

Mixed-Race of the Indian Diaspora: The Case of Anglo- Indians

A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Award of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

INDIAN DIASPORA

BY

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Under the Supervision of

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the research embodied in this thesis entitled “**Mixed-Race of the Indian Diaspora: The Case of Anglo-Indians**” is an original research work of mine. The research is carried out under the supervision of **Prof. Ajaya Kumar Sahoo, Centre for the Study of Indian Diaspora**, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy from Indian Diaspora. It is an original work of mine and to the best of my knowledge no part of this dissertation has been submitted for the award of any research degree or diploma at any University. I hereby agree that my thesis can be uploaded in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

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January, 2023

This is to certify that Neikesonuo Rame (Reg. No. 12SIPD02) has carried out the research work in the present dissertation entitled “**Mixed-Race of the Indian Diaspora: The Case of Anglo-Indians**” in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in Indian Diaspora, under the supervision of **Prof. Ajaya Kumar Sahoo**. This dissertation is an independent work and does not continue part of any material submitted for any research degree here or elsewhere.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **“Mixed-Race of the Indian Diaspora: The Case of Anglo-Indians”** submitted by **Neikesonuo Rame**, bearing registration number 12SIPD02 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for award of Doctor of Philosophy in the **Centre for the Study of Indian Diaspora, School of Social Sciences** is bonafide work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance.

This thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for award of any degree or diploma.

Part of this thesis have been:

A. Research Papers published in the following publication.

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B. Presented Papers in the following conferences.

1. “Bollywood Films and Diaspora-The Missing Theme”, in the International Conference, “Migration, Diaspora and Development: An Indian Perspectives” held at Central University of Gujarat, Gandhinagar during 07-08 March 2019.
2. “The Anglo-Indians: Being a Mixed-Race in India and Overseas”, in the International Conference, “American Literature” organized by the PG Department of English Nesamony Memorial Christian College, Marthandam, Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu, India in collaboration with Cape Comorin Trust India & Cape Comorin Publisher, India during 08-09 October 2022.

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ID704	Naga Identities in the Diasporas	4	PASS(A)
ID571	Dissertation	12	PASS(B+)

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CHAPTER- 1

INTRODUCTION

Globalization and transnational migration have restructured and redefined the course of migration and the idea of national boundaries, making cross-cultural exchanges more efficient and boundless, interconnecting people of diverse countries and cultures. Migration constantly involves the whole process of adjustment, adaptation, cross-cultural encounters, and negotiating identities, and also many other issues follow in its discourse. These processes in migration in the contemporary world can be perceived from a multi-cultural perception; multi-cultural society can be understood as different ethnic groups or communities co-existing in a society or country.

Multi-cultural societies today are characterized by the presence of an increasing number of people of mixed heritage and multi-racial populations; mixed-race. Interracial marriages or cross-cultural marriages are not a recent phenomenon but can be dated back to any period or juncture where associations between people of two or more different ethnic groups took place, affiliation formed or they co-existed.

In that context, the colonization period around the world can be marked as the most traceable traversing between different cultural societies or nations, the outcome being the conception of a mixed racial group. There is no evidence of there ever being a pure race but children born of interracial marriages or unions are often labeled as half-breed, biracial or mixed-race children. All these terms are socially constructed because such marriages or unions often being frowned upon by one or both sides of the cultures as not being wholly belonging to one or any.

The idea of mixed-race marriages may be perceived as celebrating and accepting differences in most of today's liberal society but the notion of race mixing has come

through a long trail of criticism, hostility, discrimination, and condemnation in the history of some societies and it still remains in the conscious or subconscious minds of some culture or community. For instance, the case of the United Nations of America's long history of resentment towards miscegenation and amalgamation between whites and non-whites is based on their notion of white supremacy and purity of blood. The Loving v. Virginia case (1967), which ruled out these anti-miscegenation laws as unconstitutional is celebrated as a landmark for legalizing interracial marriage.

Today, as a nation, the United States of America (USA/U.S.) hosts the world's largest number of immigrants in its society, which marks immense progress in accepting diverse cultural and ethnic groups. Among one such group or community who have a significant presence and contribution is the Indian community or often referred to as the Indian Diasporas. As per the United Nations International Migration 2020 Highlights, the Indian Diaspora has the largest diaspora in the world, with a population of 18 million people from India living outside their country of origin, followed by Mexico, Russia and China, and the United States, UAE, and Saudi Arabia host the majority of the Indian Diaspora population (p.16).

The Indian Diaspora, as a community, has achieved a remarkable role model in preserving and maintaining their identity across the world. They have evidently represented themselves to the world through their rich cultures and remarkable accomplishments. Generations of Indian Diasporas located across the globe still hold to their rich traditions and can also be seen well represented in different spheres. However, on the other hand, there is also a visibly increasing population of mixed-race Indian origins as well as Indians choosing to engage in diverse inter-racial relationships or marriages across the globe. Cross-cultural associations, interracial or inter-ethnic

liaisons, or marriages are inevitable circumstances when people of varied cultures co-inhabit in a country or countries for a long period.

The prevalence of miscegenation and interracial relationships or marriages is not a recent phenomenon but can be drawn back to the periods of trading, colonization, and slavery eras across the world. The Indian society like any other society has a long history of trade and merchandise with the outside world. They were mainly known for their rich spices, textiles, and precious stones. This attracted the Europeans who discovered the sea route to India to set up trade centers and ports in India. These encounters were alleged to also have initiated marriages between the European of high rank and status and the native women of similar status to strengthen trust and ties between the Europeans and Indians.

Even if claims have been made of the earlier existence of interracial union and progeny in India, most of the history of the origin of the mixed-race Indians is linked with the coming of European colonization, mostly British under the imperial rule commonly referred to as ‘the British Raj’ in India in the Eighteenth century. Children born out of intermarriages or amalgamation between the European menfolk and the Indian native women were initially termed *Eurasians* but later came to be identified as Anglo-Indian.

Anglo-Indians are one of the most significant mixed-race communities of India or Indian origin and have established themselves across many countries of the world. However, there is an increasing population of the younger generation who have mixed ethnic identities of more than two or multi-ethnic lineages, and the subject matter of how to address or represent these mixed-race populations has intensified the interest of study from different fields and perspectives in recent years.

Since Anglo-Indians are one of the most prominent mixed-race communities of Indian origin, the study will explore the community as an account to understand how the subject of race mixing and being mixed-race is viewed and regarded.

The aversion to the notion of interracial relationships and marriages can also be analyzed through cinematic representation. A content analysis study on views of being mixed-race is also discussed in this study. Popular social media like Instagram, YouTube, Facebook, Web Blog, and Twitter has become a central platform to not only share information but a medium of interaction, exchange, and the most efficient mode of connection across the globe, bringing together people of common interest to express themselves and share their common interest and vice versa. These virtual social communities and media-sharing networks are also becoming an imperative means of acquiring or obtaining information for different research interests as well.

Some important terms, definitions, and concepts most relevant to the interest of study in this thesis are examined in this chapter.

Migration

Migration has been an integral part of human history, many societies' origins have been traced to extended roots, routes of migration, and settlement. Migration is generally defined and understood as a movement of people from one region to another, individually or in groups, to settle in a new location temporarily or permanently. The earliest conceptions of migration were in the form of nomads, traders, exiles, and conquerors. However, with time, the patterns and nature of migration have changed.

Ernst Ravenstein's work, "laws of migration" in 1885 is considered one of the earliest attempted works on the study of migration patterns. Though his, "laws" or the "rules" that govern migration lack accuracy to determine the study of migration in the

post-industrial era, his work laid the foundation for much research on migration studies from different fields in the later years. His works are often seen quoted as the basis of many studies related to migration. Ravenstein's, "laws of migration", attempted to explain and predict migration patterns both within and between nations during the rise of the industrial age across Europe and North America in the second half of the 19th Century.

Ravenstein (1885) is of the view that the 'laws of migration' applicable to towns can as well, to a larger measure, apply to counties taking into account different circumstances. Likewise, some features of Ravenstein's laws of migration are still significant and can be adapted to migration study of modern-day countries or countries in the following application:

- 1) The higher inclination of migration from rural to urban settings.
- 2) Urban residents are less likely to migrate compared to rural residents; can also be implied to metropolitan city dwellers or people from developed and advanced countries.
- 3) More migration towards centers of greater commerce and industry.
- 4) Economic motives as a dominant factor in migration.
- 5) Developed states or countries pulling more immigrants into their society; the gravity model of migration.
- 6) Counter-migration; the gap left by a migrant is filled by another migrant.

Migration is generally categorized and discussed in two types, namely:

- i. Internal migration: This type of migration involves the movement of people within a national boundary; from a rural to urban or semi-urban, from one state to another, or from one city to another and vice versa.

- ii. International migration: This type of migration implies crossing or moving beyond one's national boundaries; from one country to another.

The causes of migration are often drawn on the push and pull factors of migration. However, the cause or reasons and the process or course of migration between the two types of migration may differ from one another. Better job opportunities; improve living standards, and access to better educational systems or medical facilities are some of the pulling factors of internal migration; from a rural to an urban setting or city. Limited job opportunities, lack of social mobility, inadequate educational and medical facilities, overpopulation, natural calamities, or in some uncommon situations, socio-political tensions are some of the pushing factors of internal migration. Most of these pull and push factors are economical, social, demographic, ecological, or political in nature, or a combination of all these factors. On the other hand, the nature of international migration, its causes, and courses of migration may differ from that of internal migration.

Though international migration can mostly be viewed from a socioeconomic mobility perspective, there are certain criteria and legal proceedings, and requirements that need to be fulfilled or approved to travel or move beyond one's national boundaries or across nations. Unrestricted movements and migration across transnational borders as a result of the globalized world have further broadened the understanding of the concept of migration.

The discourse of migration, especially international migration will be partial without considering the vast diasporic communities spread across the globe. These diasporic communities are the by-product of people crossing national boundaries throughout the discourse of international migration. The term diaspora is often used interchangeably with international immigrants. The diasporas are the multi-ethnic

communities settled in different host societies across the globe, away from their homeland or country of origin.

Diaspora

The term diaspora is etymologically derived from the Greek words *dia* which means through and *speirein* meaning to sow, scatter, scattering, and spreading out. The term *diaspora* was originally used to refer to the dispersal or forced exile of the Jews to Babylonia. The Vocabulary dictionary defines *diaspora* as ‘a large group of people with a similar heritage or homeland who have since moved out to places all over the world...they move out from their homeland and got scattered across the globe, spreading their cultures wherever they go’. (<https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/diaspora> accessed on 10th Sep. 2014). Over time, the term diaspora evolved and today is often implied as a movement or migration of people from their ancestral homeland to another country caused by varied reasons. Here, migration will be used concerning diasporas which are predominantly international migrants, crossing nation boundaries or boundaries.

William Safran’s (1991:83-84) defining model of the concept of diaspora is often applied in studies for understanding and identifying different diasporas. According to Safran, the concept of diaspora may be applied or included to ‘expatriate minority community’ who shares several of the given below characteristics:

- they, or their ancestors, have dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign, regions;
- they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about the homeland- its physical location, history, and achievements;
- they believe that they are not- and perhaps cannot be fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;

- they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would(or should) eventually return- when conditions are appropriate;
- they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and
- they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnic communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.

Some of these characteristics relating to a history dispersal and alienation, memory, myth and imagined homeland, maintaining of identity, and homeland relations can be related to the descriptions of the Indian Diaspora community.

In his book *Global Diaspora: An Introduction* (1999:178) Robin Cohen categorized diasporas according to their migration history and positioned the nature of their migration in the following types:

- I. Victim/refugee - Jews, Africans, Armenians. Others: Irish, Palestinians
- II. Imperial/colonial- Ancient Greek, British, Russian. Others: Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch
- III. Labor/service- Indentured Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Sikhs, Turks, Italians
- IV. Trade/business/professional- Venetians, Lebanese, Chinese. Others: Today's Indians, Japanese
- V. Cultural/hybrid/postmodern- Caribbean peoples. Others: Today's Chinese, Indians

In the above categorization, Robin Cohen has placed the Indian diaspora under a) labor/service diaspora, b)trade/business/professional, and c)contract/hybrid/post-modern in the categorization of the types of diasporas. However one can consider placing the

Indian diaspora under the refugee category in some cases related to the Anglo-Indians; Anglo-Indians emigrating from India post-independence declaration in fear of being victimized or discriminated against due to the communal tension prevailing during that period.

There is a paradigm shift in the understanding of migration post-globalization era, which is now perceived from a transnational perspective. A Country that offers the greatest of opportunities pulls the largest percentage of international migration.

Vertovec (1997) describes the term 'diaspora' as any population which is practically considered 'deterritorised' or 'transnational', that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides and whose socio-economic and political networks have crossed borders of nation-states or indeed span the globe.

Culture and Identity

According to Brah (2005,18), culture evolves throughout history, a continuous process of cultural reproduction and transformation. He implies that at a given time, people inherit certain cultural institutions and traditions but the everyday interactions and their ritual practices eventually get selected, modified, and transformed. He further states that at a particular point in history, certain groups subjected to common socio-political, and economic forces, share some aspects of one another's culture. Based on this statement, culture is discussed and understood by Brah within the context of power relations among different groups.

Stevenson (2002) opines that "culture helps provide a source of identity, means of social exchange, and a sense of community."

Stuart Hall (ed. Rutherford,1990) in his work on cultural identity and diaspora looks at identity as a production, an unending, always in process with the tendency to

reshape and which always constituted within, not outside, representation rather than an accomplished fact. He presents two different ways of thinking about cultural identity. The first view defines cultural identity in terms of one shared culture, collective oneness...beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history. He further emphasized the production of identity, re-telling its past history in the form of emerging imagined practices of representation; in the forms of creative arts or cinematic representation. The second view of cultural identity recognizes the transition from 'what we really are' to 'what we have become'. According to this view, cultural identity belongs to the past as much as it belongs to the future but there are certain transformations that undergo constant transformation. Stuart is also of the view that differences persist alongside continuity when it comes to the concept of cultural identity and that, difference matters.

Transnationalism

The term diaspora and transnationalism are often linked to the study of migration today, however, the application of these terms are used in different situational natures of migration and have their own characteristics.

According to Thomas Faist (2010:10), even though both terms refer to cross-border movements, diaspora is often representative of religious or national groups living outside their imagined homeland, on the other hand, transnationalism is more narrowly referred to migrants' durable ties across countries taking into account not just communities but all sorts of social formations like transnationally active networks, groups, and organizations.

Media

Karim (2017) examines how diasporic communities sought out different means of communication to remain in touch with the homeland, and how media have delivered the most efficient means of communication on a local and transnational level.

Appadurai (1996) states that the new global cultural economy is complex and cannot be understood from a center-periphery model and proposed five interconnected dimensions of global cultural flows to understand this disjuncture. They are:

- a. Ethnoscapes: it refers to the flow of people across national boundaries as tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and any other moving groups or individuals.
- b. Mediascapes: These refer to the global production and flow of media information across the world flow of media.
- c. Technoscapes: the flow of technological configurations
- d. Financescapes: it refers to the flow of money
- e. Ideoscapes: These refer to the flow of ideas.

Van Dijk (2006) argues that the new media, i.e. internet technology brings two twin changes that move contemporary society from the industrial age or society and mass culture into an information and network society.

The first change is the “structural change, witnessing the digitalization of communication accompanied by the coverage of both old media (television, telephone) and new media (internet).” The second change is “the shift towards interactive forms of media that allow two-way forms of communication,” for example, interactivity exchange from chat boxes to TV programs or conversation through video conferences.

Stevenson (ibid) emphasizes the possibilities of new theoretical developments other than the predominant media theory and simplistic assumption. He argues for the need of finding an alternate way of representing the past and the present, which recognizes diverse cultures and places them within a continual intercultural exchange without the monopolizing or dominant attitude of one culture over another. His argument in this respect urges the media theory to look more at the developments from the post-colonial levels of analysis.

Racism

According to Fredrickson (2002), “the term ‘racism’ is often used in a loose and unreflective way to describe the hostile or negative feelings of one ethnic group or “people” toward another and the actions resulting from such attitudes”(p.1). But when these aversions and feelings are acted upon against another group beyond intolerance, the brutality of such actions affects humanity universally. He used this implication to explain how racism can become a mechanism of brutal action by one ethnic group against another; how racism originates from one’s mindset, which in turn regards others different from us, and how this sense of difference creates reasons for using power over others.

Fredrickson considers the twentieth century as the peak of racism history, which he calls “overtly racist regimes”. Because it was during this century the world witnessed the atrocious acts of extreme racial ideology being carried out by the Nazis under Hitler against the Jews, the American South White Supremacist against the Blacks, and the Apartheid in South Africa against colored people.

Mixed Race

The increasing generation of mixed-race or multiracial populations around the world and the debating issue of self-identifying with more than two or more ethnicity have grasped the attention of many studies lately. Now the subject matter of interest or question is who can be considered a mixed race and what brought in the issue of questioning identity.

The term mixed race is often generally visualized as that of a black-white binary. However, in contemporary society, the term mixed race goes far beyond the black-white binary. The very concept of mixed race questions the notion of whether is there a pure race. If so, what exactly it is? Hence, the conception of there being a pure race as such is still an ambiguous concern; could be rather considered a socially constructed schema. The issue of mixed race is often discussed in relation to inclusion and exclusion; segregation from the dominant society or so-called race, caste/class, acceptance, and denial. Mixed race has been defined and redefined and often synonymous terms are also used in its definition as well.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2010:984) defines mixed race as, 'concerning or containing members of two different races: a mixed-race child; with parents of different race'

The Mixed Race Studies defines race as "it is understood... was a social mechanism invented in the eighteenth century to refer to those populations brought together in colonial America:.... European settlers conquered Indians, and Africans bought in to supply slave labor... [Race].... Subsumed a growing ideology of inequity devised to rationalize European attitudes and the treatment of the conquered and enslaved people".

([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mixed_\(United_Kingdom_ethnicity_category\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mixed_(United_Kingdom_ethnicity_category))).

The terms, 'biracial', 'half-breed', 'dual-heritage', 'multi-racial', 'half-caste', 'mixed parentage' or 'multiethnic' are some of the terms which are often used interchangeably with the term 'mixed race'. However, these terms are used synonymously in place or references alongside mixed-race people and may often mean a different connotation in some situations or places and a different conception to some people.

A glossary of mixed-race terminology defines these alternate terms as follows:

- Biracial- refers to a person whose parents are of two different socially designated racial groups, for example, a black mother, and a white father. It is less commonly used but has a perfectly accurate meaning, biracial can also refer to someone who has parents of the same socially designated race when one or both parents are biracial or there is racial mixing in the family history that is important to the individual.
- Half-Breed– a derogatory term meaning: a person with parents from different races; esp. (North American) with White and Black parents or with White and American Indian parents.
- Multiracial- refers to people who are of two or more racial heritage. It is the most inclusive term used to refer to people across all racial mixes. (Source: <http://www.intermix.org.uk/features/glossary.asp> accessed on 15th Oct 2013).

Mix-ed: an organization in the UK also defines some of the terms that have been used to describe people of various heritage including mixed race as follows :

- Bi-racial: of two races (used in the USA)
- Breed: (Half-Breed): A Derogatory 'Street' term for people of mixed race- suggests there are 'pure breeds' or races that are contaminated or watered down when people 'mix'.

- Multiracial: of many races (in the USA).
- Mixed heritage: Preferred use of reference to define parents from different heritage backgrounds. Often used as a modern academic term to describe mixed-race people.

Mixed is an ethnic category that has been used by the United Kingdom's Office for National Statistics since the 1999 Census. Colloquially it refers to British citizens or residents whose parents are of two or more different races or ethnic backgrounds. (Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mixed_\(United_Kingdom_ethnicity_category\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mixed_(United_Kingdom_ethnicity_category)) accessed on 05th Feb.2013.

In recent years, the categorization of races in the census report has also created a mixed approach and perception, especially when a person is in a dilemma, as to where he/she belonged to.

For the first time in the 2000/01 national census round, census agencies in a number of Western countries offered options for people who, by virtue of their parentage or more distant ancestry, wished to declare a 'mixed' identity in questions on race and ethnic group (Aspinall 2009:3).

The census of United States and Great Britain are among the nations that have for the first time in their census offered options to the people to choose their ethnic group. The inclusion of a sixth race category option (as 'other') in the U.S Census 2000 marked a significant change in acknowledging the mixed-race population in American society. The option gave the individual selection of more than one race category for self-identification. According to the Census report, 6.8 million respondents identified themselves as more than one race; mixed race. Subsequently, the 2010 Census saw an increase in the mixed-race population from 6.8 million (2000 Census) to 9.0 million

people (2010 Census). The Pew Research Centre Survey (2015) also estimated that multiracial adults currently make up 6.9% of the American population.

The recognition of the mixed race in the Census can be remarked as a legal acceptance of the race in American society, a society that was against any kind of interracial relationships and marriages for many decades. American society has come a long way to loosening up the patriarchal notion of racial prejudice, the white supremacy and accepting the growing presence of the mixed race in its society. No other country has been as resistant as American society vis-à-vis the issue regarding intermixing of races, blacks-white to be precise.

But on the other hand, one could possibly consider it as an inclusion-exclusion or making a distinction between the varied ethnic groups as well. The so-called white supremacy of the western countries is a delusion, which has for years tried to segregate or exclude people of colored races from mixing and assimilating into their society and accepting them. American society, for instance, has a long history of hostility towards miscegenation and amalgamation.

When one looks into the Indian history of race mixing, the one ethnic group which holds an important legacy will be the Anglo-Indians. The Anglo Indians can be considered one of the oldest mixed races of Indian origin. The Anglo-Indians refer to the people of Indian and British origin. The Anglo- Indians are considered a hybrid group of people, who were born of interracial relationships and marriages between the Europeans and the native Indian women. Article 366 (2) in the Constitution of India 1949 defines Anglo-Indian as, “a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually residing therein and not established there for temporary purposes only”.

(<https://indiankanoon.org/doc/294137/> accessed on 21st July 2013). Today, the popular Anglo-Indians can be mostly found in India, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Bangladesh.

Considering American society as one of the most resistant societies towards the inter-mixing of races on the one hand, this work in the proceeding chapter will try to outline some important cases of interracial mixing in American history. On the other hand, this work will also emphasize the Anglo-Indians as one of the earliest prominent mixed-race communities of India, further opening up the later context of how Indian society perceives race mixing from a different outlook. The cinematic representation of Indian Diasporas and interracial relationships and marriages will also be examined. Based on these interests the research work will attempt to examine mixed-race, especially mixed-race Indian Diasporas with the following objectives.

Objectives of the study

This thesis has been carried out with the following objectives:

- To understand the societal perception and construction of race and its conception of inter-racial relationships.
- To understand the identity of the Anglo-Indian as a mixed-race community.
- To critically analyze the representation of diasporas and the misconception of an interracial relationship in Indian films.
- To understand how mixed-race Indians articulate themselves on social media.

Research Methodology

The study followed a mixed research methodology of qualitative research analysis-exploratory text analysis, and film analysis. Books, journals, magazines, e-newspapers, social media posts, web content Blogs, YouTube channels and videos, and films are the sources from where the data are collected for the study. The content collected for the study is in the form of written, published, visual, and audio-visual.

In chapter -4, I have selected some Bollywood movies related to the topic of the research interest and analyzed them to give a view of how Indian cinema represents and misrepresents Indian diasporas in general and at the same specifying the lack of movies that centers on narratives of interracial relationship and marriages, which is a very much part of the Indian diasporic transition. For this part of the study, I have analyzed the films through a semiotic analysis approach; how meaning is created and communicated in movies.

An attempt at exploratory text analysis has also been done in Chapter-5. Text analysis is a computer-assisted method to describe, interpret, and understand text content. For the text analysis available data are collected from social media platforms like Instagram, YouTube, Web Blogs, and articles available on the social media platform. I applied the Voyant Tools, an Artificial Intelligent tool available online to generate themes and ideas for the content analysis. After generating the themes through the Voyant tools, I have again analyzed the text contents connected to the themes and tried to locate the mixed-race Indians' outlook on being mixed and how they identify themselves.

The study has employed both old media and new media social networking (internet) in understanding the existing mixed-race community and the growing mixed-race community of the larger Indian diaspora. Here, old media includes traditional

forms of media like print, TV, radio, and films. On the other hand, new media implies computerised technology like the Internet, and Social media. Dijk (2006) differentiates between the new and old media by stating that, “ the new media...are both integrated and interactive and also use digital code...traditional television is integrated as it contains images, sound and text, but it is not interactive or based on digital code” (p.9).

Theoretical framework

With the increasing rate of interracial marriages and the growing population of the mixed-race community, there has also been a growing interest to study and locate these mixed-race communities. The sensitivity of grouping, categorizing, and positioning this community also draws a mixed reaction from the community in itself and the mainstream community since the evolution and definition of the term mixed-race itself is a dynamic concept.

The Anglo-Indians represent one of the most significant mixed-race communities of Indian society in India and overseas. Though this community has been surviving for decades in India and across the globe, research work on them as a mixed-race community in the 21st century is still very limited. Most research works are associated with the colonization period and their history pre-independent period. With the declaration of India's Independence and the conflicting partition uprising, the Anglo-Indians were positioned in a dilemma to remain in the newly independent country or emigrate.

In his theory on migration, Everett S. Lee (1966) formulated factors which lead to the decision to migrate and the process of migration. These factors are a) Factors associated with the area of origin, b) Factors associated with the area of destination, c) Intervening obstacles, and d) Personal factors. Lee's theory of migration can be understood through his migration model of push and pull factors and intervening

obstacles in the migration pattern. The model of this theory can be explored to understand the migration outline of the Indian Diasporas in general and the Anglo-Indians in particular through the courses of their migration waves post-independence.

The Anglo-Indians, as an offspring of two cultural amalgamations, are positioned in a traverse intersecting space, where they do not fully identify with either of the cultures, resulting in the formation of a new identity of their own. The Anglo-Indians as a mixed identity is a result of the colonial period. The existing growing mixed-race population is an outcome of a transnational world. To understand the hybrid identity of the Anglo-Indians as well as the growing mixed-race population, the study borrowed the idea of 'hybridity' and 'Third Space' by Homi Bhabha (1994). Though Bhabha's concept of hybridity is used in reference to literary (linguistic) hybridity and an outcome of new cultural identity, his idea is borrowed to approach other aspects of hybridity like political and racial aspects as well. Moss (2012) and Lewin (1996) applied Bhabha's theories to study the problem of Anglo-Indians' marginality and identity issues of Anglo-Indian women and gender in their separate works. Moss places the AI as the "third party" between the colonizer (British) and the colonized (Indians), who "belong neither here nor there" (ibid 2012, p.8), whereas Lewin positions the AI at the intersection space of self (British) and other (Indians) in her work.

