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Where Are We From? Where Are We Goan? The Religio-Cultural Identity of Diasporic Goans

Gonsalves, Roselle

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Where Are We From? Where Are We Goan?

The Religio-Cultural Identity of Diasporic Goans

by

Roselle Marie Gonsalves

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ABSTRACT

Identity as a product of religion, culture, history, and place is the central focus of this dissertation. The Goan Catholic communities in Mumbai and Toronto, who are at the heart of this project, are each migrant communities that, though many generations removed from their 'homeland' of Goa, continue to maintain and strengthen their identities as "Goans" through innovative practices. This project focuses on the processes of identity construction as undertaken by members of the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto. By taking into account the unique historical narrative of the Goans, and the spatial contexts that shape the way these two Goan communities create meaningful places, this ethnographic project enquires into the religio-cultural identities of these communities.

In order to fully engage with the communities as they exist "on the ground," this ethnographic project involved two significant periods of fieldwork: in Mumbai, India and in Toronto, Canada. By engaging with these communities in such an intimate way, this project offers insight into the particular ways in which the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto maintain their self-identity, their religious practices, their cultural performances, and their ties to the ur-place of Goa. By examining the pathways of connection that sustain these sites of identity maintenance, this project highlights the bridge building that the Goan communities undertake: between the "here" of their current location and the "there" of Goa; and between the "now" of their reality and the "then" of their cultural memory.

Though bi-locational, the comparative aspect of this project is not a comparison of Goans living in Mumbai versus the Goans living in Toronto. Rather, drawing on the tradition of Jonathan Z. Smith, the comparison is one that traces the practices of these

two communities, side by side, thus providing a side-by-side exploration of each one.[1] In this way, this project is committed to examining how each community maintains their unique historical narrative in spatially-unique ways, adapting their practices in pursuit of the similar goal: maintaining their Goan religio-cultural identities.

[1] Jonathan Z. Smith, "Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acervus Erit," *History of Religions*. 11, no. 1 (1971).

PREFACE

In October 2010, having just weeks prior moved to Calgary to begin doctoral work, I found myself disillusioned and unmotivated by my research project, which at the time focused on American Evangelicals and coming-of-age rituals. Over a cup of tea with a classmate, I lamented the lack of academic love I felt for my project, wondering out loud how I would see the proposed project through four-to-five more years, with increasingly rigorous engagement, if I were already feeling unenthusiastic about it. My classmate listened to my complaints, and then asked me if there were one project that I *could* do, what would it be?

I thought back to the Fall of 2008: I had just started my Master's at the University of Toronto, when Dr. Reid Locklin invited me to attend a colloquium hosted by UofT's St. Michael's College, featuring Rev. Dr. Paul M. Collins and his newly published book *Context, Culture and Worship: The Quest for 'Indian-ness'*. In discussing Indian Christianity and the concepts of enculturation, I found myself, for the very first time, truly excited by an academic conversation. Having been born into an Indian Catholic family, it had never occurred to me that Indian Christianity would be a valuable area of academic inquiry. To me, it just *was*. Yet, the weekend colloquium had unleashed in me a deep well of questions regarding identity and culture and history and narrative.

So, in 2010, faced with my classmate's thought-provoking question, I recalled the colloquium that I had attended two years prior, and how the subject matter had fired me up. I was impassioned and dynamic in my description of the hypothetical research I would do. I surprised both of us with my zeal and excitement at the idea of the project. However, I lamented, I would never be able to do a project on Indian Christianity,

because a) I had already been accepted into the doctoral program based on another research proposal, and b) it was academically irresponsible to study one's 'own' people. My classmate responded that if I approached the Department with the same presentation I had just given, with the same degree of excitement and zest, they would not be able to turn me down. I stayed awake that whole night, drafting up a research proposal, fully expecting it to be rejected, and hoping fervently that it would not also result in me being kicked out the doctoral program altogether!

What followed the next morning would change the course of my entire doctorate: my supervisor and the department head each approved my newly drafted research proposal, which detailed a three year long, multi-sited, ethnographic inquiry into the religio-cultural identities of Goan Catholics.

The fruit of the following few years of labour are in the pages of this dissertation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"*If I have seen further, it is by standing upon the shoulders of giants.*"

- Sir Isaac Newton

A number of individuals and groups are owed an immense debt of gratitude for guiding, shaping, and informing this project. My humble thanks to them here is but a symbol of the gratefulness I feel for their support.

Thank you, first and foremost, to the Goan communities in Mumbai and Toronto, who welcomed me so warmly, and in true Goan fashion. I am truly fortunate to have spent quality time in both cities, learning from my interlocutors—your voices have enriched my project in ways unimaginable. In Toronto, special thanks go to the Toronto chapter of the Goan Oversees Association (G.O.A.) for warmly making me a part of their community events, and to Mr. John D'Souza of The Goan Voice for providing this endeavor with rich archival and anecdotal materials. In Mumbai, my heartfelt gratitude to the DeSouza, Menezes, Desai, and Freitas families for making my time in India so special, for going above and beyond the role of interlocutors, and for taking me in as part of their families. The kindness, grace, and generosity that I received during my fieldwork in both cities, has sustained me in the writing of this work.

This academic project was generously supported by a number of sources at the University of Calgary, including generous travel funding from the Department of Religious Studies, the Graduate Student Association, the Faculty of Graduate Studies, the Audrey Cuthbertson Foundation, and the Saint Lazarus Bursary program. As well, I am grateful for the generosity of the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion (CCSR) for their significant support of the international arm of this project.

I am so thankful for the academic support that this undertaking has received, both within the University of Calgary and beyond. My *doktormutter*, Dr. Anne Moore, has been my most powerful ally in the development of this project. When I approached her early in my first year as a doctoral student, wanting to change my research focus from American Evangelism to Indian Catholicism, Dr. Moore supported me fervently. Over the years, I have had no doubt that this incredible and dynamic scholar has always been on "my side," and I have no words to truly capture the depth of gratitude that I feel for her exemplary supervision and guidance. An astute scholar, Dr. Moore infused each of our meetings with vitality and an opportunity for me to learn and grow, posing questions that challenged me to go deeper in my own work. She has read every word on every page of this dissertation, thrice over, and with grace and panache has enriched this project in very many significant ways. I am eternally grateful for Dr. Moore's unwavering support, her scholarly engagement, and her invaluable friendship. To deserve such mentorship, such wisdom, such friendship, in the words of Fräulein Maria, "somewhere in my youth or childhood, I must have done something good."

Many thanks also to the members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Elizabeth Rohlman, who has been with this project since its inception. I am so thankful for her voice and wisdom that steadied me through the entirety of this doctoral undertaking. Our shared love of India filled many an hour with conversation, and I have learned so much from Dr. Rohlman's ability to weave narrative and theory so seamlessly. Thanks also to Dr. Saulesh Yessanova, who has nurtured my work as an anthropologist and as an academic. Dr. Yessanova's practical advice about fieldwork kept me grounded during my travels, and kept me sane during the writing process. She encouraged me to think

critically, ask difficult questions, and also to be gentle with the data—allowing it to speak for itself. Finally, to the external examiners on my defence committee: Dr. Sabrina Peric and Dr. Peter Beyer, I give thanks for their thoughtful and insightful comments on this work, which have served to strengthen my voice as a young scholar and the ideas herein.

The Department of Religious Studies, now the Department of Classics and Religion, has been my academic home for the duration of this doctorate. Over my time there, I have been fortunate to have many supportive academics and staff members enrich my learning and growth as a scholar and as a person. Special mention is owed to Dr. Eliezer Segal, in whose graduate *Method & Theory* seminar I was a student, and who has become a dear friend over the years. I am continually inspired by Dr. Segal's love of learning across the knowledge spectrum. His mischievous humour and *joie de vivre* will always be special to me. I was also fortunate to be a student of the late Dr. Leslie Kawamura. A more humble man, I have never met: Dr. Kawamura's modesty, mischief, and mind are an eternal reminder to remain grounded in my work and life. Thank you also to Dr. Virginia Tumasz, who was the Department Head for most of my time as a doctoral student. Dr. Tumasz provided graduate students with a pillar of support, and has positively impacted my time at the Department in many ways. Finally, my gratitude to Perlea Ashton and Rachel Blake for the administrative support they provide; each of them has always made themselves administratively available, answering my many questions, and being valuable sources of guidance. Over my five years at the Department, I have developed friendships with each of these wonderful women, and for that I feel truly fortunate.

There have been many teachers I have had along my journey as a learner, who have been exemplars of knowledge and learning. To them I owe thanks beyond measure. My childhood Hindi teachers Dr. Manjula Desai and Dr. Shradha Chaudhari fostered in me a love of India, of family, and of Hindi. They are my role models of strong, vital, intelligent, dynamic women. Thanks go out to Mr. Christopher Beattie at Loyola Catholic Secondary School, who first fueled in me a love of anthropological inquiry; and to Mr. Pierre Laveuax, my Grade 13 Calculus teacher, who warned me to resist the urge to quit right before I reach the finish line. This advice has fueled me through many a project, not the least of which was this dissertation. At the University of Toronto, where I completed my undergraduate degree, my curiosity in the academic study of Religion was first piqued by the brilliant Dr. Christina Reimer, who was my TA in a Religion & Sexual Ethics course, and whom I proudly call a friend today.

During my Master's degree at UofT, I was fortunate to have Dr. Ajay Rao as a mentor. Dr. Rao gave me a piece of advice that has helped me maintain focus throughout my graduate work: he told me that being a graduate student would be hard—academically challenging, financially difficult, and socially stigmatizing. He said that if I were to go on to do a PhD, I would see most of my friends grow up and get 'real' jobs and enjoy the perks that came with those jobs. However, he added, if I stuck with it, and was passionate about what I researched, I would encounter deep purpose and satisfaction in my life. Dr. Rao was right, and I am truly grateful for his wisdom. Finally, a big thank you to Dr. Reid Locklin at UofT's St. Michael's College, for first exposing me to the academic study of Indian Christianity. Dr. Locklin has continued to support my

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For the immigrant.
Your stories matter. Your voices are heard.

And to my papa, Florence Menezes.
Aun shiklain.

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EPIGRAPH

We are the Goans
We have spread the world over
We have built huts
On the crest of waves
Uncaged songs from our hearts
For the blue winds of freedom
We carried on our shoulders
The weight of exile
In our flesh, the thorn of thought,
Against this ceaseless wandering
And the unseen, unbroken thread
That runs our history
We walked the burning sands of despair
And sweated to build pyramids of hope
In the noon day heat.

—*'We Are the World Wanderers'*
Peter Nazareth[2]

[2] An english adaptation of Manhor Sardessai's konkani poem 'We Are the World Wanderers' as found in Peter Nazareth, "The End of Exile, or, Why Should Goans Read Goan Literature," in *Goa: Continuity and Change*, eds. Narendra K. Wagle and George Coehlo (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Centre for South Asian Studies, 1995), 41.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Where are you from?" Mrs. Pinto asks me. "I mean…in Goa?"[3] So I tell her that my maternal grandfather Florence Menezes was from the village of Ucassim in the Bardez region in the northern part of the state of Goa, and that he left Goa for Bombay in 1918 in search of his fortune as a musician. Like almost every other Goan with whom I interacted through my fieldwork, most of whom asked me this exact question, Mrs. Pinto deduced from this nugget of personal information that my ancestors were part of the earliest high-caste[4] Goan converts to Catholicism in the sixteenth century, under the missionizing Portuguese. The details I proffer about my ancestry validate my "Goan-ness" to her; though generations removed from Goa, I "belong." In return, Mrs. Pinto offers up her own lineage information, and tells me that we are "neighbours" thanks to the proximity of our ancestral villages. Mrs. Pinto and I are seated at the same table at the 2012 St. Francis Xavier Feast social, and annual function hosted by the Goan Overseas Association (G.O.A.) in Toronto each year. Around us, approximately four-hundred fellow Goans are partaking of the festivities to honour the patron saint of Goa, St. Francis Xavier, the Portuguese Jesuit missionary who is credited with bringing Catholicism to India in the sixteenth century. Our exchange about ancestral villages and being "from" Goa highlights the entwined nature of Goan identity with the place of Goa, considered by most Goans to be the "homeland."

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[3] Mrs. Pinto [Event attendee]. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

[4] As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the earliest missionizing work by the Portuguese was conducted in the northern part of the state of Goa, in the sixteenth century. These conversions are referred to as Old Conquests. As part of the missionizing efforts of the Old Conquests, only high-caste Brahmin Goans were converted to Catholicism, thereby allowing the converts to retain their societal privilege as Catholics under Portuguese colonial administration. For contemporary Goans, ascertaining each other's ancestral villages is a way of assessing if the other's ancestors were from the Old Conquests, thereby being of ancestral high caste, or from the New Conquests, where caste-based conversions were not a prominent factor.

The Goans at the day's event, like Goans the world over, draw their communal moniker from the place of Goa, a state in the southern part of India to which Portuguese colonizers and missionaries brought sweeping religious and cultural change in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yet, neither Mrs. Pinto, nor most of the attendees at the 2012 G.O.A. event, nor any of the other participants who inform this dissertation research, had ever lived in Goa. Mrs. Pinto, like the interview participants of my project, were all raised in the city of Bombay, now officially called Mumbai.[5] Beginning in the seventeenth century, waves of Goan Catholics, ancestors to today's communities of Goans the world over, began emigrating out of Goa; as such, today's populace of Goans is dispersed around the world, with numbers in the diaspora exponentially greater than Goans who continue to live in the home place of Goa.[6] As such, most Goans today have been born and/or raised outside the state of Goa, including some self-identified Goans who have never been to Goa at all. Yet, for this group of perpetual-migrants, a connection to the place of Goa is essential to the transmission of a Goan communal identity. In essence, this "Goan" identity is based on the place of Goa, from which Goans "come," and to which they "belong."

This Goan identity, built on a specific historical narrative, particular religio-cultural expressions, and a sense of rootedness to the place of Goa is the central focus of this dissertation research project. Mrs. Pinto, like many Goans, was not born in Goa; rather she was born in the city of Bombay. Yet, she did not identify as being "from"

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[5] Bombay and Mumbai are used interchangeably through this dissertation. The official name of the city changed from 'Bombay' to 'Mumbai' in 1995 in an ongoing effort to 'Indianize' the names of Indian places. Pre-1995 literature, as well as the contemporary Goan community, refers to the city by its pre-1995 name of Bombay.

[6] Margret Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 6.

Bombay, nor does she readily identify with being Indian. Rather, through later conversations, she divulged that her primary term of self-identification is "Goan." For her, and for the Goans interlocutors whose many voices inform this project, the term "Goan" encapsulates the entirety of their religio-cultural identities: the Goan history of religio-cultural conversion under the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, their deep-seated Catholicism, and their continued "connection" to the place of Goa, which their ancestors left many generations ago. The question of why Mrs. Pinto did not identity as being "from" Bombay is one of the key driving questions behind my research: why do today's communities of diasporic Goans, like the Goans of Toronto, identify so strongly with the place of Goa, where they have never lived? What about her pre-migrant life in the city of Bombay had Mrs. Pinto feeling like she did not belong there? After all, the Goan community in Bombay is one of the oldest and most established migrant communities of Goans in the world; Bombay was one of the first places where Goan migrants immigrated to, as early as the seventeenth century. To discover the answer to this question of how the centuries-old community of Goans in the city of Bombay did not feel that they were "from" the city in which they had created their home for generations, my project has taken on a multi-sited scope, examining the centuries-old community of Goan migrants in the city of Bombay, and the contemporary community of Goan migrants in the city of Toronto. This multi-sited examination focuses on the Goans of Toronto, at whose social I met Mrs. Pinto, and on the Goans of Mumbai. Each of these communities is a diasporic group, which ties its heritage to two specific elements: (1) to the place of Goa, a state in the southern part of India, which their foreparents migrated out of many generations ago; and (2) to the Catholicism brought to Goa by Portuguese

Jesuit missionaries in the sixteenth century. The identities of the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto are deeply imbued with these two elements. It is this Goan identity, intrinsically religious and simultaneously cultural, that is at the epicentre of this dissertation project. Through this dissertation, I undertake an examination of the ways in which the contemporary community of Goans in Mumbai understands itself and creates its Goan religio-cultural identity, and in turn how this understanding of identity facilitates the re-creation of Goan identity in the homes, families, and communities of Goans living outside the home place of Goa, focusing on the present-day Goan community in the city of Toronto.

The Portuguese missionaries, led by Jesuit priest Francis Xavier, arrived in Goa in 1542, launching an enthusiastic campaign of religious conversion to Catholicism. The conversion that occurred was not simply one of theological beliefs; rather, upon converting to Catholicism, the early Goan converts had to adopt the Portuguese ideals of culture, such as personal and family names, dress, language, learning, diet, customs, and manner of life.[7] This total cultural conversion meant that while the Catholic faith took root, a total assimilation by the new converts to quasi-Portuguese culture was underway.[8] More than four-hundred years later, the contemporary community of Goans, in India and beyond, continue to maintain the religio-cultural ties that their ancestors had to Catholicism, and to the "Western" way of life brought to them by the Portuguese. Beginning in the seventeenth century, a number of significant factors led to Catholic Goans migrating out of Goa in several waves. In search of education and employment opportunities, and following the Portuguese colonials up the western coast of India, the

[7] Teresa Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay* (Saligao: Broadway Publishing House, 2012), xix.
[8] Bento Graciano D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1975), 213.

vast majority of these early Goan migrants settled in the city of Bombay. The early migrant Goan community in Bombay employed powerful modes of identity maintenance to become settled in their new place; they also maintained their unique religio-cultural identities and their ties to the place of Goa. Today's community of Goans in Mumbai continues to maintain its identity as a community of Goans displaced from the "home" place of Goa. Though decades and generations removed from Goa itself, their identity continues to be centred on the home place that their foreparents left behind, and the religious traditions that were given to the Goans by the Portuguese.

The international migrations indicative of twentieth and twenty-first century globalization have seen a significant number of Goans immigrate to Canada, with the majority settling in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Mr. Sequeira, a gentleman seated at the same table as Mrs. Pinto and I at the 2012 Goan social in Toronto, had been listening intently to me as I described the scope of my doctoral research. He became quite excited at hearing about it, saying:

> You see now, this is the thing. It is vital that you are doing this project. No one [in Canada] understands us. I mean, we look like the other Indians, so then they just think we are all Hindus; that we don't eat meat, or drink, and such. How do we explain to them that we are Catholics? And we speak English? You see? It's very frustrating at times.[9]

The pervasive nature of Goan Catholicism, as it informs their engagement of cultural expressions such as food, dress, and language, is highlighted in Mr. Sequeira's comment. For him, as for the Goans of my project, Catholicism is not simply a set of religious rituals and obligations; rather, Goan Catholicism infuses every aspect of the community's self-identity, making it very much a cultural marker as well as a religious affiliation. For

[9] Mr. Sequeira [Event attendee]. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

the community, therefore, being "Goan" is synonymous with being "Catholic;" it is their way of being in the world. As my dissertation will show, the majority of Goans cite their Catholic religious affiliation as one of the primary reasons for choosing to move to a Western country like Canada. For my Goan interlocutors in Mumbai, many of whom plan on migrating out of India and to countries like Australia or Canada, the post-migration transition of integrating into a Western society is not thought to be of any great concern. As my Mumbai-based participants tell me, their Catholic affiliation, to which they attribute their Western expressions of food, dress, and language, will allow them to fit easily into their new chosen country. Many of my participants in Toronto tell me that having lived in India as a religio-cultural minority community, the decision to move to Canada where the Christian ethos is thought to be predominant, felt like the most natural choice. For Goans moving to Western countries like Canada or the United States, there is often the pre-immigration vision of the move as one to a place where the Christian ethos will be dominant, and where they will, for the first time, be a part of the culturally dominant group.[10] However, upon migrating to Canada, the migrant community of Goans becomes societally homogenized with other Indian immigrant communities, based on racial identity.[11] Clara Joseph sustains this point in her essay on the Syro-Malabar Christians of Toronto and Chicago. She argues that countries in the West, to where a significant population of Indian Christian immigrants have migrated, utilize the term "multiculturalism" as a catchphrase indicating a respect for differences, "where

[10] Raymond Brady Williams, "South Asian Christians in Britain, Canada, and the United States," in *The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States*, eds. Harold G. Coward, John R. Hinnells, and Raymond Brady Williams (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2000), 25-26.
[11] Williams, "South Asian Christians in Britain, Canada, and the United States," 25-26.

