community should accept the definition of the Anglo-Indian found in the Constitution of India. If this were done the community could create a solidarity which would provide a basis for participative decision-making. All Anglo-Indian associations would bring with them not only potential solutions to the educational problems in the schools but also problems seeking solutions.

The next section discusses in more detail, the first of the these studied issues, namely, the issue of language.

2.2. THE FIELD STUDY DATA: LANGUAGE

Anglo-Indian schools must teach Anglo-Indians their mother tongue English. The schools must also teach Indian languages. Anglo-Indians must pass the Indian language examinations. Failure to do this results in repeating a year in the same class, or not passing the secondary school examinations at 16+. Knowledge of Indian languages is important to enter further and higher education in India.

The language education policies in Anglo-Indian schools fail Anglo-Indian children for four reasons:

1. The schools prevent the Anglo-Indian child from
... participating in the educational system with self-respect. (15)

This experience negates and reverses the bilingual skills of Anglo-Indian students.

2. The Anglo-Indian schools compounds this factor in a related issue of cultural deprivation. Lack of linguistic skills affects the life-world of Anglo-Indians preventing them from integration with Indian society.
3. Cultural and linguistic deprivation when coupled with poverty and social class creates a restricted language code (16) for Anglo-Indians not only in an Indian language but also in their mother tongue English.
4. Academic retardation starts when these young people experience school as a place of failure. Teacher expectations remain low for Anglo-Indian students.

The field study reveals aspects of unequal opportunities offered to Anglo-Indian students in the language curriculum. The findings focus powerfully on aspects of ethnic (Anglo-Indian and Indian) differentiation, motivation and anxiety.

The field study demonstrated teacher expectation and the different ways in which Anglo-Indians and Indians were affected by the crucial implications for tutoring in English and an Indian language. In 1990, the field study data revealed that the language curriculum and methods alienated Anglo-Indians. The classroom observation offered evidence of what happened to them in language periods.

Anglo-Indian attitudes towards language learning are amplified or created by the Anglo-Indian classroom. The field study classroom observation and interviews

analyzed what actually happened to create disadvantage. The theory-practice model was created to try and change the classroom situation. The common fallacy of Anglo-Indian failure has included an over-emphasis on Indian success to learn English and Indian languages in the schools.

The relationship between the language curriculum and the educational needs of Anglo-Indian students was a major and urgent focus of this research. The emergent issue in the research is one of trying to improve the effectiveness of language teaching to Anglo-Indians. The theory-practice model will enable teachers to reduce negative anomalies and devise a more specialist form of tutoring through a bilingual teaching programme in the classroom.

The next section discusses the second issue, religious education.

2.3. THE FIELD STUDY DATA: RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The Constitution of India holds that the state is secular, and does not get involved with religion, although it provides equal opportunities for all religions, Articles 28 and 30 clearly express this decision about religious education. Religious instruction is a sensitive area, and the tenth recommendation in The Mudaliar Commission's Report (1953) specifically states:

Religious instruction may be given in schools only on a voluntary basis and outside the regular school hours, such instruction being confined to the children of the particular faith concerned and given with the consent of the parents and the managements. (17)

After the promulgation of the Constitution, there was a perceptible shift from the question of imparting religious instruction to that of inculcating social, moral and spiritual values. The major recommendations of the Report of the Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction, 1960, offered a curriculum which could best be described as a world community of religions. This was contained with a framework of ethical criteria, which had taken into consideration the basic premises of human life and society. (18)

The Education Commission (1964-66) was concerned about the ... serious defect in the school curriculum ... the absence of provision for education in social, moral and spiritual values. (19)

The religious education policies in Anglo-Indian schools fail Anglo-Indian children for three reasons:

1. The present practice of teaching Christianity and ethics (moral education) in separate classrooms to Christians and non-Christians, outside school hours is irrelevant to India's pluralist society.

2. The religious education policy is non-integrative. (20)

3. Teachers are:

- inadequately trained for teaching a two-tiered curriculum in Christianity and Moral Education;

- this voluntary curriculum was not taken seriously by students or staff.

The emergent issue here is one of trying to improve the effectiveness of ethical pluralism. (21) The unique social system in an Anglo-Indian school would provide a learning experience which would increase understanding between different communities. It would increase the dialogue between Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians and decrease the isolation of the community in India today.

The argument is being made that the individual personal, social and educational guidance of ethical pluralism can be divided amongst subject teachers. Each teacher could offer to teach an area in the ethical pluralism programme. Otherwise, the depressing separatism will continue in the schools.

The relationship between ethical pluralism and the educational needs of the whole population of pupils in regard to their perception of a multi-ethnic society is a major and urgent focus for this thesis. Anglo-Indian children are not being helped to become pupils. Anglo-Indian children are not being helped to integrate with Indians. Anglo-Indian children are not learning how to succeed in their classrooms.