Though Bhabha used the words *hybrid* or *hybridity*, this study uses the term *mixed* in terms of hybrid and hybridity. According to him, "The new society is characterized by mass migration and bizarre interracial relations. As a result new hybrid and transnational identities are emerging" (ibid, 1994: 313). The idea of hybrid hyphenation of this new identity which Bhabha refers to as the *stubborn chunks* and the basis of cultural identifications is also borrowed to understand the hyphenated mixed-race in this study.

Root (1996) proposed the Bill of Rights for racially mixed people, which reflects on “resistance, revolution, and change in tackling racial boundaries for changing relations” (p, 14).

- Resistance: not accepting the belief system assigned to racial identity, refusal to fragment, marginalize, and disconnect from people and ourselves,
- Revolution: choice, the right to resist and identify oneself; revolutionize the way we think about identity, and
- Change: when we resist and revolutionize our way of thinking, we become more capable of embracing ourselves and others.

The concept of Third Culture Kids (TCK) is also adopted to understand the multicultural mixed-race generation. The term TCK was first coined by two social scientist couple, John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem. The term was first used by Ruth Useem in the 1950s, to study children of Americans living and working in India, who spend their formative years in places that are not their parents’ homeland (Cottrell & Usmeen, ed al. 1999). The Useems defined the first culture as the person’s country of origin, the second culture as the host culture, and the third culture as one which develops between the first and the second cultures. In modern society, TCK can be understood as “a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents’ culture.... builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any” (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009).

In the era of globalization characterized by advanced technological media communication, there is a rising media space where mixed-race people and minority communities are expressing themselves and bringing in more identical experiences from all across the globe. The new media, the Internet, is providing this community the platform to connect and create their own multicultural identity.

Importance of the study

Taking the global popularity of Bollywood movies and its significant connecting mechanism between the homeland and the diaspora, the study has focused part on the cinematic representation of the Indian diaspora in Bollywood movies. An analysis of the selected movies also emphasizes the need for the filmmakers to shift beyond the general narratives of Bollywood movies and be more inclusive of narration related to the diaspora as well as the Indian society. Subjects on interracial relationships and marriages, mixed-race generation of Indian descent, sexuality, homosexuality, feminist aspect, and divorces are getting very universal aspects of modern society, so there these also need to be more sensitized.

However, the study is narrowing the focus to mixed-race people of Indian descent. With the increasing population of the Indian diaspora across the globe, there is also a rising rate of intermarriages and a growing mixed-race generation of Indian descent. Taking the advantage of advanced technological tools and social networking, the study attempted a content analysis to understand and locate the mixed-race Indians and their identity as a mixed-race.

Chapterization

The thesis is comprised of six chapters. The first chapter consists of the introduction, an understanding of the concepts and terms used in the research study, the objectives of the study, the research methodology, and the importance of the study.

In the second chapter, racial prejudice in American society towards the issue of race-mixing is briefly outlined to understand how American aversion to race-mixing shaped and molded the notion of white supremacy and racial hierarchy. The study considers that it was the Americans' constructed notion of racial hierarchy and white

supremacy which influenced the European colonizers to enforce similar policies toward the colonized people. To date, the notion of white supremacy consciously and unconsciously still tends to create racist attitudes toward people of color.

The third chapter is centered on the Anglo-Indians as a mixed-race community of European and Indian descent from the colonization period. The Anglo-Indians as an offspring of two very different cultures present a complicated distinctiveness to approach and attain a conclusive representation. The discussion mainly emphasizes the socio-cultural, and religious aspects of the community, and what makes them different from the mainstream Indians as well as the Europeans. The course of their migration from India post-independence to different countries is also observed in the study. The chapter also briefly highlights the presence of the Anglo-Indians overseas and in India at present.

The fourth chapter discusses the cinematic representation of the Indian diaspora and the idea of interracial relationships in Bollywood movies. Indian cinema, Bollywood in particular, is becoming an important representation of the Indian identity overseas and has a growing influence and impact on the Indian diaspora. In trying to locate these representations, the study tries to argue in this chapter that there is a misrepresentation of the diasporas and the absence of a mixed-race community in the films. The study suggests the need to address themes on social issues like feminist views, homosexuality, interracial relationships and marriages, domestic abuse, open relationships or cohabitation, and divorces in the movies.

The fifth chapter consists of an attempt at a content analysis study done from available data online on mixed-race of Indian descent and their identity. The experiences and expression of identity articulated on new media social network platforms by mixed-race Indians are identified and analyzed using the content analysis

method. Data are also collected from other social media like Web Blogs, Instagram, and Facebook as interpretive analysis.

The final chapter six is the conclusion. It gives a summary and conclusion of the study attempted.

CHAPTER- 2

RACIAL PREJUDICE IN THE AMERICAN SOCIETY: THE ISSUE OF RACE MIXING

“To maintain the superiority of the white 'race' it was important to keep it 'pure'. Hence the opposition to, and often outrage at, the idea of marriage between white people and those of other 'races'. It was feared their offspring would not only dilute 'white blood', but that they would disgrace the family by inheriting and transmitting the bad qualities of the inferior 'race', including their stigmatised appearance” (Tizard and Phoenix 2001: 2-3).

With the supposition that the apex of white supremacy concept and social construction of race hierarchy was popularised by the American society, though the notion is believed to be created by the European colonizers, the chapter will briefly focus on the long history and laws imposed concerning the issue of race mixing in the American society. The idea of white racial identity was seeded by the European colonizers to justify the enslavement of the Africans. However, the motivation got more highlighted in American society with its rising power. The American history of racism and resistance towards race-mixing took decades to deteriorate; interracial relationships and marriages took the brunt of these white racial policies.

As mentioned in the introduction, the inclusion of a sixth race category option (as 'other') in the U.S Census 2000 marked a significant change in acknowledging the mixed-race population in American society. American society has come a long way to loosening up the patriarchal notion of racial prejudice, the white supremacy, and accepting the growing presence of the mixed race in its society. White supremacy often represents the beliefs and ideas of being superior to others on the basis of having a fairer or lighter-skinned complexion, drawing margins between different ethnic groups.

Race is generally understood in a genetic inheritance perception, being born with a certain gene, which may differ from others. It is characterized by different physical appearances and is most commonly distinguished through skin colors, stature, facial features, hair colors or texture, and other bodily structure and features. However, biologically, there is no attestation that there is a pure race on the basis of these genetic facts.

The conception of being 'mixed-race' or 'bi-racial' is a complex and complicated issue of discussion, as the notion of there being a 'pure race', is itself still an ambiguous concern. However, one can find the superiority and inferiority construction of caste, class, and races in many societies which leads to racist issues and identity crises, most significantly color consciousness. Color plays an influencing force in creating differences and distinctiveness among people of varied cultures and societies.

Ifekwunigwe (2004) uses the term 'mixed race' to describe "individuals who according to popular folk concepts of 'race' and by known birth parentage embody two or more worldviews or, in genealogical terms, descent groups. The author also states that 'these individuals may have physical characteristics that reflect some sort of 'intermediate' status vis-à-vis their birth parents.'" More than likely, at some stage, they will have to reconcile multiple cultural influences. The issue of mixed race over a while has been contested and debated on the ground of race; pure or supreme vs hybrid or mixed. The mixed races are caught in the dichotomy of two or more different cultures, paralleling the struggle for self-identification and recognition. The westerners' notion of white supremacy, a fallacy that is considered a social construction, has given a very critical perspective toward race-mixing over the years. The legacy to maintain their so-

called racial white supremacy led to the discrimination, segregation, and intolerance of the colored population, as hostility and disapproval of the mixed race.

Since the mid-20th century, developed countries have been witnessing and receiving an increased flow of immigration into their society. The main magnetism of this influx was the job opportunities created by industrialization in these societies. The population of immigrants increased tremendously over the decades in developed countries like the U.S., the UK, Germany, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. These immigrant groups have a powerful influence in shaping the overall structural and functional aspects of the hosting countries. The multi-cultural characteristic of these countries is also identifying an increasing population of mixed-race minority groups as well.

In the United Kingdom mixed-race population is one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups. According to their national census 2011, one in ten Indian men and women are claimed to be of mixed race. The liberalization of the U.S. Immigration Law 1965 also witnessed a large influx of immigration from Asian countries to the United States. As a result, the Asian American population increased from 1.5 million in 1970 to about 7.3 million in 1990 (Min:1995). Today the Asian ethnic group is one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups in these two western countries. With the growth of the ethnic population, these societies witnessed a new face of multiracialism- interracial relationships, interracial marriages, and mixed-race generations.

British Future (Dec 2012) report on the 'Melting Pot Generation', examines how Britain's attitudes towards mixed-race Britons have changed over the decades. The report states that until the mid-1980 marrying across racial lines was rare, and people in such relationships were often met with furious hostility in British society. However, mixed-race relationships, once a rarity, are now normal and largely unremarked parts of

British life and are becoming more common all the time. Today, the younger generations of the mixed race are far more recognized as Britons and are applauded for their achievements. On the other hand, the report also states that there is a low rate of intermarriage in some communities such as the British Asians; the assumed possibility has been that of cultural barriers- differences in religion, culture, and languages. The general idea of the report is that “Britain is the real melting pot these days, with people from ethnic minorities far more likely to marry someone from the white majority than in the US, and Britons far more comfortable calling themselves mixed-race than they would in the United States” (ibid).

Annie-Marie Fortier's (2008) work regards witnessing multiculturalism in British society as a result of immigration and the challenges faced due to immigration; finding ways to blend together in a such diversified situation and looking into the future of the big society. She uses the term horizons to project the realities of the present British society to an imaginary future of New Britain, much to the influence of multiculturalism in the society.

The ‘Face of Britain’, a photograph produced by Chris Dorley-Brown from the portraits of 1,900 residents of Haverhill (Suffolk), male and female, aged six-months-old to eighty-years-old, allegedly including ‘representatives of about 50 ethnic minorities, showing the cultural diversity of the town’. According to Brown, although the photo was taken from the people of a particular town and digitally merged to create a single picture, “it could really represent the face of the average person in Britain”. The photograph can also be imaginarily interpreted that with the increasing growth of multi-ethnic communities and the rate of interracial marriages, in a few decades' time, it will be difficult to identify an average Briton by looks or so to say his/her racial background.

Parker and Song (2001) bring in a collection of essays from the conference, 'Rethinking "Mixed Race"', held in London, in 1997. The authors have reflected on three kinds of arguments about mixed race through the essays. The arguments were laid out as follows:

- 'Mixed race' is a stable social category. This argument implies the recognition of 'mixed race', the growing population in American and British society; a multiracial society. Yet, alongside is the ugly truth of consistent racial discrimination faced by this mixed race of American and British society.
- The emergence of a new multiracial discourse. The second argument states that mixed race does not only refers to a person belonging to two races (e.g., black/white) rather there are people who belong to two or more racial heritages. Hence, the term mixed-race stretches out to multiple races, making it a complex issue of multiracialism.
- Beyond race; post-racial world? The last argument as the authors see "mixed race" people as the leading edge of a much broader project to discredit the modern project of racial categorization, and perhaps of categorization itself. It refers to a vision of blurring the notion of racism from the mind of the racist, yet the visualization of such dream seemed limited only to an imaginary utopia.

Apart from Europe and Latin America, Asian countries hold one of the largest immigrant groups in the world. Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, and Vietnamese are the most prominent Asian immigrant groups. Over the years, the hyphenated Asian population is also increasing due to cross-cultural intermarriages.

Lee (1991) reflects on Asian American interracial marriages through the oral history/ stories of the couples involved in such unions. The stories illustrate interracial relations and marriages; the objections and acceptance of their relationship by their community in general and families in particular; how two individuals of different ethnic backgrounds adjust with each other in their married life, with their families, and how they've made their marriage work. The author also reflects on the life of individuals who are born of mixed-race marriages; their acceptance of being different, how they feel more Americanized than Asian, how some confront identity dilemmas, and on the other hand how some consider themselves special being different; hybrid. The stories also show that those who are born biracial are inclined to marry someone of the same racial background i.e. a biracial spouse.

On the other hand, Pyong (1995) focuses more on the contemporary issues and experiences of Asian Americans post the liberalization of the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965. Six Asian American ethnic groups namely, Vietnamese, Filipino Americans, Chinese Americans, Korean Americans, Japanese Americans, Asian Indian Americans, Laotian, and Cambodian Americans are discussed in separate chapters. He examines the immigration history, settlement patterns, socioeconomic adjustment, family patterns, and education, ethnicity, and assimilation issues of these ethnic groups. He also reflects on the future prospects of Asian Americans. The author also views that, as a sign of acculturation there has been a slow increasing growth of interracial marriages between Asian Americans and Americans. However, it has also been recounted that Asian American men may have a lower interracial marriage rate than their Asian American women (except in the case of Filipino men who have a higher intermarriage rate). One reason for this higher rate is that educated Asian women who are brought up in American society tend to be more open-minded about marriage and career independence which does not fit in with the male chauvinism mentality of Asian men.

Many Asian men are still strong-minded in the idea of a submissive wife. Another reason is that Asian American women feel their American partner or spouse considers them more equal to their Asian American men.

Whereas, Zai and Naomi (1999) in their article on the intermarriage of five Asian- American groups states that, "American-born Asians are much more likely to intermarry than foreign-born Asians. Asian women are more likely to intermarry than Asian men". The article examines the impact interracial marriage will have on the maintenance of ethnic identity and culture among Asian Americans giving examples of language and friendship networks. The result shows that Asian women are more likely drawn to assimilation than Asian men in terms of maintaining his/her language. Whereas in the case of maintaining a friendship network, due to cultural and language differences, the couple tends to socialize more with the American circle of friends of the American partner. The authors also show concern with the questions on how the second generation of such marriage is identified by society and how they identify themselves.

Jean Bacon (1996) examines how the first generation writers in the Indian immigrant press try to avoid the issues of the choice of marriage partner and interracial marriage. There is a very contrasting opinion on the issue of interracial marriages even between the first-generation and the second generations of Asian Indian immigrants of Chicago. Some parents cannot even imagine the thought of their children getting married to a white man/woman other than an Indian; the prospect of a child marrying someone outside the preferred boundaries of caste, religion, status, and race is so threatening as to be unimaginable. While on the other hand, there are also a few parents who give the freedom of choice to their children when it comes to marriage and is not particularly concerned about the prospect of interracial marriage. Even among the

second generation, a person born and brought up in American society has a different opinion on the issues of dating, marriage, and interracial marriage. Some have a strong opinion on the idea of an arranged marriage, whereas many hold on to their freedom of choice on either dating or marriage; even on the prospect of an interracial marriage stating that such union will perhaps be a hope in overlooking beyond the skin color and combat the problem of racism in the society.

The new generation of fast-growing multi-racial Americans is more self-conscious about intolerance and inequality. The myth of America as a 'melting pot'¹ society remained just a mistaken fallacy. According to Stetson (1959), 'the fact is, however, that the ingredients, which have gone into the pot, have been carefully screened for whiteness'.

Lee and Zhou (2004) in their work, talk about the emerging Asian American youth culture among the diverse Asian ethnic groups; how these youth have created, practiced, and negotiated culture, identity, and ethnicity for themselves throughout American history and in contemporary multicultural America. The focus is mainly on the younger generation of Asian Americans, post the U.S. 1965 Immigration Act.

The contribution of Sabeen Sandhu (ibid,2004) examines the commercialization of Asian Indian Culture and how the youth (especially Indian women) identified themselves ethnically with this commercialization. *Mehndi*, which evolved from a Hindu marriage ritual became a temporary henna tattoo for many western celebrities and has soon been picked up as a fashion trend. *Bhindis* (forehead dots), worn by Hindu female worshippers for religious ceremonies became a decorative body art. Likewise, traditional Indian clothing and Hindi songs too got commercialized. *Yoga*, a spiritual meditative practice for the Indians got marked just as a physical

¹ The 'melting pot', is a metaphor used in an alleged reference to the theory of assimilation; different ethnic immigrant groups fusing or assimilating into one common culture in American society.

exercise/ activity for the westerners. Sabeen termed this trend as the 'instant karma', a fashion trend that is popular today but will be easily discarded once a new trend is in vogue. But the author argues that this trend of 'instant karma' of the westerners holds a traditional and ethical meaning to the Indians, which is practiced and retained in their everyday life. The author also relates to the everyday confrontations faced by Asian American youngsters to bring in the issues of mistaken identity and stereotypical ideas and how they deal with them.

Das's (2006) work shows that, many Asian immigrants and their second generation of American born and raised still hold on to the traditional values of marriage, family life, and economic choices. However, the increasing growth of interracial marriage among the young generation of Asian Americans is changing the old image of family norms, marriages, and economic choices as well. And as the author quotes, 'Life in a "salad bowl" has its rewards as well as its disappointments'². Though the earlier generations have been able to sustain their ethical beliefs and values, and have made quite an achievement in the economic sphere the young generations are drawn more towards the cultural assimilation of the western society and its thoughts of independency.

Mukadam, who coined the term "Indobrit" explains in the following lines, why she prefers to use the term "Indobrit" to identify herself and others like her:

Second-generation Indians born/or brought up in the UK are the products of the East and the West and their lives combine both with ease. There is no conflict in terms of their identity; they are the fortunate ones who enjoy the best of both worlds as well as multiple identities that are fluid and dialogic. Never again to

² '*Salad Bowl*' is a metaphor for a multi-cultural society where different ethnic groups manage to maintain their own identity and still co-exist like the different ingredients of a salad bowl, and the dressing which gives the salad flavor and bounds them is the law and free market.

be defined as ‘the half generation’, ‘between two cultures’, ‘immigrants’ or members of a ‘diaspora’. These individuals are the post-diasporic generation, creating their own world in the only homeland they have – Britain (cited in Oonk. 2007: 203).

The modern concept of race is believed to have originated or been constructed by the European invaders during the colonization period over the Third World people. The Europeans exploited the natural sources and subjugated the Third World people as laborers and slaves in their own lands. The European considered these people as culturally inferior in the social structure and hierarchy. With the supposition that European colonization popularized the ideology of racial hierarchy, which resulted in the segregation of Whites from the non-Whites and the hostility towards interracial relationships, this chapter will take the example of American society to briefly map out the course of resisting race mixing in its society.

Racial prejudice or bigotry in the history of American society was predominantly centered on being Black and White. Theorists and legislators in particular have undertaken keen interest in constructing the racial hierarchies amongst races; re-enacting laws to segregate the Blacks from the Whites. One needs to go back to history to understand the American obsessive notion of race purity or superiority, their anti-miscegenation laws on race inter-mixing, and the segregation of the blacks from the white society. Since most of these laws were imposed on the Black population, it is inevitable to outlay a brief understanding of the laws and events over the period; cases which portray the American resistance against race mixing, especially towards the Blacks.

Slavery period

The first African slaves to America arrived in Virginia in 1619, to work for the flourishing plantation industries. Under slavery, the Blacks were considered property rather than human by the whites and were totally under the control of their masters; chattel slavery. Black women were easily available for white men to sexually exploit and engaged them in illicit relations and children who were born out of such relationships were considered bastards and slaves from the Black mothers' lineage. The mulattoes were the offspring of the white/master-black/slave relationship; the living proof of miscegenation under slavery, especially in the southern part of America (Toplin, 1979). Even if sexual relationships between white men and black women exist, the law does not recognize marriage between Blacks and Whites nor the offspring born of any kind of such interracial relationship. Moreover, there was "no recourse for sexual abuse in the courts, government, church, or press... most mixed blood slave children were simply worked and sold like all other slaves" (Altman, 1997) (<https://aaregistry.org/story/miscegenation-a-story-of-racial-intimacy/>). With the growing population of blacks and mulattoes in many slave owning states, especially in the south, there was a need to make a distinction of the status of who is who? Because the whites feared that a growing number of Blacks could cause an uprising riot against them, if not controlled under their law. Hence the Slave Code was passed to control and limit the slaves' rights and activities in many states. But the slave code was not the same in all the slave-owning states; it differs from state to state. Throughout the slavery period, slaves were regarded as property, which was owned by the Whites who had the right to do whatever they want with their slaves. The slaves had neither fundamental human rights nor liberty in whatsoever privileges.

From the status of being property to persons: During the constitutional convention of 1787 it was stated that the south state and the north state will have only one vote each as per the Articles of Confederation in the Congress and the representation in the new Congress will be based on population. The southerners, who earlier argued that slaves were property, now propose to the Constitutional Convention that slaves should be considered as persons, to gain a seat in the representation, which was counted by the number of population in the state. The proposition resulted in the Three-Fifths Clause settlement by the Constitutional Convention, to formally recognize slaves as persons and not property. Even though the constitution defined them as persons, they were seen as property by the slave-holding states in the south.

Another argument in the convention was whether slavery should be regulated under the new constitution or not. This created a disagreement between some abolitionists in northern states and anti-slavery in southern states. Later, in the Fifth Amendment under the Bill of Rights 1791, the implication of slavery became complicated again. The Fifth Amendment provided that “no person could 'be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law', nor could 'private property be taken for public use without just compensation’”. (Finkelman 2012). The Amendment implies that if slaves were considered as 'persons', under the Fifth Amendment, they could not be deprived of their life nor their freedom or the right to hold property; they will be freed from the ownership of their masters as well. On the other hand, if they were considered as 'property', compensation will have to be paid to the slave owners. Subsequently, slaves were assumed as property rather than persons because the slave-owning states could neither be deprived of their slaves nor could they imagine the slaves as freed persons on a par with them. The denial of rights and freedom to Black slaves continued throughout the following years. The Dred Scott (1846) case was also an unjustifiable case in American slave history and the in-famous decision of the

Supreme court, written by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney is considered a racist outlook. Dred, an enslaved person, along with his wife, sued for their freedom from the bonds of slavery in the court of St.Louis but the case was later ruled as not entitled. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in his decision wrote that the blacks were:

‘regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit’ (ACS blog, 2007).

In the following years, the Civil War broke out in 1861 between the Union and the Confederate States. Several issues contributed to the outbreak of the war but slavery was one of the main reasons. Abraham Lincoln's victory in the 1860 presidential election, as the first Republican, the rising abolitionist, and economic and social differences surfacing between the north and the south, were some of the causes of the Civil War. The Thirteenth Amendment was part of the outcome of the American Civil War, which also resulted in the emancipation of slavery.

The Jim Crow Laws

The Jim Crow Laws were a trail of the Black Code in the Southern States; post the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution, which guarantees citizenship, the right to vote, and legal protection to born or naturalized citizens of the United States. Then the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875 were passed, which again guaranteed equal legal protections and equal public accommodations and transportation to African Americans. Some of the Southern Democrats resisted these Amendments and Acts as a threat to their white supremacy. By the 1870s when the Democrats gradually regained their political power in the

Southern legislatures, they re-enacted laws to retrieve their supremacy and power over the freed African Americans in the form of the Jim Crow Laws.

The term 'Jim Crow' originated from a minstrel show song 'Jump Jim Crow' in 1828, which was performed by a white man named Thomas Dartmouth Daddy Rice (Tischauer, 2012). In the song, Rice blackens his face, dressed in an ill-fitted beggar outfit, grinning broadly, danced and sang for the amusement of the white audience. The minstrel became very popular among the white audience. The character Jim Crow slowly became a stereotypical character and began to be used as a racial label for Blacks. The term Jim Crow was first used in Massachusetts in 1841, to apply to a railroad car set apart for the use of Negroes. Gradually, the term became affixed to many public laws in the southern states, segregating the blacks from the domain of the white (Smythe 1948-1949). Segregation laws enacted by the Southern legislatures came to be known as the 'Jim Crow Laws'.

Though racial discrimination and segregation were there in the Northern states, the Jim Crow Laws prevailed only in the Southern states. A guidebook called the "Negro Motorist Green Book" originated and was published by Victor Hugo Green, an African American New York City mailman, which became "the bible of black travel during the Jim Crow era". The book guided the black travelers to find lodging, businesses, and gas station that would serve them since Blacks often faced a variety of dangers and inconveniences when they travel during the era of Jim Crow Laws.³The Jim Crow Laws became an unbending law, an everyday reminder to the blacks of their inferiority, and a code of exclusion from the domain of the white population.

Plessy v. Ferguson Case

³https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Negro_Motorist_Green_Book

In 1890 Louisiana passed the Separate Car Law, which created 'equal but separate' cars for Blacks and Whites. The law forbade the races (Blacks and Whites) to sit in seats or coaches not reserved for his/her race. Homer A. Plessy, a light-skinned black took a seat in a whites-only car to challenge the law, as a violation of his rights under the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments. He was arrested and tried before the Supreme Court. At the trial, Justice John Howard Ferguson, who was presiding over the case found no problem with the Louisiana law of accommodations that were 'equal but separate' (Litwack 2004). The court held the opinion that as long as equal facilities were provided to both races, though separate, segregation does not violate the amendments. The case thus was ruled in favor of the segregation law.

Brown v. Board of Education

In 1951, a case was filed against the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, on the ground of racial segregation in an educational institution for black children. Under the 1879 Kansas Law, the Board of Education runs separate elementary schools for white and black children. The case was a represented appeal from families (including the Brown family) in four different states- Kansas, Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina. The petitioner appeal the case to the Supreme Court on the ground that race-based segregation of (black) children in public schools is a violation of equal protection under the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1954 Chief Justice Earl Warren gave a unanimous court decision that segregation of public schools was unconstitutional (Pitts 1999).

Miscegenation Laws

The issue of interracial relationships and marriages; miscegenation or law against race mixing in American society can be long traced back to the late seventeenth

century until 1967 when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled it out as unconstitutional in the Loving v. Virginia case.

Barbara and Ann (2002) on the issue of race and racism in the lives of young people of mixed parentage in the US and Britain state that for the 'whites', "to maintain the superiority of the white 'race' it was important to keep it 'pure'. Hence, the opposition and often outrage at, the idea of marriage between white people and those of other 'races'. It was feared their offspring would not only dilute "white blood", but they would disgrace the family by inheriting and transmitting the bad qualities of the inferior 'race', including their stigmatized appearance." The reference was primarily made to the black-white interracial marriage and their biracial/mixed-race children. Here, the allegation is mainly based on the color of the skin; being White or Black.

