Anglo-Indian Returnees: Reverse Migration to Goa[1]

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The Anglo-Indian community is a culturally hybrid Indian minority of colonial origin, whose members are English-speaking, Christian, urban dwelling and traditionally employed in government services such as the Indian railways. In the almost seventy years since India gained its independence from Britain Anglo-Indians have migrated in large numbers, mainly to English-speaking Commonwealth countries. There has been no notable trend of remittances or of reverse migration, as occurs with many other diasporic communities. Based on ethnographic research in the State of Goa, India, a new migration story is emerging, one of Anglo-Indians returning to India mainly or primarily for economic reasons. Some were struggling financially in their adopted countries for both personal and recent systemic reasons, while others who were quite economically comfortable have capitalised on the global north to south differential and exchanged comfortable for luxurious living. In contrast to other migrations their returns fit more closely with those 'later life' migrants (however they are termed) whose motives are mainly for improved climate and lifestyle. In the case of Anglo-Indians, there is the added appeal of an identity fit, in combination with the ethnic capital to make it achievable.
Keywords: Anglo-Indian, Diaspora, Return Migration, Goa, Capitals

Introduction

This article draws on data from a project which explores the situation for Anglo-Indians, a minority Indian community, in 'small towns' of India. Members of the community live in many parts of India and their situation is impacted by the socio-cultural, economic and political situations of the different towns, cities and states they reside in. The state of Goa, which is featured in this article, has a particular history and contemporary situation which Anglo-Indians respond to in a unique way.

The situation I describe adds to the literature on migration, return migration in particular, with Anglo-Indian experiences and decisions differing from most other return migration situations. A key distinction is that while these migrants are returning to the country of their birth they are not, for various reasons, returning to a familiar home. They are moving to better their prospects in their later years in the same ways that others do; one thinks, for example, of the wealthy migrants described by Prato (2016). Significantly, it is also an example of global North to South migration that is being seen in other parts of the world and that is reversing an earlier trend which saw the direction of migration flowing almost exclusively from the global South to the North. Another feature of this return migration situation is that it draws on a number of 'capitals' (in the Bourdieuian sense) in unique ways: 1) Having lived in the west for many years, they have often accrued economic capital; 2) their experiences abroad are transferred into forms of social capital on their return to India; and 3) another type of capital, which I have called ethnic or birth-country capital, also factors in their experiences.

Similar Migrations

In 1980 Gmelch, in his review article of the works that focused on return migration, noted that there was a lack of comparison across studies and an absence of theories that connect them (Gmelch 1980: 155; see also Leavey and Eliacin 2013, Percival 2013a). Gmelch set himself the task of connecting and then 'typing' the examples, with the result that he proposed three main types of return migrant:

'1) Returnees who intended temporary migration. The time of their return is determined by the objectives they set out to achieve at the time of emigration

2) Returnees who intended permanent migration but were forced to return. Their preference was to remain abroad but because of external factors they were required to return.

3) Returnees who intended permanent migration but chose to return. Failure to adjust and/or homesickness led to their decision to return' (Gmelch 1980: 138).

Gmelch's typologies are still key in understanding the motivations for return migration, although several variations have been added by other scholars (Leavey and Eliacin 2013, Percival 2013a, Cassarino 2004), for example, 'the circular migration theory; the target income theory; the social network theory and the modernisation theory' (Leavey and Eliacin 2013: 204). These theories refine or offer further nuances of his types, but appear to be variations on Gmelch's types rather than adding genuinely new categories. The 'target income' theory, for example, resonates strongly with Gmelch's first type, that of returning after the achievement of objectives. Modernisation theory seems yet a further nuanced version of Gmelch's first, with an emphasis on the returnee bringing home, on their return, progressive ideas and skills which would be of value to the home country.[2] Circular migration seems a variety of Gmelch's first also, with short-term rotations and the sense of not committing to either the host or home country over the course of one's life — working life at least — a refinement. But is this strictly a return migration at all? Reyes (2001) discusses this phenomenon in her work, recognising that many migrations, for example those from Mexico to the US, are not expected, by those moving, to be permanent.[3] The social network theory, attributed to Massey (Massey 1990) 'views immigration as a dynamic process that is based on more than just economic pursuits' (Leavey and Eliacin 2013: 204), so takes into account many dimensions of a person's life and social world determining whether a person stays or returns and after what period. Certainly in the case of Anglo-Indians, while financial gain may have been tied up in the package of motivations for the original move, the more pressing reasons were concerns about personal and family security, combined with a sense of the West being 'home' (Andrews 2007, Caplan 1995), as I explain further in this article.

