

GOA



THROUGH THE TRAVELLER'S LENS

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Goa, Through the Traveller's Lens

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Anne Bonneau's Radio Travelogues: a portrayal of the archetypal and stereotypical Goan

NATASHA MARIA GOMES¹

Since travelogues are a subjective appraisal of an objective reality, they are a fertile ground for psycho-sociological analysis. This paper makes an attempt to explore French journalist Anne Bonneau's radio travelogues on Goa and to highlight the image that modern travelogues portray of today's Goans and Goa. Bonneau's travelogues are structured around the archetype of the musician, artist, local artisans and tribals, but the image of the Goan stereotype – the fun-loving, *susegad* Goan – is ever present. This essay points out that some Goans themselves perpetuate this stereotype in order to feed the tourist industry.

THE young and the retired, the hippy and the neo-hippy, the hedonist and the religious have all flocked to Goa, the fabled land of sun, spices and scenic splendour since time immemorial. Despite the slump in the global tourism industry in the last cou-

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ple of years, the number of tourists who visit this tiny state is still close to double of the local population.

Goa's unique past and consequently the cultural outlook of its people make it unlike any place in India. It is not surprising therefore to find that tourists and travellers alike have documented their journey throughout the length and breadth of this quintessential holiday destination. With the development of transport and the advent of Web 2.0, almost anyone with a device and internet connection can author a travelogue.

At this juncture, it's important to distinguish the pejorative nomenclature of the enjoyment-seeking 'tourist' from the positively-charged label 'traveller.' In non-fiction travel writing, it is generally believed that while accounts of beach-life, sightseeing, shopping, cruises and casinos fuel the tourist discourse, the traveller seeks to explore something new and they often discover the authenticity of a place through empathic involvement. Gilbert Keith Chesterton, the British 'Prince of Paradox', likens a "tripper" to an incomplete traveller and emphasises that, "The traveller sees what he sees, the tripper [tourist] sees what he has come to see" (ch. 15).

Travel literature dates back to hundreds of decades when the world was *terra incognita*. From the earliest cavemen and women to the hyper-connected individuals of today, humans have been wired with the desire to explore and seek out some-

thing new. "Of the gladdest moments in human life, methinks, is the departure upon a distant journey into unknown lands" (Burton 16-17). According to the editors of *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, "Traveller's tales are as old as fiction itself" (Hulme and Young 2). These journeys to the unknown or the lesser-known are an integral part of our shared human consciousness and have been the crux of our oral and written tradition.

However, not all journeys are considered as 'travels'. In fact, travel writing has been given the 'Ugly Duckling' treatment in comparison to the other literary genres. Jonathan Raban, the British travel writer, likens "travel writing" to "a notoriously raffish open house" as it "accommodates different genres... private diary, essay short story, prose poems, rough notes and polished table talk with indiscriminate hospitality" (254-55).

Not surprisingly, even though travel writing has existed for over centuries, it is a literary genre that has been hotly contested as critics and historians have time and again questioned the ethnographic and literary value of travelogues. Hulme and Youngs point out that it is only recently that analysis of travel writing has gained popularity in academic circles and "scholarly work on travel writing has reached unprecedented levels" (1).

Travelogues are part of Travel Literature as they include a traveller's personal narrative. According to

Webster's New World College Dictionary, a travelogue is a "lecture on travels, usually accompanied by the showing of pictures or a film, usually short, about a foreign or out-of-the-way place, especially one that emphasises the place's unusual or glamorous aspects." Travelogues can take different forms: books, blogs, vlogs, movies, audio podcasts and graphic novels.

The earliest travel writing on Goa dates back to the fourteenth century, a time when there were still many undiscovered territories, a time when people travelled by foot and by sea for long distances and a time when neither Google Maps nor Google Translator existed. Travel writings were autobiographical accounts and helped define the uncharted territory and the 'Other.'