‘difference’ stands for a strictly homogeneous ‘racial’ other.”[12] By engaging with individual community of Goans in Toronto, as a way of understanding their own constructions of their identities, this research project is committed to giving voice to the emic constructions of communal identity that this migrant community is engaged in. As such, this project is invested in examining the centrality of their religion to the creation and maintenance of the Goan religio-cultural identity for the community of Goans in Mumbai and in Toronto, one over a century old and the other merely a couple decades old.

The connection to the place of Goa, to a unique historical narrative tied directly to the Portuguese presence in India, and to a steadfast religio-cultural adherence to Catholicism, are the most vital aspects of identity that today’s Goans hold on to. Religion, as the primary marker of religio-cultural identity for the Goans, is at the centre of this academic inquiry. Here, borrowing from Religious Studies theorist Jonathan Z. Smith, “religion” is understood as an anthropological category, rather than a theological one.[13] What this means is that “religion” is an aspect of culture, of a community’s way of navigating their place in the world, and can encompass aspects of culture like food, language, travel, and art that are not necessarily connected to a popular modern definition of “religion.” Smith writes:

> ‘Religion’ is not a native term; it is a term created by scholars for their intellectual purposes and therefore is theirs to define. It is a second-order, generic concept that plays the same role in establishing a disciplinary horizon that a concept such as ‘language’ plays in

[12] Clara A. Joseph, "Rethinking Hybridity: The Syro-Malabar Church in North America," in *South Asians in the Diaspora: Histories and Religious Traditions*, eds. Knut A. Jacobsen and P. Pratap Kumar (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 221.
[13] Jonathan Z. Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269.

> linguistics or 'culture' plays in anthropology. There can be no study of religion without such a horizon.[14]

This "horizon" of definition, is broadened for the purpose of this project to *include* the cultural markers of language, ritual, places, food, and transnational relations. In broadening the definitional horizon of "religion" in this way, this project is dedicated to acknowledging the ways in which the Goan communities at the heart of this research define their own religio-cultural identities. Raymond Williams writes that immigrant groups choose various representational strategies to deal with the issue of identity; both, to preserve a sense of the old identity, and to form a new one. He suggests that various aspects of identity become highlighted in varying contexts.[15] For example the same person might identify as an Indian, a Goan, a Goan Catholic, a surgeon, and/or an Indian or a Canadian. Williams writes, "Because religion can be so important in providing a transcendent basis for the formation and preservation of personal and group identities for immigrants, religious organizations are involved in boundary creation and maintenance, representing several strategies."[16] He suggests that the adoption of a representation strategy depends on the individual's history and commitments, including the dynamics of the immigrant group in a given location, and the permissions and encouragements that are a part of the ethos of the immigrant group's new residence. In Canada, for example, where multiculturalism is written into official policy, there is a tendency to emphasize "culture" as term that encompasses the entity of "religion", for instance "Indian" is assumed to include "Hindu". Additionally, even when there is a social understanding of the non-Hindu nature of Indian Christian communities, there is still a lack of

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[14] Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," 281-82.
[15] Williams, "South Asian Christians in Britain, Canada, and the United States," 15-17.
[16] Williams, "South Asian Christians in Britain, Canada, and the United States," 17.

comprehensive understanding regarding the degree to which religion renders certain communities with entirely unique communal identities, often separated from their fellow countrymen. This distinction is seen in a number of immigrant communities in Canada, including Coptic Christians from Egypt and the Goan Catholics of India who are central to this project. For these minority communities, religion plays a vital role in creating and maintaining identity across geographical and national boundaries. As such, Goan Catholics immigrants are maintaining transnational ties in ways different from earlier groups of immigrants, demanding new perspectives on the transnational vitality of religions and religious life.[17]

In order to fully engage with the ways in which the Toronto community of Goans maintains its religio-cultural identity, I was compelled to engage with the pre-migrant community of Goans from Mumbai. By engaging with the Goans of Mumbai, I was afforded significant insights into how the Mumbai community of Goans has maintained its unique relgio-cultural identity in the metropolis of Mumbai, over multiple generations and several centuries. This engagement with the pre-migrant community of Goans in Mumbai, combined with the engagement with the post-migrant community of Goans in Toronto, allows this research project to draw significant conclusions about the ways in which this community continues to maintain its religio-cultural identity, through multiple migrations and in different places. This project also addresses the place-specific adaptations that the Goans of Mumbai and of Toronto undertake, in order to more readily integrate into their chosen places of residence, while still continuing to remain intrinsically tied to the remembered-place of Goa. To address the bi-locational focus of

[17] Williams, "South Asian Christians in Britain, Canada, and the United States," 14-15.

this research project, the next section turns to a discussion of multi-sited ethnography, and the reasons why it has been a beneficial tool as used in this dissertation.

Multi-Sited Ethnography: A Bi-Locational Project

The traditional ethnographic model involves the anthropologist journeying to the, usually remote, field site of the community being studied, and remaining within that community for an extended period of time to observe and report on the community's cultural habits and practices. For a number of reasons, this model of conducting ethnographic fieldwork did not resonate with me as a researcher interested in the Goans. First, where would I go to access "true Goans"? As mentioned previously, most Goans today live outside the home place of Goa. Second, as a project that is invested in examining the on-going role of religion in the identity-creation of today's Goans, the research model needed to consider Goan communities who had no direct tie to the original source of their religious traditions. Third, in focussing on the importance of place in the construction of a community's identity, the connection to the *ur*-place of Goa through transnational ties and a cultural memory is pivotal to understanding the ways in which today's Goan communities construct their religio-cultural identities. Finally, though employing traditional ethnographic methods, this project is an attempt to address broader processes of identity-construction amongst Goans as a cultural community, rather than a single-lensed study of a particular physical community. It was to address these concerns that I chose to conduct a multi-sited, or rather bi-locational, ethnography, focussing on the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto.

Both communities of Goans that are a part of this project are migrant communities, each with its own history and trajectory of migration. As such, this project

is not a comparative venture which emphasizes the similarities between the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto. Kristen Peterson sums this differentiation between multi-sited ethnography and comparative ethnography thusly:

> One of the great misunderstandings that I have encountered about multi-sited ethnography is that it is often viewed as a methodological approach that is purely spatial or simply a matter of scaling. That is, multiple physical sites of research tend automatically to count as a thorough rendering of any given object of analysis, which ultimately collapses the 'comparative' with the 'multi-sited'.[18]

Peterson continues that this categorical collapse does not acknowledge that the "bare-bones Malinowskian paradigm of ethnographic research did not go away."[19] That is, the traditional model of conducting an ethnographic inquiry is not redundant. Rather, the development of the ethnographic inquiry to include a multi-sited component offers researchers new modes of understanding culture, and new ways in which to produce knowledge. Though bi-locational in nature, this dissertation is not a comparative project; at least, it is a not a parallelism of communal similarity between the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto. Rather, to borrow the terminology of J. Z. Smith, the project is a "comparison of difference," and as such, is rooted in the history and foundational narrative that is shared between these two communities.[20] Of this type of comparative undertaking, Smith writes:

> It is, at one and the same time, both observation and theory. It is the noting of similarity (LIKE-US) and the accounting for this similarity in terms of a process of *assimilation, diffusion, or borrowing* (i.e., they are LIKE-US because they ARE-US, they have COME-FROM-US, we are RELATED-TO-THEM). It is also to introduce a temporal,

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[18] Kristen Peterson, "Phantom Epistemologies," in *Fieldwork Is Not What It Used to Be: Learning Anthropology's Method in a Time of Transition*, eds. James D. Faubion and George E. Marcus (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), 43.
[19] Peterson, "Phantom Epistemologies," 43.
[20] Smith, "Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acervus Erit," 72.

> historical framework with high value placed on priority in time.[21] [Italics and capitalization in original]

The Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto share a history and a foundational narrative. Further, the community of Goans with whom I engaged with through my fieldwork "come from" the community of Goans in Mumbai. As such, there is a tangent that can be drawn from one community to the other; they are not independent of each other. However, neither are they dependant on each other, in that each community has evolved separately, and in response to the particularities of their specific environments.

This dissertation also examines the transnational commitments that each Goan community maintain as a way of remaining connected to the home place of Goa. Of a researcher's examination of transnational communities, Elizabeth McAllister writes:

> To research and articulate the inherent realities of new migrants means following the movements of immigrants and retracing circuits of transnational migration. It entails working in immigrant enclaves in American cities and returning to home countries. As one becomes embedding these [transnational] networks, field research involves working in proximity with others in new ways. This may well become the predominant field model in sociology and anthropology as scholars increasingly understand their own neighborhoods as places of globalizing cultural contact and cultural change.[22]

It is this call to working with an immigrant enclave in a [North] American city, and then returning to the "home country" that my dissertation project answers through its bi-locational examination of the Goans in Mumbai and Toronto. As a researcher, travelling between Mumbai and Toronto offered me a first-hand insight into the migration of the Goans, affording me a view into the embedded nature of each community. I had an immediate and personal look at "where they are from." Further, this going back and forth

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[21] Smith, "Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acervus Erit," 70.

[22] Elizabeth McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," in *Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration*, eds. R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998), 141.

between the two places, has provided my project with in-depth insight into the many ways in which these communities create their identities between the old place and the new.

Methodology and Positionality

The particular methods employed in conducting the research that underlies this dissertation project, have been particularized in detail in Chapter 3. Practical research tools aside, I would like to expand here on the Methodology of this project in order to highlight the guiding principles that shaped the methods that were employed in this project. In this way, I am able to offer an explanation for why certain methods, as outlined later in this dissertation, were utilized in this project.

Housed in the discipline of Religious Studies, this project is primarily a work of anthropology on the Goan Catholic communities of Mumbai, India, and Toronto, Canada. Ethnographic in nature, the goal of this research is to engage with the communities as they live their daily lives, taking into account their narrative of religio-cultural identity. In order to engage in the ethnographic study of a community, in this case a religious community, a scholar must engage in the process of "fieldwork," during which one travels to and lives amongst the subjects of one's study, while observing and participating in the community's life. This, the principal method of anthropology, is known as "participant observation." Participant observation has been a favoured mode of anthropological investigators since Bronislaw Malinowski introduced it to the discipline. Malinowski's work with the Trobriand people of the Kiriwana Islands, and the subsequent 1922 publication of *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, established him as the father of social anthropology, particularly in the subfield of ethnology—predecessor to

modern ethnography. His exploratory work was the first to set up practices and theoretical standards that modern ethnographers continue to adhere to, including but not limited to focusing on a cultural story rather than an individual one,[23] use of quantitative data and social scientific methodology,[24] and the removal of the researcher to the by-lines of the work—that is, the researcher is not part of the story being told.[25] Furthermore, Malinowski suggested that the researcher's work will be enriched not simply by observing, but also by immersing him or herself into the community so that he or she "sees the customs, ceremonies, transactions over and over again."[26] This juxtaposition of the participant-observing researcher, who embodies multiple personae in the field, produces a particularly ambiguous situation, since full participation and simultaneous total observation, is virtually impossible. Through this immersion within the community of study, an anthropologist produces a case study, or "ethnography," of the culture, practices, beliefs, and behaviours of the community members.[27] The objective of ethnography is to use the self as an "instrument of knowing" in order to comprehend the life and world of another.[28] For instance, in my own participant observation with the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, I was often given the opportunity to participate in community rituals. This participation allowed for an "insider" view of how the ritual is set up, examining what internal mechanisms gave rise to the community's performance of such rituals; through this I was able to produce a first-hand account of the

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[23] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London, UK: G. Routledge & Sons, 1922), 23.
[24] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 96-98.
[25] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 103.
[26] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 28.
[27] Jack David Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion: Culture to the Ultimate*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 3.
[28] Sherry B. Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 37, no. 1 (1995): 173.

ritual itself. This account is, therefore, a product of my own participation in the communal activity; my knowledge is instrumental in constructing the ethnographic narrative of this community's rituals. Of the researcher being a quasi-member of the community under study, Patricia and Peter Adler write:

> To study social life, it is incumbent upon researchers, whenever possible, to adopt some sort of membership role in the scenes they study. We are not necessarily arguing that researchers can only assume full-time, complete involvement in the scene. Just as some members engage in more central, critical forms of the group's activities than others, so, too, can sociologists take varying kinds of membership roles. They may become involved in peripheral, active, or complete membership roles.[29]

The simultaneous handling of living within a community and participating as wholly as possible in its rituals and culture, while still maintaining one's commitment to the anthropological inquiry and scholarly rigour, is one that is favourable for anthropologists of religion. By being an active member of the communities of my study, I was not only an observer of the communities themselves, but I was also a source of first-hand knowledge of the activities that the communities participated in. As such, my work and positioning is similar to that of many contemporary ethnographers, in that it is inherently autobiographical.[30] In order to adhere to the demands of bridging the divide between producing a work of autobiography, and presenting an anthropological account of the communities of study, I followed the disciplinary call within Anthropology for deep reflexive analysis.[31] In being a self-reflexive account of my engagement with the Goans of Bombay and Toronto, this project aims to offer a more nuanced understanding of the

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[29] Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, *Membership Roles in Field Research* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1987), 33.

[30] Catherine S. Fowler, "Beginning to Understand: Twenty-Eight Years of Field Work in the Great Basin of Western North America," in *Others Knowing Others: Perspectives on Ethnographic Careers*, eds. Don D. Fowler and Donald L. Hardesty (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 145.

[31] James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 10-11.

analytical questions being posed. James Bielo writes that by being reflexive, a scholar is able to "[scrutinize] how research is conducted and the experience of doing fieldwork, all in the pursuit of helping readers better understand the claims being made."[32] In other words, by presenting my data through the lens of my own experiences and observations, this project is able to focus on the particularities of experience in discussing the religio-cultural identities of the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto.

On Being an Insider/Outsider

Adler and Adler define three roles which researchers can play when engaging with the community of observation:

(1) Peripheral membership role: this is the least involved of the three, and calls the researcher to participate as "insiders in the activities of the group they are studying, [without] engaging in the most central activities."[33]

(2) Active membership role: through this role, the "researchers participate in the core activities in much the same way as members, yet they hold back from committing themselves to the goals and values of members."[34]

(3) Complete member researchers: in this role, researchers "study their topics from the perspective of full members by either selecting groups to study in which they have prior membership or by converting to membership in these groups."[35]

For my engagement with the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, I adopted the membership role of "active member researcher." In this way I was able to participate in

[32] James S. Bielo, *Words Upon the Word: An Ethnography of Evangelical Group Bible Study*, Qualitative Studies in Religion (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 22.
[33] Adler and Adler, *Membership Roles in Field Research*, 35.
[34] Adler and Adler, *Membership Roles in Field Research*, 35.
[35] Adler and Adler, *Membership Roles in Field Research*, 35.

the communities to the fullest extent, without having to adopt the communities' systems of faith or practice. It should be noted here, as has been mentioned elsewhere, that the Goan communities with whom I engaged over the course of my fieldwork assumed that, though I was a researcher, I was also a confessional member of the community; as such, they would identify me as a "complete member researcher" on Adler and Adler's rubric. This presumption on the part of my interlocutors was extremely beneficial to my research endeavours, affording me unfettered access to both the Goan communities with which I engaged. However, I realized that the insider/outsider boundary which I straddled was of greater significance than the mere acts of participating in the communities. For instance, my "outsider" status became highlighted for me in the field many times, particularly in my assumptions of the Goans of Mumbai having practices that were syncretistic with their Indian context. An example of this was brought to light in the analysis phase of my research data. My Goan interlocutors in Mumbai were adamant about purchasing flowers for altar decorations from one particular flower vendor, claiming her stall, which was identical to many others in the city, to be a "Catholic" stall. During my time in Mumbai, I did not recognize the significance of buying flowers from the "Catholic" stall. To me, as a community outsider and researcher, the "Catholic" flowers were indistinguishable from the flowers sold at the other flower stalls; as such, this seemed to me to be an example of Hindu-Christian syncretism based on the shared Indian context. After leaving the field, and beginning the work of analyzing my time there however, I realized that the contents of the stall were not as significant as the location of the stall, which was situated at Cross *Maidan*, a place of great significance and worship for the Goans of Mumbai, which will be discussed in detail later in this project. It was through such instances of learning that I

was able to gain a greater appreciation for the boundary that I embodied. On one hand, I was an active participant in the lives and communities of my Goan interlocutors in Mumbai and Toronto; on the other hand, I remained amenable to understanding that certain nuanced interactions of the communities of my research would not be immediately apparent to me, regardless of the degree of my participation in these communities. Therefore, it was only in the analysis phase of my project that I would reflectively listen to the "insider" voices as an outsider researcher; it was from this space that I would be able to draw upon the appropriate analytical lenses.

As a critical ethnography, this project is invested in the authentic narratives and lived religious lives of its participants. Additionally, as the researcher, my point of view is inevitably a part of the narrative account. In such a position, the reflexive question about their own religious practices and affiliations is inevitable for anthropologists of religion. As a researcher who was also perceived as a community insider, I was afforded in-depth opportunities to access the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto; in other ways, I was challenged to negotiate the simultaneous roles of community participant and academic researcher. Of the simultaneity of the roles I had to navigate, Karen Eppley writes:

> Insider/outsider positions are socially constructed and entail a high level of fluidity that further impacts a research situation. A researcher, by nature, has to have some level of 'outside-ness' in order to conduct research. This does not mean that the inside perspective is surrendered; both exist simultaneously. There is othering in the very act of studying, a necessary stepping back or distancing in varying degrees. There can be no interpreting without some degree of othering. Researchers, then, can be neither Insider nor Outsider; they are instead temporarily and precariously positioned within a continuum.[36]

[36] Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," 5.

In keeping with Eppley's idea of the fluidity of the researcher's role, and as illustrated in the example of the "Catholic" flowers, I moved along the insider/outsider continuum several times during my fieldwork and analysis. Furthermore, Eppley writes that conversations with ethnographic research participants create discourses through conversations, allowing the researcher a glimpse into that participant's perspective, but never affording a "complete and untroubled understanding" of the participant's social location; "Ethnographers can only imagine the other—and that has to be enough."[37] In my case, the special location of the "Catholic" flower stall at Cross *Maidan* as a marker of Catholicism is my interpretation of the data that I collected over my months in Mumbai; it was a conclusion that I reached through questioning my participants. I often wonder if my interlocutors in Mumbai would even delve into their reasons for distinguishing between the "Catholic" and "Hindu" flower stalls, and whether those reasons would parallel my interpretations. My role as a researcher, which facilitated these interpretive conclusions within the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, was yet another marker on the insider/outsider continuum that I embodied.

Having taken into account scholarly reports of reflexivity,[38] and determined to adhere to an anthropological norm of remaining removed from matters of belief, truth claims, and apologetics, I entered my fieldwork sites with prepared responses on my religious background, ready to discuss the same. Much to my surprise, the topic never arose. The Goans identified me immediately as one of their own. Whether or not I self-

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[37] Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," 4.

