

# **Identitarian Spaces of the Goan Diasporic Communities**

**Thesis**

Submitted to

**Goa University**

For the award of the degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**In English**

by

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August, 2020

## CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that the thesis entitled “Identitarian Spaces of Goan Diasporic Communities” submitted by Ms. Leanora Pereira for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English, has been completed under my supervision. The thesis is a record of the research work conducted by the candidate during the period of her study and has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other University.

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## Declaration

As required under the Ordinance OB 9A.9(v), I hereby declare that this thesis titled *Identitarian Spaces of the Goan Diasporic Communities* is the outcome of my own research undertaken under the guidance of Professor Dr. Nina Caldeira, Department of English, Goa University.

All the sources used in the course of this work have been duly acknowledged in this thesis.

This work has not previously formed the basis of any award of Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or any other titles awarded to me by this or any other university.

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## **Acknowledgement**

The path God creates for each one of us is unique. I bow my head to the Almighty acknowledging him as the Alpha and the Omega and Lord of the Universe.

Gratitude is too lukewarm a word to describe the appreciation for my guide and mentor Dr. Nina Caldeira. This vision could not materialize without her genius and acumen. To my vision she added clarity of thought and direction. Even though she was loaded with responsibilities as Dean of Faculty and Head of Department, she humanely made time for me. To the skeleton of my findings she added the skin of finesse. Beyond doubt she is one of the best theorist Goa has ever had. Her patience and guidance have given this work the credibility it deserves.

My deep gratitude to the Department of English, Goa University, while pursuing my Master's and PhD degrees. Dr. Prof Kiran Budkuley, Dr. Prof Sripad Bhat, Dr. Prof Nina Caldeira, and Dr. Prof Rafael Fernandes have taken the English Department to unbeatable heights. Although, I have studied in three different boards/ Universities, and even worked in world renowned institutions, this team has constantly impressed and inspired me. I would never exchange this experience for anything in the world. Their proficiency, intellectualism, ability to impart knowledge, and above all their integrity is incomparable.

This thesis would not be possible without the inputs of writers like Tony Fernandes (Canada), Ben Antao (Canada), Mel D'souza (Canada), Selma Carvalho, (UK), Victor Rangel Ribeiro (USA), Antonio Gomes (USA) and Damodar Mauzo (Goa).

A special thanks to my V.C.'s Nominee Dr. Prema Rocha (St. Xavier's College). Even though an intellectual, she is always conscientious about her responsibilities. Truly, she is a guiding force for students and professors alike.

My greatest treasure is my family. I thank my husband for his constant support and my children for their prayers. My parents have always been my driving force and my strength. I thank them for their blessings.

God Bless You all!

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# Chapter 1: Introducing the Goan Diaspora

## 1.1 Understanding Diaspora

The past few decades have witnessed an unprecedented burst of literature related to Diaspora and its global implications. Together with the publication of books, novels and journals, various conferences on Diaspora have also been held. People of almost all societies have part of their family or friends in Diaspora. Initially, Diaspora was a term associated with the Jewish Exodus. Later, it also included the Greek and Armenian Diaspora.

In contemporary times, each community has a strong presence in Diaspora. Some prominent Diasporas are the Chinese, Italian, French, Caribbean, Spanish, etcetera. These various Diasporic communities have broadened the connotations of the term Diaspora. Closer to home, we have the Indian Diaspora which has the distinction of being the largest Diaspora in 2019. According to The Economic Times, dated September 18, 2019, the Indian Diaspora consists of a total of 17.5 million international migrants followed by Mexico (11.8) and China (10.7). Taking into consideration the cultural diversities in India, the Indian Diaspora is again divided into sub-groups such as the Tamil, Punjabi, Gujarati and Goan, to name a few.

The late nineteenth century, twentieth century and the twenty-first century have all witnessed large scale emigration of indentured and contract laborers, traders, professional and skilled workers. The post 1960s witnessed a monumental rise in migratory movement. “The number of international migrants rose from 75 million in 1965 to 120 million in 1990. International migration contributed close to half the population growth in the developed countries and about 90 percent in Europe (United Nations, 1998: 96).” (Kadekar 2)

The consequence of mass emigration has been the birth of Diasporic communities. Laxmi Narayan Kadekar emphasizes, “The present day global migration has produced transnational diasporic groups related by culture, ethnicity, language and religion” (3). The Goan Diaspora can be categorized into one such transcultural groups. Developments in travel and cyberspace have insured close interactions between the Goans in different communities around the globe and again between these global Goans and Goans at home. These transnational communications have created circulation of wealth, culture, technology, ideology and lifestyles. Diaspora as an emerging migratory experience creates a hybridized culture. Culture and cultural studies are both concerned with the development and evolution

of practices. A major part of Diasporic studies is also concerned with the evolution and development of new métissaged cultural practices. This establishes the significance of Diaspora as an important part of cultural studies. Conflicting between two or more cultures, lifestyles, socio-political upheavals and occupying a transnational space, Diasporics retain their heritage and sport their culture, thereby, creating a transnational Identitarian Space.

The term ‘Identitarianism’ was used to describe a movement having its origin in France in the 1960s. Identitarianism is a term used to refer to a European New Right movement and its sympathizers. Identitarianism may have had its roots in France, but it spread to Scandinavia and other parts of Europe. Identitarianism advocates the preservation and development of ethnic and cultural identity as its central ideological principle. Therefore, it has its roots in Traditionalism.

In his article “HNH explains... the Identitarian movement and the alt-right”, Joe Mulhall explains that Identitarianism “[I]s a metapolitical framework within which Identitarians work to influence political and socio-economic activity in an effort to protect and preserve racial, ethnic, and cultural identity.” (<https://hopenothate.com/2017/10/31/hnh-explains-identitarian-movement-alt->)

In the same article, Martin Sellner de facto spokesperson of Generation Identity says, “We want to preserve our national identity but in a way that is not chauvinistic, and in a way that is not considering others inferior or wanting to exterminate them. We want to preserve our ethno cultural identity, our traditions but not at the expense at others.” Identitarian Spaces are fluid spaces in which individuals can live their native identity. In context of Diasporic Identitarian Spaces the migrants continue to live their native identity away from the homeland.

Goans have been migrating since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Goan Afrikaners community was one of the most prominent in the eighteenth and nineteenth century until the 1970s exodus. However, the present study focuses on the twentieth century Goan Diasporic. This century witnessed Goans actively living the Goan ethos around the world. Andrew Pereira in his article in the *Times of India*, January 2018, “On the Trail of the Global Goan”, has given some interesting statistics on the number of Goans living out of Goa. According to this article, Goans living abroad are around 2,63,730. This number is based on the number given by the Goan Associations abroad. It is to be noted that not all

Goans patronize the Goan Associations, due to lack of time and long distances. So it can be safely presumed, that the number of Goans living abroad are much more. In India itself the Goans, out of Goa, are numerous. Mumbai has a Goan population of 4,00,000, Delhi 10,000, Mangaluru 3,60,000 and the rest of India 20,000. (Pereira)

Clearly, Goan migration has become a *force majeure*. This study has taken great care to consult Goan migrants, citizens of different parts of the world of Goan origin, together with Goan writers in order to authenticate the Goan Diasporic experience.

### **Aims of the Study**

In keeping with the relevance of Diaspora to Cultural Studies, the aims and objectives of studying the Goan Identitarian Space can be summarized as follows:

- It aims at emphasizing the new consciousness of Cultural Identity in Goan Diasporic communities– that particular tradition which has been carried along, and that which has been adopted. It aims to examine the new phenomenon of métissaged practices of the Goan Diaspora formed on line with Raymond William’s notion of the ‘emergent’. (Christopher 64)
- Goan Diasporic writings, like all other Diasporic writings, have added to the canon of Postcolonial and Literary Studies. This thesis aims at analyzing select Goan Diasporic Literature, primary Diasporic texts, in order to ascertain the Goan Diasporic contribution to the Goan consciousness.
- Diaspora being a totally lived and experienced human phenomenon, the study will examine the complexities of the notions of Cultural Identity, Alienation, Nostalgia, Nationalism, Hybridity, and all other issues related to the Diasporic Sensibility.

### **Objective**

The objective of this work is to study the Goan Diaspora through four major areas, namely:

- Culture
- Literature
- Associations

- Cyberspace

Through these major frameworks, the study will analyse how Goans in Diaspora have created their Identitarian Spaces.

**Thesis Statement:** Goans in Diaspora, trapped between two or more Cultural Spaces, have successfully created their own Identitarian Spaces.

Since colonization, world history has recorded incipient migratory movements. However, it was only in the latter part of the last century, more so, after the world wars and the decolonization of erstwhile colonies, that we have seen monumental transnational and global shifts.

In 2008, the United Nations recorded, “[T]here were some 214 million international migrants globally, about 3 percent of the world’s population, almost equivalent to that of a very large country.” (Knott and McLoughlin 6) This globalization has been largely responsible for a marked blurring of the concept of the nation-state and national identity. Consequently, the identity and complexities of the Diaspora have attained greater implications. It has become a major concern of the post-colonial world.

Colonization and decolonization caused millions of natives to travel to new horizons. Massive migratory movements have defined the last century. Migrants from a particular community settle in different places. They can be spread all across the globe. Dr. M. Thayyalnayaki states that immigration is synonymous to Diaspora. She explains: “Immigration is otherwise known as “diaspora” a Greek word, which was originally used collectively for the dispersed Jews after the Babylonian captivity and also in the apostolic age for the Jews living outside of Palestine. Today it refers to any group or person so dispersed; transplanted from the homeland to the land of his choice” (1).

History has continuously witnessed the movements of people. Searching for food and water has been the priority for nomadic movements. But there is a difference between the nomads of the past and the twentieth-century migrant. In the past, the nomadic movements rarely grew roots at new places. They kept traversing different regions. But the twentieth century Diasporic individual remains distinctive because he has been able to grow roots, in

his new habitat, and has successfully created an 'Identitarian Space' for himself in the new land.

Jana Evans Braziel has analysed the various reasons for migration. Migration can be due to voluntary reasons: like economic profit, employment, education or for medical reasons. Involuntary or compulsory migration is due to civil warfare, racial oppression and religious persecution. Recent past movements are those of the "[P]ostcolonial *émigrés* (from places as varied as Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Guyana, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and elsewhere) (27). These migrants of the mid-twentieth century and the twenty-first century moved and continue to move, from colonized states to postcolonial metropolises, "[P]erhaps initially, intent on seeing the "mother country," but also intent on actively seeking education, professional opportunities, or even personal freedom." (27)

Some important mass movements recorded by ancient and medieval history were those of the Aryans, a voluntary migration circa 1500-1200 BC, the Greek expansion circa 782 BC, and those of the Chinese, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Turkish and Arab migration. One of the greatest migratory movements recorded was that of the Jews to Europe in the Pre-Roman era. The main reason for the famous Jewish movement was food shortage (having famine in their own land). Later began the Babylonian dispersion. It is not a coincidence that the word Diaspora was first used in the Jewish context. They were the first recorded mass migrants.

The Chinese migration is also noteworthy. One of the main reasons of Chinese migration was war and starvation. But, mass migration took place during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century.

The forced migration due to the African slave trade, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, has given rise to the major African Diasporas in America, Canada and parts of Europe.

Colonization in the fifteenth and sixteenth century led to colonial and postcolonial migrations, which were mainly voluntary. Postcolonial migrations are the main causes for the formation of the modern Diasporic communities. These socio-cultural, political, and economic implications of Diasporic communities find resonance in cultural studies and literary studies. Diasporic Literature is of great significance because these writings record the

experiences of dislocation, migration and re-location; all of which results in the hybridization of cultures.

In order to understand and then justify the relevance of Diaspora in cultural studies, it is prudent to first study the origin of both ‘Culture’ and ‘Cultural Studies’.

The migrants have succeeded in creating new settlements and spaces with new hybridized identities. These new Diasporic spaces created have given rise to the need for theorizing Diaspora. Diasporic studies have, therefore, gained greater attention in theoretical fields.

The urgency of theorizing Diasporic studies is adroitly described in *Theorizing Diaspora*: “Diaspora traversals question the rigidities of identity itself- religious, ethnic, gendered, national; yet this diasporic movement marks not a postmodern turn from history, but a nomadic turn in which the very parameters of specific historical movements are embodied and – as diaspora itself suggests- are scattered and regrouped into new points of becoming.” (Brazier and Mannur 3)

These new points of becoming, of the new ‘imagined communities’, creates constructs to new Diasporic spaces. The Diasporic, in today’s multicultural landscape, has evolved from a lonesome alien abroad to an assimilated individual with new Identitarian connotations. He has recreated a new transcultural Identitarian Space with cross-cultural practices. While retaining his own indigenous culture, he has imbibed cultural elements from the host country. The Diasporic persona has carved a new Identitarian Space to blend harmoniously in a new community.

Brazier accounts that International migrants, those residing outside of their country of birth, totalled 200 million in 2006. (1) This conspicuous statistic makes it clear that Diaspora has become a universal phenomenon, which requires an urgent critical study. At the onset, let us begin by examining the term ‘Diaspora’.

Etymologically, the word ‘**DIASPORA**’ is taken from the Greek word *Diasperien*, *Dia* meaning across, and *Sperien* meaning to sow or to scatter seeds. (Brazier and Mannur 1) The word was first used in the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures), which was written especially for the Hellenic Jewish communities in Alexandria, around the

3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. Diaspora was used to describe the Jews who were scattered, living in exile, away from their homeland, Israel.

The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Eighth Edition (2010), defines the term 'Diaspora' as, "[T]he movement of the Jewish people away from their own country to live and work in other countries, and secondly, as the movement of people, from any nation or group, away from their own country" (418).

Initially, the term 'Diaspora' was used to refer, exclusively, to the Jewish context. The significance of the term was limited. But with the present globalization and dispersal, the term 'Diaspora' has attained wider implications. Diaspora, in today's modernity, represents the new communities formed due to displacement, disjunctures and fractured conditions. Brij Maharaj cites anthropologist Steven Vertovec: "[T]he term 'diaspora' is often applied to describe practically any population that is considered 'deterritorialized' or 'transnational' - that is, which has originated in land other than that on which it currently resides, and whose social, economic, and political networks cross borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe" (Maharaj 48).

Brazier and Mannur offer their explanation of the term: "Diaspora can perhaps be seen as a naming of the Other, which has historically referred to displaced communities of people, who have been dislocated from their native homeland, through the movements of migration, immigration or exile" (1).

Brazier quotes William Safran's definition of Diaspora in his important essay, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return" (1991), wherein, Safran defines the term Diaspora as characterized by six distinguishing features or characteristics: First, Diaspora as a term refers to people who have "been dispersed from a specific original 'center' to two or more 'peripheral' or foreign regions"; Second, diaspora applies when those dispersed communities "retain a collective memory, vision or myth about their original homeland- its physical location, history, and achievements"; Third, diasporic communities are marked by a firm belief that "they are not- and perhaps cannot be fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it";

Fourth, diasporas overwhelmingly regard their ancestral homes as their true, ideal home and as a place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return when conditions are appropriate;

Fifth, diasporic communities firmly “believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity”;

Sixth, diasporas and diasporic communities typically “relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity, are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.” (Braziel 24-25)

It is important to note that all migrations cannot be termed Diasporic. Angshuman Kar highlights that William Safran qualifies what ‘specifically’ makes up the Diasporic identity. Kar points out that in Safran’s essay “Deconstruction and Comparing Diasporas” (2004), Safran objects to all migratory minority groups being given the umbrella term of Diaspora, that is because Diasporics have specific traits. Kar explains Safran’s position:

Safran writes, ‘diasporas comprise special kinds of immigrants because they have retained a memory of, a cultural connection with, and a general orientation toward their homeland culture and/ or religion; they relate in some (symbolic or practical) way to their homeland; they harbor doubts about their full acceptance by the hostland; they are committed to their survival as a distinct community; and many of them have retained a myth of return.’ (2)

According to the above, it is crucial for Diasporics to retain their distinctiveness in an alien land. Most migrants hope to return to their native land someday. Their return remains a myth because the presence of the native land is present only in the imagination and memory of the migrant. As time passes, the migrant and the native land are both subject to changes.

From the foregoing discussions it is clear that the study of Diaspora has numerous implications. This study aims to explore the concept of Diaspora in general and the Goan Diaspora in particular, with emphasis on how the Goans have created Diasporic Identitarian Spaces in the twenty-first century.

### **1.1.1 The Relevance of Diaspora in Cultural Studies**

Cultural Studies has its genesis in the realization of the importance of culture in relation to society and identity. The definition of ‘Culture’ has always been time and place

specific. The word Culture, being derived from the Latin word *Cultura*, meant a natural process of tending with reference to agriculture. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the term was extended to the human mind and personality, which meant a sort of grooming, like developing the mind and values. Enlightenment thinkers used the term culture, to designate themselves to be in an achieved state, as compared to the savage state of the non-Europeans. But not until the 18<sup>th</sup> century did various writers begin to look at culture as a process of societal changes. This was in reaction to the changes brought about in life by the Industrial Revolution. They feared the degeneration of life due to mechanization.

Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan concede that: “The word “Culture” acquired a new meaning in the 1960s and 1970s. Prior to that time, culture was associated with art, literature, and classical music. To have “culture” was to possess a certain taste for particular kinds of artistic endeavour. Anthropologists have always used the word “culture” in a much broader sense to mean forms of life and of social expression.” (1025)

K. W. Christopher attributes the development and interpretation of the term ‘Culture’ to Herder. “It was J.G. Herder in his *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. 14); who brought about a radical and pluralistic change in the usage of the term; by attacking the imperialist description of culture. He spoke of Cultures in the plural and argued that cultures are specific to time and space.” (16)

Christopher further notes that Raymond Williams’ contribution to the use of the term ‘Culture’ (in its modern sense) is noteworthy. Christopher cites Raymond Williams’ list of the four major contemporary uses of the term ‘Culture’.

“Culture is seen as:-

- ‘A particular way of life - of a group or a period’ (It is in this sense that the term; is used in anthropological studies);
- ‘A general process of intellectual spiritual and aesthetic development’;
- ‘Works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity’; And lastly;
- ‘The signifying systems through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored’.

In the last definition, culture is seen as a system that produces meanings, knowledge and also subjectivities, and it is in this sense that cultural studies reads culture.” (Christopher 17-18)

K.W. Christopher reveals that the term ‘Cultural Studies’ was invariably associated with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (BCCCS). The Birmingham Centre was founded by Richard Hoggart and his colleagues, in 1964. “The centre was a result of the working–class intellectuals’ engagement with culture.” (18) Richard Hoggart published his work titled *Uses of Literacy*, in 1957, which initiated discussions on cultural studies.

Christopher also acknowledges the role of F.R. Leavis in foregrounding cultural studies as an independent discipline. Leavis believed that the anti-humanistic and dehumanizing aspect of the ‘technologico-Benthamite culture’ could be fought by the literary intelligentsia. He suggests that the ‘long creativity of our culture’ could be preserved in literary works. Leavis thus established the connections between literature and society, between literature and experience; thereby, broadening the field of literary studies. “One can see the beginnings of cultural studies here.” (Christopher 21) Despite the elitism of Leavis, others like Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams, all acknowledge this debt to Leavis.

The work of Stuart Hall towards the growth of cultural studies cannot be ignored. Christopher expounds that Hall in his essay, “The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities”, reflects on the beginnings of cultural studies. According to Hall, “Cultural studies, really begins with the debate about the nature and cultural change in post war Britain.” (Christopher 18)

Later, it was Louis Althusser in his work, *For Marx*, who influenced cultural theory in 1970s. Althusser introduced the concept of ideology and social formation. “Defining Ideology, Althusser says: ‘In ideology, men ... [ellipses in original] express not the relation between them and their conditions of existence; this presupposes both a relationship and an ‘imaginary’ ‘lived’ relation. Ideology... [ellipses in original] is the expression of the relation between them and their ‘world,’” (Christopher 26)

Raymond Williams’ important work *Culture and Society* (1958) is an important contribution towards the emergence of cultural studies. He introduced a new stream of thought to the concept of culture. Raymond Williams interprets culture in terms of

‘dominant’, ‘residual’ and ‘emergent’. He used these terms to emphasize that culture is a contested space. (Christopher 64)

‘Dominant’ is the prevalent values, while residual are elements from the past but still active in the cultural processes. ‘Residual’ cultural elements are less effective than the present processes. While the ‘Dominant’ and ‘Residual’ are also relevant, it is the ‘emergent’ element that has the utmost significance to Diasporic studies. Christopher also quotes Williams: “An even more important source is the ‘emergent’:

‘By ‘emergent’ I [Williams] mean, first, that the new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of a relationship are continually created (123)” (Christopher 65) From the above it is clear that according to Williams, Cultural studies concentrates on the three-fold aspects of the evolving tradition and culture in society: The Dominant, the Residual, and the Emergent.

M.H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham in their *Ninth Edition: A Handbook of Literary Terms*, contribute:

Cultural studies designates a recent and rapid growing cross-disciplinary enterprise for analyzing the conditions that affect the production, reception and cultural significance of all types of institutions, practices, and products. A chief concern is to specify the functioning of social, economic and political forces and power structures that are said to produce the diverse forms of cultural phenomena and to endow them their social “meanings”, their “truth,” and modes of discourse in which they are discussed, and their relative value and status. (64)

Into this conceptual framework the present work is fore-grounded.

It is to be noted from the above definitions of cultural studies that cultural studies is mainly concerned with the development and evolution of practices. Diaspora as an emerging migratory experience produces a hybridized culture. The ambivalences and transformations created establishes the significance of Diaspora as a distinct discipline of cultural studies.

The relevance of Diaspora in cultural studies has many dimensions. Studying Diaspora in cultural studies offers new landscapes. These new landscapes create a need for interrogating nationalism and national identities. The lives of *émigrés* from colonization to

postcolonial societies have unique complexities. These marginalized societies, formed due to migration, have a whole new set of neurosis. There, then arise different implications redefining the relationship between citizens with their nation states. With migration, there has been a movement of peoples, cultures, beliefs and economies to list a few. It is a nomadic movement which takes roots in a new place forming a cultural *métissage*. *Émigrés* are just not a perceptible percentage, *au-contraire*, they represent a mass percentage. Mass migrations have necessitated an urgent need to rethink the ‘[R]ubrics of Nationalism’ (Braziel and Mannur 7).

The undeniable and distinct feature of human migration is that human migrants do not migrate alone. They carry with them their culture and practices, an entire lifestyle. N. Jayaram comments: “[M]igration does not mean the mere physical movement of people. Migrants carry with them a socio-cultural baggage which among other things consists of (a) a predefined social identity, (b) a set of religious beliefs and practices, c) a framework of norms and values, governing family and kinship organization, and food habits and d) language.” (16)

The migrant struggles in Diaspora to live his identity, and he does this by creating his own Identitarian Space. The migrant’s journey and his Identitarian parameters are unique to his community. The present study which looks at the Identitarian Spaces created by Goans, in Diaspora, will first examine the Goan migrant’s journey into the world. It is necessary to understand the Goan migratory patterns which led to the formation of the Goan Diaspora around the world.

Diaspora is a space occupied by the migrant outside his native place. This space, called Diaspora, could be located anywhere in the world. Pnina Werbner qualifies the meaning of the ‘place of Diaspora’. While listening to a BBC Radio 4 programme on Jewish religious music, the musicologist on air was comparing different “Jewish cantorial devotional singing, in different Jewish traditions, performed historically by different Jewish communities in different parts of the world.” (643)

What struck Werbner was that the musicologist repeatedly spoke of, “[T]he way the ‘Jew in the diaspora’ made music; not the Jews of the diaspora, nor diasporic Jews, but the diaspora- but that place was the whole world, with the exception, perhaps, of a small but focal centre, a point of origin.” (643) This observation is relevant because Diaspora literally

means scatterings. Thus, the term Jewish Diaspora can be conceived as the ‘Jewish scatterings across the globe’.

Another important point is the identity attained by these scattered communities, Werbner asserts,

Yet although he seemed to be referring to a non-place (not-Zion/Palestine/Israel), a kind of limbo, the place of diaspora he was reflecting upon was, in his description, an intricate network of places marked by great cultural variability and historical depth; a place of many different heterogeneous ‘traditions’. (643)

Werbner concludes, “This paradox- of the one in the many, of the place, of non-place, of a global parochialism- is what makes diasporas a typical transnational formation. (643). The above explanation given by Werbner emphasizes the uniqueness of Diasporas, as the presence of global transnational groups, making them worthy of minute study.

### **1.1.2 The Goan Diaspora**

There are many characteristics which make the Goan Diaspora distinct. Goans have shown grit in embracing a journey to the unknown and then creating a distinct space for themselves. Goans are located all over the world. Selma Carvalho (who has researched and written extensively on the Goan African Diaspora) explains, “Goans began to migrate to Africa in the Eighteen Hundreds. This African migration for economic reasons sowed the seeds of the Goan Diaspora. They were the first migrants from Goa.” (Personal Communication)

The Goan Diaspora is a lived reality occupying two or more spaces while reflecting dual or multiple cultures. It is necessary to understand the reasons for this mass migration. Stella Mascarenhas Keyes in her interview with Fredrick Noronha, for his book *Another Goa*, lists various reasons which sparked huge emigration of Goans. She opines, “Socio-economic factors were deteriorating for Goans in the (late) Portuguese period: Most Goans suffered from things like land taxation, raising of funds for the expeditions of the Portuguese elsewhere (both religious and military), the appropriation of land from village communities, allowing outsider control of village land, and changes in the usufruct rights of land” (92).

Goan Migration has been voluntary. It is noticed that the Goan Diaspora comprises largely of Catholic Goans. Stella Mascarenhas Keyes in her work *Colonialism, Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community* refers to the Goan Diaspora as the 'International Catholic Goan Community'. The reason being, the Goan Catholic community, which had assimilated with the Portuguese western culture, were among the first to choose migration for economic security.

Another reason for the predominant Catholic migration was the privilege of education given to them. Keyes cites, "The difference has been augmented over the years as the reproduction of migration among Catholics has been facilitated by the adoption of the proactive strategy of investment in education in preparation for jobs 'out', and the development of extensive networks which promoted chain migration." (215 *Colonialism*) Keyes gives these statistics, provided by the Provincial Congress, "[I]n 1900, 67% of all migrants originated from the OCs." (216) She uses the term 'OCs' as an abbreviation for old conquests, coastal parts of Goa, which were conquered by the Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. (425)

Keyes emphasizes that it was mainly the Christian Goans who embraced migration. She reiterates this fact, "Yet the majority of migrants were Catholics. According to the statistics provided by the Provincial Congress, (who note that their data is incomplete), around 1900, 18.5% of the Catholic population of Goa had migrated, while only 1% of Hindus had done so (Congress 1910:130)" (216)

Goan migration began under Portuguese rule. The Portuguese created the elite *Badkar* upper class and the middle class consisting mostly of converts. They were given special privileges which included education, property and social status. These Goans studied abroad or went to work in the Portuguese colonies. Later, when Goa got independence, more Goans migrated due to political and economic reasons.

A majority of the upper-class Goans in Goa and Goans settled in Africa did not want to be part of the Indian Republic. These classes comprised the bulk of the Goan migrants of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. But the labour and even the lowest economic strata were not left out in this foray for greener pastures. They sought jobs in the Middle East. Migration, thus, seemed irresistible to Goans. They traversed different cultures in this journey. As the Portuguese had ruled Goa from 1530 to 1961, Goans began migrating to Portugal, initially,

and then moved on to other countries. They preferred to move, mainly, to Portuguese colonies.

Many Goans also migrated to Portugal mainly for educational reasons. During colonization, it was mostly the upper-class Goans who were able to migrate in order to study medicine or law. Also, in the early stages it was the Goan goldsmiths, tailors and craftsmen who went to Portugal. Goldsmiths were taken to produce gold objects of art for the royal court. When Goa came under Indian rule, in December 1961, Goans in Portugal accepted the citizenship offered to them there. Even Goan professionals in Goa preferred to migrate to Portugal or to Portugal colonies like Mozambique. Though the Portuguese did not make the Goan economy self-reliant, Goans of upper classes received an education. This had equipped Goans with the ability to do different types of professional work and to migrate. Olivinho Gomes further explains:

A redeeming feature of their long and often oppressive rule was such legal framework, which gave Goans some equality of opportunity and inducement to advancement, and full citizenship rights within the Portuguese Constitution, permitting them to rise to the highest posts in its various branches of administration and judiciary in particular, and in the liberal professions in general. (xiv Introduction, *Goa*)

The placements of Goans in Portuguese administrative posts, in Portugal and in its colonies, were a big impetus for migration. Goans, who were sent to Portuguese colonies like Brazil, Macau and Africa, successfully integrated and set up Goan communities in their respective locales.

When Portugal attained new colonies in Africa, they preferred to send Goans to work there. The upper-class Goans consisting of clerics, doctors, teachers, lawyers and armed forces officials, worked either in Portugal or in the Portuguese colonies.

Goans began going to Africa since the eighteenth century. Literate Goans worked as clerks and administrators in Mozambique, Angola and Kenya. This led to the establishment of many Goan settlements in Africa. When the African colonies gained independence, life became difficult for the Goan migrants in Africa. They then looked to Europe, America, Canada and Australia for settlement.

Teresa Albuquerque in her book *Goan Pioneers in Bombay* traces the genesis of the first mass migration, of the late nineteenth century, to when the Goans were facing starvation. A mass exodus began with Goans leaving for British India. “Inevitably a mass exodus to British India became the only solution to the grave problem of existence. The tiny trickle turned into a giant tidal wave. Already in 1874 the number of persons who had left Portuguese soil was 5969. In 1888 almost a sixth of the population of Goa had crossed the border.” (xxx)

The number of Goans crossing the border kept on increasing. Albuquerque in her book *Goan Pioneers in Bombay* attributes the basic knowledge of English as one of the main forces for mass Goan migration. Facilities of teaching English were available very early in Goa. She reflects:

In response to the need of the hour, William Robert Lyons, an Anglo-Indian from Dharvar, came to Goa and became a pioneer of English education. In 1886, “Padre Leao” started an English school at Arpora; through which by his selfless dedication the humbler class of Goans were equipped to venture out and secure respectable positions. Thus he is credited for revolutionizing to a great extent the social and economic condition of Goa. (xxx, *Goan Pioneers*)

The Goan intelligentsia, fighting for freedom, also crossed borders and operated the press from Bombay. Other Goans, looking for jobs, began their migration from Bombay taking them to distant shores.

To address recent migration in the nineteenth century, the Middle East became a place of great attraction to Goans. With the discovery of oil in the Persian Gulf in the 1960s, job opportunities opened for Goans. As the Middle East countries began to grow economically, more and more Goans began to work in the Gulf. Many of these Goans, who made their fortunes in the Gulf countries in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, began to migrate seeking domicile in Canada, the United Kingdom or Australia. Though many of these extremely successful Goans moved west, those Goans who kept returning to Goa and settled in Goa added to the Goan economy.

Another important migration of the 1970s is the Goan exodus from Africa. The Goans of the African countries had to leave urgently, when the African countries gained independence, in the 1970s. These Goans sought asylum in England, America, Canada and

Australia. They call themselves Goan Afrikaners in order to emphasize their connection with Africa.

More recent migration from Goa began when Portugal joined the European Economic Community in 1986. The EEC later became the European Union with an internal single market, introducing the four freedoms: Goods, Capital, Services and Labour (within the Union). Many Goans, wanting to re-gain ties with their Portuguese heritage, migrated to Portugal seeking Portuguese nationality. Migrant Goans saw this as a golden opportunity, to enter European countries, to seek jobs and then settle down in Europe.

It is noted that Goans can easily acculturate in the west. The reasons could be the following:

- Evangelization was one of the foremost reasons for easy assimilation for Goans outside Goa. Through Christianity, Goans were able to integrate with their Portuguese rulers. Converted Goans adopted the Portuguese religion, customs, names, dress, language, mannerisms and attitudes. This helped them, to a great degree, to assimilate with the west.
- Under Portuguese rule, the upper-class Goans were offered many privileges in educational courses in arts, mathematics, medicine, law, and even in religious and secular institutions. This equipped the Goans to go abroad for further studies or to acquire jobs.
- Due to the educational facilities, offered to privileged upper-class Goans during Portuguese rule, Goans were always aware of their rights and readily defended their rights when necessary.
- While Goa was the hub for Portuguese commerce, the rulers did not seek to make Goa economically self-sufficient. Goa was drained of its resources for export purposes, while industrial development in Goa itself was ignored. As job opportunities were limited in Goa, Goans had to seek jobs outside Goa.

From the above, it is apparent that the dearth of jobs in Goa, pre and post-Independence, led Goans to look for greener pastures and better economic status.

The migration of Goan women in the 1970s and 1980s is noteworthy. There was a mass exodus of Goan women from the lower classes. Beginning in the 1970s, they provided domestic help in the Middle East countries. This migration boomed in the 1990s. The Gulf countries were a great attraction to Goan women. Women accompanied their husbands or went on their own to work. “Women of middle and higher strata have also started migrating to these countries to be with their husbands. Many of them, in course of time, have taken jobs.” (Da Silva, Gracias 148)

While the women in Kerala went as nurses, women from Goa went as maids or cooks. The twenty-first century has witnessed drastic changes in the type of women labour. Today qualified women are migrating as teachers, secretaries, office assistants, travel assistants, hospitality and airport assistants, babysitters, clerks, accountants and artists.

Another criterion for migrant labour study is the gender of the migrants. Braziel emphasizes, “Gender as a category of scholarly analysis only entered into international migration studies during the 1980s. According to Stephen Castles and Mark Miller’s landmark study *The Age of Migration* (1988), gendered patterns of economic migration emerged almost four decades ago.” (66)

Goan women were among the first to gain the faith of their employers in the Gulf countries. These women worked as cooks, babysitters, cleaners and housemaids for decades. It is commonly observed, that seeing their loyalty and hard work they were retained with a particular family for a long time. There are many cases where their employers would sponsor not only the maid but her family and extended relatives too.

It has been observed in the past, and even today, that it is difficult to get domestic help in Goa since many decades. The reason being, most of the labour class Goan women preferred to work in the Middle East. The Gulf countries offer attractive packages to the Goan women who go there to work as domestic aides. They receive high salaries coupled with lodging and food. Other facilities like annual air tickets home, medical facilities, toiletries and transport are also given to them. Braziel theorizes this phenomenon as the “mommy drain”,

Feminist scholars working in the areas of gender, globalization, development, and migration have referred to this material migratory “exchange” not only as a source-country “brain drain,” but also a “care drain” – siphoning off skills

and providers- and a “mommy drain,” since many economic migrants working in the service sector are mothers (single and married) who leave their own children behind in the care of other women (other mothers, grandmothers, aunts sisters or more distant relatives) when they migrate. (66)

In Goa, the practice of fathers caring for the children, while the mothers work abroad, has long been observed. In many instances, children are put in boarding schools because of the absence of the mother.

Diasporic Goans in Europe, America, and Australia, being citizens of their respective host countries, continue to contribute to the economy of their native countries. Similarly, Diasporic Goans contribute in a great way to the Goan economy. They send money to their families and to different organizations, in Goa, especially charitable organizations. It is common knowledge that Goan orphanages, religious institutions and cultural institutions are, to a great extent, patronized by the Goans in Diaspora.

Olivinho Gomes, in his book *Village Goa*, speaks about the boost provided by the Arabian Gulf jobs,

For the past decade or so avenues of employment in the Arabian Gulf countries have pumped a lot of money into the houses of the poor and the underprivileged, for jobs of even a menial nature have been fetching handsome incomes. There is more purchasing power with the people by and large and they spend it lavishly on necessities and luxuries, where before they could hardly afford a simple, comfortable living. (386)

The trans-nationalization of finances has strengthened the Goan economy. Since the 1980s, the Goan economy largely constitutes Gulf capital monetary flows.

Goans in Diaspora, the world over, are concerned and continue to remain connected with the native land. Living in progressive societies they look at their homeland with a broader perspective. They work for uplifting projects in Goa. Braziel elucidates on this concern of the Diasporic individuals:

While international economic migration has always been part of the extensive and intensive flows of capitalism, diasporic workers in the new global

economy are distinct in that they contribute not only to their personal livelihood, or even to that of their nuclear and extended families, but more expansively to their hometowns (its infrastructures and public services: roads, bridges, wells, supplies of drinking water, schools, textbooks) and even the modernization or “developments” of their native countries, particularly developing countries. (37-38)

Associations abroad are continuously collecting funds, some for charity, others for social, religious, medical or child welfare. Many Goan migrants qualified as Political Asylees also called Asylum Seekers. It is important to note that Political Asylee or Asylum Seekers are not the same as refugees. Braziel explains this difference,

Immigration law within many host countries now distinguishes between refugees and political asylee, those seeking refuge or asylum within the host country. Once an asylum application has been filled with the host country, the individual filing the application is legally classified as an asylee or asylum seeker. The individual does not become legally classified as a refugee, with the protection of fundamental rights typically accorded and guaranteed to refugees in accord with the 1951 United Nations Convention on the status of Refugees and Stateless Persons, until the application for political asylum has been approved. (31)

A refugee is a person who is forced to leave their country or home due to war, religious, political, or social reasons. Goans have never been refugees. Goans who left Goa for political or economic reasons were voluntary migrants. It is these voluntary migrants who form a major percentage of the Goan Diaspora.

These Diasporic communities contribute to both the home and host economy. Most Goan families in Goa have their sustenance from the head of the family, working in the Middle East or working with a Portuguese passport in Europe. In the past few decades, we have seen it is common not only the head of the family but any member working abroad to support the family. Diasporic remittances have helped the Goan economy in a large way.

Diasporic finances remitted to family members and friends, banks or other financial institutions, often comprise a substantial portion of the receiving country’s gross domestic

product. This makes an important contribution to the Goan and national economy. Diasporic remittances are the cause of increased consumer spending.

Brazil further contributes, “Diasporic dollars, however, also flow towards infrastructural development projects: helping to build roads, staff local schools and generously contribute to other “hometown” projects (particularly in countries like Haiti with very few public resources or tax revenues).” (40)

Goans in Diaspora stay connected by generously raising funds for their homeland. This is done through political lobbying, fund-raising, cultural events, works of literature and art, etcetera. This makes them feel they are an active part of their homeland. Goans today are qualified and have acquired high postings, not only in the Gulf, but all over the world. Goans are able to gain prominence for their hard working abilities and honesty. The effect of the economic rise of Goans, globally, can be visibly witnessed back home in Goa.

The Diasporic Goan is distinct because, when settling in a new homeland, he has tried not to relinquish his own identity. In the later chapters the study will focus on how he has been able to create an identity reflecting his past, present, and his envisaged future. The study will examine how the Goan has not only assimilated in a new environment, but while assimilating he has still retained his ethnic identity.

This thesis will further examine how the Goan, from a nostalgic and anguished migrant, has metamorphosed into a paradoxically multicultural, cosmopolitan individual, after having embraced new experiences and imaginations. It will include the processes involved, for the first and second generation Goan migrants, in building the Goan Identitarian Spaces around the world.

## **1.2 Identifying the different Identitarian Spaces**

The Diasporic identity cannot be analysed in simple dichotomies of native Goan and the Goan abroad. The problems of belonging, affiliation, assimilation and hybridization, of the Goan in a multicultural society, have been interrogated in this academic exercise.

The latter generations, born in Diaspora, are more likely to be assimilated completely with the host nation where they were born. This thesis largely focuses on the first and second

generation Goans, who have strong ties with their homeland, and who simultaneously try to assimilate into a new society. We shall study the dynamic spaces created by them through four major mediums: Culture, Associations, Literature and then, in the latter twentieth century, through Cyberspace.

### 1.2.1 Culture

Ananya Kabir states that Diaspora is a generator of cultural ‘newness’ (147). There is a social interaction between the transplanted groups. People from different cultures interact and intermarry to produce hybridity. Creolization in language and syncretism in culture is the result of this interaction.

In the contemporary context of de-territorialization and globalization, Goans in Diaspora live their Goan heritage abroad. They try to preserve and maintain their Goan traditions and culture in an alien society. Some important cultural trademarks include the language, religious practices, festivals, cuisine and arts. Age old traditions and rituals, the Konkani language, the folklore, songs, performing arts like the *mando*, *tiatr*, the world renowned Goan cuisine, etcetera have been religiously followed and maintained in and outside Goa. The *mando*, *tiatr*, *sorpotel*, and *feni* are some ethnic Goan markers which bind Goans together all around the world. Below are some distinct characteristics which make up the Goan identity:

Goans abroad retain their identity by celebrating their village feasts fastidiously. Each village has a church with a patron saint. The feasts days of the respective saints are celebrated with fervour and joy. St. Anthony for *Siolkars*, St. Alex for *Calangutkars*, St. Christopher for the people from Tivim, Our Lady of Miracles and St. Jerome for Mapusakars, are some prominent saints whose feast are celebrated by Goans, of their respective Goan villages in the Goan style, around the world. The feast of St. Xavier on 3<sup>rd</sup> December has become a universal Goan feast day.

Language is an important binding factor for national and native expression. In the face of transnationalism and multiculturalism, in Diaspora, Goans retain their identity through their native language Konkani. Konkani is spoken in many Goan homes. The second and third generations of Goans, even employ special classes to learn the language. Konkani is an integral part of the Goan identity and is a cause of great pride among Goans. It arouses strong feelings of unity and affinity among the Goans abroad.

Goans in Diaspora go to great lengths to maintain ties with other Goans, in Goa, or around the world. There is a vibrant social networking in order to keep the kinships alive. Relationships are maintained with families and friends back home and with other Goan Diasporic communities. Marriage is one such institution through which the ethnic Goan bond is strengthened. Goans prefer to marry Goans from Goa or Goans settled in other parts of the world.

The Goan food stands out as one of the most important markers of its cultural distinctiveness. Goan food is a mixture of the indigenous, Arabic and Portuguese cuisine. The Goan food is famous and is now exported. Goans in Diaspora take immense pride in their Goan cuisine. There are Goan food counters erected on feasts days, fetes, festivals, *tiatrs*, and at Goan socials or any other gatherings.

Goa has a rich inheritance in its folk art. The Goan folk art includes folk dances, songs, music, drama, folk tales, myths and superstitions. Goan music, folk dances and folk tales bind the community since ages past. The dances and music make up an important part of the celebrations of festivals.

The folk dances of Goa have remained popular all through Portuguese colonization. Among the innumerable folk dances and forms found in Goa, *Dhalo*, *Dhangar Dance*, *Dekhni*, *Fugad*, *Musal Dance*, *Goff*, *Tonya Mel*, *Mando*, *Kunnbi dance*, *Gauda Jagar*, *Ranmale*, and *Ghode Modni*, are among those that stand out. The Portuguese introduced the Waltz and Corridinho. Folk drama consists of *Khel and Zagor* of the Hindus and *Tiatr* of the Christians. *Tiatr* is very popular among the Diasporic Goans. Special care is taken to bring *Tiatr* troupes from the homeland to perform on holidays and on feasts days.

The Goan carries his cultural baggage, consisting of a million nuances, which he treasures and helps make up his Diasporic persona.

### **1.2.2 Literature**

Following F. R. Leavis' tradition of preserving the 'long creativity of our culture' (Christopher 20) in literary works, the Diasporic experience becomes integral to literary expression. With the new global shifts, a new category of creative response has emerged. Diasporic Literature gives expression to the discontinued and displaced histories of migrants the world over. It is, therefore, a World Literature reflecting spatial features of geographical

movement which are central to understanding the identity of the Diasporic writers and their literary themes.

The writings of Diasporic Goans are similar to most other Diasporic writers such as, Salman Rushdie, Vikram Seth, Rohinton Mistry, Jhumpa Lahiri and Kiran Desai, to name just a few. Goan Diasporic writers share generic similarities with Diasporic writers of other communities. Their major concern, as reflected in their writings, is the homeland which they have left behind. Though they write about their new surroundings, the focus remains on their homeland. Their works are the outcome of memories, nostalgia and unbreakable ties with the homeland.