The question of educational backwardness next needs to be addressed. The next section discusses the answer to the research question on educational backwardness.

3. THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND ANSWER

The research question was:

Why is the Anglo-Indian community being labelled "backward" in India today, and is this "backward" tag linked to educational backwardness?

The answer to the research question is in three parts.

First, despite Constitutional guarantees, the Anglo-Indian community has created their own political backwardness. The Anglo-Indian community prefers conflict to cooperation. This lack of solidarity and collective power, through their own lack of vision in the community, has led to a whole range of influences which impinged upon Anglo-Indian education

Second, monolingualism, that is knowledge of English only, and a lack of understanding of India's religions has affected the new ethnic Anglo-Indian's efforts to integrate into the life-world of post-independent India.

Third, it is a major indictment that the schools legitimised inequality of educational opportunities to Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians have failed and continue to fail in their own schools. Educational change for academic success is negotiated, not with Anglo-Indians, but with wealthy non Anglo-Indians whose need dictated the curriculum. The schools prepare Anglo-Indians for a life-world of very low socio-economic expectation.

Beneath the facade of meritocracy lies the reality of an educational system which has failed to educate its own children. The Anglo-Indian educational system has not been accountable to the Anglo-Indian community. The fragmented, conflict-ridden associations will soon lose their schools if these trends continue.

The senior management teams in the schools still lack qualified Anglo-Indians. There will be no Anglo-Indian Principals and Headteachers, because nothing is being done in the schools to promote effective delivery of the language and religious education curriculum. Fragmentation in the community is reflected in the institutionalized and often destructive attitudes towards Anglo-Indian learning.

The theory-practice model will hopefully eliminate such educational disadvantage. From the historical and field study evidence at least, there is evidence that the schooling has contributed to subordinacy.

The diagnosis of what is actually happening now in Anglo-Indian schools is complete. What is likely to be happening in the future if no change effort is made is the loss of the schools to the community. Implementing change depends on solidarity in the community and translating the diagnostic data of this research into new goals and plans.

The next section argues that the theory-practice model offers a strategy and procedure to implement change in the classroom. A retreat from this educational theory-practice model will limit the cognitive achievements of most Anglo-Indian students.

4. THE THEORY-PRACTICE MODEL IN THE SOCIO-PRACTICAL FIELD OF ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS

The theory-practice model involves attempting to reduce the discrepancies between the real, or actual learning experience of Anglo-Indians in their classrooms and the ideal. The theory-practice model has practical applicability in an Anglo-Indian classroom. It offers teachers enough flexibility of mind and creativity needed to sustain the model in a classroom through Action Research and Case Studies. Action Research and Case Studies will identify the problems of implementing the theory-practice model into the classrooms. Problem identification will be immediately followed by analysis of the theory-practice model.

The theory-practice model provides a guideline to teachers for developing strategies for implementing change. New knowledge has been made available to the Anglo-

Indian community in the research. The researcher interviewed teachers and their students. The positive news is that there was a genuine request made by teachers and students for change. Therefore, the researcher is willing to take part in a participative change cycle with a teacher in a classroom.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Six recommendations are made to eliminate disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community.

RECOMMENDATION 1: ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

1. The schools must seek to create an egalitarian and liberating educational system for Anglo-Indians.
2. The schools must apply an educational philosophy of personal development for all Anglo-Indians.

RECOMMENDATION 2: NEGOTIATING AN ANGLO-INDIAN SOLIDARITY IN INDIA

1. The in-group and out-groups must adopt a more prejudice-reductionist policy for the future.
2. Anglo-Indian schools should all belong to a central governing body, which has elected representatives from all the associations which manage schools.
3. A solidarity would prevent any takeover bid of the schools by non Anglo-Indians.

RECOMMENDATION 3: BILINGUALISM AND ECONOMIC POWER: ADOPTING THE THEORY-PRACTICE MODEL

1. Anglo-Indian schools should implement vigorously a bilingual (Indian language and English) and a monolingual (English language) learning programme for all Anglo-Indians.
2. An induction course should be arranged at least a month before the start of the first term to induct Anglo-Indian children into the school. Presently, Anglo-Indian children from slums arrive in these elitist schools, as if they have entered a foreign country.

3. During the field study, comments were made about the lack of interest shown by Anglo-Indians in applying for scholarships in their own schools. Obviously, "freeships", that is, free board and tuition, are still available for Anglo-Indians. Therefore, money can be released to introduce an induction course for Anglo-Indians. An incentive allowance should be offered to teachers who are responsible for the course.