Miscegenation can be generally understood as race-mixing or interracial relationships between two different racial groups. The miscegenation laws in American society were inflicted on the relations between the whites and non-whites; the blacks, in this case.

Though interracial relationships and marriages were believed to exist in colonial American society since the seventeenth century and were socially forbidden, however, it was after the abolition of slavery in 1865 that such relationships and intermixing were further intimidated (Julie, 2002). Laws were enacted that barred interracial relationships of any kind.

To understand the extent of the anti-miscegenation laws, Julie's work (ibid) on the legal regulation of miscegenation in Alabama from 1890-1934, will be briefly discussed as a case in point. Julie has presented a list of miscegenation cases and their trials, the conception of race, shifting, and reconstruction of the concept of race. The notion of white supremacy over other races has been the root cause of drawing the color

line between the whites and the blacks during this time, though no actual evidence as there is a specific definition of race or supreme race could be proved.

The evolution of the prohibition of miscegenation, as Julie states, began Post Civil War in the South with the emancipation or the abolition of slavery. An Interracial relationship existed even during the slavery between the whites and the blacks but had been less intimidating because any offspring born out of such relationships would have been considered as slaves only; such has been the rules of the white patriarchy and the blacks' subordination.

Marriage between whites and blacks was not allowed under the Alabama code 1852 even during the slavery period and to act against such prohibition was punishable. The article focuses on the shifting discourse of the concept of race in the appellate court from evidentiary questions or technical concerns to eugenic theories and their impact on the law. Prior to the Civil War, interracial sex was not prohibited in itself but was gendered prejudice and legally subjected. Post the Civil War, the miscegenation laws were revised. Any miscegenous relationships or an attempt to officiate such union on conviction will be imprisoned or fined or sentenced to hard labor. The law states that "since no marriage between a white and black could be legally valid, whites and blacks who had sexual intercourse with each other could be tried for committing adultery if one of the parties was married or fornication if neither was married." The appeal of the miscegenation cases between 1890 and 1917 was based on evidentiary proof, hence making it difficult to question what kind of sexual relationship or evidence constitutes a miscegenous act.

However, in 1866 the Alabama miscegenation law identified three different acts that could provide the basis for a prosecution: intermarriage, adultery, or fornication (pp: 237). The required aspect to carry out such prosecutions was to prove with

evidence that one of the defendants was either a "Negro" or the descendants of a "Negro" within three generations and the other was a white. Then, he had to prove that either intermarriage had taken place or that the defendants had committed adultery or fornication (pp: 238). Later, the act of prostitution between a white and a black was also prosecuted as an act of miscegenation, regardless of the race of the client and prostitute. Then, there was the emerging rule on the admissibility of confessions, which throw cautious statements from interracial couples during investigations; the statements that the defendants made could be used in the later appeals.

The miscegenation laws in the Alabama statute underwent a drastic paradigm shift with the emergence of the eugenic theory in the late 1910s; the dominant genetic theory of heredity. Rather than skin color or facial features, the eugenic social scientists used proof of bloodline to describe ancestor and heredity; that blood was a bearer of blackness, "the means through which it's dangerous and backward characteristics were conveyed from generation to generation." Maintenance of 'white purity' paralleled with 'race supremacy', was the ultimate goal of the eugenic theory; for this, miscegenation was wiped out legally and socially. Mulattoes were seen as a threat to White Supremacy because of their mixed white-black ancestry; they feared that mulattoes with the superior intelligence and refinement traits from the white blood mixed with black blood will give them the magical quality to overcome the white blood in the long process. The law framers and the policy-makers during this period tried to legitimize the miscegenation laws alongside the eugenic theorists, however, the main problem faced in the prosecutions was in the definition of race and the identification of individuals as black or white. As the eugenicist based their theories on blood and heredity, it became problematic for the prosecutor to prove that the defendants indeed have at least one percent black great-grandparent blood in him/her. For this, the solution was to again develop a new standard of law for prosecutions. Later, the appellate court came up with

a new rule, a solution to this problem. In the new rule, the appellate court allowed appearance and associations to count as evidence to substitute the degree of heredity, so either way, if they fail to prove the heredity, the defendants could be convicted on the basis of appearance or his associations and relatives from the black ancestry. However, after all these shifts in the legal regulations, the state legislature failed to give a precise definition of what actually constitutes a 'race', for the prosecution of miscegenation cases. As a result, the state legislature adopted the 'one-drop rule' in 1927, in line with the state constitution. Throughout the whole discussions of shift and development of new rules or laws, the state of Alabama has tried to outlaw interracial relationships of any kind or marriage between Blacks and Whites. Yet, on the other hand, it failed to give an accurate definition of 'race' in the racial construction.

Loving v. Virginia Case

The Loving v. Virginia case of 1967 is often regarded as one of the most important miscegenation cases in American history. This case brought an end to all the miscegenation laws in American society. In the case, Mildred Loving, a black woman, and Richard Loving, a white man were arrested and sentenced to a year in jail, on the ground of violation of the miscegenation laws. Mildred and Richard were residents of a small town in Virginia; they were family friends and dating since their early teen years. Since interracial marriages were illegal in Virginia, they traveled to Washington, D.C., got married, and returned in June 1958. A month later they were awakened in the middle of the night and arrested for violating the miscegenation law. Their marriage certificate, which was proof of their marriage, became evidence against them. In 1959 they pleaded guilty and were sentenced to a year imprisonment but the sentence was suspended on the condition that they leave the state of Virginia and do not return for a period of twenty-five years. The trial judge stated in an opinion that:

“Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, Malay, and red, and he placed them on separate continents. And but for the interference with his arrangement, there would be no cause for such marriage. The fact that he separated the races shows that he did not intend for the races to mix” (Pascoe, 1996).

After the suspension of their sentence, the Loving moved to Washington, D.C., where they lived with their three children. In 1963, Mildred Loving wrote a letter to U.S. attorney general Robert F. Kennedy to intervene on their behalf. In response, Kennedy referred her to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The ACLU then filed a motion in the state trial court to vacate the judgment and set aside the sentence on the ground that the law violated the fourteenth amendment of the constitution which guarantees equal protection under the law and also the fundamental right to marry. In 1965, a three-judge district court allowed the Lovings to present their constitutional claims to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court of Appeals upheld the constitutionality of the anti-miscegenation statutes and after modifying the sentence, affirmed the convictions. The Lovings appealed this decision to the United States Supreme Court, which was carried out on their behalf by their lawyer, Bernard Cohen. In 1967 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled an undisputed decision in favor of the Lovings, striking down Virginia’s miscegenation law as a violation of the fourteenth amendment. In his opinion, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote:

“The freedom to marry has long been recognized as one of the vital personal rights essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by a free man... to deny this fundamental freedom on so unsupportable a basis as the racial classifications embodied in these statutes, classifications so directly subversive of the principle of equality at the heart Fourteenth Amendment, is surely to deprive all the

State's citizens of liberty without due process of law.” (Newbeck and Wolfe 2015)

The Lovings' victory over the miscegenation laws is commemorated on the 12th of June annually as Loving Day. Recently a petition started to create a National holiday on Loving Day for mixed-race families. The White House petition which started on May 31st, 2016, is asking President Obama to make Loving day a federal holiday. (AoI, 2016).

American history throughout the decades has portrayed a very racist attitude towards the colored races, African American in particular. The social racial construction in American society is generally attributed to the notion of whites being a 'superior' or 'pure' race above any race. Biologists and physicians, scientific racists, physical, and cultural anthropologists have also contributed to the racial construction of American society.

The concept of race itself was a confusing and vague one, which could not be otherwise proven specifically, scientifically, or biologically. Racism was just an instrumental tool used by the Americans to construct a racial hierarchy in subjugating the non-whites. The earliest notion of race or color consciousness and intermixing of races can be seen in the slavery period. However, this concept of race has its roots traced to the European colonization period. During the slavery period, the Americans realized that the distinction between slaves can be drawn from their colors, as blacks and whites. Accordingly, segregation and racial boundaries were drawn between the whites and the non-whites. In protecting the 'white purity', they have drawn racial boundaries and severed their social relationships with the receiving population of their inhuman actions. The legacy of American racial prejudice still lingers in the hearts and minds of some racist Americans. The American Constitution is not 'color-blind' but is

'color conscious' of their white supremacy. Prevention of any kind of interracial relationships and mixing of races between blacks and whites was the sole mechanism to retain and maintain that supremacy.

Naomi Zack (1993) observes in her work that Americans perceive racial identities mostly in the binary of black and white, as biracial, the existence of there being mixed-race individuals is not recognized in the American biracial system. The mixing of more than two races, beyond the black and white dichotomy, can barely be considered and recognized under the American consideration of race identity; race in the American concept is determined by genealogical lines of descent, half black and half white. As a biracial society, the mixed-race will be alienated from the racial hierarchy because in American society they require forebears to identify themselves with. She also argues that without any scientific foundation on the concept of race, it is racist to even consider Black and White designations.

Until 1967, interracial marriages were considered illegal and a felony offense. Ever since the Supreme Court of the United States outlawed the miscegenation laws as unconstitutional in 1967, interracial marriages and interracial relationships have slowly taken their own pace. However, the deeply rooted notion of the racial prejudice of the American predecessor has somehow left some trace of its legacy to their succeeding generations. Their belief of being a 'superior' race has not been completely wiped off from the minds of some Americans. The recognition and acceptance of the colored population in their society has somewhat taken longer than expected. The inclusion of an additional category for the mixed race in the U.S Census 2000 can also be questioned as an issue of racial categorization. If they are a legally born citizen of the U.S., why should they specify they are biracial or being a 'mixed' identity? In the definitions of race categories (2010 Census) 'whites' refers to "a person having origins in any of the

original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. It includes people who indicated their race(s) as ‘white’ or reported entries such as Irish, German, Italian, Lebanese, Arab, Moroccan, or Caucasian.”

Race was initially used as an instrumental device by the European colonizers to categorize their subjugation to exploitation and enslaving them under their control; colonizing the Third World, in Africa and Asia. The Europeans as the ‘conquest’ considered them ‘free people’ and thus ‘superior’, regarded the ‘conquered’ as ‘slaves’ and thus ‘inferior’ to them. The ideology of race soon became a rational base for Europeans beyond the colonies to implement in forming hierarchies. This racial categorization and classification were mainly based on physical features under colonization, on how they were physically different from the Europeans.

By the 19th century, the ideology of race was deeply ingrained in many European as well American societies. Color and bloodline became the marker of racial differentiation in these societies. They began to use white skin complexion, as a distinction to justify their superiority against the non-whites. Racism in the post-colonization period has been found more in evidence in American society than in most societies in the world. Here, racism is focused on the physical appearance and features distinction, and on the purity of the bloodline.

American society in the 21st century is constituted of diverse multi-ethnic groups and varied immigrant communities. As such, racism and discrimination are still an integral part of society. Hate crimes and attacks linked to xenophobia have become a frequent occurrence despite the rising rate of diversity, integration, and assimilation of immigrants into American society, the popular victims being the colored people.

Racism and discrimination in varied conduct still hold as unresolved issues in America. The emphasis on the issue of racism is because it forms the basis of almost all

the discrimination, antis, bullying, abuse, exclusion, segregation, hostility, and hate crime occurring in many societies and the American society in particular.

Even with the increasing rate of interracial marriages and the rising population of mixed-race generations, hostility towards colored people still prevails in American society. The sense of belonging and locating identities among the mixed-race community is still a confusing and questioning debate. The boxing and race categorizing in the census have received contesting opinions from the mixed minority. The subject matter of the mixed-race community, their identity, needs to be addressed with a rational perspective, considering their unique diversity.

One of the major motives behind the categorization of racial segregation under colonization was the growing population of offspring born out of a union between the European and the native people of the European colonies. The children born out of the liaisons between the European and the natives in these colonies added caution and the need to strictly adhere to the segregation of the non-Europeans.

Conclusion

With the growing mixed-race population in its society, the American legislator has recognized the significance of these minority groups and taken a remarkable measure in including in its Census the option to let them identify themselves with two or more ethnic groups and races. Though this measure is still a debatable issue of further interest, the acknowledgment of the mixed-race ethnic community or group itself is a significant paradigm of a multicultural society.

Growth in intermarriages and the rising group of mixed-race generation may imply a blurring line between racism and a constructive movement towards recognition

and multicultural society (see Lichter & Qian, 2018). However, the categorization of races in the census showing distinctions between ethnic groups questions the idea of racism as debatable because it still tries to define who is who? in a multiracial society. And if color were to determine the providence of belonging, the self-identification for the mixed-race population will continue to face identity dilemmas. With how the mixed race population is growing and their inclusion as a third or other ethnic groups on the census of two most dominant countries namely, the U.S, and the UK, drawing the interest of studies on mixed race (see Spencer, 1995; Parker & Song, 2001; Aspinall, 2009; King-O'Riain, Rebecca C., et al, 2014) this chapter embarked on with the history of the American society on racial prejudice against race mixing to give an idea on how interracial relationships and marriages were disapproved on the ground of racial and cultural differences.

Since past studies have linked the origin of mixed races to the European colonization era, the following chapter will focus on an explorative understanding of the Anglo-Indians, a mixed-race descent of European and Indian union. The Anglo-Indians are one of the most prominent mixed-race communities in Indian society and overseas today. The history of the birth of the Anglo-Indian community is linked to the European invasion and conquest of Indian society during the colonization era. The fading of this mixed-race community and the need to protect and preserve its history is also drawing the attention of many research studies in recent times.

CHAPTER-3

ANGLO-INDIANS: NEGOTIATING IDENTITY AS A MIXED-RACE

The Anglo-Indians are one of the oldest diasporic communities in India. The term Anglo-Indian is used to identify or in reference to mixed descent who is of Indian and European heritage, an offspring of the Indian-European union. Blunt (2005) states that the Anglo-Indians form one of the largest and oldest mixed-race communities in the world, who still visibly exist in India and also in a wider diaspora in countries like Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States.

Some studies on the origin and history of the Anglo-Indians are traced back to the earliest encounter between European and India in the 16th century when Portuguese merchants were flourishing on the South-Western coast of India. However, most writings on the Anglo-Indians are outlined from the 18th century onwards. The mixed-race children born out of marriages or liaison between the European men, in general, and, the British in particular, with the native Indian women, later came to be referred to as Anglo-Indians. Before the term Anglo-Indian was officially adopted and defined, the terminology used to refer to the mixed descent of European and Indian heritage were 'half-caste', 'Eurasian', 'country born', 'half breed', and 'Luso-Indians'.

The Portuguese, Dutch, French, and later with the arrival of the East India Company, the British are all collectively included and referred to under the term European. So, the terms for the mixed descent children or people were from all these European fathers and Indian mothers. However, with the arrival of the British East India Company, the mixed children born out of these unions mostly had British European fathers and native Indian mothers. Subsequently, these mixed children came to be known as Anglo-Indians mostly in reference to the British European father and Indian mother. So, though many mixed children were assumed born as half European from the

earlier mentioned Europeans who came in contact with the Indians, the Anglo-Indians were often understood as mixed descent of British and Indian heritage.

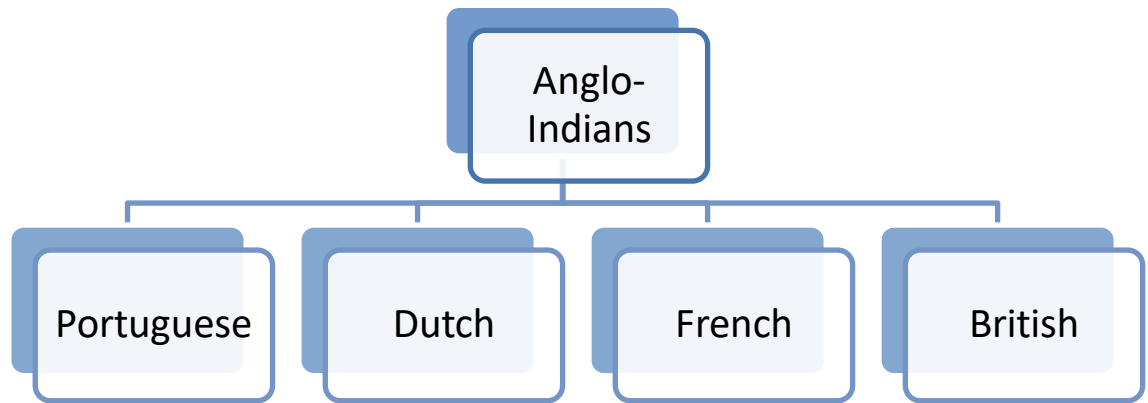


Figure 3.1 The European countries which come under the Anglo-Indians

The Government of India Act of 1935 Article 366 (2) defines the Anglo-Indian Community as follows:

An ‘Anglo-Indian’ means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purpose only (The Constitution of India, paragraph 366).

The term ‘Anglo-Indian’ was first used by Warren Hasting in the 18th century to describe the British in India and their Indian-born children. The term “Anglo-Indian” signifies a world minority who have settled in Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Australia, with some 150,000 still in India and a total of well over 500,000 worldwide (Moore 1996).

The History of the Anglo-Indian Community

In order to better understand the community of the mixed-race Anglo-Indian, let us draw a brief outline of the Europeans' arrival to India. The Portuguese traders were believed to be the first to arrive in India. Vasco da Gama's anchored ships reached the north of Calicut on the Malabar Coast of India on 20 May 1498. Until these ships landed in Calicut, the Indian Ocean was an unexplored territory; hence, these ships were the first to reach India from Europe (Moxham,2016). Spices from India were already popular in Europe, there was an especially high demand for pepper from India. Da Gama and his men sailed back for Portugal the same year with the news of their discovery of the sea route to India. Vasco da Gama's discovery of a sea route from Europe to India and the valuable spices and goods they brought from India showed prospective trade opening for the Portuguese in the decades that followed. Gradually, the Portuguese took control of the sea and established a monopoly over trade between Europe and India. The Dutch merchants also ventured to India in the early 17th century and made a trade treaty with the Zamorin of Calicut. During this time the Portuguese dominated the Malabar trade, so the Dutch set up their trading posts and factories in Surat, Ceylon, and in the Far East (ibid,2016). The British traders, Danes, and the French followed subsequently.

Along with the other European traders, the British traders also began to trade spices and textiles mostly in India in the early seventeenth century. When Queen Elizabeth-I granted a charter to a company of English merchants (The British East India Company), giving them exclusive rights to trade with the East, the British started arriving in India.

When the Europeans first travelled to India, no European women or female spouses were allowed to travel along with them, which was one of the reasons the

Europeans also seek female companionship from the native women after their arrival in India. Intermarriages or unions between the native Indian women and the Europeans in general and the British in particular were encouraged with the hope that such relationships will create a bond of loyalty between the natives and the Indians and strengthen their European commercial power as well. The children born out of these unions between the European men and native Indian women, who are mixed race or hybrid, were initially referred to as 'half caste' or 'Eurasian' but later came to be known as 'Anglo-Indians'.

The East India Company directors in the seventeenth century used to pay one pagoda or gold mohur for a child born to an Indian mother and a European father, as a form of family allowance. Children with British or European fathers and Indian mothers were called "country-born" which included those with Portuguese, Dutch, or French fathers. These offspring were amalgamated into the Anglo-Indian community, forming a bulwark for the British Raj, a buffer but also a bridge between rulers and subjects (Moore 1996, p.51). Consequently, the population of mixed-race children increased and the Anglo-Indian community was formed as a community bridge between the Europeans and the other native Indians, not fully fitting into any of the communities. Europeans in general and British in particular will both be used in reference to the racial paternal lineage of the Anglo-Indians initially but the British will be referred to as the dominant ancestry for the Anglo-Indians here.

On the one hand, Anglo-Indians received more privileges due to their European affiliation, especially when it comes to job opportunities and access to education, and improvement of life quality for those who got married or were born into an elite household. While on the other hand, the Anglo-Indians were slowly rejected socially and culturally by the other Indian communities as such union and race mixing were not

encouraged by the prevailing rigid caste system in the Indian society. Hence, these Indian women and their Anglo-Indian mixed-race children were drawn more towards the Europeans for reliability and gradually begin to form their own minority mixed-race community, though they were not endogamous. The Anglo-Indians in their element also didn't put much effort to bond with the other Indian community with the notion that they are more European physically, in appearance, socially, and culturally. The differences in appearance, beliefs, lifestyles, and attitudes towards a certain way of life contributed to the alienation on both sides of the community.

However, the transition in attitudes of the Europeans toward the Anglo-Indians changed around the mid-eighteenth century when the British began to feel threatened by the increasing number of Anglo-Indians, whose population was soon taking over the Europeans at that time. They feared that if an uprising or revolt against them from this increasingly mixed-race community arises, they might overtake their rule if measures were not taken. Consequently, by the late Eighteenth century and early Nineteenth-century employment opportunities were closed to the Anglo-Indians, those posted in the military line were relieved from their duties and they were further barred from entering the Company's civil, military, or marine services as well. Maintaining racial superiority also became a concern for the British colonials because the mixed-race population of Anglo-Indians was viewed as a threat to the European community in general and British colonials in particular, as well as against their ruling power. Hence, they gradually begin to separate themselves from the non-Europeans, especially the Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians took all these measures imposed by the Europeans as a betrayal and discrimination against them because they always considered themselves as one with them and identified themselves as more European than Indians.

By the end of the Eighteenth Century, the racial ideology of the Europeans changed, especially the British. The opening of the Suez Canal in the nineteenth century also brought further changes into the realm of the changing racial ideology of the Europeans. The Suez Canal shortened the distance of travel from Europe to India, opening travel opportunities for many European women and spouses to travel to India and join their male counterparts, which further widened the social segregation of the Europeans with the Anglo-Indians and the Indian community as a whole.

With the increasing arrival of European women, intermarriages between European/British men and Indian women decreased, and more preferences were given to marry within European or British community to maintain their racial purity. However, liaison and marriages still continued between the lower-ranking European officials and soldiers with the Anglo-Indian women (James, 2010). Social and racial boundaries became more visible with these changes in events and regulations, which separated and distanced the British from the Indians and Anglo-Indians in particular. At this point, the Anglo-Indians were placed in a very deprived position, rejected by the British, and alienated from the other Indian communities on the other side.

The shift of these outlooks not only led them to their loss of socioeconomic status and positions in colonial India but also created more stereotypical perceptions against the Anglo-Indians as mixed-race; the sense of racial segregation from the concept of British race superiority and the alienation from the unyielding Indian caste system on the other hand. There was also the very limited expectation to achieve social mobility with all the new regulations imposed by the British colonials, which placed them at a lower status in the social hierarchy as well. The Anglo-Indians became a minority community, placed in a space where they belong neither to the European community nor the Indian community and they had to locate and create their own self-

identity as the other. They were socially alienated and degraded, struggling economically and in a confused cultural dilemma.

In the 1820s there was a rise in political activity which brought some changes to the Anglo-Indian community. In 1829 John Ricketts as a representative of the Anglo-Indians took a petition to England requesting the British to provide better benefits for members of the community. This petition was “the result of numerous Anglo-Indians coming together and forming a collectivity that sensed the repression that Anglo-Indians had felt as quasi-citizens. Such political activity accompanied a sense of collective identity, a common sense of belonging that brought the group together in ways that they had never been brought together before” (Wright, 1997). With this shift, for the first time community centers were formed which became a place where the Anglo-Indians could come together and share their common interest and concern socially and culturally. These centers also brought Anglo-Indians together to discuss, debate, plan, and shape their future as a mixed-race community.

The work of another Anglo-Indian advocate, Sir Henry Gidney, who later founded the All India Anglo-Indian Association in 1926, brought some security employment for the Anglo-Indians. They were given some public positions in government, the police, customs, merchant navies, and railways as well as in business. Even if they don't hold a higher position, they were somehow placed at the lower level of the British social hierarchy. Those born to the upper class within the British social hierarchy were the fortunate group to have better education and job placement, favored and accepted into the British fold. However, it cannot be overlooked that a huge section of the Anglo-Indians was suffering under poverty due to unemployment and poorly paid jobs, those merely employed during this period.

The negligence from the European side and the alienation from the other Indians placed them in a trivial position, where they were socially, politically, and economically paralyzed. The post-Revolt of 1857 again further paved more job opportunities for the Anglo-Indians. During the Revolt of 1857, the Anglo-Indians sided with the British for which they were awarded job opportunities in the railways, post, telegraphs, customs, and police after the British government took full direct control over India. However, they were employed in positions that were relatively lower and inferior to the British but slightly superior to the other Indian employees and laborers. The position of the Anglo-Indians was also recognized when they support the British army during World War I but with no further improvement of social mobility post-war. The aftermath of World War I further resulted in a huge rise in unemployment and underemployment among the Anglo-Indians due to war and the Indianisation reforms under the Montague Chelmsford Reforms.

Montague-Chelmsford Reforms or the Government of India Act, 1919 were reforms introduced by the British rulers in India, which brought changes in the governing of the institution, giving more representation to the Indians under the British ruling government in India. When the Government of India Act of 1919 was implemented, the interest of the Anglo-Indians was recognized as a distinct minority group but with no further benefits. A series of reforms were attached to the Act, awarding exclusive service prioritizing the native Indians only (Indianisation), which puts the Anglo-Indian in a more dire position again due to the new competitors in the workplace, the new Indian employees who joined the job force through the Act (Deshmukh, 2021). The Anglo-Indians who heavily relied on the railways by now were positioned just slightly above the Indian menial labors in the employment structure. The employment structure was dominated by the British on the top, followed by the other domiciled Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Indians.

A more refined definition of the Anglo-Indians was later established in the Government Act of 1935 under Article 366, which was further utilized in the Constitution of Independent India in 1950 under the recommendation of Frank Anthony, the then leader of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. The definition states that;

“An Anglo-Indian means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only.” (The Constitution of India)

However, the most crucial stage in locating their identity for the Anglo-Indians came with the end of the British Raj in India and India's independence in 1947 and post-independence. The conflicting choice of whether to stay in India or migrate with the departure of the British put the Anglo-Indians in a state of dilemma. Subsequently, the British Nationality Act of 1948 was passed. Under the terms of this Act, whoever presents a document proof of British origin of a paternal ancestor, born in Britain or any of the British colonies, shall be granted British citizenship and pass entry to Britain. Many of the Anglo-Indians passed the requirement of the Act but there was also a large number who couldn't present documentary proof of their European or British ancestry. There were also these groups of the community who weren't fair enough to pass as European or as British. Lack of financial assistance to travel and elderly members who couldn't make it for the long journey was also another crisis that held back some members of the community. Frank Anthony, an eminent leader of the Anglo-Indian community tried to persuade the Anglo-Indians to stay back in India and embrace India as their homeland, to accept India by nationality and Anglo-Indians as a community.