In their new surroundings, the migrants are confused with various emotions and new experiences. They try to comprehend their existence by writing. Nostalgia spurs the migrant/expatriate writers to write about their homeland. P.A. Abraham explains this situation as follows:

Caught between two worlds, the expatriate negotiates a new space, caught between two cultures and often languages, the expatriate writer negotiates a new literary space. Therefore, an anxious sense of dislocation is characteristic of expatriate writings. The shifting designation of 'home' (Where's it?) and the attendant anxieties about homelessness and the impossibility of going back are perennial themes in these stories. (51)

In fact, migration being a common phenomenon today, P. A. Abraham emphasizes the adoption and universality of Diasporic writings:

George Steiner describes the expatriate writer as "the contemporary everyman". It is also described as a state of mind and emotion which includes a wistful longing for the past. It is often symbolized by the pain of exile and homelessness. There is a complex view of the double vision of the expatriates- both a looking forward and a yearning backward. It is, in fact, part of every person's life, it is part of the human condition. (51)

Diasporic writings have also led to Diasporic criticism and theory. Ananya Kabir elucidates, "Homi Bhabha's theory of 'hybridity, the product of 'interstice' or the 'third space' that exists between restrictive binaries, including that of 'homeland' and 'diasporic

location', was formulated within his seminal collection of essays *The Location of Culture* (1994) with overt references to writers and scenarios of Diaspora." (Kabir 148)

As migration and the Diasporic experiences are similar to different communities, it is observed that the Diasporic writings have similar themes born from similar experiences. James Procter in his essay "Diasporic readers and the location of reception", quoting Robert Fraser (Fraser, 2008:186) states that, "Readers are frequently diasporic beings, whose tastes have been formed by travel, social change, disparities of social outlook and the multiple ironies springing from these ubiquitous facts" (256).

Diasporic individuals, who struggle to assimilate in their host nation, while being alienated from their homeland, constitute an important theme of literary studies. Their journey consists of transition, struggle, alienation, and marginalization. It is a struggle to embrace the host country's social, cultural, political, linguistic, and even psychic norms. This adoption done without renouncing their own nativeness, but by balancing the two said cultures, finds expression in literary works. M. Thayyalnayaki opines, "Any discussion on diaspora is incomplete without reference to the relationship between expatriate writing and the special use of language in such writing." (4)

Polymathic writings comprise the literature of writers who are living in different continents while reflecting on their Diasporic migrant status. Their cross-continental mobility has enabled them to challenge the conventional limits of boundaries, identity, national culture, religion, language, etcetera. In this process they create new literary spaces.

Ananya Kabir states that Hanif Kureishi, the British Asian author, while reading from his novels at Cambridge, UK, in 2000, admits, "The only way I could make sense of my confused world was to write" (Kabir 145). Diasporic writers are inhabitants traversing various times and spaces simultaneously. They are also victims of confusion, struggles, and traumas. These struggles carry the seeds of creativity. Their experiences are recorded in their literary accounts. Their struggles and compulsions find a voice in their creative productions. Diasporic experiences have, thus, been immortalized in literary expression.

Ananya Kabir reflects,

Even in cases where historical circumstances of coercion, force or violence have been relatively uncontested in the public sphere (such as the facts

surrounding slavery and indentured labour), diaspora consistently opens up spaces for individual reflection on the divergence between official histories and private traumas, including traumas that have been transmitted through generations (146).

Diasporic writers who capture their experience through literary expression are “Re-making” themselves in a new life. Karthiyani Devarajoo posits,

Pankaj Mishra, a literary critic who observes the above trend among diasporic communities in England states that there is an “ever-growing literature” that describes the varied lives of the colonial subjects in England. The attempt is to “re-make” themselves for the new life in the old imperial centre. Diasporas around the world project their lives and channel their thoughts, fears, aspirations and expectations through the literature they produce.” (145)

Literature from Diaspora articulates the ambivalences of relocation and the in-between position of culture transitions of the writers. Diasporic writings have echoes of more than one experience and perspective. In his essay, “Imaginary Homelands” Rushdie states, “However ambiguous and shifting this ground maybe, it is not an infertile territory for the writer to occupy”(15). Diasporic writers are more than conscious of their in-betweenity. Their writings reflect their preoccupation with the third space and the imaginary homeland. The Diasporic writers interpret and translate foreign cultures from, both, a native and an international perspective.

This liminal space is reflected through the protagonists, and characters they create in the texts. In all the Diasporic novels, the topographical landscape is an inconsistent space - wherein the characters always find themselves out of place. Correspondingly, the place or location in the Diasporic novels always has a shifting nature. This shifting nature is a direct result of the flowing interactions and intricacies of globalization. Diasporic writers, while occupying this third space, are able to ‘remake’ themselves in new societies through their writings.

Diasporic Literature throws light on a whole new set of experiences. They reflect not the sole experience of one writer, but are representational of a whole migrant community. It reflects the struggle and psyche of the entire Diasporic community. It reveals a complete

whole new set of paradigms in the life of the transnational individual. The resultant literature is not only exotic and en-richening, but it also successfully dismantles preconceived notions.

Over the years, readership has also witnessed dramatic changes. In the past centuries, reading was a way to educate and entertain oneself. Reading was an activity wherein one gained knowledge of things far-fetched, beyond the imagination, and beyond the readers' lives. This trend has changed in recent times. Readers in contemporary times read because they empathize with the readings. The reader looks for shared experiences.

With globalization, travel has become an everyday occurrence. The well-travelled, well-informed reader has become a voracious travel reader. The reader-consumers are themselves dispersed and are better able to understand the Diasporic experience. James Proctor quotes Robert Fraser: "Readers are frequently diasporic beings whose tastes have been formed by travel, social change, disparities of social outlook and the multiple ironies springing from these ubiquitous facts' (Fraser 2008:186)" (256)

If the numbers of Diasporic writers are increasing, then the numbers of Diasporic readers are also increasing simultaneously. The reader himself is a wanderer. Proctor now referring to Michel De Certeau, the French sociologist and scholar declares, "De Certeau famously argued, "Readers are travelers; they move across lands belonging to someone else. Like nomads poaching their ways across fields (De Certeau 1984: 174)'" (256).

Goa having had a colonial rule of around 400 years, the Postcolonial study of Goan literature becomes necessary. Emerging as one of the most prominent intellectual literature in the post-war periods, Postcolonialism has opened a new canon breaking the old paradigms that confined literature merely to the western thought. Ashcroft *et al* explain how Diaspora, as a discipline, qualifies as an important part of Postcolonial studies,

The notion of 'diaspora' does not seem at first to be the province of Postcolonial studies until we examine the deep impact of colonialism upon this phenomenon. The most extreme consequences of imperial dominance can be seen in the radical displacement of peoples through slavery, indenture and settlement. (217)

Here, they admit that migration and displacement are direct results of colonization. Colonization further caused a wide chasm in society between the rich and the poor. This

disparity also resulted in people migrating to the west for better opportunities. “The movement of refugees, in particular, has often re-ignited racism (and Orientalism) in many communities world-wide. (217)

Postcolonial studies examine every impacting effect beginning from the very first native-colonizer confrontation. The influences of colonization persist and will continue to influence the once colonized societies. Migrants, on their journey, cannot be separated from the colonial experience, as they carry with them memories and traditions of home. P.A. Abraham explains, “Today, in postcolonial literatures, “The expatriate sensibility” has been accepted as a legitimate literary term. The impulse to take the literary journey home, towards “history”, towards “memory”, towards “past”; is the result of the expatriate’s long journey from home.” (51)

The authors of *The Empire Writes Back* explain the use of the term ‘postcolonial’:

[T]he term ‘post-colonial’ to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupation throughout the historical processes initiated by European imperial aggression. We also suggest that it is most appropriate as the term for the new cross-cultural criticism which has emerged in recent years and for the discourse through which this is constituted (Ashcroft et al. 2).

Goa has had over four hundred years of colonization. The migration of Goans had its genesis in colonization. The experience of colonization has been expressed in both stay-at-home and Diasporic Goan literature. Sanjiv Kumar believes that Diaspora is an important part of Postcolonial studies. He states, “Though the term *diaspora* has always attracted the intellectual attention, it has gained postcolonial currency in the postcolonial era. It is so because postcolonial anguish appears to be inextricably intertwined with the diasporic angst among the people inhabiting the Third World” (5).

Goan Diasporic Literature has aptly captured the changing face of the Goan cultural vista in Diaspora and the Diasporic influences back home. Ashcroft *et al* observe: “A major feature of Postcolonial literature is the concern, with place and displacement. It is here that the special Postcolonial crisis of identity comes into being; the concern with the development or recovery of an effective identifying relationship between self and place.” (8)

Prominent Goan Diasporic texts included for study in this thesis are as follows:

- *Tivolem* by Victor Rangel Ribeiro (1998)
- *Skin* by Margaret Mascarenhas (2001)
- *The Sting of Peppercorns* by Antonio Gomes (2010)

Victor Rangel Ribeiro, Margaret Mascarenhas, Antonio Gomes, Ben Antao, etcetera have reflected on Goan history, tradition, myths and folklore in their works. Goan myths have been given a new narrative and contributed to the social makeup of the protagonists. Goan Diasporic writers, similar to their Diasporic counterparts belonging to other communities, have an impassioned need to relocate their images and world views, amidst new and alien homes, thus bringing to light their ‘lived experiences’.

Kabir concludes her essay “Diasporas, literature and literary studies”, by reiterating that the human cost of displacement, human resilience, and creativity through traumatic memories and inheritances is, arguably, the most valuable contribution Diaspora has made to literature and literary studies. (150)

### 1.2.3 Associations

With reference to the spread of Indian Diasporic settlements globally, Prakash Jain propounds:

The layman notion of social organization among overseas Indian communities is represented in Tagore’s analogy of the Banyan Tree. Tagore held the view that Indian settlement abroad is akin to the spread of grand old Banyan tree. Implicit in this analogy is the assumption that Indian culture, as well as social organizational patterns can be transplanted overseas (191).

This analogy of the growth of Indian communities abroad includes Goan communities, too. The spread of Goan settlements corresponds to the spread of Goan organizations in Diaspora. The Goan organizations abroad are a visible reality. But unlike the Banyan tree view which presumes the formation of associations to be easy, the creation of organizations abroad is dependent on the socio-political nature of each host country.

Raymond Williams' concept of 'emergent' in the cultural theory is directly relevant to the formation of Diasporic Associations. By 'emergent' he means the new meanings, practices and relationships, being constantly created. The creation of new classes and new processes gives rise to the birth of new formations. Christopher explains as follows:

Williams'[Raymond] insistence on seeing culture as a 'process' in opposition to reified formulations leads to the formulations of 'structures of feelings'. Williams' use of this concept is very practical. He uses it to collapse the social/ personal opposition and also to grasp cultural formation as a process, as something lived and experienced rather, than a known and fixed form or category. (68)

The formation of associations is a social process of reconstruction. Diasporic Associations thus finds cognizance in William's 'emergent' criterion of social phenomenon.

Diasporic Associations are concrete formulations of a vibrant consciousness. It is the outcome of complex and contradictory experiences. It is the result of common experiences shared by a community. The formation of associations is a collective mode of Diasporic feelings.

According to Dr. Thayyalnayaki in her essay "Indian Immigrants and their Philosophy of Composition" it was Bhabha, an Indian expatriate, who "[T]ransformed the diasporic scattering to a gathering: "Gatherings of exiles and émigrés and refugees, gathering on the edge of 'foreign' cultures, gatherings at the frontiers; gathering in the ghettos or cafes of city centers." To Bhabha it is not a nation but the culture which is the focus of attention" (3). There is clearly a psychological need to associate and to create associations.

Initially, migrant workers abroad, like all other migrants, experience displacement coupled with other political, economic and socio-cultural discriminations. But the degree of discriminations and adjustments vary from place to place. Goan settlements abroad cannot be studied uniformly. For example, in the Gulf countries, Goans are 'Non-resident Indians' and their return home after a certain period of time is definite. In some western countries, which offer permanent residency and citizenship, Goans settle permanently.

Goan Associations abroad began evolving around the 1970s. These associations grew in the 1980s and became a social reality by the 1990s. A detailed chapter in the thesis will concentrate on studying the role of Associations in Diaspora:

- 1) How do these Associations bring Goans together ?
- 2) How have they helped Goans in Diaspora overcome their alienation ?
- 3) How do the Associations help the Goans assimilate in a new land ?
- 4) How have the Associations become an integral feature of the Diasporic Goan's life?

The vital role of Goan Associations abroad is to bring together the Diasporic Goans living away from their homeland. Associations are integral engines to keep the Goan spirit alive and functional abroad. Associations help the Goans to retain and foster loyalties to the homeland. Organizations and Associations are very significant as they help to preserve and practice the culture abroad. The most important role of the Diasporic Associations is that they help foster togetherness. They are able to share common new experiences and common memories. This makes it easier for the displaced Goans to embrace life in a foreign land.

#### **1.2.4 Cyberspace/ E-Space**

Cyberspace, also called E-space, a creation of the twenty-first century, is today the most frequently visited locale. E-space is a domain synonymous with globalization. Cyberspace has conquered the earth's geographic distancing. By shrinking the globe into one accessible sphere, it has become very relevant to Diasporic studies. Anita Mannur in her essay 'Postscript: Cyberscapes and the Interfacing of Diasporas', emphasizes the importance of Cyberspaces': "Clearly some ways we understand nation and Diaspora are already mediated through cyber and digital spaces" (283).

K.H. Karim also affirms, "Worldwide dispersions from home countries over several generations are seemingly reversed by bringing together disparate members of ethnic groups to interact in electronic 'chat rooms' ... The restrictions of national borders therefore appear to be partially overcome in this alternative form of globalization" (165) There is an infinitude in Cyberspace interactions.

Goans scattered in different continents, all over the world, sport their distinct Goan cultural heritage. This distinctness helps in connecting Goans of different national communities. It helps them create and occupy a distinct Diasporic space. Literature, cinema,

performing arts like music, drama, cinema, religious rituals, and cultural festivals are some means to keep the Goan Diaspora connected on Cyberspace. Karim further explains,

Internet-based media seem especially suited to the needs of diasporic communities, in being able to support ongoing communication among widely separated transnational groups. They provide relatively inexpensive, decentralized, interactive and easy to operate technologies in contrast to broadcasting's highly regulated, linear and capital-intensive operations characteristics. In addition to extensively using online media such as email, Usenet, Listserv and the World Wide Web, diasporic groups are also publishing content on offline digital media such as CD-ROMs (164)

In a globalizing world, the displaced Diaspora still yearn to be linked to their past. Despite assimilating to their new host nation, they actively relate to their home country. They remain connected to their roots and with one another on Cyberspace. On Cyberspace, the trans-located Goan Diasporic communities function as a dynamic cultural entity. Karim acknowledges, "Worldwide dispersions from home countries over several generations are seemingly reversed by bringing together disparate members of ethnic groups to interact in electronic 'chat rooms'" (165). Cyberspace provides a relatively inexpensive, accessible, and easy to operate means to migrants, to establish and maintain contact with their loved ones. In the face of surviving the dominant prevalent cultural onslaught of the host nation, Cyberspace is the answer to all the dispersed Diasporic communities.

A detailed chapter will provide an in-depth study of the extent, to which Cyberspace has helped in uniting Goans all over the world. How do migrant Goans live their Goan consciousness in Diaspora? The chapter will focus on how Diasporic individuals maintain their identity by creating websites, blogs and email lists, in order to establish a social organizational identity on Cyberspace. It will examine the manner in which the Goan Diasporic experience has become a social reality on Cyberspace.

### **1.3 Limitations and Further Scope of the Study**

Identitarian Spaces around the world have their genesis in each one's distinct native culture. Each Indian state has its specific culture. Goa, like the other states of India, also

sports a culture which is quintessentially Goan. The Goan is very proud of this defining culture. This is the primary reason that this 'Goanness' has been carried with the migrant outside Goa.

There is a need for a critical study of the Goans settled all over the globe. This thesis is an attempt to highlight various facets of the Goan Diaspora around the world in a simple and concise manner.

A research on the Goan Diaspora with emphasis on Goan literature has long been overdue. This thesis will be relevant to Goan cultural and sociological studies and to the Goans, all over the world, who take pride in being Goan. It hopes to capture the core of the Goan existence outside Goa. It hopes to reinstate the survival of Goan culture in the face of the threat of globalization.

This thesis will open doors to further detailed and specific studies on the Goan communities around the world. At the end of the work an interest to study and record the Diasporic experience specific to each host nation would be instigated. The importance and the urgent need of researching and studying the individual Goan settlements in Canada, United Kingdom, United States, Australia and The Middle East would be realized.

The aim of this thesis is to highlight the core essence of the Goan Diaspora in general and the Goan Diaspora in particular. Consequently, it will open new locales of studies. This thesis has limitations in its study of the Goan Identitarian space as one homogenous whole. Assimilation with different cultures produces heterogeneous cultural complexities. This means that there are a whole new set of Goan Diasporic vistas to be further studied. Studying minute details of the different Goan communities in countries like that of Canada, USA, England, Australia, South Asia, and even the Caribbean, will be a monumental contribution to Diasporic and Cultural Studies. It is necessary to further study how the Canadian Goans differ from the Australian Goans, or how the South Asian Goans differ from the British Goans.

The Goan Diaspora is a '*Goan Reality*' - a lived experience. Each community needs to be addressed as occupying a distinct space with a common *distanced continuing* of all that is Goan. While Goans are spread all over the world, there are some areas which are more densely populated. These Goan communities concentrated in the United Kingdom, United

States of America, Canada, Australia and the Middle East, are in fact noteworthy of individual detailed study.

The Diasporic Goans constitute a major fragment, a whole generation, of Goans out of Goa. To conclude with Homi K. Bhabha's citation, in 'Post-colonial Criticism', "It is from those who have suffered the sentence of history- subjugation, domination; diaspora, displacement- that we learn our most enduring lessons." (Satchidanandan 29)

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## Chapter 2: Cultural Identity

### 2.1 Who is a Goan and what is his Culture?

Culture is the most distinguishing factor which builds the social and psychological make-up of an individual and that of communities. Communities are identified through their cultural traits, and communities in Diaspora make the study of culture significant. Having looked at the relevance of culture in Diasporic studies in the introductory chapter, this chapter focuses on what constitutes the quintessential Goan culture and how this culture undergoes transformations through cross-cultural encounters when carried outside Goa. It also focuses on how Goans in Diaspora try to re-construct the Goan identity. Culture is always fluid and, therefore, hybridization is inevitable.

But what is the Goan culture and how does the Goan Diaspora, while sharing similarities with Diasporas of other communities, differ from them? Thayyalnayaki contends: “The term ‘Diaspora’ literally refers to a scattering, carrying within it the ambiguous status of being both an ambassador and a refugee; one anticipates the projection of one’s culture and the other seeks refuge and protection and relates more positively to the host culture” (1). Recognizing that Diasporics are cultural ambassadors, leads to the realization that the dynamics of culture needs to be re-written in Diaspora.

Culture is one of the key elements through which the Diasporic Identitarian Space is constructed. In the study of the relation between Culture and Diaspora, it is appropriate to mention that theorists like Homi K. Bhabha, Edward Said, Paul Gilroy, Gayatri Spivak, James Clifford and Stuart Hall have thrown a flood of light on various concepts. Sanjiv Kumar refers to two great Diasporic theorists, Homi K. Bhabha and Edward Said, who have emphasized the complexities of survival and assimilation in Diaspora. Kumar explains:

These Diasporas, according to Homi K. Bhabha, tend to move in an obvious circle, i.e., from home culture to alien culture leading to an assimilated culture. Edward Said also adds to the definition and classification of Diaspora: ‘The person who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner, he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong, but he is perfect to whom the entire world is a foreign place . . . and a survival, in fact is about the connection between things’ (5).

These two theorists highlight the fact that the Diasporic space is an in-between space between the hostland and the homeland. The Diasporic has to come to terms with his hyphenated position and hybridized culture. Ever since cultural studies has begun to dominate intellectual horizons, Diaspora in turn, as part of evolving history, has become a major site of contestation.

Diasporic individuals are transnational due to the fact that they live between two cultures- two worlds. Another important fact to be noted is that (as already mentioned) the Diasporic individual, who travels across physical boundaries, does not travel alone. He travels with a baggage consisting of memories of his past life, culture and tradition. Sanjiv Kumar explains, “An expatriate is not only the man who travels across the physical boundaries; rather his imagination, culture, psyche, sociology and anthropology also travel with him, causing a sort of perpetual conflict of fluid identity and alternative centers” (5).

The Goan migrant has to cope with this fluid identity in Diaspora. In her work, *Mirror to Goa: Identity and the Written Word in a Small Society*, Donna Young makes an observation, regarding the kinship, between the Goan and his homeland. She observes:

As more Goans leave the region in search of educational and employment opportunities, it has become important for them to maintain the dream of returning to their homeland. The dream, however, is more than just returning home. It includes creating, maintaining, or acquiring a home not only for oneself but also for one’s descendants. In other words, it is important for Goans to define and preserve their heritage, traditions and distinct culture (92).

Placido D’Souza, (an eminent diplomat with the Indian Foreign services, and a Goan who has been posted all over the world) has made a similar observation. Regarding the Goans in Diaspora, in the foreword for Teresa Albuquerque’s *Goans of Kenya*, he states:

IT IS WELL-KNOWN that in proportion to their numbers, more Goans live outside India, than Indians belonging to any other community . . . Though uprooted, and far from his native soil, the Kenyan Goan - as Goans elsewhere- had clung tenaciously to his identity and way of life. Meanwhile, their discipline, hard work, and enterprise had brought them into prominence in many areas of national life (8).

From the above observations, we can surmise that the Goan Diasporic feels it imperative to retain his Goan cultural identity. The Goans carry their Goan native consciousness on their Diasporic traversals. It is no easy feat for a migrant to maintain his native culture in an alien land. Goans outside Goa are adamant to retain their Goan identity by continuing to think of themselves as Goans and by living the Goan culture.

How does the Goan maintain his Goan identity in Diaspora? It is imperative to first identify the Goan culture and identity.

Goan society has had a chequered cultural history. Olivinho Gomes in his work, *A Scholarly World of Culture*, draws a picture of the essence of Goan culture. He looks for the distinguishing traits of Goan culture enshrined in its people:

[I]s a positive, joyous attitude to life, in a simple, carefree yet sensitive manner, characterized by goodness and kindness towards fellowmen, a sincerity and lack of deceit generally, a transparent honesty in dealings with a sense of justice and fair-play, an altruistic outlook and a striving for excellence, decent living with good food and dress, song and dance with an undercurrent of hedonism, tempered by a strong ethical strain, an element of inefficiency and laziness, bordering on '*laissez-faire*' '*laissez aller*', disdain for hard manual work thinking it below dignity (396).

In Diaspora, the Goan particularly has to transform himself according to his circumstances and necessities in order to survive. Most of the western societies are highly liberated, mechanical, urbanized and progressive. For the Goan in Diaspora, his relocation has physical, psychological, political and socio-cultural implications. His disconnection from his native home, and the in-betweenity in an alien land, causes him to constantly work on building a new transcultural identity.

The Goan culture is a product of a large number of influences as a result of different regimes/rules. The geographical location and the historical implications of Goa's past have created a confluence of many cultures and many languages. But the surprising fact is that the past histories, past regimes and their respective cultures, have all left their imprint which has resulted in the distinctiveness of Goan culture. Goan culture is an outcome of mainly Hindu, Muslim, and Portuguese influences. But again, there are Jain, Buddhist, African influences too. Goan culture being a product of many cultural influences is, therefore, able to show an

unusual tenacity and versatility to build its own communities around the world. Regarding this integration, Peter Nazareth in the foreword of his anthology, *Pivoting on the Point of Return*, cites the revealing thoughts of the protagonist of *Angela's Goan Identity* while showing the churches of Old Goa to Merlin, a Dutch woman,

Goans were moulded into two cultures [Eastern and Western]. The two cultures were blended and yet could be separated. When needed, one side could be pulled, stretched and exaggerated to predominate over the other. It's a kind of mechanism Goans use, to meet a situation, requiring adjustment. Goans are at home, whether in the desserts [sic] of Africa or cities of America. The Goan community is found integrated into all the communities of the world (Nazareth xxix).

In Diaspora, these past influences can be seen in a modernized form and adapting to the western value and education system. These conditions leave no opportunity for the Goan to be monolingual and monocultural. The Portuguese influence on the Goan has helped him to a large extent to survive and succeed in western countries. Mel D'Souza a Diasporic Goan writer from Canada, in his book *Feasts, Feni and Firecrackers* opines:

Goans were ethnically different from the Portuguese, but the mortar that bonded Christian Goans and the Portuguese was our faith in the Catholic religion. As Catholics, we inherited the Portuguese ethos, and our surroundings exuded a Latin flavour. The only conspicuous exceptions were the colour of our skin, the saris that some women wore, and coconut trees (13).

Inseparable to the Goan Diasporic psyche is its quintessential culture composed of values, traditions, beliefs, cultural practices like the *mando* dance and music, distinct cuisine, the folk-drama called *Tiatr*, Goan myths and folklore, that binds him to the motherland.

Though originating from Goa, there are now many Goan communities around the world in different geographical locations. They together occupy a common space and share the similarities of dislocation, displacement, trauma, memory, assimilation and trans-nationalism. They are united by their common experiences.

In a globalized world, and with the forces of modernity, the Goan Diaspora feels an urgent need to represent its cultural identity. Who is a Goan? And what constitutes the Goan

identity? Teotonio de Souza in his book, *Goa outgrowing Postcolonialism*, voices the undiminished intensity of spirit which make up the Goan identity:

There are many facets of Goan identity as individuals who associate themselves with Goa, whatever the intensity of involvement, whatever the length of time, whether from inside or outside its geographical borders. The Goan identity accompanies the myriads of hearts and minds with their myriad talents and potentials to keep Goa ever young, ever new (17).

The many superimposed cultural histories make it difficult to pointedly define Goan culture and identity. Nevertheless, certain cultural markers reflect on its nature.

Cultural traits build the identity of the individual and society. It is through identity that individuals and groups understand and construct themselves. Warren Kidd states: “A useful starting point when thinking about what ‘identity’, or rather ‘social identity’ might mean, is to view it as simply being able to ‘know who you are’” (24).

The word identity is a comparatively new word. Used by the psychologist Erik Erickson, in the 1960s, it has since gained popularity. For psychologists, identity is the way a person distinguishes himself from the other. For sociologists and anthropologists, the identity of a group of people as a whole finds relevance. Psychologist Henri Tajfelin, of The Social Identity theory, (1979), (McLeod “Simple Psychology.org”) explained Social Identity as a person’s sense of understanding and way of defining who they are, based on their group membership(s). It is this identity which gives him a sense of pride and belonging. Regarding Identity, Marie Arndt quotes Woodward’s work, *Identity and Difference*, “Katheryn Woodward states, ‘Identity gives us an idea of who we are and how we relate to others and to the world in which we live. Identity makes the ways in which we are, the same as others who share that position and the ways in which we are different from those who do not’” (Arndt 89-90).

Each individual gains his identity by his participation or being part of a certain social group. It is a specific behaviour, directed by particular traditions and values, a person practices that gives him his cultural identity. Teotonio de Souza opines, “Identity does not have a close definition and is open to change brought about by ongoing historical processes. But at any given time there can be different in-group and out-group perceptions of identity.

These perceptions develop with reference to experiences of integration or exclusion within the group or by an outside group” (14).

An important trait of the Goan identity is the ‘*suségad*’ attitude. The Goan is often characterized as being *suségad*. Outsiders describe Goans as *suségad*. Goans themselves use this term a lot in their daily conversation. Colloquially, *suségad* means easy-going. It is used to describe a complacent attitude, a self-sufficient attitude. Intrinsic in the Goan personality is the *suségad* spirit or attitude.

But many non-Goans often use it disparagingly to describe Goans. Kiran Budkuley elucidates, “Much as one may dislike it, one cannot help noticing in it the trace element of Goan sensibility which is the Goans’ generally pacifist and self-contented approach to life. A re-view of Goan history will reveal that Goans as a people have never reveled [revelled] in violence or aggression or immigration per se” (179).

Eminent Goan writer Damodar Mauzo contributes:

Many people outside Goa translate ‘*suségad*’ to be lazy. This is a very wrong perception. *Suségad* is an ability to take things in your stride; an inborn ability to live life without unnecessary stress. Goans were always happy, just being part of their homeland. They have never craved or run after money. This is the secret of their happiness. This is the *suségad* disposition. The afternoon *siesta* is very much part of this *suségad* lifestyle. (Personal Communication)

*Suségad* is often misused by outsiders to mean lazy, and has become a deprecatory term. It is used to criticize the Goan’s complacent attitude. *Suségad* is more than an attitude; it is a particular lifestyle. It is an important part of the Goan psyche and disposition. Ben Antao in a personal communication reveals, “I’d define *suségad* disposition as being content and easy going. It’s engendered by the environment and the climate in Goa” (E-mail Communication).

Ben Antao continues:

I’d compare Goa’s temperatures in May and October to those in Sicily, where a similar *suségad* disposition is noticeable among the Sicilians in southern Italy. Perhaps today with ACs in many houses, Goans could escape

the bite of the torrid Goan sun in May and October. But when I was growing up in Velim and Margao in the 1940s and 1950s, the hot sun would almost fry my brain and make me faint. (E-mail Communication)

Ben Antao concludes that it is chiefly the climate which necessitates the need for a siesta.

Selma Carvalho observes, “*Suségad*, I interpret in its traditional sense as being laid-back but also a society that is not grasping, materialistic and consumerist. Goan society is defined more by a sense of internal well-being” (E-mail Communication).

The concept of *suségad* is a direct outcome of the environment. For example, the beauty and weather have a direct influence on the people of Goa. Goa with its greenery, lush fields, and forests, plentiful fish and fruits, is a land richly endowed. The native Goan is close to his motherland and does not need anything more. He lives a contented life. People who visit Goa succumb to the charm of the land and are able to experience the *suségad* effect.

Olivinho Gomes, in his work *A Scholarly World of Culture*, draws a picture of the Goans which is very relevant to the *suségad* traits. He observes that the Goan also has a “[L]ove for song and dance with an undercurrent of hedonism, tempered by a strong ethical strain, an element of inefficiency and laziness, bordering on ‘laissez-faire’ ‘laissez-aller’, disdain for hard manual work, thinking it below dignity. Those traits are an integral part of the Goan’s self-image” (396).

Mervyn Maciel claims that the Goans were able to take the *suségad* spirit with them to Africa. This may be the reason that so many Goans were very happy in Africa. Describing himself as an 88 years old Goan, he explains why the *suségad* spirit is absent in his present life in the UK. He explains:

I was born and have lived and worked in Kenya for over 20 years and would say that in those pre-independence days, life among Goans in Kenya could well be described as '*suségad*'. We had none of the pressures of modern day life. Things took a dramatic change when, because of political changes, we had to leave the Kenya we loved, and move to an 'unknown' destination – England! (E-mail Communication)

In the busy and competitive life away from Goa, the *suségad* Goan strives for a position in his adopted home. His alienation with his homeland, his dislocation makes him more determined to achieve some success and security. He needs to gain a foothold in Diaspora. These aspirations make him work relentlessly and resolutely adopting the ways of the western world.

Selma Carvalho contributes:

In my casual observation of young British-Goans for instance, I find that they have embraced the idea of British individualism and they have very little sense of community. They are driven by the need to assimilate, succeed in their careers, own homes, and cars, educate their children and aspire to all the markers that would define them as middle-class British. So outside of Goa, I doubt the concept of *suségad* exists in its traditional sense (E-mail Communication).

Under the challenging competitive forces of western society, the *suségad* spirit diminishes and becomes practically non-existent. Glimpses of the Goans' *suségad* personality can be seen only on feasts or on weekends. When Goans meet, they revert to their Goan personality. Socializing together with fellow Goans, makes them 'feel' like being in Goa once again. Mervyn Maciel admits, "Here in England, where I have now lived for 50 years, the '*suségad*' attitude does NOT exist among us, Goans. There are far too many pressures, stresses that one hardly finds time to relax." (E-mail Communication)

Tony Fernandes explains:

An inherent Goan trait is the *suségad* spirit or a relaxed attitude to life that exists in the Goan culture. I would define it as not exactly as being lazy or idle in attaining or getting something done immediately, but more in keeping something that can be done today to keep for the next day. I would describe this attitude as someone would say in Konkani in Goa: '*Faleampounchem*' or '*Faleam korchem*'. This trait may be prevalent in many other cultures, but is quite a rare and distinct kind and form that one finds in Goa (E-mail Communication).

From the aforementioned opinions, we can surmise that the *suségad* spirit is less prevalent in Diaspora. Ben Antao, Selma Carvalho, Mervyn Maciel and Tony Fernandes, are all of the unanimous view that the *suségad* spirit, present socially, is more of a bonding spirit in Diaspora.

The *suségad* spirit emerges when like-minded Goans meet as close buddies and when intimate relatives get together. The *suségad* essence surfaces and the carefree spirits are displayed through songs, jokes, dancing and drinking. Goans love to come together and bond with each other all over the globe. He does not hesitate to come together with other Goans and share his common *joie de vivre*. The *suségad* spirit is a unifying feature among Goans and contributes to community building. Though repressed in Diaspora, it is a distinct cultural trait of the Goan identity and Goan sensibility. There are other distinct traits which make up the Goan identity.

Defining a Goan is a challenge. A.K. Priolkar in his essay, “Who is a Goan” confesses, “I cannot define a Goan to my own satisfaction” (378). Priolkar, here, very subtly admits that ‘defining a Goan’ is complex.

Eminent Goan writer Damodar Mauzo admits, “One cannot pinpoint a particular characteristic which defines a Goan. Rather, being a ‘Goan’ covers a wider perception. A Goan can be described as one who has his loyalties to Goa and to the Goan lifestyle. Lifestyle has many facets, the main being the Konkani language, culture, traditions and sensibilities” (Personal Interview).

Tony Fernandes migrated to Canada at the age of 51. He identifies himself as a Goan. “Yes, I consider myself a Goan with basic roots of my ancestors based in Goa with its distinct culture, heritage, customs and traditions that have evolved for centuries, including its caste system that is rapidly changing and keeping up with the modern times.” (E-mail Communication)

With special reference to Diasporic Goans, Priolkar states:

Who is a Goan? Are we not to claim as Goans those who were once certainly sons of Goa but have since migrated to other parts of the country? If we confine the term “Goan” to only those who have voting rights as Portuguese citizens, many of us who are Goans will lose all claim to that designation. Nor

is it satisfactory to make birth within the boundaries of Goa the criterion, for, in that event, many of our children will have to be classed as non-Goans (378-379 *Pivoting*).

Priolar clearly admits that physical presence in the geographical territory of Goa is not the only requisite that defines a Goan. He further comments: “It seems to me that the only practicable way out of difficulties is to allow the use of the term “Goan” to anyone, whatever his present whereabouts, whose forefathers have been domiciled in Goa at any time in history and who is aware of this connection and cherishes and values it.” (379-380).

Antonio Gomes defines a Goan as, “Someone who hails from Goa; Someone, who has lived in Goa, for some years of his life”. Regarding himself, he states, “I do consider myself a Goan. I lived in Goa for nearly 20 years: during my childhood and adolescence until Medical College, after which I immigrated to the US.” (E-mail Communication)

Victor Rangel Ribeiro’s definition of a Goan is by far the simplest. “A Goan is one who has ‘Goa’ in his heart.” (Personal Communication) This argument though seemingly simple has an underlying significance.

Ben Antao, a Goan writer now a citizen of Canada, states, “A Goan is one who is born, raised and socialized in Goa, until the age of 18. All three elements are essential for being a Goan” (E-mail Communication).

Dr. Isabel Santa Rita Vas contends that:

A Goan is someone born in Goa of Goan parents; someone born outside Goa of Goan parents; someone, born in a family of Goan origin that may have migrated out of Goa. After a few generations of being out of Goa, and generally after inter-marriage with persons from other regions/cultures, and decreasing contact with the Goan roots, I think the boundaries of the term may be rather blurred, and an individual may consider himself/ herself Goan or not, and that subjective feeling would count. (E-mail Communication)

Speaking specifically about the Goans in Diaspora, Peter Nazareth reiterates, “Goans who are born or who lived outside Goa are not just Goans in exile, a blank. In addition to being Goan, insisting they were Goan, celebrating Goanness and Goan feasts and events, they

also participate in the host country. In the case of writers, they could contribute to the literature of the host country.” (*Pivoting* xxvii)

Donna Young explains the confusion over the identity issue, “Goan identity has undergone many changes because it was a Portuguese colony for four-and-half centuries before it became a state of India. Goa never achieved its own independence and the people went through a long struggle in examining and exploring their identity” (29) She further claims, that there is a strong argument that Goans “[H]ave developed a dual Goan/Indian which is largely based upon their ties to India, a renewed interest in their heritage which included the Konkani language, and the increased importance of the concept of the ancestral home to which they long to return” (29).

After having viewed the various inputs given by the above authors in Goa and in Diaspora, it can be concluded that there are a multitude of nuances to consider while defining the Goan. Being a Goan constitutes several aspects which have to be understood rather than defined. Some significant criteria can be listed as:

- He has spent some part of his life in Goa, (maybe the formative years, like childhood and youth)
- He has Goan parentage
- He has experienced Goa at some time or the other
- He is aware of the culture and traditions of Goa
- He carries this Goan ethos in his heart
- He possesses a desire to return to Goa, his homeland, some time or the other

Coming back to the Goans in Diaspora, is it possible for these Goans to have multiple identities?

If a Goan has been living in America for a long time and attains American citizenship, he is said to have a Goan-American identity. If an individual has a Goan mother and a French father and having Canadian citizenship, he again possesses multiple identities consisting of being Goan, Canadian and French. Identity is not reductive unless the individual himself denounces the particular culture. Migrants assimilate into the new country and persist to live

a new identity- a new re-constructed identity. This re-constructed identity comprises of the native tradition and the adopted culture of the host land.

The Goan Diaspora has but one origin - Goa. The many Goan communities around the world, in different geographical locations, together occupy a common space. Like all migrants, the Goans in Diaspora work to create a space for themselves. This space is created, while facing cross-cultural dilemmas, alienation and displacement. It is a created space that they all share. Different Diasporas like the Jewish Diaspora, the African Diaspora, the Indian Diaspora, the Chinese and the Italian, to name a few, have all created a common space, a Diasporic space. The occupants of these Diasporic spaces share specific similarities of dislocation, displacement, assimilation, trauma, memory and transnationalism. They are united by their common experiences in Diaspora.

The migrant Goan's journey across alien territories is a journey across different cultural landscapes. While feeling alienated, he has to also cope with cultural conflicts. Most of the western societies are highly liberated, mechanical, urbanized and progressive. For the Goan in Diaspora, his relocation has physical, psychological, political and socio-cultural implications.

There are also economic implications because most Goan migrants have a lot of land and property in Goa. This disconnection from his native home, and the in-betweenity in an alien land, causes him to constantly work on building a new space. He builds a new space by giving new meaning to his past. He reconstructs his past experiences and culture by embracing a hybridized culture. Some of the major areas where we witness Diasporic reconstruction are: language, religious practises like *Saibin*, *São João*, various cultural traditions, celebrations of feast and festivals, marriage, family and social life.

As language is the essence of a culture, Konkani is an integral part of the Goan identity. One person who worked relentlessly for the cause of Konkani was Waman Varde Walawalikar (1877-1946). He is considered by many as the 'architect of Konkani revival'. He took the Konkani language to a higher level by translating great works like the *Bhagavad Gita*, and the works of Molière and Shakespeare, into Konkani. He saw the unifying power of the Konkani language. Kiran Budkuley observes, "Better known as Shenoji Goembab, he was the first to argue that language was the basis of culture." (30)

Though the Portuguese discouraged and repressed Konkani, Konkani survived this repression thanks to Shenoji Goembab. Kiran Budkuley asserts:

He made the regeneration of Konkani language, promotion of Konkani ethos and creation of worthy literature in Konkani his singular life-long mission. Most importantly, he saw Konkani as a unifying bond for all her children beyond the boundaries of religion and borders of states where they have been scattered by fate (30).

The power of this unifying force is very conspicuous every time two or three Goans meet, be it in any corner of the world. Through Konkani many distinct cultural traits and the Goan psychology is transmitted. Donna Young explains,

Since the Official Language Act, however, most Goans agree that Konkani should be the official language. The majority of Goans believe that using Marathi instead of Konkani would mean that Goa would lose its unique identity and would just become a district of Maharashtra. Although the issue about the official language is supposedly settled, Goans are increasingly learning English because they believe that it is the language of success (91).

The native ethos can be conveyed, most comprehensively, through the native language. Therefore, the Goan ethos and idiom can be best transmitted through Konkani. Goans are very possessive of the Konkani language. They identify with one another through their language. Making attempts to speak Konkani in Diaspora is honouring their roots.

Konkani, Portuguese and English are the languages of the Goans in Diaspora. English dominates the Goan Diasporic life because the Goans, in assimilation, necessarily adopt the language of the host country, which is English. In this process it is realistic that there will be a loss of the native language to some extent. There is no choice for the Goan migrant to choose his preferred language. He has to adopt the host nation's language, or he will not be able to assimilate successfully.

Konkani, like all other native languages, faces many challenges to survive in Diaspora. One of the foremost reasons is the dearth of Konkani literature. Libraries and schools do not promote native languages. Everyday communication in Konkani is possible only in the homes and Goan Associations. Konkani is restricted to Goan gatherings. The

limitation of resources in Diaspora is the primary reason native languages struggle for survival. This is also the reason as to why the second generation migrants are not fluent in Konkani. They possess a limited knowledge of the native language.

A major part of the Goan Diaspora consists of Goans from Africa. After the African exodus, the Goan Afrikaners settled in Western countries. They form a major percentage of the Goans in Diaspora. Due to the fact that they were raised up in Africa, they possess a very limited knowledge of Konkani or none at all. It has been observed that most of the third generation Goan migrants do not comprehend Konkani, if they do comprehend they still feel uncomfortable speaking the little Konkani they know. This became another setback for Konkani in Diaspora.

### 2.1.1 Benchmarks of Goan Culture

While discussing how different writers have portrayed the Goan persona, we need to locate some distinguishing aspects or markers of Goan culture. “Over the Centuries”, a poem written by Tony Fernandes, a Canadian-Goan writer based in Toronto, identifies some important markers of the Goan ethos.

“Over the centuries

The people of Goa are known

For many things;

Their *mando* and *dulpod*

Their *dekhni* and *zothi*

*Zatra* and *fugddi*

*Corridinho* and *waltzes* .....

...Serenades and promenades

And river ferries

*Doce* and *bebinca*

*Sorpotel* and *Chouriço*

*Laudainhas* and little *tavernas*

Their *caju* and coconut *fenni*

Their *tiatr*,

*shigmo,*  
*Zagor and carnaval.”* (10)

The poem identifies the Goan culture with its particularities. The language, food, music, dance, beaches, folklore, traditions and festivals, mentioned in the poem are some important pointers of the Goan culture. Teotonio R. de Souza affirms, “[T]he identity of any community is basically made up of its cultural uniqueness, including the environmental characteristics of the land of one’s ancestors. The mother tongue and the historical experiences of one’s ancestral community are important constituents of that cultural heritage.” (12)

There are manifold dimensions to the Goan culture. Language is an integral part of the culture and one of its most unifying and distinguishing factor.

**Language** undergoes various stages of transformations as it comes in contact with other languages and culture. Goans in Diaspora have retained their native language, Konkani, which is revered as an important component of the Goan tradition. For Goans, Konkani is the language of kinship.

In 1975, the Sahitya Akademi recognized Konkani as an independent language of India. In 1987, a bill was passed recognizing Konkani as the state language, though it also provided safeguards for Marathi. Finally, in 1992, Konkani was included in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution of India. Konkani, as a regional language, faced a long journey for survival. 16<sup>th</sup> January is observed as ‘*Asmitai Dis*’ (Identity Day) proving that Konkani is an important constituent of cultural identity.