RECOMMENDATION 4: ETHICAL PLURALISM AND INTEGRATION INTO INDIAN SOCIETY: ADOPTING THE THEORY-PRACTICE MODEL

1. Ethical pluralism could be introduced during creative and practical activities. Mime, dance, drama, music, set designs, costume-making, carpentry, metalwork, drawing, painting and puppet-making, could all be learning environments for introducing stories about religions. The keyword is sharing in a doing and knowing learning environment. Aspects of personal and social education would exist in areas of creative and practical activities.
2. Anglo-Indian schools have a natural resource base in the school to introduce ethical pluralism into the classroom. This resource lies in the students who are Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jains, Jews, Muslims and Parsees.

RECOMMENDATION 5: A CENTRAL BOARD OF MANAGEMENT FOR ALL ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS: THE PROFESSIONALS AS ADMINISTRATORS

1. There should be participation of all teachers in selecting representatives either from a state or region. The ultimate accommodating technique would be the role of the professional as administrator. This would:
 - (i) encourage external representation; (ii) legitimise hierarchy;
 - (iii) help to ensure that professional autonomy would not be restricted by bureaucratic formalisation dictated to by powerful, ambitious politicians.
2. Feedback must be offered to all participating Anglo-Indian schools within the organisation, to facilitate professionals to achieve co-operation rather than conflict.

These recommendations will pose a problem for leadership, particularly since the role of Anglo-Indian school is linked to politicians, who either own the schools, or are influential Chairmen of the Management Boards. Anglo-Indian schools must be encouraged to reassert themselves as community schools, freed from non-

professional or political interference. What the schools now need is a participatory model of management. The hierarchy should be recognised by all the groups as legitimate. This elected hierarchy would not adversely affect the autonomy of the professionals.

The future of Anglo-Indian schools lies in the hands of Anglo-Indian professionals and not Anglo-Indian politicians. The reason lies in the conflicting roles of educationists and politicians in the context of Anglo-Indian education. The commitment to organisational goals and concern with advancement for the educationist would be related to the school, but with the politician the advancement is related to a nominated seat in the State Legislative Assembly or Indian Parliament.

It will mean returning the schools to the professionals. The research interviewed eleven Principals and four Headmasters of Anglo-Indian schools. The role of the Principal includes management, administration and whole school development. The Headteachers are usually responsible for the curriculum, pastoral care, staff development, community links and examinations.

Principals and Headteachers are a source of influence, because they are dynamic, caring members of the profession, whose honest reputations preceded them. They were in a position to exercise normative control. The Principals and Headteachers possess the widest and most extensive connections with outside bodies - the governors, parents, teachers, social services, representatives from the Department of Education and politicians.

The schools are successful for non Anglo-Indians. They are considered elitist schools, with long waiting lists among non Anglo-Indians to enter these schools. Non Anglo-Indians respect and value Anglo-Indian education. The researcher was impressed with the number of non Anglo-Indian ex-students who have entered the professions of medicine, law, education, engineering and politics.

This list of successful ex-non Anglo-Indian students from these schools demonstrated the favourable educational outcome for non Anglo-Indian students.

Therefore, in the researcher's opinion, the time has come to build on the success of these schools. The next recommendation describes this.

RECOMMENDATION 6: THE WAY FORWARD: ANGLO-INDIAN UNIVERSITY COLLEGES AFFILIATED TO INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

Anglo-Indian University Colleges affiliated to Indian Universities must be planned for the future. The time has come to create a vision for Anglo-Indian education. The time has come to act boldly, in order to stride confidently into the twenty first century.

In 1990, Anglo-Indian schools offered ten years of primary and secondary schooling, plus two years of further education. The Anglo-Indian system must add three more years of higher education. This would mirror the Indian Educational Formula, namely, 10+2+3.

An Anglo-Indian University College would be a centre of excellence for the Arts, Education, Humanities and Sciences. At least two Anglo-Indian residential schools in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and two day schools in Tamil Nadu and Kerala have extensive acreage, which awaits development.

Barnes School (residential) in Maharashtra, Laidlaw Memorial College (residential) in Ketti, Doveton Corrie School (day) in Madras and the C.C.P.L.M. Anglo-Indian High School (day) in Perumanoor, Cochin could be the venues of four Anglo-Indian University Colleges affiliated to the Universities of Bombay, Madras and Kerala.

The International Community of Anglo-Indians has expressed an interest in this research. (22) Many of these professional Anglo-Indians attended Anglo-Indian schools before emigrating. Expansion in the future must be vertical into higher education, and not horizontal into secondary and further education.