[38] Susan Harding, "Convicted by the Holy Spirit: The Rhetoric of Fundamental Baptist Conversion," *American Ethnologist*. 14, no. 1 (1987); Brian Howell, "The Repugnant Cultural Other Speaks Back," *Anthropological Theory*. 7, no. 4 (2007); Jon Bialecki, "Disjuncture, Continental Philosophy's New "Political Paul," and the Question of Progressive Christianity in a Southern California Third Wave Church," *American Ethnologist*. 36, no. 1 (2009): 22; For example, see Bielo, *Words Upon the Word: An Ethnography of Evangelical Group Bible Study*.

identify as Catholic or adhere to Goan cultural traditions was a moot point as they very clearly aligned themselves with me. I was never once asked whether or not I am Goan,[39] and it was simply assumed that I was a devout and knowledgeable Catholic. This assumption on the part of my participants was tremendously beneficial because it made privy to many "insider" stories that my participants would have had a difficult time divulging to an academic whom they deemed as an "outsider." In their article entitled 'The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research,' Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle discuss the space between a researcher and her community of study:

> The notion of the space between challenges the dichotomy of insider versus outsider status. To present these concepts in a dualistic manner is overly simplistic. It is restrictive to lock into a notion that emphasizes either/or, one or the other, you are in or you are out. Rather, a dialectical approach allows the preservation of the complexity of similarities and differences. […] Although a researcher's knowledge is always based on his or her positionality, as qualitative researchers we have an appreciation for the fluidity and multilayered complexity of human experience. Holding membership in a group does not denote complete sameness within that group. Likewise, not being a member of a group does not denote complete difference. It seems paradoxical, then, that we would endorse binary alternatives that unduly narrow [sic] the range of understanding and experience.[40]

Recognizing the complexity of my involvement with the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto was a major part of my learning in the field. Though perceived as a Goan insider, my presence as an academic and a researcher within the communities also positioned me slightly "outside" of the general participating community, though I was often seen as a potential "spokesperson" for the community. In adopting Adler and Adler's mid-point

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[39] Technically, I am only Goan through my maternal lineage.

[40] Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle, "The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 8, no. 1 (2009): 60.

role of "active membership," I was able to continue to participate in the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, while still maintaining that "outsider" distance that afforded me the opportunity for observation, questioning, and analysis. My participation in my research communities included reciting and reading of prayers, receiving sacraments, singing hymns, preparing homes for feast days, decorating altars, and contributing to the offering plate at mass. That the community saw me as an insider also allowed me deeper access to conversations and discussions during participant interviews.[41] My participation was substantiated by many a comment from my interlocutors that suggested their trust in my ability to portray their stories effectively because of my knowledge of and affiliation with their community, and also because I was a researcher who could speak about them to a broader academic audience. On the other hand, this "insider" status automatically bestowed upon me by my Goan participants at times worked against me. For instance, when in discussion with my subjects, we would stumble upon a particularly tricky point of discussion, or a difficult question, and my interviewee would respond, "You know how it is!" by way of explanation. Often in these cases I had to cajole a deeper response by asking my participant to explain it to me as if I did not know "how it is." This usually did the trick. In sum, this project was for me, an exercise in and illustration of the insider/outsider continuum that the researcher embodies as part of anthropologically engaging with a community.

[41] While I chose to participate fully in certain aspects of community life with the Goan Catholic communities of Toronto and Mumbai, I made a concerted effort to remain a scholar during interviews and group discussions, allowing for the participant voices to emerge more fully. Saulesh Yessanova—scholar, ethnographer, and a great teacher of mine—was wise to warn me about the dangers of being a narcissistic ethnographer. Retroactively, I am immensely glad to have followed her advice about not speaking much beyond posing questions in my interviews and discussions—what a nightmare the transcription process would have been had I to suffer my own voice past that.

Outlining the Dissertation

The body of this dissertation is divided into two sections. Chapters 2 through 4 provide the contextual basis for this dissertation, including the theoretical underpinnings that gird this research project and the historical narrative that informs the identity creation of the contemporary communities of Goans at the centre of this research. The second section, comprising Chapter 5 through 7, are content-based chapters which present the analysis of the ethnographic data that was collected through my two years of fieldwork with the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto. In conversation with the foregrounding of the previous contextual chapters, these data-rich chapters highlight the religio-cultural expressions of the Goans, and provide detailed analyses of the ways in which these communities create and maintain their unique religio-cultural identities in the cities of Mumbai and Toronto. These six chapters are briefly outlined in the following section.

As a project that focuses on community of Catholics who hail from the geographic location of India, the subject material is in direct conversation with the burgeoning field of study known as "Indian Christianity." In Chapter 2 I follow the trajectory of "Indian Christian" scholarship over the last century, exploring both the development of the field through particularly foundational works, and the move away from the early scholarship, which emphasized Christianity as something foreign to the Indian context towards the contemporary emphasis on examining Indian Christianities as being "of" and "from" India. Situating the study of Goan Catholics within the study of other Indian Christianities offers a perspectival view on the state of current scholarship in the study of Indian Christianities; as well, it illustrates the lack of scholarship on the Goans as a community of examination, particularly in comparison to other Indian

Christian communities. Further, by engaging with the extant literature on Indian Christianties, and on the Goan Catholics, Chapter 2 demonstrates a distinct lack of attention paid to the role of religion in the identity-creation of these communities. The scholarship which does feature study of the Goan Catholics is predominantly sociological or historical in nature, with the majority of these works being more than a few decades old. Certainly, there are no contemporary studies on the Goans which engage with the community as it exists on the ground (i.e. ethnographically). As an ethnographic project, which engages with two Goan communities, this project is addressing these niches which exist in the extant literature on Indian Christianity, while also contributing to the growing corpus of scholarly examination of India's many diverse Christian communities.

In addressing the previously-under examined, and integral, role of religion in the identities of today's Goan communities, this project is situated within the disciplinary context of Religious Studies; however, within this overarching disciplinary context, this multidisciplinary study also draws on the theories of Lived Religion, Anthropology of Religion, Transnationalism, and Place Studies. The employment of these theoretical tools, as outlined in Chapter 3, allows for an in-depth examination of the nuanced ways in which this religio-cultural community creates its place in the cities which they call home, while continuing to maintain their identities as Goans, with a unique and specific heritage. In order to fully engage with the centrality of religion in the lives and identities of these Goan communities, my project utilizes the theoretical lens of Lived Religion, which promotes engagement with communities as they exist on the ground. Further, the theories of Lived Religion also encourage a more nuanced examination of the peri-religious facets of a community's life, including those aspects of expression that usually

become relegated to the realm of "culture," for instance food, clothing, language, et cetera. This emphasis on religio-cultural expressions of a community fit well with the imperatives found in the Anthropology of Religion, which views religion as an extension of culture, therefore calling for an examination of the relationships between a religious actor or community with his or her belief system as it manifests through ritual activity, daily life, and other everyday aspects of life. As an ethnographic project, this dissertation answers this call through the utilization of several "on-the-ground" methods, including community interviews, participant observation, and thick description. These methods too, are detailed in-depth in Chapter 3.

As it is committed to engaging the voices "on the ground," Chapter 3 also details this project's engagement with the theories of Transnationalism and Place Studies to highlight the ways in which the communities of Goans in this project maintain their socio-cultural connections, not only to the Catholicism, but also to the "home place" of Goa, which their foreparents left behind. The theoretical stance of Transnationalism provides an ideal bridge between the Anthropology of Religion, which emphasizes the study of the particular, and the theories of Place Studies, which emphasize the importance of place in determining the shape of a community's expression of religion and culture. In utilizing Place Studies to gain further insight into the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto, this project is invested in understanding the embodying activities that these communities undertake in their particular places; these activities include place-making through material culture, domestic religion, and communal activities that are undertaken as a way of engaging with the place around them.

In order to discuss the ways in which today's Goans create and maintain their religio-cultural identities, in particular places, both in India and beyond, it is vital to understand the historical processes responsible for the creation of the Goans as they exist today. To address these processes of history and narrative, Chapter 4 is a detailed view of the historical processes through which the inhabitants of Goa were bequeathed with Catholicism and the cultural accoutrements that came with this conversion, courtesy of the Portuguese presence in India beginning in the late-fifteenth century. Today's communities of Goans have absorbed this history, and transformed it into a foundational narrative that continues to inform their identities, which they see as more closely aligned with the Portuguese progenitors of their Catholicism, than with their fellow Indians of various religions. Additionally, this chapter also examines the Goan community's history of migration. This examination affords an overarching view of the traditional ways in which this community, often displaced from its home place of Goa, has maintained its sense of Goan-ness even in the diaspora. The place-making and identity-creation mechanisms that emerge through examining the history of the Goans, offers insights into the way in which the two Goan communities at the centre of this dissertation embody the places in which they live. It is through this embodiment of particular places that the Goans of my research can be seen sustaining their religio-cultural identities; that is, by adopting and adapting the strategies used by migrant Goans for many generations previously. The history of the Goans, as explored in Chapter 4, offers an ideal springboard for the remaining three chapters, which engage with the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, through ethnographic fieldwork, and examine the religio-

cultural, spatial, and transnational commitments undertaken by these two communities in order to maintain their unique identities as "Goan," even in the diaspora.

For today's communities of Goans, their religious faith as Catholics is entirely entwined with the cultural identities they hold. Both religious and cultural allegiances are credited to the Portuguese missionizing impulse in India, which nearly half a millennia earlier saw their Goan ancestors convert to Catholicism and to a culture that was more akin to the European style of life, than to Indian culture in their geographical environment. As such, the Portuguese-bequeathed culture of the Goans is inextricably tied to the expressions of their Catholic faith. The centrality of religion in the religio-cultural identities of today's Goan communities is the focus of Chapter 5 in this dissertation. The influence of the Portuguese, and the irrevocable impact that they had on Goan Catholic religio-cultural identity is now a significant part of the foundational story that the Goans of my research profess; for the modern Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, the social and religio-cultural imports brought to India by the Portuguese are seen as divine blessings. Chapter 5 explores in detail how religion and culture are fused in myriad nuanced and intangible ways. This exploration utilizes the theoretical tools of Lived Religions to examine the intricate inseparability of religion from "everyday life."[42] To facilitate this examination, this chapter looks at community rituals, domestic worship, and a multitude of religio-cultural engagements that each community of Goans partakes of, as means of sustaining their unique identities as Goans in the cities of Mumbai and Toronto. For both Goan communities, the expression of their identity is adapted to suit the location in which they find themselves. These place-specific particularities are based

[42] Robert A. Orsi, "Everday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 6-7.

on, and serve to reaffirm, the communities' religio-cultural identities as Goan Catholics. For this community, whose religious affiliation is tightly intertwined with its expressions of culture, there is no space between being "Goan" and being "Catholic;" rather, for the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, being Catholic is their way of being in the world.

The Goans of Mumbai and of Toronto are each migrant communities. Mumbai's Goan community is a few centuries old; while the community in Toronto only began developing in the latter part of the twentieth century. The age of each migrant community and the degrees to which each community has embedded itself in its new geographic home differs; both groups are diasporic communities, each removed from the "homeland" of Goa. This "embedded-ness" that each Goan community has undertaken in their respective cities, while still maintaining active ties to the home place of Goa, is the central emphasis of Chapter 6. The theoretical framework of Place Studies informs the data analysis of this chapter, which explores the many ways in which the Goans of Mumbai and of Toronto sustain their unique religio-cultural identities in the places where they live. Through zooming in on the place-making that each community undertakes, for instance the domestic space or the local parish space, the chapter serves to highlight how each community inculcates itself into its city of residence. Simultaneously, the commitment to place in Chapter 6 examines the connection to the *ur*-place of Goa that both Goan communities in this project continue to maintain. Through upholding particular aspects of Goan culture and religiosity such as language and celebrating the feast day of patron saints, these communities continue to bring the place of Goa to life in the dispersed locations of Mumbai and Toronto.

The connections that are maintained to the home place of Goa are explored in greater detail in Chapter 7, which focuses on Transnationalism and the commitments that the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto uphold as an active way of maintaining their connection to the place which their foreparents left behind centuries ago. The theoretical thrust of Transnationalism asserts that migrant communities maintain their identities through sustained ties to the pre-migration place.[43] Since the religio-cultural identities of the Goans of Mumbai and of Toronto are predicated on the communities' ties to the home place of Goa, and the Catholicism brought there by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, the communities continue to maintain transnational ties to Goa as a way of sustaining their religio-cultural identities as Goans in the diaspora. Though spatially removed from Goa, both Goan communities continue to maintain their identities through particular transnational modes; they are therefore culturally entwined with the place that their ancestors left many decades ago, in search of new lives. It is these particular modes of transnational identity maintenance, for instance dietary habits and linguistic ties, which Chapter 7 focuses on. As a theoretical concept employed by in the anthropological study of migration, Transnationalism is based in the recognition that, even after having immigrated, migrant communities maintain ties to their places of origin, even if those places are geographically distant.[44] Thus, transnational ties allow the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto to transmit their unique religio-cultural heritage to the next generation of Goans, and to continue to preserve it over time and

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[43] Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 27.

[44] Nina Glick Schiller, Linda G. Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, eds., *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* (New York, NY: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992), ix; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 27.

across places. In examining the transnational commitments of the Goan diasporic communities of Mumbai and Toronto, Chapter 7 offers a deeper insight into the ways in which these Goan communities construct and maintain their identities in relation to the home place of Goa.

Through my fieldwork in Mumbai and Toronto, I was repeatedly struck by the sense of "place", or lack thereof, that my Goan interlocutors experienced in each city. For the Goans of Mumbai, their foreparents had left the homeland of Goa centuries prior; still, somehow, this community has maintained its sense of attachment to that place, creating an insular religio-cultural community in the metropolis of Mumbai. For the Goans who immigrate from Mumbai to Toronto, the homeland of Goa is removed further still: spatially, temporally, and culturally. Yet, this community of diasporic Goans continues to focus on the homeland, drawing on their unique history in conjunction with the mechanisms of identity construction that it had developed in Mumbai. In this way, they create new modes of identity maintenance to sustain a uniquely Goan religio-cultural identity in the diasporic context of Toronto. Each of these migrant communities of Goans draws on their heritage of Catholicism as given to their ancestors by the Portuguese, and on a remembered connection to the place of Goa, which their foreparents left in search of new opportunities, to sustain a sense of identity; a sense of "being Goan."

CHAPTER 2: REVIEWING EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP

The story of Christianity, or rather Christianities, in India is long and layered. The study of, and scholarship on, this story is equally layered, with many scholarly voices adding to the story. The body of work that focuses particularly on the Goan Catholic community of India is predominantly historical and sociological in nature. This is in keeping with the general trajectory of scholarship in the wider study of Indian Christianities. These historical works on the presence of Christianity in India provide a foundational base of knowledge to my own research, allowing for a solid stage upon which further research into particular communities, like the Goans, can be conducted.

In this chapter, I profile the trajectory of scholarship on Indian Christianity, exploring the development of the field through particular seminal works, and the scholarly shift from studying Christianity as a foreign imposition on the Indian landscape an academic awareness of, and emphasis on, Indian Christianities as being "of" and "from" India. As well, this chapter explores the academic work that has been conducted into the Goan Catholics. While this community is not extensively represented in scholarship, the research that has been conducted about this group is invaluable to my own project. These works have facilitated the articulation of the breadth and depth of my original research project in terms of how the community creates its own religious identity in particular places. Finally, this chapter argues for ethnographic research into underrepresented communities like the Goans, as a vital course of exploration in scholarship, aimed at understanding particular Indian Christian communities as they create their religio-social identities in India and beyond.

Need for Ethnographic Scholarship

There are two major categories of extant research on Goans[45] in India. The first of these categories includes Goans, due to their relatively small size in comparison to other Indian Christian groups, within the larger conversations about Indian Christianity.[46] This grouping of Indian Christian communities under one umbrella is helpful in recognizing the similarities between these various and diverse groups; however, often important points of uniqueness and distinction inherent in these communities are omitted. This reductionism does not account for the diversity of Christianities that exist in India, which includes the Eastern Rite, Oriental Orthodoxy, Roman Catholics, and contemporary Protestant groups. Nor does it adequately consider the differing historical, social, and political circumstances surrounding the diverse trajectories of these various communities.

Briefly, Christianity came to India in several waves, and contemporary Christian populations in India reflect these varied arrivals. The southern part of India, particularly the state of Kerala, is home to the Saint Thomas Christian community. This is an ancient group of Syriac Christians who are now divided into multiple churches and traditions, but who all trace their lineage to the Apostle Thomas's voyage to India. The two main Eastern Catholic Saint Thomas Christian churches are the Syro-Malabar Catholic Church and the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church. Additionally, there are several Oriental Orthodox and independent churches that are also a part of the Saint Thomas Christian

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[45] The terms "Goan Catholics" and "Goans" are synonymous with the community at the centre of this research, with the latter term being preferred and used by the community in reference to itself. As such, I will tend to use this preferred term to refer to my subject population from here on.

[46] Much has been written to provide a comprehensive overview of the history and contemporary state of India's Christian populations, including but not limited to: Abraham Vazhayil Thomas, *Christians in Secular India* (Rutherford,: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1974); Leonard Fernando and G. Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith* (New Delhi, India: Viking Publishing, 2004); Robert Eric Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

communities; these include the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church, the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Church, and the Malankara Mar Thoma Syrian Church. Roman (Latin) Catholicism came to India through the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. It is to this lineage that the Goans of my research trace their religious and cultural heritage. Today, Roman Catholics in India form the largest group of Christians in the country with a population of approximately 12 million. The Roman Catholics of India include several cultural groups including the East Indians (native to the Mumbai-area), Mangaloreans (native to the state of Karnataka), and the Goans (native to the state of Goa). Through the British and American efforts from the nineteenth century onward, Protestant populations in India have also begun to grow. The major Protestant groups include the Church of South India (CSI), the Church of North India (CNI), and the Presbyterian Church of India. As well, there are communities of Baptists, Lutherans, and traditional Anglicans. To a lesser extent, modern evangelical communities also exist in India today. Each of these communities have vastly different and distinctive histories, ranging from early missionary encounters in the first century, to modern British and American missionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the colonial engagements associated with each wave of Christianity are distinctive, including major influences from the British and the Portuguese, and lesser points of influence from French and Dutch colonizers.[47]

The second category of research on Goan Catholics concentrates on two particular aspects of this dynamic community; including its colonial heritage, and its historical

[47] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 135-58.

development as a community within India.[48] These historically-focused works emphasize the arrival of the Portuguese on Indian soil in 1498 and the arrival of Portuguese Catholic missionary Francis Xavier in 1542. The Portuguese missionizing presence in India, particularly in the state of Goa, initiated massive religious conversion to Catholicism. This detail is particularly credited for the religious identity of today's Goans. Furthermore, the literature on the Goans delves into the cultural changes that the new Catholic converts had to undertake as part of their religious transformation. These changes were not only in faith and belief systems, but also included changes to dietary habits, attire, language, and attitude. These religio-cultural changes will be explored in greater detail later in this dissertation. Of note in the literature that is currently available on the Goans of India, is that for the most part the research does not extend much past a study of their historical roots, and the cultural change that took place under the Portuguese. While the aforementioned pieces of research have created a strong framework of knowledge detailing the historical and theological narratives of the Goans, more exploration is needed into the community itself as it has existed, and as it continues to exist, on the ground.

Due to the developments within these two categories, research that focuses primarily on the Goan Catholics as a distinct community, particularly as a lived community residing in different places in India and abroad is quite sparse. Research that focuses on the Goan Catholics emphasizes the historical basis for the existence of this

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[48] See Olivinho Gomes, *Village Goa: A Study of Goan Social Structure and Change* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd., 1987); M. N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, The New Cambridge History of India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Narendra K. Wagle and George Coehlo, eds., *Goa: Continuity and Change* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Centre for South Asian Studies, 1995); Rowena Robinson, *Conversion, Continuity, and Change: Lived Christianity in Southern Goa* (Walnut Creek: Altamira, 1998); Délio de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610* (New Delhi: Concept Publishers, 2002).

community. These accounts are often written in a top-down manner, removing any agency that this community has in the construction of its own narrative. Furthermore, there are few anthropological accounts of Indian Christian communities, which engage with the voices of the communities themselves as a way of developing a scholarly narrative. As ethnographer Eric Wolf writes:

> We can no longer be content with writing only the history of victorious elites, or with detailing the subjugation of dominated ethnic groups. Social historians and historical sociologists have shown that the common people were as much agents in the historical process as they were its victims and silent witnesses. We thus need to uncover the history of 'the people without history'—the active histories of 'primitives,' peasantries, labourers, immigrants, and besieged minorities.[49]

The benefit of an anthropological, particularly ethnographic, endeavour such as this project is that it accesses the self-identity construction narrative of a community. Of this valuable position held by anthropologists, Susan B. Ortner writes:

> The attempt to view other systems from ground level is the basis, perhaps the only basis, of anthropology's distinctive contribution to the human sciences. It is our capacity, largely developed in fieldwork, to take the perspective of the folks on the shore, that allows us to learn anything at all—even in our own culture—beyond what we already know. (Indeed, as more and more anthropologists are doing fieldwork in Western cultures, including the United States, the importance of maintaining a capacity to see otherness, even next door, becomes more and more acute.) *Further, it is our location "on the ground" that puts us in a position to see people not simply as passive reactors to and enactors of some "system," but as active agents and subjects in their own history.*[50] [Italics added]

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[49] Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), xxvi.