Till date, Konkani is strictly used in the Roman Catholic Church in Goa. The Konkani liturgy is in the Roman script. The language survived 450 years of colonial repression. This was because Goans continued to speak Konkani in secret and at home. This ensured its continuity. Konkani was successfully passed on from one generation to the next and now conscientiously retained in Diaspora through various means.

Ashok Narang explains the origins of Konkani:

Konkani, principally based on classical Sanskrit, belongs to the southwestern branch of Indo-Aryan languages. It is spoken in the Konkani region covering

Goa and parts of the coastal regions of Karnataka, Kerala, and Maharashtra. Konkani is believed to have originated from Shouraseni Prakrit like Assamese and Bengali. Though the Portuguese tried to do away with Konkani, they indirectly helped to propagate Konkani. The Konkani Bible was published in 1808 AD (179).

The versatility of Konkani has again been proved in the availability of its many scripts like Devanagari, Roman, Kanada and Malayalam. Colloquial Konkani holds an undying charm. Mel D'Souza, a Canadian Goan admits, "I spoke amchibhas (our language), the dialect of Goa, fluently. It was derived from the Konkani, but corrupted by English and Portuguese words that give it a lot of colour and significantly broadened its scope" (13). It is this version of Konkani which has become popular out of Goa, in Mumbai and in Diaspora.

In a migrant dominant global situation, it is imperative to investigate the status of the native language. In Diaspora, the native language becomes the language of the minority, facing death in contrast to the ubiquitous presence of the host country's language.

If the native culture has to survive in Diaspora, it is necessary for the native language to survive too. While the first generation Goans speak Konkani fluently, the second generation speak it less. Goan migrants from Africa to the UK and Canada, who have grown up in Africa, also have limited knowledge of Konkani.

The second generation loyally try to speak Konkani especially on their visits to Goa, on holidays. But the third generation Goans, born and residing in Diaspora, have a lesser knowledge of Konkani. This third generation consider themselves citizens of the land they are born in.

To the first generation, Konkani is a binding force. They speak Konkani with their fellow Goans in order to express their kinship with one another and with their homeland. In greeting one another at parties, social functions, association meetings or on the football pitch, they revert to Konkani. Konkani is the informal language spoken among close associates, friends, and relatives.

Selma Carvalho, a second generation Goan, now living in the United Kingdom, asserts that they were encouraged to speak all three Goan languages, namely, English, Konkani and Portuguese in their formative years. She now observes, "Tragically this practice

is dying and is being replaced by English in Goan homes in Goa, and abroad too.” (Personal Interview). This loss of language is not restricted to Konkani alone. Globally, native languages are being replaced by English resulting in a tragic loss of native languages.

With reference to the various Diasporas present in Canada, Vanaja Dhruvarajan explains: “Privileging of individualistic value orientations in the mainstream culture, as contrasted to familistic value orientations of the ethnic group, is an important source of conflict . . . English and French are considered as languages of the land and all other languages are thought of as dialects having a lower status.” (174)

Linguistic theorists use the term ‘Hybridity’ to mean the new product created through the integration of culture and language. The hybridity of languages are the new emerging creoles. The Goan in Diaspora has to adopt English as the official discourse. At informal functions or gatherings, the Goan is proud to revert to Konkani. On such occasions, his English is interspersed with Konkani idioms and words. Professionally and officially English is spoken. In Diaspora, Konkani becomes the language of kinship. In informal social gatherings, with other Goans, he is able to revert to Konkani. Though his native voice is not utterly dissolved, its usage is greatly restricted.

Another observation is that Goans, especially those belonging to the lesser echelons of Diasporic society, cling to their native Konkani. Dennis Walder elucidates, “Most migrants are not academics, but illiterate refugees pushed about the world by material forces beyond their comprehension and control” (81). This can be witnessed of the Goans living in Swindon. They freely indulge in Konkani. They have lesser inhibitions than Goans in other parts of the UK. They have prayer meetings regularly and possess printed religious literature, in Konkani.

Everyday communication in Konkani is possible only at home and at the Goan Associations. There is less communication in Konkani at a societal level. The limitation of available resources, in Diaspora, is another reason the native languages struggle to survive.

The loss of native language affects the production of native literature. Native communities and associations do encourage writing in the native languages. There is a great value in the retention of native languages.

But in the host country, it is easier and convenient to adopt English which is intelligible to all. English is part of growing up for migrant children. It becomes natural for them to think and to write in English. The later generations have no idea and are not in the least interested to know what the language of their forefathers sounded like. They are less inclined to be involved in things native. This is because what was native to their parents is less familiar to them. They find it difficult to connect to the homeland of their parents or grandparents.

Dennis Walder informs us: “Indian reformers such as Roy; without accepting Macaulay’s dismissive attitude, nevertheless agrees with his conclusion: that for the people to enter the modern world, they required English.” (48) Writers write for a greater readership. Most writers choose to write in English the globally accepted and understood language. Diasporic writers, too, write for an international audience. But they do not forsake their native languages. Instead, they use native words and expressions to convey the native ethos. Their native consciousness can be seen through the use of native words, phrases and proverbs.

Walder cites the example of Chinua Achebe, who has propagated extensively the native expression in English literary works. Chinua Achebe in his essay, “The African writer and the English Language” (1964), in his work, *Morning Yet on Creation Day* (61-62), states, “He the writer should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his peculiar experience. . . . [ellipses in original]” (Walder 52). Regarding the retention of the native idiom, in English, Achebe continues, “But it will have to be a new English, still in full communication with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings” ( 52).

Goan Diasporic Writers like Ben Antao, Antonio Gomes, Victor Rangel Ribeiro and many others, have all mastered the art of writing in English but with the Goan spirit. They have adroitly conveyed the Goan ethos in English which is the adopted language. Konkani forms the framework of their culture but English is the language of expression. The maintenance and transmission of the Konkani language, in Diaspora, is done on an informal approach within the families and native communities. Even though educational institutions have English as the medium of instruction, and the Diasporic writers prefer to write in English, Konkani still remains an undivided part of their identity.

Kiran Budkuley explains, “Goans, who had migrated permanently, settled in linguistically alien regions and soon learnt to make the language of their domicile, also the language of day to day use; but they kept Konkani alive in their homes and in their literary self-expression. As a result, gradually Konkani found her voice in the new areas.” (27)

**Goan folk dances** *Shigmo*, *Dekhni*, *Mando* and *Dhalo* are the most popular. The Portuguese introduced dances like the Waltz, *Corridinho*, *Fandango* and *Vira geral*. The *Jagor*, a dance-drama is presented by both, Hindus and Christians. When performing the *Jagor* they both offer salutations to the *Jagory* (deity).

*Phugdi* is a dance performed by a group of women. It is a type of religious folk dance. Two women join crossed hands and spin. *Dekhni* is a Goan dance which reflects the folk culture as well as western music. Christian girls dress in Indian outfits and carry lamps. The western music is accompanied by the ghumot. The *dholak* and *tasha* are the drums used as accompaniments.

Christians celebrate the two important feasts of Christmas and Easter, and also the feasts of various saints. They celebrate many traditions out of which, *Saibin*, *São João* and the Carnival are the most prominent. Carnival is celebrated by bringing the festival on the streets. It is a parade, led by King Momo, presenting colourful tableaux. This is followed by parties and revelries at different venues.

Many of these cultural practices are consciously kept alive in Diaspora. The *Mando*, *Dulpod* and the folk theatre *Tiatr* are popular. Olivinho Gomes in his book, *GOA*, emphasizes:

The Folklore of Goa in its lexical expression, however, is found to be wholly in Konkani, the language of the heart, though for literary purposes Goans took up several media of languages for their literary expression. It is a veritable treasure-trove of folksongs of a vast variety, some of them raised to the status of art-songs by the elite which fashioned them out of their folk-tales, proverbs, maxims, adages, sayings and riddles (251 *GOA*).

*Mando* is sung mainly at weddings when a special *mando*-singer would sing. Special *mandos* were composed for bridal couples referring to them by their names. The beauty of the *mando* is that it combines the liveliness of folkmusic and the serene beauty of church music.

Vinayak Khedekar reveals, “Available information shows the first *mando* to have been written down to belong to A.D. 1840. But the tradition of *mando* singing goes much further back” (141).

The *Mando* is a song in Konkani. Originally it was based on unrequited love, but later *Mandos* have been composed on various themes. Olivinho Gomes quotes Lucio Rodrigues, “It is a ‘biography of the Goan heart’ in the felicitous expression of Prof. Lucio Rodrigues” (251 *GOA*).

The *Mando* has a special significance in Diaspora because it is a folk dance which is a fusion of Indian, Goan and western influences. While the men wear the Portuguese formal suit coats, the women wear the Indian outfit with a shawl and fan. The dance focuses on love while enhancing the women’s charm and beauty. This dance originated in the 19th century and gained popularity in the 20th century. It is very popular among the Goan Catholics in Goa and in Diaspora.

The *Dulpod*, like the Goan *tiatr*, has become an instrument for Goan expression. It is used to criticize the evils of society. Olivinho Gomes explains, “The *Dulpod* follows the ‘Mando’ in the singing repertoire and is expressed in the form of acerbic comment on society and even the government of the day, including organs of local self-government like the panchayats, and their faults and foibles.” (253 *GOA*)

The *Dulpod* encompasses a vast array of expressions. The *Dulpod* deals with the realistic, common and humourous facets, while the *Mando* concentrates on the romantic angle of a Goan’s life. The *Dulpod* originated before the *Mando*. It is similar to the *Mando*, except that it has a quicker tempo. The *Dulpod* has its origin in folk music.

*Kunbi Geet* are the songs of the *Kunbi* tribe, sung at the different stages of harvesting. The toddy tappers have their own songs called ‘*Rendrachim Geetam*’. Songs of the saltpan workers are called *Mitta-Geet* and *Ghanno* are the songs of the oil-mill crushers. Goan fishermen also have their own folk songs.

The Goan music has traditional instruments, of which the *dhol*, *tabla*, *dholak*, *shehnai*, and *tambura* are most popular. The western influences introduced by the Portuguese were the instruments like piano, violin and mandolin. All these fusions and influences have produced a rich heritage and tradition of Goan music.

While Goa has a variety of folksongs, like the *Musoll*, the *Phugdi songs* and *Ovi* songs, it is the *Mando* first then *Dulpod* which has been a great attraction in Diaspora, played at weddings and other festivities. The *Mando* and the *Dulpod* has been taken by Goans, all over the world, and sung at their many gatherings. They have both become symbols of Goan culture and identity.

**Goan cuisine** is distinct and is a mix of Indigenous, Arabic and Portuguese influences. Goan cuisine is kept alive in Diaspora. Tourism plays a very important part in the Goan economy. While Goa is famous for its scenic beauty, places of worship, architecture, and hospitable spirit, Goa also sports a very typical cuisine, distinct and belonging to this land. Goan food reflects its history and culture. The Goan cuisine reflects the various flavours, tastes and influences which the land has been subjected to. These varied influences and histories are responsible for making Goan food exquisite. Goan food is an exotic mix of traditional, Portuguese and coastal recipes which make partaking of Goan food an indelible experience. Goan food is distinct and has become world-renowned. People come to Goa to revel in the food it offers. Phaldesai opines, “The culinary art and food ethos of Goa is a distinct heritage of the state” (161). Goan food has Hindu roots, with Muslim, Maharashtrian, Konkani and strong Portuguese influences. In fact, Goan cuisine sports many traditional Portuguese specialties.

Upper-class Christian families, under the influence of Portuguese culture, would always have a four-course meal, consisting of a soup, a meat dish, then fish curry and rice and concluding with a dessert. For functions, there would also be an assortment of appetizers and liqueurs (drinks) after dinner. There would be extra side dishes like pickles or salted fish. The end of the meal consisted of serving fruit and some elaborate desserts. But fish curry-rice has remained the staple food of Goans. Goans take pride in preparing their food, and for almost every housewife preparing the fish curry is a ritual. The pork and prawn dishes have made Goan cuisine famous.

Important traditional Goan dishes are fish curry, *Sorpotel*, *Xacuti*, *Ambotik*, *Cafreal*, *Vindaloo*, Goan Fish *Recheiada*, *Pork Vindaloo*, *Chicken Xacuti*, *Pork Sorpotel*, *Prawn Ambotik*, and *Chouriço*. Some of the Goan traditional sweets like the *Nevri*, *Bibinca*, *Dodol*, *Doce*, *Bol*, *Alebele* and *Halwa* are loved all over the world.

*Recheiado*, *Balchão*, and *Chouriço* are some foods which can be kept for months due to the presence of preservatives like Goan vinegar. They are very famous in Diaspora. Every Goan family in and out of Goa, keep Goan vinegar, Kashmiri Chillies, pickles, *masalas* (mixtures of spices) of *Xacuti*, *Fish Para*, *Pork Baffat*, *Pork Indad*, and many other spices, which can be used over months.

For the Diasporic Goan, the taste of Goa is essentially in the food. Kashmiri chillies and Goa vinegar are carried overseas. It is common to find shops selling Goan food products in Dubai, London, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Goan cuisine which had been elusive to this state only has now become world famous. Goan cooks were first employed in Arab homes in the Middle East. There is a demand for Goan food all over the world. Goan food is exported, and Goan restaurants are famous. London, Toronto, New York, Sydney, Wellington and Dubai, are some metropolitan cities which have restaurants catering to Goan food. Though majority of the Goan restaurants are initiated by Goans, there are Goan restaurants owned by non-Goans too.

*Assado* is a famous Goan Portuguese restaurant in the heart of London, in Waterloo, where celebrities and ministers are often spotted. Dubai has around five Goan restaurants, one of the oldest being *Casa De Goa*, in Palm Beach Hotel, established in the 1990s. This was followed by *Viva Goa* and *Susegad Goa* in the next two to three years. These places were among the first Goan restaurants which literally provided a Goan Oasis to the Goans in the desert.

These places are more than mere restaurants. They became meeting places where Goans would unwind daily. A Goan singer would croon Goan and English songs. More recently, due to popular demand, many Goan restaurants are opening in major cities of the world. *Ritchie's Corner* in Manama, Bahrain, boasts of authentic Goan food. In Bahrain, the other Goan restaurants are *Spice Nice* and *Goa Lounge*.

Joseph Dsouza made Goan food commercial in America. Owner of the famous Mandovi Hotel in Panjim, he opened the Mandovi Indian Restaurant in El Segundo, California, near Los Angeles. He converted a Mexican café to a Goan food and bar joint. ([www.mandovila.com](http://www.mandovila.com))

Goan Food festivals offer culinary cruises for the Goans in Diaspora. Goans have made the Goan food world-famous. Goan spices and Goan recipes are sought after all over the globe. A Goan cannot be divorced from his food. Goans in Diaspora continue to enjoy their Goan food. Though western influences have changed their styles of cooking, Goan food is still the favourite of Goans in Diaspora. Goan catering is also on the rise in Diaspora, where Goan families cater to parties and social functions.

In contrast, Goans in Diaspora spend less time and ritual on cooking. The busy lifestyle encourages consumption of fast foods which is easily available. For them, cooking is a simple chore to be executed as fast as possible due to time constraints. As Goan food has become so popular all over the world, it has become customary for Goans to cook Goan food for friends of all nationalities.

Goan food festivals are also very famous outside Goa. The food festivals bring Goans together. Goan food stalls and handicrafts stalls, together with Goan music, are a great attraction to Goans abroad.

The Feast of *São João* is an important cultural manifestation of Goa. *São João* is a Christian feast, but Goans have celebrated it by adapting it to their own particular Goan traditions of music, food and revelry. *São João* is a feast celebrated in the midst of heavy rains in Goa. This feast is celebrated on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June to honour the birthday of St. John the Baptist. The feast is celebrated by boys and men jumping in the wells and rivers. By the 24<sup>th</sup> of June, the heavy rains in Goa fill the fields and wells which had dropped to a low level in the preceding dry summer months.

Goans all around the world celebrate this Christian festival by following the Goan traditions. The entire Goan community of a particular place gather together in a club or hotel, which sports a swimming pool. In Australia and the Gulf countries, artificial rain is created for the *São João* parties. Diasporic Goans from the villages of Siolim, Moira and Sucoor take an avid interest to promote this feast abroad, as these are the traditional Goan *São João* villages. The different Goan Associations organize the *São João* festivals in different parts of the world where not only Goans but people of different nationalities also come to party.

The tradition of *Saibin* is an important custom of the Goans carried out in the month of October, which is the 'Month of the Rosary'. Today, it is practised by most Goans, even those residing outside Goa. Goans in many cities of India, and even abroad, practice the ritual

of *Saibin*. *Saibin* is a practice in veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary or Mother Mary is taken from home to home for a single night. Goans in Diaspora are very keen to follow this tradition.

*Tiatr* is the name of the traditional Goan Konkani theatre. It is a drama native to Goa. It includes music, comedy, dancing and singing. In short, it can be described as a musical theatre. *Tiatr* is another integral part of the Goan identity. A Goan cannot be separated from the enjoyment he derives from watching *tiatr* or acting in *tiatr*.

The word *tiatr* originates from the Portuguese word for theatre - *teatro*. *Tiatr* is an art and entertainment performed by the Christian Goans, while *Khell* and *Zagor* are performed by the Hindus. *Tiatr* as an art form originated from the local plays called *Zagor* and *Khell*. *Zagor* is a form of drama. *Khell* is a street performance and has more dialogues. *Tiatr* is a combination of both. Incidentally, *tiatr* was born out of Goa, in Bombay. It was on Easter Sunday, 17 April, 1892, that the first *tiatr* performance was recorded. *Italian Bhurgo*, adapted from an Italian play, was staged at the New Alfred Theatre, Bombay. This day is celebrated as *Tiatr Dis* (Theatre Day). Hence, the Goan art form of *tiatr* was the product of the meeting of Goan culture and the opera of Italy.

Rosario Rodrigues coined the term '*Khell Tiatr*'. Soon, the ground-based plays known as *khells* began to be performed on the stage, and they further evolved into 'Non-stop dramas' referred to as *tiatrs*. Alfred Braganza, in his work *GOA HISTORY & CULTURE*, explains, "With Goa's Liberation in 1961, and with Konkani declared the official language of Goa in 1988, a new consciousness grew. Now many more Goans feel encouraged to study, speak and write in Konkani- a phenomenon that has given a dramatic incentive to the *Tiatr*, bringing it up to a good literary standard. It is a veritable renaissance" (75).

*Tiatr* is an inseparable part of the Goan culture. It is usual for Goans to travel great distances for any entertainment like music shows, festivals, movies, sports or any other religious-social activity, but *tiatr* is different because it comes to the village. *Tiatrs* are most commonly held on the church grounds. Over the years, *tiatr* has evolved and is still the number one entertainment for Goans. *Tiatr* was initially held on makeshift stages with the use of petromax lamps. Over the years it has become more sophisticated. The essence which makes *tiatr* so appealing to a Goan has remained the same. Intricate work is involved with music and stage directors. The band and comedy are important components of *tiatr*.

*Tiatr* has an equal share of laughter and tears. The themes are always very contemporary. It deals with the recent sensational happenings in Goa. Politicians' scandals, *faux pas* of the Church, erratic Government policies, whims of celebrities, fashions and trends, are all portrayed in a humourous way. An opportunity to view *tiatr* is never missed by a Goan anywhere.

*Tiatr* is based on true facts and the reality of life. It has a special appeal to the Goan Diaspora who long for news from home. Writing for the Herald Café, Pio Esteves confirms, “*Tiatr* has a strong foundation in Goa, capturing the hearts of the Goans. Over time, it has slowly, but successfully moved overseas, reaching out to the Goan diaspora, as well as, everyone else that shares a love for Goa”

*Tiatr* holds an undying appeal for the Goans in Diaspora. They are ready to travel great distances to view *tiatr*. Visiting *tiatr* troupes from Goa, perform for the Goan population all over the world. The difference in Diaspora is that people are very time conscious. They prefer to watch *tiatr* only if the reviews are good. Esteves elucidates, “With regard to audience response in the US, Tavares says that the US is a big country and the Goan community is spread out everywhere. “But despite Goans scattered across the country there were 300- odd *tiatr* fans for the show, which was a good response,” he says, adding, “There were people who even travelled from Canada for the show” ( Esteves, *Herald Café*).

Regarding value for money, the organizers take great pains to evaluate and find the best *tiatrs*. As a lot of money and work is involved, they make sure that the best *tiatrs* are staged. Unlike the *tiatrs* conducted in Goa, *tiatrs* in Diaspora are held on schedule. With Goa's laid-back attitude, it is not unusual, even today, for *tiatr* to begin an hour or two late. People pass the time mingling and eating food. Mel D'Souza affirms, “In keeping with Goa's traditional disregard for punctuality, the *natak* always started at least an hour after the advertised time and ended in the wee hours of the morning” (119). This lack of punctuality is not tolerated in most other countries. Goans settled abroad have inculcated a time conscious attitude.

The laughter in the *tiatr* is a unifying force for Goans in Diaspora. It is a common sight to find strangers sitting together, bonding in their shared amusement of the hilarious jokes. Mel D'Souza adds, “What would make an otherwise mundane story very entertaining was a generous sprinkling of comedy” (119). For the Goans in Diaspora, it is an excellent

opportunity to rid their inhibitions and slide back into their Goan persona. *Tiatr* is an opportunity that a Goan never misses whether at home or in Diaspora.

*Tiatrs* play an important part in the promotion and preservation of Konkani in Goa and Diaspora. Tamil Virtual University set up in 2001, works specifically for the promotion of Tamil in Diaspora, but Goans are lacking in this regard. With less Konkani literature available, *tiatr* is an important way to preserve Konkani, outside Goa.

Goans are very passionate about *tiatr*. *Tiatr* is more of a social gathering for Goans, anywhere in the world, be it in Goa, the UK, Canada, USA, Australia or the Middle East. If a visiting troupe is staging a *tiatr* there is wide publicity much ahead of the event. Tickets are sold well in advance. There are special stalls for Goan food and Goan products. It is a total Goan affair.

The reasons why *tiatr* is so successful and has an undying appeal for Goans globally, is very well explained by Mel D'Souza, "Goan Catholic villagers lived a carefree and honest life that was portrayed in their Konkani *tiatr*. The productions were not only entertaining, but their underlying message was always about the importance of sticking to the straight and narrow- a virtue that is the hallmark of most Goans" (D'Souza 120).

## 2.2 Cultural Métissage

The relocated culture of the migrant is exposed to 'newness' in Diaspora. In his seminal work, *Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha observes, "The borderline work of culture demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not part of the continuum of past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation. Such art does not merely recall the past as social cause or aesthetic precedent; it renews the past refiguring it as a contingent 'in-between' space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present." (7)

Cultural diffusion or métissage makes up the core of the culture phenomenon in Diaspora. Anjela Kumari observes: "Cultural diffusion is the process by which the cultural traits invented or discovered in one society are spread directly or indirectly to other societies. Ordinarily, diffusion is thought of as a movement of traits through space. It is different from

transmission of culture, which is a movement of traits through time that is from generation to generation.” (8)

While the Goan in Diaspora adapts and learns from the new social, cultural, or educational institutions in his adopted land, his native practices and traditions are simultaneously practised too.

Adapting to a modern western society remains the main preoccupation for the Diasporic Goan. The culture diffusion commences when he is face to face with an advancing society rooted in technology. Dressed in his own nativeness, he now has to live in a modern western world. Travel, communication, trade, commerce, education and banking are all revolutionary new. Those native conditions and practices which have not been conducive to its continuation have been de-institutionalized or reconstituted in varying degrees.

For the *suségad* Goan, settling into a time monitored society is a great challenge. From the laidback sun and sands of Goa, he has to adjust to a time governed social fabric where every second has to be accounted for. His new society is governed by progress, results and monetary gain. The entire modern western world is dedicated to the concept of development, time management, self-progression and acquisition of security. One of the greatest problems the Diasporic Goan faces is: How to retain his Goan identity; and at the same time rise to the highest degree of social efficiency in this new society. As he embraces this progressive society, he sheds more of his *suségad* personality. All Diasporic communities are intent on maintaining strong ties with their homeland. Mass migration has produced various transnational Diasporic groups who remain united through similarities in practices.

For the Goan, the need for assimilation creates a requirement of compromising many of his native cultural traits. It is no easy feat to successfully build a new home, and then a new community in an alien land. But Indian and Asian migrants have successfully built their native communities abroad. The most popular is the ‘China Towns’ seen in western countries wherein the Chinese are able to duplicate their culture in a completely new physical location. They have settled into the mainstream society by retaining their culture specificity. They form a new strata of the western society.

Among Indians, it is the Punjabis, Tamils and Gujaratis who have also successfully carved a niche for themselves outside India. Punjabis are a very strong presence in Diaspora. Chandrashekhhar Bhat and Ajaya Kumar Sahoo reveal, “Punjabis in Canada (numbering

nearly 201,785 forming 0.71 percent of Canada's total population can be easily distinguished from other South Asians from their cultural specificity including the style of dress still retained" (148).

Goans, like the Punjabis have also been successful in creating Goan ethnic communities abroad. While Punjabis have densely populated specific areas in the UK and Canada, Goans have been migrating over a longer period, for some centuries, and have been scattered over a large area due to the existence of the Portuguese colonies.

The Goan in Diaspora is no longer only a Goan entity but rather an assimilated Goan, or in the process of assimilation. The Chinese, wherever they went, successfully created a 'Little China' or 'China Town'. Prominent Goan anthropologist Pandurang Phaladesai comments, "Wherever Goans go, they take their 'gavnpon' the village identity as well. This is seen remarkably at Mumbai. These 'kuds' are known by the names of the original villages and provide shelter to the visitors to Mumbai at nominal and shred cost" (6). Mumbai, then Bombay, sported one of the earliest Goan communities at Dhobitalao.

In actuality, Diasporic Studies redefines the paradigms in the definition of globalization. In Diaspora, hybrid identities bring to focus their core makeup of native identities. In fact, globalization does not cause a loss of ethnic identity. On the contrary, it reinforces the survival of the ethnic identity (local identity). The native identity is forceful in representing itself against the homogenizing forces of globalization. Warren Kidd explains,

Kevin Robins (1997) notes that although 'globalization' refers to the global narrowing of spaces and time it does not, paradoxically, refer to the loss of local identities or cultures. Rather it refers to the spread of the 'local' to the global stage. In other words, we become more aware of the difference of others through the spread of regional and local differences across time and space. We are not moving towards a common global culture shared by all, but towards greater awareness of the variety of ethnic identities. The end result of globalization is not global similarity, but increased awareness of global difference (195).

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## Chapter 3: Goan Diasporic Literature

### 3.1 Writing through Imaginary Spaces: Homeland and the Myth of Return

Literature is an aesthetic medium through which we can comprehensively encompass past history and culture. Therefore, it is said that ‘Literature is for Progeny’.

Literary studies is closely associated with cultural studies; and hence one of the main aims of Literature is to sustain cultural history and cultural heritage, more so, in multicultural nation-states. It is in a multicultural society where there is an ardent need to represent oneself and one’s cultural identity against the threat of erosion of the individual’s native cultural identity. Homi K. Bhabha, in *Location of Culture*, observes, “Fanon recognizes the crucial importance, for subordinated peoples, of asserting their indigenous culture traditions and retrieving their repressed histories” (9). The aim of asserting the indigenous tradition is reflected in all works of postcolonial and Diasporic Literature.

Diasporic Literature is not only an artistic expression; it represents the deep emotional experiences of migrants. Sanjiv Kumar explains, “Diasporic consciousness, in the world of literature, is becoming an increasingly dominant phenomenon. It is the mental flight of people constantly trying to reconstruct their present, from a past that constantly haunts them” (5). Literary expression stems from the migrants’ struggle, to give a meaning to their existence away from home.

As the migrant enters a new territory, he feels a compelling need to construct a new identity. In the process of re-making himself, he has to negotiate new boundaries and experiences. He has to relate to new temporal and spatial confines. Sanjiv Kumar emphatically states, “The search of the émigrés for a permanent foothold is the starting point of Diasporic literature” (5).

In Diaspora, the migrant is in a process of living and adjusting on the margins of two societies both of which are constantly evolving. This conjures an unstable and perplexing vortex for the migrant aptly expressed in Diasporic Literature. Devarajoo explains the significance of the changing society and literature as follows:

Literary works are always evolving with the changes, in the society, in which they are produced. The term Diaspora itself is an unstable term and its status is at all times evolving. To be able to capture the state of being Diasporic in an

individual or community is just one moment in time. The moment it is captured, the volatile and unstable state is already evolving and changing (144).

It is while living these Diasporic ambivalences that the migrant has been able to create his own distinct space. This space is a 'hyphenated space' which Benedict Anderson calls 'Imagined Communities'. This state of flux, anxieties and heartbreak has been made more explicit by one of the greatest Diasporic writers of our times, Salman Rushdie, in his work *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism*.

'Home' and 'Return' are two important concepts in Diaspora which are referred to as 'imagined' or as a 'myth'. Why has 'Home' become a myth or an imagined space? This is a very engaging theme for Diasporic theorization. All Diasporic individuals long for home. Some intend to return while others have accommodated themselves to the host nation. Even though they know they may never return, everything associated with 'home' becomes sacred. Native traditions, rituals, religion, customs and culture are held in reverence consciously or subconsciously. Victor Ramraj throws light on the relationship between homeland and the migrant by citing Stuart Hall:

Hall notes that for most diasporans the return to the homeland is metaphorical, existing in what Edward Said perceives as 'the imaginative geography and history' and Benedict Anderson calls it the 'imagined community'. Naipaul initially tells us that though, as a youth he was ignorant of the rituals and ceremonies of his people, and though he did not understand their language, he felt that he had 'received a certain supporting philosophy (215).

In his famous essay "Imaginary Homelands" Rushdie explains the origin of his perception of home, the land of his childhood, as an 'Imaginary Homeland', in context with his return to Bombay (now Mumbai). He finds that on his return home all that was familiar no longer exists. With reference to this situation, Rushdie states, "Bombay is a city built by foreigners upon reclaimed land; I who had been away so long that I almost qualified for the title, was gripped by the concern that I, too, had a city and a history to reclaim" (10).

From the foregoing discussion it can be seen that Rushdie believes that the homeland of the Diasporic writers has ceased to be a reality. This is because of two reasons. Firstly, as society keeps evolving, the homeland undergoes changes; it is not the same as when the

migrant/writer left it. Secondly, the migrant/writer is exposed to new experiences in an alien land. With new perceptions and perspectives, the recalled homeland now exists only in the imagination of the migrant. Being away from home has alienated them from all that is real. They have been distanced physically from the reality that is home. But the attachment to home is deeply ingrained on their psyche. Reclaiming the past becomes an emotional need.

The way they see their homeland, while living in a new alien land, conjures feelings of nostalgia, memories and attachment in the writer. But this past cannot be regained. Home has, therefore, become a myth. It exists only in the realms of the migrant writer's imagination.

Rushdie admits to experiencing a sense of loss on his return to his homeland. But he has a new hope. He has a hope and need to reclaim his past- his homeland. He speaks of the *raison d' être* of Diasporic writers, like himself: "It may be that writers in my position, exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt." (10) Rushdie, here, is alluding to Lot's wives in the Old Testament. Albeit, being warned to avoid looking back at the burning cities, Lot's wives were unable to heed the warning. They looked back at the burning cities of Sodom and Gomorrah and were turned to salt. (Genesis 19) From his personal experience Rushdie is insinuating that there is a futility in looking at the past.

Rushdie goes on to debate the outcome when Diasporic writers or migrants keep 'looking back'. He admits:

But if we do look back, we must do so in the knowledge— which gives rise to profound uncertainties— that our physical alienation from India almost inevitably means that we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost; that we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind (10).

Here, Rushdie creates an awareness of the risks of looking back; 'looking at the past'. To the Diasporic writer, there is always the risk in the knowledge that the past is lost. The writers realize that there is pain and heartbreak in reclaiming their past nativeness. In order to appease this pain, they write. They can reclaim the past, or compromise their alienation, only through their writings.

Speaking of Indian writers who have migrated, he states, “The Indian writer, looking back at India, does so through guilt-tinted spectacles” (15).

Having contact with multiple cultures, the Diasporic writer has a broader perspective. “If literature is in part the business of finding new angles at which to enter reality, then once again our distance, our long geographical perspective, may provide us with such angles.” (Rushdie 15) Through literature the writer appeases his loss.

Rushdie opines, “It may be argued that the past is a country from which we have all emigrated, that its loss is part of our common humanity. Which seems to me self-evidently true; but I suggest that the writer who is out-of-country and even out-of-language may experience this loss in an intensified form” (12). Here Rushdie, being a Diasporic writer himself, admits to a sense of double alienation. The intensity of loss is double because the loss of the home is coupled with the loss of the native language that the Diasporic writer experiences.

Assimilation is another factor that adds to the trials of a Diasporic writer. Speaking about Diasporic writers, occupying two or more spaces, Rushdie admits, “Our identity is at once plural and partial. Sometimes we feel that we straddle two cultures; at other times, that we fall between two stools. But however ambiguous and shifting this ground may be, it is not an infertile territory for a writer to occupy” (15).

As the past is out of their grips, Diasporic writers try to retain the memories which have now become sacred to them. These writers have to embrace a new future, new culture and new experiences. For the migrant, the homeland and their roots, something that was *terra firma*, now remains a sacred memory.

However, the migrants can never be irrevocably cut off from the land of their birth. They continue to retain physical and/or mental contact with their homeland. The need or hope to return to their homeland is described as ‘Myth of Return’. Returning home becomes a distant probability or may remain a myth. But the ‘Myth of Return’, as an idea or aim, remains alive in the mind of the migrant. This hope offers undeniable consolation to the migrants. The writer returns again and again to his homeland through his imaginations and writings.

They foster a hope of returning which may never materialize. Whether the migrant returns to his homeland or not is inconsequential. What is significant is that they intend to

return. Most often, the migrants are overcome by the challenges of their new home. Surviving and prospering in their adopted homeland requires all their energies. Returning home becomes a distant need and dream in the minds of the migrants.

Using Jameela Begum's stance on evolving communities, Neera Singh states, "In her paper "Writing Through Imagined Spaces: Asian Diaspora in Canada", Prof. Jameela Begum puts forth the argument that the creation of any imagined community is work in progress, involving making and unmaking, learning and unlearning, aiming at not fixing boundaries but encouraging movements across them" (11).

Edward Said, renowned for his cultural criticism and cultural representations, also contributes to this experience in his celebrated work *Culture & Imperialism*, "Exile is predicated on the existence of, love for, and a real bond with one's native place; the universal truth of exile is not that one has lost that love of home, but that inherent in each is an unexpected, unwelcome loss" (407).

Diaspora is an 'Imagined Space', ever changing and ever fluctuating, with interconnecting flows brought about by globalization. Diasporic Goans, like other migrants, in their pursuits of creating the Imagined Goan Homeland, continue, "[T]o relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship" (Brazier 24-25).

Neera Singh elucidates on the ambiguous duality which is a universal predicament of all migrants. She explains, "The term 'diaspora', originally used for the Jews' dispersed from their homeland, is now applied as a metaphoric designation for all expatriates, refugees, exiles and immigrants, whose lives, language and experiences have been altered by the paradigms of bilingualism, biculturalism and geographical dislocation" (9). The catchword here is 'metaphoric'. Theorists state and re-state, that diaspora is a term- an applied term, a metaphor for the representation of a certain type of people, displaced people, who can be anywhere or everywhere. They are dislocated or un-homed; they do not have a fixed location. Their relocation is ambiguous. Neera Singh continues, "They are caught physically between two worlds and this double marginalization by both their root culture and host culture negates their belonging to either location" (9).

Paradoxically, this dislocated experience contributes to great literary inputs. The notion of ‘Imaginary Homeland’ also has a direct reference to William Safran’s second characteristic in his definition of Diaspora: “Second, diaspora applies when those dispersed communities ‘retain a collective memory, vision or myth about their original homeland- its physical location, history, and achievements.’” (Braziel 24)

Goans all around the world are united by their culture and roots. Their native consciousness urges them to form an “Imagined Community”; away from their homeland. In this ambivalent situation, with the homeland becoming an important part of their memory, Goans, like all migrants, cling to their ‘Imaginary Homeland’, through their writings, and by fostering the hope of returning at some time.

### **3.1.1 Home Coming: The Poetics of Belonging**

For Diasporic individuals the meaning of home is not restricted to a mere spatial or geographical location, but it is also a source of identity and a mental posting in their fractured personal history. Theorists have always been interrogating the implications of ‘Homecoming’ to the migrant. Sandeep Sheoran explains this by including a quotation of Avtar Brah, “There are always social, political, racial, and cultural struggles at work affecting the notion of belonging, or not belonging. The idea of home and belonging are integral to the diasporic condition, thus, “The concept of diaspora offers a critique of discourse of fixed origins, while taking account of a homing desire” (Brah 180)” (Sheoran 20).

The beginning of the odyssey is full of apprehensions of the unknown. Whether the migrant is able to assimilate in his new host-land or not, the place he once called ‘home’, cannot be replaced in his psyche. To the Diasporic mind, ‘Home’ is not just a spatial abode. It is his link to his past. It gives him a sense of belonging, which in turn, helps him create his identity. Home helps him understand who he is. Therefore, on leaving home the concept of home acquires a deeper and more complex significance. Home and belonging are important themes reflected in Diasporic Discourses. Sheoran further states: “The idea of home extends the application of post-colonial theory to geography and literature as a means of studying the fiction of diasporic writers. The feeling of owning a house brings a feeling of power with it and this power becomes the source of asserting one’s identity” (19).

On the same theme, Sheoran continues to elucidate that owning a home contributes to the feeling of identity. He explains, “Being at home refers to the intersections between past

and present, colonial and post-colonial, local and global that constitutes today's temporal and spatial configurations. (19)

Donna Young admits, "The family, especially one's ancestors, and the ancestral home are also an important part of Goan identity which has been explored extensively in Goan literature, which explores the yearning to return to the village and the ancestral home" (73). In the novels *Skin*, *Tivolem* and *The Sting of Peppercorns*, home and belonging are emphasized as major themes.

The protagonists of the novels return to find their home and their roots and in this process are able to find themselves. Ashcroft *et al* theorize this concept, in the Introduction to *The Empire Writes Back*. They contend that 'place and displacement' is a major feature of post-colonial literatures. Colonization, migration, displacement and relocation, recreation of the native identity in Diaspora, the relationship to the host nation and the continued relationship with the native land are all themes of post-colonial writings.

Migrants are always haunted by memories of home. The 'Homecomings' of Pagan (*Skin*), Roberto (*The Sting of Peppercorns*), and Marie-Santana, Eusebio and Simon Fernandes (*Tivolem*), major characters in the novels, are noteworthy. All offer different psychological insights and reactions on their return home. Sheoran explains, "The protagonist of diasporic writers' novels find their way in the post-colonial world by negotiating their political, cultural, national religious, and racial identities through journeys not back to the roots, but their routes become the positioning of their concept of home" (19).

With economic globalization and subsequent de-territorialization, geo-spatial boundaries begin to blur. The sentiment and sensitivity associated with the homeland can never be ignored. Even though a migrant may have been living in the host nation for a significant period of time, or he may have not felt any loss or dislocation in Diaspora, the deep-rooted feeling of connecting to the native land persists psychologically.

Whatever the circumstances, the cathartic effect in the process of writing can never be denied. The global citizen, the eternal migrant, the hard-core traveller, and the cosmopolitan sojourner, all succumb to the 'Going Home Syndrome'. Donna Young cites Robert S. Newman's stand, "Newman also states that dreaming about Goa and wanting to return to their homeland is to be expected, it is an essential part of Goan life and it helps Goans to deal with the pain and difficulties of family separations." (Young 79)

In all the Diasporic novels under study 'Homecoming' is a recurrent theme.

In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, Roberto the protagonist is a successful American metropolitan AIDS specialist. He cannot be described as a forlorn nomad, dislocated and lost, in a foreign territory. On returning to Goa, the familiar sights of Panjim have become chaotic, "In the bazaar, the sights and smells of golden brown cherries and the abundant chiku fruits, the favorite fruits of his childhood are enticing." (Gomes 6)

Roberto's homecoming is exorcising. On returning to the Albuquerque ancestral home in Goa, Roberto gets nostalgic about his past family life in Goa and the loss of a glorious past. Even though he possesses a mature outlook towards his Diasporic status, and has accepted life in America, the pull and association of the motherland cannot be erased. Returning to the ancestral home has a cathartic effect on him. "But now, the decay hits him hard as he realizes that there was so much tradition, and also a kind of perfection, in the grand old house, reverberating with life and hopes that went awry;" (Gomes 9-10). Seeing the physical disintegration of the house, and the flooding of past memories, makes him faint. Roberto realizes the loss of all that was once home and security.

In *Skin*, Pagan's home coming is desperate. Pagan is driven by an unexplainable urge to return home. She even overcomes her fear of flying and returns to Goa. She returns to Goa to find out the truth about her identity. Margaret Mascarenhas is a product of a multiple-heritage. Through Pagan, she is able to present an objective account of her subjective experiences. In the novel Pagan is Goan, Spanish, African and Saraswat Brahmin by birth and American by intellectual training, childhood upbringing and residence.

Pagan travels to Angola, America and Goa. The novel highlights the post-colonial concerns of these countries. Through her experiences of different cultures, she searches for her inner true self. She experiences fragmentation and alienation. Some may be comfortable with it but others may not. Pagan knows that she would never be complete until she returns to Goa. "She tells her lover, Xico, that the problem is her inability as a cross-cultural hybrid to figure out, in America, where she belongs . . . . she leaves for Goa, telling Xico that there is a word in Portuguese for which there is no English equivalent; Yearning, Nostalgia, Bittersweetness - all at once. The word is *Saudade*" (Nazareth, *Pivoting* xxxii).

In *Tivolem*, Marie-Santana's homecoming is poignant. She regrets returning to Goa alone. She dearly wished her parents were accompanying her. She wished they were going

home together. (Ribeiro 6) It is explicitly clear that Marie-Santana thinks of Tivolem as 'home'. Marie-Santana is apprehensive about meeting her granny and about her future while returning from Mozambique. She is able to find solace on the hilltop. With the wind blowing in from the west, so near to the sea, she could smell the salt of the sea. The sea was barely ten miles away. "A familiar breeze, a familiar smell. Home." (Ribeiro 49) Marie-Santana feels nostalgic. She had beautiful memories of Tivolem which, like all migrants, she had carried across to another continent, Africa. She had preserved these memories until her homecoming.

Simon, at forty-one, returns to Goa and to Tivolem after the death of his father Michael. His return is hesitant. In Malaysia, Simon's father proudly states, "We are the Fernandes's of Tivolem. Small people from a small village, but... [ellipses in original] People know us." (104) Simon's father is proud of his Goan heritage. Likewise, Eusebio, having made enough money in the Gulf, now wishes to return and live in Tivolem.

The significance of these Diasporic characters, in the novels studied, lies in the fact that they have lived outside Goa for a long period. They represent the widespread Goan Diaspora, Simon from Malaysia, Eusebio from the Middle East, Marie-Santana from Mozambique, East Africa, Pagan and Roberto from America. They may be considered expatriates in Goa, as they have lived abroad for a considerable period of time. In actuality, through their coming home, they satisfy the Diasporic author's emotional longing for home.

The journey of the characters back to Goa is marked with apprehension. They realize that the things which were familiar before would probably be unfamiliar now, and that they could be either rejected or accepted. But their intent to return home is unshakable. Home represent a safe haven.

Marion Da Silva, a Diasporic Goan living in Canada, in her short story 'Return to Goa' for Peter Nazareth's anthology, *Pivoting on the Point of Return*, voices the sentiments of a multitude of Diasporic Goans on their return:

As a Westerner who had never before visited Goa or India, I was touched by the purity and innocence. People are relatively unconcerned with accumulating material wealth but instead gave what little they had with a smile and kind words. Is it so? Modern gadgets such as gas ovens, telephones and refrigerators are seen in a few homes which can afford them. But women are still pounding the masalas, spices for curry, to a fine pulp on the black grinding stones. (386).