It could be a global Anglo-Indian initiative to take Anglo-Indian education in India, into University education. The support and enthusiasm of American, Australian, British, Canadian and Anglo-Indians in India should be harnessed to build University Colleges. While deeply committed to an education in the medium of English, the

University Colleges could offer bilingual courses in the Arts, Education, Humanities and Sciences.

The initiative would offer a project to Anglo-Indians searching for a composite identity which could bring the international community of Anglo-Indians together.

At a simple level, the Anglo-Indian schools are for Anglo-Indian children. But the Anglo-Indian University College would be a meeting-educational-point for a range of cultures. These cultures would be supported, developed and maintained in an educational celebration of cultural diversity. An Anglo-Indian University College will be an enrichment for all students.

The building of Anglo-Indian University Colleges would help to preserve a unique racial, linguistic and religious minority community's heritage. The wealth of the Anglo-Indian community is in its educational institutions. Anglo-Indian University Colleges will create a revolutionary transformation of educational and economic life for Anglo-Indians in India.

It will only occur if the community in India possesses a solidarity and total vision of a new ethnic Anglo-Indian community. This community through dynamic educational change will be integrated with Indian society.

The global response to expanding Anglo-Indian schools into Anglo-Indian University Colleges will be a goal accomplishment. It will be a deliberate strategy to create a sense of identity among the members of the international community.

This doctoral thesis has attempted to explain some of the reasons for Anglo-Indian educational disadvantage and has made recommendations as to how these might be addressed. The crucial aspect of this is that the Anglo-Indian community cannot survive unless it puts its own educational house in order. No matter which passports they carry or nationalities they possess, the uniqueness of the Anglo-Indian community will only endure if these educational tasks are undertaken in its education.

Dr. Ann Lobo is an Anglo-Indian. Her maiden name was Selkirk. She was born in India in 1939 and completed her secondary education in an Anglo-Indian school in Bandra, Bombay in 1956. She is a Fellow of the Trinity College of Music, London. She possesses a Bachelor of Education Degree from the University of Reading (1986), a Master's Degree in Education in Multicultural Urban Areas (1988) from the University of London Institute of Education and a Doctorate from the University of London Institute of Education (1994). She is Head of Music in an inner-London school and recently gave a paper at Oxford University (OXCON) in September 1995 on *Language Policies in Anglo-Indian schools*.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Park, R.E., Burgess, E.W. and McKenzie, R.D. (1925, 1967, 1984) *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment* Chapter III 'The Ecological Approach to the study of the Human Community' Midway Reprint Chicago: The University of Chicago Press p.68.

(2) See, Hedin, E.L. (1934) 'The Anglo-Indian Community' THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol.40 pp.165-179. Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. In 1934 Hedin, E.L. referred to Anglo-Indians as "servile hangers-on of officialdom that there is little doubt of their attempting to curry favour with Hindus or Moslems or both if there seems to be a prospect of complete native rule in India". (p.175) He also described the Anglo-Indians as being displaced by non Anglo-Indians for government jobs. "The programme of Indianization of government services displaced a good many Anglo-Indians, the new educational requirement displaced still more, for while nearly all Anglo-Indians have some education, very few of them are able to afford university training".(p.173) See, Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report (1959) Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian Community 1957-1958 (The Baptist Report) Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press; see also, Brennan, N.L. (1979) *The Anglo-Indians of Madras: An Ethnic Minority in Transition* Ph.D. Thesis Syracuse University, Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106 University Microfilms International; see also, Chatterjee, E.P. (1982) *Adaptation in a Changing World: The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909-1935* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University, Montreal Quebec, Canada Microfilm; see also, Francis, G.F. (1986) 'Speech by MLA on the Floor of the Assembly on 18-4-1986 on the Education Demand' THE DAWN OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH INDIA Vol.1 No.1; see also, Gidney, H. (1925) 'The Status of the Anglo-Indian Community under the Reforms Scheme in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. XXI pp.657-662; see also, Gidney, H. (1934) 'The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. LXXXIII pp.27-42; see also, Tiwari, R. (1965) The Social and Political Significance of Anglo-Indian schools in India Unpublished Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts of London University; see also, Cressey, P.F. (1935) 'The Anglo-Indians: A Disorganised Marginal Group' SOCIAL FORCES XIV December pp.263-8 (p.265); see also, Graham, J. (1934) 'The Education of the Anglo-Indian child' JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS November Vol. 23 pp.21-46; see also, Grimshaw, A.D. (1959) 'The

Anglo-Indian Community: The Integration of a Marginal Group' THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES XVIII February pp.227-40 (p.231)