Even with added nuance, with the occasional exception of Gmelch's last 'type', Anglo-Indians do not fit easily into any of the return migration categories. A reason may be found in the later age they return at, so their migration may be more closely allied with those who are

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[2] For more on this theory, see Kearney (1986), who offers a useful critique.

[3] Policy and politics often view such migrations as permanent move and as Donald Trump's much reported Republican-nominee campaign comments make clear, this is a migration situation feared by many US citizens. It is reminiscent of the paranoia in New Zealand in the late 19th century over the number of Chinese and Indian migrants who were arriving. What was not made clear at the time were the numbers who were also leaving. So while there was a net gain, it was on nothing like the scale that was presented by the press (Roche and Venkateswar 2015).

written about as wealthy migrants, or expatriates, as Prato does when writing of those 'who move abroad in search of a better climate and lower living costs' (Prato 2016: 189), or those who write of migrants who move to Spain from the UK in their retirement years (see Hall 2011, Hardill *et al*. 2005).

This category of later life returnees is discussed by Cerase, who writes that retirement is a common time for return migration (Cassarino 2004) as a return to friends, family and familiar neighbourhoods. This phenomenon is also discussed in Percival's edited work (Percival 2013b) which includes a revised version of Blunt, Bonnerjee and Hysler-Rubin's article (2012) on Anglo-Indian returns to India. The authors draw out the distinction made by their interviewees though; that going to Calcutta 'as a former resident' was different to going to other parts of India, which they did as a tourist. Theirs is a nostalgic trip back to the city of their earlier years, sometimes after many decades, which for some was a one-off visit and for others it was repeated, but they were *visits*, rather than return migrations. As I discuss later there is also some work on global North to South returns, some of which resonates with Anglo-Indian experiences.

Drawing on ethnographic research carried out in Goa, including the collection of life histories, I identify issues that have motivated Anglo-Indian return migrants to resettle in Goa. As will be seen, the experiences have less in common with return migration theories and more with what is written about migration, rather than return migration, in later life. But still theirs is a unique situation as it *is* a return and fortunately for the returnees it is this very factor which makes the move possible, as I will describe. Before I introduce some of the participants of the research and draw out the pertinent factors, I introduce the community more generally.

Anglo-Indians

Anglo-Indians are a minority community of mixed Indian and European descent. The community originated as a result of various European groups making their home in India from the very late 15th century onwards. From the liaisons that ensued, a culturally distinct minority community was established in India. They are the only minority community to be defined in the Constitution which 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 (Section 366 (2)).

Socially and culturally Anglo-Indians are more western than Indian in their practices and world views, for example, they are Christians, mostly have English as their mother tongue and they have European names. Another characteristic of Anglo-Indians is that those in India have a culture of migration, or as Caplan puts it, an 'emigration mentality' (Caplan 1995 and 2001). This is based in large part on more than half of the population leaving India since India gained its independence from Britain in 1947. The culture of migration is so pervasive that Anglo-Indians who stayed in India are frequently referred to by others as having been 'left behind'. Migrants who leave mostly do so because they feel insecure about what the future in India offers to themselves and their children, especially in terms of maintaining their life styles and cultural practices, obtaining suitable employment and finding suitable marriage partners. Many of the early migrants were afraid of negative repercussions after centuries of aligning themselves with the British during Raj times. Mostly, then, their migration was driven by a complex combination of economic, political and cultural

insecurity. After leaving India, they primarily settled in English-speaking Commonwealth countries: England, Canada, Australia and to some extent New Zealand (Andrews 2014, Blunt 2005, Caplan 2001, Otto 2010). They have formed a diasporic community with Anglo-Indians, connecting locally through social get-togethers and globally through social media sites and through events such as world reunions which are held every three years in cities with a large population of Anglo-Indians — either in India or abroad. Other factors relevant to the present discussion are that as a diasporic community there has been almost no return migration, nor has a culture of remittances been developed.[4]