However, most of the Anglo-India who were entitled to emigrate did not accept his proposal and decided to leave India.

Anglo-Indians in Post-India Independence

Many Anglo-Indians imagined themselves to be living in an imperial diaspora in British India, and many of those who migrated to Britain after independence thought they would be travelling home (Blunt, 2003).

When India got its independence in 1947, the British Raj came to an end. The major decision of the Anglo-Indians whether to stay back in India or emigrate was predominantly related to their sense of identity and belonging. Post-independence declaration of India, many Anglo-Indians decided to leave India as they felt their sentiment of belonging was more towards the British than the Indians. The emigration of the Anglo-Indians post-Independence was categorized into three waves.

The first wave of migration: The first wave of migration took place right after India's independence was declared in 1947. The emigration route of this wave was mostly to Britain and some to Australia. Many Anglo-Indians migrated to Britain during this wave with the imagined notion of going to their actual homeland. Almeida (2015) in her work tried to determine whether this wave of Anglo-Indian migration should be classified as immigrants or as refugees as well. Given the circumstances or reasons on the ground on which they migrated, she concluded that though most of the Anglo-Indians can be considered immigrants, a few cases also prompted them to be classified as refugees during this wave. Another important aspect of this immigration was that the Anglo-Indians who arrived in Britain during this wave were confronted with a different experience of racism encounter. Racism not only resulted in rejection from the British but also limited their chances of getting proper jobs, which compelled them to take up mostly blue-collar jobs.

On the other hand, the immigration of the Anglo-Indians to Australia during this wave was considered an unanticipated arrival. In 1947, as a state of emergency, the troopship HMAS *Manoora* was sent to India to evacuate the Australians and Europeans. However, the ship arrived in Western Australia with more than 700 Anglo-Indians and 20 Polish refugees on board. This marked the Anglo-Indians as the first group of mixed race to enter White Australia. As a result of this mistake, more restricted policies were implemented to maintain a White Australia and strictly prohibit the immigration of non-Whites to Australia. Until the revision and relaxation of this policy in the 1960s there was no further immigration of Anglo-Indians to Australia.

The second wave of migration: The second wave took place in the 1960s, and their route of migration was mostly Australia and Canada. With the relaxation of the whites-only policy in Australia, many Anglo-Indian chose Australia as their destination during this phase. The Anglo-Indians claiming and acquiring more of their European heritage in terms of appearance and cultural features easily integrated themselves into the multicultural Australian society during this period. This swift integration also saw the Anglo-Indians becoming invisible as an ethnic community. According to Lewis, “since the Anglo-Indians in Australia showed a bias toward these Western 'markers of identity' this led to a loss of distinctive Anglo-Indian identity since there was no need to maintain the strict ethnic boundaries as they had done in India” (Rivera,2016). This wave also witnessed the re-migration of Anglo-Indians from Britain to Canada. The multicultural character of Canadian society attracted more Anglo-Indians to migrate to Canada.

The third wave of migration: The third wave of migration took place in the 1970s, which is often referred to as the 'family reunion wave'. England, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand were the main destinations of the third wave.

The justification behind their choice to emigrate was set on varied reasons. Firstly, their Westernized or European way of upbringing made them culturally anxious to fit into the newly independent India, whose notion of culture was strictly bound to their own endogamous community. So, they felt that they'll fit and integrate better in a more European or British shared community setting. They also believed that they'll have more job opportunities and better quality of life in the European countries, especially Britain, which they consider their original fatherland. Another chief reason was their fright of resistance from the other Indian communities on racial grounds.

Almeida (2015) in her work tries to examine the circumstances under which the Anglo-Indians emigrated to Brittan after India's independence in 1947. She concluded in her study that the mass movement of Anglo Indians to Brittan, Post India's Independence was, 'carefully calculated, well planned, and systematically undertaken'. She also looks at some theoretical terminology related to their relocation through the works of Caplan, Gramsci, John Rex, Everett S. Lee, E.G. Raventein, and Robin Cohen.

Caplan states that "Anglo-Indians could be seen as 'transnationals'- not by virtue of migration across political boundaries, but through experiencing profound displacement in terms of belonging: by residing in one location but adjusting themselves only at home in another"(cited in Almeida, 2015, p.3). This implies that the outlook or engagement of the Anglo-Indians towards their country of origin, India, is very restricted because they do not view India as their home but instead often referred to Britain as their original homeland. Even before their emigration to Great Britain became a reality in the Post India's Independence, the Anglo-Indians imagined Britain as their ultimate paternal homeland of settlement. For them, 'home' was elsewhere, where they will culturally blend in and not in India.

Anglo-Indians and the other Indians

There seemed to be a perceptible disparity between Anglo-Indians as a mixed-race community and the native Indians. Some of the main factors that distinguish the Anglo-Indians from the rest of the Indian communities which led them to correlate themselves more with the Europeans were cultural differences, way of life, religious ideology, and physical characteristics. The westernized lifestyle and upbringing, and attitudes of the Anglo-Indians, especially the women folk, were not perceived well by the more conservative community of the other Indians. Their food and eating habits were another different aspect, English was their mother tongue and the majority of them being Christian, and having an English christened name was some of the apparent disparity between the Anglo-Indians and the rest of the native Indian communities.

Language and Religion

English is the mother tongue of the Anglo-Indians and the medium of communication, and most of them have European or English names. English has been spoken as their first language, many Anglo-Indians do not speak the local language, creating a language and communication barrier between the Anglo-Indians and the other Indian communities. They follow Christianity religious beliefs and most of their cultural aspects are articulated around Christianity-based festivity and activities. Most of the Anglo-Indians also prefer to dress up in western clothing over Indian clothing like saree, kurta-salwar kameez. Tops or blouses, pants, and dresses are common dressing styles for women folks. As for the men, there are not many differences. Shirts, pants, and suits at events are the dress code.

Food and eating habits

When it comes to culinary practices, most Anglo-Indian households eat their meals according to table mannerisms; sitting at a widespread dinner table and eating with cutlery like spoons, forks, or knives rather than with their bare hands like the rest of the Indians. Their table etiquette is often highly emphasized and indicated as a representative of their European or British way of life. The Anglo-Indians have their own distinct cuisine. English food with an Indian touch on the side is a significant marker of representative of the Anglo-Indian community.

Breakfast, lunch, and dinner have a certain kind of menu of their own. Breakfast mostly consists of dynamic varieties, from tea- coffee, bread toast with butter or jam and marmalade, cheese or ham sandwiches, to bacon and fried eggs, and sometimes rice with curry and kedgerree. Tea may be the only commonly shared breakfast item the Anglo-Indians have with other native Indians during this period. Pudding, custards, fruits, meatball curry, and yellow rice for lunch and dinner comprise soup, meat, along with drinks like wine. During the Christmas season, baking icing cake and plum puddings, making sauce, and roasting meat are the festive delicacies. Roast Turkey is often associated with Thanksgiving as well.

Consumption of non-vegetarian food has no religious barrier, unlike the other Indian communities. In fact, pork and beef curry are often served as the main course during feasts, celebrations, or big gatherings. Sipping wine or other drinks along with meals is just part of their food habit. Today, books on Anglo-Indian foods and cuisines, blogs and YouTube vlogs, and cooking shows on Anglo-Indian recipes highlight one of the most notable representations of Anglo-Indian identity. The foods are presented not just as British or Indian but as a fusion of both cultures. It plays a vital role in the continued existence of their identity as a mixed-race community as well. Ding Ding curry, meatball curry with yellow rice, pepper water, country captain chicken, railway

lamb curry, kedgerree (a version of Indian kichdi), and kul-kuls were some of the most popular cuisines of the Anglo-Indians which are still popular today.

Social Events

Organizing and attending social events is also a significant part of the Anglo-Indian community. Participation in these events is for both men and women. Dancing, singing, music, drinking, playing games, and sometimes even gambling are part of these events. Jiving dance, a lively and energetic partnered form of dancing, is a popular dance among the Anglo-Indians. These social events are meeting places for socializing and courting for young men and women and are often encouraged. These events are also hosted along with a grand feast, so it is a merry-making event of food, socialization, and enjoyment. The Franklin Club, a bustling place for bingo players, Golden Rock, the Indian Institute Hall, Calcutta Rangers Club, and the Grail were some places where Anglo-Indians reminisce about their olden days. The All India Anglo-Indian Association founded in 1926 (AIAIA) which is the parental association of different branches of Anglo-Indians from different states and regions in India, still continues to host events and festivals which portray an element of the Anglo-Indian community. Anglo-Indian Day (2nd August), Grand Christmas Dance, Boxing Day Ball, Christmas Panorama, Anglo Cuisine Nite, Get Together, and Lunch-Dinning events are some of the events which bring the Anglo-Indians in celebrating their community.

The stratification of Indian society under the caste system

Another major barrier between the Anglo-Indians and the mainstream Indians in the colonial period was the presence of the rigid Hindu caste system of social structure in the society. Indian society was firmly categorized on the basis of caste hierarchy and the caste system had a strong belief in an endogamous practice of marriages and inter-caste relationships. Hence, the Anglo-Indians as an amalgamation of not just an inter-

caste but of interracial union with an outsider were disapproved by the dominant Indian society. They were considered as half-caste, who doesn't fit in any of the social hierarchy of the caste system, they were considered as casteless and an outcast. The Hindu, as the majority and dominant community, had more influence on the structural and functional aspects of Indian society.

The Anglo-Indians also segregated their lives and limited contact with the rest of the Indian communities during this period, as culturally and communally they cannot find much common ground with the other communities because of their hybridity. The Anglo-Indians being mostly Christians and practicing a Christian cultural way of life contradicted the rigid Hindu caste system as well the Islamic community. Cultural and religious differences are still marked as a dividing factor between the Anglo-Indians and the rest of the Indian communities when it comes to inter-faith marriages and food taboos.

On the other hand, the rest of the Indian community also perceived the Anglo-Indians to be too westernized in their thoughts, attitudes, lifestyle, and habits to be considered Indians. The prevailing rigid caste system of Indian society, which favored and believed in an endogamous practice, viewed interracial relationships and marriages as taboo and the mixed children born out of these unions were often stereotyped with derogatory terms.

The disparity between the native Indians and the mixed-race Anglo-Indians were mostly drawn on the ground of social, cultural, and religious differences and beliefs. The Anglo-Indians' outlook of considering themselves more European by birth and appearance, lifestyles, and food habits contributed further alienation of the rest of the Indian community. Hence, when the British segregated the Anglo-Indians from the social and racial hierarchy of the European or British community, they were situated in

a position where they were betrayed by one (British) and alienated from the other (Indians).

Anglo-Indians in the Diaspora

Anglo- Indians in Australia

Of the many countries where Anglo-Indians migrated post-India Independence period, Australia seemed to be one of the most favored destinations for the Anglo-Indians. The first wave of migration of Anglo-Indians after India's independence in 1947 as mentioned earlier arrived in Australia by the troopship, *Manoora*. In the early twentieth century Australia's Immigration Restriction Act, also known as the White Australia Policy, prohibited immigration of non-European or non-whites to Australia, and legislation were also passed for the deportation and reduction of the number of non-whites from the Pacific islands of the Australian colonies. The restrictions were carried out through a dictation test of 50 words in a European language. A person who failed the test, which could be of any European language, was considered a prohibited immigrant and deported. The policy and the discrimination against the immigrants were based on the notion that they were morally and intellectually less advanced than White people. The arrival of the Anglo-Indians to Australia further encouraged increasing restrictive policies on immigration. However, by the late 1950s, the policies began to change and were revised. The Holt government in 1966 introduced new laws for immigration based on skills and ability to contribute rather than on race or nationality. But it was in 1973 under the Whitlam government when the White Australia Policy was finally abolished.

When the Immigration Restriction Act and policies related to the Act were lifted, the immigration of Anglo-Indians to Australia increased, from India as well as from Britain. The advantage of having English as the mother tongue, being Christian

and educated, and growing up with a certain European way of life made the Anglo-Indians more adjustable and adaptable to the Australian environment, though they faced problems in the economical aspects.

Though Anglo-Indian immigrants perceived themselves culturally more as European, in the new setting many suffered racial prejudice because they were not white enough to be considered European. However, as Australian society evolves into a more multicultural responsive society, the Anglo-Indians also grew as a more desirable mixed-race community in Australian society. By the late 20th century the Anglo-Indian community became more established, visible, and notable in their contribution to Australian society and in building their own community as well.

Gilbert (1996) in his comparative study between the Anglo-Indians' and Australian earnings gave a figure of about 35,000 Anglo-Indians living in Australia through an analysis of the 1991 Australian census. His study's finding concludes that Anglo-Indians in Australia are relatively well qualified, and reasonably doing well, though there's a concern about low hourly paid rates compared to Australian and UK descent.

Simon (1997) conducted a series of studies through interviews as well as a questionnaire on the Anglo-Indians in Western Australia concerning their experiences as an immigrant, adaptation, and their general well-being living in Australia. His findings show some sense of nostalgia and longing towards India among the first-generation immigrants in terms of an easier life, privileged positions, and religious and family ties in India compared to Australia. But on the other hand, they also acknowledged that the opportunities and the quality of life are much better in Australia, which offers a higher chance for the community to prosper. The study stated that the overall experience and adaptation of life in Australia for most of the Anglo-Indians has

been easily achieved. Many of them attributed their easy adjustment and adaptation into the new setting, to their European upbringing as mixed-race, Western values, and Christian belief, and English as their mother tongue.

The younger generation also feels that Anglo-Indian as a mixed-race community and all the distinct characteristics that come with being mixed can easily blend into western society and doesn't stand out like other migrant groups. Simon points out another interesting aspect of the finding that because of their Western or European upbringing and having English as their mother tongue, the Anglo-Indians saw themselves as different from the other ethnic minorities. They also felt Australia placed less importance on social and cultural aspects of life, unlike India, which gives out an indicator of defining them as a community.

Using the theoretical acculturation model developed by Berry (1986) to examine the adjustment, adaptation, and general well-being of the Anglo-Indian, Simon concludes by stating that the older generation or the first-generation Anglo-Indians are more likely to identify themselves as being Anglo-Indians or oscillate between Anglo-Indian and Australian and that only the marginalized showed problems of well-being. The young generation shows a lesser probability of identifying themselves as only Anglo-Indian or marginalizing between Anglo-Indian and Australian. They either identify themselves as both Anglo-Indian and Australian or as Australian.

Today, a remarkable representation of the Anglo-Indians in Australia is observed through the works of the Australian Anglo-Indian Association (AAIA). The Australian Anglo-Indian Association (Inc), was formally incorporated in 1988 under the chairmanship of Denzil Bruce, with the aim to bring the community together, and dedicate it to the needs and aspirations of the Anglo-Indians. Around this time, there were approximately 12,000 Anglo-Indians living in Western Australia, who were

assumed to have arrived in the state over the course of fifty years. The purpose of the association as written in their constitution is mainly, “a) to preserve and perpetuate Anglo-Indian culture, b) to provide and promote social, sporting, cultural and recreational activities for members and their guests and, c) to provide and engage in those activities that offer financial and other welfare assistance to both within and outside Australia” (p.3).

The AAIA as a community since its formation has been fulfilling its purpose of serving the Anglo-Indian community within and outside Australia, especially funding charity for the deprived and under-privilege group of Anglo-Indians in India. The Anglo-Indians in Australia have also remarkably contributed to Australian society in the fields of sports, music, arts, and politics. The main activities of the AAIA which brings the community together are fundraising events, food fairs, autumn dance, karaoke night, bingo-lunch, Christmas carols, Thanksgiving service, annual ‘*burra khanna*’, and similar recreational events. Unlike other Indian diaspora ethnic communities, one can observe that most of the events are food, religious festivities, and very westernized recreational kind of events and at the same time very informal in nature.

Anglo-Indians in Britain

Many studies on the Anglo-Indians have held the thought that due to their European upbringing and lifestyle, the Anglo-Indians felt more European than Indian and consider Britain as their actual homeland or fatherland; desiring it as their home. The first wave of mass migration of Anglo-Indians from India to Britain was after the declaration of India’s independence in 1947. This mass migration often referred to as the ‘exodus’, was carried out under the provisions of the British Nationality Act (1948). Under this Act, the Anglo-Indians were required to present documentary proof of the British origins of a paternal ancestor, to claim British citizenship. The failure to provide

documents was problematic because of the lack of certified records history. Also due to the presence of Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Irish mixed descendants among the Anglo-Indians, it became more difficult to document their British ancestry alone. Despite the inability to prove British paternal ancestry, many Anglo-Indians emigrated after independence. However, the thought and imaginary desire to find a more familiar home settling in Britain were crushed on their arrival on British soil. They soon realized their distinctness from the British people. The difference in speech, culture, mannerism, and way of life and dressing was different from what they expected. The general public did not acknowledge their British descent as most of them were ignorant about the extent of the colonizing nature that happened in the colonies; that it would even produce a mixed community, rather they were ridiculed for being not white enough to be British.

When Anglo-Indians migrated to Britain hoped for a better livelihood, more job opportunities, find a familiar homely setting in British society, and a new identity affiliated with their British paternity. Many also decided to migrate from India for fear of being dominated and discriminated against by the other mainstream Indians after independence because the ideology of Indianisation was prioritizing the new Independent India establishment. However, on arrival, the reality of life in British society was harsh and not what envisioned it to be when they were domiciled in India (Williams, 1999).

In 2019, Natalia Sloan documented a film on an Anglo-Indian family who journeyed to England in the 1960s after India's Independence. In the documentary, the older generation expressed their concern for the future of their AI community and identity. One narrator states, "We are the last of what we termed as 'true Anglo-Indian'... because we experienced the whole Indian culture and now the British culture...we are the dying race."

Another narrator shared a similar opinion, “it is a dying race because the young ones that are born here, they have no identity with it.”

The AI families in the documentary consist of up to three generations intermixed with more than ten diversified nationalities in their extended families. The younger generations expressed their AI identity and familiarity with the culture mostly to do with family, big gatherings, festive celebration, food, and how they look different from others. Hence, the older generation opined that though the younger generation know of AI, their way of life and family ties, they do not relate to what it means to be a true Anglo-Indian.

Anglo-Indians in India

The past decade is witnessing a concern over the declining population of Anglo-Indians in India. While there are still a good number of the community across different parts of the country, the imbalance between age groups, social and, economic aspects, the integration with the mainstream Indians, and the emigration of the younger generation created uncertainty about the survival of the community in the coming decades. Many news headlines and circulation concern about the possibility of the culture slowly dying out (BBC, The Hindu) in the 21st century is drawing the attention of many studies on AIs.

News concerning the Anglo-Indians hits headlines again when the Constitution Act 104, 2019 through the Constitution 126th Amendment Bill removed the reservation of seats and special representation in Parliament and state assemblies granted to the Anglo-Indians. The Constitution Act of India, 1949, Article 331 and Article 333 grants the President the provision to nominate two seat representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the Lok Sabha , and one nomination to the State Legislative Assembly of

certain states respectively, if they are not adequately represented (<https://www.iasparliament.com/current-affairs/constitution-126th-amendment-bill-2019>).

Following the passing of the Act, the Anglo-Indians from all across the country are appealing to the Central Govt. for the restoration of representation and rights. The Bill was passed and the representation was removed, on the ground that the population was not large enough like before to be represented. The AIs condemned the Government's claim that there are only 296 Anglo-Indians population in and called it inaccurate and baseless.

Barry O'Brien, the President -in-Chief All India Anglo-Indian Association, in his interview with Yadav for the New Indian Express (2022) stated that there are about four lakh or more Anglo-Indians at present. Tamil Nadu itself is estimated to have 40,000-45,000 AIs, Hyderabad 5000-10,000, and over one lakh in Kerala.

However, after the removal of the Act, two different groups of AIs shared different opinions on the Bill. While some of the people of the community want the restoration of the representation of their rights, another section of the community holds the view that political representation does not make much difference to the upliftment of the poorer section of the community.

Though concerns over the fading and dying population of the community is addressed since the last decade, the community feels that though their number is growing smaller than before, the community still has a good number to hold their identity and survival. However, with the increasing intermarriages of the Anglo to the other Indian communities, integration into the mainstream communities, and migration of the younger generation overseas, some people have reservations about the losing elements and identity of the community.

Robyn (2016) in her explorative project work on Anglo-Indians in small towns and cities addresses a unique case of Anglo-Indian returnees settling down in Goa. She discusses three different cases of returnees in her work, one who return back to Goa due to financial difficulties abroad, another case of retired couple who return due to health issues, and seeking comfort life in Goa among local resident community, and the case of another retired returnee, who returned and settled in Goa to enjoy her retirement life. Robyn implied that Goa has become a favoured destination for Anglo-Indian returnees due to its westernised social atmosphere, which gives an entity of belonging. The returnees are mostly retired AIs, who want to enjoy their retirement in comfort with their savings and Goa as a tourist and western friendly place provides them the right choice of return destination.

Anglo-Indian Women

One of the most distinct elements of the AI community was how different the women were positioned in comparison to the other native Indian women. Blunt (2005) addressed three markers of difference between the AI women to that of the Indian women, namely, dress, work, and relationships.

AI women mostly prefer to dress in Western clothing as they were born and brought up in a Western way of life. Women of all ages wear dresses in the AI community. It is rare to see them in Indian clothing like saree or salwar kameez. However, there have been some shifts in the way they dress post Independence. Some AI women who have stayed back and settled in post Independent India started wearing saree and salwar kameez or kurtis to blend in more into the socio-cultural setting of the society.

Unlike the native Indian women, by culture AI women freely mingle and socialized with the opposite gender in social gatherings and events. They also have the freedom to choose

their life partner for marriage and were not obliged to settle in a joint family with the in-laws. In fact, in the AI community, after marriage they mostly live as nuclear family and their privacy is well-respected.

Among the three markers of difference pointed by Blunt, the freedom to work beyond the home could be considered a huge marker of women emancipation, which she also believed, “as largely responsible for the emancipation of other Indian women” (ibid, 2005: p.59). With the advantage of being educated and having English as a mother tongue, most AI women worked as nurse, teachers, clerks, secretaries, and telephone operators. They were also highly acknowledged for their service as the members of the Women’s Auxiliary Corps (India) during the Second World War.

Anglo-Indians and Homeland

In most of the writings about the Anglo-Indians, their homeland, home, and their feeling of being at home are seldom associated with India and are often more affiliated with Britain (see Blunt, 2005; Rivera, 2016; Caplan,1998; Brah, 1996). In the pre-Independence period of the 20th Century, AIs’ notion of home shifted from an imagined fatherland (Britain) to the possibility of settling in their motherland (India), which resulted in their own colonization schemes and homeland.

Blunt mentioned about McCluskieganj, also called ‘Mini London or England’, a small hilly town in Jharkhand, as an example of such a settlement . She discussed about the AIs settlement in McCluskieganj, how AIs aspiration to create their own homeland within India led to their settlement schema like McCluskiegang, and how they maintained their distinctness from the others in pre-India’s Independence period. She writes,

“In the context of the struggle for Indian independence and the Indianization of government services and administration, McCluskieganj was one response to a

crisis of Anglo-Indian identity, attracting settlers with the idea of creating a homeland that was located within, but clearly distinct from, the rest of British India” (p,74).

In the early 1940s, there were about three hundred AI families settled in McCluskieganj. However, after Independence, many AIs decided to emigrate and the population in this settlement slowly decreased. Today, McCluskieganj has become a town of tourist attraction, a place of well-architected bungalows, abandoned and ruined. It was once occupied by the AI community with a grandeur setting but is now left with less than twenty AI families.

Post Independence many AIs who stayed back in India were settled mostly in urban settings, residing in proximity to their own community, and continuing to maintain their cultural identities. Bow Barracks, Ripon Street, Park streets in Kolkata (then Calcutta), Whitefield, Richmond, and Langford towns in Bangalore, are some examples of places where AI residents were mostly found. Though there is still a generation of AI in India who maintain their distinct cultural AI identity, many of the younger generations are slowly integrating towards the mainstream Indian cultural identity.

As for the AIs Indians, their sentiments towards India as a homeland is received with uncertainty. Their affiliation with India is still limited except in terms of vacation visits or reunions of the community, philanthropic contributions towards the AI community in India, and so on. Home and homeland for many of them is the place or country where they and their families reside.

Conclusion

The Anglo-Indians are spread across the globe, mostly in the Commonwealth Realms of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK, and India. The Anglo-Indians overseas shares a similar view of fear with that of the AIs in India about their decreasing numbers and the possibility of losing their community identity. The older generation shared concern that with their generation gone, in the next decade or so, the younger generation will lose the identity and element of what makes them Anglo-Indians. The community, both overseas and in India are trying to revive its culture and identity through writing, documenting its history and memoirs on one hand, and organizing reunions, social gathering, and events for fundraising, trying to bring together its people. Food still holds the most prominent marker and representation of their identity. The Anglo-Indians' future now rests on the effort of the community, and its younger generation to revive back the unique identity of the community.

The following chapter is on the cinematic representation of the Indian Diaspora in popular Bollywood movies. With the growing popularity of Indian Cinema, especially Bollywood movies and its representation of Indian and Indian Diaspora, I attempted a narrative analysis of some Bollywood movies in the late 1990s and early 2000s which depicts diasporic themes. The focus is to observe how interracial relationships and marriages are addressed or represented in the movies.

CHAPTER-4

CINEMATIC REPRESENTATION: ON INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND MARRIAGES, AND INDIAN DIASPORAS

Cinema has become a powerful popular culture of mass consumption and influential impact on audiences. The role of cinema had transverse from entertainment to much more, reflecting and constructing social representation, creating awareness, shaping ideas and perspectives, etc, and, most importantly, connecting people. Bollywood of the Indian film industry has been gaining global recognition and audiences from all across the globe.

The Bollywood movies of the Indian cinema have become an integral part of many Indian diasporic families and communities today. Bollywood movies have become a transnational transmission of cultures and the cultural product has most resonated with the Indian diaspora in the film market overseas and their popularity is growing more where there are larger Indian diasporic community presence and audience.

The increasing popularity and the demands for Indian films among the diaspora have become a connecting medium and representation of Indian cultural heritage. The old generation reminisces about their homeland through the lens of these films; watching Indian movies is a nostalgic trip back to their homeland or imagined homeland. While the young generation tries to identify themselves with their roots and Indian-ness through these films' portrayal of the rich tradition and cultural practices of an Indian family societal setting. However, over the years most of the movies emphasizes too much on maintaining traditional values and identity, rather than broadening the movie scripts beyond the emblematic conventional Indian movie produced with a little more twist, drama, and action but a predictable plot. Themes are often plotted from the

Indians' point of view and how the audience's expectations are delivered by the filmmakers.