Since travel literature is essentially based on the traveller's experiences and accounts, they are fertile grounds for psychological analysis as these memoirs and travelogues are coloured with the authors' perspectives and preconceived notions. In an attempt to categorise and define the 'Foreign' or the 'Other', the traveller often mirrors 'Self' – his or her own culture-specific and individual lens of viewing the world. Even today's seasoned traveller backpacks with stereotypical notions, but the proactive encounters with 'self' and the 'other' either crystallise these stereotypes or help the traveller see beyond and discover the archetypes of a place.

This essay attempts to analyse Anne Bonneau's audio travelogues on Goa and highlights the Goan archetypes and stereotypes found in her narratives. The nine 20-minute podcasts chosen for this study were first aired in French by *Radio France Outre-Mer* in 2010 and were part of Bonneau's radio show titled *Instantanés du Monde* [Snapshots of the World]. By focusing on the psycho-sociological analysis of Bonneau's Travelogue, this study attempts to answer two fundamental questions: What role do travelogues play in influencing perceptions of the target audience? What image do modern travelogues portray of today's Goans and Goa?

Literature review

Archetypes

"Two-thirds of what we see is behind our eyes."

There is ancient wisdom in this Chinese proverb that states we make inferences and judgements based on past experiences. Modern psychiatrists like Carl Jung developed the concept of "archetypes" after having worked intensely on dream analysis and on symbols in the ancient world and myths. Jung believed that apart from the "personal conscious" and "unconscious" elements of the human mind, the human "psyche" is also made up of the "collective unconscious" which is a universal inheritance common to all humans. This collective unconscious governs the way we perceive the world. These collective uncon-

scious structures that are hardwired into our brain are called archetypes. The archetypal patterns constantly reoccur in dreams and creative acts including film and literature and they can be a character, a human characteristic, a theme, or a symbol (18-103).

In *Anatomy of Criticism*, the influential Canadian literary critic and literary theorist Northrop Frye brings out the archetypes found in some famous literary texts. These archetypes are symbols that reoccur time and again in a majority of works – from ancient times to the present. For example, the hero, the caregiver, the mother earth or the trickster. When archetypes are present in a text, they appeal to the readers at a very basic level and the narratives ring true. The primordial images are the manifestation of the archetype and they may change depending on the external, personal and cultural factors. For instance, the archetypal “Wise One” (Jung 175), like Gandalf or Dumbledore, is sometimes portrayed as having a robe and a long beard (Ramaswamy 140-1, 127-8), but it could also be an old woman like the Fairy Godmother or a creature like Master Shifu, one of the Kung Fu Panda characters.

Archetypes v/s Stereotypes

Archetypes are the original mould from which all others copies are developed. It is the beginning product. Apart from the general archetypes, certain archetypes are specific to certain populations. Eg. Mother India, Uncle Sam and Britannia.

A stereotype is a caricature of an archetype and therefore an end product. When certain traits are oversimplified these images take the form of stereotypes. The brutal years of slavery and years of racial segregation that followed in America have also created a culturally specific collective unconscious of African American stereotypes like the Mammy, Sambo, Sapphire and Jezebels. There are many demeaning stereotypes of the Blacks as beings morally corrupt. In a diverse country like India, the dimwitted *Sardaji*, the effeminate Bengali, the shrewd *Marvadi* and the Goan drunk are a few stereotypes among many others.

The traveller often attempts to negotiate this terrain between archetypes and stereotypes. If the travel writers don't tread carefully, they are most likely to fall into the trap of stereotyping the 'Other.'

Goa described in travelogues

A considerable amount of travel literature exists on Goa and it helps the modern readers understand Goa's multi-layered past. These travel writings are extremely rich in description and they have historical value because they paint a picture of Goa as it changed hands from ruler to ruler. For instance, the Moroccan traveller, Ibn Battuta offers accounts of the island of Sindbahar, a.k.a. Goa, at the end of the Kadamba dynasty (Roy 129).