[50] Sherry B. Ortner, "Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 26, no. 1 (1984): 143.

Talal Asad adds to Ortner's perspective, suggesting that the ethnographer has the scholastic obligation to engage with the location-specific reality of a community, including its history, its colonial engagement, and its "rootedness," or lack thereof.[51]

Furthermore, the identity marker of "religion" is not one from which the Goan communities have been traditionally examined. Their Christianity is seen as a product of European colonization and, therefore, the focus is on mission theology and colonial history. The focus on the colonial histories of these Christian communities has resulted in a significant omission; research on the contemporary communities as they exist in India and in the diaspora today is minimal. The anthropological study of this community is also very limited; the few studies that do exist, draw more from Cultural Anthropology rather than Anthropology of Religion, or from a cross-disciplinary approach. Anthropological studies into the Goan Catholics of Mumbai focus on food, kinship models, and social structures as expressions of culture rather than religion.[52] Similarly, until the early 2000s, anthropological inquiries into the broader field of Indian Christianity were quite scarce; there are only a handful of ethnographic monographs profiling particular Indian Christian communities.[53] In addition to this, research into the contemporary community of Goans in the diaspora is also significantly limited, with Margret Frenz`s *Community, Memory,*

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[51] Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 8.

[52] See: D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*; Gomes, *Village Goa: A Study of Goan Social Structure and Change*; Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*.

[53] See: Clement J. Godwin, *Change and Continuity: A Study of Two Christian Village Communities in Suburban Bombay* (Bombay: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1972); Lionel Caplan, *Class and Culture in Urban India: Fundamentalism in a Christian Community* (Oxfordshire: Clarendon Press, 1987); Kalpana Ram, *Mukkuvar Women: Gender, Hegemony, and Capitalist Transformation in a South Indian Fishing Community* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1992); Susan Visvanathan, *The Christians of Kerala: History, Belief, and Ritual among the Yakoba* (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1993).

and Migration in a Globalizing World being one of the only contemporary works which takes into account the experience of the modern Goan experience in diaspora.[54]

Significant paradigmatic shifts have occurred in both categories of research profiled above, including a move towards a more pluralistic perspective on Indian Christianities, as well as a concerted scholarly effort to examining particular communities in detail. It is within the conversations created by these paradigmatic shifts that my own research is positioned. In the following section, I profile some major academic works which have focused on the Goan Catholics: as a part of the broader Indian Christian communities, as well as singularly, both from a historical perspective and in a contemporary one, within India and in the diaspora. These works provide a robust framework for the production of new research such as the current project.

Scholarship on Indian Christians

Rowena Robinson, in her book *Christians of India*, calls the history of scholarship on Christianity in India a "history of neglect."[55] This history of neglect is indicative of a broader academic neglect of non-Hindu Indian religious traditions. While this is certainly the case, there are a few seminal works of research examining the Christian populations of India that bear further discussion.

Christianity in India

The traditional model of writing about Christianity in India traces the historical advent of Christianity, as a foreign import, into the Indian subcontinent. European missionaries documented the missiological imperatives of bringing Christian salvation to

[54] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*.
[55] Rowena Robinson, *Christians of India* (New Delhi ; Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 11-12.

the Indian peoples, and also penned the earliest works of the history of Christianity in India. James Hough was the first to compile a general history of Christianity in India, over a period of twenty-one years, following his time as a missionary in South India. His work, *The History of Christianity in India, from the Commencement of the Christian Era*, is a five-volume compilation. Completed after his death by his son, Hough's work refrains from any mention of the Danish, Dutch, Portuguese, or British influences on the Christian practices of the Indian subcontinent. Instead, his writing centres solely on the story of the Thomas Christians of South India, and their struggle against Catholic ecclesiastical conquests. While valuable in its historical scope and analysis of the Thomas Christians, Hough's work is not as all-encompassing as the title of his work promises.[56] Drawing from the same sources as Hough, and writing at a similar time and on the same subjects, was Sir John Kaye, a historian and member of the British East India Company. Kaye produced a single-volume effort, *Christianity in India: A Historical Narrative*, which covered many of the same historical and ecclesiastical events as Hough's works.[57] Kaye's work reflects the pietistic ethos of nineteenth century Britain, and as such is quite heavily Anglican and Euro-centric in its slant.

The twentieth century saw the production of such works as Stephen Neill's two-volume work *A History of Christianity in India*. The first volume covers the history of Christianity in India from "the beginnings," by which Neill refers to the arrival of Thomas the Apostle in India around the year 52CE; this volume encompasses the development of Christianity in India until 1707. The second of Neill's volumes traces the

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[56] James Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London: Church Missionary House, 1839-1860).
[57] John William Kaye, *Christianity in India: A Historical Narrative* (London: Smith, Elder, and Company, 1859).

history from 1707 to 1858.[58] Neill intended this body of work to be a trilogy, which would have brought the historical tracing to the twentieth century; however, the first two volumes took nearly six decades to complete, and his death curbed the production of the third volume. Neill was a church historian, born to missionary parents, and raised in the south of India where he later served as a bishop. In later life, he returned to England, and became a scholar of history at Cambridge University. His history of Christianity in India shows rigorous academic commitment to chronicling the story of Christianity in India. His work includes the history of the ancient Thomas Christians, the Roman Catholics, as well as the Protestants in India. While stemming from his missionary and ecclesiastical background, Neill's work is the first of its kind to adhere closer to the scholarly tenets of historical writing, and it is this commitment to moving away from a "missionary" voice that makes Neill's work truly valuable in understanding the history of these communities in India. Neill's works are revolutionary in their acknowledgement of the perspective of European Christianity that dominated previous writings about Christianity in India. For instance, he writes:

> The story of Christianity in India must be primarily the story of Indians becoming Christians, developing as Christians, creating for themselves an identity as Indian Christians, adapting the church in an Indian setting, making themselves felt as a recognised [sic] and integral part of Indian society. At the start however, Christians in a non-Christian country will be foreigners. Up to 1786 the story has to be largely the story of the foreigners.[59]

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[58] Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: 1707-1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[59] Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to 1707*, 386.

While Neill himself does not fully escape this Eurocentricism in either volume of *A History of Christianity in India*, he manages to effectively set the stage for future scholars to move away from the missionizing and Eurocentric language of previous scholarship.

The paradigmatic shift away from the Western ethnocentric writing on Christianity in India takes further shape through the twentieth and twenty-first century writings of Robert Frykenberg. Robert Eric Frykenberg, scholar of South Asian religions, particularly Indian Christianities, has several works detailing the history of Christianity in India. In each of these works he deftly tells the story of Christianity's uniquely Indian engagements, whether through the histories of the Syro-Malabar Christians in Kerala, the Roman Catholics in Goa, or the Evangelical Protestants in Gujarat.[60] Frykenberg's *forte* lies in constructing the historiography of Indian Christianity; that is, tracing the historicity of the history of these communities. In *India and the Indianness of Christianity*, a book in honour of Frykenberg's work, Richard Fox Young writes that Frykenberg's *Christianity in India* is the Western academy's most rigorous and insightful exploration into the traditions of Indian Christianity, exemplified by Frykenberg's "hallmark historiographical principles."[61] These historiographical principles include Frykenberg's commitment to recognizing Christianity as part of the Indian religious landscape, rather than an enduring foreign element to Indian culture, which is how his scholarly predecessors tended to frame it. In *Christianity in India*, Frykenberg compiles a comprehensive single-volume history of Christianity`s engagement with India over the

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[60] See: Robert Eric Frykenberg, Judith M. Brown, and Alaine M. Low, eds., *Christians, Cultural Interactions, and India's Religious Traditions* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002); Robert Eric Frykenberg and Alaine M. Low, eds., *Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross-Cultural Communication since 1500, with Special Reference to Caste, Conversion, and Colonialism* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003); Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*.

[61] Richard Fox Young and Robert Eric Frykenberg, eds., *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding, Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical, in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2009), 10-11.

centuries, not through a Euro-centric perspective, but rather through a historical examination of the "major geographical, physical, ethno-demographic, linguistic, socio-political, and religious aspects" of interaction particular to India.[62]

Utilizing historical methodologies, Frykenberg traces the many points of engagement that various Christianities had with the Indian subcontinent, including the Thomas Christians in the South, the Catholics of Goa, the Evangelical Christians in the North, and the continued interaction between Christian communities and the *adivasi* movements and *dalit* populations. This breadth of analysis affords a rich, overarching view of the scope of Christian engagement in India. Where it is lacking, is in providing an in-depth study of each community. Indeed, Frykenberg himself acknowledges this shortcoming:

> So many are the separate stories of distinct Christian communities that, short of producing an encyclopedic work encompassing every tiny element, the task of the historian is to develop a strategy or a tactical paradigm by which to determine not so much what to include as what to exclude. As in all historical work, much of the coverage and many details had to be left out."[63]

Furthermore, he argues that though such omissions are lamentable, "selection criteria have aimed to capture the "big picture" and to "connect the dots" so as to see the larger patterns in the history of Christianity in order to mould it into a single and generalizable whole. [64] Due to this necessary self-editing, Frykenberg includes only brief mentions of the Goan Catholic population of India. The Catholics of India are mentioned at two significant points: first, in relation to the continued struggle faced by India's Thomas Christian communities in negotiating relations with the Latin Rite. And second, in

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[62] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 18-20.
[63] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 6.
[64] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 462.

detailing the papal suppression of the Jesuit missionaries in 1773, through an order which called for the Jesuits to abandon their practices of integrating Catholic doctrine with Indian cultural practices, in favour of imposing cultural practices of the "Catholic world."[65] As such, the Catholics of India are generally discussed in relation to the analysis of the Thomas Christians of South India. While the lack of details on the Goan Catholic community is lamentable, the insights into the history of interactions and struggles faced by the Jesuits with other Indian Christian communities, provides my work with a strong foundation into the historical basis of contemporary Goan culture, since the interactions between the Jesuit missionaries and the Goan population of India followed a distinctive process.

One of the richest aspects of this work is its suspension of Western tropes in examining Christianity; rather, Indian Christianities are analyzed from within their own context. Frykenberg writes, "Christianity in India is both ancient and modern. But, whatever its multifarious forms, Christianity in India is and always has been profoundly indigenous and, as such, deeply embedded within the culture of whatever community it is to be found."[66] The nearly millennium-long separation between the emergence of Indian Christianity and its engagement with Western Christianity, allowed for Indian forms of Christianity to engage on a deep cultural level with the Indian subcontinent; thus some Indian Christians have limited resemblance to modern, Western Christian populations. This is certainly the case with communities such as the Thomas Christians of South India. However, the development of Goan Catholicism occurs over a shorter period of time and must be examined of its own accord. The study of today's Goan Catholics is further

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[65]Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 344-46.
[66] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 455.

complicated by the specific history and foundational narrative of the community; that is, while their spatial context within India warrants a situated study of the community, Goans themselves align themselves, religiously and culturally, with the Portuguese from whom they inherited their religio-cultural identities. That is to say, today's Goans purposefully associate their Christianity with the West. Drawing on Stephen Neill's *A History of Christianity in India*,[67] Frykenberg writes:

> Christianity in India […] must always be understood as an indigenous phenomenon and not […] as an alien transplant. […] Christianity was and is no more inherently European (or Western) than it is Indian (or Eastern). The origins of Christian faith lay, after all, in neither Europe nor India, but in the Middle East (and Palestine). Thus, just as Christianity had been coloured by cultural elements native to Europe (whether Celtic, Nordic, or Slavic), so there had always been a colouring of Christianity within its 'Hindu' environment—aka 'contextualization', 'indigenization', or 'naturalization'. […] Institutions of any religious tradition were always 'embedded' within a particular and local cultural matrix.[68]

As such, Frykenberg argues that the "self-conscious identifications of individuals should be taken at face value."[69] This piece of advice is one that resounds loudly with my ethnographic exploration of the Goan Catholics in Mumbai and Toronto. While some aspects of the Catholicism practiced by the Goans of Mumbai seem alien to the Catholic norms of the West, the Goans claim these as a part of their Catholicism, which they regard as "Western." For today's Goans, their Catholicism is embedded in specific places and times, which highlight their specific colonial experience. As such, for the Goan communities central to my research, their expressions of Catholicism are intimately tied to their Goan cultural heritage; these expressions of their religio-cultural identities are

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[67] Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
[68] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 17-18.
[69] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 5, 455.

articulated through the ongoing commitment of these communities to reimagining ways of "being Goan," even in spatial contexts removed from the home place of Goa, for instance Mumbai and Toronto.

Another strength of Frykenberg's work that informs this current project is his call for researchers of Christianity in/of India to exercise the utmost judicious deference and humility. He cautions that for a researcher, whether Western or Indian, it is virtually impossible to "climb within the cultural ethos and understandings of the thousands of separate communities that make up the extreme pluralism that is India."[70] Frykenberg's concerns over the previous pitfalls of historical research into Indian Christianities, namely Eurocentricism and reductionism, are addressed through the ethnographic stance that my research is engaged with. In order to significantly inquire into the unique origins and development of the Goans of India, my research focuses on engaging with the Goans as they exist on the ground in Mumbai and in Toronto, thus allowing the communities themselves to define the particularities of their religio-cultural identities. Frykenberg's insights into the hybrid identities embodied by Indian Christians are worth noting. He writes, "what is significant about all forms of Christianity that have taken root within the Indian subcontinent is the strong sense of dual identity, as found in separate and unique origins and as distinct from the universality of the faith that they claimed."[71] He highlights the duality of maintaining membership to a universal "world religion" while still holding onto aspects of culture that are apparent in Indian Christians. To illustrate, Frykenberg draws on the example of the Thomas Christians: "Malayalam-speaking communities of ancient lineage, concentrated in towns and villages along the Malabar

[70] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 456.
[71] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 457-58.

coast from Kaniya Kumari to as far north as Mangalore and Bombay, despite being revitalized or reconverted, have retained such pride in birth and lineage, such sensitivity to purity and pollution, that their sense of belonging within *varnāshramadharma* has remained, for most, extremely strong."[72] He suggests that the same can be said for virtually all Christians of India, who are just as likely to identify themselves by birth, caste, and community as by church, denomination, or theological outlook. While this notion of duality may be true for most Indian Christians, it is expressed differently for my Goan subject population. Goans do align themselves with the villages of their ancestors, and continue to organize their communal activities to reflect this village association, both in Mumbai and in Toronto. However, there is another factor that should be considered in studying contemporary Goan communities; that is, the religio-cultural alignment to the Portuguese and the West that today's Goans claim as part of their foundational narrative. While the Goans do not necessarily maintain particularly "Hindu" aspects of culture, especially as is found in other Indian Christianities, their emphasis on Goa as a place origin, and the communal emphasis on the religio-cultural tie to the Portuguese as part of the foundational narrative results in a distinctive process of communal identity construction that could only take place in India.

In sum, the scholarship on the history of Indian Christianities has evolved from the Eurocentric and missionizing perspective of European missionaries, and into a historical analysis that takes into account the distinctiveness of individual Indian Christian communities as they have developed in specific places at particular periods in time. In terms of this, Frykenberg's work was one of the first forays into developing the field of Indian Christianity, particularly in its examination of the historical interactions by

[72] Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present*, 458.

missionaries and local Indian communities, the self-identification of Indian Christian communities as they merged local cultural practices with their Christian religion, and the plurality of identities embodied by these Indian Christian communities as they spanned the realms of religion and culture simultaneously.

Christianities *of* India

The latter part of the twentieth century yielded a handful of ethnographic monographs, which signalled the early development of a discursive space within which scholars of Religion and Anthropology could deliberate.[73] These volumes provide in-depth analyses of particular communities, and specifically-Indian manifestations of Christianity. The earliest of these anthropological explorations is Godwin's *Change and Continuity: A Study of Two Christian Village Communities in Suburban Bombay*. This work is borne of a ten-year-long engagement by the author in the field. It includes a detailed history of the communities at its centre, and is a comparative analysis of their customs, beliefs, and values. Godwin finds that as he proceeded with his study, the practices of his Christian communities were "anything but western or Christian," but rather, "well rooted in an Indian cultural stream."[74] Godwin sustains his observation through an exploration of the social organization, economics, kinship models and religious traditions of his communities, which were pre-Portuguese Christian fishing communities in the area surrounding today's city of Mumbai. Similarly, in Lionel Caplan's *Class and Culture in Urban India: Fundamentalism in a Christian Community*,

[73] Godwin, *Change and Continuity: A Study of Two Christian Village Communities in Suburban Bombay*; Caplan, *Class and Culture in Urban India: Fundamentalism in a Christian Community*; Ram, *Mukkuvar Women: Gender, Hegemony, and Capitalist Transformation in a South Indian Fishing Community*; Visvanathan, *The Christians of Kerala: History, Belief, and Ritual among the Yakoba*.
[74] Godwin, *Change and Continuity: A Study of Two Christian Village Communities in Suburban Bombay*, ix.

an ethnographic exploration of a Protestant community in South India, particularly in the city of Madras (now Chennai), the author is concerned with the "fundamentalism" that the religious actors adopt as a means of challenging the liberal doctrines and practices of the missionaries. That is, they bring particular pre-conversion (i.e. Hindu) values with them into the practice of their Christianity. By exploring urban class order with his subject population, Caplan comprehends the ways in which this class order is replicated through and involved in religious processes, highlighting the ways in which this community uses its pre-conversion culture to make sense of the Protestantism brought to them.[75]

Kalpana Ram's *Mukkuvar Women: Gender, Hegemony, and Capitalist Transformation in a South Indian Fishing Community* focuses on the Mukkuvars of Kanyakumari, a fishing community. This study highlights the anthropological trend towards examining the particularity of a community. As a semi-autonomous minority community, the Mukkuvars provide Ram with the ethnographic challenge of discarding assumptions propped up by the cultural majority.[76] By analyzing the perspective of the female members of this community, Ram suspends the hegemonic narratives in an effort to gain access to the meaning-making actions of this community on the ground. This anthropological move towards accessing the voices of Indian Christian communities is seen once again, in Susan Visvanathan's *The Christians of Kerala: History, Belief, and Ritual Among the Yakoba*, in which the author uses oral accounts of historical lineage and identity creation to construct an ethnographic account of the community.[77] By drawing

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[75] Caplan, *Class and Culture in Urban India: Fundamentalism in a Christian Community*.
[76] Ram, *Mukkuvar Women: Gender, Hegemony, and Capitalist Transformation in a South Indian Fishing Community*, xi.
[77] Visvanathan, *The Christians of Kerala: History, Belief, and Ritual among the Yakoba*.

connections between history, belief, and ritual, Visvanathan maps the nature of pluralism in the town of Kottayam, Kerala, and details the ritualistic and material ways in which members of the Christian community there maintain their place as cultural members of Keralite village life, alongside their non-Christian neighbours.

These four above-mentioned monographs profiling particular communities of Indian Christians set the groundwork for more contemporary ethnographic works on Indian Christianities. However, there are two points of significant omission in these works. First, while each of these books profiles a particular Indian Christian community, none of them pays special attention to their community's performance of Christianity, per se; instead the focus is on the aspects of culture peripheral to religion. The second point of omission is the ahistorical perspective from which they are written. That is, the monographs do not situate the communities in a particular historical narrative. These studies do not acknowledge the separate and unique origins of these communities and the impact of these unique histories on the communities' contemporary performances of Christianity, or on their communal identities as Indian Christians. For instance, in examining today's community of Goans in Mumbai and Toronto, it is important to address not only their history, but also the foundational narrative that the community itself holds to be true. In the case of my subject communities, this means recognizing their religio-cultural association with the Portuguese in reference to history and the communal interpretation thereof, as well as the contemporary Goan sense of feeling "non-Indian." This research project also takes into account the unique origin story of the Goans, and situates the narrative of the contemporary community within that historical narrative; this positioning is vital to understanding not only the origin and development

of this community, but also to gaining perspective on how and why the contemporary community identifies itself as it does. It is in addressing these points of omission that my work differs from the previous research into particular Indian Christian communities.