Anglo-Indians have prided themselves on being 'good migrants' with a documented history of smooth entry into the western countries they have migrated to, where in many ways they have been considered 'desirable migrants' (to use Rachel Simon-Kumar's term, Simon-Kumar 2015) in that they speak English and are mostly well educated (for example, many were teachers). Both Alison Blunt and Glenn D'Cruz (Blunt 2005, D'Cruz 2006) remark on Anglo-Indians in Australia being 'good Australians'. As I will discuss later, while they may generally be seen in this positive light some have, nevertheless, faced discrimination in their adopted countries based on their origins.

The Project
I will now describe briefly the research I have recently been involved in, a portion of which forms the basis of this article. The project, titled 'Ethnographic Profiling of Anglo-Indians in Small Towns of India' (also known as 'The Small Towns Project'), is a collaborative effort to understand the situation for Anglo-Indians living in the non-metropolitan towns of India.[5] In each of the selected 'towns' a researcher carried out qualitative research which included informal semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews and as much as possible participation in events, in view of accomplishing further ethnographic research.

I carried out the research in Goa over two visits, in January 2014 and again in January 2015, accompanied by my husband, an Anglo-Indian originally from Kolkata. I carried out fifteen interviews (usually in the homes of interviewees, over several hours of a day interspersed with other activities) and enjoyed dinners, lunches and suppers with Anglo-Indians, only some of whom were formal interviewees and attended events such as the Goa

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[4] Empirical material on Anglo-Indians is not as clear cut as for many other groups in India, as records do not distinguish between different groups with European names (such as domiciled Europeans or Anglo-Indians), but historical and contemporary anecdotal evidence points strongly to this conclusion. There have been isolated cased of returns which the political leaders, who have consistently been opposed to Anglo-Indians leaving India, have drawn attention to, but these cases seem to have been exceptional.

[5] I lead the project which includes scholars from around India, only some of whom have previously focussed their research on Anglo-Indians. These regions have received little or no scholarly attention and include railway towns (of Asansol, Kharagpur, Hubli and Ranchi), hill stations (Kalimpong, Dehra Dun and Mussoorie), Kochi, the State of Goa and the Union Territory of Pondicherry. Research on each of the 'towns' has provided different insights for what it means to be Anglo-Indian in each of these places — with involvement in the schools being significant in the northern town of Dehra Dun, their Portuguese descent influential in Kochi and the maintenance of many on-going railway connections in Kharagpur, to highlight just a few findings. Where possible, the researchers were selected because they were already living in the towns under study and had links with the community or, in cases such as my own, because they were able to spend extended periods with participants in order to gain a sense of the pattern of their lives, as well as interview them.

branch of the All India Anglo-Indian Association (AIAIA) 5th anniversary celebration day. The relative youth of this branch of an association that is over 100 years old is due primarily to the history of Goa as a part of the nation.

Goa: A Socio-Political History and Description

Goa was a Portuguese territory from 1510, when Afonso de Albuquerque claimed it as a territory (after Vasco De Gama had originally landed there) acting as the site of Portuguese rule in India (Otto 2016), to 1961 when Portuguese rule was overthrown after a series of negotiations with Portugal had failed and 48 hours after a military campaign was launched. The militarily-supported Portuguese administration was expelled as India annexed the state and Goa became a Union Territory. Even after the Portuguese left, it was not until 1987, after more than two decades of being governed centrally from New Delhi, that Goa became a State of India, with the relative autonomy common to Indian States. At this time, Konkani became the official language of the state. What is noteworthy is that this history meant that Goa was never part of British India.