She realizes the beauty in simple traditions. Marion Da Silva concludes with the following, “Goa the isles for four “F’s” – Fishes, Fetes, Fenim, and Fun –is indeed a Paradise on Earth. I returned to Canada with peace and serenity, for which I shall never forget my motherland, that warm cradle filled with gentle, lapping waters, Mother Goa” (386). The title of the book, itself, *Pivoting on the Point of Return*, captures the longings of a Diasporic and his desperate need to return home.

### 3.1.2 Double Dislocation and Dispossession

The Diasporic psyche suffers from dislocation and dispossession arising out of repeated losses. Rushdie admits, “[I]t’s my present that is foreign, and that the past is home, albeit, a lost home in a lost city, in the mists of lost time.” (9) A major preoccupation of Diasporic Literature is the theme of place and displacement. Displacement from home and everything familiar, setting up a new home and again getting dislocated, construes a great sense of loss. Victor Turner describes migrants as ‘transition beings or liminal persona(e)’ (Turner 95). In *Tivolem*, Simon is dislocated from Malaysia, Eusebio from the Middle East, Marie-Santana from Mozambique, East Africa.

Selma Carvalho uses the term ‘Wilderness’, in relation to Diaspora, in her book titled *Into the Diaspora Wilderness*. The term ‘Wilderness’ used here to describe Diaspora is intentional. The term conjures images of vastness and exacting circumstances in an alien land. Giving up one’s place, a way of life, culture, possessions, alliances and going out to a new place, are all akin to wandering into a new territory- unknown waters. Often times, the migrant has to re-settle, once again in a new place, or return to his homeland from Diaspora. Thus a double dislocation takes place.

Marie-Santana left Tivolem as a child. At the age of twelve, she was disposed of her memories, dislocated from her familiar life and dispossessed of her familiar surroundings. She settled in Mozambique with her parents but returns to Tivolem after her parents pass away. In Mozambique she had friends from different cultures, all away from their homes. Her playmates were Luisa from Lisbon, Elsa from Mossamedes, Marco from Lourenço Marques, Mushtaq Ali from Yemen and Kamat from Mangalore (Ribeiro 50).

Her problems in Africa made her choose to return to Goa after twenty-three years. Alone in Africa, she even lost the family business. She had lived in Quelimane, Mozambique,

which was a small provincial town. Tivolem though tiny had been her universe as a child. Tivolem represents home and security to Marie-Santana. When Marie-Santana left Tivolem, she was deprived of her home. Marie-Santana had a happy life in Mozambique during her growing up years. But again she had to leave Mozambique after losing her parents and finance; she desperately returns to Tivolem.

Dislocated and alienated, she returns to Tivolem after nearly two decades. Wilson Fernandes adroitly sums up the heartbreaking loss and return which Diasporic individuals experience, on returning home, “Frustrated, nostalgic and soul-weary, they now cast their eyes towards their homes, or what little they have in Goa, in the hope that in the midst of the peaceful surroundings of their country, with the kindness of their own people and assistance from their government, they would find sympathy and means to rehabilitate themselves and once again lead a happy and prosperous life” (353).

Simon, on returning home expects to, “fit easily into the flow of village life” (Ribeiro 18). As the date for sailing to India approached, Simon was filled with dread. He feared the family scandal would precede him to Goa. Another disappointment he faced, on arriving in Tivolem, was to find his family house in ruins. Donna Young observes, “While the return from exile is a recurrent theme in literature, a concurrent important theme is the importance of the ancestral home and the village. A family home that can be passed on to future generations in the family is the most prized possession a Goan can have” (73).

The trials of relocation and repossession are the realities of the Goan Diasporic life. They often have to leave the host countries, for various reasons, at some time. Eusebio retires to Goa, and plans to build a grand home for himself, like most Gulf returnees. The home will give him security and an identity. Ribeiro subtly highlights the reactions of the villagers. Many of them regard the returnees with suspicion. The village gossips comment on his flashy lifestyle and designate him *nouveau riche*, thereby, implying he was not born into riches; or of aristocratic birth. Home, for these Diasporics, is not the same as when they had left it. Home constantly undergoes changes.

Paulo, in *The Sting of Peppercorns*, is seriously affected by the feeling of dislocation, dispossession and alienation. He left Goa for Portugal in order to pursue studies in Law. Portugal was his dream. Portugal was his mother’s dream, too. However, he was unable to make this dream a success. His weak character drove him into all sorts of trouble. Back in Goa, he is unable to come to terms with his past or the errors he unknowingly committed

while in Portugal. Paulo also has to face the social, economic and political upheavals of the 1960s. He has a hyphenated personal history to which he has to reconcile himself. Home is not the same. He is unable to cope with what the new Goa represents; a new ethos, a new culture and a new identity. He is lost, dislocated and dispossessed of everything familiar.

Paulo's brother Roberto also leaves for America with his wife in the 1960s. He does return to Goa in 1988. He too notices the changes in Goa on his return. His family has disintegrated and the ancestral home is crumbling. It is difficult for him to reconcile to these changes. He is aware that he has to re-assimilate to the new order.

Pagan has experienced loss and alienation all through her life. She spent most of her childhood in America, but as an adult she realizes she does not belong there. She feels a need to return to Goa. She had visited Goa as a child. "Pagan was six and a half years old the first time she saw Esperança. It was her first visit to India." (Mascarenhas 59) Later, when Frank and Katie decide to divorce, Pagan is sent to Goa. After the death of Frank and Katie, she continues to stay in Goa with her grandmother.

Dispossessed of the familiar life and her parents, she is thrown into an unknown world. She continues her childhood living and studying in Goa for some time, until Katie's mother takes her back. Later as an adult, back in America, she constantly dreams unfulfilled dreams. She is suddenly unable to connect with America. Her dreams and nightmares torture her. Unknown forces haunt her and propel her to search for the truth of her ancestry. She gives up her job as a reporter in America and returns to Goa, in pursuit of the truth. Victor Ramraj explains this situation, "Caught psychically between two worlds, diasporans are, to use Victor Turner's terms, 'transitional-being[s]' or 'liminal persona[e]', that is, in the process of moving from one cultural state of existence to another." (216) He (the Diasporic individual) occupies the liminal Space.

### **3.2 In Search of the Self: Of Roots and Sacred Memories**

The Diasporic exists as a global identity at one level and as a native at another. He is both global and local and local and global simultaneously. He, therefore, transcends national boundaries. The native identity is recreated but never obliterated. While trying to assimilate in the host-land, the Diasporic has to negotiate his complex identity. The Diasporic faces

identity crisis and the challenge of self-identification. Defining and re-defining the self in the face of transcultural experiences becomes a compelling need. Identification formations involve constant efforts at adjustments and re-adjustments.

In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, Robert voices the crisis of Goans during independence. He claims, “I also would like Goa to be an independent state, but it won’t happen Amanda. Neither Salazar nor Pandit Nehru would consider such an option. Besides, although most Goans are probably for Independence, no organization inside or outside Goa is ready to shed blood for an independent Goa.” (Gomes 23-24).

Goan Diasporic Literature deals with the discovery and rediscovery of the self. Migration brings about trans-culturalism and hybridization. In the process of finding a new identity the self is inadvertently explored. The quest for identity has great relevance for those leaving Goa and relocating or, vice-versa, returning from Diaspora and settling in Goa.

“In *Homework*, by Suneeta Peres Da Costa, the main character Mina is the daughter of Goans, who migrated to Australia. Her father sees his identity as being neither Portuguese nor Indian, but distinctly Goan. He made his children respond to the question, ‘Where are you from?’ with the answer, ‘Goa.’” (Young 44)

Marie-Santana, Simon Fernandes, Eusebio, Pagan, Roberto and Paulo, the major characters in the novels, represent a generation of dislocated Goan Diasporic characters. They are transnational characters, of Goan origin, having one or more ethnicities. They strive to understand their identity, as their lives have been subjected to various migrations, geographical locations, and multiple experiences.

Antonio Gomes, Victor Rangel Ribeiro and Margaret Mascarenhas are all migratory birds. Like other Diasporic writers they too have experienced up-rootedness and homelessness. Their characters echo their psychological makeup. The autobiographical elements are unmistakably evident in the novels. The characters mainly Roberto, Pagan, Marie-Santana, and Simon Fernandes all have secrets in their roots, in their past and in their ancestry. They have to explore and know their past. They themselves have to come to terms with their secret past. They need to comprehend their lives and existence by un-ravelling dark secrets of the past.

The past is revealed to both, Roberto and Pagan, through the diary notes and information given by the loyal domestics. The time sequence of both novels is severely distorted. The events are juggled.

In *Skin*, Pagan is obsessed with uncovering the truth. This is significant because by profession Pagan is a reporter. She is paid to uncover the truth, and report that truth, no matter what hardships she has to face. There are millions of Americans, Europeans, South East Asians, Australians, etcetera all with Goan roots, becoming increasingly aware, of a need to know their ancestry. They return to Goa in order to uncover their past. Marion Da Silva reveals, "It had been my dream to see my ancestral motherland, Goa. Alex Heley's quest for his family roots and their struggle for freedom inspired me to search for mine too." (381) In *Skin*, Margaret Mascarenhas has used the theme of unearthing the roots which has become a desire of many Goans in Diaspora.

Pagan dreams of a woman named Saudade. These dreams haunt her to a traumatic degree. She realizes and confesses to Xico that she needs to leave America to find out the truth. She is determined to know the historical processes, and life experiences, which make up her essence. She tells Xico, "I'm not whole, Xico." (Mascarenhas 17) Pagan returns to Goa, in search of herself, and finally she is able to reassert her ties with the land of her birth.

As an American, living in San Francisco, Pagan was maladjusted. Pagan finds it strange that Xico, who has Arabic and South American strains, was so well adjusted to the American society. "You deny your own roots, the jungle beat of your half-Brazilian heart. You're a *desaparecido* and you don't even know it." (17)

In the Prologue, Pagan's biological mother, Saudade, also decides to record the truth before she would become *desaparecida*, meaning 'gone'. She writes her diary to bring a "viable beginning" (7) for Pagan. "Read this in memory of me." (7), this instruction by Saudade is the beginning of many revelations. Pagan discovers the truth of Saudade's tragic existence. But, it is only through embracing the painful past that Pagan can embrace the truth about her identity. Pagan's preoccupation with the truth of her identity stems from the fact that in her sub-conscious mind she knows she is not truly a part of American society. She was "stalked by the ghost of her dreams." (Mascarenhas 101)

In a quest of discovering her true identity, Pagan discovered the composition of her various skins, (the different strains) of her identity. Her skin consists of African, Goan, and

Spanish strains, while her American self is an adopted identity. She has strains of a Spanish Jesuit priest, African slaves, and the prestigious Miranda Flores family.

Saudade's conclusion on seeing Pagan is, "She was an extraordinary blend of ingredients- a living bridge between races, between continents, between the physical plane and that of the spirit. She was the perfect conduit between the old ways and the new. A cultural hybrid who would fit anywhere and nowhere, forever suspended between worlds." (257) These lines uttered by Saudade contain the essential truth about the Diasporics. They are suspended between cultures, between places, and between worlds.

After knowing the compositions of her various skins, Pagan had a better understanding of her unconscious mind, the dark recess of herself. The truth of her ancestry helped her illuminate her true identity. After knowing the secrets of her parentage, she achieved a communion with her true self and her ancestors. It is a metaphysical communion.

Antonio Gomes's protagonist, Roberto Albuquerque, represents the qualified and successful Goans living in Diaspora. In the novel, *The Goa Times* has an article, "Top Goa medico, Roberto Albuquerque, returns from USA after a brilliant lecture in New Delhi" (Gomes 6). "The article is filled with laudatory references to his work; indeed, his research on T-cells and AIDS has gotten national and international attention" (Gomes 6). But Roberto returns to Goa to fill in the missing links of his past life. Like Pagan, his return to Goa is intentional. He needs to know the truth in order to complete the jigsaw puzzle of his family. The family secrets could be revealed only by, Carmina, his ayah. His success story in America can be complete only when the truth of his growing up life has been unearthed. He has buried his past years busy in assimilating and setting up a new life in America.

Returning to Goa, he is disturbed and shocked as he comes face to face with his past life. The narrator explains, "As the clouds had hurriedly moved on, and the moon had appeared, images of his brother and sister- that haunt him to this day- had come in full view." (Gomes 3) The past memories, repressed in Diaspora, hits him hard and he is made to acknowledge their presence.

Roberto, in the midst of his busy and successful life in Diaspora, had suppressed (on purpose) his memories. But he fearlessly makes his journey back to his ancestral home. He returns to Goa and learns of the deceit and manipulations of his mother; the mistakes of his brother Paulo, and the unnecessary loss of life. He clears the ambiguities and contradictions

and makes peace with his past. After unravelling the secrets, he is able to comprehend the past. He reconciles himself to the tragic loss and returns to America to continue his life and career.

Antonio Gomes skilfully handles the intricate web of deceit regarding Paulo's birth and identity. The revelations regarding his identity prove to be catastrophic to Paulo. The truth is that Paulo is the son of Dona Isabella's affair with a Portuguese captain. Paulo is fair and handsome because of his inherited Portuguese genes. This was Dona Isabella's secret. Paulo is everyone's favourite especially his mother. Even though he has no great intellect, he is sent to Coimbra to study law. Not knowing his true identity, he indulges in an affair with his half-sister. The result of this incestuous relationship is a child. Paulo is also unaware of the existence of the child. The truth came knocking on his door (in Goa) in the form of his biological father- Captain Borda, who through Paulo's affair is his father-in-law. On knowing the truth, Paulo reaches an impasse. He is not able to reconcile himself to the hard reality, of which he was an unknowing victim. Paulo later drowns- he was not able to reconcile himself with his past.

In *Tivolem*, Simon Fernandes, Marie-Santana, and Eusebio Pinto, all return to the village- to their roots. Maria Santana's journey to Tivolem, back to her roots, is a journey of self-exploration. She returns home leaving behind in Africa her troubles and her past. She is aware that she has to find peace after negotiating her past experiences and losses. She finds love and solace at the end of the novel. In this journey, she realizes her strengths and conquers the demons of her past. According to the narrator, "She was seeking to fill the gaps in what she knew, of herself, her childhood, her family and her parents- what had they really been like?" (Ribeiro 115)

Simon Fernandes is told by his father about the Fernandes' of Tivolem. They had an identity in Tivolem. Returning to Tivolem, Simon finds his family house half ruined. Simon is optimistic about life back in Goa. He is ready to build a new house, and to begin a new family. Eusebio Pinto, back from the Persian Gulf, is able to save money in order to build a home in the village. He is also able to identify with Tivolem.

Among all these characters, Pagan had the most compelling inner sub-conscious force driving her to return home. These yearnings took the form of dreams which bring about the realization that she had to return home to Goa, to know herself and to discover her underlying 'Skins'.

Each of the characters in these novels had a need to search for the 'self'. In returning home, they embraced their roots and heritage. They are able to bridge the distance back to their native land. They reconcile with their Diasporic lives by reuniting with the homeland.

### 3.3 Diasporic Writing: A Postcolonial Perspective

Postcolonialism as a literary genre studies the changes in society during colonization and the after effects of colonization. Antonio Gomes and Margaret Mascarenhas dedicate major parts of their novels highlighting the societal changes, in Goa, after liberation from the Portuguese colonialist. Both novels deal with the way of life of the upper-class *badkar* family during colonization, liberation and post-liberation.

With the loss of a colonial Portuguese order, a new order appeared in Goa. Post-liberation new doors opened; doors to equality, secularism, republicanism, and Indianization. As discussed earlier, the ideological divide in Goan society led to Goans migrating. These migrants were determined to avoid returning to Goa as part of India. Most of them, including the authors of these novels under study, have been successful out of Goa. However, their love for Goa encourages them to write about their home and about their memories of home. As aforementioned, they themselves are subject to changes and new experiences, while their homeland, too, undergoes changes.

Therefore, it is imperative to study these novels from a postcolonial perspective. The disintegration of the Goan Christian families is a tragic theme, in the select novels. With the change of lifestyles, after the departure of the Portuguese, the upper-class families disintegrated. In the aftermath of liberation, the upper classes in Goa had to reconcile with drastic changes. Many of them found it difficult to reconcile to these changes.

The main aim of Literature is to reflect reality, and Goan Diasporic Literature has not failed to portray the transformations according to the changing Goan socio-politico and economic changes. The Goan social fabric consisted mainly of village life. But with nearly every family having close relatives in Diaspora, western influences continuously enter Goa. These Diasporic influences can be seen in village life and city life, and it impacts every stratum of society.

Goan Diasporic writers are more prolific in expressing the mismanagement of Goa's resources. Living outside Goa, in a progressive society, Goan writers enjoy superior facilities and some of the best infrastructure. They have wider perspectives of resource management. They are able to discern the drastic mismanagement of their homeland and are vociferous about mismanagement. Living outside Goa, they are concerned with creating environmental and cultural consciousness through their writings. Rushdie, one of the most prominent Diasporic writers, defends the rights and the accuracy of Diasporic writers to write about the condition of their homes. He claims that the writer who is out-of-the county and also out-of-the language experiences an intensified form of loss. Being away from his homeland he is disjointed from his past, therefore, "This may enable him [the Diasporic] to speak properly and concretely on a subject of universal significance and appeal (Rushdie 12).

*Skin* captures the changing history of over four hundred years of Goan society. It is a luminous family saga that bridges the important cultural eras under Portuguese rule. *The Sting of Peppercorns* captures the sudden social changes of a very important part of Goan history. The first half of the 1960s saw historical upheavals and changes. The Albuquerque family is representative of the great divide that existed in Goan families at the time of liberation. Many of the upper and middle-class families, who had embraced the Portuguese way of life after liberation, left Goa and formed the Goan Diaspora.

*Tivolem* gives a detailed account of Goan village life during the early 1930s. At the same time, the narrative offers meaningful insights into the struggles of various local and Diasporic characters. The Diasporic characters try to relate to village life, a return to their inheritance, while the local characters try to comprehend the ambivalences created by the presence of the Diasporic characters in their village.

Goan Society has been subjected to monumental changes. It was ruled by Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Jains, and later, by the Portuguese for over four hundred years. All these influenced the cultural fabric of Goa. Each presence introduced totally different cultures, contrasting lifestyles, different religions, different traditions and practices. The Goan society has been constantly evolving as it grows, decays, renews, and reconstructs itself.

Antonio Gomes admits that his novel, *The Sting of Peppercorns*, records one of the most dramatic times in the history of Goa. It deals with the transition of Goa from colonialism to republicanism. The political transfer of power from Portuguese rule to Indian rule had vast implications on the social life of the people. Moreover, for the Portuguese, Goa

was not a mere colony but part of the Portuguese nation. Hence, Goans were given citizenship. Until date they are given citizenship. This meant that Goans had more rights than the colonial subjects, under the British or Dutch colonists. Gomes records the different reactions of the characters to these changes. The Goans after liberation were not immediately equipped to handle these changes. The transition of governments was not efficiently handled. But with the Indian army arriving, post-haste on Goa's doorstep, the Portuguese bid a hurried retreat. *The Sting of Peppercorns* records these tumultuous times of Goa.

### 3.3.1 Novel as a Chosen Genre

Goan Diasporic Literature faces the challenge of reflecting both the native ethos and the Goan Diasporic experience. It has to appeal to both the native and the international audience. The Goan Diasporic writer has to reflect the dynamics of two or more cultural milieus. Successful Diasporic writers are able to portray this plethora of experiences, chiefly, through the genre of a novel.

Diasporic essence may have been expressed through other genres such as poetry and drama which are also good mediums to express emotions and sensibilities. However, it is the novel wherein the Diasporic writer has been able to most successfully give a detailed account of his experiences. Through the Diasporic novel a wealth of Goan ethos, emotion, actions, events, history and expectations have been authenticated. Sheobhushan and Anu Shukla justify this claim by reiterating Edward Said, "Edward Said argues in *The World, the Text and the Critic* (1984), the novel is more worldly than various other cognate forms. It is easier to inscribe social and cultural discourses in the novel than in any in any other genre" (13).

The reason the novel has gained acclaim as a medium of expression has its implications in colonial discourse. The novel, with its widespread accessibility, is able to bring to the world masses the colonial and post-colonial experiences of different societies. The Diasporic novel is able to provide a spatial and temporal infinitude. In this infinitude every expression and experience is portrayed. The Goan Diasporic novel is the result of the growth of Diasporic communities. As the Diasporic experiences evolve, the Diasporic novel develops and is able to capture different situations in its vast narrative.

Goan writers like Mahbleswar Sail, Shenoi Goembab, Damodar Mauzo, Manohar Rai Sardesai and a host of other Goan writers, have succeeded in expressing the Goan native experience. Diasporic writers, too, like Tony Fernandes and Mel D'souza, Ben Antao (all

settled in Canada), Victor Rangel, Ribeiro and Antonio Gomes have beautifully captured the village ethos and simplicity of Goan life as they remember it. Peter Nazareth, who is of Goan descent, has produced a significant anthology on Goan Literature, *Pivoting on the Point of Return*. His novel, *The General is Up*, gives a picture of the plight of Goans in Africa leading to the Goan-African exodus. Selma Carvalho has made a very significant contribution through her writings on the East African Goans.

All these Diasporic writings reflect a deep-rooted love for the native land. Even though many have not lived or grown up entirely in Goa, the umbilical cord with the motherland is very strong. They have been able to capture the struggles arising from cultural diversity. They have portrayed the trauma, agony, frustration, failure, despair, as well as their success. Davarajoo reasons out, “The transformation that the Diasporic individual or community undergoes seems borderless for the themes, issues and characters transcend ethnic, racial-cultural, community, regional and national borders and boundaries” (142). The Diasporic writings are able to portray the hybridizations and the co-existence of various stratifications in Goan society- pre and post liberation.

The novel has great versatility for expression. It can express an array of nuances, emotions, spatial or temporal feature, however complex. This is the reason the novel is the best genre for supporting Heteroglossia. It far surpasses the epic for contemporary literary expression, as it encompasses even the mundane and common realities and experiences. Heteroglossia is the co-existence of different types of speeches present in the narration of the novel. It is the intermingling of different speeches. Different voices are given expression on a single platform of the novel.

### **3.3.2 Heteroglossia: The Sound of Different Voices**

Heteroglossia as a concept was introduced by the Russian linguist Mikhail Bakhtin, in his 1934 paper, “Discourse in the Novel.” ‘Hetero’ meaning other or different comes from the Greek word *heteros* and ‘Glossia’ taken from the Greek word *glossa* meaning tongue. In literary studies, Heteroglossia is associated mainly with the novel. Bakhtin explains how the novel exemplifies Heteroglossia,

The novel can be defined as a diversity of social speech types. Sometimes even diversity of languages and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized. The internal stratification of any single national language into

social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific socio political purposes of the day, even of the hour (each day has its own slogan, its own vocabulary, its own emphasis). (35)

Regarding the importance of this stratification Bakhtin asserts, “This internal stratification present in every language of its historical existence is the indispensable prerequisite for the novel as a genre (35). For Bakhtin the modern novel is the best example of Heteroglossia. Sue Vice emphasizes, “Heteroglossia means ‘differential speech’, and has been called ‘Bakhtin’s key term for describing the complex stratification of language into genre, register, sociolect, dialect, and the mutual inter-animation of these forms” (18).

Goan Diasporic Literature reflects a Goan history of diverse invasions, intermingling strains and coexistence of different races. Bakhtin explains the specific meaning and significance of each voice, “It goes without saying that these languages differ from each other only in their vocabularies; they involve specific forms of manifesting intentions, forms for making conceptualization and evaluation concrete” (32).

The changes, exchanges and interchanges in life styles and cultures are reflected in the speech patterns of the Diasporic individuals. Goans returning from America, United Kingdom or the Middle East have changed perceptions. Their outlook influences their language. The language is a product of the socio-cultural experiences. The native language, while interacting with English and new local influences, acquires a new register. It captures the hybridization of cultures, reflected in communication. Sue Vice explains, “However, Bakhtin uses the term ‘Heteroglossia’ to mean not simply, the variety of different languages which occur in everyday life, but also their entry into literary texts. These languages bring with them their everyday associations, which can, of course, include literary ones, as well as making their own in the textual setting” (18)

Heteroglossia is clearly seen in the select novels under study. The authors of these novels have captured the different stratifications and influences in Goan society. The voice of the tenant, the landlord, the postman, the priest, the village gossip, the village thief, slaves of the household, the hunter, the village musician, and even the faithful cook, are all representative of a vast range of social stratification. Even the everyday associations and mundane events in the village attain textual significance.

The Goan Diasporic novel has not failed to reflect its cross-cultural interactions and experiences through different voices. According to Vice, “Bakhtin says, the life of the word is contained in its transfer from one mouth to another, from one context to another context, from one social collective to another, from generation to another generation” (47). The Goan novels have a cornucopia of English, Konkani, Portuguese and Hindi influences, words and expressions. Each voice has its own specific meaning and implication.

In his famous quote Bakhtin states, “As a living, socio-ideological concrete thing, as heteroglot opinion, language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other.” (35)

He further posits how the language of the ‘other’ becomes the language of ‘oneself’:

The word in language is half someone else’. It becomes “one’s own” only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention . . . it exists in other people’s mouths, in other people’s contexts, serving other people’s intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one’s own (35).

These words have direct implication for a postcolonial study of the Goan Diasporic novel. Heteroglossia is seen in the appropriation of the colonizers’ language by the native writers, when recording the native experiences and histories. Heteroglossia is clearly visible when the native is influenced into adopting the customs and airs of the colonizer. The appropriation of Portuguese words and expressions, by the Goan, is another example of Heteroglossia. The use of Konkani words and expressions, and description of Goan traditions and customs, all display the native consciousness. Portuguese words and mannerisms display the effects of colonization on the native. Goan society is a palimpsest of many cultural and linguistic influences.

The native expression is necessary to convey native consciousness. The native expression in the English Diasporic novel creates authentic and realistic fiction. Ashcroft *et al* explains the Postcolonial implication of the use of English in literature:

Therefore the English language becomes a tool, with which a ‘word’ can be textually constructed. The most interesting feature of its use in Post-colonial literature may be the way in which it also constructs difference, separation,

and absence from the metropolitan norm. But the ground on which such construction is based is an abrogation of the essentialist assumption norm and a dismantling of its imperialist centralism (43).

The Goan Diasporic writers consciously write in English. The characters, returning to Goa, speak fluent English, while the native characters speak in English interspersed with words in Konkani, Hindi and Portuguese. Though the authors, here, address an international audience in English; they use native words and experiences to foreground their native identity.

Simon Fernandes of *Tivolem*, grew up in Malaysia, had difficulty speaking Konkani. This increased his loneliness on his return to Goa. “Language became yet another barrier. Having left Tivolem at the age of five, he now spoke English and Malay, but had forgotten much of the Konkani and the Portuguese he had spoken as a child.” (Ribeiro 106)

Eusebio Pinto, returning from the Persian Gulf, subscribed to the *Times of India*, while the other villagers preferred a Portuguese daily. “In deference to Eusebio, they carried on their discussions in English, the language in which he was most fluent, with forays into Portuguese and Konkani as necessary in search of the *mot juste*” (Ribeiro 10). This proves that English was very easily adopted by the villagers when confronted with it; even though, English was the language of the ‘other’. In the village, Eusebio represents the ‘other’ who has returned from the Gulf. Eusebio’s use of English reflects the prevalence of English globally. On the other hand, Marie Santana who speaks English, is also fluent in Portuguese and Konkani because she grew up in Mozambique, a Portuguese colony. They all represent the voice of the native Goan returning from Diaspora.

In *Skin*, the Miranda Flores family speaks English and Portuguese. The author conveys their fluency in Portuguese in keeping with their upper-class *badkar* status. Pagan, on the other hand, having been brought up in America speaks English. On returning to Goa, she is not encouraged to speak Konkani. Contrarily, she is given classes in Hindi. This is because the Portuguese, who were ruling Goa, tried to suppress Konkani. Their anti-Konkani propagation caused Konkani to be considered the language of the lower classes. After Independence, this was reversed; and Konkani was made the state language.

In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, the characters all speak English and Portuguese; they belong to the upper *badkar* class. Tia Rosita is fluent in Portuguese and Konkani while her

English is limited. She often mixes up her sentences and words. But that does not deter her in her attempts to show off this limited knowledge.

Goan writers, namely, Lambert Mascarenhas, Victor Rangel Ribeiro, Antonio Gomes, Margaret Mascarenhas, Selma Carvalho and Tony Fernandes, in their writings, have made significant the presence and implications of the different languages and voices present in Goan society. They do not hesitate using Konkani and Portuguese words to convey the Goan ethos. They realize that leaving out any voice will compromise the authenticity of their work. Their works overflow with Konkani and Portuguese idioms, expressions, Goan greetings, sentiments, and sympathies, - in short: the 'Goan Idiom'. These are all different forms of Heteroglossia.

But, English itself undergoes various changes when adopted and used over the centuries by the colonies. Chantal Zabus, in her essay "Language, Orality, and Literature", studies the changes in the English language, "When the British settled or colonized various parts of this planet, they did not know, that their tongue, was going to be (metaphorically) twisted, bloated, shrunk, pulled out, severed, mangled and hacked. If they had known, they might have thought twice about the future use of this fleshy muscular organ and the language it carried- English." (29)

These changes in the English language signify the appropriation and globalization of English in literary studies. If English has ousted the native language, it has also suffered changes and manipulations. The English text, interspersed with native voices, represent Heteroglossia in the novel. Zabus continues, "When the Irish writer James Joyce argues that his last work, *Finnegans Wake* (1939), was 'translated into jinglish language', he was attempting to deconstruct the language of colonial England, which had subordinated Eire to its control for some 700 years" (29). So also, in the select English Diasporic novels there is a profusion of words and idioms which reflects the native presence and at the same time deconstructs the colonial influence.

The multiplicity of voices present in these novels makes an interesting study. These Goan Diasporic novels are perfect examples of Bakhtin's Heteroglossia. According to Bakhtin, the novel undisputedly is the best genre to reflect Heteroglossia and the Goan Diasporic novels have captured the different social entities and well as different epochs, impacting Goa.

As Bakhtin sums up:

Thus at any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio—ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These “languages” of Heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying “languages” (34).

The novels abound in Goan idioms. As Konkani is a fundamental part of the Goan identity, through the usage of Konkani words and Goan idioms, Goan Diasporic writers have created an enjoyable and authentic body of Goan literature. The Goan sensibility is evoked, raw and rife, which makes it original. In all three novels, *Skin*, *The Sting of Peppercorns* and *Tivolem*, the reactions and interactions between the Diasporic persona and locals is kept simple. The natural speech of the Goans is distinct. The use of Goan idioms, rhythm, tone and the Goan nuances, has been translated into English. In keeping with the simple-mindedness of the Goan village folk, the sentences are short and simple. The relative clauses are not complex. The use of English and Konkani, interspersed with Portuguese words, has been purposeful. The words and syntax, used specifically, invoke the Goan ethos.

Heteroglossia is apparent in the double-voicedness of the characters in Diaspora. For example, words specific to the Goan psyche are echoed in the Goan suburbs of New York, Mississauga or Malaysia.

The Diasporic characters in their discourses reflect the social changes and transformations in life. *Skin* reflects the cultural processes in Goa from the Saraswat Brahmins to the Diasporic Goans in America. Each character reflects his social standing. The subservient slave, the native Konkani domestic help, the elite *badkar* of the village, the qualified migrant *badkar*, the liberal American, the village thief and the quack doctor, are all given a presence in the novel. Pagan, as a Diasporic character, is a mixture of her American upbringing, and Goan psyche and sentiments; while Livia is a product of her liberal life in France and her Goan heritage.

Saudade’s letters and Esperança’s stories are premier examples of Heteroglossia. Their voices are representative of the marginalized and abused strata of Goan society, under

colonization, which was kept hidden. Their voices are an indictment not only of a male dominant society but also of a society ruled by the iron rod of the iron lady. The base *badkar*, Dom Bernardo, and Dona Gabriela are supreme examples of ruthless domination. Through Saudade's letters and memoirs, and Esperança's stories, letters, the voice of the subaltern is made audible. Pagan's family history, consisting of generations of slavery, stresses the injustices meted out to African slaves in Goa and other parts of the world.

Margaret Mascarenhas has effectively portrayed the Diasporic sentiment, through Heteroglossia, in *Skin*. The novel unifies the American, Goan, and African consciousness perfectly. American consciousness is important to the Goan Diasporic studies because many Goans left Goa in pursuit of the American dream. In the novel, Frank migrates to America against the wishes of his parents. In *Skin*, we see American expressions like, "Are you crazy lady?", "You'll damn well come back home...", "Shut up"; "Jesus I'm sorry"; "Lan sake honey", etcetera.

The name 'Pagan' is an unorthodox name for a child. Katie calls her daughter 'Pagan' which means unbeliever. Pagan is baptized by her grandmother in Goa as Maria Livia Miranda de Flores. Both these names connote the hybridity of Pagan's identity.

Heteroglossia in *Skin* can be seen in the American culture and the American voice. The American voice represents modernity, liberalism, and informality. It is contrasted to the Goan Portuguese voice which epitomizes tradition and ritual.

Even though, Katie is not Pagan's biological mother, we see Katie describing her delivery (birth of Pagan), in these words, "All I could think of was getting the labour over with, so I could get up and slug the son-of-a-bitch. I gave one push and out you came" (Mascarenhas 52). Katie taught Pagan to call them (Pagan's parents) by their first names, Frank and Katie. In the novel, Katie's voice can be contrasted with Saudade's, (a descendant of slaves) the voice of the liberal American versus the voice of the marginalized.

Tivolem village is a quintessential Goan village. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it is a converging point for different representational individuals: the villager, the Diasporic, the elite, the commoner, the religious and the village bumpkin. Each character has very intrinsic qualities to make up the village kaleidoscope. Some characters reflect the Diasporic influences and some portray the deep-rooted native Goan qualities.

Heteroglossia can be seen in the different voices of the village social fabric, the different echelons of society ranging from *badkars*, to the village simpletons like the postman, boatman, taxi drivers, and housewives. Each voice has its peculiarities and tells the story of their social stratification. Each voice is knitted together to make up the unique Goan story. The voice of the *badkar* (elite landlord) and the voice of the *mundkar* (tenant) are clear in *Tivolem*. The *badkars* are Dona Elena and Dona Esmerald, while some of the *mundkars* are the carpenter Govind, Kashinath the barber.

Marie-Santana is a hybrid representing the ex-patriate Afrikaner Goans. She is independent, confident of returning alone to Goa, and continues to live her life in a Goan village. She has the versatility to adapt and revert to her Goan heritage. Simon Fernandes left Goa as a child hence has no knowledge of Konkani. Returning from Kuala Lumpur, after a period of forty years he represents the hybridization of Goan parents, an education and upbringing in Kuala Lumpur, together with British influences. *Senor* Eusebio's persona is a portrayal of the *nouveau riche* Goan migrant returning from the Middle East.

Ribeiro vividly describes Marie-Santana's arrival in Panjim, on board the Lilawati ship, "Marie- Santana heard the familiar sounds of English and Portuguese interspersed with the babble of more ancient tongues- Konkani, Marathi, even the elegant Hindi of the north" (Ribeiro 7). The port was a melting pot of different cultures and languages where one could hear different people, of different races, talking in different languages.

The Vicar represents the moral voice of the Church in colonial Goan society. The Latin influence, imported through the Portuguese Church in Goa, is more pronounced. In the quintessential village of Tivolem the Church influence is very prominent. The Church remains the centre and influential part of the villagers' life. The Latin influences come through the church. The Catholic Mass has its origins in the Latin Mass. Even after being translated into other languages, many Latin expressions are still retained. The Vicar and Pastor of the Church of Saint Cornelius, The Contrite, of Tivolem, Father Jose Mascarenhas constantly uses Latin phrases to draw attention to his connections to Rome. The Curate "[A]s the Vicar's right-hand man, he had been restudying his Latin idioms" (Ribeiro 64)

The *Sting of Peppercorns* is a study of a loss of the *badkar* way of life. This gracious and sophisticated way of life was introduced by the Portuguese to the simple Goan society. The Portuguese words, titles, and expressions used, reflect the hybridization of culture. This hybridization was the result of Hindu Conversion and assimilation into the Portuguese way of

life. The Dos Santos Albuquerque household are Goan Portuguese *badkars* (landlords). Their life is an example of complete assimilation according to Portuguese norms and customs. They possess Portuguese names which sound like titles. Dona Maria Helena Isabella Dos Santos Albuquerque is Dona Isabella. The servants, who have been converted to Christianity, sport Christian names like Carmine, Mari, and Pedru (all Portuguese names). Heteroglossia is seen in the way the Albuquerque family have adopted the Portuguese culture and language. Being the colonized, they are the natives who have completely assimilated with the colonizer. They have also adopted the colonizer's language. Upper-class Goan families spoke Portuguese at home, while the lower class spoke Konkani.

The Albuquerque family, like most elite Goan Portuguese families, spoke Portuguese. Their English is interspersed, with Konkani and Portuguese, words and expressions. Most Goan Christian families spoke all three languages: English, Portuguese and Konkani. The languages are so well fused that one is not aware where one expression ends and the other, in another language, begins. Returning after twenty-one years to his ancestral home, Roberto recalls the voice of his father calling, "*Roberto, vem para a tuabênção*", meaning, "come for your blessings".

Heteroglossia is seen in the reference to native dresses like *Lungi* and *kaxti*.

The ideological differences of the Hindu revolutionaries, the Hindu villagers, the Christian *badkars*, and the younger members of the *badkar* families (who were pro-Independence), are some examples of Heteroglossia.

The Heteroglossia present in the English Goan novel has countered the imposition of English on the native. Though he has used English, the Goan Diasporic writer has given expression to the native presence in Goan society. Goan Diasporic writers have transcended their linguistic-spatial restrictions to deliver Diasporic experiences in a coherent language, which appeals to the Goan masses around the world.

In all three novels, the colloquial and the colonial are fused to portray the different communal sub-divisions prevailing in Goan society. In the novels the colonizer, the native, each class and caste, different genders, etcetera make a pertinent postcolonial study.

### 3.3.3 The Diasporic Goan Novel: Recording History

One of the chief aims of literature is to portray lived experiences. Reality is portrayed through historical experiences. Literary critics are concerned in analysing the value of a literary article for its aesthetic and historical content. Andy Mousley explains, “It has become the norm that to study literature is to study history. The vast majority of English degree syllabuses are organized historically.” (41) An article scores high when it is engaged in showcasing the reality of the important events of a particular period. While it is inadvisable to study history through literature, it is understandable to know the human aspects of a certain period through literary works.

The aim of literary writings is to present a storyline espousing the lived culture and history of a particular place and time. The characters portrayed have to be in conformity with the concerned contemporary times. The historical novel became important around the beginning of the nineteenth century. Sir Walter Scott was the first to write a historical novel which included the traditions and history of Scotland. He produced many famous historical novels of which *Waverly*, *Rob Roy* and *Ivanhoe* have become the most popular.

Societies are ever evolving, and history and literature reflect the evolutions taking place in different societies. There is no historical fact or a social period which can be called redundant. Each event and each nuance of time has great relevance to mankind. Certain historical periods like the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Reformation, the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution, World Wars and post-wars, Cold War, Colonialism, wars for independence, civil wars, Post-colonialism, etcetera are some significant historical events which have impacted world society. These historical periods have been frequently expounded in literature. Every age in history has corresponding literary ages. Romanticism was the result of the French Revolution, Restoration of Monarchy in England produced Restoration poetry and drama, the World Wars produced War Poetry, Civil War in America produced Black literature, colonization and de-colonization resulted in the birth of Postcolonial literature.

It is no coincidence that great literary works, with significant historical importance, have been considered as some of the greatest literature. The Diasporic Literature written by migrants also has a historical importance. Some great Diasporic literary works have been produced by writers of Indian origin like Salman Rushdie, Vikram Seth, Rohinton Mistry, Kiran Desai, Hanif Kureishi, Jhumpa Lahiri, Bharati Mukherjee, Meena Alexander, to name a few. Homi K. Bhabha justifies these native writings, “The Western metropole must confront

its Post-colonial history, told by its influx of post-war migrants and refugees, as an indigenous or native narrative internal to its national identity” (937 *Literary Theory*).

Pertaining to this thesis, the Goan Diasporic novels study the colonial and postcolonial influence on the Goan society, over a long period. Antonio Gomes and Victor Rangel Ribeiro both live in America, while Margaret Mascarenhas divided her time between Goa, South America and Portugal. Their novels meticulously present historical events and nuances of a particular given time. They have created a new platform where Goan fiction is authenticated by historical events. Goan history with its different rulers has been captivating, invoking great interest. Goa’s strategic location has been attracting conquerors and seafarers. It is a land rich in resources and beauty, therefore, its history has been larger and more influential. The political importance of Goa stems from its economic importance and strategic location.

Antonio Gomes, Margaret Mascarenhas and Victor Rangel Ribeiro have explored Goan society during different ages. It is the historical processes that bring about social transformation and ideological changes. The changing scenarios create chaos and conflict. The political and social changes are the dominant themes of the novels.

Goan history, with its different inhabitants, has always been in transition. This has also added to the colourful and inexhaustible cultural hues of Goa. Goan history, from the hunter-gatherer of the *Kushavati* Neolithic Society (nearly 6000- 8000) years ago, to a transnational society of the twenty-first century provides a vast cultural fabric. Goa has been host to varied tribes such as of the *Kols*, *Mundaris* and *Kharvis* of Austric origin, the *Konkans* (Proto-Austroloid) Tribe, the Sumerians of the Iron Age, followed by the Phoenicians. These different entrants and settlers have all etched influences on the language, social caste, practices, religion and tradition. Goa was ruled by different dynasties of various origins from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to 1500 AD, the rulers from Saraswat Brahmins to colonial and then the present Indian administration. Different tribes and dynasties have contributed to the cultural fabric of Goa which has been revitalized in the Goan novel.

The Goan novel, by covering certain phases of Goan history, throws light on different facets of Goan life. Historical events, economic conditions, customs and traditions practised by the characters, all throw light on the prevalent conditions. After the two world wars of the twentieth century, many countries gained Independence. Although colonized countries had been fighting for independence over a long period, these countries, on gaining independence,

were not fully equipped to handle an independent government or the economic welfare of the people. Postcolonial literature also highlights these upheavals and turmoil of the post-independence period. The characters created are a specific derivation of the particular time they live in. Through the characters, the ideology of the prevailing society is revealed. Writers, portraying history in their novels, have a responsibility of creating a social consciousness; the Goan Diasporic writers have not failed in this regard.

The central force of the historical novel is to expose the characters and the ideologies of a specific age. All the Goan Diasporic writers have created characters and dialogues which voice their ideologies, interests and loyalties. The fall of the bourgeois of Portuguese Goa established the rise of the lower classes in Independent India. The chaotic historical and social conditions have always given way to gradual transformations. The Goan scene is also evolving with new social practices, religious rituals, new ideas and lifestyles. The outcome of each character in the novel is an experience of a lived reality in Goa.

In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, Antonio Gomes has successfully portrayed the emotional and cultural upheavals of the 1960s, post-independent Goa. He asserts that the 1960s were a crucial period of Goan history. Goa gained independence in 1961, and with independence came greater responsibilities. Like people from most colonies Goans, too, were not equipped to handle this freedom or to govern. Secondly, the qualified Goans from the affluent families still wanted Portuguese rule, and many of them sought migration.

The novel adroitly portrays the divided loyalties of the Goan family. The women staunchly supported Portuguese rule, while the men reasoned that Goa should become part of India. The *badkar* class was fully affiliated with the Portuguese. Most of them, especially the women, did not want to be part of India. “For Dona Isabella, India was a distant land with strange men in white Nehru caps, and the non-violent Gandhiji- the Satyagrahis, who came across the frontier to claim her beloved Portuguese-Goa.” (Gomes 34)

While Paulo, who had been to Portugal to study law, confides to Roberto, “The Government in Lisbon does not take the threat from India seriously” (34) He continues to explain, “The argument in Lisbon is that Goa is part of Portugal. Goa is not a colony like India was under the British. So there is no question of ceding Goa to India” (Gomes 34). Goan history witnessed almost every Goan household being divided on the basis of political loyalties. Goans loyal to the Portuguese Government cited that Portugal gave legal citizenship to Goans. Goa was not a colony but a Portuguese state. On the other hand, many

Goans, Hindu and Christian alike, were pro-India. They argued that geographically and logically Goa was a part of India.