The aforementioned monographs remained the primary contributions to the study of Indian Christianities until Rowena Robinson wrote *Christians of India*. In *Christians of India*, Robinson writes:

> I have written this book for scholars of the anthropology of religion […] to bring together a number of ethnographic and historical accounts that are otherwise dispersed but also aim at the thematic integration of the ethnographic materials. This would enable us to […] get a glimpse of the many "Christianities" of India! This is something that has not been attempted so far.[78]

By adopting a comparative anthropological perspective, Robinson profiles a number of Indian Christianities in order to discuss points of similarity and, more poignantly, difference. A significant theme in this book is the engagement of India's Christianities with the religions and cultures surrounding them, including Hinduism, Islam, and tribal cults, amongst others. By challenging the previous standard of an ahistorical perspective, Robinson makes a case for the importance of factoring in time and change in comprehending how Christianities have emerged as a product of their temporal and spatial situation in India. Of emphasizing these particularities, Robinson writes, "These distinctions are important because the modes and strategies of conversion are […] crucially linked with varying political regimes and historical junctures and the possibilities and limitations they hold out."[79] Robinson's attention to the particularities of a community's history is an echo of Frykenberg's examination of the separate and unique origins of a community as a way of fully understanding its identity. They each call for the

[78]Robinson, *Christians of India*, 11.
[79] Robinson, *Christians of India*, 39.

examination of the identities of Indian Christian communities within the context of their particular historical narratives. In keeping with this call, my research engages with the complex and nuanced ways in which the religio-cultural identities of today's Goan communities are a direct result of a holistic historical conversion. The overwhelming completeness of the Portuguese conversion efforts of the sixteenth century onwards, rendered a community that no longer identifies as Indian; rather, the religio-cultural conversion of their Goan ancestors produced an identity that is more aligned with now-departed Portuguese colonizers and missionaries. It is only through examining the specificity of the Goans' Catholicism and their development as a community that the identity of today's Goans may be more wholly understood.

In *Christians of India*, Robinson engages with traditionally cultural concepts such as marriage, kinship, social classes, et cetera to discuss the ways in which Indian culture has impacted various forms of Indian Christianity. Furthermore, her treatment of topics such as hierarchy, systems of differentiation, and the challenges facing modern Christian communities provides vital insights for my own research, and also for the broader field of Indian Christianity, of which she is surely a pioneering scholar. Robinson's commitment to merging an historical understanding of Christianity with ethnographic engagement of the communities on the ground is of particular value to my project. It advises against decontextualizing "on the ground" research from the historical and spatial underpinnings of the subject of study. In her conclusion, Robinson calls strongly for deeper study into individual communities of Indian Christians, thus resulting in a more developed field of study. She writes, "An entire world […] remains barely discovered in the field of the

anthropology of Indian Christianity;"[80] adding, "If this book can fill this gap as well as be a source of "something new" to whet the appetite for further research among more specialized audiences, it will have fulfilled its aim."[81] My dissertation research, is in many ways, part of the "further research" that Robinson calls for. As such, it is an added voice to the developing field of the Anthropology of Indian Christianities.

Another important volume that adds significantly to this burgeoning field of study is Selva Raj and Corinne Dempsey's 2002 book *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines*.[82] In this volume, Raj and Dempsey differentiate between the clean historical presentation of Indian Christianity that is indicative of most Western scholarship on the subject, and the "messy terrain" that a scholar engages with in examining "popular" Indian Christianity.[83] Raj and Dempsey unfortunately adopt an ahistorical perspective that limits the view of history for the communities profiled in their book. However, they write that the messy engagement with communities "on the ground" moves them away from the traditional model of scholarship on Indian Christianity, which focused on "the historical, colonial, missiological, and theological dimensions," to the exclusion of the lived experiences and varied expressions of lived Christianity in India.[84] Engaging in popular Christianity in the Indian context allows scholars to pay attention to the practitioner's perspective, and the fluid areas of religious identity, boundaries, and authority. Raj and Dempsey write that by validating—through scholarly engagement—the popular practice of Christianity as a valuable part of Indian religious traditions,

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[80] Robinson, *Christians of India*, 208.
[81] Robinson, *Christians of India*, 212.
[82] Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey, eds., *Popular Christianity in India: Riting between the Lines* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002).
[83] Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey, *Popular Christianity in India: Riting between the Lines* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002), 1-2.
[84] Raj and Dempsey, *Popular Christianity in India: Riting between the Lines*, 1.

Western scholars can broaden their understanding of Christianity as a whole, while also moving away from the traditional practice of treating Christianity, and its denominations, as an "agreed-upon, centralized, monolith."[85] This aspect of their work on the particularities of communal identity and practice is in keeping with the scholarly developments in the field of Indian Christianity as previously put forth by Frykenberg and Robinson.

Raj and Dempsey's *Popular Christianity in India* is, according to the editors' statements, an attempt to bring some balance to the disproportionate scholarly interest paid to India's non-Christian religious traditions. As mentioned previously, one of the main aims of this volume is to provide scholarly balance by representing Indian Christianity from a "popular" perspective, rather than the traditional perspective of Western scholarship which has often left out the experiences and expressions of Indian Christians on the ground. [86] To fulfill this goal of profiling "on the ground" experiences, the book is divided into three key topical sections: "festivals and rituals," "saints and wonderworkers," and "visionaries and missionaries." Each section contains a few chapters, each by a different scholar who profiles a particular practice or phenomenon as practiced by an Indian Christian community. The breath of practices and communities profiled in these chapters is immense, ranging from Dalit theological practices in a Tamil Christian community, to the cult of the Virgin Mary and the practice of exorcisms in South India, to the life cycle ceremonies of Santal Catholics in North India. Each chapter elaborates on the particular practices of the Indian Christian community profiled

[85] Raj and Dempsey, *Popular Christianity in India: Riting between the Lines*, 2.
[86] Raj and Dempsey, *Popular Christianity in India: Riting between the Lines*, 1.

therein—detailing the uniquely Indian ways in which each community practices its Christianity.

Cumulatively, these essays showcase a rich display of the heterogeneous nature of popular Christianity in India. Vasudha Narayanan, in her concluding remarks to this volume writes:

> The complexities and heterogeneity of Christianity in India have to be stressed at a time when some Hindus perceive the Christians as "the other." Monolithic imaging is essential to stereotyping and the whipping up of emotions. There are Christians in every state; and they differ as starkly as the denominations to which they belong. There are, of course denominational differences between, for example, a Tamil CSI (Church of South India) member and a Roman Catholic from Goa— differences that can be attributed to the culture of the various Churches— as well as the differences that can be attributed to economic class (as in any society). In addition to these, there is a diversity based on many factors including language, caste, community, and political affiliation. There are Christians who are Brahmins, some from the Scheduled Caste (the administrative label for the Dalit), "high-" caste Vellala Christians, tribals; those who are pacifists; and others with strong political activist links– each with their own cultures and multiple identities. There are the contemplative monks who find affinities to Vedantic philosophy on the one hand and the radicals who, it is alleged, indulge in violent agitations and activities in Tripura and Nagaland, on the other. In short, we find in India the range of Christians that we find in the rest of the world. In this very volume we meet a host of people from very varied backgrounds and who have very different agendas. Can we then speak of anything monolithic as an "Indian Christianity"? Understanding and accepting the many kinds of Indian Christianities is the first step in the dismantling of political and social stereotypes and formulaic depictions of "the other."[87]

It is this "messy" and data-rich exploration of India's Christianities that is this book's greatest strength. The exploration of the distinctive expressions of hybridity and identity construction for the various communities of Christians is vital for my own research,

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[87] Vasudha Narayanan, "Afterword: Diverse Hindu Responses to Diverse Christianities in India," in *Popular Christianity in India: Riting between the Lines*, eds. Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), 257.

because these studies provide illustrations of the continuous interactions between, and interdependencies of, "religion" and "culture." While engaging with the messy layers of a community is vital to understanding the development of religious identity on the ground, it is important not to discount the merit of works of history and theology. That is to say, the popular practices discussed in this book are often decontextualized from their socio-cultural, historical, or theological contexts. The practices of Christian communities are, as Robinson notes, products of specific histories; as Indian as they are Christian.

While Goan Catholics are not specifically profiled in Raj and Dempsey's book, they are categorized as part of the greater Catholic communities of Mumbai in Margaret Meibohm's profile of the Velankanni Festival.[88] One particular point that I draw on in my work is Meibohm's focus on the importance of these festivals as sites of identity creation for urban Catholic devotees. In the crowded city of Mumbai, where my Goan Catholic research participants do not have much by way of "space," ritual festivals are key ways in which to create religious and cultural identity; individually and as a community. In connection to this idea, Meibohm writes:

> History is part of the fabric of meaning of the festival, from the recurring celebration of the birthday of Our Lady, to the remembrance of the Portuguese being brought to shore on that very day. […] Flexibility of cultural forms and interpretations, of social roles, and of accommodation to individual devotion has allowed the festival to adapt to expanding circles of devotees. Though we cannot travel back in time to recover past meanings of the festival celebrated by a smaller group of devotees, we can posit a new layering of significance for those coming from Mumbai, who typically stay for the entire proceedings. For them the festival provides an extended retreat away from the cares and pressures of ordinary life, from the urban density and intensity of Mumbai, to a location with open space and a rural character, materially and socially simplified, where uninterrupted

[88] Margaret Meibohm, "Past Selves and Present Others: The Ritual Construction of Identity at a Catholic Festival in India," in *Popular Christianity in India: Riting between the Lines*, eds. Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2002).

> devotion is possible. Here, Catholicism allows them to feel their Indianness. […] The adjustments bring it into the present of Catholicism, urbanness, and ethnic interaction, all aspects of an Indian selfhood for Mumbai devotees.[89]

For the devotees of Meibohm's Velankanni, as for the Goan Catholics of my own research, ritual festival worship allows the practitioners to actively construct their own identities utilizing a multiplicity of cultural, linguistic, and spatial markers. These ritual festivals offer practitioners the opportunity for "rooting" and transformation; thus the past is a resource for the present, while also simultaneously constructing a modern, popular, expression of Indian Christian identity.[90] Furthermore, the importance of "place" is highlighted in Meibohm's work, offering the devotees a site upon which to worship; this is an important element in allowing this Christian community to feel like they belong to the space that they are occupying. Additionally, in her chapter, "Past Selves and Present Others: The Ritual Construction of Identity at a Catholic Festival in India," Meibohm discusses the Velankanni Festival as a site of facilitation and creation of Indian Catholic identity.[91] She argues that the festival blends past and present in a manner that makes possible the integration of a multifaceted Indian identity. She writes, "Along the religious dimension, the Velankanni festival provides a hybridity of Hindu and Catholic that appeals to a wide range of people and helps to foster a sense of Indian Catholicism."[92] I observed this fluid nature of Indian Catholicism many time during my fieldwork in India, particularly in the day-to-day interactions of my Goan interlocutors with their non-

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[89] Meibohm, "Past Selves and Present Others: The Ritual Construction of Identity at a Catholic Festival in India," 77.
[90] Meibohm, "Past Selves and Present Others: The Ritual Construction of Identity at a Catholic Festival in India," 77.
[91] Meibohm, "Past Selves and Present Others: The Ritual Construction of Identity at a Catholic Festival in India," 69.
[92] Meibohm, "Past Selves and Present Others: The Ritual Construction of Identity at a Catholic Festival in India," 66.

Catholic neighbours. In sharing physical spaces, the sharing of religio-cultural performances is inevitable in a city like Mumbai.

The construction of modern Indian Christianities and contemporary Christian identity in India are the central themes of Chad Bauman and Richard Fox Young's *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*.[93] This edited volume is built on the premise that "the cross-cultural transplantation of any religion—Christianity included—necessarily entails transformation," by which they mean that "Indian Christianity [is] culturally and socially constructed, predominantly by indigenous agency."[94] For Bauman and Young, Christianity is as much, if not more so, *of* India as it is *in* India—a point that is used to eschew any effort at pinpointing one form of Indian Christianity as "original" or idealized over another. Following the same model as Raj and Dempsey's previously-discussed volume, *Constructing Indian Christianities* is also divided into three sections, each of which asks a specific question: "Who and What is an Indian Christian?", "Whose Religion is Indian Christianity?", and "Can Christianity be Indian?" The chapters in Section I use a combination of historical and ethnographic methodologies to illuminate the vast plurality of Indian Christianity. A strength of this particular section is its authors' commitment to studying their respective Indian Christian communities through the ethnographic observation of that community in engagement with the religio-cultural traditions around it. In this volume, the term "acculturation" is employed over the historically-used "inculturation" to connote processes of transformation that "take place unintentionally and without apparent awareness."[95] Where

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[93] Chad M. Bauman and Richard Fox Young, eds., *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014).
[94] Bauman and Young, *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*, ix.
[95] Bauman and Young, *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*, xi-xii.

"inculturation" is a term that denotes a "self-consciously deliberate and intentionally missiological project, […] acculturation can occur *despite* the actual intent of religious leaders, traditionalists, and other elites."[96] In maintaining the separation between top-down missiological projects, and the more organic processes of acculturation apparent in the everyday lives of Indian Christian devotees, the authors in Section I of *Constructing Indian Christianities* analyze a variety of ways in which Christianity has been adapted to fit into a range of Indian cultural contexts. While this addressing of the construction of Indian Christianities from a ground-up perspective is important, it becomes further complicated with my study of two contemporary Goan communities, because these communities have absorbed the missiological project of the Portuguese as part of their foundational narrative, even going so far as to see the Portuguese presence in India as a saving grace for their Goan ancestors. Having noted this however, there is certainly benefit to this section of Bauman and Young's volume, particularly in terms of answering the question of whom or what is an Indian Christian. In order to do this, this section of the book offers an understanding of the depth and scope of this answer through profiling a number of specific manifestations of Indian Christians, each one different from one another and yet similar in that they are each Christian as well as Indian.

Authority and legitimacy are the central themes of Section II of Bauman and Young's volume. In particular, the chapters in this section grapple with the regularity with which non-Indian missionaries imposed their authoritative idea of what "true" Christianity was, and were met by the subversion and assertion of Indian agency. The authors in this section use predominantly ethnographic methodologies to elaborate on the struggle between external imposition and internal acculturation in the making of an

[96]Bauman and Young, *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*, xii.

Indian Christian identity. This interaction of theological authority with cultural agency offers room for political and politicized discussion, which the chapters in this section tackle in-depth. Due to the challenging nature of this discussion, however, this section predominantly deals with Indian Christian communities where the clashes between political and ecclesiastical authorities are more pronounced, resulting in a focus on the Dalit Christians of Tamil Nadu. This leaves little to no room for discussion of other Indian Christian communities where the interaction of church and culture are less pronounced, and more nuanced, though no less valuable. For this, communities such as the Goan Catholics of Mumbai, whose interactions with authority are not quite so polemical, remain invisible in this volume. This section renegotiates the hegemonic understanding of whose religion Indian Christianity is by highlighting the ways in which particular communities fuse Indian cultural traditions with the Christian ethos.

The final section of *Constructing Indian Christianities* seeks answers to the question of whether or not Christianity can in fact be Indian. Here, the authors tackle the contemporary challenge of the ever-increasing volume of nationalist voices in India, which call for India to become a Hindu state from which all non-Indian/Hindu elements are removed. This section is valuable to my own research as it addresses the concerns of many contemporary Indian Christian communities that do they do not "belong" in India; these concerns are shared by many of my Goan Catholic participants in the city of Mumbai. The rising voices of Hindu nationalists in India have created a place that is no longer welcoming, and no longer feels like home to non-Hindu Indians. In fact, in my own research work, most of my participants in Toronto cited this very reason as catalytic in their decision to emigrate out of India. The authors of this section in Bauman and

Young's volume provide a resounding "yes" to the question of whether Christianity can in fact be Indian. In the face of rising political tensions and the increasing "othering" that Indian Christians continue to face, the importance of recognizing Indian Christianities as "belonging" to India has become ever more important. For my own Goan interlocutors, their religio-cultural alignment with their European colonizers over their Indian nationalities is a further compounding factor that "others" them not only within the spatial context of India, but also within the academic context of studying Indian Christianities.

Finally, the second of two Afterword notes in Bauman and Young's book, penned by Rowena Robinson, is of special note here. Robinson writes, "Less than two decades ago, sociologists and anthropologist working on Christianity in India struggled to create a discursive space within which their work could be located as well as deliberated."[97] Today, continues Robinson, due to volumes such as Bauman and Young's *Constructing Indian Christianities*, and Raj and Dempsey's *Popular Christianity in India*, Indian Christianity exists as a veritable field of study with an emphasis not only on history and theology, but also towards sociology and anthropology; thus, giving rise to a rich, refined, multi-layered analyses of study of India's plurality of Christian expressions.[98] I make special mention of Robinson's acknowledgement of the current state of the field of Indian Christianity, because it is towards the existence of such a field that she penned her book *Christians of India*, over a decade ago.[99]

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[97]Rowena Robinson, "Afterword 2," in *Constructing Indian Christianities: Culture, Conversion and Caste*, eds. Chad M. Bauman and Richard Fox Young (New Delhi: Routledge, 2014), 246.
[98] Robinson, "Afterword 2," 246-47.
[99] Robinson, *Christians of India*.

As Robinson suggests in Bauman and Young's *Constructing Indian Christianities*, Indian Christianity as a proper field of scholastic inquiry has become firmly established in the last two decades. The focus of the contemporary study of Indian Christianities on profiling particular communities allows for the production of a more holistic understanding of the ways in which Christianity is expressed in India. These expressions of Christianity exist in conversation with the local Indian cultural practices around them, thus becoming uniquely Indian expressions of Christianity. By focusing on the Goan Catholics of Mumbai and Toronto in my own study, this dissertation is participating in and adding to the scholarly voices on the multiplicity of Indian Christian communities as they exist on the ground. Each of the volumes profiled in this section has been invaluable to my own research with and study of the Goan Catholics, by providing context and valuable frameworks. However, there is little mention of the Goans themselves as an individual community in these aforementioned works. The addition to research that my dissertation project brings, is important because it highlights the complexity and nuanced nature of the study of Indian Christianities. The following sections will profile scholarly works that *do* focus on the Goan Catholics—in Goa, their place of origin, and in the diaspora, where they choose to migrate for a number of reasons.

In this section, I have highlighted the development of the field of Indian Christianity, as it has evolved from a field that emphasized the work of European missionaries, providing a particularly-Eurocentric understanding of Christianity in India, to its development into a field that emphasizes engagement with Indian Christian communities on the ground as a way of better understanding the acculturated nature of

Christianity as a specifically Indian religious phenomenon. As has been highlighted, there is still much work to be done in scholarship, particularly in addressing the historical underpinnings of contemporary Indian Christian communities, and assessing their developmental narratives in conjunction with their historical ones. These changes would afford a more nuanced and richer understanding of how today's Indian Christian communities create their communal identities on the ground. It is within this niche, with a focus on history, place, and identity narrative, that this project on the Goans is situated.

Scholarship on Goan Catholics in India

The wealth of historical and anthropological research done on the Christians of India has had an invaluable impact on the current project. This previous research lays the foundational breadth of knowledge that is vital to comprehending the complexities and particularities of the Goan Catholic community, not only as it exists today, but also in its emergence and development. Similar to the early work done on Indian Christians, the majority of the scholarship investigating the Goan Catholics of India has emphasized an historical slant; examining the community in a historical socio-cultural or socio-political context. This historical analysis is extremely valuable to understanding the roots of the community at the heart of my research, providing me with important historical facts, a cultural narrative of the Goan Catholics, and a better understanding of the socio-cultural forces have resulted in the formation of the contemporary community. A few of these foundational works are profiled in this section since they add a depth of knowledge and context to my own ethnographic inquiry. Additionally, as noted in the previous section, by integrating historical analysis with anthropological observation, a deeper understanding of the community at hand is facilitated.