In today's contemporary society, the representation of social issues in film is becoming an effective medium of expression and awareness. Social issues like corruption, exploitation, feminism, sexual orientation, domestic violence, mental health, and so much more which society has been ignoring to openly discuss need to be addressed and represented through films as well. The film industry as powerful as Bollywood can play an important tool in addressing these issues. However, there is still a glitch within the Indian film industry to boldly address these themes beyond the conventional societal superlative manifestation.

Indian films on Indian diasporas present a preconception that marriages between people who shares the same culture, history, and beliefs are an ideal match. Arranged marriages among immigrant Indians or finding a potential spouse for NRIs from India have been quite popularized by Bollywood movies as well.

The chapter attempts to analyze some Bollywood movies through the narrative reading of representation of the Indian Diasporas. Noting the increasing trend of interracial marriages on social media and the popular culture of Bollywood movies, I also want to explore the themes on interracial relationships and mixed marriages, or the presence of mixed race generation in the movies. Even though Indian cinema is inclusive of all regional film industries as well, this study will mostly focus on the Hindi film industry, the Bollywood movies. The terms Indian film and Bollywood movies will be used interchangeably.

Indian Cinema

Celebrating more than 100 years since its first movie was screened, Cinema has become a part of every Indian household. The influential power of films can be seen in how the public or as is commonly referred to, the fans, often idolize the actors and actresses from the film industry. But this idolization is very sexist in nature as it is rightly asserted that Indian cinema is very male-dominated and patriarchal, structurally and functionally. The idolization of actors is held on a pedestal as high as a God for some fans. There is a stronger filmy aura in states and cities where the film industries are based. The Indian cinema or film industry is internally recognized largely by its Hindi cinema, popularly known as Bollywood, other regional film industries collectively come under the umbrella of Indian cinema. The Hindi-Bollywood film industry under Indian Cinema is the world's second-largest film industry next to Hollywood.

Origin and the Evolution of Indian Cinema

Before the introduction of motion picture technology, photography was first used in India in 1840. Many studios were started in Bombay and Calcutta in the mid-1850s. On July 17, 1896, at the Watson Hotel in Mumbai, a few months after their first show in Paris, the motion picture was shown by the Lumiere brothers for the first time in India. The show was advertised in the *Times of India* newspaper as "The marvel of the century; the wonder of the world." However, the first screening was attended only by Europeans since the hotel barred entry to Indians (Ganti, 2004). Bombay being the center of trade and commerce since the era of the British East India Company enabled the establishment and flourishing of the film industry i.e. Bollywood. The influx of people from diverse backgrounds due to its commercial factors also contributed to the

creation of Bombay as a cosmopolitan city. This led to the acceptance and growth of the Bollywood industry in comparison to other regional film industries.

The Silent Era

The earliest pioneer of Indian cinema is Dhundiraj Govind Phalke, popularly known as Dada Saheb Phalke. He is known as *the Father of Indian Cinema*. In 1913 he released the first Indian full-length feature film – *Raja Harishchandra*, a silent film at Bombay's Coronation Cinematograph Theatre. It was a commercial success. The film was an inspiration drawn from the movie *The Life of Christ*, which Phalke watched in 1910. Phalke also set up the Hindustan Cinema Films Company in 1918, the first purely indigenous film studio with corporate backing. His contributions to Indian cinema were recognized after his death when the Dadasaheb Phalke Lifetime Achievement Awards were instituted in 1966 to honor outstanding contributions in cinema.

In the initial years, films were mainly based on well-known Hindu mythologies. In silent films, dialogues were presented in inter-titles, often in English and two or three regional languages. The background score was live with musical instruments which enabled dramatic narratives.

Talkie Films

On 14th March 1931, the first Indian talkie film, *Alam Ara* (Beauty of the World) was released at the Majestic Theatre in Bombay. The film was produced by Ardeshir Irani and the dialogues were written in *Hindustani*, a fusion of *Hindi* and *Urdu* language. With the characteristics of its language fusion, singing, and dancing, the film immediately became an instant hit. Songs and dances in films became an integral part of Indian cinema. This genre evolved as a result of the Urdu Parsi Theatre, a narrative form that had already skillfully dramatized Persian love legends and Victorian plays.

This is probably the reason behind Indian cinema's heavy dependence on romantic themes linking love, obstacles, and tragedy.

With the initiation of sound in films, the screening of foreign films in India decreased to below ten percent. This boosted the film industries in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore, and Pune, and their growth multiplied without import barriers and State support. However, with the coming of talkies, new complications and criticisms emerged. The most immediate criticism was that of language. India being a polyglot country, Bombay filmmakers faced the challenges of producing in a medium that can be understood by most if not all. It finally settled on a type of spoken Hindi i.e., the Hindustani language which is a blend of Hindi and Urdu. Therein, Hindi cinema or Bollywood developed its own idioms and style.

Art lovers were also critical of the fact that sound ruined the aesthetic quality of the films. They argued that cinema is a visual medium; people belonging to different regions and languages could visualize silent films and derive meanings from the facial expressions and gestures of the actors.

Another challenge faced by the filmmakers was the requirement for actors and actresses who could speak a specific language, sing, and dance. This adversely affected Anglo-Indian performers due to the language barrier and wrestlers who initially dominated early Indian cinema. In the initial years, most women were not willing to act due to the stigma attached to acting and dancing. These were viewed as being associated with prostitutes and courtesans and thus considered outside the domain of a decent society. This is perhaps the reason why the role of Queen Taramati in Phalke's film *Raja Harishchandra* was played by a young man and all the female roles were also played by male actors (see Figure. 4.1). Most of the women actresses in the 1920s were Anglo-Indians. Due to their hybrid heritage, these women were considered less bound

to the social principle concerning respectability compared to conventional Indian women.



Figure 4.1. The role of the Queen protagonist (L) and the whole women casts (R) played by men in the first silent movie *Raja Harishchandra*. Source: Screenshot from the movie (On YouTube) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YwSGcgIsbcs> .

The Studio Era

Studios were the center of film production in the 1920s and 30s. They bore all the expenses and technicalities of the film. Imperial Films Company in Bombay, New Theatres in Calcutta, Prabhat Film Company in Pune, and Bombay Talkies were some prominent studios during this era and these studios played a vital role in training some famous directors and actors of the 1950s and 60s, thus laying the base for post-independence Indian cinema. Among these four studios, the Imperial Films Company and Bombay Talkies made a more remarkable impact than the other two studios. However, the contributions of all these three studios should be duly recognized.

Imperial Films Company was the first studio in India to shoot at night using incandescent lamps in 1929, and also the first to produce an indigenously processed color film, *Kisan Kanya* (Farmer's Daughter) in 1937. It also produced the first sound film in the Farsi language, *Dukhtar-e-Lur* in 1933.

The Prabhat film company was established in 1929 at Kolhapur in Maharashtra. This studio was known for a pioneering new genre- saint films and the success of the studio was credited to its good distribution arrangements and long-term contracts with exhibitors.

New Theatres, another regional studio, was founded in 1931 by B.N. Sircar in Calcutta. The main characteristic of this studio was being a sound studio by origin. New Theatres was considered one of the most elite Bengali studios and produced films mainly based on Bengali novels. Hence, the studio aimed in creating an equivalent cinematic presentation of its literature as well. Another significant feature of this studio was the introduction of the playback singing technique in 1935, in its film *Dhoop Chaon*.

Bombay Talkies, founded in 1934 by Himansu Rai was considered one of the largest pre-World War -II sound studios in India. It is also well known for introducing popular stars like Dev Anand, Raj Kapoor, Dilip Kumar, and Ashok Kumar. Rai was also known for his successful Indo- German co-productions during the silent era. The film, *Kismet*, one of the biggest hits of the pre-independence era was produced during this era.

Second World War and the partition period

During the Second World War period, the impact on the filmmaking industry in India was mostly affected economically since the monopoly of raw film stock was

granted to the colonial government through the Film Advisory Board, which was set up in 1940. However, it was the declaration of independence and the partition of India, which brought a major shift in the filmmaking industry. The partition of British India into the modern nation-states India and Pakistan had a huge effect on the regional film-making industry like the Bengali film industry in Calcutta and the Punjabi industry in Lahore, the regions which became a part of the division after independence. On the other hand, with the weakening of these regional film industries, the Hindi film industry located in places like Delhi and Bombay benefited from the influx of people migrating to these cities Post partition.

Hindi Film industry post-Independence India

Bollywood is one of the largest producers of Indian Hindi films in the film industry of India. It has its base in Mumbai(then Bombay). According to Wikipedia, the term Bollywood has its origin in the 1970s; it represents the Hindi cinema version of Hollywood with the B in reference to its industrial base, Bombay.

Over the years Bollywood movies have gained international recognition and are screened in theatres worldwide, attracting a huge audience, especially in countries with large Indian diasporic populations. However, Bollywood marked its global or diasporic recognition with Aditya Chopra's *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (DDLJ) in 1995. The film set a trend of new cinematic identity depiction in globalized India (Mehta and Pandharipande, 2010). The movie *DDLJ* is acclaimed by the Indian Diasporic audience and is alleged to have gained more popularity, especially among the because of the depiction of the protagonist as an NRI. The movie is considered to have started the trend of Indian diaspora-centric films and overseas story targeted location of filming.

In 1998, the Bombay film industry (Bollywood) was granted the right to finance its film through financial aid from global funding, sponsorships, and multinational

corporations by the Indian Government. This paved the way for not only economic reconstruction or reformation but also new aestheticism and styles of filmmaking.

The economic liberalization of filmmaking brought in the shift of Bollywood film production and further evolved into the postmodern qualities of filmmaking style, especially towards the consumer-centric industry (Wright, 2015). Wright in her work draws the shift in the history of Indian cinema, the development from its early stage to today's post-millennial period. She shows the shifting trend of how the Indian cinema post-1990s is mostly focused on diaspora-oriented productions; patriotic, traditionalist, family-oriented, and 'multi-starrers' and continues to do so. She states that Indian cinema has become more 'transnational', 'Asian', and 'global' cinema, post its industry's economic liberalization and with the rise of globalization.

Hassam and Paranjape (2010) in their work explore the conjunctures and the ruptures between Bollywood, Australia, and their interface, the diaspora. Globalizing and trans-nationalizing Bollywood, Bollywood as a cultural marker of Indianness, locating Bollywood beyond the Indian realm, especially in Australia, and the trending influences of Bollywood on the multicultural Australian society, Bollywood as a new global vernacular is discussed in this book from different aspects.

Virdi (2003:34) examines through different approaches how the Hindi cinema has over the decades constructed and maintain a fictional unified image of the nation, despite facing many disruptions and challenges. According to her the Indian cinema's narration of "nation and /as family" though conflicted by trouble have been repeatedly rescued by adoption a devotional stance of fiction to its nation; the continuous process of preserving and protecting from possible threats of societal complexities. She remarked that, "it is through cultural productions that the nation is imagined...the nation

is an abstraction, towards which consent and loyalty are constantly being secured", (ibid).

Jean Bacon (1996) examines how the first generation writers in the Indian immigrant press try to avoid the issues of the choice of marriage partner and interracial marriage. There is a very contrasting opinion on the issue of interracial marriages even between the first-generation and the second generations of Asian Indian immigrants of Chicago. The prospect of a child marrying someone outside the preferred boundaries of caste, religion, status, and race is so threatening as to be unimaginable.

While on the other hand, there are also a few parents who give the freedom of choice to their children on marriage and are not particularly concerned about the prospect of interracial marriage. Even the second generation, born and brought up in American society has a different opinion on the issues of dating, marriage, and interracial marriage. Some have a strong opinion on the idea of an arranged marriage, whereas many hold up to the freedom of choice on either dating or marriage; even on the prospect of an interracial marriage stating that such union will perhaps be a hope in overlooking beyond the skin color and combat the problem of racism in the society.

The popularity of Bollywood movies generally relies on how well the choreography is executed, the catchy songs and dance sequences, dialogues, and exaggerated emotions and actions. The popularity of the actors and actresses also makes a huge difference in drawing audiences both in India and overseas. Some of the famous stardoms who gained international popularity for their Bollywood movies in the early 21st century are the three Khans- Shah Rukh Khan, Salman Khan, Amir Khan, also, Akshay Kumar, Ranbir Kapoor, and Hrithik Roshan.

Movies that strongly resonate with the audience both in India, and abroad among the diasporas became more successful. This paved the way for exploring the cultural

space of the Indian diaspora community in a new way. The music, dance sequences, dialogues, costumes, and most importantly the idealizing of a colorful diversified cultural society is the main drawing attraction of most Bollywood movies.

Today, Bollywood movies have become a central part of many Indian households both at home and abroad. Their everyday life activity connects them in one or the other way to the filmy world. Though most movies claim to be fictional and have no correlation to an actual event or individual, films often portray certain features of society, its people, and its societal environment. These movies become the representation of society and its people, which pulls the interest of the viewers or audience at large; hence, the audience tends to relate and resonate with these movies on certain levels and sometimes to the extreme of living the life and expectations expressed in these movies.

This chapter will explore how Bollywood films involving diasporic subject interest depict Indian society and its tradition, examine the stereotyping of the Indian culture against the West, analyze the misrepresentation of the Indian diaspora, and the west through the limited theme of cross-cultural relations and adaptation or mixed marriages; the plot, roles, scenes, dialogues and characters in the selected Bollywood films. These movies have an impact in constructing certain images or identities of an ideal Indian family or social setting against the diasporic and Western society, which in reality I challenge contradict the actual scenario of the society.

Bollywood movies present different genres of movies from romance, family drama, comedy, crime, or action to horror, documentaries, and musical categories. But a movie with an essence of family drama, romance, action, and music seems to attract audiences from an Indian perspective. I have to agree to a certain point with Hassam and Paranjape (ibid) when they opine that Bollywood is also a cinema of excessiveness,

lavish and colorful costumes, set settings, and amplified abilities of the characters, and that, films are sold based on how popular the superstars or protagonist of the movie are with the mass audience. They also reason out that though at some point the movies might feel unrealistic, the viewers easily understand its codes because they have been schooled in reading between the lines of these films since childhood. This shows a certain pattern of how movies are usually expected, scripted, delivered, and consumed.

Rao (2010) in her work examines the Indian audiences' demand for 'an Indian touch', in Bollywood films, for it to be popular. She writes:

‘...audience members expressed an almost universal expectation that Bollywood films contain traditional clothing and music, that they retain the emphasis on familial emotion, and that they reinforce “Indian” values’.(pp.1)

The melodramatic family scenes and dialogues, songs and dances in between the storylines which take place here and there, the sudden change of scenes and emotions, celebrations of colorful festivals or extravagant marriages, and performing religious rites and rituals in and outside the family households are some of the main attractions of drawing the attention of the Indian viewers, after all, it's an entertainment industry intended to please the viewers. On the other hand, Bollywood movies have produced more or less the same kind of movies, with some twist, mix- masala, action, and new settings and plots in the storyline.

The Bollywood movies addressing diasporic-homeland themes mostly revolve around nostalgic feelings towards homeland, the importance of adhering to Indian traditions and continuity in a foreign land, NRIs arranging a marriage to an Indian, stereotyping of characters, aversion towards the Western liberal way of life and so on. Most diasporic-themed Bollywood film unfolds more or less in this order. Most

diasporic films have these elements; the only difference is the interweaving of the narration.

Desai (2004) in her study explores the cultural hybridity of the South Asian Diasporas from a transnational and multicultural aspect. Her study also focuses on the works of multicultural diasporic filmmakers of Indian origin, who projects a diasporic reflection of themes into their films, constructing a challenge to popular Indian cinema.

Selvaraj Velayutham (2008) in his study on Tamil Cinema made an argument that Tamil cinema's representation of Tamil diasporas is highly problematic and stereotyped. According to him, diasporic subjects, especially women have often been portrayed as dubious and culturally unrefined; lacking modesty, and sexually liberated, whereas their male protagonists are presented as morally cultured and restorers of the uncultured women. Concurring with Selvaraj's argument, I will bring out the commentary dialogues in the selected Bollywood movies in support of the argument.

In this chapter, I have selected eight Bollywood movies directed and produced by both Indian and NRI filmmakers, one in the late 20th century and the rest in the first decade of the 21st century. These movies are selected because of their themes associated with interracial relationships and the Indian Diaspora. A brief storyline of the movies and the analysis of the movies are discussed in this chapter. Below table 4.1 gives an overview of the movie, the locations where the movies were shot, and the languages used in the movies (main and Hindi/regional languages).

Except for the movie, *Monsoon Wedding*, all the other movies are either shot in India and abroad or abroad entirely. In these movies, though mostly English or Hindi is mainly spoken, which I'll term as a first language, the sub-languages, which I'll term as a second language, spoken in the movies as dialogues or according to the shift in the environment are also detailed as a representation of Indian regional identity. It may also

be observed that movies or segments of the movies shot in India also specified the region or state in India where it was located, for example, Amritsar and Bathinda (Punjab), Calcutta, Delhi, Goa, and Agra. The details of the selected Bollywood movies are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Details of the Movies

Movie & Year	Director/s	Producer/s	Location/s	Language/s
Mississippi Masala (1991)	Mira Nair	Mira Nair	Uganda, U.S.	English, Swahili, Gujarati, Hindi
ABCD (1999)	Krutin Patel	Krutin Patel Naju Patel	U.S.	English
Monsoon Wedding (2001)	Mira Nair	Caroline Baron & Mira Nair	India	Hindi, English
Bollywood/Hollywood (2002)	Deepa Mehta	David Hamilton	Canada	English, Hindi
Bride and Prejudice (2004)	Gurinder Chadha	Deepak Nayar & Gurinder Chadha	India, U.S., UK	English, Hindi
Dil Jo Bhi Kahey (2005)	Romesh Sharma	Romesh Sharma	Mauritius, Sweden	Hindi, English
Namesake (2006)	Mira Nair	Lydia Dean Pilcher & Mira Nair	India, U.S.	English, Bengali
Namastey London (2007)	Vipul Amrutlal Shah	Vipul Amrutlal Shah	India, London (UK)	Hindi, English

Mississippi Masala (Nair,1991): The movie is about an Indian family, along with the rest of the Ugandan Asians who were exiled (forced to leave) from Kampala, East Africa in 1972 under the dictatorship of Idi Amin⁴. The movie touches on issues of forced migration, displaced people, different ethnic immigrant communities residing in Mississippi, cultural clashes between them within the colored communities, color consciousnesses, and most importantly, interracial relationships. Mira's (Sarita Choudhury) family after being exiled moves to relocate to London and then moved to Greenwood, Mississippi after some years. In Mississippi, she meets and falls in love with Demetrius (Denzel Washington), an African American, who runs a small carpet-cleaning business. Their interracial relationship is disapproved by both their ethnic communities in Mississippi but they resist the opposition and elope away to find a way to start a new life.

ABCD- American Born Confused Desi (Patel,1999): The movie revolves around two Asian-American siblings, Nina and Raj, and their widowed mother, Anju. Nina (Sheetal Sheth), raised in an American society grows up to be independent at the same time hot-tempered, rebellious, and promiscuous woman, getting drunk and having one-night stands, and is called a whore by other Indians because of her Westernised lifestyle and behavior. She is also described as a typical ABCD, *American Born Confused Desi*⁵, by her other Indian acquaintances. The brother, Raj (Faran Tahir), on the other hand, is the obedient and respectful son of their widowed mother, who have many expectations from her son; promotion at work and to marry his long-betrothed Indian fiancée, Tejal. Raj is tied to his obligations, against what his heart wants. Anju tries to arrange to matchmake between Nina and Ashok, who has just arrived in the States but it doesn't

⁴ In 1972, Idi Amin, the then President of Uganda, declared an economic war in Uganda and issued a decree ordering the expulsion of around 80,000 Asian citizens from Uganda. He gave them ninety days to leave the country (Encyclopedia.com).

⁵ The acronym '*ABCD*' which stands for '*American Born Confused Desi*' was a derogatory term used to refer to the Indians who grew up in the U.S. and act like Americans.

work because even though Ashok is a good man, Nina cannot seem to find herself falling in love with him. Nina politely turns down Ashok's approach for a relationship and Ashok returns to India heartbroken. Anju is found dead in her kitchen when her children come to visit her. After the death of their mother, Raj breaks off his engagement with his long betrothed, leaves his job, and decides to travel and find himself again. On the other hand, Nina rekindles her relationship with her American ex-fiancé, Sam and they get married at the church in a Christian tradition way.

Monsoon Wedding (Nair, 2001): The movie is about a monsoon wedding, and its preparation, between a Punjabi Indian bride and an NRI groom from Houston. Along with the preparation, the story brings in some very interesting depictions of characters and different facades of the relationship as well, something not so Indian in society's view. The bride is having an affair with a married man, the mother often takes her cigarette breaks hiding in the bathroom, while the mothers from the groom's side who came from America openly drink with the men. The cousin sister of the bride was a victim of abuse as a child at the hands of a family friend, who makes the same attempt on another family child when he comes to attend the wedding. The wedding planner falls in love with their quiet Christian maid.

Bollywood/Hollywood (Mehta, 2002): The protagonist, Rahul (Rahul Khanna), is a successful Indo-Canadian, responsible son-grandson, and brother to his family. But to the disappointment of his grandmother and mother, Rahul falls in love with a white girl, Kimberley, who also happens to be a singer. His mother is livid that her son wants to marry a white woman and thinks she's so ill-fated to face this kind of situation in life. Rahul's sister, Twinky, is engaged to be married to another NRI Indian and is secretly pregnant, his younger brother Govind (Go) in his teen is racially bullied at school but acts cool and records all the family dramas in his Handycam. Pressured and emotionally

blackmailed by his mother and grandmother to find an Indian bride, Rahul hires an escort, Sue (Lisa Ray), who he met at a bar, to pose as his fiancée. The rest of the movie is about that charade that follows.

Bride and Prejudice (Chadha,2004): A Bollywood version adaptation of Jane Austin's novel *Pride and Prejudice*⁶, this movie features four unmarried daughters, Jaya-Lalita-Maya-Lakhi- and their mother, Mrs.Bakshi's eager to find a wealthy groom for her daughters. The movie mainly focuses on the two eldest daughters, Jaya (Namrata Shirodkar)) and Lalita (Aishwarya Rai), following the norms of finding potential grooms and getting the older ones married first. The narration of the movie is mostly about marriage- NRIs seeking Indian brides and vice versa, arrange-marriages, misunderstanding, pride, and ethical clashes of West/ East between the two main protagonists.

Dil Jo Bhi Kahey (Sharma,2005), English translated as *Whatever the Heart Says*: This movie is an adaption from a Mauritian TV serial titled, *C'est La Vie*, directed by the same director and broadcast in 2003. The movie, *Dil Jo Bhi Kahey*, (DJBK) is about an Indo-Mauritius guy, Jai Sinha(Karan Sharma) who falls in love with a Franco-Mauritius girl, Sophie Besson (Annabelle Wallis), at an international culinary school at Stockholm in Sweden. The couple returns back to Mauritius after finishing their degree and tries to convince their parents to accept their relationship. However, the couple faces strong opposition from both sides, especially, Jai's mother and Sophie's father on the ground of differences in culture, race, religion, and superior-inferior consciousness. Jai's mother, Sandhya (Revathy) is conservative and does not approve of his choice of a non-Indian and non-Hindu woman. Sophie's father, Norman Besson (Malcolm), has a racial supremacist mindset over Indians, who have a long history of being indentured

⁶ *Pride and Prejudice* is a novel by Jane Austin, published in 1813. It is also considered a novel of manners, depicting the importance of a woman's manners and reputation in society.

laborers under the British colonials in Mauritius⁷, and is strongly against his only child marrying an Indo-Mauritian. Due to these oppositions, they decide to elope and get married in the church but Jai couldn't make it to their wedding because his mother gets hospitalized. He also learns that his father lost his job because of Sophie's father. So, without any explanation, Jai cuts off his relationship with Sophie and later gets engaged to his mother's Indian intern doctor, Gayatri (Bhumika). The movie ends with Gayatri bringing the exes together, and their family accepts their relationship by plotting Sophie's fake pregnancy.

Namesake (Nair,2006): This movie is based on the novel of the same name by Jhumpa Lahiri. The movie depicts the life journey of a young Bengali married couple, Ashoke (Irrfan Khan), an aspiring engineer, and Ashima Ganguli (Tabu), from Calcutta (now Kolkata), who moves to New York, their struggle in adapting to a new environment and culture, about their two American born children, Gogol (Kal Penn) and Sonia (Sahira Nair) and their evolving identities, especially Gogol. Gogol/ Nikhil's transitional life from a kid to adulthood; his self-identifying progression in a cross-cultural environment and the revelation of the story behind his nickname (after the Russian author, Nikolai Gogol) shift the narration of the movie mostly towards Gogol. Ashoke's sudden death changes the lives of the Ganguli family. The children are both doing well in their careers, have become more responsible, and make effort to spend more time with their mother. Gogol becomes more perceptive of things around him and focuses more on his responsibilities, his family, and his future. He eventually breaks up with his American girlfriend, Maxine (Jacinda), and later marries, Moushumi, the daughter of a family friend from England, whom he met before once and reacquainted with years later. However, their marriage is short-lived because Moushumi once an

⁷ Laborers from India were brought to Mauritius as indentured (bonded) laborers by the British colonials to work in the sugar plantation during the 19th Century. Many Indians stayed back and settled in Mauritius after the abolition of indentured labor; their generations are known as Indo-Mauritian today, inhabiting the majority percent of Mauritius's population.

ambitious woman is regretting giving up her career and getting bored of married life, and at the same time started having an affair with a French ex-boyfriend. Towards the end of the movie, Sonia is happily engaged to her non-Indian boyfriend, Gogol divorces Moushumi, and Ashima decides to move back to Calcutta, India, and move on with her life.