Through the lives of the prestigious Albuquerque family, Antonio Gomes weaves the social history of Goa during the 1960s. This makes the novel a historically representative work of Goa's Independence - pre and post.

The Independence of Goa, also called by many the Annexation of Goa, has been and is still a very debatable topic of Goan History. Antonio Gomes has given the different views, upheld by Goans, regarding the ambiguous Annexation of Goa, in *The Sting of Peppercorns*. Antonio Gomes is one Goan Diasporic writer who deals with the Indian invasion of Goa. He painstakingly cites the conflicting sentiments of the Goans towards the liberalization of Goa. While some welcomed freedom for Goa, many Christian Goans regarded Nehru's intervention as an unwelcome annexation. Those who were loyal to the Portuguese did not wish to see the Portuguese leave. The novel explicitly captures the traumas, in families and society, caused by the divided psyche and divided loyalties of the Goans.

In many *badkar* families loyalties were divided. While some defended the Portuguese rule, others wanted Goa to be part of India. In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, Maria is amazed to know that the Goan Christians were once Hindus. She is oblivious to her Goan Hindu ancestry. It is Roberto who clarifies his political stance, "I would like to say that I don't regret my Christianity or my Indo-Portuguese culture; as a matter of fact, I'm proud of it. However, geographically, it is absurd to claim that Goa is a part of Portugal like the Portuguese would have you believe. We are part of the Indian subcontinent." (Gomes 104) This statement of Roberto explicitly explains the psyche of those Goans who did not migrate but remained in Goa. They were proud of their Portuguese as well the Indian identity. They accepted both as part of the Goan persona.

While Roberto and his father, *Senhor* Afonso championed the cause of Goan Independence, the other members of the family supported the Portuguese rule. Most of the *badkar* class were loyal to the Portuguese government as under the Portuguese rule they lived a privileged life. Antonio Gomes highlights the plight of most Christian *badkar* families. "The day after the Portuguese surrendered, most of the members of Roberto's family fell into depression. Paulo got drunk. Rosita was in a state of shock and had to be continuously fanned by Tulsi, ayah Carmina, and Mari in turns." (109)

All are not disappointed at the liberation of Goa. Many were jubilant like *Senhor Afonso* and *Senhor Pissurlencar*. “*Senhor Afonso*, together with his jubilant friend *Senhor Pissurlencar*, after wearing a white *churidar* and a black *shervani* like Panditji’s, did a celebratory pirouette and went to the village square for a few shots of feni.” (Gomes 109)

*Tivolem* portrays the peaceful village life of a politically undisturbed Portuguese Goa. Those were the tranquil days of the 1930s. The villagers were conscious of the world wars and trouble brewing outside Goa, but they remained unaffected. They were also aware of Gandhiji fighting for freedom in neighbouring India. But *Tivolem* village remained unperturbed. These world events were only for manly discussions and not for any great action. The men in the village gathered exclusively to discuss the world news. The absence of women in these meetings was conspicuous. *Tivolem* was a peaceful village where Hindus and Christians co-existed in harmony. Their ideology lay in following tradition and living a peaceful life.

Living in America, Ribeiro has successfully captured the village life of colonial Goa in *Tivolem*. The ethos and identity of Goa lies in its villages. As Goa is speeding towards modernity, with the real estate industry booming, there is a great fear among Goans of Goa becoming a city-state. The novel is able to capture various nuances of the Goan village life. As the number of untouched villages keeps decreasing, the simple Goan provincial life will soon become part of a bygone era. Ribeiro, by revitalizing the unique traditions and practices of village Goa, has produced an important socio-cultural document.

*Skin*, published in 2001, is a novel which traces the cross-continental identity of the protagonist Pagan. This family saga of the Miranda Flores family covers a time span of much more than four centuries. The reader has been introduced to around four hundred years of Goan history. While tracing the trans-cultural identity of Pagan, we are witnesses to a wide cultural vista from the Saraswat Brahmins to the Diasporic Goans of the twenty-first century. While covering pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial periods of family history, the reader is given a vast historical and cultural insight of Goa. *Skin*, as a novel, has undoubtedly captured the widest range of Goan history.

Through this Goan saga, Mascarenhas has inadvertently highlighted Goa’s vast historical and social legacy. Her novel has recorded the transition of Goan society from the very primitive colonial slavery to the transnational liberal Goa. While concentrating on the Goan history, the novel traces the lives of Goan migrants in America. The protagonist, Pagan,

leaves America and returns to Goa in search of her true identity. In this search, we are taken back to the family history and consequently Goan history. While exposing the ugly truths of colonial Goa, Mascarenhas through Pagan voices the fears of many Goans of independent Goa.

Pagan, on returning to Goa, is very vocal on the deteriorating conditions of a post-independent Goa. Through Pagan, Mascarenhas exposes the unavailability of common civil amenities namely, proper toilets, roads and hygienic hospitals. Pagan is able to foresee Goa being taken over by the real estate and mining land sharks. Through Pagan, we see the ideology and expectations of a Diasporic Goan. Diasporic Goans retain memories of Goa which are sacred to them. On their return, they are saddened to see deteriorating conditions or a mismanaged society.

George Lukács propagated historical consciousness, in the novels, through his monumental work *The Historical Novel*. In the essay with the same name he cites, “Now if experiences such as these are linked with the knowledge that similar upheavals are taking place all over the world this must enormously strengthen the feeling first that there is such a thing as history, that it is an uninterrupted process of changes and finally that it has a direct effect upon the life of every individual” (290).

Liberation brought about great socio-political transformations in the lifestyle of the Goan people. The Goans were not ready for these transformations, nor could they comprehend the subsequent repercussions. With liberation came the complete dissolution of the *badkar* and upper classes.

The appeal and strengths of literature lies in its democratic openness to express all types of experiences which contribute to understanding the history of a particular place. These Goan Diasporic novels have been able to capture every nuance of Goan History successfully. Important features of Goan history were slavery, the arrival of the Hippies, Opinion polls of 1967, the post-colonial corruption, and fall of the old order. All these historical phases have been fore-grounded in the Goan Diasporic novel.

As mentioned above, one such nuance which influenced Goa’s cultural and social history was the coming of the Hippies to Goa after independence. Margaret Mascarenhas and Antonio Gomes have both portrayed the Hippies; but Antonio Gomes has underscored the lasting and tragic consequences of the Hippie cult in Goa.

*The Sting of Peppercorns* has adroitly documented the Hippie experience of the 1960s and 1970s in Goa. It cannot be denied that the Hippies suddenly came and occupied the Goan scene. The hippie culture contributed to the post-liberation chaos in Goa, and became a brief but important part of Goan history. The hippies became a cult with their lifestyles and attitudes. Goans were scandalized, and many of the Goan youth succumbed to this *laissez-faire* (uncontrolled) way of life.

The Goan youth were totally mesmerized by this cult. Goa became a popular destination for the youthful lost generations of the world. Goa, suddenly, became an *El Dorado* offering not gold, but fulfilment for the youth of America. There were many people, especially college students, who left the security of home and embraced the hippie lifestyle. Many embraced this life for a short period and then returned to their original society. These people embraced the hippie life in revolt not in totality. Tribhuwan Kapur calls them pseudo-hippies. But the hard-core hippie embraces this life, in search of a certain high from life. He states, "Hippies in toto have no chance or desire to be, reinducted into society" (8). It was these hard-core hippies who came, in large numbers, to Goa.

In the novel, Paulo is shown as the weakest member of the family. Paulo is not able to accept reality and embraces the hippie life, trying to find solace. He does not wish to return to his family or society. The Albuquerque family represents a whole generation of Goan families who lost their children to drugs and to the hippie lifestyle.

Wilson Fernandes, in his essay, "Hippies in Goa", for Peter Nazareth's anthology of Goan Literature, analyses the reasons for the hippies' influx in Goa:

It is not surprising that the hospitable, mild-mannered and law-abiding people of Goa, not to speak to our sunny beaches and health resorts, should have attracted visitors from different countries of the world. Additional inducements are picturesque scenery, shady coconut groves, verdant hills, ancient historical temples, churches and cathedrals, and a host of other bewitching features which bountiful Nature has showered on this sun-kissed land. No wonder, then, that hippies should have singled out this blessed spot for the stay in Goa (350).

The hippies came to Goa in search of fulfilment, serenity and even to find a meaning to life. But their lifestyles were contradictory. They denounced the material excesses of the

western world. They embraced nudism, to show their acceptance of simple living. They also divorced themselves from, “[T]heir fellow man steeped in materialism” (Fernandes 350). Ironically, though the hippies denounced materialism and clothes, their philosophy did not denounce the excesses and intoxications like drinks and drugs. They indulged in unrestrained drug abuse. The hippies denied their original identity and way of life. They cut themselves off from restrictions, imposed by their respective societies. They divorced themselves from all political, social and traditional impositions and embraced a liberal lifestyle. They lived their hedonist lives on the beaches of Goa.

They did not follow a religion; but they proclaimed they were in search of fulfilment. Hygiene was also not a priority with them. They lived in unsanitary and dilapidated conditions. Wilson, explains, “If they had taken to nudism, it is perhaps because they have realized that man is excessively obsessed by materialistic requirements, lust for wealth and lure of money and, having tasted of the bitterness of luxurious living, they have now adopted more primitive ways” (350). Their fascination for an intoxicated life was a contradiction of their stated life aim. They emphasized pursuits for fulfilment outside a materialistic life, that is, they denounced the comforts and luxuries the west offered.

But the impressionable Goan youth were unable to comprehend this ideological paradox. They were fascinated by the hippie way of life. They succumbed to the arrant lifestyle the hippies offered. Many Goan families lost their children to drugs. Although the hippies confined themselves only to some beaches, like Calangute, Baga, Vagator, and Anjuna, they were still able to have widespread influence on Goan youth. Troubled youth frequented these places to find solace. They were entrapped into this ‘induced’ way of life, and many youth became victims of drug abuse. The influx of hippies, in large numbers, brought about a cultural shock in Goa.

The memories of the hippies, together with their influence on the Goan family, occupy a major part of the Diasporic memory. Antonio Gomes and Margaret Mascarenhas both mention the hippies. Like the Albuquerque family who lost Paulo, similarly many Goan families lost their children to drug abuse. It was an important time for Goa, because it introduced the dreaded ‘drug’ to Goan society to which the Goan youth succumbed. It was the Hippies who brought drugs and introduced their hedonistic lifestyle to Goa. “They began arriving like locusts: White men and women of a different kind. Unlike the Portuguese, they were dressed in a *lungi*, the *kaxti*, strips of cotton cloth or nothing at all, and before anyone

realized it they had swarmed the secluded beach strips. The American hippie invasion has begun.” (Gomes 143)

In *Skin*, Margaret Mascarenhas highlights a beach scene. A bunch of nude hippies play Frisbee on the beach. The hippies and policemen in the area totally ignore the signboard, which boldly states, “NUDISM ON BEACH IS PROHIBITED BY LAW” (210). This was a common sight on Goan beaches; nude hippies infested Goa with total disregard for local customs and traditions. The average Goan was not equipped to handle these political, social and cultural transitions. Goans in Diaspora recall the traumatic influences of the hippies which led to the disintegration of many Goan families. Many of the family members of these disintegrated families live in the Diaspora.

Another historical reality highlighted in the Diasporic Goan novel is slavery. It is hard to believe that slaves were a shameful part of Goan Christian society. The Diasporic writers have not ignored, but, rather highlighted the evils of social discrimination which were prevalent in Goan society like slavery and the caste system. *Skin* can be considered a historical or social novel due to its realistic portrayal of slavery, an important part of colonial rule. The slave experience is narrated by both Esperance and Saudade. Mascarenhas has circumscribed the entire slave experience in order to show the preoccupation of the colonial powers to exploit and abuse the slaves to the fullest. Unfortunately this evil entered Goan society.

Margaret Mascarenhas has been the first among Goan authors to deal in detail with the theme of slavery. Slavery is a fundamental part of the novel and interweaves itself in the plot. This theme runs through each generations of the novel’s storyline. Mascarenhas has maintained a thematic continuity by making the slaves a part of Pagan’s ancestral history through different generations. The climax is reached, when we learn that Saudade, (a descendant of Nzinga-Nganga captured and sold in Goa), is the biological mother of Pagan. Mascarenhas has depicted the pitiful plight of the abused slaves who were a hidden part of Goan society but irreplaceable for the *badkars* of colonial Goa.

### **3.3.4 Essentializing Provincial Goan Culture**

Goan society is close knit and is marked by expressions of bonding between the villagers. This intimacy exists among Goans in Diaspora but there is no time to indulge in an intimate conversation on a daily basis. Most Goans, outside Goa, miss the rapport and mutual

love Goans display for one another. In Goa, meeting one another is not just a meeting but an encounter- a revitalizing experience.

These social exchanges are a vital part of the Goan existence. Even with the influx of outsiders in Goa, in the twentieth-first century, these mannerisms continue to exist. Goans persist to greet, even non-Goans, in the like manner. In *Tivolem*, when Marie Santana returns to Goa, she greets people the Goan way. When she wishes *Senhor* Eusebio, “God give you a good day, *Senhor* Eusebio, ... Are you enjoying your garden?” (34) Marie Santana wished people according to Goan conventions. Ribeiro explains this custom, “[E]lsewhere, one began a conversation by commenting on the weather; here, one began by asking whether people were doing whatever it was one saw them doing” (34)

Her warmth is one of the primary reasons she is able to re-acclurate once again to the Goan village life. Similarly, Simon had limited knowledge of Konkani so communication with the villagers posed a problem. “True he remembered the garlands of polite phrases that eased one’s path through the day, including the “God give you a good day” and “God give you a good night” used when passing even total strangers, the “God grant you grace” that was the standard response to either greeting” (107). Ribeiro uses the phrase, ‘Garland of polite phrases’ (107) to describe the wishes bestowed on one another. He wishes to highlight the fact that these greetings created a profusion or flow of cheer and goodwill.

“God grant you a good morning”, Braz to Esperança in *Skin* (223) “May God bless you”, she replied. Other greetings in the novel include, Esperança’s parting to Saudade “You have my blessings no matter what,”; “Our mothers live under our skin.” (241) is an African idiom; Esperança assuring Saudade of her everlasting love and blessing for her daughter (241); Aunt Josephine’s call at the door, “O good people of the house” (Ribeiro 97) These greetings are part of the Goan tradition and a vital part of the Goan consciousness. The Goan Diasporic writers have included it very naturally in their novels.

When Margaret Mascarenhas introduces the African slaves in the novel, she also introduces a wealth of folklore and stories which reflect the African life. Myths and stories are an important part of the Goan and African culture. Many Goan superstitions and stories have their origin in African folklore. “The Negro slaves brought no written word with them, but they had their oral folk-tales, songs, and proverbs.” (Vishnu Kant 14) In *Skin*, Pagan would love to hear Esperança’s stories. “Esperança would feed her with stories as appetizers. Stories were medicines said Esperança.” (Mascarenhas 169)

Saudade is given a sacred stone, by Esperance. “The KUBA IS the sacred stone of our ancestors . . . You must pass it on when the right time comes.” (256). Magic potions, magic stones, chants, curses, the transformation from human to a panther and back to human, etcetera are all influences exported by the slaves from Africa to Goa. Through them, the slave and slave culture is given a voice.

Mascarenhas has introduced the African myths and folktales. The story of Dona Beatrice, the African prophetess, and the leopard is transposed in the story of Alma and Gorgor. “It was also from Esperança that Pagan learnt about *devachar*, the mischievous wood spirits of Goa who live in the trees . . . Each person said Esperança also had an animal spirit.” (Mascarenhas 41)

“Sometimes Esperança, would catch her mistress eyeing Saudade with evil eyes. Afterwards, Esperança would cleanse her daughter’s aura of any evil spirits, burning them along with chilies and salt in the fire.” (Mascarenhas 226) The ritual of removing the evil eye *distt*, (Gomes 30) is mentioned in *Tivolem*, *The Sting of Peppercorns* and *Skin*, exemplifying its importance to Goan culture.

Though Saudade is a Christian she has an inseparable African legacy; a legacy which is filled with their own beliefs and myths. When she dies, she believes she will be reincarnated as a bird in a next life. She writes, “When I shed this skin I will exchange it for the green-blue feathers of the kingfisher. *Alcedo Attis*. I will be aerodynamic and dive for fish” (231).

A Hindu hermit (Sadhu) from Gujarat advised Dom Bernardo to keep dogs, in order to save himself from Perpetua’s curse. “He told him he had very bad karma. He said in order to diffuse his karma, Dom Bernardo should always keep a dog in his house. Dogs, he said, were known to absorb the bad karma of their masters.” (109) Through the Indian belief or superstition, the Indian presence is given a definite voice. Four fifty years of Portuguese rule may have had its impact on Goan society. Nevertheless, Goa geographically was and is an integral part of India.

*The Sting of Peppercorns* has abundant examples of superstitions and myths which the people followed faithfully. When Tulsi experienced her night histrionics after her husband Vishnu’s death, it was believed that she was possessed. Amanda did not know to swim, but when she drowned it was said, “[T]he sea has claimed what was her’s [sea], a life:

a human sacrifice” (Gomes 230). These are many myths and superstitions mentioned in the novel which are an integral part of Goan tradition and beliefs.

Victor Rangel Ribeiro’s *Tivolem* is a quintessential Goan village with its haunted house and trees. Simon is shown a haunted house belonging in the past to Bald Uncle Priest. The tamarind tree in the village was believed to be cursed. Regarding the *carsó* tree in the backyard, he was informed, “Hindus say it brings bad luck. They also hold the tree sacred-things happen around carsó trees. People believe demons live in them. (Ribeiro 24)

All three novels under study, *Skin*, *The Sting of Peppercorns* and *Tivolem* concentrate on provincial Goa. Antonio Gomes, Victor Rangel and Margaret Mascarenhas, though very successful out of Goa, living mainly in Metropolises, are still able to remember and capture every intriguing nuance of the Goan village life.

The Diasporic writers away from home and in the midst of highly developed, techno-savvy metropolises miss the simple Goan village life. They remember the beauty and spirit of the land. The nostalgia, they feel for their homeland, is captured in the novels. These novels can be considered memoirs of Goan village life, as the uniqueness of Goan culture lies in its villages.

The name of the village, *Tivolem*, is a figment of the author’s imagination. He chose the name ‘*Tivolem*’ because it sounds like a Konkani word. Ribeiro reveals the reason behind the ingenuity in the choice of the village name, “I wanted a village name which would sound Goan. The scenes depicted are very much like any other Goan village.” (Personal Interview), The portrayal of provincial *Tivolem* has a universality. He explains, “What is amazing about *Tivolem* village is that it resembles any other Italian, Portuguese or Brazilian village. People from various parts of the world have come to me and stated that *Tivolem* is similar to my village.” (Personal Interview)

Each time Ribeiro returns to Goa and see the changes, he remembers the past. Ribeiro asserts that one must write about their sensibilities. A writer should close his eyes and try to re-experience, the smell, the sights, the sounds and the different sensations of his home. This would make ‘true writing’ and this, in turn, would appeal to everyone. In a similar manner, each of these Goan Diasporic writers has revealed the intrinsic knowledge they possess of Goan village life.

Though living in Diaspora since a long time, the select authors have retained an intimate knowledge of their native past. These reminiscences are revealed in the stories they tell. In the village simple events take centre stage. This is exactly what is portrayed in the novels. Simple provincial events like the village feast, the excitement generated when the postman brings a letter, or a car arriving in the village, a newcomer entering the village, the gossiping, weddings, the building of a new house, picnics, village feasts, tolling bells etcetera; together with the different rituals, traditions, myths, superstitions, people coming home at the Angelus bells, the village plunging into darkness at sunset, then the lighting of the lamps, people calling to their cocks, chickens, pigs, and pets to return home, the bullocks, the mud lanes are only some of the beautiful shades of Goan village life recollected in *Tivolem*.

Ribeiro has meticulously detailed each villager and the village experiences. The village comes alive in the novel. The villagers are not just characters but rather individuals, unique entities, who collectively define the village life.

*Tivolem* is important to Diasporic studies because three of its main characters return home. After spending a considerable time in Diaspora, instead of migrating to other parts of the world, they choose to return to Tivolem. They were able to resist the tempting lifestyle offered by the western world like superior infrastructures, technological comforts, high monetary returns, etcetera. Marie-Santana, Simon Fernandes and Eusebio returned home to their roots, culture and tradition. Re-aculturating back to village life is a challenge they accepted.

The intrinsic village life is painted with clarity, humour and detail. Even, mundane events, like the construction of Eusebio's house, ignite great curiosity among the villagers. "People came from Vasco da Gama in the south and Pernem in the north to gawk at the work in progress." (41)

Victor Rangel Ribeiro has painstakingly described the village marriage traditions in the recount of the marriage of Dona Elena. He has also described the traditional chore of drawing water from a well. "A chore Marie-Santana had particularly liked, as a child was drawing water from the broad, deep well." (47) He goes on to describe the whole operation of drawing water. All these details add a reality in the portrait of a quintessential Goan village.

Marie-Santana returned in her mid-thirties from Portuguese occupied Mozambique. She suffers feelings of displacement returning from a familiar life in Mozambique to Goa, the

place of her distant childhood memory. She regretted leaving the place which was home to her parents' graves. Women in colonized Goa were strictly governed by traditions, religion and patriarchy. Freedom was restricted. Gracias Da Silva observes, "Customs, traditions and religion, including folk religion, had its sway on the life of Goan women. Customs and traditions encouraged women to play several traditional roles, of a daughter, wife, and daughter-in-law. While others imposed taboos on them, and kept women dependent on men" (142). Marie Santana returned to this subservient life after experiencing independence in Mozambique.

Gossip is an important part of village life. Gossip provides entertainment and kills their boredom. Common things are made to seem scandalous in order to ignite the interest of the fellow villagers. Tivolem also has its fair share of gossip. Josephine Aunty is the instigator of gossip. She actively looks for gossip. Her gossip is not un-harmful. She is vindictive when spreading gossip. It is done with the sole intent of harming Marie-Santana. "The spate of activity, in *Senhor* Eusebio's garden, did not escape Josephine Aunty's attention nor did Marie-Santana's presence there. She accordingly increased the range, and frequency of her patrols, suspecting scandalous goings-on." (Ribeiro 139)

Simon Fernandes returned to Goa in his forties. He loved the peace of *Tivolem*. He adapted to village life. The serenity of the village echoed in his music which filled the village after sunset.

Senor Eusebio welcomed Simon Fernandes and also Marie Santana. These three Goans, on returning to Goa, shared an empathy with each other. With their experience abroad they had grown beyond the Goan village psyche. "[L]ike himself, they too had spent a large portion of their lives, in the outside world, and so would have much to talk about, aside from the state of crops and the price of fish." (125)

The close relationship of man to nature can be seen in the villagers' love for gardening. They actively tend their gardens. *Senhor* Eusebio and Marie-Santana take an active interest in gardening. Marie-Santana retained her precious memories of Goa. Marie-Santana went crabbing with her father and grandmother on moonless nights, and they ate the crab curry the next day. Today many traditions are dying like coconut plucking, toddy tapping, drying coconuts and jackfruits and making pickles. Another particular feature of Goan life is catching fish and then making a meal of it the same day. In the past, fresh food

would be cooked every single day. Today, local markets are being replaced by supermarkets even in the villages. The Goans in Diaspora value the past village traditions.

So realistically has Ribeiro painted the village scene that *Tivolem* with its narrow country road with coconut trees lined on either side, back lanes, fisherwomen with baskets on their head leaving a trail of fish smell, gentle sea breezes, can be perfectly visualized with every specific nuance and minute detail.

Victor Rangel Ribeiro writes about the village life of which he has first-hand knowledge. He is very sensitive to the psyche of the village people. Different village nuances like the hypocrisies, snobbishness, gossiping, petty thievery, village inhibitions are all portrayed with a humane, hilarious and sometimes ironical touch. Each of them contributes to the quintessential social fabric of the Goan village. Peasants, boatmen, *badkars*, *munkars*, clergy, carpenters, barber, domestic helps, the local doctors, are all essential extensions of the village life. In New York, he often finds reminders of these characters. He is comprehensive in including all details, however ordinary, in his novel. Ribeiro also has the ability to make these details *extraordinaire*; thereby, bringing to the world the romance of the Goan village. The charm of Goan life and culture lies in its quaint and romantic villages. While social changes are life's dictum, changes are bound to affect village life too.

With the introduction of western influences, Goan village life is changing too. *Tivolem* as an essentially Goan village novel is not only cogent but convincing. Victor Rangel is a keen observer of contemporary village life and has an ironic manner of recording it. His down to earth approach to life, indirectly, helps him to avoid the pitfalls of sentimentality or superficiality. With the changing vista, specifically towards urbanization, *Tivolem* can be considered a historical novel; it has convincingly recorded Goan colonial village life.

In *Skin*, the beauty of the village is not lost to Pagan when she returns from America. "In the late afternoon, Pagan walks through the village, across the narrow embankments that crisscross and delineate lush green plots of paddy field, and through a dense coconut grove, to visit Espernaça. At this hour, she can feel the high-tide sea breeze blowing through the palms. A kingfisher flutters in an extravaganza of plumage, on the branches of the mango tree above her." (Mascarenhas 39)

In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, the village ethos is prominent. The Albuquerque's home is the most prestigious in the village of Luotolim. Villagers are awakened by the crowing of

the red-rooster. On Paulo's return, around fifty villagers, peasants and tenants, gathered at the door to welcome him. On special occasions, like Paulo's return from Portugal, it was the village custom to pray the *ladainah* and distribute *feni*. Villagers, like Tulsi in the novel, hid their jewellery in the mud walls. They kept changing the hiding place to avoid it being stolen.

The Diasporic Goan writers under study have, themselves, metamorphosed back into their village existences to produce novels adroitly mirroring village life. They have conveyed the village ethos with sharp precision, through the settings, dialogues, village traditions and characters. Living in Diaspora, amidst a completely contrasted lifestyle and ambiance, these writers have unerringly been able to pinpoint the beating heart of Goa which is the village.

As different influences enter Goa, village life is changing. As every landscape and society keeps evolving, the Diasporic writers are aware that their villages are now imaginary homelands. Goa is being developed and in this process precious village life is distorted and destroyed. These writers validate the beauty of Goan village life, the beauty of their homeland, and the beauty of their memories, through their writings. Pagan in her letter to Xico writes, "Nevertheless, most of Goa's villages are still places of extraordinary beauty and tranquility." (Mascarenhas 158) These writings help create, among Goans, a gradual awakening to their beautiful heritage and a need to preserve it.

### **3.3.5 Towards Hybridity and Heterogeneity**

A direct consequence of colonialism and migration is miscegenation and hybridization. Colonization and migration ensured that racial purity is becoming rare. Regarding the heterogeneity in society, Michael Dash observes, "The idea of society as an integrated culture, organically whole, insulated by language and tradition from the relentless advance of modernity and its supposedly alienating values, has now become unpersuasive" (45).

As the world shrinks and becomes accessible, miscegenation and hybridization are becoming common features. Miscegenation is the production of children from parents of two different races, especially, when one parent is white. Colloquially, it is a mixing of genes. Hybridization is the outcome of the union of two or more different things. Even though the term Hybridity gained immense popularity in postcolonial studies, Hybridity as a concept and social phenomenon existed since ancient times. Even great civilizations like the Greeks, Egyptians and Romans had foreign influences. Travel, which was undertaken due to trade,

wars, search for knowledge, famines, unrest or educational purposes, created hybridization. These borrowings from other cultures caused fusions among different cultures. The resulting interactions led to hybridized conditions.

In simple terms 'Hybridity' means mixture. The Oxford dictionary describes 'Hybridity' as the product, of mixing of two, or more different things. (Oxford Dict.765) While the first generation of migrants initially maintain racial purity, later generations come face to face with the other races. As intermarriages become common, hybridity becomes more and more pronounced in the succeeding generations. Hybridity is seen when the immigrants become trans-nationals through their experiences across cultures and communities. Though hybridity was contrasted and looked down upon as against racial purity, hybridity existed even in the pre-Christian era.

Hybridity and Diaspora cannot be divorced. The study of Diaspora is incomplete without a study of hybridity. Sneja Gunew, quotes, "According to Stuart Hall, 'the diaspora experience is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity: by a conception of 'identity', which lives with and through, not despite, difference: by hybridity.'" (21) Diasporic identities are acutely aware of the complexities and implications of mixed races, creolizations and hybridizations. These hybridized interactions have been fore-grounded in the Diasporic texts.

The Diasporic Writer, Salman Rushdie, has been one of the most eloquent writers of Hybridization. Dash observes, "In describing his secular, cosmopolitan novel as a 'love-song to our mongrel selves', Rushdie is acknowledging the force that the ideas of creolization and hybridity have acquired at the end of the twentieth century." (45) Rushdie has never hesitated to embrace newness, and admits to his hybridized identity, while straddling two or more cultures. His Diasporic writings show his love for the new, while simultaneously he is able to integrate his past life of tradition. In the canon of Diasporic writings, he is regarded as one of the foremost writers in reflecting hybridity.

While defending his novel *Satanic Verses*, he speaks about British Muslims. He uses his coined words like 'Ghettoization', and 'Mongrelization' (Rushdie 394) to describe hybridization. He shocked the world by using the term 'Mongrelization' to describe the migrant's state in Diaspora. The word 'Mongrel' was used to refer to dogs of mixed breed. It is a deprecating term. But Rushdie, with his flair for ingenuity, uses some heterodox terms to describe hybridization. Surprisingly, his quotes have become popular especially in Diasporic

studies. Another famous quote, regarding hybridity is, “Mélange, hotchpotch, a bit of this and a bit of that is how newness enters the world. It is the great possibility that mass migration gives the world, and I have tried to embrace it.” (Rushdie 394)

Rushdie throws light on his own migrant psyche through his work. “The *Satanic Verses* celebrates hybridity, impurity, intermingling, the transformation that comes of new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics, movies and songs. It rejoices in mongrelization and fears the absolutism of the Pure.” (Rushdie 394) Racial purity is on the decline, and heterogeneity is the new norm.

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century saw nationalism on the rise. Colonized countries fought for freedom. Communities had a national consciousness with regards to culture, religion and language. Each community saw itself as an integrated whole and wished to remain the same. It discouraged modern and outside influences. The example of Indian *Satyagraha* is a leading example. British clothes were burnt and *Khadi* was widely adopted. The societies stuck to tradition in order to maintain their identity. This nationalism was in revolt against colonization.

But societies are ever evolving. After the independence of the colonies, the natives themselves embraced migration. Widespread migration created newly integrated societies. Societies which were previously insulated by their own traditions began to suddenly embrace newness. Contact with migrants created change and transformations. As migration became widespread, hybridity became an unavoidable product of this migration. In Diaspora, hybridized expressions and identities are a conspicuous feature. Fusions and multiple positionings occupy a greater part of cultural discourses. Ethnic and national forces crumble to give place to hybridized individuals.

At the end of the twentieth century, newness through hybridity and métissage had gained new currency. Hybridity and creolization are transformations that come as a result of new and different unions and the intermingling of human beings, cultures, ideas, traditions and even popular cultures like, social media, television, movies, and songs.

In Postcolonial studies, the concepts of the ‘other’, the ‘periphery’, have been unbalanced, replaced by cross-cultural and modern concepts. Racial purity has been replaced by syncretism. Similarly, the Goan has always been a product of fusion and hybridity. Goans have been subjected to an amalgamation of cultures, languages, peoples and races.

In Diaspora, the birth and evolution of new life in an alien land, opens new chapters for new beginnings, origins of hybridization. *Skin* has innumerable examples of hybridization. In this study, Pagan is a perfect example of miscegenation and hybridization. She is a hybrid individual due to her ancestral amalgamation. She has Spanish, African and Goan, origins to name a few of her vital strains. Pagan is brought up in America, by Katie (who we later learn is not her biological mother), is completely American. The name Pagan itself has an American daring to it. The members of Goan branch of the family are scandalized by the name.

Pagan had not been baptized into the Catholic faith. This is an unacceptable lax towards religion unheard of in Goa. Pagan is a reporter and is able to go to war-torn Angola. Her persona is a hybridized product of her American upbringing and Goan tradition. She has tremendous courage and daring. She also possesses a respect for tradition. She has a physical relationship with another hybridized person, Xico, who is half Lebanese and half Brazilian. Livia, who studied in France, is not restricted by the rules of Goan society. She smokes in public in a conservative society. A woman smoking was taboo in Goan society. Livia is capable of doing all the things men do. This arouses jealousy from her male relatives.

*Skin* is a postmodern novel with hybridity as an important theme. The novel stretches from New York to Goa, Angola, Paris and even Brazil. It captures and analyses the postcolonial and postmodern ambivalences of the Diasporic American Goan.

In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, Paulo is unaware that he is a product of miscegenation. He is fair and resembles the Portuguese. He is often called *Pacló*. Carmina, voices the obvious, “Yes.... Paulo was very fair, like a *pacló*” (206). In actuality, he is a perfect example of miscegenation and hybridization. This is due to the fact that he is the son of Dona Isabella (who is Goan) and the Portuguese captain, Borda de Mar.

Psychologically, the Diasporic influences prevent him from assimilating in Goa. After studying in Portugal, he is restless and unable to adapt to Goan Society. Women are attracted to him and he has affairs indiscreetly. On returning to Goa, he drinks and spends his time with the Hippies. He later becomes a drug addict. He shows little respect for the Goan tradition. *Au contrair* to the strict Catholic upbringing, he shows tendencies towards a life of physical and moral degradation.

In contrast, Marie-Santana in *Tivolem* is brought up in Mozambique. She decides to return to Goa after a long span of twenty-three years. She ignores the Diasporic influences and assimilates with the village life. Even though the villagers gossiped about her and spread slanderous stories, she is determined to be part of them. Simon and Marie-Santana, both lived overseas with international perspectives. But when Simon offers to walk with her to church, she is taken aback. According to Goan village tradition, if a man and a woman walked together there were serious implications; it meant they were a couple. “By unspoken tradition, the walk to church was a prelude to the Mass itself. . . . True, she and Simon had both grown up overseas, in less restricted societies; if they could have walked to church together in Kuala Lumpur or in Quelimane, why not here?” (Ribeiro 172)

Always conscious about gossip and assumptions of the villagers, she chose to walk to church alone. “For the same reason that once inside the church she sat with the women apart from the men- because the village had reclaimed her more than it had reclaimed him; of that she was sure” (Ribeiro 172). These lines exemplify Marie-Santana’s mature perception with regards to the sensibilities of Goan society. She was aware of her unmarried status and the curiosity and gossip her single status aroused in the village. Embracing life in Tivolem village, she left her Diasporic influences behind and embraced the Goan consciousness. Similarly, Simon Fernandes returning from Malaysia embraces Goan village life.

Colonization also brought hybridization in its wake. Like all colonists, Portuguese colonist, too, brought with them their culture and imposed it on the natives in Goa. Those who converted to Christianity adopted not only the religion but a Portuguese way of life. The upper and middle classes were happy and proud of this new heritage. In these novels, we see hybridization of the Konkan, Hindu and Portuguese, customs all of which contribute to makeup the Goan ethos. Hybridity and mimicry go together as concepts in postcolonial studies. Intermingling caused hybridity, mimicry was the result of the native miming the colonizer.

It is interesting to look at some of the particular norms and customs of the Portuguese colonizer that the converted Goans adopted. This appropriation of the colonizer's customs has been defined by Homi Bhabha, as ‘Mimicry’. (Das Bijay Kumar 369) The study of the implications of Mimicry is of particular significance in colonial and postcolonial Goa.

Homi K. Bhabha, a Diasporic theorist like Edward Said and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, has popularized postcolonial theory with his concept of Mimicry. Postcolonial theory

hinges upon the colonizer/ colonized relationship. Paradoxically, it is not about the colonizer but about the colonized ‘other’. ‘Mimicry’ ‘hybridity’ and ‘otherness’, are the terms that explain the state of the ‘colonized’ in the postcolonial era.

In mimicking the Portuguese way of life, a new hybridized life was born in Goa. When Goans got converted, they not only accepted the faith of the colonizer but they openly embraced the related economic and social benefits. Converted Goans were given properties and privileges. By embracing the Portuguese norms and culture, they hoped to acquire a higher social status on par with Portuguese citizens. They became obsessed with the Portuguese dress, address, food, drinks, *soirées*, music, occupations like hunting, dancing and partying. Soon, the *badkar* families started sporting Portuguese airs; and practicing Portuguese customs and traditions. Together with the western attire, Goans wore what we call today, ‘western blinkers’. This is a classic example of Bhabha’s Mimicry. In the process of aping the colonizer, the natives subverted their own culture and values leading to hybridization of cultures.

When Roberto was born, *Senhor* Afonso wished to give him an Indian name. He chose to name him Tagore after India’s laureate. But his wife did not approve of this. Dona Isabella retorted, “An Indian name for my child? That’s a sacrilege” (Gomes 28). The name ‘Tagore’ was retained as the middle name for Roberto. But as he lived in a pro-Portuguese society he was never called Tagore; he was known by his Portuguese name, Roberto.

Many Goans did not want to be part of the Indian nation but hoped that Goa, with her unique identity, would become an ‘Independent State’. According to Amanda, “Goa should be an independent state. Even Papa is all for it.” (Gomes 23) Roberto claims, “I also would like Goa to be an independent state, but it won’t happen Amanda.” (23-24). These lines reiterate that most Goans wanted an independent statehood for Goa. Roberto further reminds Amanda that no Goan organization would shed blood. Roberto throws light on the mindset and helplessness of that era of Goan Christians.

Majority of the Goan Christians considered themselves Portuguese. Four hundred and fifty years of colonial rule had influenced them. Most of them completely identified with the Portuguese culture and the Portuguese way of life. The Albuquerque family in the novel is one such family. They have three servants, a palatial home called Padremgor (House of Priests). The house had a Coat of Arms, “Roberto’s great-great-grandfather who was honored

with the title of *Fidalgo Cavaleiro da Casa-Real*, for his loyalty to the Portuguese Empire in India” (Gomes 17). “Visitors marveled at the grandeur of the house” (Gomes 17).

The Christian Goans homes, built on the Portuguese architecture, were beautiful and imposing. The houses sported big gardens. The Portuguese houses were a status symbol. Goan Christians were given the important jobs in administration and the public works. In accordance with Portuguese culture, pursuits of playing western instruments and interest in Portuguese music were encouraged. The Albuquerque family sported a Bernstein piano. Dona Isabella and Roberto played the piano, Paulo the guitar and Amanda the violin. Musical soirées would take place once a month at the house. Music sessions after dinner were a frequent occurrence. Almost all the members knew how to play musical instruments. The Portuguese encouraged music. Music was an important subject in the general educational curriculum and also in the education of the upper-class women.

With the end of the Portuguese rule in Goa, this all ceased to hold importance. The pursuit of this sophisticated and extravagant lifestyle became costly, and many of the houses fell to ruin. The Portuguese houses, built like manors needed a lot of money and labour to be maintained. The ruins of these houses represent the change in the social order. The upper-class Goans migrated, and till date they continue to migrate. Their houses, in Goa, are then left forlorn and uninhabited.

Under Portuguese rule, the *badkar* class has access to higher education. It was a normal occurrence that they were even sent abroad for higher studies. Gomes explains this tradition in the novel, “The house has also produced a host of prominent lawyers, judges, and administrators, so Roberto’s older brother Paulo, who was studying law in Coimbra, Portugal, would be following another family tradition” (16). Paulo was not very intelligent but through affluence, his mother was able to manipulate people in order to secure him a seat in the Law College of Coimbra.

The Portuguese also influenced the Goan dress, food, music, religion and language. Christian families mimicked the Portuguese customs and traditions. The grand meal for Paulo, on his return from Portugal, called for the house piglet to be killed. The dinner included Portuguese cuisine, consisting of ink-coloured *cabidel* of duck, the spicy *sorpotel*, pork *vindaloo*, mayonnaise fish, and codfish.

It was the Portuguese influences that made Goan food world-renowned. Vice versa, the Konkani influences, on Goan food, has also endeared Goan food to the Portuguese. The result has been that Goan food is a hybridized food which has become very popular. In most Goan homes, there was a spinster or widowed aunt who specialized in making Goan food. In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, it is Rosita, the unmarried sister, who specialized in food, “Rosita rightly boasted that her *bebinca* fame stretched from the Goan sandy shores to the local bazaars, to the Goan boarding houses of Bombay, to the banks of the river Tagus in Portugal. She was also known for her red and fiery mango pickle, and violent Goan *chouriço* that would have startled even the bowels of Montezuma” (Gomes 20).

There is a detailed description of the preparations done for the grand dinner in honour of Paulo’s homecoming from Portugal. The family arrangements are extravagant to say the least. Every minute detail is taken care of. Excess time and energies, of the entire household, are employed. Elaborate preparations are made in conformity to Portuguese customs. Paulo’s homecoming in 1961 can be contrasted to Roberto’s homecoming in 1988. Both homecomings are at different times; Paulo during colonization and Roberto’s post liberation. There is no family grandeur to the celebration of Roberto’s return. The family has disintegrated and the family home is in ruins. Returning to his ancestral home, there is no one to greet him. About the deteriorated conditions, Gomes, explains, “But now, the decay hits him hard as he realizes that there was so much tradition, and also a kind of perfection, in the grand old house, reverberating with life and hopes that went awry, that time and history had moved on” (Gomes 10).

This disillusionment is further underscored in the final chapters of the novel. The end chapters have a pronounced air of mourning and tragic loss. There is a reverberation of regrets in the grand funeral of Paulo. The silence of Amanda, who nearly drowned, is very loud. Amanda though alive remains a silent person. We find the youth of the Albuquerque family, full of life in the beginning of the novel, now engulfed in a strange air of quietness. One of the members -Paulo is dead due to drowning; the other -Amanda nearly drowned. These two children could not cope with life’s turmoil and changes. They are drowned by the undercurrents in their lives.

In *Skin* Margaret Mascarenhas also records, to great lengths, the lifestyles of the Miranda Flores family. The lavish dinners, slaves and servants in the manors, the customs and rituals, the festivals, all speak of opulence and grandeur which were part of the *badkar*

lifestyle under Portuguese rule. The Miranda Flores family is a *badkar* family with extensive properties in Daman and Diu. They follow the Christian customs, like baptism, confessions, funerals and also the colonial custom of keeping slaves. They speak English and Portuguese. Their tenants are Hindus and follow the Hindu religion and customs.

In Tivolem village there are the Hindus and the Christians who live together in harmony. All the Diasporic characters are Christians and follow the Christian customs of going for Sunday Mass, confessions, and celebrating village feasts and Christian traditions. The interactions among the villagers (Hindus and Christians), and again between the villagers and the Diaspora returnees, gives witness to a new understanding of cross-cultural harmony.

Colonization, migration, and new identities created, have all caused a borrowing and lending in cultures. The native adopts the culture of the other. The Goan culture is a hybridized product of Hindu, Konkani, and Portuguese. This hybridity has given rise to a new globalization. Homi K Bhabha categorically states, “The very concepts of homogenous national cultures, the consensual contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or “organic” ethnic communities- *as the ground of cultural comparativism* – are in a profound process of redefinition” (Bhabha 937 *Literary Theory*).

As the Goan enters new territories as a migrant, the Goan culture is again subject to more hybridization. Goan Hybridity is best enunciated by Diasporic writers. Bhabha also reiterates the ability of Diasporic writers to reflect the changing society with authority. Bhabha observes, “Salman Rushdie writes a fabulist historiography of post-Independence India and Pakistan in *Midnight’s Children* and *Shame* only to remind us in *The Satanic Verses* that the truest eye may now belong to the migrant’s double vision” (Bhabha 937)

Speaking about the overpowering presence of hybridity, Dash states, “Instead the notion of timeless tradition has given way to a view of all societies as caught up in a process of contact, change, and transformation” (45).