One of the first works to profile the Goan Catholics from their historical inception is Délio de Mendonça's *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa Under Portugal, 1510-1610*.[100] Of the conversion impulse of the Portuguese in Goa, de Mendonça's writes:

> Conversions had to be "marketed" just as spices had to be. The means and approaches used by the agents of conversion "to market" Christendom differed considerably not only in time and space but also in function, from the political and economic interests of the seaborne empire, a fact often not sufficiently emphasized by historical research on this topic.[101]

For the Portuguese, the conversion of indigenous Goan communities was as much a strategic part of their colonial effort, as it was of a missionizing one. de Mendonça writes, "The function of religion was similar to that of the government authority;" adding that religion was "even a superior means of exercising control over the society and conduct of its individuals or communities," because it facilitated the maintenance of "social order more efficiently by proposing lasting rewards and punishments."[102] de Mendonça's work, which spans a hundred year period, profiles the methods of conversion that the Portuguese undertook, the privileges afforded to the new Goan Catholic converts which strengthened the hold of the conversion, and the, albeit limited, syncretic processes that the new Goan Catholics adopted to mould their new faith into their cultural practices. An example of this syncretism was evident in the maintenance of the Konkani vernacular amongst the Goan Catholics, particularly in the domestic sphere. The last point is of particular significance to my own work, as it indicates the distinctive processes of Goan society as it reacted and developed in order to meet the demands of the Portuguese presence. de Mendonça writes:

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[100] de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610*.
[101] de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610*, 1.
[102] de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610*, 7.

> We do not find the term 'syncretism' in the sixteenth century documentation, instead we find the term 'relapse' which connotes a similar reality. […] Syncretism and relapse, therefore, would mean in broad terms, a reconciliation between the old and the new customs, practices and religious beliefs. Further, relapse in Goa meant going back to his/her past Hindu or Muslim religion and customs without discarding his/her newly acquired Christian customs, devotions, names, civil privileges, identity and patrons. 'Relapse was an undesirable practice […] for the missionaries. This 'going back' threatened to undo years of missionary hardwork [sic]. It prevented the unity of faith and empire. However, we could ask ourselves whether the neo-converts had ever left or wanted to leave their ancestral practices once for all. The catechumenate did not wash them clean from all the Hindu customs and influences.[103]

In order to prevent "relapses," the Portuguese missionaries put sanctions in place meant to punish the offending converts. This included removal of granted privileges such as jobs and land titles, and the denial of Catholic sacraments. Additionally there were positive efforts also put in place by the missionaries to pre-emptively stave off the temptation of converts to relapse: "Efforts of various kinds had to be made continuously to prevent relapse. On some religious festivals rice, curry and other sorts of [Indian] food were served to the new Christians as usual, so that on eating this they might be consoled and made to forget the Hindu festivals."[104] de Mendonça's ideas around the syncretistic practices of the Portuguese in their conversion of the Goans is challenged by other works which suggest that the conversion efforts were a more cooperative interaction between the Portuguese and the Goan locals, which allowed for the maintenance of certain pre-conversion cultural aspects.[105] For instance, by maintaining certain aspects of their pre-Catholic diet, the new Goan converts were able to merge some aspects of their cultural upbringing with the expression of their new faith. In other words, the Portuguese

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[103] de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610*, 297.
[104] de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610*, 302.
[105] Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, 2.

employed negative consequence and positive reinforcements in order to control what aspects of the pre-conversion Goan culture would be tolerated as part of the transition to Catholicism. These strategies contributed to a distinctive colonization process of the Goans. Further, de Mendonça's emphasis on the antagonistic nature of the conversion processes experienced by the early Goan converts at the hands of the Portuguese is not a part of the narrative of today's Goans, for whom the Portuguese are seen as the benefactors of their religio-cultural identities.

de Mendonça's focus on history in analyzing the Goan Catholics of India is part of a long tradition maintained by several other scholars.[106] One such work of scholarship is M.N. Pearson's *The Portuguese in India*, which also examines the influence that the Portuguese had on the Indian subcontinent, including changes to socio-political structures, matters of language, and population dynamics[107]. Pearson's book is, akin to de Mendonça's work, primarily a work of historical analysis. Through it, Pearson traces the explorations of the Portuguese in and around the Indian subcontinent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of particular note, is Pearson's attention to the shape of Indo-Portuguese society under Portuguese colonization. On the impact of the colonial effort on local language, Pearson writes that the domestic language continued to be Konkani, but "certain Goans by learning Portuguese became in demand as interpreters and go-betweens, and thus acquired, or retained, wealth and influence."[108] This retention of privilege due to linguistics continues to be apparent amongst today's Goan Catholics in my own research. While most of my participants have linguistic ties to Konkani, during

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[106] See: A.D. Furtardo, *Goa: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Goa: Furtardo's Enterprises, 1983); Gomes, *Village Goa: A Study of Goan Social Structure and Change*; Lino Leitao, *The Gift of the Holy Cross* (Leeds: Peepal Tree, 1999).
[107] Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*.
[108] Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, 106.

our interviews many alluded to their parents or grandparents learning Portuguese; in this way, my participants were indicating to me that they come from privileged and higher classes. As part of the conversion effort, Portuguese was the language of evangelization and governmental administration; while, Latin was the language of the church Konkani continued as the language used in the domestic setting, which explains its continued presence and importance for today's Goan communities. Where Konkani was allowed in the expression of the Catholic faith, it had to be written in the Roman script so as to be aesthetically similar to Portuguese and Latin. This adaptation of Konkani to the Roman script would serve the Goan Catholics well under the Portuguese and British colonial regimes as this distinctive process of linguistic integration, unique to the Goans, allowed them to adopt easily multiple languages based in the Roman script, including English.[109]

Another aspect of Pearson's work is his description of the ways in which the Jesuit missionaries integrated their religious ideals into the culture found on the ground in Goa. Pearson suggests that the integrating role of the church was fostered in two ways. First, church officials served in office for far longer than political officers, thus offering a thread of continuity for adherents, by investing lifetimes in India. And second, Jesuit missionaries invested themselves in learning the vernacular of the converted people, thus finding common cultural ground and a more effective means of communicating with their new congregants.[110] As noted previously, the adoption of Portuguese and Latin was demanded for true conversion. However, the integration of Konkani into smaller aspects of communal life was still tolerated. For instance, new Konkani hymns were developed to add to the religious experience of the new Catholic Goans. As such, this integration of the

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[109] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 144.
[110] Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, 125-26.

local language into certain aspects of the Catholic practice produced a unique expression of culture for the Goans. As well, in developing long-term stable relationships with the new Catholic community, the missionaries were able to actively shape the communities of converts, not only religiously but also socially.

In regards to the adaption of Catholicism to fit in with the prevailing Hindu caste system, Pearson writes that caste stratification continued to exist in new Catholic converts because the Jesuits encouraged only Brahmin, or high- and priestly-caste, converts to enter the seminary, thus making the conversion a lateral one and allowing for the new converts to retain their pre-Catholic class privilege in their post-conversion lives. This societal privilege was sustained by the Portuguese, who rewarded the new Catholic Goans with social benefits and positions of high standing in their communities. In other words, "castes" were now translated into "social classes." Furthermore, by converting primarily Brahmins, the Portuguese efforts ensured that the preferential treatment given to the new Catholic converts fit well into the already-existing caste stratification. This conversion effort that focused on the higher castes was in distinction to other conversion efforts further south on the Malabar Coast, which saw only members of lower castes being converted, thus rendering the new converts simply another low-caste group within their communities.[111] Though conversion was on option open to all Goans, the first wave of conversion efforts by the Portuguese was focused primarily on the conversion of Brahmin Goans to Catholicism. Conversion to Catholicism was attractive to the Brahmins because it meant that they could retain their class privilege, while also garnering socio-political privileges under the Portuguese colonial administration in Goa. Helen Sant'ana writes, "Conversion to Catholicism operated as a way of demarcating

[111] Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, 129.

social status. Being a Christian implied the ability to participate in local political structures, upward social and economic mobility, and the maintenance of status, especially among Goan Brahmins."[112] This conversion activity was primarily centered in the northern part of the modern state of Goa, and these converted communities are referred to as "Old Conquests." This first wave of conversion efforts which lasted nearly a century, was geographically focussed in the northern part of Goa. This area of early conversion efforts is referred to as the "Old Conquests;" it is this area in which the majority of the conversions to Christianity took place.[113] The area termed "New Conquests" is geographically in the southern part of modern Goa. Conversion efforts in this region began only in 1639, once the Portuguese had a strong imperial and missionary presence in the north. In bringing Catholicism to the area of the New Conquests, the Portuguese no longer sought to convert only the higher castes of the existing Goan society, and instead converted from all classes. Further, the acculturation activities of the religious missionaries and the Portuguese also continued in the New Conquests.[114] This meant that the newly converted communities of the New Conquest regions were from a mixture of pre-conversion castes, including high-caste Brahmins and low-caste *sudras*.[115] D'Souza writes:

> Due to their conversion to Christianity, the Goan Christians did not lose their castes and social status attached to them. The consciousness of the social precedence of the various castes on the caste hierarchy and endogamy were the main two features of the castes which

[112] Helena Maria Mauricio C. Sant'ana, "Goans and Damnians in Portugal: An Overview of a Singular Diaspora," in *South Asian Christian Diaspora: Invisible Diaspora in Europe and North America*, eds. Knut A. Jacobsen and Selva J. Raj (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 134.
[113] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 96-97.
[114] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 97.
[115] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 97-98.

> survived, though in a greatly transformed condition, among Goan Christians.[116]

This remnant membership to historic caste was echoed to me by several of my own participants, each of whom knew, and were quite proud of, which caste their pre-conversion ancestors belonged to. Pearson writes, "Generations after conversion, caste still determined many aspects of social behaviour: marriage, membership of Christian confraternities, where one ate in church."[117] This awareness of their ancestral pre-conversion caste has proven true for the contemporary Goan communities profiled in my research project. Even those who had left India for Canada, though they professed ignorance of and disinterest in the idea of castes when I spoke of it, continued to show acute awareness of historic caste when issues of marriage and association arose. Having mentioned this awareness of historic caste, it should also be noted that while most of my interlocutors claimed to be of the Brahmin class, they had no tangible evidence of this membership. When I inquired as to how they knew about their ancestral caste, many interviewees responded with a vague, "We just know." Further, in professing the importance of maintaining practices of marriage, my participants referenced marrying fellow Goans from "good Goan families," with no explanation of what that entailed. Finally, particularly for my interlocutors in Canada, the maintenance of marrying into a "good Goan family" was not at all adhered to since many of them were open to inter-communal or inter-racial relationships. Margaret Frenz sustains this exact point in her work, writing, "It seems that in Canada, many Goans are married to or have a partner

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[116] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 243.
[117] Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, 129.

who is a non-Goan."[118] In sum, through the Portuguese conversion of the Goans, caste was used in the conversion process to maintain social hierarchy, thus resulting in less social disruption. Over time, caste has come to function as a historic or traditional indicator of social status for contemporary Goans, and is only used in a few instances of marriage or association, therefore carrying very little of its "Hindu" connotation for today's Goans.

Pearson elucidates the distinctive colonization process of the Goans by the Portuguese through a few significant points of inquiry: the positive reinforcements and negative ramifications of the conversion effort; the linguistic integration and adjustments by the new Catholic converts; the long-term engagement of the Jesuits in Goan culture; and the role and reconstruction of Hindu castes through the missionary project. By analyzing historical records and archival data from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Pearson concludes that "in many areas the Portuguese impact [on India] was minor; in a few it was substantial. Overall there was much more co-operation and interaction than dominance."[119] Pearson laments, "It has been felt that with the decline of [the Portuguese] empire nothing of interest can be written about the Portuguese in India."[120] His book concludes with a minor point about the Goan Catholics immigrating out of Goa and into Mumbai in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, and he calls for future scholars to conduct more research into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a time that saw the Catholic communities of Goa develop and disperse out of the home state.

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[118] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 250.
[119] Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, 2.
[120] Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, 144.

This call for examining the Goans as they developed through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was answered through works such as Bento Graciano D'Souza's *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*.[121] This book, archival and historical in nature, moves beyond other research on Goan history, with the author tracing the exodus of Goans out of Goa and into the Bombay area, as he analyzes geo-political and historical data for the causes behind this transition, and uses population statistics from the 1930s through to the 1950s to showcase the underpinnings of the Goan population in the city of Mumbai today. D'Souza writes:

> In this work I have attempted to study the social change in Goan society. According to the functionalistic theory of change, social change is brought about by two types of facts, exogenous and endogenous. […] Our major postulate is that the Goan society underwent a social change due to the impact of political, economic, judicial, cultural and social systems imposed by the Portuguese rulers during their rule extending over $4^1/_2$ centuries […]. Goan society provides, in the Indian setting, an unique case to illustrate the change which a society exhibits when brought in contract with foreign culture, for, of all the four European powers that attempted colonization of India, namely the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the British, the Portuguese harnessed to a greater extent their power and wealth to their policies of proselytization and acculturation.[122]

This idea that the Portuguese had a greater and longer-lasting impact on cultural expressions through processes of proselytization and acculturation is one that D'Souza weaves through his entire analysis in *Goan Society in Transition*. This is in contrast to previous scholarship on the Portuguese influence on Goa and Goan culture, which had been assessed as not all-encompassing by scholars such as Pearson.

D'Souza's exploration of the early processes of settlement undertaken by Goan Catholic immigrants to the city of Bombay is extremely insightful. He describes in great

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[121] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*.
[122] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 2-3.

detail the areas of the city into which these immigrants settled, and the ways in which they created communities meant to remember their Goan heritage.[123] The remembered place of Goa is vital to the ways in which the migrant Goan community settled in Bombay. For instance, the organization of Goan village life is replicated in the setting up of Goan *kudds* in Bombay. This is a significant point of exploration as it highlights the transnational nature of the Goan community. Transnationalism, as will be discussed in detail through this dissertation, is a commitment to maintaining ties to the place that is left behind by the migrant community, even while the community builds its new life in the new place. D'Souza's exploration of these *kudds*, or communal clubs, which were set up in Bombay to resemble the Goan village structures, is particularly interesting and will also be discussed in detail later in this dissertation. What is particularly insightful, from a comparative perspective, for my own work, is the replication of these clubs that the twenty-first century Goan Catholic immigrants in Toronto undertake.

D'Souza's work has informed my own research with an understanding of the changing environment in Goa which caused mass migration of Goans to Bombay. For instance, D'Souza writes in detail of the multiple waves of migration out of Goa that the Catholic communities undertook.[124] The reasons for these migrations include greater educational and employment opportunities in the metropolis of Bombay, and growing resentment of the privileged Catholics in Goa. As such, the reasons for the early migrations from Goa to Mumbai are not entirely different from the twentieth and twenty-first century reasons that many of my Goan interlocutors reference for their immigration to Canada, namely increased access to educational and employment resources in the

[123] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 200-09.
[124] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 200-03.

West, in conjunction with a growing sense of feeling like they are "unwanted" in India today. The diversity of reasons for the early migration out of Goa is complex and reflects a more complicated process than simple push-pull factors of one place being "better" than the other. These complex and nuanced theories about migration patterns, and the types of migrant groups in diasporic communities is discussed in detail further in this project. The adaptation of communal clubs and the similarity in reasons for migrations, generations apart, suggest that the Goans adopt similar strategies through various immigration processes, both in the early migration by Goans to the city of Bombay, and in the modern migration of today's Goans to Canada. Additionally, D'Souza's historical exploration provides a vital context for understanding the immigrant story of the parents and grandparents of most of the participants in my study.

No review of the extant scholarship on Goan Catholics in India would be complete without discussing the work of Teresa Albuquerque, who is arguably the preeminent Indian scholar on the history of Goan Catholics, in and outside of Goa.[125] Albuquerque is prolific writer, with over a dozen books written about the Goan Catholic communities of Goa, Mumbai, and Kenya. Her body of work on the Goan Catholic community of Mumbai has provided my project with a great deal of insight, with specific information being drawn from *Goan Pioneers in Bombay* and *To Love is to Serve:*

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[125] Key works include: Teresa Albuquerque, *Urbs Prima in Indis: An Epoch in the History of Bombay, 1840-1865*, lst ed. (New Delhi: Promilla & Company, 1985); Teresa Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 1st ed. (Bombay: Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, 1986); Teresa Albuquerque, *Anjuna: Profile of a Village in Goa*, 1st ed. (New Delhi: Promilla & Company, 1988); Teresa Albuquerque, *Bombay: A History* (New Delhi: Rashna Publishing, 1992); Teresa Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya* (Mumbai: Michael Lobo Publishers, 1999); Teresa Albuquerque and Mathew J. Albuquerque, *Four Hundred Years of the Church of St. Michael, Anjuna, Goa: A Pictorial History* (Anjuna, Goa: St. Michael's Parish, 2003); Teresa Albuquerque, *Bassein: The Portuguese Interlude*, 1st ed. (Mumbai: Wenden Offset Private Ltd., 2004); Teresa Albuquerque, *Baçaim to Vasai*, 1st ed. (Mumbai: Wenden Offset Private Ltd., 2006); Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*.

Catholics of Bombay.[126] In *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, Albuquerque addresses "the *why*, the *when*, the *how*, and the *who* of early Goan migration to Bombay."[127] Similar to D'Souza's work, albeit with more brevity, Albuquerque outlines the tumultuous socio-political environment of seventeenth century Goa. The decline of the Portuguese stronghold in Goa and the 1646 Maratha attack on Goa by Maratha warrior king Shivaji, resulted in the Goan Catholics, who were favoured under the Portuguese, becoming impoverished and in search of resources.[128] This unrest in Goa created a rise in migration of Catholics out of their home place in the latter part of the seventeenth century; the migrating Goans relocated to areas like the city of Bombay. Using historical and archival materials, Albuquerque creates a vivid portrait of seventeenth century Bombay and then paints in the details of the diversity and opportunities available to the incoming Goan migrants. She outlines in further detail the community clubs or *kudds* that facilitated the community-making activities of these Goan Catholic immigrants:

> Gradually each village in Goa evolved its corresponding *kudd* in Bombay […] Besides the healthy spirit of fellowship the *kudd* system imparted to its fellows, it had a powerful and positive impact both on the lone individual and on the Goan community at large. […] Apart from providing financial stability so vitally essential for the struggling emigrant, the *kudd* [also] provided a most beneficial impact on Goan culture.[129]

For Albuquerque, as for D'Souza, the *kudds* were a practical and real way in which early Goan immigrants to the city of Bombay maintained their religio-cultural identities and communal ties. The membership to one or several *kudds* is something that many of my participants in Bombay referred to, and *kudd*-like communities have also been re-created

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[126] Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*; Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*.
[127] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, vii.
[128] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, xxiv-xxv.
[129] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 21-220.

by the modern community of Goans in Toronto. The original *kudds* in the city of Bombay helped the early Goan migrants to recreate Goa in Bombay; and the *kudd*-like organizations in diasporic communities like Toronto serve to transplant a sense of a Goan place in a new location. Also in *Goan Pioneers of Bombay*, Albuquerque outlines the contributions of Goan Catholics to several vital aspects of Bombay society and culture, highlighting ways in which Goan culture adapted to the cosmopolitan setting of Bombay, while still remaining true to its Goan cultural roots. Through such integration, a Goan subculture was created in the city of Bombay. Albuquerque includes thick description of the contributions of Goan Catholics to the arts, service industries, medical professions, and social milieu of Bombay.[130] Albuquerque's work further confirms the significance of place as a marker of identity for the Goan; this sense of identity as tied to the place of Goa is so vital for the Goans that the *ur*-place of Goa is continually recreated in the dispersed communities of Goans. Albuquerque's work also confirms the distinctiveness of Goan Catholicism; a distinctiveness that has produced a Goan subculture. This subculture is a part of the city of Bombay. In fact, it can be argued that the cosmopolitan nature of Bombay encourages and sustains the creation and maintenance of such a subculture. Furthermore, this creation of a Goan subculture indicates the successful transition of the Goans from the rural place of Goa to the urban context of Bombay. This transition from rural to urban was facilitated by the creation of the *kudds*, an adaptive strategy that continues to be replicated in modern diasporic Goan communities, like Toronto.