Namastey London (Shah,2007): The movie is about a British-Indian-born Jasmeet (Katrina Kaif), living a very British/Westernised life of Jazz (name shortened from Jasmeet to Jazz), and her Punjabi father, Manmohan (Rishi Kapoor), trying to find an Indian groom for her to change her way of life and thinking. Manmohan arranges a blind date between an NRI and Jazz but she deceives him and stops him from pursuing the date further. Jazz does not want to marry an Indian man because she considers herself British and not Indian; she was born and grew up in London, holds British citizenship, and her way of life and likes are all British. As the last alternative to change his daughter, Manmohan plans a family vacation as an excuse and takes them to India. In India, he started trying match-making for Jazz but fails. Finally, he finds Jazz's match in his hometown, Punjab. He emotionally blackmails and forces Jasmeet to marry Arjun (Akshay Kumar), the son of his friend, who does not know how to speak English. Right after the marriage, they move back to London. On return to London, Jasmeet denies the Indian marriage on the ground of lack of proof against British marriage legality and announces her plan to marry her billionaire British boyfriend, Charlie. Arjun left with not many choices, shows his love for her by being by her side, supporting her happiness. On the wedding day, Jasmeet/Jazz realizes the goodness and sacrifices of her husband Arjun and her own growing feelings for him, leaves her British fiancé at the altar, and runs after her Indian husband. The movie ends with the happy couple returning to Punjab, India.

Many Bollywood movies often (see *Pardes Dilwale Dulhania Le Jaayenge*, *Khabhi Khusi Khabhi Gham*, *Namastey London*) brings in a stereotypical way of presenting the East and the West, the distinctive differences between the two cultures. There are also some movies that made attempt to approach the reality of life at home and abroad from a bolder perspective.

The analysis of the selected movies is discussed through different themes and sub-themes in the following.

Overall view of the home setting in the movies

A very general depiction of Indian representation in most Bollywood movies which cannot go unnoticed is their household setting and the behavioral aspects of the family members, especially the elderly family members. And like an emblematic Indian household setting, a similar imitation model is presented for the diasporas' home in the movies as well. For instance, a room or a place in the selves kept as a worship area adorned by different idols of Gods and Goddesses, and garland frames. Performing morning *pujas*, cooking ethnic food or snacks in the kitchen, and eating meals with bare hands are some of the very essences of Indianness one can observe in an Indian movie. Women draped in *saree* and *salwar-kameez*, with the *bindi* on their forehead are the most visible symbolic representation of Indian-ness in Indian women. As for the menfolk, their ethnic dressing is very occasional, except for religious, cultural, or social events.



Figure 4.2. Performing *puja* together at home. Source: screenshot from the movie *Mississippi Masala*.

The religious aspect of Indian cultures, especially in diasporic films is highly emphasized. All the members of the household or community gathering, everyone is seen worshipping the idols and singing along in a synchronized tune.

The plots within the storyline

Some common plot patterns found in the movies are arranged marriage, the generation disparity between the parents and their children, patronizing of culture, and infusing cultural values. In many of the diasporic movies, marriage holds an important mechanism of strengthening not only familial ties but also as a way of maintaining ethnic or community identity within the same fold. For the Indian diaspora parents, finding a prospective partner for their children from their diaspora community or from their homeland India is an approach to upholding their ethnic identity and familiarity with the culture in their household. The practice of matching horoscope charts, '*kundali*',

and *palmistry* (palm reading) in the movies also indicates superstitious beliefs among the Indian diasporic community as well.

The idea of an interracial relationship and marriage is received with discontentment and fear of losing cultural values and integration into western culture. The persuasion and pressure of an arranged marriage or finding a prospective partner from within the Indian community is heavily bestowed on the younger generation.

The fracture between the first-generation and the second-generation diasporic Indians in terms of adhering to cultural values and identity, homeland and sense of belonging, devotion, and attachment, and embracing cultural shifts are some themes commonly observed in the movies.

The caricature of the Indians, the West, and the Indian Diasporas

According to Mehta (ibid), the reasoning division or split between the world or West in particular and India, as two irreconcilable cultural spheres were first cultivated in the Indian literature(s), notably in the novel, but a kitschy version of it permeated Indian Cinema from its early days. She also draws the binary of West/East in Bollywood cinema to that of the colonizing period of the West in India.

Though Indian cinema, especially Bollywood, is receiving global recognition in the film industry, researchers and even audiences have critiqued it to be often exaggerated, misrepresented, and over-stereotyped. Manoeuvring very Indianised characters of Indians, a patriotic and sentimental group of older diasporic generation, and an uncultured younger generation of the diasporic community has been a script played, reconstructed, and delivered in many movies.

“Even though we are ten thousand miles away from India, we should not forget our roots, our culture, our tradition, and our Gods (Mississippi Masala”.

The aversion and dubious approach toward Western culture still prevails in many scenes and concepts of the movies. The construction of the East-West binary in many Bollywood movies on diaspora can be observed. This binary implies a division between the east and the west in terms of culture, beliefs, attitudes, and everything that is distinct between the two. Here, the distinction is made between the Indian and Western cultures; how one is different from the other and the restraint about finding a common ground.

The Indians are shown as family-oriented, hardworking, upholding and maintaining their tradition values and beliefs, and trying to pass down those values and beliefs to the next generation. The West and their culture are represented as immoral, and unethical, and the Western women are considered a bad influence and trying to trap their young and noble Indian men. Young Indian men are often warned about Western women in the movies. Some dialogue in the movies to prove such claims are:

“Aunt to Gogol (Namesake): You, be careful where you’re going...there’ll be plenty of girls in this Yale place, who’ll want to trap you. Have as much fun as you can want but marry a Bengali.

Rahul’s father to his young son: Remember Rahul, sacrifice is the brightest torch of Indian family values...always hit a homerun...don't get distracted with the cheerleaders in their short skirts (introductory scene).

Grandma to Rahul: What had you done? You picked up a white whore?

Grandma to Sue: At least you’re not like that White woman, the one who trapped our innocent.”

Many parents (the older diaspora) share a common point of view that the young generation can date or have fun with any ethnicity but when it comes to marriage, they

should marry from their own community. The utter loathe of Rahul's grandmother for dating a White woman and labeling her as a whore in her comment shows the resentment towards the west. As long as they don't end up marrying a Westerner, men are just allowed to be young and free and enjoy their lives until the family finds them an ideal Indian woman.

The notion and comparison between the West and the East (India) from the diasporic are also often misled. The extremity of tagging the west and its people is exaggerated to support the ideal Indian society.

Papaji (B/H): Pardes was a good movie; about the corrupt West.

Mrs. Bakshi: Rich American! What does he think? We're not good enough for him?

Grandma: Sometimes it is better to withhold the truth; it's an art of lying that takes much practice. It took me years.

Here, the intensity of calling the West corrupt, yet residing and making livelihood in the same society could be considered hypocrite attitude. The grandma's art of lying is an indicative of living a make believe ideal Indian way of life in the western society.

Women as the embodiment of Goddess or Vamps

Khatri (2019) criticized the metaphors used for females as an item of consumption and how female characters are portrayed in two extremes; either as Goddesses or incarnations of the devil.

In this consideration, I observed the portrayal of women in India and women in diasporic communities or setting represented in the Bollywood movies very

contradicting. In mainstream Indian society, women are often personified as Goddesses and as the carrier of traditional cultures. As such, in most Indian movies, these ideal Indian women are presented as pure, shy and timid, modest, submissive, faithful, and *sanskari* in character. Their chastity and virtues are considered the honor of the family and society. They are often dressed in simple outfits compared to the diasporic women in the movies.

You must be cautious. She has been in this country too long. Believe me, she is a whore. They get it that way here.

The above advice to Ashok, by an Indian running a small shop in America, referring to Nina as a whore because of her upbringing in an American environment is a generalized mindset portrayed about Indian diasporic women in many Indian movies.

The Bollywood scenario changes when it comes to portraying Indian diasporic women. In the diasporic setting, they are confident, independent, and vocal about their rights, yet all these attributes to a rebellious, promiscuous, and wanton woman; everything a proper Indian woman is not. And all these immoral characteristics are held accountable to the western influence and its cultural and environmental upbringing. The external presentation is the way they are dressed, and their outfits. In an Indian setting, the women will be decently dressed mostly in *salwar kameez* and on eventful occasions, *saree*. While, the women in the Western or diasporic setting are presented in provocative outfits, flashy, and inappropriate. They are often sexualized through the way they dress and behave. In the diasporic setting, even mothers are presented in western outfits, portraying a cultural shock for the Indian. Figure 4.3 below shows some movie screenshots of how women in India or from India are represented in diasporic movies and how Indian women in the West dress up. The screenshots are from the movies *Namastey London*, *Namesake*, *Bride and Prejudice*, and *Pardes*.

Indian women are expected to be submissive, and dutiful, and do what is expected of them by society. In filmmaking, the portrayal of women characters is often inspired by mythological, religious, and patriarchal perspectives. It is always the dichotomy of good and bad, and no grey in between. So, when women in movies make a courageous decision to go against tradition, it becomes unethical.

Mummyji: Sunita, Why this defiance? Men rebel, women don't.

A woman's place is often positioned around the kitchen, looking after children and managing the household, it is mostly home-bounded. They are expected to have good skills in the kitchen, have talents in cooking, and even the talent of singing devotional and patriotic songs are a bonus to impress potential husbands.



Figure 4.3. Diasporic and Indian representation of Women in Bollywood movies

Source: Screenshots from the movies.

In most Bollywood movies, there are usually two types of images women are portrayed and the transition over the years only gets modified according to the time period. Goddess and evil, submissive damsel in distress and sexually objectified figure. In the diasporic setting, women are often presented in a very assimilated or integrated western aspect of dressing that they lost their Indian qualities of politeness, submissive and dependent temperament and need to be re-cultured. It is not only the way they dress but also the way they talk, behave, and carry themselves, attitudes and knowledge about their culture are so misapprehended, that the male protagonist takes it upon himself to educate the woman about the Indian cultural mannerism. This can be seen in the movie Bollywood/ Hollywood, where Rahul tries to inculcate Sue about certain Indian ethos. There is another shift in the narrative of the diasporic setting, where women showed an assertive attitude over men sourced by westernized influence. Jazz in Namaste London, Nina in ABCD, and Mina portrayed independent, career-oriented, bold, and liberal-spirited personalities but from the lens of an Indian depiction, these liberating personalities are not Indian

The subject of sexuality and open relationship

The shifting location of Bollywood movies overseas is perceived from a different viewpoint. On the one hand, the growing Bollywood movies can be seen as a globalizing growth of Indian films. But on the other hand, with the shift of the movie theme from the Indian to the diasporic subject, the perception of certain matters also changes.

Mayura Iyer (2016) argues how Bollywood creates a distinctive dichotomy between the "traditional" values of India and the "liberal" values of the west. For instance, assuming the lifestyle of Indian diasporic women is untraditional compared to traditional women of India, because they are too westernized or highly sexualized. She

also points out how Bollywood films addressing themes on sexuality like cohabitation (live-in-relationships), casual sex, premarital sex and pregnancy, and homosexuality have their settings in the West, outside the realm of Indian traditionalism because these themes give an inappropriate impression of the traditional Indian society and are unacceptable social and sexual norm to the traditional norm of the mainstream Indian society.

Movies like *Salaam Namaste* (2005), *Cocktail* (2012) *Margarita with a Straw* (2014), *Fire* (1998), and *Dostana* (2008), are some popular exemplary movies on said themes I can think of, which were shot outside India. Slowly, movies on homosexuality are making their way into the Indian film industry more boldly, mostly after the 2010s.

Margarita with a Straw is about Laila, a young woman with cerebral palsy and with a very independent aspiring writer and rebellious personality. She receives a semester's scholarship to study creative writing at New York University. In New York, she meets a young woman of Pakistani-Bangladeshi descent, who is blind, falls in love, and becomes a live-in partner. The movie for the most part centers on Laila's confusion and exploration of her sexuality.

Though the movie *Fire* is not a diasporic-related movie, it is one of the first mainstream movies about homosexuality, lesbian to be specific, which received a huge backlash from many Indian viewers, in particular the religious sects. It was considered immoral and against Indian tradition and culture, and pornographic films. But in response to the backlashes, a group for lesbian rights called the Campaign for Lesbian Rights (CALERI) was formed in 1999. The point here is that mainstream Indian society is still very hostile on issues like homosexuality, the LGBT (latest acronym QIA added) or queer (drag queen in Bollywood/Hollywood), and pre-marital sex or live-in-relationships.

Salaam Namaste is about two young Indians, Ambar, and Nick, making their careers as Radio Jockey and Chefs in Australia. It's a hate, at first-sight, turned love story. The live-in-relationship and unexpected pregnancy, and the dilemma of abortion revolve around the rest of the movie. *Cocktail* movie also revolves around live-in-relationship. *Dostana* addresses gay and homosexuality, though it's about two straight guys pretending to be gay to secure an apartment.



Figure 4.4. Sources: Screenshots from the movies *Bollywood/Hollywood*, *Margarita with a Straw*, and *Salaam Namaste*.

Transition, cultural shift, adaptation, and negotiating perspectives

“Grandma to Ashima: Your life is about to change. Embrace the new; don’t forget the old...and your new life enjoys it fully.”

This insightful advice from Ashima's grandma in the movie *Namesake* can be understood from two perspectives. One is the beginning of a new life as a married wife

and the other is a new and different life moving to a foreign country. Her old life is her family in Kolkata, India and her new life is with her husband in a new country, New York. As the movie progresses, it can be observed that Ashima did balance these two very well.

“Ashoke to Ashima: I’ll bring you tea... it is the American way. Here, we get gas 24 hours of the day...you can drink water straight from the tap, no need to boil it...washing machine is just down the street.”

When Ashoke tells Ashima to lie down or sit, while he makes tea for her, Ashima was quite taken aback because menfolk in the Indian society generally doesn’t make tea or breakfast for their wives but they’re the one being served and dutifully attend to by the wife. In fact, in some Indian cultures, the wives don’t partake their meals until their husbands are well-attended and served meals. But here as Ashoke rationalizes the act and says that it is the American way. Gendered roles and perceptive view between the Indians and the West even in a basic task shows a cultural difference here. An easier domestic life can also be noted here when Ashoke tells Ashima about the gas, water, and laundrette.

“Ashoke: Think of Gogol’s future, This is the land of opportunity, Ashima. He can become whatever he wants; study whatever he desires...options are limitless.”

America often referred to as the land of opportunity, where one could achieve anything one dream or desires, attracted many immigrants from across the world. The American dream is a common motto of immigrants who comes to America to grab these opportunities. When Ashima longs to go back to India, Ashoke convinces her to think of their son's future because they are in the land of opportunities, where he can achieve more than he can back in India.

Ashima: In this country, the children decide...fine, no big deals...as long as our kids are happy.

When Gogol wants to change his official name from Nikhil to his pet name Gogol in school (at 4yrs), Ashima and Ashoke give consent to his wishes. To them, as long as their children are happy, it is not a big issue and moreover, children in America are given a more liberal personal choice to decide even at a young age as long as it is not against the legal laws. All these positive aspects of Western culture are often overshadowed by portraying ethnocentrism of Indian society in the movies.

Inculcating Indian values: Heroes as the educator

In many Bollywood movies, one will notice the importance given to inculcation traditions and values to kids or the younger generation; how, where, when, and should or should not behave in certain ways. All these educating on Indian traditional etiquette are guided mostly by women. But here, in these Indian diasporic movies, it is astounding to watch the roles being reversed in a twisted manner. As pointed out in many instances demeaning the characters of diasporic women as against women in an Indian movie setting, trying to illustrate Indian men trying to educate traditional values to women is not viable certainly.

“Gogol to Maxine: There is something you should know. No kissing, no holding hands.

Rahul to Sue (B/H): Indian girls don't do this.

Sue: Do what?

Rahul: Pick up guys... It's just not in our culture...we're vegetarian, so don't ever ask for meat, and no mention of the word beef...We don't shake hands; we greet by folding them like so (folds hands) and saying, 'Namaste'. And don't look

directly at anyone, always lower your eyes...we got in a time warp here, trying to preserve what we have of the whole country...I don't question tradition.

Rahul (in another scene): Sue, I can't help having middle-class morals; it's an ingrained thing."

In the above conversations, it is understandable when an Indian man is trying to somehow make his non-Indian girlfriend presentable in front of his parents by asking her not to kiss or hold hands around them because that is opposed to their moral conduct. However, Rahul asks Sue to behave submissively and his statement of not questioning tradition is too patriarchal for a diasporic Indo-Canadian to comprehend.

Arrange Marriages between NRIs and Indians

For the Indians in India, one thing which is frequently addressed in many movies when an NRI (Non-Resident Indian) is mentioned is a potential candidate for marriage. Marrying an NRI is often aligned with an expectation of a good life and benefits from the Indian parents' perspectives as shown in movies and so is it relatable in reality as well. The contribution of the NRIs to India through remittances has been exceptionally regarded by the people back in India. Marriage to an NRI can be seen as growing social as well as economic mobility. This factor and the opportunities, good and comfortable lives are some explanations for parents wanting to marry off their daughters to the Indian diasporas. This can be justified by the following dialogues:

"Mrs. Bakshi: They're (her daughters) all exceptional marriageable prospects for any single young man.

Mrs. Bakshi: We must make sure Jaya meet this Balraj from London before anyone else. (Balraj is a rich Indian-British Barrister, an origin from the Uppal family of Delhi).

Kholi to Lalita: I am going to take you to America...you and your family will have no more worries.”

Arranged marriage is the ideal preference of marriage:

In most Indian communities, arranged marriage is the ideal type and preference of marriage. In most movies, ‘*marry first, love grows later*’, is quoted to convince their children to enter an arranged marriage.

And one common practice or way many parents, especially women use to persuade their children is emotional blackmailing. In the movie, Bollywood/Hollywood, Rahul’s mom is often seen getting emotional and trying to reason out and conditioning Rahul with emotional blackmails. However, in the below statement we can see that though Rahul’s mom is conditioning him to only marry an Indian, he has been given the choice to find a partner of his own choice.

“Rahul’s mom to Rahul (B/H): You’ll do what I say. You’ll get married, Rahul. And to somebody from our own community(grandma)...(again, mom)You find your own girl, we’ll accept but one condition. Only, Indian is a must.”

This practice of arranging marriages between NRIs or NRIs and Indians from India is still preferred and encouraged but with time things have changed a bit, unlike the conventional way of fixing a marriage without knowing each other. Online matrimonial sites today offer a choice to find potential compatibility and for the potential candidates to get to know each other.

The NRI and the Indian women

In the movie, *Bride and Prejudice*, Lalita shows a very defensive stand whenever Kholi makes a comparison of Indians with the West. Kholi on the hand also tends to make the wrong comments, in his attempt to win Lalita's attention. He does not

give a very impressive image of the West or the attitude of an NRI. His comment about the Indian women born in American society shades the way Western-born Indian women have been depicted in many diaspora movies over and over again.

“Kholi: Anyone can become an American.

Mr. Bakshi: Then why come back here (India)?

Kholi: There's only one problem with America. Our girls that are born there, they totally lost their roots, completely clueless... in U.S., they're all too outspoken, and career-oriented and some have even turned into lesbians...so that leaves me no choice.

Kholi: These Indians, they don't know how to treat a tourist, there is no sophistication.

Lalita: What do mean these Indians? Are you no longer an Indian?

Kholi: I am a Green card holder now. India is decades behind.”

The successful Mr. Kholi's pursuit to find an ideal Indian wife, which he couldn't find even among Indian Diasporas women again shows how they think of the diasporic women. However, in *Monsoon Wedding*, the NRI groom giving a chance to his bride-to-be and marrying her even after her confession of having an affair with a married man is a different plot of a happy ending in an Indian movie.

Interracial relationships and marriage

The idea of interracial relationships and marriages is represented in a very Indianized Bollywood approach, that their children have lost their way, their moral and cultural upbringing, blinded by the influence of western people and society. The difference in culture, beliefs, way of life, and religion does create problems of

adjustment and adaptation and it applies to both cultures, it is never one-sided. But Indian movies always seemed to make it a one-sided issue of a cultural problem. The traditional and the liberal cultures clashes when it comes to interracial relationships and marriages. Mrs. Singha's problem with Jai wanting to marry a White woman supports this notion about interracial or inter-marriages.

Jazz's fiancé in *Namastey London* is portrayed as immature, arrogant, and spoiled man from an English royal family. Imran's (Jazz's friend) fiancée's father has a racist attitude and wants Imran to convert and change his name if he wants to marry his daughter but he refused to be conditioned to his identity. Imran gets his happy ending with Susan. The protagonist Jazz ends up with her Indian husband. Here, both Jazz and Imran are dating Western people but it is the supporting actor who gets his happy ending of marrying his western partner. Jazz's story is dramatized and ends with her happily going back to India with her Indian husband.

In *Namesake*, Gogol dates a White woman but their relationship is short-lived. It is his sister who gets engaged to a non-Indian, who is happily accepted into the family fold in the movie.

Rahul introduces his love interest, Kimberly, a White woman, to his family, which doesn't go very well. They tactfully questioned and mocked her. Then Kimberly dies in an accident while shooting. His grandma thinks Kimberly trapped Rahul and is glad God heard her prayers and she died.

It can be observed that dating westerners or non-Indians by the main protagonist is often cut short but the supporting cast gets to make their relationship work, like Nina in *ABCD*, Imran in *Namastey London*, and Sonia in *Namesake*. There is always a diversion of the plot in encouraging the protagonist to choose the ideal Indian in the end.

Whether it is intentional or to bring Indian heroism and masculinity out of the movies and satisfy the audience, themes of interracial and inter-marriages between East-West are rare. Bollywood diasporic movies have very limited romantic movies on interracial relationships and marriages, and in the diasporic setting.

Homeland and memories

The reminiscence and the longing for one's homeland are one of the most common themes of Indian diasporic movies. This schema is an exceptionally accurate representation of the diasporic community. Stories of imagined homeland, memories of India, and even regrets are expressed in different forms.

“Ashoke (NS): I feel a special kinship with Gogol more than any other writer. Do you know why? He spent most of his adult life outside his homeland, like me.

Papaji (B/H): The land of corn, bread, and mustard greens of sweet sunshine and the sound of ankle bells (life in Bathinda, Punjab).

Ashima: I lost the company of my parents when I first came to this country (United States). Now I feel like I'm losing my family all over again.

Anju to Raj: I wish we never came here. We should have stayed in India and I should have found spouses for both of you and our lives would have made more sense.”

When Bollywood films create a space where India is only portrayed as a one-dimensional traditional society, it creates a false image or fallacy in the diaspora imagination- a nostalgic fantasy of purity and tradition... and this dichotomy affects Indian women of both worlds, India and Diaspora, leaving no space for multi-dimensional identities. There is a need to fill in the gap of the missing themes on adaptation, sexuality, cross-cultural relations, inter-racial marriages, assimilation, and

integration of different cultures. The narrations should also bring in the course adaptation and acculturation in a new environment in a broader perspective.

A realistic reflection of the diasporic community, the multicultural society they live in, and even transitional changes within the family and diasporic community need to be accurately represented.

The relatable themes of the diaspora in the movies

Among the movie that I have selected and analyzed, *Namesake*, *Monsoon Wedding*, *Mississippi Masala*, *ABCD*, and *Dil Jo Bhi Kahey* have somewhat represented the Diaspora, the West, and themes related to it.

The movie *Namesake* overall addressed a very realistic picture of an Indian Diasporic setting. The journey of an immigrant couple settling, adapting, and growing a family to their children's confused stage of identity crisis and attainment of adulthood, represents two generational facets of many diaspora families. Ashima's (mother) working at the library and making friends with a White woman, Nikhil's dating a White woman, then marrying an Indian woman, which ends up in divorce, and Ashima's being contented with Sonia engaged to a non-Indian because love and happiness is what matters in a relationship, are some interesting themes which many Bollywood movies does not address. East-West friendship, relationships, and interracial marriages are very rarely represented in Bollywood.

A perceptive depiction of an Indian diasporic home in which two generations can perfectly co-exist together and still have a common ground to bond is seen in Figure 4.5. Ashoke eats his meal with bare hands and his American-born children eat with spoons. The environment where one grew up influences our way of life but there is

always a meeting point for coming together as one, like Ashoke sharing a table with his children and eating together.



Figure 4.5. Eating etiquette. Source: Screenshot from the movie *Namesake*

ABCD is another movie that has surprisingly ended the movie in a very unconventional Indian style of ending a movie. Raj breaking off his long arranged engagement with his betrothed Tejal and Nina's character not bending to Indian societal norms and expectations, her resistance, even marrying a non-Indian, and in the way she wants it, is a very strong representation of an independent woman.

Dil Jo Bhi Kahey is also a very diasporic movie but was not responded too well by the audience. The plot of the movie was realistic in its own way. Interracial marriage between the protagonist and non-Indians in a diasporic setting is hardly depicted in Bollywood movies. The movie was rated low for its lack of the typical Bollywood touch.

Mississippi Masala represents another very realistic situation of diasporic lives, which might not be an ideal expectation from mainstream Indian society and many Bollywood filmmakers to attempt such movies. As Meena calls herself a mixed masala,

the movie is very resonating with diasporic lives and living in a mixed ethnic community. The displacement of the family, feeling of betrayal, trauma, as well as nostalgia felt by Meena's father from a country he consider home (Kampala), re-locating, Meena working as a hotel cleaner, and her mother running a liquor shop, all to sustain a livelihood, brings in a very pragmatic picture of diasporic people's dilemma, who are victims of displaced immigrants. Another notable theme of the movie is the presence of prejudice among the immigrant community and color consciousness.

Black, brown, yellow, as long as you are not white, you're colored. All of us people of color must stick together.

The preaching of sticking together as colored people did not stand the test of time when reality struck. The Blacks immigrants were placed under the strata of the Indian immigrants, so Meena's relationship with Demetrius, a Black man considered as bringing shame to their community.

As Demetrius rightly quotes in the movie:

"Racism or as they say nowadays tradition, it's passed down like recipes, now the trick is you got to know what to eat, what to leave on your plate".

Conclusion

Bollywood movies on the Diasporas are mostly focused on the patronizing homeland, idealizing Indian cultures and traditions, upholding those cultures, and trying to inculcate them in the younger generation. The other focus of interest is on the generational cultural clash between the old and the young generation and the need to revive Indian culture and values for the younger generation, who are losing their identity, influenced by the Westerners and Western society.

Through the narrative analysis, I have identified some of the misrepresentations of the west, and the diasporic community, especially women, in the selected Bollywood movies. There are very limited Indian Bollywood movies that portray or address cross-cultural relationships and marriages, even if it is intensifying among the Indian diasporas. Mixed-race marriage and a mixed-race minority within the larger Indian diaspora seemed to be almost invisible in the diasporic movies on Indians. Filmmakers have been making diasporic-centric Bollywood movies according to the expectations of the audience. What is expected has been delivered but as a medium of representation, there is also the need to address realistic issues related to the targeted community.