(3) See, Gidney, H. (1934) op. cit., p.36. By 1934 Gidney stated that, "nearly 20,000, or more than one-third of the total able-bodied men of the community, are unemployed - the majority of them homeless and in rags, roaming the streets in quest of food. Thousands of the community, including many with fine records of military service, are today depending on charity from their friends and public bodies to keep body and soul together". (p.36) See also, Anderson, G. (1939) 'Anglo-Indian Education' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. 35 pp.71-96. By 1939, the educational system had etched a subordinate perspective deeply into their psyche and, intelligent Anglo-Indian men and women "who had shown good promise while at school had been compelled on account of poverty to take up duties which were lacking in scope and prospects". (p.78)

See also, The Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report (1959) op. cit., (p.2) By 1959, The Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report better known as The Baptist Report, stated that 31% of Anglo-Indians had studied beyond matriculation. Out of 1207 individuals, only 5 men were graduates. The survey stated that 40% of Anglo-Indians lived in huts and there was frustration, indifference, distrust of Anglo-Indian associations. Higher education was "discarded in favour of technical or professional training, which however cannot get to a high level unless backed by general education". (p.2) See also, Brennan, N.L. (1979) op. cit., (p.9, p.111, p.121, p.160). See also, Abel, E.P. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (pp.93-4) Abel attributes this fact to an inability "to support their families and cannot afford the period of study". (p.94)

(4) In 1786 repressive policies by the East India Company marked the beginning of disadvantage suffered by the Anglo-Indians. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of these repressive policies. A pattern of economic inequality was set for Anglo-Indians by the end of the eighteenth century. The relative powerlessness of the community after the repressive policies and loss of trust of the Indian princes in 1798 and the Hindus and Muslims in 1857 created a community, reconciled to their subordinacy. Each generation of Anglo-Indians transmitted the subordinate status, so that by 1907, Anglo-Indians were still struggling to achieve mass elementary education. See, Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.72) see also, Lee, M.H. (1912) The Eurasian: A Social Problem M.A. Dissertation Microfilm. Chicago: University of Chicago. Anglo-Indians were being described in 1912 as lacking "strength in muscle, mind and will". (p.12); see also, Hedin, E.L. (1934) op. cit., p.168.

The Anglo-Indians were being "ostracized by both English and Indians". (p.168) See also, Grimshaw, A.D. (1959) 'The Anglo-Indian Community, The Integration of a Marginal Group' THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES Vol. XVIII February 1959 pp.227-240. Their position was becoming "more tenuous and unstable". (p.230) See, Malelu, S.J. (1964) *The Anglo-Indians: A Problem in Marginality* Doctoral Thesis University Microfilms The Ohio State University. By 1947, the community was poised "on the periphery of two social worlds and its link with the one served only to vitiate its standing in the other". (p.78); see also, Naidis, R. (1963) op.cit., (p.421)

The few Anglo-Indians who were successful educated their children in England. These Anglo-Indians merged into the European community, because they were "of sufficiently light pigmentation to pass for European" (p.421). See also, Arden Wood, W.H. (1928) *'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India'* THE ASIATIC REVIEW NEW SERIES Vol.24 pp.417-446. This betrayal of their Anglo-Indianness was a "serious loss" (p.420) to the Anglo-Indian community. See also, Graham, J. (1934) op. cit., p.28. By 1920, Anglo-Indians were living in unsatisfactory social conditions. See, Gidney, H. (1925) op. cit., (p.659) In 1925, the "apathetic policy, conducted without relevance to the politics both of the European and the Indian" created confusion in the community. (p.659) See, Hartog, P. (1929) Indian Statutory Commission, Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Review of growth of education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission September 1929. Cmd. 3407. In 1929, the Hartog Commission criticised the community for segregating the Anglo-Indian schools because this created communal differences and accentuated racial animosities. The schools were an obstacle to integration with Indians.

(5) After 1857, Anglo-Indians became increasingly segregated into railway "colonies" or "quarters" which were reserved for them. They became a "landless group" dependent on "specific kinds of government employment". (p.419 Naidis, 1963) Although the British did encourage the Anglo-Indians to accept subordinate jobs, they continued to discriminate against the Anglo-Indians who were ethnically and racially different.

(6) Abel, E. (1988) an Anglo-Indian researcher stated: "The Anglo-Indian Community in the 1980s is a more cohesive group than it was at the start of the twentieth century". (p.175) It seemed highly improbable that by 1990, the Anglo-Indian community was split into different associations. The statement by Abel, E. (1988) and the field study's findings were at opposite poles. See, Abel, E. (1988) *The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India* Delhi: Chanakya Publications. See, Archer, M. 'Educational Politics: A Model for their Analysis' IN: I. McNay and J. Ozga (eds.) *Policy-Making in education: The Breakdown of Consensus* Open University Set Book Pergamon Press Oxford 1985 p.39) For such a small group among India's millions, their political representation is assured. Educational Politics is the "stuff of these associations and the schools are their only hope". (Profile No. 96) See, Hogg, M.A. and Abrams, D. (1988) *Social identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* London: Routledge p.101; see also, Bonner, H. (1959) *Group Dynamics: Principles and Applications* New York: Ronald Press; see also, Schacter, S; Ellerston, N; McBride, D. and Gregory, D. (1951) 'An Experimental Study of Cohesiveness and Productivity' *HUMAN RELATIONS* Vol.4 pp.229-38