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[130] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 23-41. Included in this section is a detailed profile and two photographs of Francisco Menezes, a prolific and prominent twentieth century Goan musician in the city of Bombay. I was delighted to read this section of Albuquerque's work, as Francisco Menezes, in addition to being Teresa Albuquerque's childhood violin professor, was also my maternal grandfather.

In *To Love is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, Albuquerque traces the emigration of Goan Catholics out of their home state of Goa, and into the metropolitan city of Bombay (now, Mumbai) in the eighteenth century. She echoes D'Souza's work in detailing the reasons for this emigration, including the community's search for more lucrative employment prospects, and opportunities for higher education.[131] Once in the city of Bombay, Albuquerque provides detailed accounts of the ways in which this community contributed to the city through the nineteenth century, including the development of community associations, meant to "safeguard the heritage of that community,"[132] thus reinforcing the Goan subculture in the city of Bombay. Of particular note in this volume, is Albuquerque's attention to the arts, where she details the Goan bridging between Indian art forms and influences from Europe. For instance, in discussing the Goan Catholic development of music, Albuquerque writes, "It may be noted that Konkanim music reflects the centuries old gradual fusion of culture of the East and West—*Dakhni* folkdances of the Konkan Coast, and *mando* greatly influenced by the French contra-dance, its melody bearing a trace of Italian church music blended with the Portuguese *fado*."[133] It should be mentioned here, that although Albuquerque is discussing Goan culture here, the religious influences as found in Italian church music, are never far away from the definition of culture when it comes to the Goans. Furthermore, Albuquerque outlines the ways in which exporting their particular brand of music from Goa to Bombay allowed the Goan Catholic community to remain united and strong, even in the face of the challenges inherent in being new immigrants. This place-

[131] Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 7-8.
[132] Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 9.
[133] Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 75.

making activity is of tremendous use to my own work with the Goan Catholics as it offers insight into the community's history of creating new lives in a new place.

As discussed, the historical studies on the Goans show the distinctive process of colonization of the Goans by the Portuguese. This process centred on Catholicism as the vehicle of propagating European culture amongst the Goans. Through strong conversion efforts and long-term engagements with the Goans, the Portuguese helped to create a Goan Catholic culture that was at once a religious community, but also integrated the linguistic and cultural values of the European missionaries in assimilation with the pre-conversion culture of the Goans.

Scholarship on Goan Catholics in Diaspora

Goan Catholic communities who have immigrated out of India to countries in East Africa, the Middle East, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom have not been academically examined in great detail. However, there have been two significant contributions to the topic in recent years.

Continuing her scholarship on Goan Catholic communities, Albuquerque's current research focuses on the Goan Catholic communities of Nairobi, Kenya. She discusses how with the dwindling presence of the Portuguese and British in India through the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, Goan Catholics began losing the positions of privilege afforded to them as "Westernized" Indians, favoured by the colonizing rulers. Seeking positions of employment within other areas of the Portuguese and British empires became commonplace for Goan Catholics during this time, thus leading to large numbers of Goan Catholics emigrating to East Africa, and

particularly Nairobi, Kenya during that time.[134] Albuquerque uses archival materials such as the journals of Portuguese explorers and historical news sources to provide detailed descriptions of the early Goan immigrants to Kenya. Of the Goan Catholic integration into life and service in Kenya, she writes:

> It may be remembered that during [the late 1800s] and for decades to come the local Africans, being deliberately deprived of any facility for education by the British authorities, were far too backward to enter government service. So Goans who had already been exposed to western education and also to service elsewhere under the British Government had a field day and readily found opening East Africa.[135]

In addition to securing employment in East Africa, the Goan immigrants also set up *kudds* to replicate their Goan village allegiances, as well as Goan schools, churches, and gymkhanas, country club-like institutions where Goans could meet and partake of cultural events. This was similar to the processes of settling that the Goans used in migrating to Bombay. One particular institution that was set up in Nairobi was the Goan Oversees Association, a community association meant to unite the community in their new home, and to "promote and safeguard the interest and welfare of the Goan community in Kenya."[136] Albuquerque's detailed history of the establishment of the Goan Oversees Association (G.O.A.) is particularly important to my research as this community institution continues to exist today, and it was with their Toronto chapter that I conducted much of my communal participant observation. G.O.A. continues to maintain their mandate of imparting Goan cultural values to the generations of Goans born in the diaspora.[137] In my own participant observation data with the G.O.A., I found that while their website, www.goatoronto.com, lists secular cultural values as its mandate, all

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[134] Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya*, 15-17.
[135] Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya*, 28.
[136] Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya*, 54.
[137] Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya*, 54.

G.O.A. events begin with a Mass or a prayer service. This reinforces the role that religion has for the Goans, in that it is an understood and assumed component of their cultural identities.

Finally, Albuquerque details the struggles faced by the Goans in Kenya and other part of East Africa as the region gained independence from the British in the mid-twentieth century. As a community that was seen as favoured by the colonizers over native Africans, the Goans were not looked upon favourably at this time, and were increasingly persecuted in Africa. This process of being aligned with the colonizer and therefore being shunned by the local people is an echo of the situation that Goans faced in Goa in the seventeenth century, when they were forced out of Goa due to their affiliation with the Portuguese who were facing a loss of power due to societal pressures and political upheaval. Albuquerque writes:

> Their livelihood seriously threatened by [these policies] of racial discrimination Goans felt compelled to leave Kenya. […] So in the years 1966/67, several Goans slowly slithered away from the country. It was heartbreakking [sic] for them to uproot themselves after living there for several generations.[138]

This tumultuous time saw most of the East African Goans leave the place of their birth. Albuquerque draws on records from the time to suggest that those who were able to collect pensions, returned to Goa, a place where they had never lived, and to which only a few had ever visited previously. This reinforces the notion of "place" for the Goans, who hold onto the cultural memory of Goa as the place from where they come and to which they belong. The younger generation, particularly those able to secure visas and work permits, immigrated to countries like Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom.[139] This

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[138] Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya*, 98.
[139] Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya*, 98-99.

mid-twentieth century persecution of the Goans in East Africa and their subsequent migration to Western countries like Canada, is seen replicated with today's communities of Goans in India, who also face social, political, and cultural persecution in the country of birth; this socio-political and cultural persecution in India today has acted as a catalyzing force in the decision of contemporary Goans to migrate out of India. Historic and modern Goan migration to Western countries like Canada indicates identification with the Commonwealth group of nations, and highlights the Goan cultural affiliation with the West.

The dispersion of Goans out of East Africa in the mid-twentieth century to other parts of the world is also the subject of inquiry Frenz's 2014 book *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C.1890-1980*.[140] A key volume on Goans in the diaspora, this book "follows the migration trajectory of Goans to East Africa, and further to other countries of the world, particularly to the UK and Canada."[141] Frenz uses Portuguese archival resources to capture a sense of the migratory movements of Goans out of India beginning in the seventeenth century, to other parts of the world for a number of reasons, including work and education. She writes:

> The multiple migration movements of Goan families, moving to the Western Indian Ocean rim, then to the interior of East Africa, and then further afield as well as staying put in East Africa or moving to Goa are best analysed [sic] in a framework of intersecting local contexts. In the course of migration, settling and institutionalizing themselves in East Africa, Goans created distinct spaces such as Zanzibari Goan spaces or Kenyan, Tanganyikan or Ugandan Goan spaces. They negotiated the new local contexts with social practices brought form Goa but reshaped by the new setting. Creating a sense

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[140] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*.
[141] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 44.

> of belonging to the new place was part of the process of making themselves at home there.[142]

Frenz's investigation indicates a similar dynamic as that which is found with the original migration of Goans out of Goa and to Bombay, vis-à-vis the continuous recreation of the home-place of Goa in the new places. Frenz identifies ways in which the Goan communities in East Africa maintained their sense of cultural and religious identity, while still adapting and integrating into life in the new location. For instance, Frenz discusses the formation of Goan "clubs," analogous formations to the previously-mentioned *kudds* that both D'Souza and Albuquerque discuss in their exploration of the Goans of Bombay. These East African Goan "clubs," writes Frenz, were created along lines of caste, occupation, or village of origin, similar to their *kudd* counterparts in Bombay. As well, the East African Goan clubs also assisted in the welfare and wellbeing of their Goan members. Of the spaces that Goans created for themselves in East Africa, Frenz writes:

> The social institutions of the club, the church, and the schools provide examples of the creation of a social infrastructure and the reconstruction of social and material practices. This reconstruction, however, was not purely a process of reproduction but a creative selection of the cultural and social elements that had been kept alive as well as those that had—either consciously or unconsciously—been discarded.[143]

In addition to the "club scene," Frenz's work also examines the role of the church as an institution of communal identity construction for the Goans in her study. As with my own research participants in both Mumbai and Toronto, Frenz's Goan participants considered the church central of their cultural identity, and viewed it as a centre for maintaining their

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[142] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 6.
[143]Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 135.

socio-cultural and religious values. Having said this, while the church is held by the Goan communities as central to their identity, the religious affiliation and practices of the Goans as well as the significance of religion for this community is an overlooked point of scholarship. Rather, scholarship has focussed instead on Goan "cultural" identity, which I assert, is inextricable from their religious identity.

Another noteworthy point in Frenz's analysis of the community-creation and migratory patterns of the Goans of East Africa is her commitment to describing the transnationalism of this community. She writes:

> Like geological strata, temporal strata are made up of manifold layers, which may occur simultaneously. They overlap each other, and at times, appear to be in tension with each other. Time in this understanding is neither linear nor circular. Rather, it is constituted by (individual) experience and life cycle rituals. Thus, 'translocal', 'transimperial', 'transnational', and 'global' phenomena can be understood as temporal layers, in this case of migration movements. I use the different migration movement of Goans across the Indian Ocean and beyond […] to show that these temporal layers cannot be conceptualized without taking into account the characteristics of the different locations. Space and time […] are inextricably linked.[144]

This dedication to the place-making that is apparent in the Goan Catholic communities central to her work, has made Frenz's book invaluable to my own analysis of the ways in which the Goans of Mumbai create their places of meaning, both in their home city of Mumbai, and in their post-migration home in Toronto. Frenz's analysis of Goan migrant communities in the diaspora has been instrumental in providing a deeper understanding of the dynamics of my own subject community of Goans in Toronto, who have difficulty expressing their integrated relgio-cultural identities through the mainstream institution of the Catholic Church in Canada, and thus have adapted the communal club, such as the

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[144] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 8-9.

Goan Overseas Association (G.O.A.), as a vehicle through which to maintain their unique expressions of culture and religion. Using the theoretical lens of "transnationalism" Frenz is able to elucidate the ways in which diasporic communities of Goans around the world have maintained engaged ties to the "homeland" of Goa. A more detailed overview of the way in which I use "transnationalism" in my own research and analysis is given in Chapter 3; there, I build on the foundational knowledge of Frenz's work. Finally, Frenz focused her study on the time period from 1890 to 1980; as such, my project's scope is indebted to her research as an important precursor to the present-day story of the Goans that I aim to tell through my research.

Albuquerque and Frenz are two contemporary scholars who continue to examine the Goans in diaspora. While other such scholarly work is still quite limited, there is contemporary research being conducted into the Goan Catholics in diaspora in the form of doctoral and Master's theses. Two in particular are profiled here because their subject populations and methodological inquiries are valuable to my own work. The first is a Master's thesis by Andrea D'Sylva, entitled *'You Can't Be A Goan and Not Eat Goan Food'. The Intersection of Gender, Food and Identity: A Case Study of Goan Women in the Greater Toronto Area*.[145] The second is a doctoral dissertation by Kathryn Carrière, entitled *Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities*.[146] D'Sylva's 2009 Master's thesis is an ethnographic study that, through a community of Goan women in Toronto, examines the role of food in maintaining Goan identity in the immigrant context. D'Sylva writes of her participants,

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[145] Andrea D'Sylva, ""You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food." The Interection of Gender, Food and Identity: A Case Study of Goan Women in the Greater Toronto Area" (Mount Saint Vincent University, 2009).

[146] Kathryn Carrière, "Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities" (University of Ottawa, 2011).

"Their Goan identity was not something they questioned or unpacked, they were Goans, period. However, on further discussion, their Goanness was entrenched in what they termed Goan values."[147] These values, she expounds, includes the importance of family, caring for the elderly, their Catholicism, and maintaining ties to a remembered history through tokens such as food. While D'Sylva does not explicitly go into this detail, the subject of food as a site of identity-maintenance arose repeatedly in my own research, particularly around religious rituals and social gatherings. For my participants, as for D'Sylva's, the creation and sharing of food are a vital aspect of Goan culture, and are a means of sharing that culture with neighbours, whether other Indians in Mumbai, or fellow-Canadians in Toronto.

Carrière's 2011 dissertation focuses on two subject populations in the Greater Toronto Area, the Goan Catholic and Anglo-Indian communities of Toronto. Carrière employs the concept of "lifeworlds" (*Lebenswelt*) to argue that their Catholic faith serves as a primary lens for these communities in their navigation of life in Canada. She writes:

> Consisting of cultural reference points and religious precepts from past (but not forgotten) and present lives lived in various nations amidst diverse community groups, the lifeworlds of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics serve as the lenses through which they are able to make sense of and positively manipulate the Canadian system. Because of the integral interrelationship that continues to exist between their religiosity and culture, members of these communities have allowed their faith to become the very fountainhead of their comparatively similar lifeworlds. The colonial emphasis on Western culture as developed in part by the Christian faith has given Goans and Anglo-Indians the facility to understand and subsequently fulfil various requirements of the Canadian system, a task which other

[147] D'Sylva, ""You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food." The Interection of Gender, Food and Identity: A Case Study of Goan Women in the Greater Toronto Area," 136.

> ethnic and religious communities may find both difficult and arduous.[148]

While my own research does not share Carrière's lifeworld lens, her analysis and conclusions about the Goan integration into Canadian life are insightful. However, due to Carrière's conflation of the Goans and the Anglo-Indian communities in Toronto, the unique historical narratives of the two communities that are central to her inquiry are erased. This does not allow for a nuanced understanding of how the foundational narrative of the Goans is instrumental in the contemporary community's religio-cultural identity construction. Carrière's ethnographic enquiry is similar in scope to my own and her participants explicate several similar points as my own Toronto-based Goan Catholic participants regarding the modes employed in maintaining Goan Catholic culture in their new multicultural Canadian home. However, my research does illustrate that while their Catholicism does act as a catalyst for surface integration into Canadian society, the particularities of Goan Catholicism cannot be fully expressed in Toronto, thus resulting in an underlying sense of "difference" and exclusion that my participants feel from broader Canadian society. In regards to our respective ethnographic enquiries, there is one marked point of difference that I would like to highlight: Carrière study does not delineate between first-, second-, or third-generation Goan Canadian participants, nor does it establish difference between those who have emigrated once, twice, or more times (for example, from Bombay to Toronto directly, or from Bombay to Nairobi to Toronto, etc.). This amalgamation of variables is not replicated in my research; rather, my call for research participants specified first-generation Goan Catholics in Toronto, who had emigrated directly from Mumbai, India. This specificity has allowed me to draw direct

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[148] Carrière, "Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities," 142.

inferences about the mechanisms of transnational identity maintenance that my participants brought with them from their place of origin. This key difference in methodological approaches aside, my own research is greatly indebted to Carrière's work, not only for adding a valuable voice to the still-budding body of research on Goans in the diaspora, but also for her insights into the importance of their religion in their identity formation of Goan Catholics. As such, she writes:

> Modifying key Indian elements and giving them significance within their Westernized perceptual fields of existence, members of these communities consider religiosity as the very backdrop upon which their life experiences render meaningful. Straddling boundaries between the Indian traditional and North American liberal worlds, Anglo-Indians and Goans attribute their achievements to their Westernized upbringing and their Catholic-centred principles effectively making them, in their opinions, upholders and commendable models of accommodation to Canada's system.[149]

Carrière argues that the "*lebenswelt*" of her subject communities is informed entirely by their Catholicism, which in turn facilitates their thorough integration into Canadian society. Though Carrière's premise sets a foundation for my own project, my research illustrates that while their religion facilitates initial integration into Canadian society, for Toronto's Goans this initial integration does not fully address the entirety of their religio-cultural commitments. My project demonstrates that in order to supplement the practice of their Catholicism as is facilitated through church parishes in Canada, the Goan community in Toronto develops new and unique ways of maintaining ties to their Goan heritage. The hybridity of identities that Carrière alludes to is explored in greater detail in my project, particularly as it manifests with the Goan Catholics at the heart of my project,

[149] Carrière, "Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities," 367.

who adapt to their new lives in the diasporic community of Toronto while still maintaining their identities as distinctly Goan and Catholic.

The scholarship on the Goan Catholics in diaspora is a developing field. The work that has been done to date is informative and vital to my own work, as it has laid crucial groundwork about the community's history of migration, and the networks that facilitate this migration. Furthermore, the examination of cultural activities such as food-making as a means of transmitting cultural values to the next generation in the diasporic context is a significant material way in which this community maintains its cultural identity. My project engages with the examination of similar aspects of identity-construction and maintenance, thus adding to the body of work on the Goans, who have been under-represented in scholarly work thus far, particularly in comparison to the scholarship on other Indian Christian communities in diaspora.

Addressing Needs in Scholarship

My dissertation addresses the niche in the current scholarship on Goans, namely the role and performance of Catholicism in the identity creation of this religio-cultural community as it exists outside of its home-place of Goa. As demonstrated in this chapter, the current body of literature sees the role of religion only partially addressed in discussing the Goans and their culture. Drawing on the unique and distinct processes of colonization that has led to the development of this modern community, my research is invested in the particular ways in which this community reinforces its religio-cultural identity through place-making, material culture, and religious practices.

This chapter has examined a breath of scholarship that surrounds the academic study of the Goan Catholic community central to my research. The first section profiled

the recently-developed field of Indian Christianities, its growth over the last century from a field committed to chronicling the history and missiological narratives of Christianity in India to a field that acknowledged the emic nature of the Christianities practiced in India. As well, this section explored the commitment of contemporary scholars of Indian Christianities to the examination of particular communities as they exist on the ground, however "messy," or un-Christian-looking, the terrain may be. The current dissertation project fits squarely into this trend of working with a specific community, in a particular place, and examining them "as-is."

By examining the Goan Catholics of Mumbai, this doctoral project is also adding to the body of works profiled in the second section of this chapter, scholarship on the Goan Catholics of India. As has been shown, the extant scholarship on Goan Catholics in India is now, quite out-of-date. As well, this body of work tends to be focused on the history of the community, and cataloguing the community's cultural expressions. While this cataloguing of culture and history has been invaluable in informing my own research into the contemporary community of Goans, there is definite need for an anthropological inquiry into the community. There is, as yet, no ethnographic exploration of the Goan community in Mumbai, so this dissertation project is a vital voice to the growing body of knowledge on this community as it maintains its cultural identity and religious practices as a diasporic community in India.

Finally, since the Goans are a community with a long history of migration, the third section of this chapter has profiled the contemporary works that have examined this community in diasporic settings, particularly East Africa, because that region has been a historical destination for emigrating Goans. The analyses of the scholars writing about

diasporic communities of Goans has been instrumental in setting up important frameworks for my own work, as they have explored Goan post-migration modes of place-making and identity-maintenance. These scholars have set up a paradigm into which the current research projects fits squarely; one that examines the traditional ways of community-creation, and the innovative methods of sustaining Goan identity that are developed based on the particular places to which they immigrate. These explorations have been vital to the understanding and analysis of my subject population of Goan immigrants in Toronto.