Indian Cinema in general and Bollywood movies have very limited representation of interracial relationships and mixed-race community of the Indian community and narratives are more diverted towards inter-marriage within the Indian community.

The next chapter will try to locate mixed-race Indians in a larger platform of new media, the Internet.

CHAPTER-5

LOCATING MIXED-RACE INDIANS IN THE NEW MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

With the increasing presence of mixed-race communities, there is also a rising interest in this community voicing out their shared identity, especially in the social media platform or virtual space. This chapter of the study attempts to understand how being mixed-race is expressed and what represents their mixed identity. Stories, interviews, documentaries, and experimental studies shared on social media like Instagram, Facebook, YouTube Vlogs, Blogs websites, and E-magazines are selected, observed, and analyzed.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is an attempted analysis of a collection of published stories on the themes of Indian mixed-race from the web *blog* called *Homegrown* and an audio documentary on mixed-race communities, published in the BBC podcast by Nora Fakim (10th July 2021). The narrations are discussed in sub-themes for a better understanding of the issues addressed.

The Homegrown

The *Homegrown blog* is a digital media publication web blog started by the sister-brother duo Varsha and Varun Patra. The web blog publication is mostly focused on emerging voices, especially youth culture. From March 2017- April 2017 they published a series of four volumes on the theme of mixed-race Indians celebrating their cultural diversity. The main aim was to understand how the multiple cultural influences played into how they see themselves. A total number of 43 mixed-race Indians shared their stories in a series of four volumes, on how they negotiate their identity in a

multicultural family and transnational society and how they identify themselves as being a mixed race.

For the first part of this chapter, I have analyzed these four volumes, a total of 43 stories, and presented them into the following themes:

Physical appearance: The most visible or common trait of being mixed-race is the unique physical features, an amalgamation of multi-racial looks. Most of the mixed-race children shared in their stories about mistaken identity and being on the receiving ends of racial slurs and stereotyping because of their physical appearance and different racial color. Their facial appearance and color on occasion also become the deciding factor of whether one will fit into the community or not. For instance, if they inherit more of the Indian genetics and look more Indian in facial appearance and skin color, they blend in easier into the Indian society but looking different than the mainstream Indians can often be led to being labeled as an outsider. Vice versa they are often challenged to prove their identity and negotiate their identity accordingly to the societal environment. Their facial appearance and skin color often make them either blend into the fold or stand out as the others. Some of them also shared experiences of situations where looking different than the general population has its own advantages and disadvantages because the response of mistaken identity often ends up in the most unexpected turns of events.

Language: In their stories, many shared the importance of language, and how it functions as a balancing mechanism between the multicultural aspects of the relations. Being mixed-race and multi-lingual have the advantage of blending more easily into any setting, switching from one to the other as per the situation, environment, or role required. On the other hand, language barriers in communication can cause further cultural exclusiveness rather than bridging the relationships.

Food: Food plays the most important role in identifying and representing a mixed-race family or community. Most of the mixed-race individuals shared their love for different food and cuisines of their multi-cultural families. They shared fond memories related to food from both or all sides of their mixed culture families, from spicy Indian food to more western and continental cuisines. To them, the fusion of food represents their mixed identity and through it, they often identify their mixed self.

Sense of Belonging: In most of their stories, the younger mixed-race Indians prefer to identify themselves as belonging to both or all the mixed cultures of what they are part of rather than choosing one. In their opinion, they can never fully belong or identify themselves to just one race. They prefer to be transnational in their identity as well. And when it comes to cultural affiliation, whilst some of the younger generations have a more cultural attachment to their state or country of settlement than their mixed cultural heritage, there is also a visible group of them who have cultural sentiments with their mixed heritage and many are making more efforts to learn about their different multi-cultures.

The Mixed Beat

The Mixed Beat is an audio documentary on the BBC, produced by Nora Fakim. The fifty minutes documentary brings in some interesting stories on mixed-race parents creating a diverse cultural space in bringing up their second-generation mixed-race children and the changes over the generation. Nora, a mixed race herself, believes that things are changing for the mixed race communities from what it was like when she was growing up. In the millennium society, one can see a more open discussion and celebration of what it means to be a mixed race.

Natalie Morris, the author of the book *Mixed/other*, also shares her opinion in the documentary that many mixed-race people struggle to find where they belong and

feel too much of one thing or not enough of another. She also talks about the binary and limited understanding of what it means to be mixed in a mainstream conversation, which is either black and white or white mixed with another. From most mainstream people's perception, there is only one way to be mixed, though being mixed is actually so much more.

The notion of Whiteness

The debate further ponders on how many assume being mixed-race is related to whiteness by default, and how the existence of their being mixed race without any white heritage with minority ethnicity or heritage is often overlooked. The privileges of being born white in a mixed marriage and more challenges if one is born colored also hold great differences according to the second generation mixed-race.

One interviewee says, "you are more accepted when you are white, less accepted, and placed more in a minority group when you are less white or don't look white".

Another one says: "I am very conscious about any privileges as a mixed person. Being having lighter skin, or hair which may be determined as good hair because there are a lot of existing prejudices, especially for people with dark skin".

Where do I fit in?

Growing up as mixed-race, there is also one common problem that many interviewees faced and shared, and that is the confusion and questioning of self-identity; who, which, and where do I belong?

A Yemeni/Canadian and Pakistani mixed says that he is considered too Western to be Eastern and too Eastern to be Westerner but he is fortunate to have parents who provided a familial environment where there is space for each and every culture.

Another interviewee says, "In Britain, people always want to pinpoint, put you in a box of where you are from, what you are. They don't like not knowing".

There is also a contrasting experience on the flip side of one interviewee, who is Black-White and Asian mixed. He says that since he inherited more of his white heritage, the Black side of his family considers him too white to be black.

A journalist and a writer, who wants to create a meet-up space for mixed-race, says that she wanted to create a space for mixed-race, where they could talk about their experiences and write about those experiences in a creative way, which can also be therapeutic. A space where they can explore their mixed-ness more and connect with other mixed-race people, hear more about their experiences.

When asked about the advantages of being mixed race, an interviewee says that she is like a chameleon. She changes how she talks, behaves, and presents in accordance with how she can fit herself into the given spaces. But when it comes to her own self-identity, she states that she is her own strong individual self; she is many things, and being mixed race is just a part of who she is.

Mixed-race parents on raising their mixed children

From the mixed race parents' perspective, one says that it is important to raise your child to understand their cultures; whether it is one side or the other side, the child needs to understand both or all sides of the mixed cultures. She also opines that if more and more mixed-race families open up enough with their children about exploring their mixed-ness, and raise them in a way that accepts both or all sides of their cultural identities, it will shape them to understand what makes them who they are.

Another parent is emphasizing the importance of language/s. She is teaching her son all the languages of his mixed cultures so that when he grows up he can be in a

space where he feels able to be fully identified as a mixed all cultures that he is mixed of. Here, language has become an empowering attribute to fit into many cultures.

But at the same time, parents also have a concern about how things will be for their children when they grow up. One first-generation mixed-race parent shares his fear of his child being victimized by police stereotyping and questioning identity and street violence that he faced as an innocent mixed-race teenage. He emphasized the point that being mixed, looking different, and being male makes them an easier target of being victimized or bullied.

One father says, his children will be most likely considered whites because they inherited their mother's white fairness, but then again, their surname *Khan*, which they inherited from him changes almost everything about their identity. It is to be noted that one's name or surname also becomes an important marker or representation of one's identity. In many Western societies, *Islamophobia* has made Muslims victims of suspected terrorism and the surname *Khan* has become a stereotypical tool of bullying even for younger generations of the community. Since the 9/11 attacks in the U.S. by terrorists, westerners have developed more hostility towards the Muslim immigrant community and are often mistreated with suspicion.

Another mother shares a similar fear saying, 'it's scary because you want to raise your kids to be free and to express themselves, dress how they want to, just be who they want to be but then it's like be who you want to be but within these perimeters'.

The mixed-race parents feel that racism in Britain over the generation is changing, it has lessened even, though it still very much exists. With the growing mixed-race population, there is also more awareness and acceptance. One parent adds that her child, being part of the present generation of the technological era, has more

advantages. Modern technology such as Internet has enabled them to navigate and connect with more people of the mixed-race community, where a new space of people with similar backgrounds has formed.

This documentary on mixed-race shows how mixed-race parents are raising their mixed children in an ethnically diverse society, nurturing them to accept that varied identities and cultures. They want their children to be comfortable with their skin color, the texture of their hair, their accent, and whatever makes them different from the mainstream and still maintain a balance between all the cultures. It explores the changing racial boundaries and their meaning across generations, how the younger generation is more vocal and brave to accept their mixed-ness. Growing up in a mixed-race family, the present generation is far more accepting of their mixed-ness. They prefer not to identify themselves solely to any particular culture or culture but it can be observed that they want to embrace the multi-cultures and just be identified as mixed.

In recent years there have been growing numbers of interracial couples as well as mixed-race community group accounts on social media like Web Blogs, YouTube Vlogs, and Instagram. These web pages and accounts show how social media is becoming a favored and targeted platform for minority communities like the mixed-race community to connect people of shared interest.

The Blindian Project

The Blindian project is another web blog that is gaining rising recognition on social media platform among the colored community. It is a community created with the aim to normalize Black-Brown relationships and dismantle anti-Blackness and Indophobia in the communities (<https://www.blindian-project.com/about>).

Text Analysis using Voyant Tools

Introduction

The development of technologies and advanced computer information tools have enabled the possibility to carry out research and experiments through Artificial Intelligence (AI) means of analyzing text or data collected for academic research. It serves as a convenient method to identify themes of importance and highlight its correlations in interpreting the data from different perspectives, whether it be social, cultural, emotional, psychological, or economic and political aspects. It helps in reflecting even the minute facts, which might otherwise be overlooked, if not for the accuracy of the result generated from the automated digital tool. One such application is the Voyant Tools, a web-based open-source analytical tool for text reading and analyzing, which can be used to interpret a content text. There are about 28 analytic tools available at present. The options of the tools are categorized into:

i) Corpus Tools, ii) Document tools, iii) Visualization, iv) Grid tools, and v) Other tools.

The second part of this chapter is text analysis, using Voyant tools, of selected stories of mixed-race people of Indian descent. The data are collected from an online web blog organization called *Mixedracefaces* (<https://mixedracefaces.com/what-we-do>) which aims to raise awareness of the growing population of mixed-race people around the world, both in communities and organizations. This web blog publishes stories from people of different mixed heritage backgrounds. For this analysis study, I have selected the stories of mixed-race people who have mixed Indian heritage. The aim is to draw an understanding of how they view being mixed in today's multicultural society. I have selected a total of 76 stories published from the year 2018 to 2022.

Text analysis is the study or research method of interpretation of electronic available texts with assisted computer tools. The use of this computer-assisted text analysis is to help in the analysis and interpret large text instead of the normal reading method. The advantages of using text analysis as described by Sinclair and Rockwell are:

- Text analysis text systems can search large texts quickly: instead of reading through the entire text, text analysis prepares electronic indexes for the text.
- Text analysis systems can conduct complex searches: by allowing the option to search a list of words or co-occurrence of two words, it makes the analysis less complicated.
- Text analysis system can present the results in ways that suit the study of texts: the different ways of displaying result from the word context gives the study a better interpretative understanding (ed. Hirsch, 2012, pp, 243).

Brief Overview

For this part of the study in this chapter, I have selected 76 stories from a web blog called *Mixedracefaces*, an open online domain, a storytelling platform, and a diversity hub for the mixed-race community. From the stories published, I have identified the stories of the people who are mixed Indians. A total of 76 mixed-race Indians were identified and chosen for the content analysis using Voyant tools (Sinclair & Rockwell, 2016). The computer-assisted text analysis tool will help in extracting and generating the important keywords frequented, themes, topics, and linked collocations for the study.

Since name and age are not specified in the stories, I have tried to specify the mixed generation of the narrators, that is, either they are the first generation mixed in the family or are the second generation of mixed parents. Shown in Table.5 below shows the percentage of the two categories. In terms of percentage, 67% of them are first-generation mixed-race and the rest 33% are second-generation mixed-race. This generation profile is grouped to observe later in the study any possible distinction between the two groups. The first generations are subjects/narrators who are mixed of two cultures only, one Indian and one non-Indian parent. The second generations are those whose parents were also mixed, that is, the subjects are mixed or more than three or more cultures and have a descent parent in this case.

Table 5.1 Generation profile

Variables	Percentage	Total
First Generation Mixed-race	67	100
Second Generation Mixed-race	33	

The analyzing Voyant tools applied for the study are Dreamscape, Cirrus word cloud, Terms, Summary, Links collocates graph, Contexts, and Topics.

Dreamscape

The Dreamscape in Figure 5.1 shows the geospatial. It identifies the locations or countries mentioned in the text. The arcs connecting the places show the pattern of migration from one place to another. The circles in the geo map represent the place, city, and country mentioned in the text. The start of the arc represents the state or

country where the individual or his/her ancestry originated and the arrow end of the arc indicates where they migrated to.

The arcs show that the majority of the mixed-race Indians who shared their stories resided in UK and U.S and the Indian states mentioned and represented in the text are Chennai, Mumbai, Bangalore, Mumbai, Kolkata, New Delhi, Darjeeling, Amritsar, and Jalandhar. A click on the arc line also shows the origin and destination as well as the details of the occurrence mentioned in the text, for example, a click on the arc line from Mumbai to London gives the connection details that Mr. X was born in Mumbai...met his wife Mrs. Y in London, where they were both working at the same company.

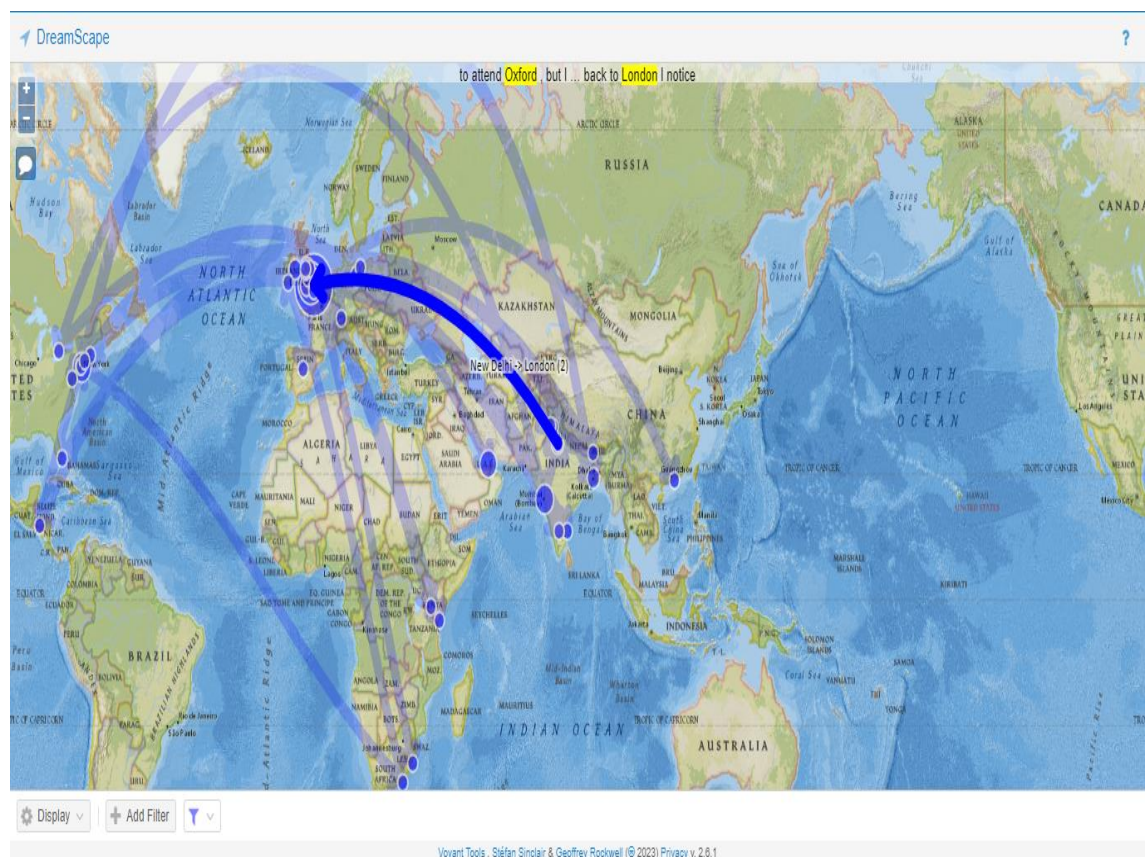


Figure 5.1. Dreamscape

Cirrus word cloud and Terms tools

Cirrus Word Cloud, the visualization words cloud displays a distribution of words in different sizes. The right side of Figure 5.2 below shows the visualization of the frequency of words most mentioned in the stories. On the left side of the figure is the count of the terms with the highest frequency.

Cirrus word is one of the most commonly used word clouds of the Voyant Tools, which generates a graph of the highest-frequency words used in the entire text. The most frequent words are sized larger than the less frequent words. The colors and font in the cirrus hold no importance to the content of the document. In the graph, words that are placed or seen together suggest related themes.

Here the terms, 'people', 'Indian', 'mixed', 'race', 'think', 'like' 'feel' 'family', and, 'different', are shown in the word cloud visualization graph which is much bigger in size than the others, validate the most frequent of terms/ words in the text content.

The word count from the term tools is also given on the right side attached to the cirrus word cloud. The count is the number of times the term has been said or mentioned in the text. The summary of the corpus is attached below in Table 5.1 which shows the total word count of the document, unique word forms, the vocabulary density, readability index, average words per sentence, and the most frequent words in the corpus. The summary and the term tools result shows that the term 'people' tops the highest count of 264 in the document, followed by 'Indian' (256), 'mixed' (255), and so on.

Topics Tool

The topics tool of Voyant tool generates clusters of terms from the document and brings out topics and how they are distributed. It helps to understand or generate what topics exist in the document content. Each row in Figure 5.3. displays 10 words each and the number of rows corresponds to the number of topics. The algorithm score on the right side shows the mobility (upward or static) prevailing topic in the document.

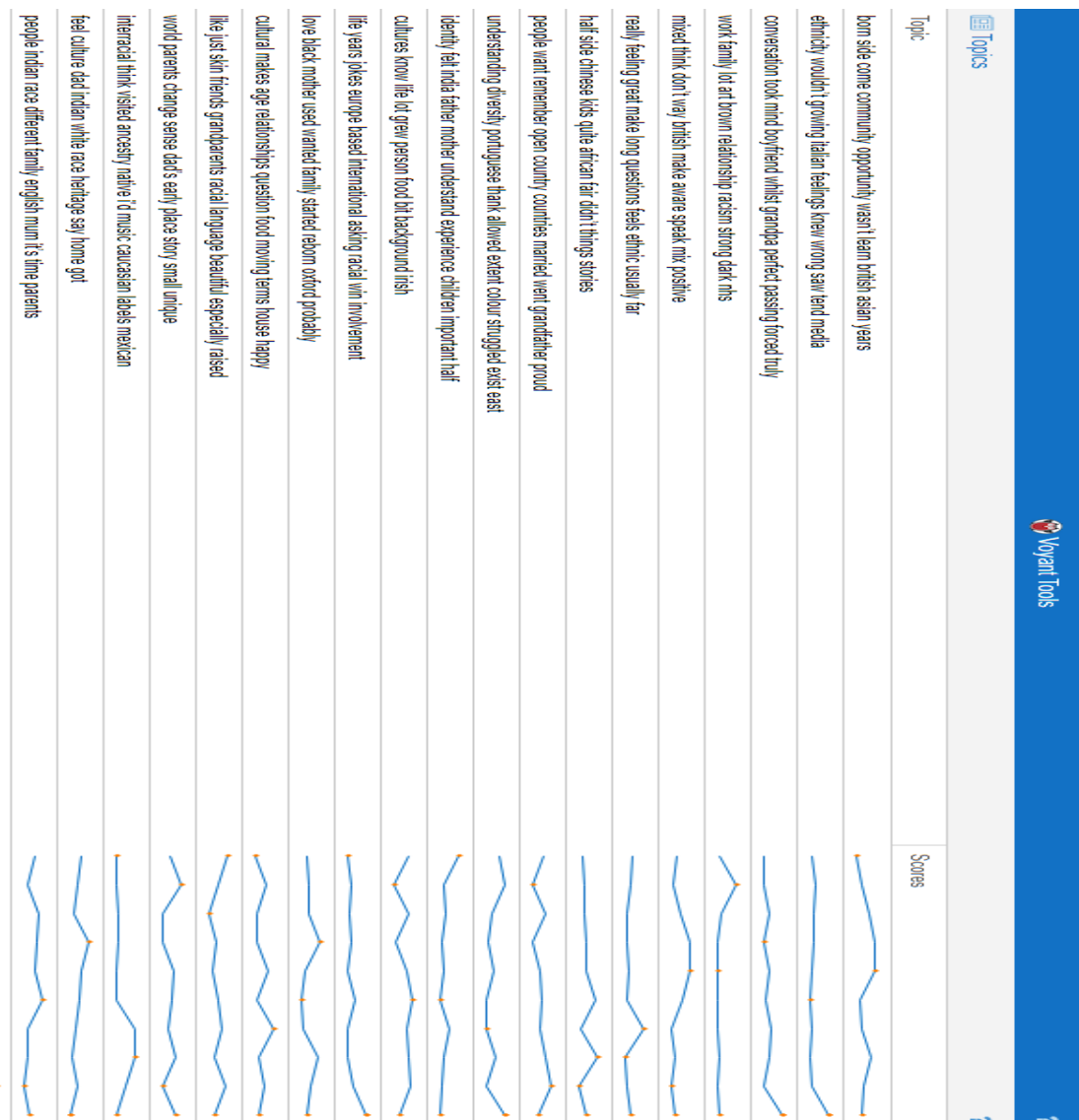


Figure 5.4. Topics tool

Links Collocates Graph

The link/collocate graph presents a network graph, which shows the keywords that are linked to collocates. Figure 5.4a-5.4d shows keywords linked to the collocates, for instance, in the first figure, the word people here is linked with mixed, culture, race, think, other, color, and so on but the word people is not seen linked to born, British, parents mother and so on. This indicates that the word 'people' is more closely associated with the linked collocates in their narrations, as it is with the words 'mixed', 'Indian', and 'race' in the other figures.