(7) The Constitution of India protects the Anglo-Indian schools, because the Constitution recognises the racial, religious and linguistic aspects of the Anglo-Indian community. See Abel, E.P. (1988) *The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India* Delhi: Chanakya Publications. (p.95); see also, Biswas, A. and Agrawal, S.P. (1986) *Development of Education in India: A Historical Survey of Educational Documents before and after Independence* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co. (p.431); see also,

DeSouza, A.A. (1976) *Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960* New Delhi: Oxford University Press (p.297); see also, Jha, H. (1985) *Colonial Context of Higher Education in India*, Patna University from 1917-1951: A Sociological Appraisal New Delhi: Usha (p.31); see also, Kumar, A. (1985) *Cultural and Educational Rights of the Minorities under Indian Constitution* New Delhi: Deep & Deep (pp.237-8); see also, Mayhew, A. (1928) *The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Policy in India 1835-1920, and of its bearing on National Life and Problems in India Today* London: Faber and Gwyer (p.67); see also, Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.P. (1952) *History of Education in India during the British period* Bombay: Macmillan & Co. (p.859); see also, Saini, S.K. (1980) *Development of Education in India: Socio-Economic and Political Perspectives* New Delhi: Cosmo Publications (p.399); see also, Tiwari, R. (1965) op. cit., (p.198); see also, Yaqin, A. (1982) *Constitutional Protection of Minority Educational Institutions in India* New Delhi: Deep & Deep pp.303-4

(8) Kammeyer, K.C.W. (1972) *An Introduction to Population* Intertext Books, London p.45

(9) Mahalanobis, P.C. (1922) '*Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta*' Part I: Analysis of Male Stature REC.IND.MUS XXXIII; see also, by the same author, (1931) '*Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta*' Part II: Analysis of Anglo-Indian Head Length REC.IND.MUS. XXIII; and see also, (1940) '*Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta*' Part II: Analysis of Seven Characters REC.IND.MUS. XXIII. Other Indian anthropologists have also examined the racial characteristics of Anglo-Indians. See also, Sarkar, S.S. (1943) '*Analysis of Indian Blood Group Data with special reference to the Oraons*' TRANS. BOSE RES. INST. XV Calcutta; see also, Sarkar, S.S., Das, B.M., and Agarwal, K.K., (1953) '*The Anglo-Indians of Calcutta*' MAN IN INDIA Vol. 33 April - June pp.93-102 See also Hoebel, A.E. and Weaver, T. for an account of human experience and anthropology. Hoebel, A.E. and Weaver, T. (1979) *Anthropology and Human Experience* 5th Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

(10) See, Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., p.9 and p.45 The figure was not supported with a research base. It was difficult to see how she arrived at a figure of 150,000. (p.9) The explanatory note clouded the issue even further. She stated that Anglo-Indians were "included under the general category of Christians whose mother-tongue is English". (p.45) How did she separate the Indian Christians from the Anglo-Indians, to arrive at the figure? Once again, the issue was ambiguous and created more doubt in the researcher's mind.

(11) Miro, C.A. and Potter, J.E. (1980) *Population Policy: Research Priorities in the Developing World* Report of the International Review Group of Social Science Research on Population and Development Frances Pinter: London p.157

(12) Glass, N.R., Watt, K.E.F. and Foin R.C. (Jr.) (1971) *'Human Ecology and Educational Crises: One Aspect of the Social Cost of an Expanding Population'* IN: S.F. Singer (ed.) Is there an Optimum Level of Population? McGraw-Hill Book Co. New York 1971 p.205)

(13) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., p.9 and p.45

(14) The Anglo-Indian associations did not possess a solidarity. See, Weismantel M.J. and Fradd, S.H. (1989) 'Understanding the Need for Change' IN: S.H. Fradd and M.H. Weismantel Meeting the needs of Cultural and Linguistically different students: A Handbook for Educators Boston: A College-Hill Publication; see also, Walford, G. (1990) Privatization and Privilege in Education London: Routledge