To the earlier readers, these travel narratives were a crucial piece of information as it defined the vastly

unknown world. Once Goa came under the rule of the Portuguese, it was frequented by several Europeans. Like Jan Van Linschoten, the Dutch traveller, many Europeans have chalked out the luxurious architectural set up of the city in addition to describing the scenic beauty of *Goa Durado* – the Golden Goa (Parr 79-117). The sixteenth-century French traveller Vincent Le Blanc felt that the Goa mirrored the opulence in Europe (qtd. in Fonseca 146-7).

European travellers like Ralph Fitch (1550-1611), Johan Albrecht de Mandelslo (1616–1644), Denis Louis Cottineau de Kloguen, Edward Ives, Garcia de Orta (1501?–1568), Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), Jacobus Canter Visscher and the English doctor John Fryer (circa 1650–1733), have all lived in *Goa Portuguesa* and the place left a deep impression on them. In their narratives, they have described the beauty of the landscape, different facets of the city, the buildings, the battles between the neighbouring dynasties, the daily habits of the people: their culinary habits, their dressing styles, their visits to the church and their general preoccupations. Travellers analysed their surroundings in relation to their perceived notions and customs and in an attempt to define 'the Other'.

Many a time, the travellers also described unknown customs and recounted sordid aspects of Goa like the brutal Inquisition. In his travelogue titled *Goa and the Blue Mountain or Six Months of Sick Leave*,

the Victorian explorer and writer Richard Burton described the population of the place in very derogatory terms. The cultural arrogance of the imperialist writer is quite evident in his sharp criticism of the native culture and their barbarous customs. Duarte Barbosa and the Pietro Della Valle described the horrifying practice of Sati (*Shetty*). These travel writings played a role in influencing perceptions of Europeans. Since the locals had practices that were different from the Europeans, they were often labelled as 'barbarian' and their practices labelled as 'backward.' As Mia Waliszewski highlighted, "...[it] supported the inherent superiority of Northern Europe over other societies."

Carl E. Thompson, in his *Travel Writing* (2011), opines that "All journeys are in this way a confrontation with, or more optimistically, a negotiation of, what is sometimes termed alterity" (9).

Modern travellers' narratives attempt to portray the Goa of today: an erstwhile European colony, the neo-hippy culture, the Goans way of life which is different from any other places in India. Carl Thompson, notes that,

... since there are no foreign people with whom we do not share a common humanity, and probably no environment on the planet for which we do not have some sort of prior reference point, all travel requires us to negotiate a complex and sometimes unsettling interplay between alterity and identity, difference and similarity (9).

Just like the travel writers of the pre-Liberation era, the contemporary travel writers seek to describe 'the

Other' and have their unique voice heard among a vast sea of voices.

Travel narratives range from the humorous to the serious and can be documentary, literary, journalistic and promotional in nature. When the travellers just scratch the surface and over-simplify the attitudes of the locals, they pander to stereotypes. But when a travel writer manages to convey the true essence of the place, the travel narrative often includes archetypal symbols and characters.

Anne Bonneau's Audio Documentary

Drawn by the desire to explore cultures where traditional occupations and a traditional way of life still exists, Anne Bonneau, the host of *Instantanés du Monde*, a French radio show on *Outre-mer Ire*, has for the past seven years documented the sounds and the voices of people living in Asia, Africa, and the islands in the Indian and the Pacific Ocean.

A majority of her podcasts are based on different places in India. She goes off the beaten path and visits the vineyards of Doddaballapur in Karnataka and the tea plantations in Vandiperiyar in Idukki district of Kerala, the tribes in the forests of Netorlim, Goa, among other places. We also learn about the Chettinad architecture, the sacred elephants of Guruvayoor and the mud horses of Aranthangi (a town and a historical municipality in Pudukkottai district in the state of Tamil Nadu).

In a radio interview with Dominique Roederer, the

host of *Paris sur Mer*, Bonneau likens her podcasts to an audio documentary as opposed to a news report or “*reportage*”, as she believes that her work is an artistic endeavour to portray a country, a region and a place (1:55-2:20). *L'Inde Eternelle*: A place which evokes vivid images to Europeans: images of palaces and maharajahs, but also a place which is precariously poised between the past and the present. A place where the last generation of local artisans and craftsmen still exist and a place where the new generation is slowly evolving to mirror a homogenised society (3:25-4:00). She believes that her work is a tribute to their way of life and a homage to the last generation of seasoned men and women who have continued to practice a trade and a profession despite the influence of globalisation.