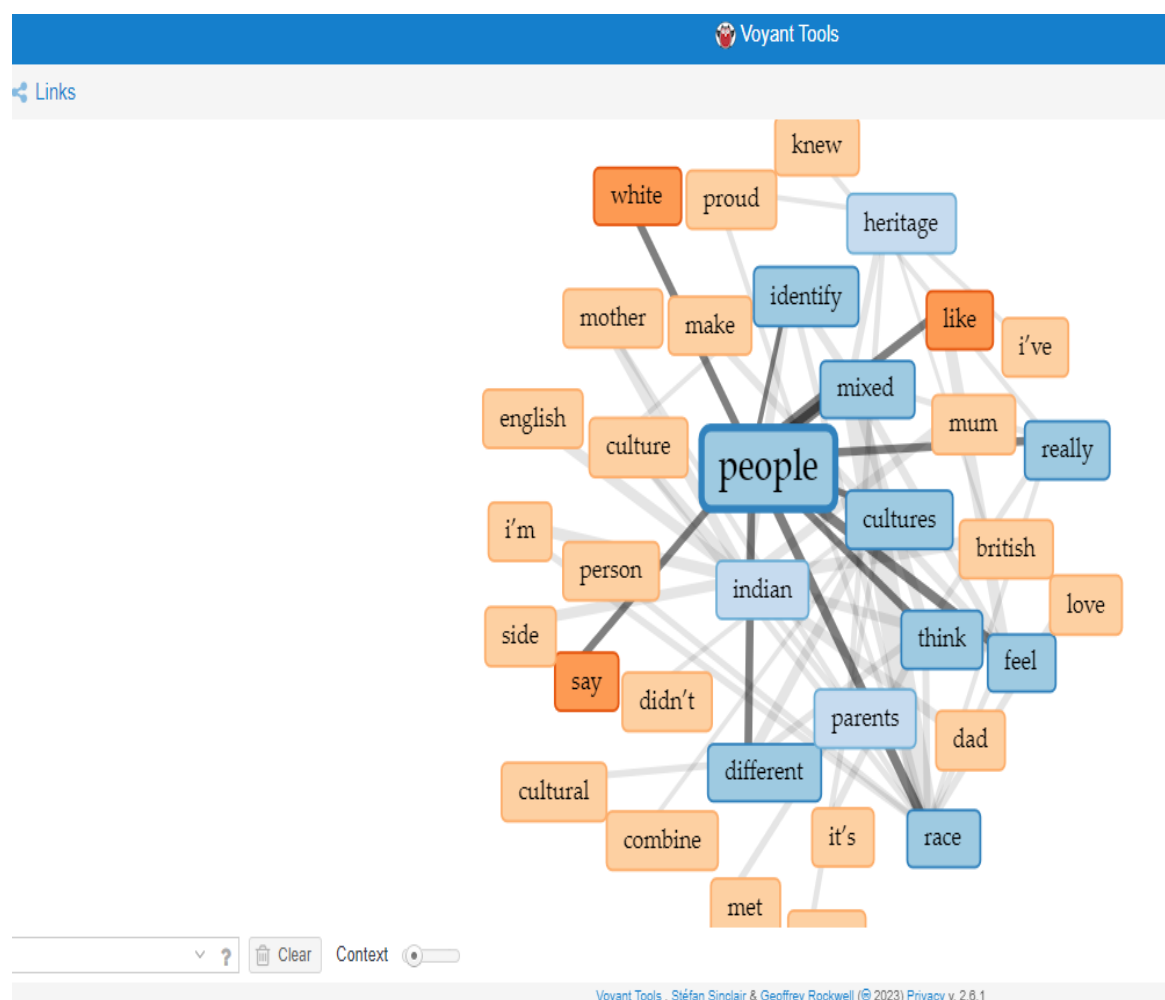


Figure 5.5a. Links

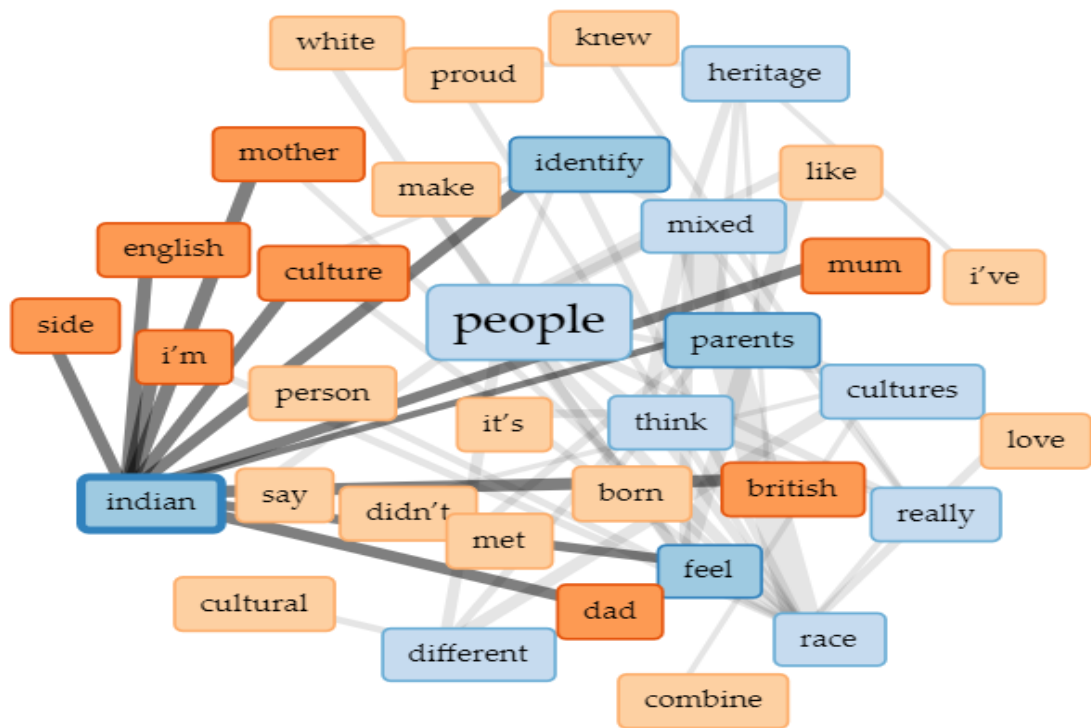


Figure 5.5b. Links

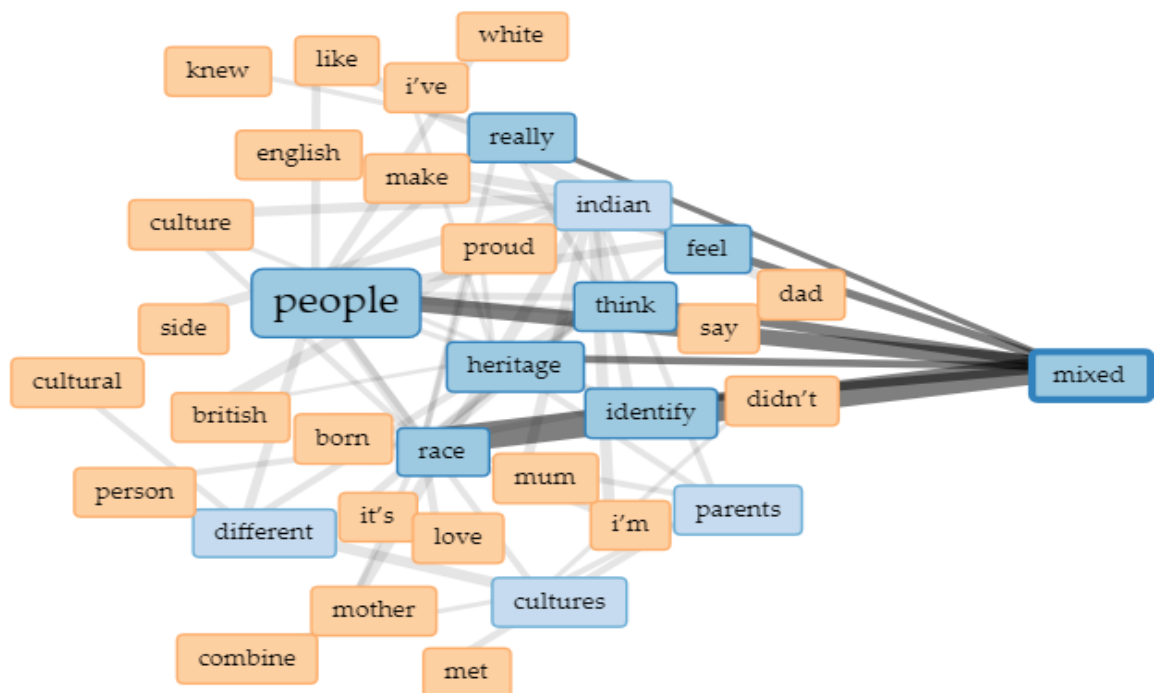


Figure 5.5c. Links

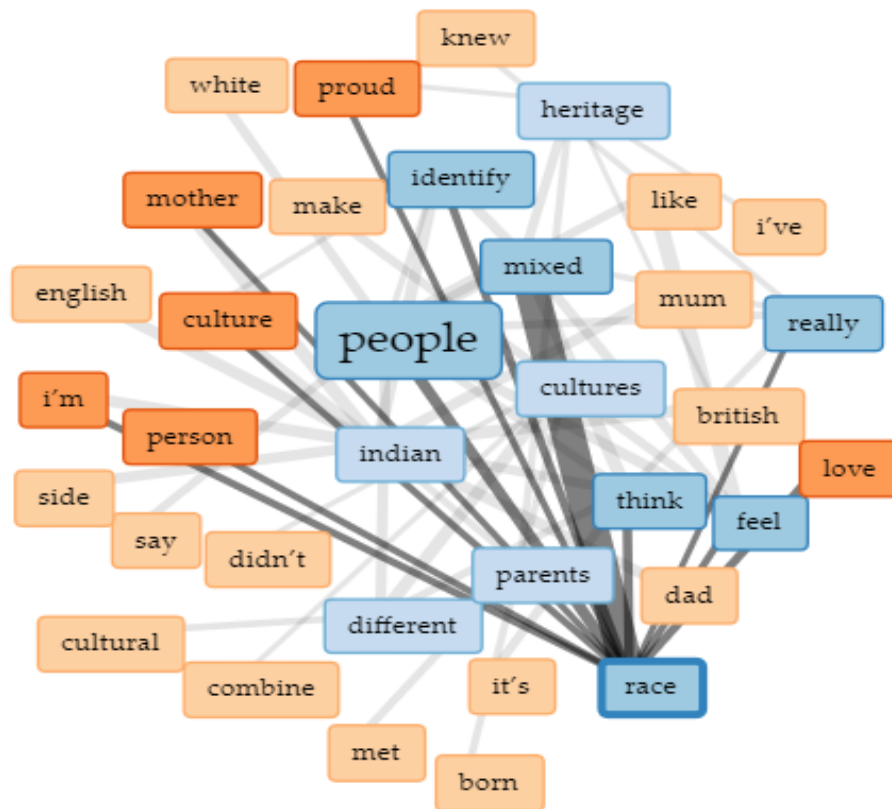
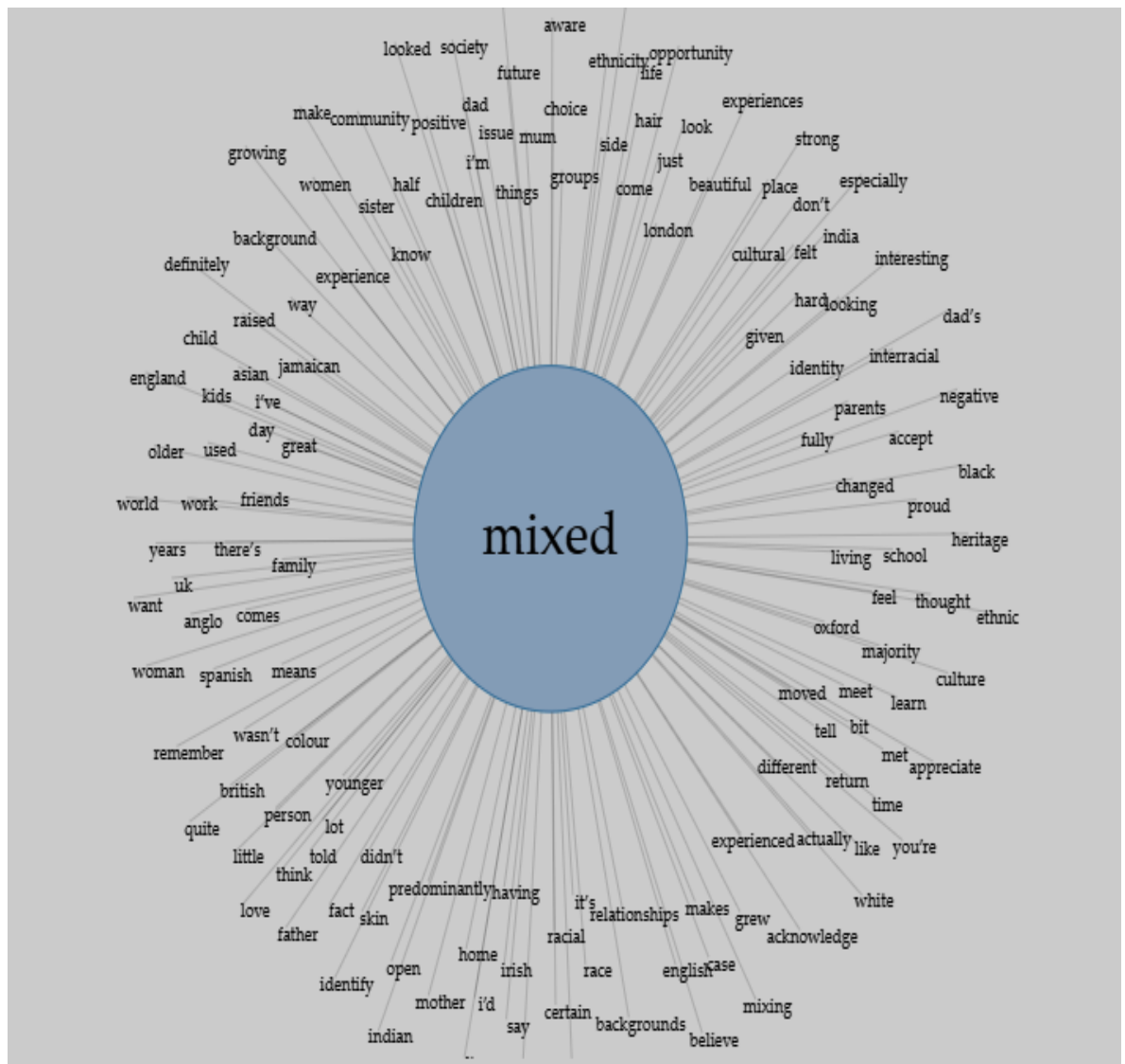


Figure 5. 5d. Links

Another sub-generating tool within the link tool is the centralized tool, which generates all the words in the text that surrounds the centralized word as shown in Figure. 5.4e in terms of the 'mixed'. Figure shows linking lines surrounding the word 'mixed' and each line displays words related to the term mixed. The words falling in the same line have been correlated, which will help in interpreting the context. For example, in a line, two words, 'skin' and 'identity' is shown. Here it can be assumed that for many mixed-race people skin color holds a deciding factor to identify which side of the parent or cultural feature he/she inherited.



to the document 'mixed-race' either by the context on the left or the context on the right.

For example, in Fig. 5.5a the first line in the columns reads:

Mixed-race (document)- I don't want to give (left)- people (term)- another reason to not understand (right).

The keyword 'people' is either the document 'mixed-race' or vice-versa in reference to either of the contexts. The generating analysis result of the above line shows as:

"I don't want to give '*people*' another reason to not understand"

Here, the keyword is moving from the right context towards the direction of the left context in reference to the document *mixed-race*.

However, the text analysis in the context of Figure 5.5b shows the keyword as the document moving from the left context toward the right. Here, the keynote (people) is the document (mixed-race) in the context. But Figure 5.5c again shows the keyword moving in the other direction of Figure. 5.5b.

Contexts			
Document	Left	Term	Right
MixedR...	I don't want to give pe... another reason to not understand my sexuality and my ethnicity. I apply the same logic to both. If someone asks I'll tell them. I'm worried about being the elephant in the room, whilst I don't want to deviate from the norm, being gay in a heterosexual society is hard enough. I don't want to give people another reason to not understand me. Growing up, I was always much closer to the Indian side of my family. My Grandparents were a vital part of my upbringing and for them Diwali and Jain festivals were culturally very important. We celebrated Christmas with all the trimmings, but Boxing Day was		
MixedR...	speaks the language. I think	pe...	hold me in high regard
MixedR...	older. I've realised very few	pe...	understand this and always feel
MixedR...	affinity to other mixed-race	pe...	. Yes, I'm proud of being
MixedR...	up so closely echoed mine.	pe...	rarely expect me to be
MixedR...	like an exotic plaything for	pe...	, never quite acceptable... As I
MixedR...	There's a fetishization of mixed	pe...	in our society, because we're
MixedR...	it. Finding other queer, mixed	pe...	and queer people of colour
MixedR...	queer, mixed people and queer	pe...	of colour has been a
MixedR...	been labelled as mixed-race.	pe...	normally assume that I'm one
MixedR...	situation. Never deliberately, but many	pe...	assume that I am White
MixedR...	I don't want to make	pe...	feel awkward about having their
MixedR...	my identity is invisible or	pe...	want to know exactly my

Figure5.6a.Context Analysis

Left	Term	Right
I don't want to give	pe...	another reason to not understand
speaking the language. I think	pe...	hold me in high regard
older, I've realised very few	pe...	understand this and always feel
affinity to other mixed-race	pe...	. Yes, I'm proud of being
up so closely echoed mine.	pe...	rarely expect me to be
like an exotic plaything for	pe...	, never quite acceptable... As I
There's a fetishization of mixed	pe...	in our society, because we're
it. Finding other queer, mixed	pe...	and queer people of colour
queer, mixed people and queer	pe...	of colour has been a
been labelled as mixed-race,	pe...	normally assume that I'm one
situation. Never deliberately, but many	pe...	assume that I am White
I don't want to make	pe...	feel awkward about having their
my identity is invisible or	pe...	want to know exactly my

Figure 5.6b Context Analysis

Left	Term	Right
talk to other mixed-race	pe...	about identity because they tend
to either Indian or English	pe...	about identity gets almost nowhere
I've become and connect with	pe...	like me who are also
not only myself, but other	pe...	around me and most importantly
internal identity rather than something	pe...	will recognise in you. My
loner, so being away from	pe...	during the pandemic hasn't bothered
in. I'm excited to tell	pe...	where I'm from and I
sometimes feel inequality around the	pe...	I shoot. I work with
about my experiences was other	pe...	telling me how to feel
me how to feel. Other	pe...	tell me that they didn't
I understand the first thing	pe...	see is how you appear
is dark. Colour prejudice against	pe...	with dark skin is common
of closeted LGBTs amongst Indian	pe...	is very high. The hidden
not the case for most	pe...	who have had mixed marriages
that they want to put	pe...	back in boxes again and

Figure 5.6c Context Analysis

Discussion of the results generated from Voyant tools

Out of the 28 analytic tools options available, I selected five tools best suitable for generating the result. The tools used are Cirrus Word Cloud, Dreamscape, Links, Context, and Topics tools. For accuracy, the topics, contexts, and linked word results generated from the tools have been re-examined from the main text.

The Dreamscape tools gave a geospatial mapping of the countries and states mentioned in the document. It displays the detailing of the origin and destinations of the migration route through the arcs lines on the dreamscape when it is specifically pointed. Moving on to the next tool is the Cirrus word cloud.

The Cirrus word cloud has generated a visualized display of the most frequently mentioned words or terms in the document. The terms people, Indian, mixed, race, think, like, feel, family, different, and white are the keywords that have been frequently mentioned. These are the keywords of the documents which can help understand the main themes of the document.

Terms, such as people, Indian, mixed, race, and family shows a cultural and community aspect of the document. Whereas terms like think, like, feel, and different indicate an emotional and opined outlook or approach. The term white is identity and color related when it comes to the issue of race and mixed race.

The topics tools identified the terms like people, family, community, media, mixed, think, feel, ethnic, white, race, identity, challenge, racial, question, didn't, and parents, which appear to be the main topics in the documents according to the upward spike of the algorithm. The topic results here are somewhat allying with the terms generated in the earlier tools.

The links tools, which generate collocates show the words which are linked to the terms and give help in understanding and getting a better idea of the used in the text.

In the context tools, the keyword 'people' gives an indicative idea to help understand the different contexts of the text. The term *mixed* is where the keyword *people* and the context surrounding the keywords occur as shown in Figure 5.5.

Following is the overall theme interpretation of the content analysis. Here, both the term 'subject' and 'narrator' will be used interchangeably about the persons who shared their stories.

Question of Identity

Most of the narrators have shared that people usually assumptions about them and their identity according to how they look or the color of their skin. They say people are more curious about their identity and easily make their own judgments about them. They said as mixed race, people want to know who and where exactly they are from, they want to place themselves somewhere they can understand. For most people, being mixed-race is understood in the binary of black/white/brown and not a mix of more than two cultures. Many of them addressed the problem that many people just want to put them in a box, where it is convenient for them to put a name to their identity.

Color conscious society

Narrators have challenged that racial prejudice on the ground of color and appearance is still very much prevalent and they think there is still a long way to tackle racial inequality in society. People often make them more conscious of their skin color than they feel about themselves. Some subjects have shared how growing up as mixed and colored, they were often been made feel different, confused, and questioned their identity by people.

Some have also shared the privilege of being white, where people have lesser chances of questioning identity, as against mixed people who are colored and often being questioned. But there are also a few stories where subjects have stated that being white in a colored community can also put a mixed person in an unexpected position, where he/she felt different and excluded. This indicates how appearance and color affect whether a mixed person will be accepted, excluded, or placed in a dilemma between different cultures.

Being mixed-Indian

Most of the narrators have stated of being proud of their mixed-Indian identity. More than half of the total narrators as shown in Table.5.1 are first-generation mixed-race Indians and the rest are second-generation mixed-race Indians. However, most of these mixed-race Indians have shared very limited affinity to India, its culture, and the Indian community as a whole. Their Indian affiliation is mostly immediate family and memories of their grandparents.

Food: Indian food and food-related memories with grandparents have been mentioned by many subjects. Their love for Indian food and food preparations at home with parents and grandparents has been mentioned. Few have mentioned Indian festivals, occasional cultural events, and weddings to be the few instances they have experienced Indian culture and food.

Language: One of the main problems that I have observed as a fracture between mixed cultures is language. Many of the narrators have admitted to situations where they feel left out or feel disconnected because of language barriers. Growing up in a multicultural society and having parents of different cultures, English has been the language and the medium of communication in most mixed-race families. Many have stated that they never picked up any language of their parents as English was understood and spoken by all in the family. Some of the subjects have also stated that even though the Indian parent converse with their own Indian family, relatives, and community in their language, they didn't feel the need to teach their children the Indian language.

Appearance and color: As a mixed child, inheriting mixed features also makes them look different and stand out from the Indian side of the family. According to some

narrators, they blend in better with the Indian side of their family if they look more Indian, have an Indian skin tone, and can speak and understand the Indian language.

Being a mixed

Though few have expressed confusion, struggle, and challenges regarding their identity, most of the narrators have shown an optimistic affirmation of being the pride of their mixed-ness; they feel lucky to be mixed and wouldn't want to change it otherwise. Some opined that being mixed gives them the advantage to define themselves and choose their own identity.

They feel that being mixed makes them appreciate other cultures and respect them more, relate, adjust and understand other cultures better, enabling them to blend better in a diverse space.

Mixed-race community

With the growing numbers of mixed-race people, they have also shared how through media they are connecting to people of similar identities. Some narrators stated that they feel more comfortable and easier to talk to people who are also mixed about their identity because they can relate to one another and have a shared affinity, even though they are from different cultural backgrounds. They also think they are more accepting of interracial relationships and marriages because of their background as a mixed race.

They all shared the view that with the growing number of mixed-race people, they hope for a bigger platform for the community which is inclusive and accepting and where they are made to feel connected.

Being the third culture kid

A third culture kid is someone who is raised in a society or culture other than their parent's culture. Some narrators consider themselves to be third-culture kids because they were born in a society in which he/she is not actually origin but grew up in the culture of that society and not of his/her parents' cultures. Growing up as a third culture kid, most of the narrators prefer to be identified as mixed than be labeled as half.

Sense of belonging

Being mixed-race, many subjects have opined that they don't belong or fit in a particular culture or identity of their parents. Even though they feel lucky to grow up in a multicultural family and feel privileged to enjoy both cultures, they also feel they don't belong to one particular culture. Some even think they become like a person who has imposter syndrome; experiencing self-doubt about their identity because they are everywhere but don't feel they fit in or belong anywhere.

Being Mixed and queer

One narrator shared concern about being mixed and gay in a heterosexual society, where people are still very fast to judge, and having more than one identity becomes a complicated issue. On the other hand, a queer member feels that finding queer and queer of colored people had been like finding one's own community of belonging. A similar view is shared by another member that is out as bisexual, the mixed-race community helps to feel connected.

Stereotyping

Some narrators have expressed their aversion towards people stereotyping them as exotic for their mixed looks and complexion. Another went on to add that some people even fetishism about mixed people. The concern of sexualizing and exotification of mixed look faces is also expressed.

. Conclusion

The content analysis shows that most of the narrators are proud of being mixed-race. Although they appreciate and acknowledge the many cultures that make them mixed, they prefer to be identified as mixed-race and not be labeled half of any boxed identity the society has constructed.

Growing up mixed they feel that it is society and people who try to label them, make assumptions, and draw their own conclusion about their mixed identity. Society is not color blind and is still very color conscious. But they look forward to the future as more tolerant and accepting of the mixed-race community as societies are becoming more multicultural.

Social media platforms are creating a space for them to connect to people who share similar experiences and identities. The creation of such space in the virtual media is receiving an encouraging response from mixed-race people, at the same time giving them the space to build a network and a community to locate their identity. So, with the growing population of mixed-race people, they also hope for a bigger platform for their minority community.

The web blogs, Instagram pages, and social media platform like YouTube that I have examined in this study had been surprisingly informative and the response of the viewers on these platforms also indicate a progressive initiative to form more space for any minority community.

CHAPTER-6

CONCLUSION

The complexity to provide a conclusive assertion on the concept and perception of where the mixed-race ethnic community can be fundamentally recognized or defined is still inequitable. But the increasing population of the mixed-race community in any multicultural society is evident that this community has resisted racial boundaries and is embracing and creating their own space, where they have the liberty to choose who they identify themselves with rather than being labelled and boxed. It is perceptible that with interracial marriages becoming more tolerant, the population of mixed race will continue to grow.

The most significant case history of aversion towards interracial relationships and miscegenation was witnessed from one of the most dominant nations, the Americans. The social construction of racial hierarchy instigated the notion of there being a superiority and inferiority of race based on color and race. Yet today, the mixed-race community is one of the fastest-growing ethnic communities in American society.

Today, American society has become one of the most significant multicultural societies, hosting a major percent of the world's diasporic community's population, post the dawn of globalization and transnationalism. The United Nations International Migration Highlights 2020 reports the US as the largest country of destination of international migrants with 51 million, estimated as 18 percent of the world's total migrants. The Indian diaspora with a population of 18 million people (2020) stands as the largest diaspora community in the world, with the largest number of its population residing in the UAE, the US, and Saudi Arabia.

Globalization, transnationalism, and multiculturalism have also redefined and reshaped the marginality and affiliation of the Diasporas as well the homeland perspective on interracial and cross-cultural amalgamation. Acceptance and integration of different ethnic cultures have become more tolerant. However, it wouldn't be accurate to state that racial discrimination and racial hierarchy or the categorizing of the other ethnic group has been overcome. The notion of racial hierarchy and color consciousness has long been seeded in the conscious or subconscious thoughts of many that the mixed-race ethnic group will one way or another encounter the question of identity.

Indian Diaspora with its increasing population is also witnessing an increasing number of interracial marriages and mixed-race children as well. The notable presence of the Anglo-Indians, the oldest mixed-race community of Indian origin, draws a significant role when it comes to the study of mixed-race Indians. In the 21st Century, the popular population of Anglo-Indians is more established in countries like the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. However, with the increasing number of mixed-race populations questions of identity and negotiating two or multiple identities will continue to create dilemmas for these groups of society.

Examining the Anglo-Indian as a mixed-race ethnic group, this work has tried to comprehend how under diverse circumstances people of mixed race are positioned in a perplexing state for being different from the other or being considered as the other. The multicultural societies of today are witnessing a shift in approach and outlook on the subject matter related to mixed race and their identity. In the case of the Anglo-Indians, although the present generation of the Anglo-Indians acknowledges their Indian and British lineage, they identify themselves and their home as belonging more to the

country or state where they are settled or where most of their families and relatives are settled.

The popular culture of cinema is considered to be one of the driving mechanisms representing the Indian and the Indian Diasporic community today. However, there is a need to address more realistic cinema from the Indian film industry on social issues relevant to the under-represented minority of the community. Interracial relationships and marriages, and the mixed generations, a growing group within the fold of the Indian society and Indian diaspora also need to be represented in the Indian cinema.

The mixed-race community in the 21st century is moving towards creating a space and community, where they want to be recognized and identified as they are, mixed-race. They are creating their space in the New Media, Internet, a platform where they can reach out to people who share the same interest, and identity, and wants to share their stories and experiences. The connecting network across the globe through the new media is taking a new paradigm of creating an integrated futuristic mixed-race identity.

The 21st Century mixed-race of Indian descent who shared their stories finds a similar ground of being mixed with how the Anglo-Indians reflected their identity. They want to be identified as they are. The Anglo- Indians as they are and the Mixed-race as they are, mixed.

The new universalism is a term that has recently been used to signify the expansion of a third cultural space as a result of hybridization and shared cultural annihilation in the post-colonial cultural understanding of globalization and multiculturalism.

The future study can focus on mixed race in the 21st Century, especially on the Anglo-Indian community in India and overseas. Many older generations of the AIs have expressed concern over the fading identity of the Anglo-Indian community. Hence, documenting their memoirs and accounts of these AI generations will be a significant focus for research studies on the Indian mixed race. The emerging mixed-race community and interracial family vlogs on social media like YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, and other social media platforms can also be an approach to studying mixed identities and the generational outlook on race-mixing.

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