The AIAIA felt that it was the only one working for the good of the community. All the other associations were all seen as threatening and counter productive. See, Cartwright, D. and Zander, A. (1970) 'Groups and Group Membership: Introduction' IN: D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.) *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* Third Edition London: Tavistock Publications Ltd. (p.49); see also, Brown, R. (1988) *Group Processes: Dynamics within and between groups* Oxford: Basil Blackwell (p.218); see also, Cartwright, D. (1970) 'The Nature of Group Cohesiveness' IN: D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.) *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* Third Edition London: Tavistock Publications Ltd. (p.104); see also, Hoyle, E. (1988) *The Politics of School Management* London: Hodder and Stoughton (p.266); see also, Tajfel, H. (1981) *Human Groups and Social Categories* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (p.343)

In 1990, autistic hostility produced a reflective racial phenomenon in Anglo-Indian groups, whereby the powerful in-group with 80,000 members, saw itself as being the only association worth "considering or dealing with". (Profile No. 550) Viewed objectively, each group transmitted indirectly rather directly a "certain cultural capital and a certain ethos". (p.110) See, Bourdieu, P. (1976) 'The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities' IN: R. Dale, et. al., (eds.) *Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul and the Open University p.110

See also, Converse, A. and Campbell, J. (1970) *'Political Standards in Secondary Groups'* IN: D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.) *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* Third Edition London: Tavistock Publications Ltd. (p.203); see also, Hughes, M. (1985) *'Leadership in Professionally Staffed Organisations'* IN: M. Hughes, P. Robbins, and H. Thomas (eds.) *Managing Education: The System and the Institution* London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston pp.278-84

(15) Pattanayak, D.P. (1981) *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue Education* New Delhi: Oxford University Press (p.75); see also, Fradd, S.H. and Weismantel, M.H. (eds.) (1989) *Meeting the needs of Cultural and Linguistically different students: A Handbook for Educators* Boston: A College-Hill Publication (p.6); see also, Gandhi, K. (1977) *Issues and Choices in Higher Education: A Sociological Analysis* Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation (p.142); see also, The Kothari Report (1968) *Report of the Education Commission (1964-1966)* Education and National Development Ministry of Education Govt. of India. Kothari Commission (p.3) See also, Naik, J.P. (1982) *The Education Commission and*

After New Delhi: Allied Publishers; see also, Das Gupta, J. (1970) *Language Conflict and National Development: Group Politics and National Language Policy in India* Bombay: Oxford University Press Das Gupta, J. (1970) argued that "neither English in elite communication nor the regional languages in mass communication were easy to displace." (p.49)

The Report of the Official Language Commission's Chairman (1956) advocated introducing Hindi to replace English, and the Report was accepted by the Committee of Parliament on Official Languages in 1958. In 1971, the Study Group on Teaching of English appointed by the Ministry of Education stated that English will be used as a "source language with a view to enriching our own languages," (p.9) and also described English as a "link with the wider world of thought and discovery." (p.10) See, Ministry of Education (1971) *Report of the Study Group on the Teaching of English* Govt. of India New Delhi.

See also, Quirk, R. (1972) *The Use of English* London: ELBS and Longman (p.13); see also, Satya Sundaram, I. (1981) *Language Problem of India* Machilipatnam: Sree Nandini Press (p.96); see also, Singh, R.P. (1989) *Educating the Indian Elite* New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. (p.72); see also, Sinha, S.P. (1978) *English in India: A Historical Study with Particular Reference to English Education in India* Patna: Janaki Prakashan (p.142); Sinha S.P. expresses concern about the decline of English teaching and the cultural fusion which has taken place of "Anglo-Indian, Indo-Anglian and Indo-English" writers. (p.146); see also, Thirtha, N.V. (1962) *Babel: Language Dilemma in Indian Schools* Madras: M.Seshachalam & Co. Thirtha, N.V. (1962) argued that students who entered Higher Education in India preferred to learn English as a Second Language (p.55). See also, Yadav, R.K. (1966) *The Indian Language Problem: A Comparative Study* New Delhi: National Publishing House (p.39 and p.90); see also, Yardi, V.V. (1977) *Teaching English in India Today* Aurangabad: Parimal Prakashan. Yardi, V.V. described the importance of English as being in the "process of acquiring the status of a compulsory third language." (p.2)