The State comprises mostly Hindus (at over 66 per cent) but also a large population of Christians (at over 25 per cent) and according to the 2001 census (the most up-to-date official figures available), almost all of these are Roman Catholics (India).The Christians, including Anglo-Indians, generally live in the western coastal regions and the Hindu population is mostly in the interior. Goa is a well-known tourist destination with the lucrative tourism industry beginning, as Dayanand notes, as 'The "flower children" of the 1960's ended up at the pristine and virgin beaches of Goa thus giving the first indications of what was to become of Goa as a tourist destination' (Dayanand 2006: 1). The tourism figures for 2014 were at over four million visitors a year, over half a million being international visitors (2016).

Before I began research in Goa I had been told that I might not find any Anglo-Indians there, that it is not a place where they live, historically or currently. However, I had seen on Goa's AIAIA website that they had an almost five-year-old association branch there. Once in Goa I learned that the membership was growing quickly (which is in stark contrast to what is happening in other association branches, as demonstrated by research in other 'towns' in the project). New association members moved in from other places in India and, according to the branch secretary (personal correspondence, May 2015), 10 per cent of their membership comprised of Anglo-Indians who had returned to India from abroad. It was these returnees that I became most interested in, particularly given that return migration has not been a feature of the community.

From the research with these overseas returned Anglo-Indians some clear themes emerged as to why and how they returned. For many, their economic situation was a significant reason and as such their experiences form part of a wider return migration story, one that is emerging as a result of changing global finances. As the following three case stories from Anglo-Indians (selected for the characteristics they have in common with others who I have interviewed) in Goa indicate, there are also other motivations acting alongside economic ones.

Three Case Histories

Errol: I couldn't survive in the U.K.

Errol (which is a pseudonym, as all names are) told me that he had left India reluctantly as a 23 year old, in the late 1960s, when his parents made the decision for the family to move to the United Kingdom. He said that his father, 'decided there is nothing left in India for us, Anglo-Indians. There is no scope…' He said he had never wanted to go and had always

thought he would get back. But instead he settled into life in England, working for more than 30 years until, '…suddenly I lost my job. When I was well over 50 years old I was made redundant. No one would employ me anymore'.

For a few years he lived on funds he had saved, but after a while he said he began to feel very concerned about his future. 'I had savings', he said, 'but I was using my savings to survive: because the rules, if you have more than this, the State would not help you. I was coming down to nothing and I said, 'Okay'. I got my OCI⁶ [Overseas Citizen of India registration] with no problem at all, so came here'. He said that a cousin had come before him which had given him someone to stay with initially. By the time he came to India, he was eligible for a United Kingdom's pension, although not for the increments, but as he says, 'I am happy, I am very happy. I need to save, even on that small pension. I am not on a private pension, just a state pension and I am managing on that here, quite comfortably. Fortunately, dad taught me not to be too expensive'.

When I asked whether the economics of staying here was one of the reasons, he said: 'It's purely for that that I am here now, because if I went back to the UK I wouldn't survive'. Then I asked if there were others he knew of who had also come back for financial reasons. He told me about meeting up with someone he had known in India earlier, adding: '…and we were in the same boat, of course he was 11 years younger than me, but we were in the same boat. And we are all back in India and I am in the flat above him'. He told me that he did not have sufficient funds to purchase a home in Goa so he rents a flat. Whenever I saw him, which I did on several occasions, he was in the company of other Anglo-Indians, although he wasn't interested in joining the local association. There are things he misses about England, including his siblings who have remained there, but he described being generally very happy to be living in Goa.

So Errol moved from England for mostly economic reasons, feels settled and financially comfortable, has some Anglo-Indian friends he spends time with but is not interested in joining the association, indicating perhaps that he is not deeply embedded in the community. The next case history is Jenny's; she also focused on economics, but financially she is at quite a different level to Errol.

Jenny: living like a Rani

Jenny returned permanently just three years ago and is unequivocal about now living the 'good life'. After leaving India in the 1970s, she has had a successful life and career in Australia, returning to India every year or two for holidays, thereby retaining an association with India, about which she says, 'Culturally, I always find it interesting to be in India. I love the vibes of India; that India lives! Even if I stand on the road and look at two little goats playing with each other I think 'India lives!' You don't see that in the middle of [named Australian city]'.