Hybridity, as a concept has been fore-grounded in cultural and Diasporic studies. Dash admits, “The reassuring dichotomies of ‘primitive’ as opposed to ‘modern’, of ‘periphery’ as opposed to ‘centre’, have yielded a pervasive sense of the cross-cultural that has increasingly undermined the concepts of cultural differences or otherness.” (45) Hybridity has become the standard norm permeating and existing in every community and culture.

This is the reason it is impossible to extricate hybridization from the intercultural discourses that are defining the, twentieth and twenty-first century, humanitarian and anthropological studies.

### 3.3.6 A Lost Inheritance: Colonial Culture and a Lifestyle

It would not be an understatement to state that among all the Indian states, Goa has had the most dramatic history. With every change of ruler, there has been a change in tradition and culture. Every change has brought in its wake loss and gain. If new things are to be embraced and cherished, there is always a parallel loss of the old.

Loss of the old order includes loss of a certain tradition, a loss of the old value system or a loss of culture. When Goa became part of the Indian Republic, equality was embraced. Those Goans belonging to the elite *badkar* and middle class had to conform to a society where all became equal. As stated earlier, Goans who did not want to be a part of the new system migrated. The reminiscing about their lost lives in colonial Goa is kept alive in their Diasporic writings. These writings reflect their feeling of loss and ambivalences after being subjected to a new way of life.

*The Sting of Peppercorns* and *Skin* are exemplary in the portrayal of the *badkar* way of life. Sending children abroad for studies has always been a significant practice followed by the elite classes. In the novels under study, Paulo, Leandro, Francisco and even the daughter, Livia, were all sent out for studies. Another practice was keeping a lot of domestic workers. The *badkars* had huge households and enormous estate lands in Goa, Daman and Diu. They required a lot of labour like, maids, cooks, and land labourers. As the local labour was not sufficient, they kept slaves.

In *Tivolem*, the characters returning from Diaspora are back to claim their lost inheritance. In *Skin*, Pagan wished to claim her lost inheritance and articulate her true identity. In *The Sting of Peppercorns*, the characters are trying to cling to their inheritance. Roberto, Amanda, and their father are all aware of the unavoidable changes taking place. They are resigned to the political changes. But, the others dread the loss of the Portuguese rule and the lifestyle. The Albuquerque family is among one of the most elite *badkars*; their house sported a Coat of Arms bestowed by the Portuguese Governor on the Albuquerque ancestor.

The hybridity caused by cultural imperialism cannot be denied. Postcolonial studies emphasize the departure of colonialism and recovery of self. Postcolonial theory interrogates the imposition of the colonizer's culture on the natives and champions the reinforcement of native culture. Liberation from Portuguese rule brought in its wake restructuring of native tradition. But for many Goans, after four hundred and fifty years of assimilation, it was difficult to reconcile with this loss. Loss of the Portuguese inheritance signified loss of an identity, loss of home and loss of an inheritance, even though it was an adopted colonial order. The nostalgia of this loss is echoed in the Goan Diasporic novel.

### 3.4 Goan Diasporic Writings

The Diasporic Goan writings in English qualify both as English literature and as Goan literature in English. Early Goan writings were predominantly written in Konkani. Prior to the introduction and use of writing, the rich heritage of Goan folklore was oral. The earliest Konkani writing known today is by Krishnadas Shama from Quolossim. He began writing in 1526. Konkani literature got an impetus when the Portuguese introduced the printing press in Goa. Surprisingly, the first known printed book in Konkani was written by an English Jesuit Priest, Fr. Thomas Stephens, in 1622, entitled *Doutrina Christam em Lingoa Bramana Canarim* (Christian Doctrine in the Canarese Brahman Language). The first book exclusively on Konkani grammar, *Arte da Lingoa Canarim*, 1640, was printed by Fr. Stephens in Portuguese.

Under the colonial rule, there was a decline in writing because of the censorship on the Konkani Language. It was Shenoji Goembab who helped establish Konkani as a modern language. He gave credibility to Konkani as a literary language.

Another prominent Goan writer is Ananta Desai. He wrote short stories, plays and poetry. Agostinho Fernandes was the author of *Bodki*, published in 1962, a post-independence novel. Ravindra Kelekar, who passed away in 2010, is most worthy of mention. He wrote some of the twentieth century's leading Konkani literature. Pundalik Naik's important contribution was the novel *Acchev*. It was published in 1977 and has the distinction of being the first Konkani novel to be translated into English.

A lot of Goan Literature has been produced and continues to be written in Konkani. The late nineteenth century saw the influence of English from the neighbouring British territories. Goans, who sought jobs outside Goa, mainly Mumbai (Bombay), enhanced their English language skills. This resulted in English becoming an influential language for Goan Literary output.

Significantly, the Goan writings in English emerged as a major part of Goan literature only in the twentieth century. Victor Rangel Ribeiro's *Tivolem* was published in 1998. It was awarded the Milkweed National Fiction Prize and shortlisted for the Crossword Book Award. Suneera Peres Da Costa, an Australian-Goan Diasporic writer, wrote her autobiographical novel *Homework*, published in 1999. Margaret Mascarenhas' *Skin* was published in 2001. Antonio Gomes' Diasporic novel *The Sting of Peppercorns* was published in 2010.

The noteworthy fact is that Goan literature in English is the contribution of mainly Goan writers in Diaspora. More and more writings are being published each day by Goans in Diaspora. Fredrick Noronha, who established the publishing house 'Goa1556', has worked relentlessly to publish Goan works. He pursues and persuades significant Goans all over the world to record their past experiences. He explains, "I think, Diasporic writing has played an important role in the literary production of Goan works. More so because till the 1960s or 1970s, there was a limited amount of technology (printing presses, publishing houses, etcetera) here in which writers could express themselves." (E-mail communication)

Fredrick Noronha states: "Out of Goan writing in English, we need to recognize that much of it is made up of Diaspora writing. There are reasons for this -- Goa was not an English-speaking territory until very recently, i.e. the 1960s, other than in small pockets. Many Goans migrated to the English speaking areas and became fluent in the language. It was also a dominant language, and many of our ancestors chose to express themselves in that tongue." (Personal Communication)

Victor Rangel Ribeiro admits that he cannot divorce himself from his Goan past. Living in America, he sees things that constantly remind him of characters present in his village. The pick-pocket on the city subway reminds him of the village thief. The result is his new novel, *The Miscreant* and the thief Lazarinho in *Tivolem*. A boastful character in America helps him create Teodosio of *Tivolem*. In the novel, Teodosio is a hunter who shoots birds but claims to have shot a tiger.

Goan Diasporic Literature has become an important part of world literature and also of Goan literature. Diasporic creative writers like Antonio Gomes, Margaret Mascarenhas, Peter Nazareth, Selma Carvalho, Victor Rangel Ribeiro, Ben Antao, Lino Leitao, etcetera are some prominent Goan Diasporic writers. They have given voice to the lived reality and sentiments of those Goans in Diaspora and of those Goans who have returned from the Diaspora. Their writings are rich in reflecting the alien culture as well as the native ethos. Many argue that the writings of Goans who are citizens of America, Australia, UK, or any other nationality of their adopted country, do not constitute Goan writings. But reading the writings of Victor Rangel Ribeiro, Antonio Gomes, Ben Antao and many others, it cannot be denied that though they write in English and live out of Goa, they are still able to successfully convey the Goan ethos and fluently express the Goan idiom.

A few years ago, the writers of Goa residing out of Goa and returning at intervals were called expatriate writers. But as critical and literary discourses progress, this term is no longer used. The term expatriate has been replaced by 'Diasporic'; a term which connotes multitude implications. "Our identity is at once plural and partial" (Rushdie 15). The term 'Diasporic Writer' is more appropriate as they are writing about the native consciousness, away from home - the native consciousness is partial. It becomes plural in Diaspora through the processes of assimilation and cross-cultural interactions.

### **3.4.1 The Cross-fertilization of the English Language**

The growth of English and its dominance over world languages is a site of serious contestation in literary studies. In Diaspora, English has been widely chosen as the language for expression. Let us examine the reason for this.

At one time, beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, England ruled over nearly three-thirds of the entire world. Hence it was said that, "The Sun never sets on the British Empire". The British came, conquered, ruled and left. Though the British left, the residual English language left behind has been impacting in various areas. The most important effect of British colonization is the widespread usage of English. This has resulted in English becoming the dominant chosen medium for literary expression.

Colonization witnessed the widespread use of English as the British had its colonies across the globe. Ismail Talib explains, "[T]he breaking up of the British Empire left a linguistic residue which may eventually last longer than the Empire itself. In the words of

Minette Marrin (1998:26), ‘We may have lost an empire, but we have gained a lingua franca.’” (9). The ubiquitous usage of English can be seen in world literature. Out of colonization, English has emerged to become a global language. Native writers in Diaspora choose to write in English over their indigenous languages.

Dennis Walder explains the reasons for the pervasiveness of English, “For a century and a half English has been called a world language, used in different forms for different purposes: and the number of people who now speak some form of it as their ‘mother tongue’ is estimated at between 300 and 400 million, some seven times the population of modern Britain; and that is still about half the number of those who use it” (44).

Though the seed for the growth of the English language was sown during British colonization, its widespread growth and domination began after colonization. But as the twentieth century witnessed the end of colonialism, it also witnessed, contrarily, the growth of the English language. English as a language began its domination in post-colonial times. While writing back, the native writers choose to write back in the colonizer’s language be it in their homeland or in Diaspora.

Undoubtedly, there has been an explosion of literature in the erstwhile colonized countries, and this literature, which is concerned chiefly with the native experiences, uses English for expression. Post-colonial literature is being written by writers from different cultures and ethnic backgrounds. Jasbir Jain clarifies: “Though Post-colonialism began as an analysis of culture formations, within conditions of unequal positions, and of the resistance offered therein, it is increasingly being confined to its relationship to the West, seeking accommodation and an audience there” (31). Stephen Selmon in his article “Post-colonial Critical Theories” remarks, “One of the most insistent concerns of post-colonialism is the location of English language-use in a history of imperial expansion” (186).

English has undergone diachronic (temporal), and synchronic (spatial and geographical) changes. Native writers use English but with an infusion of their own indigenous language and idiom. The writers in Diaspora, too, nativize the English language. The authors of *Skin*, *Tivolem* and *The Sting of Peppercorns*, use both Portuguese and Konkani words in their English novels. There has been a cross-fertilization of languages.

The use of English by native writers, by both: stay at home and in Diaspora, has political implications. Native writers realize that cultural texts written in English could be an

act of retaliation. Writing in English, the language of the imperialists, is an act of resistance to imperial domination. The acquisition and use of English by the native writers means pen power in the hands of the native.

Native writers have successfully taken their works all over the world. Like native writers, Diasporic writers also naturally choose to write in English for an international audience. English has become a homogenizing tool around the world. Ania Loomba states, “That what is circulated as ‘Post-colonial theory’ has largely emerged from within English literary studies” (96). The reign of English, which achieved its global dominance due to colonization, continues to dominate in the Post-colonial literary world. Loomba further elaborates, “The meaning of ‘discourse’ shrinks to ‘text’ and from there to ‘literary text’ and from there to texts written in English because that is the corpus most familiar to the critics (96). Shukla and Shukla quote Bill Ashcroft *et al*, “Ashcroft *et al* hold that it “would not be too much to claim that Post-colonial writing now dominates, at least numerically, and perhaps in other ways too, the publication of literature in the English language.”” (11)

Rushdie speaks of the use of ‘hybridized’ English, which he uses extensively in his writings. This hybridized English is used to successfully express the native psyche and native idiom simultaneously. While national writings were generally written in the native language, Diasporic writings and Post-Independence writings are largely written in the English language interspersed with native words and idioms.

With assimilation comes hybridity, Walder explains, “The element of ‘hybridity’, involved a new sense of the world as crisscrossed by migrants, including many writers, has captured the imagination of the most recent theorists” (82).

The use of English ensures an international readership. Walder further asserts the same, “Whatever English now represents, or has represented over centuries of colonization, it belongs to everyone. It is a global language, the first of its kind” (44).

### **3.4.2 English and the Goan Diasporic Literary Expression**

With the widespread use of English in India, Goa was also affected. The unprecedented thinking and literary production in English, of the Indian experiences and literature, had influences across borders. Goans, who had settled away from Goa, in places like Mumbai (Bombay), and other parts of India, Karachi and British Africa, were influenced too. Goans, settled and scattered away from Goa for some time, began writing in English.

This is the reason that there has been an extraordinary production of Goan literature in English rather than the colonizer's language of Portuguese.

Ben Antao affirms that English is the predominant language for Goan writers in Diaspora. He admits, "I think it's because the Goan writers in the diaspora are educated in the English language; they speak English to communicate with friends and family and they use English at work and at places of worship and shopping. So naturally, when it comes to writing fiction or nonfiction, the language of choice would be English. This is despite the fact that their mother tongue is Konkani. Besides, their fluency and proficiency in Konkani is limited, which further restricts its use for writing". (Personal Communication)

He admits that he used Konkani in Romi script to convert some of his stories first written in English into Konkani. This project led to the publication of a bilingual book of ten short stories titled *A Madhouse in Goa / Xirapin* 2012. He admits, "Very frankly, it was a struggle to get the Konkani syntax right as well as the idiom." (Personal Communication)

Ben Antao stresses that, personally, he prefers to write in English because it's the language he's more comfortable with, although Konkani is his mother tongue. After years of journalism in English, he acquired a personal style and a large vocabulary, which makes it easier for him to write in English. (Personal Communication)

Antonio Gomes is fluent in Portuguese as well as English and has often been mistaken for Hispanic. He writes both poetry and fiction in English. Selma Carvalho, a Goan Diasporic writer, who speaks Konkani, English and Portuguese, also chooses to write in English. Mel D'Souza, the author of *Feast, Feni and Firecrackers*, based in Canada, reveals, "I am not a writer or an artist; I just write about my experiences in plain English and illustrate what I see or by visualizing the author's written word. I speak the colloquial Konkani "*amchibhas*", but can barely read or write. Even if I did, I wouldn't write a book in Konkani because of its limited vocabulary and lack of universal appeal." (Personal Communication)

All three Goan authors of the select novels, considered for the present study, have successfully conveyed the Goan consciousness through the English language. Victor Rangel, Antonio Gomes and Margaret Mascarenhas have used Konkani, interspersed with Portuguese, in the text, to produce Goa's own native vitality. Konkani is used with the appropriate syntactic, semantic and supra-segmental rhythm. The use of native words helps to convey the Goan reality.

Donna Young writes: “Most Goans study English in school, and it is widely spoken in Goa. Writing in English is therefore not only the influence of the expatriates’ newly adopted countries, but it is also a way to ensure that the descendants of Goans will have parts of their culture preserved. Literature written in English is more likely to be read by Goans, both at home and abroad.” (Young 30)

Fredrick Noronha, in a personal communication, explicitly states that “Goan writing comes in many streams -- in Portuguese, Konkani (Roman and Devanagari), Marathi, English, etcetera.” He asserts that presently English probably accounts for half of the books published commercially in Goa, if not more, even if the state does not recognize Goan publishing in English in many cases.

Noronha gives credit to the many works of Diasporic writings. Much of the English Goan writings are by Diasporic writers. Noronha states: “There are reasons for this, Goa was not an English-speaking territory until very recently, i.e. the 1960s, other than in small pockets. Many Goans migrated to the English speaking world and got fluent in that language. It was also a dominant language, and many of our ancestors chose to express themselves in that tongue.” (Personal Interview)

According to him, lack of publishing technology was an impediment for the production of literature in Goa. “I think diaspora writing has played an important role, in the literary production of Goan works. More so, because till the 1960s or 1970s, there was a limited amount of technology (printing presses, publishing houses, etc.) here in which writers could express themselves.” (Personal Interview)

Goan Diasporic writings in English have become a medium of information and cultural exchange. The Goan Diasporic experience has attained trans-cultural proportions and comprehensible to a large international audience.

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## Chapter 4: Bonding through Goan Associations

### 4.1 The need for creating Associations

In the preceding chapters, we have already looked at the ambivalences of ‘space’ and ‘belonging’ in relation to the Diasporic communities. Migrants are said to be individuals occupying ‘no-space’; people belonging to nowhere and everywhere simultaneously. But, the presence of Associations creates a new comfort zone for the migrants. It helps them create and occupy a new space in Diaspora. There is a need to illustrate the particular avenues and ways through which Associations have helped the migrant create a specific space and to identify with this space.

Coming together of individuals is a social phenomenon. Some unions are organized while others are unorganized. Organizations play an important role in shaping society. It is imperative for the migrant to rise above his displaced experience. He does this by joining an Association.

People gather first in informal groups. These informal gatherings later bloom and become full-fledged organizations. In her book, *Colonialism, Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community*, Stella Mascarenhas Keyes cites Epstein, “According to Epstein, voluntary organizations “tend to arise out of the interaction of persons who see the formally constituted body as the proper and more effective way of furthering the avowed aims and interest they have in common” (1961:108)” (314-315). Associations are the outcome of the people, in the same situation, interacting with each other. People sharing the same insecurities, problems and interest, come together and bond with each other. This makes them feel a need to create an Association.

Goans have a very high ‘community conscious’ quotient. This is the main reason they remain close to their fellow Goans although far away. Keyes, noticing the conspicuously large number of Goan Associations in the Diaspora, writes, “A plethora of associations exist in the ICG [International Catholic Goan Community], exemplifying the saying “If there are two Goans, there will be three clubs”” (315 *Colonialism*).

Previously, we have examined the role played by culture and literature in generating and sustaining the Goan ethos in Diaspora. Associations and Cyberspace are the two other spaces which contribute towards creating and maintaining the Goan consciousness. The

purpose of this chapter is to provide an in-depth study as to how the Goan Associations around the world help in maintaining the Goan ethos outside Goa.

The reason for the growth and success of Diasporic Associations like all other associations is based on man's basic need for companionship. It is as old as man himself. The necessity for belonging and dependence is second only to man's need for food and socializing. The need for companionship is the mainstream of man's life which results in forming bonds and affiliations. Kinships and bonds have survived over centuries. Forming groups is the basic mechanism that leads to macro-processes. It is an organized interaction that leads to the building of unions. Social history has continuously witnessed the formation of groups. It is the acute feeling of both, solidarity and similarity that brings men together, resulting in the creation of the Associations.

Associations are formed because man has a need to be with people of his own kind. Associations are official groups of like-minded people or people having the same interest. It is a common observance that man gravitates to people with whom he shares some commonness or similar bonds. Even in the face of globalization, man identifies with things familiar. He identifies with people of his own ethnic group. Hence, he conforms to the required traditions and practices stipulated by his society.

Even primitive humans developed a little community in order to survive. This stems from the simple fact that humans become more fruitful when they live together. Humans have an inseparable and undeniable need for bonding which provides a sense of security.

Man functions in society through an organization or association in which he can function to the basic and optimum level. The emotional development, education, intellectual maturity, social attitudes, practices, and traditions are given to man through the various associations in the community.

It is a society with its various associations that go a long way to shape the identity of the individual. The Social Contract Theory and the Organismic Theory both relate to man's existence in society. The Social Contract Theory states that the society is a social contract for man's wellbeing while the Organismic Theory states that just as the human body survives with the help of its organs, so also society survives through its communities. What is the significance of Associations in Diasporic Society? How do the Associations help the migrant

society to survive in Diaspora? This chapter will study the importance and functions of the Goan Associations to the Diasporic communities.

It is believed that the Diasporic Associations are indispensable to the migrant. This chapter makes an effort to see the manner in which Diasporic Associations offer new perspectives to the migrant. Particularly, it will study the role of the Goan Diasporic Associations to the Goan migrant.

For the migrant, Diaspora appears to be a maze. Selma Carvalho uses the term 'Wilderness' to describe this maze. Most of the migrants are from developing or underdeveloped countries. There are many migrants who are not very well qualified to deal with the advanced technologies of their new homeland. The cosmopolitanism in Diaspora frightens them. Their fears may arise due to regularization, rigidity, and formality they are used to. In these circumstances, facing the unknown and newness causes untold stress. The migrants are at a loss. The western world may seem like an automated world where-in human connection is minimized. For example, in the western world all instructions are printed and put for the public to read. Individuals are expected to read and follow these instructions. The novice migrant, who in his native land is habituated to asking people for directions or any sort of information, here in an alien land faces a complex situation.

In his new home, he has to negotiate the appropriate channels for information or help. He has to contact specific bureaus, directories and agencies. The migrant has to consult a map in order to reach a place. In this technologically intricate and regularized world, there is not much patience, or understanding, for those who are not techno savvy or updated. In Diaspora, the migrant longs for the simplicity of his past life. He misses the simple uncomplicated life back home.

For many, these problems may seem mundane, but if one sees the expressions of first-time flyers with their fears and apprehensions, it is possible to comprehend the insecurities and fears of the migrants. These travellers are not worried about an air crash. They fear, more, the process of negotiating all the necessary procedures of travelling. The migrant is boggled by the innumerable legalities and formalities. He is lost and requires not just someone, but many people who can empathize with his handicaps and who are ready to help him.

Associations are the first contact points which offer hope to the migrant. He receives support and help from Associations. Here, he finds like-minded migrants who have also experienced the same helplessness. Now, as established members of the Diasporic community, they are ready to help him. He might join a local group, a religious group or any social group. But better still is to bond with his native society. This creates in him a sense of security and helps him connect in an alien land.

Therefore, the study of Associations and their role in helping the migrants adjust, in a new land is significant to Diasporic Studies. Maritsa Poros, sociologist in ethnicity and migration, makes a pertinent observation: “The sheer variety of associations in the United States and Britain is also remarkable. Many associations are culturally specific for people who share a common regional, linguistic or caste background. These associations are especially conducive to strengthening and developing new interpersonal ties” (100).

All types of Associations have their origin in similarities. People promoting similar causes come together and form an Association. So also, with Diasporic Associations, individuals sharing the same heritage unite. In Diaspora, as the migrant embraces a lonely life, away from things native and familiar, it becomes important for the migrant to retain his roots and stay connected with home. Through the Diasporic Associations, the migrant is able to forge connections with his new homeland.

Indian migrants, in the United States of America, have been very successful in bonding with fellow Indian migrants through Associations. Poros explains how the Indian Associations in the United States endorse their cultural consciousness:

General cultural associations are pan-Indian and open to all Indians. Typically, these associations hold cultural performances and events related to Indian art, literature, music, and dance. Also included in this category are Indian Associations, which address the local concerns of Indians living in the same neighbourhood or local jurisdiction (100).

From the above statements, it is obvious that Diasporic Associations do more than providing bonding exercises. Associations address the assimilating concerns of the migrant.

In Diaspora, it is the Associations that helps the migrant to retain his native identity and at the same time to blend into his new society. The migrant, who has traversed the national borders, has left behind family and friends. He has to build a future in this unfamiliar

territory. He is intent on looking for affiliation, on the other side of the globe, based on his own ethnicity. Being part of an organization entails a sense of recognition and familiarity.

Associations perform another function for the migrant. Associations have a psychological function, too. Victor Ferrao explains, “The Sociometer Theory indicates that self-esteem and belonging are intimately linked together. It points out that our self-esteem acts as a monitor of our inclusion status.” (12)

People have a need to be valued and identified. This can be done only through associating with other individuals. Ferrao continues, “When we are threatened with social exclusion, we experience a decrement in self-esteem which itself becomes a signal that calls us to adjust our behaviour in order to avoid social exclusion. The most important strategy employed is the conformity with one’s in-group. (12)

By becoming a member of an organization, the Diasporic creates a link between himself and other Diasporic migrants. Individuals sharing similar experiences, histories, and culture are able to build strong relationships. It is from this basic need that Diasporic Associations gains its rationale for existence.

It is through the Associations that the migrant is able to sustain himself in a new environment while maintaining his ties and linkages with the homeland.

## 4.2 Historicizing the Growth of Goan Associations

The infant steps of Goan migration were directed towards Bombay now Mumbai. It is here that the seed of the Diasporic Associations was first sown. Goan Associations in Diaspora have their genesis in the *Coor* or *Kudd* (room in Konkani) system in Bombay (Mumbai). Keyes states, “The coors provided a mechanism for continuity to be maintained between the village in Goa and the outside world” (181 *Colonialism*). The community consciousness present among Goans is one of the main reasons Goan Associations quickly mushroomed and became successful in the Goan Diaspora.

Teresa Albuquerque in her book, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay* states the importance of the *kudds* (Keyes calls *coors*) to the Goan migrant; “But it was already well known that Bombay had its *kudds*-the unique bedrock of Goan emigration” (18). The *kudds* originated in the late eighteenth century. The Goan soldiers, working for the Marathas, lived in reserved

*kudds*. Albuquerque summarizes, “In 1788 there were about one hundred Portuguese and over two hundred Goan Catholic Christian soldiers in the army of the Peshwa. At one stage it was estimated that literally, half the early Goan population of Bombay resided in the clubs. Many Goan clubs were formally founded between 1857 and 1944.” (19, *Goan Pioneers*)

In a Goan village, it was and is still typical for Goans to have houses around the Church. The area around the Church was considered the most prestigious locale. Similarly, in Mumbai too, several *Kudds* mushroomed around the church. Goans, flocking to Bombay, rushed to the *Kudds* for lodgings. Each village in Goa had a representative room which increased as more Goans began arriving. Consequently, the need for one room increased to more rooms. Soon, the whole floor was taken over by a particular village.

Keyes states that a large number of *kudds* were located in Dhobi Talao, Grant Road, Mazagaon and Byculla (181). She comments: “The majority [*kudds*] were established before 1900 and it is reputed that the first was set up in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. . . The male clubs were each identified, with a particular village, and usually were restricted to, or associated with a particular caste.” (181 *Colonialism*)

The *coors* or *kudds* were important to the migrants in many ways. The *kudds* offered them:

- Lodgings which were very economical
- Goan food
- Camaraderie with fellow Goans
- Connectivity with their village in Goa
- Basic necessities due to its central location
- Due to its central location, easy accessibility to different workplaces
- Assurance of help in an unknown city
- An environment where Goan traditions were followed

Beyond doubt, the *kudds* provided indispensable support to the early Goan migrants in Mumbai.

*Kudds* also helped in promoting cultural awareness among the Goan workers. The camaraderie helped the Goan migrants to maintain the territorial identity of Goa. People from a certain *vaddo* or village lived together in the *kudds*. It was the *kudds* which helped build one

of the earliest Goan communities in Dhobi Talao, Bombay. For a Goan, being identified as a Goan, outside Goa, was not enough. It was important for them to be identified by the specific Goan village they belonged to.

Teresa Albuquerque explains that culturally the *kudds* gained prominence because the *kudds* helped to give an identity to the Goan migrants in Bombay. Albuquerque explains, “Every Goan has a deep attachment to his particular village. It gives him his place in the social milieu and, wherever he may be, it serves as an umbilical cord linking him to home. Gradually, each village in Goa evolved its corresponding *kudd* in Bombay, sometimes more than one, open to sons, sons-in-law, and nephews of the village.” (21, *Goan Pioneers*)

Goans outside Goa gained a greater pride and sense of belonging when they declared their particular village of origin. Their identity is linked to their village, for example: The Pereiras of Tivim, the D’souzas of Mapusa, the Fernandes of Calangute or the Nazareths from Moira. This is one way they were able to remain connected with one another, and to be recognized, in Diaspora.

In the *kudds*, the Goans continued living their culture. In these *kudds*, the village Patron Saint would be venerated, village feasts would be celebrated, Goan traditions were observed, and the Rosary and *Ladainah* were recited. Goans living on an alien soil were able to practise their culture which was native and very dear to them.

By providing shelter, security, and space for cultural tradition for the Goan migrants, the *kudds* helped create the first Goan Identitarian space. More importantly, it created for Goans in Goa, an interest to travel, a need to go beyond borders.

Just as the Goan *kudds* developed in Bombay, in the same manner, Goan Associations developed in different parts of the world. Famous Goan villages have their Associations, in different Goan Communities, around the world. Keyes explicitly cites the functions of the *kudds*, “There is an Amora Association in Bombay, Nairobi, Kampala, London, and Toronto.” (319 *Colonialism*)

In the 1970s and during the consecutive decades, Goan Associations became an integral part of Goan Diasporic life. As travel grew costlier, and travel arrangements very difficult and tedious, return visits to Goa were scarce. The uncertainty of jobs in Diaspora was another reason Goans were prevented from travelling frequently to their homeland. In these circumstances, the natives abroad were desperate for contact with their respective

villages. The Associations fulfilled this need. Goans were able to interact with each other at the Goan Associations.

Similar to the Bombay *kudds*, it was the Goan Clubs in Africa which made a noteworthy contribution to the growth of Goan Associations. The African climate is similar to that of Goa. The soaring temperatures encouraged Goans to relax in the afternoons. They too observed the *seista*. Similar climatic features were a stimuli for the growth of the club culture in Africa. Even today, the Goan clubs in Tanzania and Kenya, along with their impeccable wood furnishings, have been maintained. Though most of the Goans have migrated elsewhere from Africa, many of the first generation Goans, who are too old to leave, continue to live in Africa. While their children have migrated, these elderly Goans pass their time in the Goan clubs. They pass their time waiting and longing for news from Goa.

Many Goan Associations, especially those in the UK and Australia, are a residue of African club life. Clubs and dances were an important part of Goan African life. When the Goans left Africa for Australia, Canada or the UK, they took with them this practice of bonding among themselves at the clubs. Soon special Goan clubs were created which progressed and formed Associations.

Many of their websites cite the development and growth of their respective Associations. The Goan Association of Australia gives a comprehensive history of the establishment of the Goan community in Western Australia on its website. The Goans settlers in Western Australia came mostly from Africa. Steven and Isabella D'Souza arrived in early 1971. They are described as club-oriented. Following the Goan, African and Western tradition, Isabel took pains to organize the first New Year's Eve celebration that year. It was done in the traditional mode of burning the old man and heralding in the New Year. Steve and Isabella were among the first arrivals. They were followed by Wilfred and Gracinda D'Souza. They loved welcoming Goans especially those expelled from Uganda in 1973. Since 1973, more Goans began arriving which led to the growth of a proper Goan community. In 1979, they decided to have an Association, and Steven D'Souza was the first President. The Goans bonded, and Western Australia has a noteworthy Goan community today.

In the beginning, meeting and function schedules were transmitted by word of mouth. Today, events and meetings are announced nearly a year in advance. Other news items shared in the Associations are advertisements, notices including help requests, jobs for newcomers,

matrimonial notices, notices of deaths, real estate, business ventures and business offers. All news, concerning Goa and Goans, is propagated through the Associations. Problems in Goa would be discussed in the Associations and money was collected to help Goan issues.

The Goan Diasporic Associations have functioned actively to make the Goan culture a reality beyond the physical boundaries of the Goan state. Associations are able to directly bring together the Diasporic population towards a common ideological commitment. Forces like affection and feelings of closeness, and similar interests, help to keep the Associations very active. Goan migration has been in different phases and has spread to diverse global areas. Associations have ensured the continuity of Goan cultural practices even out of Goa.

Many of the migrants take up residence near the vicinity of the Associations. Diasporics prefer to live near their own people. It gives them a sense of belonging and identity. Majority of Goans in the United Kingdom are settled in Swindon, while majority Goans in Canada are settled, in Toronto, in the Mississauga area. Goans are able to connect with each other, and what was initially a liminal or imaginary space has become a real space—a Goan community. By acquiring a geographical location, their displacement has been eased out.

### **4.3 Associations and Acculturation**

The Diasporic Association, functioning at the core, helps the migrant to resist the allure of total assimilation. The migrant is able to create his own ethno-national community, by practising his lifestyle which, in turn, ensures his ethnic distinctiveness.

Letting go of the cherished past and embracing the unknown present creates ambivalences. The migrant experiences simultaneous conflicting feelings towards his unstable position in Diaspora. The cultural viscosity, in Diaspora, results in an in-betweenness, half-ness, dichotomies, dilemmas, and divided- selves. Ironically, these spaces prove to be the most fertile grounds for creative expression.

Coming from a close-knit community in Goa, it is not very easy for the Goan migrant to adjust in Diaspora. The migrant Goan has to shed his complacent and contented persona and adopt the Diasporic progressive persona.

The adjustment of the Goans, living in the different communities of the UK, Australia, Canada, or the Middle East, can be conceived in terms of social processes of accretion and the creation of new group structures. Accretion or gathering together for Goans is based on their villages, in Goa. For example, *Siolkars*, anywhere in the world, tend to bond together with Siolkars. These migrants, though far away from their natural habitat, continue to be members of their 'parent villages'. G.S. Aurora in his essay, "Social Adjustment of Indian Immigrants in Britain", observes:

Accretion or gathering together of Indians occurred as a natural consequence of the social fact that the individual migrant continued to be members of their 'parent' village communities even after they moved away from their traditional habitat. Re-formation of group structures is a necessary consequence of the ingathering of people with similar cultural backgrounds. The term 're-formation' is used in preference to 'formation' to suggest continuity of the groupings in terms of sentiments (69).

In the similar way, Goans also organize themselves into groups. Though they may organize themselves into village groups for sentimental reasons, they will come together to assist other Goans no matter which village the other belongs to.

Being part of an Association, in Diaspora, makes it easier for the Goans to come together and to practise the Goan traditions. Migrants have to create their own space in a new territory. The path of the first generation migrant is strewn with conflicting loyalties, heart-wrenching estrangements, foreign customs and a new heritage. There is an immediate need to construct an ethnic comfort zone.

In a foreign place, alienation from things loved and familiar causes the migrants to come together and construct a distinct common group with people of common origins. Goans from different places in Goa will come together to form their organization, or Association, out of Goa. They are then able to wear their Goan socio-cultural baggage, consisting of religion, language, music, art, dress, cuisine, myths and folklore. In Diaspora, they are able to live their cultures due to a shared common historical and geographical legacy with fellow Goan migrants. It is the Diasporic Associations that are major instruments in helping the migrants to settle in a transnational community. The strong influences and relationships, formed through the Diasporic Associations, help the migrants negotiate their new transnational space.

The native communities in Diaspora though created for different reasons and in different waves of migration undergo a similar process of sedimentation. The memory of home is a persisting force. It is the need for bonding with the homeland that is the main force behind the birth of Associations. Therefore, through Associations, the memory becomes a reality.

Diasporic Studies includes, after having crossed borders, the manner in which they are able to adopt, and adapt to, a different lifestyle. Speaking about the importance of Associations, Goran Ahrne states, “Organizations are social mechanisms that connect a large number of human wishes and hopes into common consolidated actions.” (3). It is through the Associations that the migrant, who initially or permanently lives on the periphery of any international society, finds his solace. Consequently, the part played by Associations in the Diaspora is of indisputable significance.

For the Goan migrant, being part of Goan Diasporic Associations becomes vital for his existence. In the midst of a multicultural and multiracial milieu the migrant finds affinity. Goan Diasporic Associations originate out of man’s inborn need to retain ties with his homeland. The motive that brings the Goan Diasporic individuals together is mainly emotional. Although membership to Diasporic Associations is purely voluntary, it opens vistas of new affiliations and opportunities. It fulfills the Diasporic’s basic social and cultural needs.

Associations organize functions, parties, *tiatrs*, competitions, Eucharistic Masses, festivals, *Ladainahs* and other Goan traditional rituals and feasts. Goan women cook Goan food and sweets. Goans in the Associations are able to speak Konkani uninhibitedly, and Konkani classes are also given to interested individuals. Associations encourage Konkani lessons. Goan dances and music are an important part of all their functions. Goan women in Swindon, for example, gather together to have *Ladainahs* and Konkani prayer services regularly. They make request for the various novena booklets, Bibles and prayer books, printed in Konkani, to be sent to them. These services in Konkani are mostly attended by retired men and women.

Associations organize *tiatrs*, *mandos*, *carnivals*, Goan feasts and many other sports and cultural days. Goan song and dance troupes come from Goa and perform for the Goan communities all over the world.

Associations also organize screening of famous Goan movies on weekends. Goans love to watch Konkani movies with fellow Goans rather than in their homes alone. The socials on feast days like Christmas, Easter and important feast days of popular saints, are celebrated with Eucharistic Mass and dinner in the Goan tradition. Priests from Goa specially arrive in order to celebrate the Mass in Konkani.

Goans, from distant places, travel a long way to participate in these functions. Goan singers singing Konkani, Portuguese, fusion and even Hindi songs are invited to perform. Associations also encourage the Goans in Diaspora to perform dances or to create their bands. One can witness a cultural boom on these days.

Associations are not only cohesive agents, but they also go a long way to keep the ethnicity of the migrant alive. He retains what he can retain while at the same time adopting new practices that he encounters in Diaspora. Through this hybridization, the migrant lives in a transnational space. The culture he practises in this transnational space is an assimilated reconstructed culture.

It is the first generation migrants who are nostalgic of everything that is Goan. They are able to live in Diaspora by bridging their hyphenated identity by being members of the Association. While the later generations conform more easily to their host nation identity, the Associations helps these second and later generations (born in Diaspora), and who are not so familiar with their native culture, be acquainted with, and practise their cultural heritage.

The third generation Goans, who have never been to their homeland, have to rely on the Associations to understand their native culture. The Association is a vital mechanism which keeps the native traditions and culture alive. It passes on the native culture to the next generation residing in the host countries. Associations help the second and the third generation identify with their Goan roots. Their proficiency with the different computer softwares makes it easier for them to be interactive with each other on cyberspace.

Associations create a stage and offer opportunities for both children and adults to learn and perform Goan cultural programs. Through various cultural programs and functions, second and third generation migrant children who may never have been to the homeland are able to understand their Goan heritage.

## 4.4 Goan Associations Worldwide

### Goan Associations in Africa

Migration to Africa was one of the earliest phases of Goan migration. Migration began because of trade in the eighteenth century, but the major phase of migration began in the nineteenth century. Goans went to Kenya, then Uganda, Tanzania, Zanzibar and to South Africa. Pre-1970s, Africa had dynamic Goan communities all over the continent. Though the Goans had to leave Africa, in the 1970s, they greatly contributed to the building of Modern Africa. It is no wonder that Mapusa born Joseph Murumbi Zuzarte, son of a Goan father and Maasai mother, became the Minister for Foreign Affairs and later became the second Vice-President of Kenya, in 1966, soon after its independence.

Goans were very successful in Africa and enjoyed a carefree life, but it ended with the expulsion of the Goans in the mid-1960s. As the African countries gained independence and with the emergence of the new nationalist spirit, Asians began to be targeted because of their wealth. They had to leave their successful lives behind and search for a new home. Goans started migrating to other countries. Those Goans who were too old, or did not have the required finance to re-migrate, were left behind.

The Goan clubs were very popular all over Africa. Goans came together and socialized at the clubs. These Goan clubs were the precursors to the Goan Associations worldwide. The first club was created as early as 1901 in Mombasa. It was called the Goan Reading Room. The Clubs were more than just meeting places. The Goan clubs encouraged sports, celebrations of feasts, dances, weekend parties, various trips and picnics. Goans spent most of their non-working time at the clubs, socializing, bonding, playing cards, reading newspapers, having drinks or just tea. The clubs were their home in Africa. The Goans carried with them an inexhaustible spirit for club life, when they moved to Australia, United Kingdom, Canada, America, New Zealand, or to wherever they choose to migrate. The 1970s exodus, out of Africa, made the Goans of Africa victims of double dislocation. Many returned to Goa, but most of them lost a lot of their wealth and life earnings. With the exit of the Goans, the clubs and Associations in Africa fell apart.

Annie Fernandes, a Goan, currently residing in Poona, reminisces, “Associations were an important meeting place for Goans in Africa” (Personal interview). Annie, as a child, had to leave Africa and all their belongings, in a hurry, just before the civil war.

Annie grew up in the town of Morogoro, Tanganyika (123 kms. from Dar Es Salam). Her father was initially employed as an accountant, but later started his photography business which was very successful. Perceiving trouble, the family was sent back to Goa. Annie returned to Goa at the age of thirteen. Speaking about the clubs during the 1960s, she says, “Goans spoke English and Konkani at the clubs. POUND parties were held frequently. Every woman would bring her speciality dish. The Goan Club of Morogoro had around twenty Goan families. Some Anglo Indian families also frequented the club.” (Personal Interview)

Goans were very united and helped one another and provided jobs for the needy. Today few clubs still exist, but they are lonely places because most of the Goans have migrated. The Goan African communities laid the foundation for Goan Associations and had been dynamic in continuing the Goan consciousness, outside Goa.

### **World Alliance of Goan Associations**

In keeping with the rising Goan consciousness around the world, Rene Barreto founded the World Alliance of Goan Associations. Mark Rocha clarifies, “The World Alliance of Goan Associations is not a structured organization, but rather an expression of willingness to work together for the good of Goans everywhere. Its broader objectives are to foster unity and harmony amongst its members. It aims to preserve, promote, propagate and enrich the cultural heritage for posterity.” (Rocha, Mark. “*The Goan*” <http://thegoan.net/story.php?id=8420>).

World Goan Day was initiated by the World Alliance of Goan Associations. The World Alliance of Goan Associations decided to celebrate ‘World Goa Day’ on 20<sup>th</sup> August. The first ‘World Goa Day’ was celebrated on 20<sup>th</sup> August, 2000. This provides for the Goans, across the world, an opportunity to unite and to celebrate the Goan consciousness all over the globe. August 20<sup>th</sup> was chosen because this was the day, in 1992, Konkani got recognized as one of the official languages of India. Various Goan Associations, the world over, honor this day with celebrations like picnics and festivals.

Rene Barreto, who has been actively promoting World Goa Day globally, since its inception in 2000, feels that the only way World Goa Day can truly be a success is if all the Goan Associations work together. “We Goans often hear of how challenging it is to generate enthusiasm about ‘Goan unity’” says Barreto in an open message to all the Associations worldwide on his blog. He admits, “I took it upon myself to form what is now called the

World Alliance of Goan Associations - an umbrella organization bringing together all the varied associations with the intention of perpetuating our Goan Heritage and Culture". (worldgoaday.blogspot.in.) This concept led to what is now celebrated as World Goa Day.

The World Alliance of Goan Associations is formed by around fifty Associations, worldwide. It continues to bring together the various Goan communities by leveraging the power of social networking. It is able to reach out to Goans both young and old. "Within the larger organization, there are musicians, doctors, writers and lawyers who are part of this alliance," says Barreto. He emphasizes the wide range of Goan personalities actively networking. He continues, "We are also working on the Global Goan Youth network via Facebook which is very popular with both the young and old alike."

(<https://tl-ph.facebook.com/notes/official-world-goan-day...global.../516374441846302/>)

Milton Rodrigues, Sales Director, Tito's UK, cites for the article of Mark Rocha in *The Goan*, "In a nutshell, we celebrate being Goans and our 400 years of Indo-Portuguese heritage. We drink, dance, partake of the great Goan cuisine, and for a change, be very friendly to each other. For me, personally, as one of the Leaders outside Goa, it gives me great opportunities to get our Goan Diaspora together." (Rocha, Mark. "*The Goan*" <http://thegoan.net/story.php?id=8420>).

### **Goan Associations in The Middle East**

Migration to the Gulf countries has always been voluntary, and specifically for economic purposes. The migrants consist of skilled and unskilled labour. There was a high demand for labour with the oil boom of the 1960s and 1970s. Life for the Goans in the Middle East is governed by the labour market vagaries.

Though this migration is characterized by maintaining ties with families and communities back in Goa, they (Goans) still wish to be part of the Goan communities based in the Gulf. All around the Middle East there are Goan Associations. Some important Associations are: The St. Mary's Goan Community Dubai, Bahrain Goan Association, and The Muscat and Salalah Goan Associations.

### **St. Mary's Goan Community Dubai**

In the UAE, the St. Mary's Goan Community is popular. Named after St. Mary's Catholic Church, Dubai, it works to bring Goans together. They ensure that young girls of marriageable age meet Goan youth. They organize Konkani masses at least twice a month. They also hold Bible classes for those interested. They also help in various charities.