Accompanied by a local interpreter, this French journalist generally spends a few weeks observing, feeling the pulse of the place, interviewing people, recording conversations and myriad sounds. On returning to the radio studio in France, she collaborates with her team of sound technicians and voice-over artists to create a cohesive radio podcast.

Unlike many other audio travelogues, her radio series are in the third person narrative and they are interspersed with snippets of conversations involving some famous and many not so famous locals. The francophone listeners are transported to another world as they hear these people share a part

of their lives, their thoughts, aspirations, feelings and life goals. The locals retrace steps into their past and recount anecdotes. Their dialogues are dubbed into French, but one can still hear the musicality of the local language in the background. Bonneau not only constructs her narratives based on these varied interactions but her podcasts though ostensibly titled as a name of a place are generally structured around a theme that she wishes to address.

A snapshot of the Goans and a way of life

Seven years ago, in the rain-drenched month of June, Bonneau went about exploring Goa, a former Portuguese colony on the west coast of India. She oscillates between portraying it as an outsider and an insider, and as a consequence skilfully weaves a larger social context, into a compelling character-rich narrative. She negotiates the terrain between archetypes and stereotypes, by juxtaposing her narratives with several interviews.

Being a keen observer, equipped with a palm-sized microphone, a recording device and a set of headphones, Bonneau captures the daily life of the typical Goans and their preoccupations with the rains. She not only romanticised the monsoon season with the poetry of her language but also intersperses the podcasts with the sounds of the pitter-patter of the raindrops, the monsoon breeze, the rustling of leaves, the baker's horn, and a farmer ploughing the field with his two bullocks. She encapsulates the

essence of the place by describing in detail the dark ominous clouds, the orchestrated opening of the umbrellas at the Mapusa market as the heavens began to pour and the locals skilfully manoeuvring their umbrellas to avoid poking others in the eye (Margao). One is teleported to a particular moment in time because of her uncanny art of narrating what she feels, sees, smells and hears.

A cross-section of the Goan society is portrayed in the audio snapshots: from the bespectacled Goan Catholic lady donning a dress (Chandor), a Catholic priest (Saligão), Jazz lovers (Sangolda), hawkers on Baga beach to the woman who sells Goan sausages at the Mapusa market (Margao).

In an attempt to paint a realistic picture of the inhabitants and a way of life that is slowly disappearing, Bonneau's podcasts uncover Goan archetypal characters among the stereotypes.

The creator: the musician and the artist

Bonneau brings to the fore Goan musicians in the podcasts titled Sangolda and Siolim. The cross-cultural aspects of Goa are evident in the music that is created and sung by its people. Goan music is a fusion of Western and Eastern forms of music. The Goan musicians, driven by an intense craving to play music, are an embodiment of an archetype. The proof of the importance of the Goan musician lies in the fact that they have contributed to the flourishing of the Jazz in India and played a stellar role as sound technicians in

the Bollywood industry.

During the tourist season in Goa, it's not uncommon to listen to live music. According to Jazzman Colin D'Cruz, music runs in the veins of every Goan as they love to listen and play music (Sangolda). He states that the highest number of music bands in the country come from this state. "*Goa, C'est la musique!*" he emphasises, "*quand vous naissez, on joue de la musique, quand vous partez, il y a de la musique, quand vous vous mariez, on fait la musique, et bien sûr, quand vous mourrez, encore de la musique.*" 'When you are born, we play music, when you leave you play music, when you get married, we play music and when you die, we play music' (Sangolda, 18:35-18:55).

The Artist type encompasses painters, photographers, designers, entrepreneurs etc. Like the Musicians, they also feel the need to create something new and express themselves fully in the given time and age. The artists in Bonneau's podcasts are Goans who have returned back to Goa after a journey abroad. Over the years, they have carved a niche for themselves with their signature creations.