Jenny told me that it was when she was reaching retirement age and thinking about what she might do next, that she realised 'I want to go back to India and I want to go back while I am young enough to enjoy a few more years in India'. She was clear that initially her retirement plans had been very much about returning *to India*, rather than specifically to Goa. This sentiment seemed to be shared by a number of others I spoke to who also had decided to come back to India and then for various reasons, such as the climate, the fact that it is a tourist destination and is known as a Christian and more Western State, it was Goa they settled on.

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⁶ Later, I discuss the Overseas Citizen of India (OCI) registration in detail.

Jenny is an active member of the Anglo-Indian Association and lives in a beautiful apartment with views out over the Arabian Sea, in an exclusive part of the state capital, Panaji. She refers to many economic factors, for all she does not explicitly cite this as the primary reason for her return. In her own words, 'This [Goa, India] was the best place to be. Living is so cheap and reasonable. I pay for everything in cash.' To my remark that her flat was beautiful and that she had a fantastic view, she said, 'It is beautiful. You pay for all those things, you know, but then why not? This is the last quarter of your life as I always call it. And yeah I love it! I love it here.'

I asked whether she could get a pension. She said, 'I get the Australian pension. Because I have lived there over 30 years, I can get my pensions overseas.' I asked whether she could get increments, mentioning that I had spoken to people who are on a UK pension and because they live in India, they don't get increments. She replied: 'I don't know about that. I get a pension, I don't even know what I get, really, honest to God. It's something, I know they deduct something of it but it's so negligible it does not matter. I don't even use my pension, because you don't even spend so much. Nothing costs as much, not even a bottle of wine.' I asked how she came to buy her flat. She, like others, had in the time before settling back obtained OCI (Overseas Citizen of India) status, which gave her various rights, including the ability to buy a home in India.

Although she said that she has not yet established a set of like-minded friends, she did talk about her social life, giving examples of her 'good life' with a focus on parties she has been invited to and has given. In her own description, 'When I have a big party, like I did at Christmas time, for about 35-40 people, I just get the food in. It's so easy. All the things are delivered hot. There's a knock on the door at 9 o'clock; in comes the hot pulao and the kormas and everything. It all gets delivered. So, life is easy. So I always say LG. Life's good.'

Jenny seems pleased to be able to lead her particular lifestyle. She has membership in an élite five star hotel club and also manages to have holidays in India and overseas and entertain overseas guests who holiday with her. She portrays herself as cosmopolitan in terms of her international sociability (the result of links to international networks as well as local connections (Gruner-Domic 2011, Schiller *et al.* 2011)) drawing attention to her transnational lifestyle in Goa. She said, 'I have friends coming from Delhi next week, or the week after or something. Then I have friends coming from Chicago just after they leave. Then I have my Kiwi friend coming from Australia; she is coming for about six weeks. She will be here, end of Feb and it's lovely. I have been to Hyderabad. I went back to Delhi for a cocktail party. I went to Singapore for New Year's Eve.'

Jenny is conscious that her cosmopolitan taste and experiences are reflected in her décor also. She stated, 'We, who have been living abroad for so long, live very differently. You would have seen that probably between my home and somebody else's home. I don't know anybody else's home like this. But they are happy. Some of them, they come up here and say "it looks like a Vogue magazine!" and I am thinking, "Which of it looks like a Vogue magazine?"' To my remarks that the décor was very nice; all the white, all beautifully colour coordinated and that I really liked the way she had integrated her western aesthetics with Indian, she replied, 'Well, I *am* Anglo-Indian!'

The only challenges Jenny spoke of related to the language spoken: Konkani. She said that 'besides that I have not found any disadvantage in settling here.' In fact, for Jenny, it was the opposite — the move brought with it tangible advantages: she was able to live a lifestyle unlikely to be attained in Australia and it gave her the opportunity to transfer her years in the West for social capital. The next case history is another example from Australia, in this case a married couple.