Many Goans in Dubai are active members of this group. They hold the May Queen Dance and also organize socials. They organize the Eucharistic Masses for important Goan feasts like Christmas and Easter. There are many lesser known groups; among them the Saligaon Dubai Goans Association, Dubai-Siolkars, and Dubai-Varca group and more active. The Goans belonging to these villages in Goa form smaller groups in Diaspora. They meet on the village feasts days and other functions. Most often, the profits of the functions are for certain causes back in Goa or for the Parishes in their respective villages.

### **Goa Forward Group (Dubai)**

The Goa Forward Group, which is a political party in Goa, inaugurated their office in Dubai by, none other than, Vijay Sardesai, the Town and Country Planning Minister. In his speech he said that the Goa Forward group works for not only the Goans in Goa but also works for the interest of Goans abroad, that is, the NRI Goans. According to him, "There are around two lakh Goans settled in the UAE, which is a sizeable number considering the population of the state. These two lakh population are our voters as they are NRIs." (*TOI*) Goans in Dubai listed their problems. The main one being that their ancestral properties were sold by fraudulent means. Sardesai assured the Goans that he also wished to create a platform for Goans in Dubai to connect with their motherland.

(<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/goa/goa-forward-party-opens-office-in-uae/articleshow/61897999.cms>)

This meeting and stance, initiated by the Goa government, have been significant to all Diasporic Goans. This initiative represents the stance of the government to safeguard the properties of the Diasporic Goans back in Goa. The Goa Government is validating the interests of the Diasporic Goans. It is an assurance to the Goans in Diaspora that Goa is still a home for them.

## **The Goan Community of Oman (GCO)**

According to a PressReader article, “Around 15, 000, Goans currently live and work in the Sultanate contributing in their own way to the economic development of their host country Oman.” (PressReader. *Times of Oman*. 18.5.2016)

The Goan Community of Oman was launched in 2008, but Goans have lived in Oman since the 1970s, and minor Associations existed even before 2008.

In his article, “About the GCO / ISC-GW”, Dr. Mario Carmo De Souza, states, “[I]t was only in December 2007 that these efforts bore fruit [fruit = creating an Association]. The impetus for this was the visit of the then Hon’ble Commissioner for NRI Affairs His Excellency Mr. Eduardo Faleiro” (De Souza, Mario).

The Goan Community of Oman (GCO) was launched in May 2008, under the patronage of Saints Peter & Paul Church, Ruwi, Sultanate of Oman. It provided membership to all the Goans of Oman, belonging to the Catholic Church parishes at Ruwi, Ghala, Sohar, and Salalah. Honouring its secular nature, the Association welcomed non-Catholic Goans too, to participate in its activities. Mario De Souza states:

The October 2008, visit to Muscat of Most Rev. Archbishop Filipe Neri Ferrao, the Archbishop Patriarch of Goa, Daman, and Diu was an occasion for Goans in Oman, to meet at the parishes of St. Peter & Paul Church in Ruwi and Holy Spirit Church, Ghala. It is at that visit that His Grace the Archbishop launched the GCO Website, which was created to establish a database and to facilitate communication amongst Goans in Oman.

Some important functions held annually are, St. Francis Xavier feast, *tiatr* festivals, food festivals, football tournaments, and the carnival ball. The Goans also come together and socialize with one another for the Valentine Ball, picnics, Christmas and Easter parties. In accordance with the laws of the Sultanate of Oman, all organizations need to be registered. The Goan Community of Oman got itself registered as a wing of the Indian Social Club. The Indian Social Club is the only Indian organization recognized by Oman’s Ministry of Social Affairs, for social and cultural activities related to the Indian community in Oman. The ISC is a secular body. The erstwhile spiritual activities of the GCO are looked after by the Goan representatives of the respective parish committees.

The Indian Social Community-Goan Wing is the successor to the Goan Community of Oman Association. The objectives of The ISC-Goan Wing are very comprehensive. It strives to facilitate fellowship among the Goans in Oman. It helps the Goans in Oman in solving their legal matters. It helps Goans in all types of troubles even calamities. It actively promotes Goan Culture. Another interesting objective of the Association is to promote Goa as a tourist destination.

Its website is [www.goansinoman.com](http://www.goansinoman.com). The Indian Social Club- Goan Wing is actively working to keep the Goan spirit alive and uniting the Goans in Oman. Goans from other parts of the Middle East come to Oman to take part in the Goan celebrations. With each passing year, the number of its members and participants keep increasing.

### **The Kuwait Goan Association (KGA)**

It was established in 2005. It works to keep Goans united in the Arab Nation. Salvador Dias, a well-known social worker, hailing from Curtorim, Goa, worked to establish this Association.

After the Kuwait invasion in 1990, Goans, like other expatriates of other communities, lost their fortunes and had to leave Kuwait. The Goa Solidarity Group helped the evacuees from August to October. Their vigorous propaganda helped bring the helplessness of the expatriates to the notice of the Indian Government which immediately evacuated them. After the war, Goans returned to Kuwait having been given a second chance to earn their livelihood there.

Goans live in a close knit community in Kuwait. Cultural awareness is fostered through Goan cultural programs, like *tiatrs*, Mando festivals, Goan food stalls and celebration of Goan feasts organized by the Associations.

Bonding is encouraged by celebrating feasts and having dances. The Diwali Party and the Christmas Party are crowd pullers. The annual football tournament is also a big event which has over twenty teams participating.

## **Goan Associations of America**

### **The Goan Association of New York**

It is among one of the earliest established Goan Associations. It was established in 1967 and incorporated in 1975. The Association aims at keeping the spirit of Goa alive among New Yorkers. The website states their aim. They aim to live and carry on the Goan spirit and the Goan ethos. Throughout the year, they host a variety of programs in order to build the community and share their culture. They organize events to encourage bonding among Goans there. Spring Ball, St. Francis Xavier's Feast, picnics and camps are some important events which bring the Goan New Yorkers together. Their website is <http://www.nycgoans.com/>.

### **Goan Association of New Jersey, Inc.**

The Goan Association of New Jersey Inc. unites Goans in the northeast American state of New Jersey. Founded in 1991, this Association is located in Cranbury, New Jersey.

The mission and goals stated on their website include promoting social, cultural, educational, and charitable activities especially for the good of its members and worthwhile causes in Goa and the Goan community in New Jersey. It also wishes to promote and reflect the Catholic traditions of its members. It encourages cooperation with other organizations and works to foster friendliness with all people. (website [www.goanconnection.com/goan-associations/the-goan-association-of-new-jersey-inc](http://www.goanconnection.com/goan-associations/the-goan-association-of-new-jersey-inc))

Some of the activities organized are the Spring Dance, picnics, whist drives, Christmas Ball, Children's Christmas Party and many more outdoor activities. An important feature is the religious pursuits encouraged by this Association. The Goan Association of New Jersey organizes retreats frequently. Religious retreats have always been an important part of Goan Life. Goans regularly spend quality time at retreats in order to renew their spirituality. This tradition has been continued by the Goans in the Diaspora, too.

Contributions towards remittances and funds have always been a concern of the Diasporic fraternity. The Goan Association of New Jersey works for various charities in Goa. Through their various functions they are able to raise funds. These funds are utilized

especially for schools, for the disabled, destitute women, orphan children and other needy causes in Goa.

Their events are advertised in the newsletter called *Goan Connection*. Their website is [www.goanconnection.com](http://www.goanconnection.com)

### **The Goan Overseas Association**

It brings together Goans in the capital of America, Washington DC, Maryland and Virginia. Their mission is to advance the standing of the Goan Community in the metropolitan Washington area and to promote social, cultural, educational, and economic activities for the welfare of its members.

It has a beautiful logo which conveys the métissaged ethos of the Goan Diaspora. The logo consists of a picture of St. Xavier's Cathedral, Old Goa, pictures of the cashew fruit and coconut trees, together with the American flag.

The events organized by them are aimed at bringing all the Goans in America, together. They actively promote 'living the Goan spirit', in America.

### **The Goans of America (G.O.A)**

The Association is located in the western city of Los Angeles, California. It was founded nearly five decades ago in 1970. In 2016, they had around four hundred Goan families as members. This number kept on increasing with the increase in Goan immigrants to the United States.

The Association organizes activities all the year round. The website states the aims of this Association, "This is an organization dedicated to bringing people together. We aim to foster friendship, camaraderie, and a sense of pride, in our culture and heritage. We consider ourselves one big happy Goan family, and our family is scattered all over California and Arizona." (website, [www.goansofamerica.org/](http://www.goansofamerica.org/))

It is a 501 (c) 3 organization; which means it is exempted from the federal income tax section 501 (c) (3), of the United States Code. This exemption is applied only for those organizations involved in charitable, social causes, like public safety, education, prevention of cruelty to children, women, and animals, scientific, literary or religious purposes. This organization is noteworthy because, even after five decades, it continues to work vigorously

in order to pass on the Goan culture and values to the children. It hopes to create a lasting and influential impact on South California Goans.

### **Goan Associations in Canada**

After the UK, it is Canada which has the most conspicuous Goan population. Mississauga, like Swindon in the UK, boasts of having one of the most popular Goan communities in the Diaspora. It is a widespread community. According to Andrew Pereira, in his article, “Goans in Canada, A likely tourism market”, he states, “Canada hosts a population of 40,000 Goans.” (*The Times of India*, 2010)

#### **The G.O.A (Goa Overseas Association) of Toronto**

It was established in 1970. Like most Goan Associations in the Diaspora, it is a non-profitable organization. The main aim of its establishment is highlighted on its website. “It is our emotional connection that has created our brand” (website: [www.goatoronto.com](http://www.goatoronto.com))

G.O.A. Toronto has in its mandate a vision to promote, foster and enrich the lives of its community members through arts, culture, sports and charitable causes. It has personal outreach programs for families, the elderly, the isolated and the sick.

#### **Goa Overseas Organization of Vancouver**

Another important Association in Canada is the Goa Overseas Organization of Vancouver. It is located in the state of British Columbia on the West Coast. The Association was formed in 1976. Goans belonging to this community arrived from East Africa, London, Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta. Their mandate is, “Together we have brought our culture and our traditions and we strive to keep them alive in our community.” (Website: [www.gauvancouver.com](http://www.gauvancouver.com))

Although promoting the Goan identity is the foremost responsibility, the Association also cares for the welfare of its Goan families. It offers many scholarships and Community Service Awards to its members and their children.

## Goan Associations in the United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has always been a popular destination for migrants from around the world. Migrants from every community can be traced in the UK. Goans, too, have been attracted to the UK for job opportunities. The bulk of the Goans migrated to the UK from Africa beginning in the mid-1960s. A decade later, Goans began migrating from the Gulf countries. As soon as Goans were given the privilege of Portuguese passports, Goans began migrating directly from Goa. To date, the UK is the favourite destination of Goans.

Surprisingly, even BRETIX did not hamper this attraction. Goans continue to migrate to the UK. Prasun Sonwalkar, cites: “The Office for National Statistics told Hindustan Times that from 7,000 Portuguese citizens, resident in Britain in 2012, who were born in India the figure has gone up to 28,000 in the year ending June 2017. Most of them have settled in London, Swindon and Leicester.” (*Hindustan Times*). With the help of the Portuguese passport, the European labour markets became accessible to the Goans. With this, new opportunities were created for Goans. Goans do not remain in Portugal due to its low economy. Instead, they gravitate towards London. Swindon is the host to one of the most interesting Goan communities in the Diaspora. Selma Carvalho, writing for *The Goan Voice* cites, “As per the 2001 UK Census, Swindon had a population of 180,061 of which 1.3% were Indian. Senior Catholic priest, Monsignor Twomey estimates the influx of Goans in recent years to be in the region of 8,000. This would probably make Swindon the city with the highest concentration of Goans anywhere in the world outside of Goa.” ([www.goanvoice.org.uk/supplement/SwindonGoans.htm](http://www.goanvoice.org.uk/supplement/SwindonGoans.htm))

Today, most of the Goans migrating to the UK come directly from Goa. Some of them are unqualified, knowing only basic English. It is the Goan Associations that guide them in their new migratory ventures. In the above-mentioned article, Selma Carvalho articulates, “Much like the Biblical patriarch Abraham, Agnelo DeMello, the ex-President of the Goan Swindon Association, contends he is the genesis of the growing Goan tribe in Swindon. He moved here from the Gulf some twenty years ago. He knew the then manager, of the Rover car assembly plant, and was instrumental in getting jobs for Goans. From this humble seedling, a mighty tree has grown.” (*The Goan Voice*)

The Associations in the United Kingdom are a continuation of the Goan clubs in Africa. After the African exodus, the Associations were the most effective medium available, through which Goans were able to know and connect with their lost friends and relatives.

Some of the most popular Associations in the UK today are listed below:

### **The Goan Association (UK)**

This is one of the earliest Associations. It was founded in 1966 and it is a voluntary Association. It was incorporated in The Goan Overseas Association in 1983.

### **The Goan Overseas Association**

The Goan Overseas Association is based in London, UK. Its origin, in the 1970s, can be traced to the migrant Goans of East Africa. In a personal interview, Eddie Fernandes of *The Goan Voice*, UK, historicizes the origin of the Goan Association in the UK. Clubs were an important part of Goan life in East Africa. Several of the East African Goans migrated to the UK in the 1970s. They arrived, uprooted and scattered, in need of bonding and security. They looked for fellow Goans and befriended one another. As Christians of different communities visited the churches there, Goans bonding exclusively on the church premises was not possible. These Goans felt an acute need for people of their own culture, a need for associating with their own. These Goans in London, coming from Africa, decided to form a society or organization. Eddie Fernandes recalls, the beginnings, the challenges they faced. On December 26, 1962, they held their first gathering.

This Association was formed mainly by the African Goans. Being suddenly removed from Tanganyika (Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya), they missed their near and dear ones. They formed the Associations in order to be reunited with the other African Goans. A social gathering was scheduled at the International Students Hostel, Manor House, North London. Unfortunately, they were unable to have a gathering there, due to a double booking. But this did not deter them. They searched and changed their venue to Finsbury Park, Church Hall, around two miles away. Thirty-two East African Goans were present for this historical function.

After this union party, they decided to form the 'East African Catholic Association,' in London. Members would consist mainly of the Goans of East Africa, i.e. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Though they did not have any fixed premises, they continued to meet and have socials in different parts of London. Initially, the Association began by meeting once a year mainly at Christmas. The meetings then increased to twice a year: Christmas and Easter. Today, the Overseas Goan Association organizes weekly events; sometimes there are events twice a week. It now consists of Goans from Goa, and other parts of the world. Goans come

together due to a pure need for identifying with fellow Goans. The organization founded in 1966 completed 50 years in 2016, a milestone.

The management body comprises of a Board of twelve Elected Directors supported by a Company Secretary and a General Secretary. All office-bearers serve in a voluntary capacity and this has been the case since its inception. An important feature of the Goan Association is that it does more than unify Goans in London. It rises to the need in order to help Goans in distress. It does charity work and collects funds to help Goans in Goa and in the UK.

### **The UK-Goan Festival**

The UK Goan Festival is a major event which brings Goans together in the UK. It is organized by The Goan Association, UK and other Goan organizations. It is held on the last Sunday in July, or the first Sunday in August, this being the holiday season. This event is held in the summer at Cranford near Heathrow Airport. It is an outdoor event, bringing together some ten thousand and more British Goans. It is a day's event which begins with High Mass. The Bishop and Priests from Goa are especially invited to celebrate the Mass. A fair is held where Goan products are sold. Goan caterers provide Goan food. Goan cultural programs are held to create Goan consciousness. Different Goan musical bands and Goan food are major attractions. Goans spend the entire day at this event.

### **The Goan Welfare Society**

The main aim of the Goan Welfare Society is to help Goans stepping on UK soil. It was founded, in 1983, mainly to assist Goans in the UK. As it is a charitable organization, it raises its own funds without the aid of any government body.

Since its inception, it has played a major role in assisting Goans. Following are the works carried out by them:

- They help Goan families living in the UK.
- They raise funds for people who are unable to work, for children, or for those Goan families who find it difficult to finance the sick, children and the aged.

- They also take the responsibility of transporting the bodies of deceased Goans to their families anywhere overseas or back to Goa.

Since 2004, the Goan Welfare Society has been part of the Goan Association of the UK. The Goan Welfare Society has been responsible for commendable feats in assisting Goans.

It is a dynamic organization able to raise large amounts of funds, instantly. Their website is [www.itsgoa.com/goan-welfare-society-uk](http://www.itsgoa.com/goan-welfare-society-uk)

### **The Golden Goa South Hampton Association**

It is a Goan Association based in Southampton, the largest city in Hampshire. Southampton is located eighty kilometers from London. The mission and objectives of the Golden Goa Association, Southampton, are as follows:

- To foster a community spirit among the people of Goan origin, who are living in Southampton, United Kingdom, and to advance the development and integration of the Goan Community, in the United Kingdom
- To meet the social and recreational needs of its members
- To organize social gatherings as may be determined from time to time
- To spread environmental awareness, with special emphasis on recycling, and tree-planting; and
- To promote animal welfare. (Facebook. Golden Goa Association Southampton community). <https://www.facebook.com/GoldenGoaAssociationSouthampton>

Established on 8<sup>th</sup>September 2010; they completed five years in 2015.

### **The Young London Goans society (YLGS)**

The Young London Goan Society was founded in 2000. This group comprises of young Goans all above eighteen years of age. They have come together to live and promote their Goan identity.

They state their mission in simple terms, “Our mission is to build a strong and integrated community of Goans. That's it. Simple. And deliberately so: it's consistent with any other Goan organisation. What makes us different is that we are stating it explicitly here, and our use of the word integrated. By integrated we mean that we create a strong sense of Goan identity, and at the same time respect for other cultures around us. We know we live in a multi-cultural world, we're powerfully expressing our part of the melting pot!” (Website <http://www.goanvoice.org.uk/org.php?ID=27>)

What makes it different from other Goan Associations? No doubt, it is the Association's ‘Multicultural View’.

Migration to the UK has become the first choice, among majority of Goans, in recent times. This migration to the UK has received a great incentive by the granting of the Portuguese passport to Goans, in Goa. The Portuguese Consulate in London also recognizes the Goan population in the UK. In keeping with the vast number of Goan Portuguese citizens in the UK, the Portuguese Consular General, Joana Gaspar, met with over 600 Portuguese Goan citizens, at Southall, in July 2018.

Lisa Monteiro, writing for the Times of India, describes the event: “The event pleased the Goan community . . . The President of the UK's Goan Association, Mr. Ravi Vaz, said, “For the first time, the Portuguese consulate would hold secessions for the benefit of Goan origin Portuguese nationals at the UK Goan summer festival.” (*TOI*) <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/goa/portugal-consulate-reaches-out-to-goans-in-london/articleshow/64982144.cms>

The Goans in the UK are a strong ethnic group. They are a force to be reckoned with- in asserting their Goan nativeness.

### **Goan Associations of Australia**

Even though the major waves of migration took place in the 1950s and 1960s, Goans long before that had made their way to Australia with camels and the Afghans. Goan migration began with sailors from British India. The major migration took place when the Goans left Africa in the 1970s. Again in the 1980s onwards, Goans migrated to Australia from the Middle-East countries.

According to the *Times of India* article dated, August 30, 2018, “Celebrating Goan Identity Down Under, What started in London 18 years ago, has caught on across the globe and is today celebrated in Canada, Australia, United States, USA, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, UAE, Oman, Qatar, Spain and Germany. This year Australia led the way in celebrating all things Goan, and the Goan diaspora renewed its passion, loyalty and identity towards their unique culture and heritage at the annual Goa Day 2018 celebrations” (*Times of India*)

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/goa/celebrating-goan-identity-down-under/articleshow/65600380.cms>. August 30, 2018.

Some important Associations in Australia are mentioned here:

### **The Goan Overseas Association of Victoria Inc**

This organization is a ‘not for profit’ organization. Established in 1979, it is now completing four decades. It serves the Goan Community in the state of Victoria; Australia’s most densely populated state. It is located in Melbourne the largest city in Victoria. The Ruby Jubilee celebrations were held on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019. Preparations for this auspicious occasion were done well in advance.

In order to uphold their Goan identity and unity, the Association organizes major functions every month. They celebrate *São João* and other Goan feasts. They hold competitions like “Goa got talent”, *Tiatrs*, potluck picnics, cricket tournaments, bingo, and Goan folk dances on a regular basis. The tradition of *Saibin* is religiously adhered to. They organize special functions for the young in order to ensure that they remain connected to Goa. They have numerous functions and invite people to browse their website, [www.goav.org.au](http://www.goav.org.au).

Some important annual events held are the *Goav* Annual Sports Day, *Goav* Youth Day, Annual Dinner and the Annual Picnic. The Goan Cultural Night, also called *Goenchi Sanskrutik Sanj*, held in September, provides entertainment and comedy in English, Portuguese, and Konkani.

Goans, here do not miss an opportunity to have a ‘get together’. The motto, mentioned on their website is “Unity is Strength”. (Website, “The Goan Overseas Association of Victoria” [www.goav.org.au/](http://www.goav.org.au/))

### **Goan Overseas Association (New South Wales) G.O.A. NSW Inc**

The Association was founded in 1977, in the state of New South Wales. It is located in Sydney which is the most populous city in Australia. They maintain a regularly updated facebook webpage. The mission stated on their web page is very simple:

Engender the Goan Spirit  
 Share the love for Goa and its culture,  
 And endeavour to help those in need financially  
 Or socially within our community in Sydney and in Goa  
 (Website. "Goan Overseas Association New South Wales"

[www.facebook.com/pg/GOA.NSW.Australia/about/](http://www.facebook.com/pg/GOA.NSW.Australia/about/) )

### **Goan Overseas Association (Western Australia)**

The Goan Overseas Association (WA) is located in Perth, Western Australia. It was established, in 1971, in Perth. It is different from other Associations because it recognizes and invites everyone, even non-Goans, to be part of the organization. All who have an appreciation for Goa, or an association with Goa, can become members. It has a constitution which was registered under the Associations Incorporation Act, in 1981. A weekend workshop and camp was established in 1999.

At this camp, they established the vision and focus for the organization. The Association focuses on making the activities held especially attractive for the youth like sports, music, dances, quizzes, debates and many other activities. Functions are held with the aim of bringing all the Goans together. They also maintain a social calendar which concentrates on outdoor activities. Their vision, mission, values and goals are clearly mentioned on their webpage. (Goan Overseas Association (Western Australia)

<https://goawa.com.au/>)

Goans have been visiting Western Australia since the mid-nineteenth century. But Goan settlers arrived in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The inaugural meeting, held in 1979, was a result of the initiatives of Steven D'souza. Thirty-five Goans gathered at his residence on the 21st October, and they unanimously decided to establish the Goan Association. Today, there is a large Goan population who are spread over a large area. "Over six hundred families have been members of the GOA, but it is estimated that four times that number exist in Metropolitan Perth, making it a community of around 8000-10000 people. Goans are spread

throughout Metropolitan Perth. However, the addresses of members suggest a large number live in the southern suburbs.” (Goan Overseas Association, Western Australia website)

Their vision and mission concentrate on promoting the social, cultural, spiritual welfare, education and sporting aspirations of the community. They also aim to establish close links with mainstream organizations, and with other Associations, both in Australia and overseas. They also wish to propagate an appreciation of Goan culture. The values propagated by them are pursuing respect for diversity, concern and care for others, a commitment to ethics and promoting the advancement of the members of the Association.

## **4.5 Critiquing the Goan Diasporic Associations**

The success of the Goan Diasporic Associations can be attributed to the following:

- The Goan Diaspora has shown a unique trait of cultural continuity. It has been noticed that Goans tend to recreate their Goan social structure and tradition, wherever they go. Associations have helped Goan migrants to continue living their Goan identity, in Diaspora.
- The second is that they bring Goans together in an alien land. Goans, in Diaspora, celebrate their togetherness. Associations promote Goan unity outside Goa.
- Thirdly, the Associations provide security and solutions to Goan migrants.
- The Goan Diasporic Associations have a responsibility for the creation, communication and continuation of values, rituals, norms, and mores of the Goan community.
- While being a part of the minority, the Associations help the migrant be a part of the majority culture. It helps him alter his perceptions and assimilate with his adopted home. Associations, provide a base for the migrants’ pluralistic approach to life.

According to Victor Rangel Ribeiro, he and his wife Lea helped establish the Goan Association of New York in 1959-60. They were active members of the Association for four to five years. But with the influx of Afrikaan-Goans there was a change which could not be controlled. Dancing and partying were given priority over culture consciousness. He was also a member of the New Jersey Goan Association where bonding was given importance. They organized two to three picnics a year for Goans to meet. There were also other gatherings, but they lacked a sense of mission, a goal. (Personal Interview)

Selma Carvalho feels that Goan Associations are losing their vitality. But, she is still a part of GOA, London. The GOA London celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 2016. Selma Carvalho feels the younger generations are less enthusiastic to attend the Goan Association programs.

Many first generations Goans loved being part of the Associations in the 1970s. This continued until the beginning of the twenty-first century. But as this generation grows older, they admit that they find it tedious to travel for the functions. The second and third generations, however, do attend these functions with varying degrees of zeal.

We have established that Associations are one of the main reasons the Goan Diaspora, worldwide, has become a pulsating presence around the world. The reason is the versatility and efficaciousness of the Goan Diasporic Associations. As we have seen, the globally spread Goan Diasporic Associations have contributed tremendously to the growth of Goan Diasporic communities. Associations are the building blocks of the Goan Diasporic communities around the globe.

Charu Sharma further reiterates the above:

The results of these interactive microcosms was awareness and appreciation of other cultures as well as one's own . . . Thus, these microcosms are no more survival kits comprising of cultural and spiritual baggage- the close-in-group consciousness- but a lot of sharing, solidarity and cooperation exists. The core values help them stick together through thick and thin and overcome difficulties and provide them with a strong ethnic identity and mutual co-operation. (139)

Conclusively, we can say that Associations are the chief social machines through which the Goan Diaspora cultivates its unique culture. Associations help to make the

Diasporic culture intelligible outside the homeland. Associations are the main machines to ensure the *sui generis* of the Goan Diasporic communities.

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## Chapter 5: Connecting on the E-Space (Cyberspace)

### 5.1 Understanding Cyberspace

The late nineteenth and twentieth century saw a burst of spectacular innovation, namely, the computer and then the internet. Both these innovations lead to the creation of a fluid space located in the digital world called Cyberspace or E-space. Cyberspace has numerous functions as an electronic medium of communication. Electronic communication is done through various modes, like emails, instant messaging, multimedia messaging, downloading information, viewing through virtual reality mode, Chat rooms on the Internet Relay Chat, (IRC), Video chatting, Short Message Service, (SMS), Multimedia Message Service, (MMS), etcetera.

Cyberspace, enhanced with multimedia, is the changing face of culture. Its implications and importance in Diaspora is tremendous. Cyberspace has re-invented the migratory experience. Longing, belonging, alienation and assimilation have all been redefined, for the Diasporic migrant, by the cyber influence. Everything about home that seemed distant and dreamlike is now available on a device at the tip of a finger.

Cyberspace has helped build, and make concrete, the ‘Homeland’ which was imaginary. Experiences of home, which were a memory, becomes a reality on Cyberspace. Goa, the land and its traditions, comes alive through visuals. Again, the news and happenings, which were distantly heard of, is just a click away. For the later generations (the migrant’s progeny), who have not visited Goa, the Goan tradition is created through stories. But, Cyberspace converts these imaginary concepts and customs into real visuals. This has been possible by bringing together and uniting people of similar cultures, across the world, through electronic space. It has also helped people in different societies around the world become conscious of each other’s culture. On Cyberspace, these communities exchange ideas and interact with each other. Cyberspace has opened new doors by bringing awareness of the cultures of the ‘other’.

Cyberspace is the realm of electronic communication. It is also called ‘E-space’ because it occupies an electronic space. Mike Featherstone and Roger Burrows in their essay “Cultures of Technological Embodiment: An Introduction” explain, “The term Cyberspace refers to an information space in which data is configured in such a way as to give the operator the illusion of control, movement and access to information, in which he/ she can be

linked together with a large number of users via a puppet like simulation which operates in a feedback loop to the operator.” ( 3, E-book)

Techopedia defines Cyberspace as follows:

Cyberspace refers to the virtual computer world, and more specifically, is an electronic medium used to form a global computer network to facilitate online communication. It is a large computer network made up of many worldwide computer networks that employ TCP/IP protocol to aid in communication and data exchange activities. Cyberspace's core feature is an interactive and virtual environment for a broad range of participants.

(<https://www.techopedia.com/definition/2493/cyberspace>)

Cyberspace can be defined as an online environment in which communications over computer networks occur. Since the early twenty-first century, Cyberspace has been used to describe internet communication.

The Oxford Dictionary (8<sup>th</sup> edition) defines Cyberspace as “an imaginary place where electronic messages, etcetera exists while they are being sent by computers” (377).

The term Cyberspace is derived from the word “Cybernetics”, which in turn is derived from the Greek word, *Kybernetes*, meaning steersman, governor, pilot or rudder. It was introduced by Norbert Wiener for his pioneering work in electronic communications and control science. The term gained popularity in the 1990s. Through Cyberspace, people can interact, exchange ideas, share information, provide social support, conduct business, direct actions, create artistic media, play games, engage in political discussion, and so on, using a global network. People using the Cyberspace are called ‘Cybernauts’.

The internet is a computer network, and Cyberspace is the name given to the space created on the internet through inter-communication. Cyberspace is a virtual space or interface created for communications. Cyber communications are the interactions between individuals, via the internet or on the World Wide Web; where two parties or more, regardless of their locations, can see and hear each other, or read a message and reply to the message, instantaneously.

It is a social space where two or more parties communicate, exchange information and ideas, have discussions, and even play games. The functions and possibilities offered by

Cyberspace cannot be counted, as it increases by the day. This is an age where Cyberspace is able to provide virtual realities of almost every situation imagined. Cyberspace provides cultural and Identitarian benefits which provide extensive scope for study.

Thesaurus.com provides some synonyms of Cyberspace. They include, “[C]omputer network, information technology, web, internet, electronic communication, world wide web, WWW, email, data bank, data network, information space and many more.”

(<https://www.thesaurus.com/browse/cyberspace>)

The main reason Cyberspace has conquered the world is its speed: its immediate connections and communications. It is the quickest means of access. Other important features are its mobility and un-limitedness. It is politically free and very economical to use. If the jet has made the world a smaller place, then the internet has conquered space and time. The reason being, there are no boundaries to hinder interchanges. There might be conflicts and wars between national boundaries, but Cyberspace is beyond these geographical boundaries.

In cultural studies, Cyberspace has redefined the scope of culture. Cyberspace is an important tool for cultural awareness. Again, for people in Diaspora, scattered across the globe, away from their native culture, Cyberspace has greater significance. Through Cyberspace various generations keep in contact with others, while the Diasporic third generations can know their roots through virtual reality. In this way, the Diasporic individual becomes aware of their native culture. Another important feature of Cyberspace is that it promotes unity among communities. The people of the same culture, scattered across the larger world, are able to establish contact and retain contact with one another. The cyber experience is universal. In keeping with their progressive societies, Goans, too, have become savvy on Cyberspace. As Cyberspace had its origin in the Western countries, Goans have been adept in adopting Cyberspace to meet their own needs. This chapter will address all the above functions in detail.

Frederick Noronha, one of the visionary cybernauts in Goa, has worked extensively on Cyberspace to connect Goans around the world. In his essay “Encountering Cyberspace”, he maintains, “The cyberworld has no borders. ‘Inside’ and ‘out’ are blurred, at best.” (28) This statement emphasizes the infinitude and extensive influence of Cyberspace. Cyberspace in its un-limitedness offers a kind of freedom. It offers freedom of access and usage. Occupying Cyberspace is occupying a space which has no physical limitations. It is a space which becomes a place, as in it there exists a fluidity or an unlimitedness.

On Cyberspace, the Goan in Diaspora is able to live his native Goan culture. He occupies a space which is unique to his nativeness. He interacts with his homeland. In this way he is able to regain a part of his native life. He can witness ceremonies, festivities, events, hear his native songs and language, and even be a part of mundane gossip. He has access to information which he would not be able to gain otherwise. From a single site, he can gain regional information about all the Goan communities across the globe.

Victoria Bernal in her essay, “Diaspora and Cyberspace”, speaks about the migrant individuals on Cyberspace. “They tend to use the internet in part to undo the effects of their mobility, rather than to enhance their mobility. They may seek, through their online practices, to re-contextualize themselves, and in some sense even to re-territorialize themselves through Cyberspace” (167). By being part of any cyber organization the migrant is able to create a new identity or a trans-identity. The migrant is able to revert to and retain all that is native to him on Cyberspace. He can be part of any native organization of his choice. In short, he can re-identify himself.

It is important to look at the various ways through which the internet has facilitated communication, and impacted the world forever. It is important to identify the various advantages of Cyberspace which has helped build the Goan consciousness in Diaspora.

## 5.2 Re-Locating Place

‘Place’ is a concept which has deeper implications in Diasporic studies. Diasporic individuals, by their cross-cultural ventures, have radically redefined the concepts of ‘Place’ and ‘Space’. Homi K. Bhabha very categorically puts forward the implied complexities of this situation, “Being in the ‘beyond’, then, is to inhabit an intervening space, as any dictionary will tell you. But to dwell ‘in the beyond’ is also, as I have shown, to be part of a revisionary time, a return to the present to redescribe our cultural contemporaneity, to reinscribe our human historical commonality; *to touch the future on its hither side.*” (Bhabha 7)

This re-inscription and redefinition of ‘Place’ and ‘Space’, due to the “re-location of culture”, results in the creation of Identitarian Spaces in Diaspora. One major site for the Diasporic re-description and re-location is Cyberspace.

How does Cyberspace attain manifold implications to Diasporic individuals? Anita Mannur admits, “In my own example of a multiply located person of middle-class background- I am born of Indian parents, lived in Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, and Australia before moving to the United States – access to the World Wide Web has “centered” my life” (284).

Technological revolutions in telecommunications and the internet have dynamically redefined our outlook and access to the concepts of ‘Distance’ and ‘Place’. In the previous chapters we have seen how culture, literature, and Diasporic associations, have helped create and sustain the Goan ethos even out of Goa. These re-locations of the Goan essence, across the globe, exemplifies how the concept of ‘Place’ has been re-constructed. In this chapter, we will investigate the various ways through which Cyberspace has given new meaning to the concepts of ‘Place.’ We shall examine the various ways through which Cyberspace has become a major contributor in assisting the re-location of the Goan identity in a new space.

The Goan, be it in Goa or in Diaspora, exhibits a twenty-four/seven presence on Cyberspace. There exist dynamic contributions from Goans constantly and consistently, bringing the Goan consciousness to the forefront. Due to this hyperactivity on Cyberspace, there exists a constant interaction among Goans from across different corners of the world.

In the past four to five decades, Goan Associations and Cyberspace have both played an important role in bringing Goans together, initiating and encouraging them to live their Goan identity out of Goa. If the Association functioned very effectively in the 1970s to 1990s, Cyberspace began functioning 2000 onwards, and became a *force majeure* in bringing Goans together all around the world. But, though Goans are hyperactive on Cyberia can we say that they have been able to create a Goan ethos, *vis- à-vis*, contributed to the Goan consciousness, and thereby helped in building a Goan Identitarian Space?

It is important to first examine the term, “Cyberspace”, and its different functional implications. It is also necessary to identify the various net-workings implied in the term ‘Cyberspace’ to fully comprehend its role in creating an Identitarian Space.

### 5.3 Deterritorialization and Long-Distance Nationalism

As Cyberspace redefines the concepts of 'Place' and 'Space', so also, it redefines the rubrics of nationalism. Anita Mannur explicitly states, "In this transnational moment it is crucial to examine national constructions of "diaspora," diasporic construction of "nation," and the often mediating and contradictory boundaries of the two. We are in an era of technospheric space, where dislocated geographical points merge and re-pollinate one another in virtual realms (such as online bulletin boards)." (283)

Here, Anita Mannur is emphasizing the need to theorize and re-examine the concepts of space, territory and nationalism in Diasporic studies. Due to the limitless use of Cyberspace, distance and state borders have become blurred. Mannur further states that the previous paradigms have changed; "As we move from geosphere to infosphere, the boundaries of nation and diaspora begin to traverse, re-traverse, inform and deform one another" (283). From this, we realize the significance of Cyberspace in creating a new 'space' without borders. How has Cyberspace created new borderless territories and re-defined the notions of Nationalism?

Cyberspace is a mode through which Diasporic communities are able to interact effectively and, thereby, able to reach distant and remote areas. The Diasporic interactions go far beyond the physical areas where the migrants live. The Cyberspace contact strengthens ties with the homeland. It encourages transnational practices, between the native home and the adopted homeland, and promotes 'Long-distance nationalism'. It was Benedict Anderson, who coined the term 'Long- distance nationalism'. Zlatko Skrbis in his essay, "Nationalism in a Transnational context", explains the use of the term,

This term [long-distance nationalism] was first used by Benedict Anderson (1992a, 1992b, 1994) in the context of charting new ways for explorations into the intersections of migration studies and nationalism. According to Anderson, the distinct feature of such nationalists is that they comfortably reside in a new country but their attachments to ancestral homelands may be far more intense than their technical loyalty to the new country of residence to which s/he might be bind with the act of citizenship. (Skrbis 136, Web)

Advanced Technology has helped Cyberspace to acquire optimum importance in Diasporic communications. Cyberspace, through its ease and economy of functionality, has

enabled migrants and Diasporic individuals to interact over millions of kilometers. Loss of personal connection with the homeland is effectively compensated by long-distance communication. The Cyberspace has overcome distances through the virtual environment.

The first generation of early Diasporic individuals communicated by letters. Later they used the telephone. Now instant contact is through the internet chat rooms. A desktop computer equipped with a microphone, speakers and a video camera, placed on a multimedia network, can easily establish audio and video contact between similarly equipped individuals and groups. This is called desktop conferencing, wherein the computer is the multimedia communication device. A conference can be for a short time, limited to two parties, or a lengthy meeting or discussion sessions between several people. In these sessions, documents, photos, electronic files, videos and audio files are viewed, discussed and exchanged.

Telecommunications software like Skype helps users not only to send instant messages, but also enables them to communicate in an environment which virtually creates a face to face reality. This is called virtual reality. According to Skype.com site, dated 31.3.2015, as on February 2012, there were 34 million concurrently online on Skype; at the end of 2010, there were over 660 million worldwide users with an average of over 100 million active each month. (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skype>)

Goans in Diasporas, across the world, are loyalists- loyal to their homeland. Their transnational activities defy all national and geographic borders. Through Cyberspace, they are an active part of the vibrant life and happenings in Goa. Through Cyberspace, they engage in humanitarian work, help to advocate a better infrastructure for Goa, enjoy the Goan dances and music and send funds and remittances to Goa. Simon Turner in his essay 'Diasporas, Conflict and Security' states:

The notion of trans-nationalism has been used to demonstrate the great potential of migrants - both for sending and receiving societies - as they continue to maintain attachments to more than one nation-state by, for instance sending remittances home. Recently, the positive effects of diasporas on sending societies have been measured not only in terms of money but also in terms of 'social remittances' which include ideas and values. (101)

Nearly, every Goan family has immediate or distant relatives in Diaspora. The effect of Cyberspace is clearly visible in the native state. Goans are in constant communication with

their families in Diaspora on Cyberspace. Families, in Goa, receive ‘remittances’ from their relatives in Diaspora.

People belonging to the same culture, but physically living in different parts of the globe, unite and form one community on Cyberspace. They share similar Diasporic experiences and they all carry similar socio-cultural baggage. Though they cannot create a physical community, they create a community on Cyberspace. They bring together fellow Goans who share the same sensibilities and culture. They operate a kind of “New Infinite Space”. This space is not limited by boundaries or borders; it is a de-territorialized space.

#### **5.4 Cyberspace as a Cohesive Agent**

Goans around the world unite on Cyberspace. The cohesive factor between them is shared history, shared memories, common cultural heritage and, above all, similar Diasporic challenges of assimilation. But another important reason for Goans to unite is that Cyberspace creates a space for hybrid identities to be ethnic again. In their interactions Goans happily revert to informal exchanges and indulge in colloquial Konkani. This serves the dual purpose of helping the Goans communicate in their native language as well as in the preservation of the native language.

With the introduction of Cyberspace, Goans in Diaspora are able to bridge the yawning gap between home and their present location. Cyberspace helps them overcome their feelings of dislocation and alienation. Cyberspace provides a fast track platform where Goans are able to communicate with Goans all over the world.

In an alien territory the native Goan is no longer alone. He has Cyberspace for comfort and companionship. He is able to identify with his nativeness on the internet. He finds solace as he is able to communicate with Goans, family and friends located in Goa or anywhere in the world. He is able to constantly relate to Goans beyond spaces and beyond time.

Cyberspace offers a new phase of ethnic construction. It helps link different groups of Goans around the world. Through Cyberspace, various Goan communities are able to construct dialogues and share different experiences. They receive important news like

announcements of deaths, births, anniversaries and other information relevant to the Goan community. These announcements have special relevance to the Goans in Diaspora.

The migrations and scatterings of Goans have undergone traumatic phases. Migration and inevitable separation from the homeland has created stress and heartbreak. The African Exodus was another tragic upheaval for the Goans. Goans lost a secure lifestyle, property, finance, and most of all, family and friends. Goans in a frenzied hurry sought asylum in different countries. In this process, they lost contact with their near and dear ones. Till date, Goans in the widespread Diaspora are trying to locate their loved ones. They use the cyberspace to locate and relocate their lost or separated friends. Cyberspace helps them connect once again with their past alliances. The Goan Diaspora is a dispersed community bound together on Cyberspace. Cyberspace had indeed been more than a linking agent. It has been a uniting force- the cause for the reunion and re-establishment of ties for Goans.

Goans and other migrants, in Diaspora, are now able to sustain their new identities in a re-constructed space. On Cyberspace, Goans have an opportunity to celebrate their Goan consciousness. Goans unite on cyberspace, to share cultural information, view Goan movies, and acquaint themselves with Goan music, Goan tradition, and news of the Goan Associations. Following are some of the ways through which Goans in Diaspora manifest their Identitarian Space on Cyberspace.

#### **5.4.1 Cyberspace and the Goan Cultural Agenda**

We have seen how ethnicity and nationalism is encouraged through Cyberspace. But, Cyberspace is also a convenient tool used for charitable, economic, social, religious and political agenda.

On Cyberspace, music videos of festival dances, songs, mandos and religious traditions are uploaded. A Goan, located anywhere, can view his native dances or see and hear his Konkani songs. There are videos of all the popular as well as classical music and dances uploaded by Goans. Goans enthusiastically promote Goa and the Goan culture on the internet.

One such example is Victor Rangel Ribeiro. He helps Goans develop their writing skills. Donna Young explains this venture, “In recent years he [Victor Rangel] has been

taking pains to mentor young writers during his annual visit to Goa, and also via Cyberspace. His initiative has also led to the successful formation of groups like the Goa Writers' network." (Young 108) The website of this group is:

[http://groups.yahoo.com/group/goawriters.](http://groups.yahoo.com/group/goawriters)

Youtube has a vast range of dance sequences that are performed by natives in Goa and by Goans in Diaspora. It is easy to learn and produce the dance steps after having viewed and practised it through Cyberspace. These performances are then reproduced for cultural programs, Goan feasts and even parties in Diaspora.

#### 5.4.2 Cyberspace and the Konkani Language

The computer has opened unthought-of areas of knowledge and access to this knowledge; one such field is language acquisition. It is possible to learn most languages online. The multimedia facet of Cyberspace makes acquiring linguistic skills easy. One can gain the knowledge of any language through audio-visual aids. Computation linguistics is that branch of computer science which makes different languages available. Any foreign word is no longer unknown. Online translators have opened unknown vistas for acquiring knowledge and the usage of foreign languages.

For the Goans in Diaspora, it is now possible to translate the words and sing the songs, be it in Portuguese or Konkani, without necessarily knowing the language. They also learn the Konkani or Portuguese songs with their English meanings. The dance and music videos are learned and performed at Goan functions in Diaspora. The *mandos*, Portuguese medleys, and Goan *dulpods* are frequently performed.