"*Goa, C'est un paradis pour les artistes.*" "Goa is a paradise to an artist" (Panjim, 0:02- 0:12) believes Alex Fernandes, a photographer who lived in Mumbai and the Middle East for several years before moving to Goa. He wanted to introduce a style of portraiture in Goa that was unique so he began with a series

of photographs based on iconic local Konkani theatre personalities called *tiatristes*, and the musicians of Goa. Fernandes noticed similarities between the stock characters portrayed by the *tiatristes* and the caricatures of the popular Goan cartoonist Mario Miranda and believes that these images are archetypes of the Goan people.

Wendell Rodricks, the famous fashion designer, learnt his craft in Paris and moved back to his ancestral village in Goa away from the 'visual attacks' of the urban life (Colvale). The poet-painter Tanya Mendonsa from Calcutta worked in France for 20 years before she reconnected with her Goan roots and moved to Goa (Moirá).

The rebel and the advocate

Before he shot to fame as a pop star, Remo Fernandes, an archetype of a rebel, was inspired by the hippies and was on a pursuit to live a life of pleasure. As an Indian hippy in Europe, he played music on the streets, in the metro, in the restaurants in addition to doing odd jobs to sustain himself. He always believed that he would work as an architect and would play music as a hobby. But his days in Europe changed his perspective of who he was and what he wanted out of life. Music was his life and he began writing songs about his motherland. Nostalgia is what drew him back to Goa: the sights, the sounds, the sun and the warmth of the people. No sooner did he release his first few albums then Bollywood made a beeline to his front

door, in Goa.

A musician with a social conscience, for the past 25 years he has been using music as an instrument to bring about social change and awaken the Goans to the blatant destruction of the paddy fields, beaches and their lush landscape. In his latest soundtrack, he sings with hope that the riches of his beloved Goa can be preserved, “*Goa Goa, Oxem Sodanch Uronk Zai.*” (Siolim)

Victor Hugo Gomes, an alter-globalist and the curator of the ethnographic museum in Benaulim, is also an archetype of a rebel and an advocate. As a local who lives in close proximity to nature, he believes that our ancestors were truly wise and they had a sustainable way of life which the youngsters of today are trading for modernism. He talks about several varieties of rice and of fish that were found in Goa, but have slowly disappeared. In an attempt to preserve the diversity to of the land, Gomes has started breeding the traditional varieties of freshwater fish and being inspired by the Norwegian seed bank has created one of his own, here in Goa.

For him, the heritage of Goa isn't Portuguese, the language or the monuments, but the traditional *gaunkari* or comunidade system in which the community worked together and shared the profits. This system, he believes, has been systematically destroyed by various governments.

Marketing strategies by multinational companies

have prevented the Goans from valuing the local produce. Coconut oil and traditional sea salt have gained a reputation for being unhealthy. But he points to the fact that our ancestors used sea-farmed salt and traditional coconut oil in their cooking and they lived until a ripe old age.

He is against mechanised farming in Goa, because he believes that these machines are not adapted to the Goan terrain. He farms his own land and recorded all the traditional Konkani names for describing the 17 stages that the paddy goes through before it reaches a person's plate as rice. In his ethnographic museum, he showcases the traditional tools, implements and crafts of the people of Goa. His sole aim is to preserve what he can for the future generations (Benaullim).

The local artisans: the *poder*, the *choriskar* and the *ramponkar* or *nustekar*

The *poder* or the baker

It is difficult to imagine Goa without the *poder*, the aroma of freshly baked bread and the signature sound of the baker's horn at dawn and at dusk. In the podcast titled Margao, Bonneau explains that the Goans are so fond of their bread that they have acquired the nickname *pão* – the Portuguese word for bread. Like in France, bread is an essential part of the Goan household and every village has at least one local bakery.

The Goans learnt the art of baking bread from

the Portuguese. Even till this day, many artisan bakers like Gil Gomes from Margao still continue to use the traditional method. The flour is prepared in the morning with fresh yeast, kneaded and shaped in the afternoon and baked in the evening using a wood-fired mud oven. The bakers go from house to house, twice a day, on their cycles, selling this freshly baked bread.