Marion and Ronnie: Disenchanted Returnee Migrants

Marion and Ronnie, a retired couple, had been back in India for just over two years when I met them, after they had sold up in Australia and moved all their possessions into their new apartment in a well-serviced gated community. Importantly for them, it is within walking distance of a Catholic Church, just a few kilometres from the outskirts of a busy town. In Australia, where they had lived for many years, they belonged to Anglo-Indian associations and were active in them. They were also very involved in their church community and had successful careers, but they said that they never felt that they really fitted in. This seems to be mostly linked to workplace discrimination they encountered. Another reason they gave for their decision to return was to combat health problems that were being exacerbated by the cool climate where they were living. They said they see themselves as torch-bearers for a number of friends and family who are also considering coming back to India, to settle in Goa. They said they had numerous friends and family from Australia and other places, who were watching them closely to see how they liked being back and in the meantime were coming to spend holidays with them, as they considered their own options about returning or not.

An additional reason for being back, although not articulated as such, was the comfort of the life they were able to lead in Goa. As they showed me around the public areas of their community it was clear they took pride in all the amenities they had the use of. This residential situation gave them a local residential community, comfort and social capital. In addition they were very involved in the Anglo-Indian association and with the church, in the spare time they had when not entertaining visitors from within India and abroad.

Understanding the Return to India

While categorising the motivations of returning migrants is not straightforward, there are various themes, often in combination, which seem prevalent in the interviews and stories I heard and mostly they differ from return migration theories. Two common stimuli causing these people to consider a return to India were weighing up retirement options and personal economic situations. Being unhappy in their adopted country for sociocultural reasons was a less commonly presented motivation, but it was a consideration for several. For all of them the implicit condition was that the move needed to be to a place suited to their identity and this identity, fortunately, gave them an advantage over others who may also aspire to retirement in India.

A Retirement Consideration

Most, but not all of those I spoke to, were of retirement age, so the move was carried out after looking at where they would live out their lives. This is a situation, as I have noted earlier, that is addressed by the migration researcher, Cerase, as a common time for return migration. Cerase's study (quoted by Cassarino, 2004)) indicates that this move 'home' is often a return to family, friends, neighbourhoods and known communities. Jones (2003) and Ni Laoire (2008), for example, both write of Irish return migration which is motivated by being closer to family and friendship and known neighbourhoods than for economic rationales. This destination characteristic, however, is not the case for Anglo-Indians, both because so many Anglo-Indians friends, family and colleagues had also left India in the intervening decades and, in the case of Goa, this area was never a place that Anglo-Indians had resided in, or at least not in sufficient number to be widely known about.

Retirement is a time of life when migrations generally (rather than return migrations) have also been documented, such as the trend observed by Hall (2011) and Hardill et al.

(2005) of the growth in International Retirement Migration within the EU in recent years, notably the large numbers of British retirees moving to Spain. Some of these migrants are conceptualised as being trans-migrants (Hardill *et al.* 2005), or as expatriates, 'a person residing in a country other than his/her homeland' (Prato 2016: 189). In the case of people moving in their retirement years Anglo-Indians are not expatriates in the usual sense of moving somewhere for the purposes of work, self-initiated or assigned, as described in the edited book edited by Andresen et al. on self-initiated expatriation (2013). They may gain employment but the move is not for that employment. Healthcare issues are what are often focussed on in research on this cohort, including problems encountered due to social and geographical isolation.

That Goa is scenically beautiful has a benefit for relocated retired Anglo-Indians in the form of streams of visitors from other parts of India as well as from around the world. This experience is similar to that reported by Legido-Quigley et al. (2012) about the UK migrants involved in their research in Spain who said that family (especially children and grandchildren) were more likely to visit them in Spain than in the UK and that those visits would be pleasurable experiences for everyone. Goa is an attractive option for Anglo-Indians who come back to India with money (either capital or a pension) from 'abroad', from the United Kingdom or Australia particularly.