About.com caters to this need of the Diasporic native. Youtube provides videos teaching the Konkani language. Lessons and explanations on syllables, word, grammatical syntax, pronunciation, vowel and consonant stress, and intonation are all provided on the language site. "Learn Konkani with Saurabh" is one such video which teaches Konkani. Other sites are as follows:

- [www.bing.com/videos/search?q=Youtube+konknai+language+videos&view=detail&mid=4A02A3A79ADC769C499E4A02A3A79ADC769C499E&FORM=VIRE](http://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=Youtube+konknai+language+videos&view=detail&mid=4A02A3A79ADC769C499E4A02A3A79ADC769C499E&FORM=VIRE).
- Konkani alphabet and pronunciation can also be learnt on Omniglot  
<https://omniglot.com/writing/konkani.htm>.
- Another site which teaches Konkani is,

<https://www.memrise.com/course/82149/spoken-konkani/>

- Wiki Travels provides a Konkani phrase-book; the link is: [wikitravel.org/en/Konkani\\_phrasebook](http://wikitravel.org/en/Konkani_phrasebook)
- Goa Holiday Homes (<http://www.goaholidayhomes.com/information/learn-konkani.html>) is a privately owned website which helps Goans in Diaspora, or anyone intending to stay in Goa, to not only find a place to stay in Goa but also helps them with the language. It includes lists of necessary words like greetings, useful phrases, numbers, days of the week, and months of the year.

### 5.4.3 Konkani Films

Short documentaries on Goa, Konkani films, comedies and *tiatrs* are all available online. These films and videos, mainly in Konkani, emphasize the flood of life of the Goan spirit and ethos. They present to the world the various conditions and traditions, prevalent in Goa, through an entertaining medium.

*Goencho Balcao* (literally Balcony of Goa) is an official website to view Goan movies and videos. It also provides news, specifically, about the different entertainments available in Goa. The webpage of *Goencho Balcao* is, <https://www.Youtube.com/channel/UC5kW72dhsAvdhXJq9UBQjHA>

The YouTube webpage of *Goencho Balcao* provides links for various videos of *tiatrs*, movies, interviews with important peoples, documentaries, popular songs, articles, all of which pertaining to and relevant to Goans.

Their aim, to reach out to the Diaspora, is clearly mentioned on their webpage. “Goencho Balcao is an official online Platform for Konkani Entertainment bringing to your doorstep Konkani Movies, *tiatrs*, Konkani Songs and all that lies in the domain for the Love of Goa. We are trying to connect the Global Goan Diaspora to our Motherland through our Local Entertainment.” (*Goencho Balcao* webpage)

They aim to bring current and yesterday’s content to the world. The webpage states, “You can now watch our Tiatrs, Konkani Goan Movies Officially at [www.goenchobalcao.com](http://www.goenchobalcao.com). We strive to bring to you all the current releases and yesteryear content so that you can watch it sitting in any part of the world. Goencho Balcao is an effort to Get the Goan Entertainment Connect to the World.” (Webpage)

*Goencho Balcoa* boasts of 5,143 subscribers and 1,315,686 views, as on 26 November 2018. *Goencho Balcao* is one such website which invites people to upload movies and videos pertaining to Goa.

Some famous Goan documentaries, available with their links, are given below:

- *Life in Goa* is a nine-minute documentary.  
www.Youtube.com/watch?v=VbzW1D9U\_Lc
- *Goan Nostalgia ~ Old Pics of Goa & Goans*, provides information about a past Goa.  
www.Youtube.com/watch?v=muzJmVXae6g
- *More Goa Culture*: www.Youtube.com/watch?v=85uCqc4S85

#### **5.4.4 Goan Feasts and Traditions**

Goan cuisine has won the hearts of people all over the world. Prior to the twenty-first century, Goans would carry large quantities of foodstuffs with them from Goa. Food parcels from Goa were an indispensable part of their travel luggage. With the food ban imposed by certain countries, Goans around the world were disappointed. Now with Cyberspace, this problem has ended. One can find all the Goan recipes on the internet. Moreover, there are videos which show in detail the preparation of these Goan delicacies.

Goan food and Goan products are advertised and sold online in many countries. There are many Goans, in Diaspora, having online shops which cater to Goan food. A customer can place his order online, and it will be delivered to his address. 'Goan Cuisine' is the name of one such online shop, which sells the best Goan food products in the UK. Though it sells foodstuffs online, it also has its stalls set up during important functions where numerable Goans are present. Its website is <http://goancuisine.co.uk/about/>.

Goa is a state very rich in tradition and culture. Cyberspace has made it possible for Goans to be part of this cultural heritage anywhere in the world. The traditions and rituals are captured live on Cyberspace. An individual can access these videos at any time. This ensures that the cultural landscape is no longer only a memory or an image but a live force for the Diasporic Goan. It ensures that the migrant Goan no longer feels alienated. These videos and clippings are more helpful for those Goans who have not visited Goa. It provides an ideal

opportunity for the second and third generations to know their roots and connect with the native land. They are able to look and familiarize themselves with the vast cultural landscape, distinct to Goa alone. Each feast is celebrated in a particular fashion. These feasts provide opportunities for the practice of unique rituals which are assiduously followed by the Goans. There are many videos and documentaries created on the unique traditions of Goa. Some of them which are available on cyberspace are mentioned below:

- The feast of *São João*, celebrated on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June. Villagers jump in the wells to signify the Baptism of Jesus Christ.
- The *Kunbi Geet* (Kunbis are tribal Christians) which are sung during weeding, threshing, and harvesting. These songs have different themes like emotions of love and hate, or nature.
- The *Sangodd* folk drama enacted on a stage made up of two fixed boats on a river. This tradition is elusive to the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June.
- *Mitta-geet* are the occupational songs of the saltpan singers
- *Ghanno* tradition is carried out at grinding
- The *Dhalo* and *fuggdi* song and dances
- Goan Portuguese folk dance *Corridinho*
- The *Patello* Festival celebrated by the villagers of Salvador do Mundo
- *The Cucumber Feast* celebrated in the last week of July at the Church of Santana. This feast is celebrated commemorating St. Ann, the mother of ‘Mother Mary’. Women eat blessed cucumbers in the hope of conceiving a child.
- Hindu Goan Festivals like *Shigmotsav*, *Holi*, *Ganesh*, *Kudal*, etcetera have their own special traditions, songs and dances, which can be viewed on Cyberspace. One can see the traditional music videos, performances and floats together with the *Romtamel*.

Each feast has meaningful rituals attached to it which are meticulously followed and performed. The videos capturing these customs and traditions have the monumental onus of transmitting the Goan ethos.

### 5.4.5 Upholding Economic, Political and Social Causes

The major role played by Diasporic Goans towards financing various causes in Goa has already been acknowledged in this study. Diasporic Goans contribute, on a large scale, towards funding projects in Goa. Through Cyberspace various causes of the home country are propagated. Political and social causes are raised and funded by Diasporic individuals in their respective communities. The wheels of this propaganda are set into motion and steered on Cyberspace.

Goan interests are propagated on Cyberspace. Many of the Goan orphanages and homes for the aged are supported by the Goans in Diaspora. Funds are also sent to schools to encourage children in need of sustenance. The Goan causes are given importance on Cyberspace. Any area needing attention and finance is brought to world attention on Cyberspace. The far-reaching effects of Cyberspace give an un-limitedness to Goan causes.

The funds collected from the Goan Diaspora is disbursed among Goan orphanages, seminaries, organizations dedicated to the uplifting of destitute women and children, AIDS patients and handicapped children. Goans in Diaspora stand out for their large contributions towards Goa causes. The collections and transmissions of funds are made easier by advertisements on their web pages. It is common practice for *Vaddo* chapels and village parishes to contact their Diasporic parishioners for funds. The money received is then sent to help and maintain heritage and religious structures, like churches, chapels, as well as to poor families of the *vaddo*. Goans abroad make generous donations towards their homeland.

Goan sites propagate the needs of the Goans at home and out of Goa too. Business and new ventures are advertised on the web pages. For example, car hire services, restaurants, hotel bookings, tours, and timings of services can all be found on the Goan web pages. This is a big encouragement for Goans doing business. Goans in the United Kingdom are able to gain information about Goan activities in Goa or anywhere in the world.

### 5.4.6 Important Websites

Some important websites on Cyberspace which boast of intense Goan interactions are:

**Goanet**

Goanet is an email based network launched in 1994 by Herman Carneiro. It consists of a mailing list electronically linking Goans all over the world. Fredrick Noronha acknowledges the pioneering work of Goanet in his essay “Encountering Cyberspace” in the book *Inside / Out* (2011). Noronha states: “It has been very influential in giving news to Goans over the years. From an initial start of 20 members, it had a worldwide patronage of around 14,000” (34).

Goanet is important because it was one of the first elementary steps taken in attempting to unite Goans worldwide on the internet. It was the first website to create an awareness of electronic communication among Goans all over the world. Regarding its origin Noronha explains:

My first involvement with networks in Cyberspace was via Goanet, which completed 16 years of meaningful, controversial and lively existence in August-September 2010. . . . Goanet (also spelt as GoaNet or even Goa-Net in those days) was, and is, largely an electronic mailing-list based operation. Its website is at [www.goanet.org](http://www.goanet.org). A mailing list, simply means one can send mail to a large number of people, and is a very inexpensive and powerful way of communicating. . . . It was love at first sight with Goanet. (29)

Regarding Herman Carneiro’s pioneering work for Goan Cyberia, Fredrick Noronha acknowledges, “It was young Herman’s initiative that showed us the way. Without doubt, this experience helped up build other ventures in Cyberspace. We-not just me but also friends who wanted to try our parallel experiments applied the Goanet concept to start over half-a-dozen or so village- based Goa networks. (33)

Fredrick Noronha has used Goanet as an important medium to create Goan consciousness. He has worked ceaselessly for the cause of Goan electronic journalism. He admits, “Today, I share over 30,000 high-resolution photographs of Goa via <http://goaphotos.notlong.com>. Contacts were built one by one. Every link was like a giant step into Cyberspace.” (31)

## **GOACOM**

GOACOM is a web newsletter based in Toronto, Canada. <http://GOACOM.com/> GOACOM was one of the pioneering websites to bring news to Goans in Diaspora. It was officially put into practice on November 18, 1995. It was launched by the Deputy Chief

Minister of Goa, Dr. Wilfred de Souza, during his visit to London (UK), at a meeting of internet enthusiasts organized by Eddie Fernandes. Till date, GOACOM continues to be Goa's premier portal. It has the distinction of attracting around five million viewers a month from all around the globe.

In 1995, a group of Goans got together and created GOACOM in Toronto for an internet seminar. This meeting was held in the Board Room of Dr. A. J. de Mello's medical building.

Since then, GOACOM has been functioning as one of Goa's premier internet gateways for news. For the past twenty years, GOACOM has successfully become a favourite with viewers around the world who were longing to relate to their homeland. It has Goa-related News, Goa video news, information on Tourism in Goa, Goan recipes, Goan activities like *tiatrs*, food festivals, Goan feasts & festivals, and all things Goan. GOACOM gives a brief historical background of Goa, Goan videos, and memoirs of the past. It is a versatile site offering experiences of great interest, to the Goan abroad.

### **The Goan Voice**

The Goan Voice is a Goan Newsletter, based in London, which gives news of the Goans abroad and "What's On in Goa". It is funded by advertisements, donations, and sponsorships of Goan events the world over. The Goan Voice is an online daily. It is one of the foremost websites which unites thousands of Goans worldwide. The Goan Voice caters to Goan news from the state of Goa and of Goans globally. Anything of importance to Goans is available on The Goan Voice.

The Goan Voice is the brainchild of Eddie Fernandes. Eddie Fernandes was one among those who were expelled from Africa. Eddie created The Goan Voice on the first of July 1999. Initially, it was a part of GoaNet. GoaNet was the first international media which catered to Goan news abroad.

The Goan Voice was created with the following objectives:

- The foremost objective was to cater to worldwide Goans

- As there were many newspapers, convenience was important. The Goan Voice aimed to provide a summary of the news snippets. Links would provide additional in-depth information.
- Another important criterion was that it aimed to deliver information at an impersonal level. The news was objective sans personal opinions or prejudices. An important feature of The Goan Voice is that it does not allow discussions. It states facts.
- The Goan Voice was created with mainly the Goan East African Diaspora in view. After the exodus from Africa, the Goan East African population was scattered in different parts of the world. News of deaths and anniversaries provided information from their friends and relatives. Birth and Death announcements, notices, jubilees, and even advertisements are an important feature of the Goan voice. The Goan Voice thus helps maintain long distance contacts, and helps in sustaining relationships. Though scattered, the Goans are able to relate to one another. Through The Goan Voice, Goans all over the world are able to communicate and send their condolences.
- Another important feature of The Goan Voice is that it publishes the forthcoming Goan events to be held in the UK. (Personal Interview with Eddie Fernandes)

The origin of The Goan Voice can be traced to an East African newspaper, called *The Goan Voice*, which was popular in East Africa during the 1930s. Though printed in Nairobi, it was an important source of Goan information for Goans in East Africa. Clubs and Associations were an important part of Goan East African life. This newspaper published the news of the club's events, meetings, gatherings, deaths, and entertainment news. When Eddie Fernandes decided to start a news site for the Goans abroad, in keeping with his Goan East African roots, he decided to continue the spirit of the previous *The Goan Voice* which had been conceptualized and published in Africa.

In London, The Goan Voice was a weekly publication. It even printed, copied, and mailed its issues to the senior Goans who were not so computer savvy. As internet usage grew, so also, The Goan Voice grew. In 1999, it became a daily news site. According to statistics, in November 2015 it had nearly 19000 users logging into the website on a daily basis. 52.53 % of its users are based in the UK itself. (Eddie Fernandes in a Personal Interview)

Over the years, The Goan Voice has proved its professionalism, efficiency, and dedication to the Goan cause. The Goan Voice has been very consistent in delivering Goa related news to the world. Eddie Fernandes and his wife Lira work diligently and conscientiously towards keeping the Goan voice dynamic on E-Space, thereby connecting Goans globally.

### **SpeakGoa**

SpeakGoa began as a public group on Facebook. It is an important site where both Diasporic Goans and Goans from Goa are able to interact and communicate their views. The opinions, arguments, and counter-arguments among Goans, are published. SpeakGoa is a news blog created by Goans for Goans worldwide to express themselves. Created in 2013, it had around 25,000 followers in 2015. It clearly states that its mission is to create awareness among Goans worldwide about the issues and concerns affecting their beloved Goa.

SpeakGoa is an active Goan movement. Its main aim is to fight for Goan issues collectively. It creates awareness of social and political injustices all around the world. The editor categorically states: “How about trying to see what collective wisdom of people says, what is the collective opinion of people about things? It is unfortunate that our democracy allows us to participate in decisions just once in five years, and seldom public opinion is considered in important decisions,” (<https://speakgoa.wordpress.com/>, 20.10.2016)

SpeakGoa is undoubtedly a democratic forum for the Goans worldwide created for the Goans and by the Goans.

### **Goa Speaks FB**

Goa Speaks is also a public group on Facebook. It has one of the largest followers of 76,149 members as on 25 November 2018. It was created on 8 February, 2011.

“You can love it or hate it, but you can't ignore 'Goa Speaks'... a vibrant FB Group from Goa that rocks.” (Face Book page)

Goa Speaks is a voice for Goans to air their likes and dislikes. It has emerged as a powerful group. It has constant updates with news of Goans, from Goa and around the world. It describes its functions:

“Goa Speaks gives you an insight of 'different Goan minds'; and keeps you updated on all the latest happenings in Goa and the world around.

Goa Speaks will always remain a neutral forum. No one's voice will be stifled. We have been acclaimed as the most neutral forum. We owe that to each of us. Each of our 70k+ odd members must take credit for this great accolade.” (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/bettergoa/about/> “Goa Speaks”)

## **Goa365**

Goa365 holds the record for innovation. Goa365 was the first television channel, in English, established in Goa. It is a milestone in providing breaking news on digital media.

Viewers all over the world can access Goan news by logging on to the website. It has a groundbreaking, total number of 30,242 subscribers and 8,975,393 views as on 26 November 2018. It also has a YouTube page, wherein one can view videos of the past and present together: <https://www.Youtube.com/channel/UCDFOkbaN9IuV6tjO8Aqo1ww>.

Through YouTube, viewers can download and view programs which have already been broadcasted like Goan news bulletins in English and Konkani. They can also view debates and documentaries on Goan issues.

## **Niz Goenkar**

Niz Goenkar means “True Goan”. It is an electronic newsletter dealing with Goa’s News and Current affairs. Its website is [www.nizgoenkar.org/](http://www.nizgoenkar.org/). From its name, one can comprehend its aim and function. Niz Goenkar strives to connect to Goans- True Goans who are longing to connect to Goa.

Nizgoenkar.org is owned by Menino Fernandes since 2015. Nizgoenkar was registered with Public Interest Registry on April 08, 2013. Menino Fernandes resides in Swindon, United Kingdom.

On Saturday, 19 February, 2011 Menino Fernandes posted on his blog spot:

Dear all Goans and readers of Niz Goenkar, I would like to clarify before you certain facts pertaining Niz Goenkar. I started Niz Goenkar with a view to

create an awakening among the Goans as I saw the destruction of my beloved Goa taking place and the destroyers are none other than the politicians of Goa.

This site was started with a special purpose in mind and that is as a service and dedication to my motherland Goa. ( <http://valpoi.blogspot.com/2011/02/niz-goenkar-is-not-out-for-funds-and.html>)

In the above quote, Menino Fernandez reiterates his love for Goa, and his foresight in protecting Goa, by creating awareness.

## **Wordpress**

Wordpress is an open source domain where anyone can create his personal web page or blog and even comment on published information. (Millions of people all over the world can work on it). Goans worldwide have opened blogs on the Wordpress site, <https://goans.wordpress.com/about/>.

Important issues pertaining to Goans are discussed. For example, one such blog was “Advice to Goans going to London” by Antonio Barbosa posted on 28<sup>th</sup> October, 2010. It offers assistance to Goans going to London on a Portuguese Passport. Goans all over the world posted helpful information to help Goans going to London for the first time. Goans posted questions which were answered by Goans in London. Goans around the world are able to interact and communicate through Wordpress.

Goans, on Wordpress, propagate connectivity with the community. In addition to online resources like the forums and mailing lists, a great way to get involved with WordPress is to attend or volunteer at a WordCamp, which are free or low-cost events that happen all around the world to gather and educate WordPress users, organized by WordPress users.

Wordpress offers an unlimited, stable and mature medium for Goans to communicate.

## **5.5 The Goan E-Society**

Cyberspace creates a new terrain, a new space, accessed by one and all. Cyberspace has the capacity to not only link Goans interactively across great distances, but it also creates

an infinite scope for dispersed ethnic groups wishing to sustain identity in an ‘alien’ land and work in solidarity with those facing challenges at ‘home’. The coups in Haiti can be cited as a very good example of the power wielded by Diasporic political influences on Cyberspace. Gerard Latortue, a Haitian living in Diaspora; in Florida, on February 29, 2004, became the Prime Minister of Haiti. This, in turn, caused the actual President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to become a Diasporean. Both Presidents lived out of Haiti, but they remained connected to the state and its politics through Cyberspace. Although living in Diaspora, both were able to access and influence the political situation. Surprisingly, the dynamics of Cyberspace enables the exiled one to wield greater power. The exiled Diasporic leader is in greater circulation because in Cyberspace he is in the center from the periphery.

Similarly, Goan Diasporic migrants have re-positioned themselves, in order to control the center. Goans have placed themselves strategically on Cyberspace and are able to influence opinions in Goa and around the world, about Goan political, social, economic and environmental issues. By repositioning themselves strategically they yield power, over Goan issues. This power and influence attains global importance. Living in more progressive societies, Diasporic individuals are aware and are able to highlight corruption, environmental issues, human rights, child welfare, land exploitation, real estate, mining issues, and almost every other issue. Cyberspace establishes connectivity for the entire Goan Diaspora. It has the power to promote interactions and yield influence. The web pages and blogs tell stories about Goa. Many ruling political parties of Goa have been frequently internationally disgraced and criticized on popular Goan sites. The Diasporic Goans work on Cyberspace for the sole purpose of promoting Goan interests. This work is based on their convictions and love for Goa.

Michael S. Laguerre, a social anthropologist for globalization, in his essay “Virtual Diasporic Public Sphere” calls this space the Diasporic public sphere which is very powerful for political influences, “What I will call the Diasporic public sphere is the political arena where the diaspora expresses its political views, discusses its project for the homeland and the diaspora, interacts with host land and homeland government officials and politicians, and reflects on its contribution to society.” (Laguerre,

<[https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781403983329\\_5](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781403983329_5)>)

He calls this space a public sphere. He further explains how it works:

This public sphere, which permeates the spatiality of the transnation, uses various means of expression, ranging from gossip to Diasporic media (ethnic television, ethnic newspapers, ethnic radio), to public gatherings and discussions, as well as the Internet (websites, chat rooms, e-mails). It has both online and off-line dimensions that feed each other, that sustain and expand the sphere of interaction from the local to the global both formally and informally, and that differentiate the Diasporic public sphere from other public spheres. (Laguerre)

The Goan websites not only transmit the Goan culture, but brings awareness of the religious practices attached to each festival. Mass timings and Bible class schedules are advertised on the websites.

Cyberspace and Television both help migrants to practise their religion. Writing about the Indian, Syrian Christians from Kerala, who have migrated to Kuwait, Ginu Zacharia Oommen explains:

Popularity of the spiritual broadcasting channels is another key element for the members of the Pentecostal groups. The religious TV channels in Malayalam are extremely popular among the immigrants. Malayalam Christian channels such as Shalom, Jeevan, and Power Vision were launched in the late 1990s and they resemble American Channels such as ECTV OR God Channel (114).

This introduction of religious channels has been very beneficial to the people. He also reveals, "In almost all the Christian homes that I visited, Christian channels were followed avidly. Many of these channels function mainly in funding from the GCC expatriates" (114).

Oommen records a respondent informing him that he recorded sermons on his mobile and listened to them while he (respondent) worked. It is clear that though the migrants may lack time, their spiritual needs are taken care of. They are able to listen to the sermons, and follow other pray services, on their mobiles.

Cybermissionaries active in promoting religious sentiments were one of the first to use the internet as an evangelical instrument. Online forums which discuss social, political and economical, in fact, every other aspect of life, have been active in the religious sphere since a long time. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp and other links are all used as interactive

forums to discuss religion. Propagating and preaching religion through the internet is the new practice which is growing rapidly. Taking the hint from Chris Pratt and Justin Bieber, who used the social media to share their religious sentiments, Cyberspace is now used by almost all religions to spread their respective faiths.

The Nigerians Christians were the first to gain fame for organizing online worship. They used the internet to propagate the faith and even encouraged membership. Messages regarding the faith were sent to a large number of followers. The Internet Church has a huge following. The disadvantage here was that it reduced the active physical following and gatherings in the church.

Goans are also uploading pictures, religious rituals and the Konkani Mass on Cyberspace. Important feast Masses, like that of St. Francis Xavier, is telecasted live or is also available to watch anytime on Facebook. The Catholic Goan Network is a network of Catholic Goans. It conducts services and programs for the benefit and welfare of the Catholic Goan community around the world. It is committed to the Catholic faith and the Goan heritage. Its website is [www.catholic-goan-network.net](http://www.catholic-goan-network.net)

Cyberspace has helped to globalize local culture. Cultural practices and rites, dressing modes, religious ceremonies can be viewed anywhere in the world, through videos, the internet, Youtube, Blogs and multimedia messaging. The Goan *mandos*, *tiatrs*, dances, and even recipes are available on videos for target Goan and global audiences. Expressing one's culture has been made simple and accessible. The Goan culture has been safeguarded through the internet. The intangible Goan heritage like dances, myths, traditions, knowledge of certain crafts and arts have been captured on film and circulated on the internet. For example the Carnival celebrations before Ash Wednesday, a long time tradition in Goa, is viewed all over the world through videos on the web. Cyberspace is a great cultural school for the Goan progeny who have not visited Goa. The third generation and preceding generations find it difficult to identify with a Goa which is unfamiliar to them. Everything Goan seems alien to them. Through Cyberspace, they are now able to acquaint themselves with Goa and things Goan.

A new trend of the third and later generation migrants is to trace their Goan roots. They do this through Cyberspace. In *Another Goa*, Fredrick Noronha explains:

Today many like Tom, in his early twenties, are returning back to their home state ... all in a quest to better understand their identity, find their roots, and possibly re-trace their ancestry. Speedy communications over the Internet, and closer international links is making all this possible in today's global village (2).

Cyberspace offers a great platform for these generations to identify with Goa and trace their identity too. Having heard from their parents about Goa, thanks to Cyberspace, they are able to see different aspects of the Goan culture.

Cyberspace rewrites the binaries of boundaries. Katerina Diamandaki, very eloquently, explains the social significance of Cyberspace: "When we talk about Cyberspace we refer to a distanced and disembodied social world, yet one naturalized and appropriated through new processes of inhabiting the non-physical. Cyberspace is thus sociologically important because it provides new terms and conditions for membership and belonging." ([www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu) Global\_Media\_Journal\_2\_2\_Spring\_2003)

Goans on Cyberspace become members of the new emerging structures. Though it is unrestrained, the new and vast interactions create new meanings of belonging by uniting individuals around the globe. These global interactions, pertaining to Goan issues, create a new society on Cyberspace.

The wonder of Cyberspace is that individuals can create a "virtual Identity for themselves." Cyberspace helps the native Goan to be in constant communication with his homeland and it also helps him to reconstruct his own identity. The Goan in Diaspora, like all Diasporic migrants, has to create a new persona which is a blend of his nativeness and that of his adopted country. He cannot escape his past identity. It clings to him and is part of his makeup. At the same time he has to conform to the expected identity of his host country. If he does not conform to the host nation, he is marginalized. He conforms to both cultures by constructing a new identity in new contexts. The internet is his main tool to recreate his hybridized identity. He interacts with Goans on the internet. He has a whole list of internet associates and friends on Cyberspace. He creates his own blogs, websites and groups. He then asserts his new identity to his created audience.

These websites and its publications have been important digital spaces for developing and fostering Goan Diasporic unity. These websites help in establishing the small state of Goa as a world entity. Cyberspace and its websites are the pillars which hold the Goan society around the world together. Goa is a powerful source of nationalism in the lives of Goans. Goans with their stories and happenings, be it politics, social events, deaths, funerals or economy is of interest to all Goans.

From the above, we have seen how the Goans on various websites bring the Goans around the world together. In fact, this community connectivity on cyberspace has created an e-community. Goans unite on cyberspace to form an e-society.

Katerina Diamandaki states, that, one of the “most interesting, unintended consequences” of the Internet has been the creation of, “mediated social networks of sociability and collective belonging, populated by an ever-increasing number of individuals of different national origins and backgrounds” ([www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu)). Meaning that, the phenomenal effects of global access were unintentional. Diamandaki stresses that the consequence of the internet is that a “[D]iverse ecology of virtual neighborhoods, online communities, cyber-salons, cyber-commons, community networks and digital nations, formations that are novel and in many ways still ambiguous [has been created].” Cyberspace provides various options and opportunities for communication. This connectivity has produced new societies, giving rise to new meanings and new complexities. “Scholars have sought to decipher the complexity of the alternative identities and communities that arise from the glocalized “neo-world.” ([www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu))

The formation of the e-society is function and interest based. People doing a similar type of work, and people having a common interest, come together on Cyberspace. The Cyberspace has assisted Diasporic Goans across the globe to get together and communicate with each other. The Diasporic Goans have successfully created their own e-society. Diasporic Goans of this e-society have evolved in a similar pattern, displacement, alienation, and assimilation. This e-society is able to create a social structure, for Diasporic Goans, in order to fulfill the social-economic needs of Goans globally. Goans connected voluntarily on the global net are not only able to communicate, but share media and the unlimited web resources. For example, using a link, Goans all over the world can see any or a particular incident in Goa or anywhere in the world. Advertisements and appeals for charity satisfy the economic needs of Goans globally.

In his essay “Encountering Cyberspace”, Fredrick Noronha, who can be called the Patriarch of Goan publishing, records his beginnings on Cyberspace: “[T]he postings in cyberspace brought in useful freelance work, always a boon to anyone trying to build independent and sustainable operations in the media. A plethora of story ideas kept coming in from Cyberspace.” (27)

In the previous chapter, we have seen how Goan Diasporic Associations function as an important machine in the assimilation process of the Goan migrant. But these Goan Associations have also created an identity on Cyberspace. The Goan Associations have established their global identity by creating their respective websites. Goan Associations, the world over, have their respective websites and the corresponding addresses. The Associations work with Cyberspace in providing a social networking society and continuously discuss issues of Goan interests.

Cyberspace has long been the answer for minority groups or people occupying the peripheries. It is a platform for minority groups to raise their voices. Voices, previously suppressed, have emerged as powerful forces on Cyberspace. With the help of technologies offered on the internet, associations and groups have created open discussion forums, persuasion forums and information dissemination and gained a world audience. Various groups now have infinite means to get together on Cyberspace and provide opportunities for their self-determination. In this process, they are able to create their own virtual communities. These communities have their origin in virtual space, but with the aim of soon converting their virtual communities to real communities. In this manner, Cyberspace has encouraged nationalism.

On Cyberspace the virtual communities become real communities by sharing common cultural facets, kinships and continued interactions. Individuals identifying with each other come together on a space. This transnational space encompasses the global web. Conclusively, we observe that though technology and travel have caused deterritorialization, with community members going far and wide, Cyberspace has countered this distance by bringing members of similar communities together. Individuals with the common identities come together on Cyberspace.

The Goan Diasporic community has become a virtual global Goan village on Cyberspace. Cyberspace has bridged the territorial abysses between the Goans in native Goa, Goans in Africa, Canada, USA, UK and down under, to name a few. By bringing these Goans

together, Cyberspace has helped construct a new Goan space, and map out what it means to be Goan, anywhere in the world.

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## Chapter 6 : The Goan Identitarian Space: A Constructed Reality

The term “Diaspora” has been significant since ancient times. This study has undertaken to analyse whether the Goan, in Diaspora, has been able to create an Identitarian Space for himself or not. In this work, ‘Identitarianism’ has been used as a conceptual framework to study Goans in Diaspora. The Identitarian Spaces are conceptual spaces. The preceding chapters have interrogated four major areas where Goans have made their Goan ethos a pulsating presence. Goans in Diaspora have maintained their identity and tradition, and created distinct spaces through Culture, Literature, Associations, and Cyberspace also referred to as E-space.

The pertinent questions posed in the study are: To what extent have the Goans, in Diaspora, been successful in maintaining the essence of their native culture? Can Goan Diasporics claim to have been successful in creating Goan Identitarian Spaces outside Goa?

The word ‘Space’, used in relation to migrants, has deep implications. Migrants have always been occupying a contested space. Due to homelessness, displacement, the need for belonging and the ambivalences created by crossing borders, ‘Space’ has continuously configured in Diasporic discourses as a prominent theme for debate. The space occupied by the migrant is an uncomfortable ‘Liminal Space’. Due to the complex implication present in Diaspora, the migrant has to define the meaning of his existence while occupying two or more spaces.

As scrutinized in the previous chapters, Goans, while occupying this transnational space, have still been loyal to their roots. They cherish their Goan heritage and roots in the hybridized transcultural space. Goans around the world do not limit their identity to being Canadian, American, Australian, or British. Rather, they identify themselves as being Canadian-Goans, American-Goans, UK Goans, and Australian-Goans. They have been successful in creating a hyphenated identity. This Diasporic Space is a space where Goans are able to adhere to their native tradition while, simultaneously, adhering to the host nation’s culture.

Identitarianism is not a prejudiced or arrogant ideology, which propagates the supremacy of a specific culture. Rather, Identitarianism is accommodating, as it supports ethnic ties in multicultural environs. Different communities are encouraged to value their traditions.

Goans have been migrating since the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The Goan Afrikaner community was the most prominent in the eighteenth and nineteenth century until the 1970s exodus. However, the present study has focused on the twentieth century Goan migrants. The first and second generation Goans have stubbornly retained their nativeness and their Goan identity in an ambivalent transcultural space.

**Chapter One** observes the following:

1. There is a huge number of Goans living out of Goa, and with every passing year this number goes on increasing. Goan migration continues till date, creating new phenomena and interests for study.
2. The Goans, like all other migrants, carry with them their cultural baggage from the native land. As cultural studies concentrates chiefly on expounding new philosophies of consciousness, the study of Goan migration and the Goan transcultural spaces created have opened new vistas for study.
3. The Goan Diaspora is distinct phenomena in conformity to William Safran's criteria.
4. Goan migrants have created a phenomenal presence in the evolving Diasporic world through four distinct conceptual areas, namely Culture, Literature, Associations and Cyberspace.

**Chapter Two** observes the following:

1. Goans sport a distinct culture. Goans carry their distinct socio-cultural baggage with them when they migrate. Diasporic Goans, while retaining their Goan nativeness, also conform to the host nation society. They live in a trans-cultural space hence the emergent phenomenon is a hybridized Goan ethos. In conformity with Raymond Williams 'emergent' phase of culture, this study has come to the conclusion that as a result of migration a definite new Goan Diasporic space has been created.
2. There are several markers to identify the Goan culture. Konkani, the native language of Goans, has been retained and practised to a large extent by the first and second generation Goan migrants. In some Goan communities, like those in the Gulf countries, United Kingdom and Canada, Konkani is encouraged and taught. In Australia the use of Konkani is limited, while in New Zealand it is negligible.

3. Popular Goan folk dances like *Shigmo*, *Dekhni*, *Mando* and *Dhalo* are practiced in Diaspora. The Portuguese dances like the Waltz and *Corridinho* are also kept alive.
4. Various festivals and feasts, such as the feasts of the local patron saints of villages, together with their respective traditions, are also kept alive in Diaspora.
5. For the Diasporic Goan, the taste of Goa is essentially in the food. Goan Food festivals offer culinary cruises for the Goans in Diaspora. Goan spices and Goan recipes are sought after all over the globe. A Goan cannot be divorced from his food. Goans in Diaspora continue to enjoy their Goan food. Though western influences have changed their styles of cooking, Goan food is still the favourite of Goans in Diaspora. Goan catering is also on the rise in Diaspora. More recently, due to popular demand, Goan restaurants are opening in major cities of the world.
6. It has been observed that the first and second generations cling to the native culture while the later generations identify more with the host nation.

**Chapter Three** observes the following:

1. Diasporic writings are a result of the *émigrés'* quest for a foothold in a new land. Diasporic writers try to reconstruct their present from a past that constantly haunts them. To the Diasporic writer memories of the home are vivid.
2. Goan Diasporic Literature is mainly in English. Internationally, English is the major language of expression. The Goan Diasporic writers have, therefore, chosen to convey the Goan idiom through English. Their use of English is vastly interspersed with Konkani, Portuguese, and even Hindi words and expressions. Though English is the chosen language of expression, the Diasporic writers have done commendable work in bringing the Goan consciousness to the world. They have made a commendable contribution to world literature.

3. Undertaking a close and comprehensive study of the three major Goan Diasporic novels, it has been observed that the authors, Victor Rangel, Antonio Gomes and Margaret Mascarenhas, have retained the Goan essence and idiom in order to convey the Goan consciousness to the world. In conformity with Mikhail Bakhtin's principles of Heteroglossia, the different languages used adequately expresses the different prevailing ideologies. Through different languages and voices present in the text, social, political, cultural and economic issues have been fore-grounded.
4. The Goan Diaspora is a direct result of colonization. The different patterns of Goan migration in the colonial and Postcolonial phase, arising thereafter, provide vast scope for the Diasporic expression and theorization. Therefore, these Goan Diasporic writings can be analyzed in the Postcolonial paradigm. The writers have analysed the situation in Independent Goa (Postcolonial), compared and contrasted it with colonial Goa.
5. There are multitude writings continuously emerging in Diaspora. The Goan Diasporic writers maintain strong bonds with Goa through their writings. There is a wealth of information and history conveyed in these works. The sensibilities present in their writings create cultural authenticity and encourages self-identity. Goan writings in Diaspora create a platform to bring to the world the Goan ethos. It creates a distinct Identitarian Space.

**Chapter Four** has the following observations:

1. The *Kudds*, also called *Coors*, were the first incipient Diasporic structures which brought Goans together in an alien land. The *Kudds* played an important role in uniting Goans in a new land and encouraged them to live their Goan identity outside Goa. The *Kudds* provided large scope for the early Goan migrants, in Mumbai (then Bombay) to practice their culture in a new landscape. As such, the *Kudds* were the first steps towards building the Goan Identitarian Spaces.
2. From them originated the Goan Diasporic Organizations and Associations spread across the world. It is observed that Goan communities, anywhere in the world, have

Goan Associations where Goans come together regularly. Goan traditions, language, and customs are practiced and sustained through the Associations.

3. The Associations are indispensable to the Goan migrants. They help him live his native tradition as well as to adjust to the host community.

**Chapter Five** observes the following:

1. As the computer and internet usage have become ubiquitous, today so also, the networking on Cyberspace has opened new unimaginable vistas for communication. This networking on Cyberspace has transformed Diasporic connections resulting in a new praxis of culture. On Cyberspace, Goans are exposed to the Goan culture which the second and third generations imbibe directly.
2. Cyberspace defines new ways for Diasporic individuals to interact and collaborate. Cyberspace has, in fact, re-defined the 'Location of Culture.' In the last decades of the twentieth century, the E-space has emerged as a *force majeure* in bringing Diasporics together and specifically the Goans Diasporics around the world. The Goan Cyber communities have emerged as a Goan lived reality. The far-reaching effect of Cyberspace creates a limitlessness for the spread of the Goan ethos and Goan causes.
3. Goans are an active and vibrant force on cyberspace. Cyberspace has redefined the way Goans live their nativeness. Several videos, films, and documentaries make known the culture and traditions of Goa all across the globe. There are many Newsletters where one can get updated information on Goa, like important events, Goan happenings, advertisements, announcements, and other Goan related themes.

At the end of the observations made in each chapter, we see that major concepts of Diasporic study have been analyzed. With reference to the Goan migrant, the themes of identity, dislocation, hybridization, belonging, displacement, language, cultural métissage, heteroglossia, and mimicry have all been comprehensively interrogated.

Conclusively, the Goan Diasporic communities, like the famous Jewish, Chinese, Italian, Gujarati and Punjabi communities have been created and continue to evolve. These

Diasporic formations have complicated modern concepts of borders and societies. Goans do not live in a Goan microcosm alone. They moved and continue to move beyond boundaries. Goans spread around the world are living a hybridized existence, in conformity with the land settled in, but at the same time possessing and sustaining their native ethos. This is the essence for the formation of Identitarian Spaces. The Goan Diaspora can be viewed as a metaphor for Goan Identitarian Space outside Goa. There is no doubt that the Goan Diaspora has become an international phenomenon, as Goans are scattered all over the globe. These varied Goan Diasporic communities, centred in certain places, create their own respective Identitarian Spaces.

After establishing the existence of Goan Identitarian Spaces, the next pertinent question that arises is: Will there be a 'Home Coming'? How do the Goan Diasporic individuals perceive Goa with regards to the future?

As analysed, the migrant is always a victim of alienation, fragmentation, longing to belong to the host land but simultaneously nostalgic about home. It is the general consensus that Diasporic migrants overwhelmingly regard their ancestral homes as their true ideal home, and as a place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return, when conditions are conducive. How far do Diasporic Goan individuals share the same decisiveness to return home?

When interviewed, most of the Diasporic Goans state they are sceptical or frightened to return to Goa. This is not because they are emotionally divorced from their native land. Rather, they emphasize that it is the chaos, unhygienic conditions, poor infrastructure and corruption, which creates a disinclination to return to Goa. For them, the organized modern society, offered by the western countries, offers security.

Victor Rangel Ribeiro thinks otherwise. He reveals that his daughter and American son-in-law wish to return to Goa someday. They have still retained their ancestral home. He further asserts that there is more chaos in the western world. People are intolerant and have no patience at all. (Personal Interview) Many Goans in Diaspora still maintain their ancestral homes in Goa, or they buy flats which can be easily maintained.

Ben Antao and Mel D'Souza have made their homes in the West, but their love for Goa has not diminished. They would love to visit their native land whenever possible. They profess and honour their Goan roots. Most of the Goans who left Goa and stayed away for a

long period have lost their property and wealth. Their properties have been taken over by relatives or neighbours. The property legalities in Goa are too complex for them to negotiate from Diaspora.

The early 1990s witnessed a series of economic liberalization reforms, by the Indian Government especially the new Industrial Policies, which encouraged investment in finance and technology. In response to global demands, Indian Diasporic communities have been able to enjoy economic initiatives. Ajaya Sahoo emphasizes the contribution of the Indian Government, “Efforts were made to attract foreign direct investment by providing facilities to foreign companies to invest in different fields of economic activity, encouraging investment in the country by Non- Resident Indians (NRIs) and removing obstacles to the entry of MNCs in India.” (55)

Another great initiative of the Indian Government was the introduction of the PIO card. Sahoo elaborates on this innovative step, “Further, the Government of India (GOI) made several new policies to strengthen the linkages with its diaspora. One such policy was the introduction of the People of India Origin Card.” (56) Introduced in March 1999, Indian individuals, outside India, up to the fourth generation, are entitled for this card. Sahoo further elucidates,

Under the PIO Card scheme, there is no need for a visa to visit India or to register with the Foreigner’s Registration office if the continuous stay does not exceed 180 days. Thus, the PIO Card made the journey of people of Indian origin back to their homeland much more simple, easy, flexible, and hassle-free. (56)

The results of these initiatives are that in the following decades, the number of NRIs Goans, returning to Goa, has increased tremendously. NRI Goans have begun investing in homes in Goa. They spend around two to six months in Goa, every year. The Overseas Citizenship of India policy, introduced in 2005, has enabled Goans and other Indians in the Diaspora, (any country except Pakistan and Bangladesh) to enjoy dual citizenship. For example, a Goan is a citizen of two countries provided his present country of residence allows it. This has ensured that Diasporic Goans are able to continue and strengthen their bonds with Goa.

Diasporic communities have gained importance worldwide; so also the Goan Diaspora. The Diasporic Goans are modern, yet they cling to their tradition. They have retained their Goan ethos while adopting the culture and orientations of their host land. People of Goan origin represent a significant proportion of the population of their adopted nations. They are a respected and visible force in the countries where they reside. In *Mirror to Goa*, Donna Young cites Robert Newman, “Goa along with Greece, Ireland, Malta, Lebanon and some small Pacific states must have one of the highest rates of migration in the world” (78-79). Although the population of the Goans, comprising the Diaspora is comparatively smaller as compared to those of the Chinese, Italian, Irish or African Diasporas, the Goan Diaspora constitute a conspicuous percentage of the host nation's population. Goans around the world have gained recognition. The Goan Diaspora is recognized as very influential, politically and economically, to Goa.

Studying the Goan Diaspora makes one realize and recognize the grit with which Goans have negotiated different global and transnational forces. The Goan Diaspora needs to be studied as part of an evolving history of Goan culture. Studying the Goan Diaspora in accordance with William Safran’s definitive model of Diaspora, we observe that the Goan Diaspora has survived as a distinct community, by maintaining and transmitting a cultural and religious heritage derived from their ancestral home. In this process, Diasporic Goans have assimilated partly with the host countries and have become themselves, “centres of cultural creation and elaboration” (Sahoo 45 *Contemporary Indian Diaspora*). In other words, these hybridized centres, by creating cultural newness and complexities, offers scope for more detailed study.

As culture keeps evolving, these Goan communities keep evolving too. It is necessary to bring to the academic fields the contributions of these great pioneers who have taken the Goan ethos to distant shores. This work is a humble attempt to record and to celebrate the pioneering works of generations of Goan migrants. By continuing to retain Goa in their hearts, they succeeded in creating Goan Identitarian Spaces beyond the physical and geographical space of Goa.

The Goan is never separated from his Goan consciousness. Donna Young affirms, “Some Goans who emigrate however, do establish roots outside Goa, but Goa still remains not only in their hearts, but also an essential part of their identity” (85).

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