These cycles are fitted with bamboo baskets and a typical baker's horn. Gil Gomes, a baker from Margao explains that it's hard work, and during the torrential monsoons, the 'baker's boys' wear raincoats while they go on their rounds. Due to the way of transporting bread during the monsoons, the bread tend to pick up moisture and the ones which do so have to be discarded. But despite the losses, in the words Gil Gomes, "We are managing." It's an occupation that has managed to survive all these years, but the future is bleak because of the onslaught of globalisation, lack of skilled bakers and the changing nature of the Goan diet.

The *choriskar* or sausage maker

Bread is best eaten with *baji* – a vegetable preparation of pulses or potatoes and spices – or with *choris* (sausages, in Konkani). According to Bonneau, this spicy pork sausage looks like a rosary chaplet sausage but the name is similar to the Spanish *chorizo* and the Portuguese *chouriço*. It's perhaps another culinary legacy that was granted by the Portuguese to

Goa.

In the local Mapusa market, she meets a sausage vendor, Florence Lobo, seated on a low stool in front of the sausages. She dexterously counts the “*chapelet de saucisses*” and sells it to her customers while skilfully balancing an umbrella to shelter herself from the drizzle (Margao 6:14-9:25).

This *choriskann* proudly states that the *choris* is a Goan delicacy; it can be eaten with bread or can be used to flavour pulao and biryani. The pork is cooked in spices and then boiled in local coconut vinegar. They are dried and they last for months. It is frequently eaten, especially during the monsoons when fish is expensive and not easily available in Goa as the inclement weather makes fishing operations difficult at that time of the year. She adds that the Goans like their pork and, those who live outside Goa, often buy sausages in bulk. Florence Lobo further states that at first the foreigners are overwhelmed with the spice but over time they too develop a liking for this Goan *choris*.

The *ramponkar* and *nustekar* or fisherman

Goa is known for its fish. During the monsoons, all fishing activity comes to a halt for several weeks. Bonneau observes that the fish markets are then empty except for a few local fishermen selling dry fish. Fish is imported from the nearby state of Andhra Pradesh. The local *nustekar* explains to Bonneau that during the monsoon, the sea is dangerous and the annual

fishing ban is important because it gives the fish time to breed and grow.

The Goan tribals

The Kunbi, Gauda, Velip and the Dhangar communities are tribals who many historians believe were the original settlers of the Konkan area including Goa. Deep in the hinterlands of Goa, in the mining belt on the outskirts of the Netorlim forests, Bonneau interacts with the Dhangar community, an erstwhile nomadic shepherd tribe that lived with their cattle in the Deccan and the Konkan area (Netorlim).

The Dhangars used to live in the forests and their cattle grazed in the ample wastelands away from cultivators and their crops. After the 1974 census, the government demarcated land for this tribe and this, in turn, would drastically change their traditional lifestyle.

With Victor Hugo Gomes, the curator of the local ethnographic museum mentioned above, as her guide, Bonneau is introduced to the traditional crafts and structures that this community created and built. This tribe lived in union with nature. They used naturally found materials to build enclosures and their homes. She intricately describes one of the few traditional *goatli* – goats shed that still exists today. It's built at an elevation with a roof of sticks and dried coconut fronds.

Each family owns a herd of goats and designated members take the cattle out for grazing every day.

Many have replaced their mud houses with concrete ones. It's only in the last few years that their settlement received electricity.

But by and large, the youth of the Dhangar tribe have abandoned their roots, the vast and rich trove of traditional knowledge. Many work in blue-collared jobs and scant importance is given to learning the traditional crafts like making natural ropes or playing the traditional flute which was made of bamboo and bees' wax. The oldest man in the community happens to be the only person who knows how to twist the plant barks to make coir and how to play the instrument which the shepherds traditionally used to calm aggressive animals and to help stray cattle find their way back to the herd in the thick forest. The death of this patriarch of the community would mean the death of a vast specialisation of knowledge and the world would be poorer in that eventuality.