A Response to Financial Situations

Those I met talked about their purchasing power in rupees as a significant incentive to be in India.[7] The economically-motivated migration stories that I collected ranged along a continuum. Nearer one end were those such as Errol, who had very little economic capital and had been struggling to survive in their adopted countries, so coming to India was a way to escape what was felt to be a worsening situation. Even those who had considerable savings were concerned about the impact of steadily decreasing interest rates, fearing that they were not going to be able to cover their lifestyles costs as they had hoped to from interest accruing from investments. At the other end of the continuum from Errol were those such as Jenny, whose decision to move to Goa was portrayed as a particularly good move since they were now able to 'live like royalty' in India. These different positions on the economic continuum would determine whether their decision to migrate to India was due to the need to leave an increasingly untenable financial situation, or to being drawn towards India as a financially attractive option.

The financial impetus to migrate, as well as being a feature of migrations generally at this point in people's life can also be understood as a response to the global economic crisis which began in 2008. Anglo-Indians are making the most of the differential between the economies of the global north and south by bringing global north finances (in the form of capital and pensions) to be used in the global south. The migration direction of these Anglo-Indians echoes what is happening in other parts of the world as a result of changes in the financial markets. Brazilian, Bolivian, Puerto Rican, Irish and non-Anglo-Indian Indians are also returning to their homelands. For example, Bastia (2011) writes about the changing direction in the movement between Spain and Argentina, with former expatriate Argentinians who came to Spain seeking opportunities, now moving back to Argentina. This is reversing the long-running, economically-driven global south-to-north migration, in response to

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[7] Cost of living calculations such as those found on this website for Goa: http://www.numbeo.com/cost-of-living/city_result.jsp?country=India&city=Goa indicates that it is about a quarter the cost of living in cities in the UK and less than a third the cost for Australian cities.

changes in opportunities in both adopted and birth, or home, countries. In most cases, this economic motivating factor, results in a return to family and friends too, but for Anglo-Indians it is usually decades after they have migrated before they return and by the time they do many other Anglo-Indians have left India too, so those returning are not coming back to re-join family, friends and colleagues.

A Response to Being Un-settled in the Adopted Country
While there are significant differences in the rationale for Anglo-Indian return migration in comparison with two of Gmelch's three types, the last 'type' is in accord with some isolated experiences that I recorded. Ronnie and Marion are examples of migrants who claimed that a reason for their return was that they did not feel that they fitted into their adopted country; this, it seems, was mostly due to a workplace discrimination that strained what seemed in other ways a positive experience (in belonging to clubs and churches) of being settled in their adopted country.

The literature on the Anglo-Indian diaspora paints a complex variety of 'settling' pictures. While most accounts are positive, focusing on how well-suited migrants are as citizens and how well they settle, others have recorded negative experiences which include stories of discrimination. Rochelle Almeida (2013) writes of such experiences in the UK. Still, for migrants to take the step of returning after such a long period of time away from the country of their birth is indicative of a set of compelling reasons for them to see this as the best way forward.

An Ethnic Advantage (Over Other Aspiring 'Hotel Marigold' Residents)
Anglo-Indians are not alone in looking at India as a final destination. The British movie, *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel* (Madden 2011) resonates with aspects of the stories that I was told, although there are obvious points of difference.[8] The movie tells the fictional story, in a very visual and sumptuous way, of a group of UK nationals going to live long-term in India with the intent to see their days out there. If this idea was to be picked up by people in a similar category, they would soon come across a road block to their plans in the form of visa requirements. For example, Citizens of New Zealand, Australia and the UK are issued with only 90 to 180 day visas. US citizens can obtain much longer visas but that still does not secure the ability to live permanently in India. But if the characters were Anglo-Indians they, having been born in India, would get there more easily because of their eligibility to register as overseas citizens of India (or OCIs).[9]

The returnee Anglo-Indians I spoke to had all registered as OCI or were in the process of doing so, making the most of the ethnic capital that they had by virtue of being born in India. This could now be strategically transferable into creating a secure future in India for themselves, as an OCI grants the holder the ability to buy property, take up paid employment (with some restrictions) and come and go from India without needing a visa to re-enter, with no restrictions on the time spent in India.[10]

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[8] There is also a BBC reality show *The Real Marigold Hotel* (*The Real Marigold Hotel,* 2016. Directed by Anonymous.: BBC 2.) also featuring aspiring retirees to India.