(16) See, Aboud, F. (1989) *Children and Prejudice* Oxford: Blackwell. Aboud, F. (1989) identified prejudice as responding in an "unfavourable manner toward people from an ethnic group because of their ethnic affiliations, and to feel negatively toward such people." (p.4); see also, Bernstein, B. (1971) *Class, Codes and Control Vol. I Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; see also, Turner, G.J. and Pickvance, R.E. (1973) 'Social Class Differences in the expression of uncertainty in Five Year Old Children' IN: B. Bernstein (ed) *Class, Codes and Control Vol. II Applied Studies Towards a Sociology of Language* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (p.93); see also, De Houwer, A. (1990) *The Acquisition of Two languages from birth: A Case Study* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. See also, Ferdman, B.M. (1990) 'Literacy and Cultural Identity' HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.60 No.2 May pp.181-204. Ferdman, B.M. argued that language literacy had now become the important focus for the debate about cultural pluralism. See also, Humes-Bartlo, M. (1989) 'Variations in Children's Ability to Learn Second Languages' IN: K.Hyltenstam and L.K.Obler (eds.) *Bilingualism Across the Lifespan: Aspects of Acquisition, Maturity and Loss* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; see also, liams, T.M. (1976) 'Assessing the Scholastic Achievement Cognitive Development of Bilingual and Monolingual Children' IN: A. Simoes

Jr. (ed.) *The Bilingual Child: Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes* New York: Academic Press.

See, Mphahlele, E. (1990) 'Alternative Institutions of Education for Africans in South Africa: An Exploration of Rationale Goals and Directions' HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.60 No.1 February. pp.36-47. Mphahlele, E. argued that teachers should be encouraged to be constantly in touch with the environments of minorities, with a more "integrated experience" rather than a "subject teaching" base in their classrooms. See also, Poplack, S (1980) 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y Termino En Espanol: Toward a typology of Code-Switching.' LINGUISTICS Vol.18 pp.581-618 p.581

(17) The Mudaliar Commission or the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53)

(18) Biswas, A. and Agrawal, S.P. (1986) *Development of Education in India: A Historical Survey of Educational Documents before and after Independence* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co. p.609

(19) Biswas, A. and Agrawal, S.P. (1986) *ibid.*, p.610 (The Kothari Report - see Chapter 4)

(20) Grimmitt, M. (1987) *Religious Education and Human Development: The Relationship between studying Religions and Personal, Social and Moral Education* Essex: McGrimmons. pp.267-388

(21) Ethical pluralism would not be offering religious instruction. Under Article 26(1) subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination has the right to establish and maintain its own schools for religious purposes. Herein, lies the enigma of religious education in Anglo-Indian schools. The schools are schools which have a Christian ethos, but, none of the schools are existing today for religious purposes. They are multi-purpose schools. Ethical pluralism would ensure that the intellectual and cultural development of different individuals can take place.

For more information about liberal education/ethical pluralism and/or constructing an Integrated Religious Educational Curriculum see, Burgess, A. (1991) 'Schools for the Nineties' THE TABLET Educational Supplement 5 October p.1206; see also, Cole, W.O. (1978) *World Faiths in Education* London: George Allen & Unwin; see also, Dewey, J. (1916, 1944, 1966) *Democracy and Education* Toronto, Ont: Collier-Macmillan, First Free Press Paperback Edition. (p.88); see also, Dreeben, R. (1968) *On What is Learned in School* Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley; see also, Hay, D (1985) 'Suspicion of the Spiritual: Teaching Religion in a World of Secular Experience' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Summer Vol.7 No.3 (pp.140-7); see also, Hirst, P.L. (1974) *Knowledge and the Curriculum: A Collection of Philosophical papers* International Library of the Philosophy of Education. General Editor R.S. Peters. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (p.17).

See also, Hilliard, F.H. (1970) 'The Problems and Methods of Teaching the Comparative Study of Religion in Schools' IN: J.R. Hinnells (ed.) *Comparative Religion in Education* London: Oriel Press (p.97); see also, Holm, J.L. (1975) *Teaching Religion in School: A Practical Approach* Oxford: Oxford: Oxford University Press (p.6) Holm, J.L.'s approach to religious education did not depend on personal

faith, and therefore there was not need for teachers or pupils to possess a conscience clause, because both would be engaged in a dialogue and an objective study of religions. The problem of conversion would not arise in a learning environment where a discussion of religions is done in a co-operative way. (p.6); see also, Morgan, P. (1986) '*The place of Buddhism in the religious education curriculum*' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol.9 No.1 Autumn pp.17-21; see also, Oldfield, K. (1986) 'Including Jainism' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol.8 No.3 Summer; see also, Pring, R. (1987) Personal and Social Education in the Curriculum: Concepts and Content Third Impression London: Hodder and Stoughton (p.93) Pring, R. offered a discussion about personal development and examined the curriculum area of religious education. See also, Schultz, T.W. (1966) 'Investment in Poor People' SEMINAR ON MANPOWER POLICY AND PROGRAMMES Office of Manpower Policy Evaluation Research. Washington: Department of Labour; see also, Watson, B. (1987) Education and Belief Oxford: Basil Blackwell pp.174-5.

(22) The researcher contacted Anglo-Indians in Australia, Britain, Canada, India and the United States of America.