Tourism-dependent Goans

A third of Goa's population depends on tourism. In a podcast titled "*Goa en technicolor*", taxi driver Pascal laments that there were no tourists that year so he and a couple of other drivers simply whiled away their time playing a card game called rummy. The idle laid-back taxi driver is a symbol of the dwindling tourism industry in Goa.

Pascal further points out to the fact that most of the tourist locations in Goa are reeking with garbage. In a bid to rectify the issue, the taxi drivers of Baga

and Dona Paula have taken it upon themselves to clean the surroundings. He believes that the tourist locations are natural sites and have to be preserved.

According to Rajan Narayan, the editor of weekly *Goan Observer* newspaper, tourism in Goa developed by accident. The hippies discovered Goa in the 1960s because of the Vietnam War and the political and social turmoil in Europe. They came to Goa because they sought an alternative way of life. Since the mid-1980s, over the years, the number of charter flights – earlier from Germany and Scandinavia and then from the UK and Russia – increased because over time this state was considered to be a low-cost tourist destination. Unfortunately, along with the tourists, the Russian and Israeli drug lords may have also set up home in Goa.

Narayan opines that tourism is the only activity which is economically viable for Goa because, unlike the British, the Portuguese colonial rulers didn't create many higher education and technical institutions. The ripple effects of this can be felt even today. Goans, he points out, don't want to work and consequently, the blue-collared jobs are taken up by migrants from the neighbouring states.

The Goan stereotypes

Bonneau's narratives are not devoid of stereotypes. These oversimplified traits of the Goans that one notices in Konkani *tiatrs*, Bollywood and in Mario de Miranda's caricatures. Interestingly, we notice that some

of the locals themselves perpetuate stereotypical notions of Goans.

It is a known fact that Goa is a haven where alcohol flows freely. Bonneau's narrative alludes to the stereotype of the Goan and their love for the 'bottle'. When she visited the Jazz musicians in Sangolda, she noted that alcohol flowed during the jamming session. Alex Fernandes, a well-known photographer, mentions that alcohol is an integral part of the Goan *susegado* or laid-back culture and that it is not uncommon to find Goans who are sloshed at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. This trait, he adds, the Goans shared with their former Portuguese rulers (Panjim).

Another stereotype is that majority of the Goans sing or play a musical instrument. When Nelly Pereira, a famous Jazz singer, quips that 90% of Goans sing, as a local she is feeding the image of a stereotype (Sangolda). She recounts that her father used to often tell her that in Catholic communities after the evening rosary was recited, the family would gather around and sing *mandde* and *dulpodam* with the violin, the banjo and the guitar. This image of the musically-inclined, *mandde*-singing Goan Catholic is also present in Mario de Miranda's caricatures.

The interviews highlight the fact that the locals themselves have a role to play in creating and maintaining the stereotypes. These stereotypes play a role in maintaining Goa's image as a tropical paradise.

Conclusion

In a way, Bonneau's work is a tribute to the people of Goa. It leans more towards ethnocentrism than exoticism. She defines 'the Other' to the francophones through a series of archetypal characters and brings out the commonalities between the European and the Goan.

She visits a range of places, some in the hinterland – Margao, Mapusa, Siolim, Netorlim – and not the beaches, in search of people working in traditional occupations. Her audio documentaries preserve a slice of Goan life. She presents her listeners with a rich auditory atmosphere and intersperses her elaborate accounts with conversations from the locals. Being an outsider, she verbalises her experiences by describing what she sees, feels and smells. The perspective of the locals helps the listener understand the societal and cultural undercurrents of the place. It has to be noted that some of the iconic locals that she interviewed all had a link to Europe in general and France in particular.

Her multi-layered narratives transport the listeners in time and space and they highlight archetypal characters while stumbling occasionally to certain stereotypes.

To the Goans, her travel documentaries are a subtle plea to value their heritage and preserve the traditional occupations and consequently the *savoir-faire* that goes along with it.

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