[9] This option to register as OCI is also available for the children, grandchildren, or spouse of someone born in India who has an OCI.

[10] For further details see: www.hicomindia.org.nz

Challenges
On the surface the westernised, Christian and more affluent Goan way of life is very similar to Anglo-Indian's: both are more Western than 'Indian'; both dress similarly; both centralise their Christianity, which for Goans is exclusively Roman Catholic and for Anglo-Indians is *mostly* Roman Catholic; and both draw, in various ways, on their identities from a mix of European and Indian descent histories. These similarities seem to be significant in attracting Anglo-Indians to the State. The obvious differences are in the language spoken as a mother tongue — Konkani for Goans, rather than (most commonly) English — and in the fact that, for Goans, Goa is their State and the identity they claim is Goan. In comparison, Anglo-Indians are 'outsiders' and can be made to feel that. They also do not usually have the social capital or networks that they can call on — including long-term friends, family and business networks, which make such a difference in India. As noted earlier, this is an unusual situation for return migrants who are more often able to settle back with the friends, family and communities they had left (Ní Laoire 2008).

Not speaking the local language, Konkani, was the main challenge identified by Jenny and others, which highlights the fact that they are not from Goa and makes it more difficult for them to operate in the market and in bureaucratic domains.[11] In addition, for this Christian community it also makes full participation in the life of the church more difficult. Masses are most often in Konkani, although there are English masses on Sundays in some churches. Daily masses in English are particularly difficult to find.

An Entity to Belong to
The establishment of the branch of the AIAIA is of great value in assisting Anglo-Indians to settle and may make Goa a more attractive option for other Anglo-Indians looking to come back to India. One respondent captured the significance of this aspect saying, 'It gave me an entity to belong to'. Many participate in Anglo-Indian-run events, such as the 5th anniversary celebration that I attended in 2014. They also have regular meetings and social get-togethers throughout the year. This provides some social networks and even those who have not joined the branch appreciate having 'an entity' that they can identify with, even if they do not belong to it.

The President of the first Goa branch explained that he had set up the branch to help Anglo-Indians meet other Anglo-Indians who they would not otherwise have realised were Anglo-Indian. He said, 'Frankly speaking, I started the association to get our people together… you know, like a small little close-knit family we should move around with each other'. The Secretary of the branch was clear about the present aims, stating: 'We have the association to keep the culture. I don't see the Anglo-Indian community vanishing, by the way.'

In Goa Anglo-Indians seem to be in the process of building the community as nowhere else in India. What is assisting in the resettling process, I would suggest, is the establishment of the association, which gives incoming Anglo-Indians an entity to belong to, in a State where they are, otherwise, relative outsiders.

Conclusion
The relative exodus of Anglo-Indians after Indian Independence has led to diminished numbers in most of the places where they had traditionally lived. The numbers are so low in

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[11] Their mother tongue of English is, however, the language of prestige in India (Andrews 2006) and, as a signifier of cosmopolitanism, it is likely to have some value in terms of social capital.

many towns that Anglo-Indians, are concerned about the prognosis of their community into the future, as they see low turnouts for dances and other occasions and mourn the loss of a 'community feeling'. This is especially the case in areas such as the hill stations and railway towns that are also featured in this 'Small Towns' project. In Goa, however, I observed a reversal of this trend, albeit in the early stages.

Just as many Anglo-Indians decided, individually, to leave India, some are now deciding, independently, to come back to India, finding in Goa what they are looking for. The reasons for their return are varied and complex, as in all migrations, but include those Anglo-Indians, mostly in the retirement years, who have been able to make the most of the differential between the global north and south economies by bringing global north finances to be used in the global south. Due to their 'ethnic capital' of having been born in India, they are able to secure the legally required means which are not available to non-Indians, and can therefore return to India and live there permanently. These Anglo-Indians, part of a community who have had a history of leaving India with something akin to a sense of rejection of and by the country of their birth (Almeida 2015, Andrews 2007, Blunt 2005, Caplan 2001), are now reversing that trend: re-finding and reclaiming India as a place they belong to.

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