In situating my dissertation within the corpus of extant literature on Indian Christianity in general, and Goan Catholics in particular, an apparent gap in the examination of this community becomes apparent; that is, the lack of scholarly engagement with and analysis of this community's religious expression and identity. This history of neglect is addressed in this dissertation through an overview of the Goan community's historical narrative, and an examination of the unique and distinct processes of conversion that the Goans underwent through the Portuguese missionary efforts in India. In combining this knowledge with an anthropological drive that examines the community as it exists on the ground, this project explores the creation and maintenance of Goan religio-cultural identity.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL CONTEXTS & METHODS

> I mean, when I say 'Goan,' first and foremost I mean Catholic. That is just understood. It is just our way of life. I think it is my priority—I have placed my religion as number one in my life, and that is because I am Goan. Then comes everything else, Indian *findian* [sic], whatever.[150]

For the young man quoted here, being Goan implies that he is a particular type of Catholic. For him, as for all the participants of my study and the Goan community at large, religion is the primary building block upon which they construct their identities. The ethnic, cultural, and religious identities of this community are all wrapped up in one all-encompassing word: "Goan." The word connotes a culture, a system of religious beliefs, ties to a remembered place, a communal narrative about their origins and history, a heritage, and an ethnicity. These terms, so weighted in what they imply for the subject population of my research, require unpacking and definition as part of setting the stage for the theoretical and methodological "scene" of this project. As such, the first section of this chapter provides definitions of the pivotal terms, including "religion," "culture," "ethnicity," and "nationality." In terms of definitions, sociologist of religion, Peter L. Berger writes, "Definitions cannot, by their very nature, be either 'true' or 'false,' only more useful or less so."[151] For this reason, I have selected definitions that are appropriate for my study in reference to: (1) the theories and methods employed; (2) their interpretive value or usefulness for my study; and (3) how my participants and subject population see and define themselves.

As mentioned, my subject population describes their culture as "Goan," with the unmentioned implication of Goan Catholic. Their culture is a product of their religio-

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[150] Lester Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 23, 2013.
[151] Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, [1st ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Publishing, 1967), 175.

cultural identities; that is, Catholic by way of Portuguese colonization in the specific place of Goa. As such, Goans attribute all manner of culture, including food, dress, and language to this religio-cultural affiliation. For the purposes of this work, the term "cultural identity" is based on Clifford Geertz's description of "culture" as a concept which "denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which [people] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."[152] Geertz goes on to argue that this concept of culture, when articulated in congruence with a specific metaphysical worldview, formulates "religion." That is, religion is the result of the cultural and the metaphysical sustaining and "borrowing authority" from one another.[153] For the Goans, this description works particularly well as it recognizes the weaving together of culture and religion. In the case of the Goans, religion is the primary marker in creating their cultural identity. As such, the Goan culture can be described as a combination of their expression of Catholicism, a product of their historical engagement with the Portuguese in India, and their geographic and societal tie to the southern Indian state of Goa.

For the ancestors of my Goan participants, who in the sixteenth century were converted by Portuguese missionaries to Catholicism, adopting Portuguese customs of dress, language, and dress was not a choice; it was part of the conversion package. Teresa Albuquerque, scholar of Goan history, writes:

> The Portuguese policy of conversion in Goa meant the population comprised of converts to Christianity and those who remained Hindu.

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[152] Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, ed. Clifford Geertz (London: Hutchinson, 1973), 89.
[153] Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 90.

> A serious rift was created, which went deep into the psyche, bringing out starkly contrasting attitudes and loyalties […]. Goan Christian culture is a curious hybrid of East and West. […] The Portuguese had created a chasm dividing these people—in mind, spirit, and soul. […] Converts had perforce to shed old loyalties and inhibitions and take on everything new: worship, personal and family name, dress, language, learning, diet, attitude, custom, and manner of life.[154]

While conversion to Catholicism and the adoption of cultural particularities were not active choices for the ancestors of my research participants, today's Goan Catholics wholly embody the cultural values brought to India by the Portuguese, and adopted by their foreparents in the sixteenth century. Today, there is great communal pride in speaking English as a first language,[155] dressing in Western fashions and shunning traditionally-Indian garb, having no religiously-sanctioned dietary restrictions unlike their Hindu and Muslim fellow-Indians, and being tied—if only through cultural memory—to the Europeans of yesteryear. In addition to these changes in culture, there is also the most obvious, yet least examined, aspect of a religious conversion to Catholicism. In becoming Catholic, and transforming their cultural expressions, the Goans became markedly different from the non-Catholic Goans in their home place of Goa. For today's community of Goans, this narrative of conversion and cultural transformation is reconstructed in a positive light.

To further complicate their religio-cultural identity, Goan Catholics are described by the world-at-large as ethnically "Indian"—a definition that certainly holds true for the Goan Catholics who migrate to Canada, and are socially and officially categorized as

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[154] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, vii-xix.

[155] Today's community of Goans regard English as their first language. As discussed previously, in addition to having to adopt Portuguese and Latin as part of the conversion process, a part of the Portuguese engagement in Goa in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, mandated the transition of Konkani writing from the *Devnagiri* script to Roman script. This transition made the Roman script normalized for Goans, and served them well in the adoption of English as a primary language under British colonial administration.

"Indian." My Goan participants balk at this definition of ethnicity, and once again provide "Goan" as their identifier of choice. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the definition of "ethnicity" is drawn in part from the work of Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, who define an ethnic group as "a group of people, putatively related through common filiation—that is, through 'blood' or genes—whose members also usually feel a sense of attachment to a particular place, a history, and a culture (including a common language, food, clothing, etc.)."[156] Geographically, Goans identify themselves with Goa rather than India; historically, they align themselves to a greater extent with their religious and cultural conversion under the Portuguese. The incongruence between perceived ethnicity ("Indian") and experienced or self-acknowledged identity ("Goan") is highlighted amongst many transnational and diasporic populations today. In situating ethnicity within a transnational framework in regards to his research among Japanese Brazilians who have migrated back to Japan, Takeyuki Tsuda argues that rather than viewing ethnicity as "something that is racially inscribed (essentialized)," ethnic identity should instead be seen as "something that is culturally contingent and actively negotiated in various contexts (deessentialized)."[157] He writes, "Racially essentialized ethnic identities become harder to sustain under transnational migration because it disengages relatively static ethnic meanings from a certain locale and re-engages them in a new social context, causing them to be challenged and redefined." He concludes that the situated nature of ethnic identity "becomes more apparent among diasporic peoples,

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[156] Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada* (Toronto ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 23.

[157] Takeyuki Tsuda, "When Minorities Migrate: The Racialization of the Japanese Brazilians in Brazil and Japan," in *Asian Diasporas: New Formations, New Conceptions*, eds. Rhacel S. Parrenas and Lok C.D. Siu (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 247.

making it subject to continued contestation and renegotiation."[158] Taking this notion into account, and maintaining this project's commitment to engage with the theoretical concepts of transnationalism, I will assume an ethnic identity of "Goan" for my participants through this project, thus remaining true to their identifier-of-choice, as based on their attachment to a particular place, a history, a religion, and a culture.

Finally, the concept of "nationality," of belonging to a nation, is another identifier that amplifies the constructed nature of Goan identity. Theories of migration and transnationalism define "nationality" as the legal relationship between a person and a country.[159] For my Goan participants, nationality simply means the country to which they "belong"—as citizens of India or Canada. For instance, one of my participants says:

> I was Indian because I was born in India. Now I am Canadian. That is my nationality. But first and foremost, I would say that I am from Goa. I think I would call myself a Goan Canadian. Yes. I think that describes me best.[160]

Nationality seems to be the least valuable of the identity markers for my participants, because it can easily be exchanged for a new one based on the nation in which they choose to live. What matters to them is the ability to express their Goan culture, regardless of whether they are Indian or Canadian by nationality. Nationality is, for my subject community, a nominal moniker made true for them by a passport.

For the Goans of my study, their self-description includes many facets: (1) their religio-cultural identities as Goan Catholics with direct ties to the Catholicism brought to India by Portuguese missionaries, and the reconstructed historical narrative of this

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[158] Tsuda, "When Minorities Migrate: The Racialization of the Japanese Brazilians in Brazil and Japan," 247-50.
[159] James F. Hollifield and Tom K. Wong, "The Politics of International Migration: How Can "We Bring the State Back In"?," in *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, eds. Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2014), 252-55.
[160] Rudolph Fernandes. Interview by author. June 11, 2013.

engagement; (2) their ethnic identities, which are also associated with this specific Portuguese Catholicism; and (3) their national identities, as determined by the country of their legal residency, which in the case of this study, is either India or Canada. Of these many identities, for the Goans, their religio-cultural affiliation holds the most weight. In undertaking this often-tumultuous process of figuring out their ethnic, cultural, and national identities, my Goan participants maintained their identities are Catholics, regardless of location. Taking these definitions of identity markers into consideration, this chapter now turns to the theoretical frameworks that shape this dissertation, as well as the methodological structure employed in the construction of this project.

THEORETICAL CONTEXTS

It is to address the steadfast affiliation with religion that my Goan participants have over other identifiers, and the use of that religious affiliation to craft other aspects of their identity, that my project utilizes the lenses of Religious Studies. As an ethnographic project, it is the theories of Lived Religion in particular that outline my research. Lived Religion focuses on religion-in-action, as it is expressed in everyday life, and emphasizes the religious actors as agents and authors of their own religio-cultural narratives. This lens addresses the neglect of scholarship on the religious expressions of the Goans, while still taking into consideration expressions of culture that the Goans perform. While situated squarely within the subfield of Lived Religion, this project also lies at the intersection of several other fields of scholarly inquiry, including the Anthropology of Religion, Transnational Ethnography, and Place Studies. Anthropology of Religion brings to this study the anthropological emphasis of particularistic focus. That is, an examination of the specifics of a community; in this case, the Goans. This perspective

brings a more holistic, detail-specific understanding of Goan religio-cultural identity. Transnational Ethnography adds to the theoretical perspectives by articulating the ways in which Goans maintain their identity through particularly transnational means; that is, by maintaining ties to the place of Goa in order to sustain their religio-cultural identities. Finally, Place Studies ties together the remembered place of Goa in the recreation of Goan communities outside of Goa. As well, it is a way to examine the modes of place-making that Goan communities undertake to make themselves "at home" when they create new communities in the diaspora; in the case of this project, in Mumbai and Toronto. Together, these approaches are useful because of the types of questions they raise about the embodied nature of Goan Catholic culture and identity creation.

By emphasizing practice, lived religion, and the value of place, this project is in conversation with the broader fields of scholarship outlined in the previous chapter, which call for a more nuanced, particularistic examination of religious communities. By employing these theoretical tools, I have gained insight into the Goan Catholic community of Mumbai, India and the immigrant population of this community in Toronto.

Religious Studies and (Lived) Religion

In this section, I discuss the theory of Lived Religion within the discipline of Religious Studies. Through this discussion, I outline several valuable facets of this theoretical framework that make it appropriate for my research project, including: (1) the focus of Lived Religion on religion-in-action, meaning expression through the beliefs and practices of adherents; (2) the extension of religion-in-action beyond the obviously "religious" and into the everyday expressions of religion, culture, and identity; (3) a focus

on the social actors as agents and authors of their own religio-cultural narratives; and (4) an emphasis on embodiment, including attention to the material aspects of my participants' expression of their religio-cultural identities.

> "Everything about us is because we are Catholic. What we eat, how we dress, the language we speak, everything. Just going to church on Sunday is not the only thing—we are a Catholic people…different from the Hindus in all ways, you know?"[161]

In one succinct set of statements, my interlocutor Ashford sums up why Religion is the lens through which I have chosen to examine the Goan Catholic communities of Mumbai, India and Toronto, Canada. Religion is so integral to the Goan community's identity that the cultural markers of food, name, language, and dress are attributed to the Catholicism brought to India by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. The specific historical development of Goan cultural adherences, which see them combine their Catholicism with cultural ties to the Portuguese missionaries of their ancestors, will be discussed in subsequent chapters. One of the major points of consideration in this section is the obvious combination of belief and practice as part of their expression of identity.

My approach to utilizing religious identity as a key lens of analysis draws from the current paradigmatic focus in Religious Studies on "lived religion," which calls for a more holistic framework for understanding the beliefs and practices of religious persons. The concept of Lived Religion has been made popular by scholars such as Robert Orsi and David Hall, who advocate for the use of a wide range of methodologies and frameworks for exploring and understanding the particularities of a religious person or community. Regarding the framework of Lived Religion, in *Madonna of 115th Street*, a ground-breaking ethnographic work in the field of Religious Studies, Orsi writes:

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[161] Ashford Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 24, 2013.

> The study of lived religion includes the work of social agents/actors themselves as narrators and interpreters (and reinterpreters) of their own experiences and histories, recognizes that the stories we tell about others exist alongside the many and varied stories they tell of themselves. The study of lived religion is not about practice rather than ideas, but about ideas, gestures, imaginings, all as media of engagement with the world. It is pointless to study particular beliefs or practices […] apart from the people who use these ideas in the definite circumstances of their lives. Religion-in-action cannot be separated from other practices of everyday life, from the ways that humans do other necessary and important things or from other cultural structures and discourses […]. Nor can sacred spaces be understood in isolation from the places where these things are done […], from the media used to do them, or from the relationships constructed around them. The emphasis in the study of Lived Religion is on *embodied* practice and imagination, as [people] exist in and move through their built and found environments. The material world is not inert background to cultural practice; it is its essential medium.[162] [Italics in original]

Orsi's theory of Lived Religion is rooted in Geertz's description of religion as a system of culture. Here, there is an emphasis on paying attention to religion-in-action, and to the narratives of the religious actors. The shift from a focus on belief in Religious Studies to an emphasis on embodied practice and imagination necessitates the employment of research methods such as participant observation and interviews; these are methods found in the field of Anthropology. These anthropological methods of inquiry broaden the scope of inquiry, taking into account not only the obviously "religious" aspects, but also everyday expressions of religion and identity. Furthermore, an attention to environment and material culture obliges attention to the places in which these everyday expressions occur. Finally, it recognizes religious adherents as agents in the construction of their own narratives. As such, for Orsi, religion—and by extension, the religious actor—cannot be separated or isolated from cultural entities, such as ethnic ties, place, ethical and moral

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[162] Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), xxxviii-xxxix.

values, et cetera. So too for the Goans of my project, religion and culture are two sides of the same coin.

Orsi's emphasis on embodied everyday expressions of religiosity finds particular resonance in my own research. Of this focus, Orsi writes:

> The study of lived religion explores how religion is shaped by and shapes the ways family life is organized, for instance: how the dead are buried, children disciplined, the past and future imagined, moral boundaries established and challenged, homes constructed, maintained, and destroyed, the gods and spirits worshipped and importuned, and so on. Religion is approached in its place within a more broadly conceived and described lifeworld, the domain of everyday existence.[163]

Through my observational research, I documented several ritual practices of the Goans, particularly in Bombay, where the Goan community engaged in practices that held certain interesting commonalities with the practices of their Hindu neighbours. This observational data is incongruent with the narrative provided by my participants during interviews, in which they repeatedly distanced themselves from the culture and practices of fellow-Indians with whom they do not share religious belief. Instead, my Goan interlocutors narrate a history of being religiously and culturally aligned with the Portuguese who brought Catholicism to India. However, this discourse of "separateness" that my subject group holds is not always rigorously maintained. For instance, in particular Goan rituals, flower garlands and incense, similar in style to those used in goddess worship rituals undertaken by their Hindu neighbours, are employed in the Goan community's worship of Mary. It appears that separateness in material culture is more "messy," because of the shared material world between the Goans and their non-Catholic neighbours. In focusing on the Goans' own interpretations of these "similar" garlands and

[163] Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*, xxxi-xxxii.

incense, I was informed by my interlocutors that the Goans only considered flowers from a designated "Catholic" flower stall as appropriate for use. As will later be discussed, the distinguishing characteristic of these "correct" flower stalls was their location at particularly Catholics sites. This is an example of taking into consideration the "insider" narrative, which involves belief, and the details of which provide a view of "religion-in-action." In order to focus on the "religion-in-action" aspect of the Goans' practice of Catholicism, I chose specific methodologies, including interviews and participant observation with members of the laity. Furthermore, I chose to observe not only official religious aspects of Goan life, such as Mass and other Church services, but also to encounter home worship, domestic rituals, and private expressions of religiosity. Finally, in integrating the perspective of historical studies with the community's emic narrative of their own foundational narrative, I was able to access a more in-depth perspective on the role of religion in allowing the Goans to create and maintain their unique religio-cultural identities.

Orsi's focus on Lived Religions has permeated the contemporary field of Religious Studies, resulting in a paradigmatic shift in the discipline. This shift refocuses from an emphasis on texts and the historical construction of theology, instead focusing on the lived experience of religion by adherents, and how these religious agents embody the beliefs laid out in religious texts and historical theology.[164] David D. Hall for instance argues that Lived Religion is the study of content and context, which includes the examination of belief as well as practice.[165] He, like Orsi, calls for interdisciplinary study

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[164] David D. Hall, ed. *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[165] Hall, *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, vii.

in the investigation of Lived Religion. My study follows this imperative with its traversal of the fields of Religious Studies and Anthropology, Transnationalism, and Place Studies. Finally, in engaging in this interdisciplinary groundwork, Hall cautions the scholar to acknowledge as fully as possible the "messiness that leaks into everyday life," regardless of how a-religious it may make the field seem.[166] Meredith B. McGuire, in her book *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*, shares Orsi and Hall's critique of simply studying "official" religion, and the benefits of studying "religions-as-lived':

> Official religion and what religious organizations promote as "religious" are surely part of the picture, but not necessarily the best part for framing our focus. We must grapple with the complexities, apparent inconsistencies, heterogeneity, and untidiness of the range of religious practices that people in any given culture and period find meaningful and useful. By emphasizing individuals' practices in everyday life, we may avoid some conceptual muddle. More important, by examining lived religion, we may get closer to understanding individual religion in all its complexity and diversity.[167]

Through interviews with laity and participant observation, it is this emphasis of the study of lived religions on the autonomous and place-specific practices of religious actors to which my project is committed.

As seen in the previous chapter, in examining the historical and cultural development of the Goan Catholics, the role of religion has rarely been examined as more than a matter-of-fact by-product of the Portuguese influence; in other words, it has been taken for granted. Furthermore, utilization of postcolonial theory often calls for the trope of "conversion" to be over-emphasized. Rowena Robinson writes that, while the social history of Goan Catholics is fraught with conquest and colonization through the Portuguese Christianization of Goa, it is differentiated from the Portuguese interaction

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[166] Hall, *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, x.
[167] McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*, 16.

with the St. Thomas Christians, because the latter did not come into religious contact with the colonizing Portuguese; rather, their conversion had come a millennium and a half prior and had taken place in conversation with the regional Hindu societies.[168] The process of conversion to Catholicism for the Goans by the Portuguese was a much less nuanced one; it did not allow for a negotiation with the existing culture of the converts. Sixteenth-century Goan converts to Catholicism had to completely rid themselves of most vestiges of their pre-Catholic identities, including their names, practices, local deities, and languages.[169] In modern academic writing, the history of a violent obliteration of a culture is often written about through a postcolonial lens; through this, the agency of the present-day Goan Catholic community is suspended in favour of dissecting the community's past history.[170] For the community of Goans featured in my research, their conversion story or colonial history forms part of their foundational story, or "myth of origin," which in general contributes a positive narrative to their contemporary identity.

By focusing on the lived religion of the Goans, my research engages with the very real ways in which this community constructs its identity. The theoretical underpinnings of Lived Religion afford my work the opportunity to examine Goan religion-in-action; through this, I focus on home religiosity, domestic rituals, and everyday expressions of

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[168] Rowena Robinson, "Sixteenth Century Conversions to Christianity in Goa," in *Religious Conversion in India: Modes, Motivations, and Meanings*, eds. Rowena Robinson and Sathianathan Clarke (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 291.

[169] Robinson, "Sixteenth Century Conversions to Christianity in Goa," 312-13.

[170] After my presentation on the identity creation of modern Goans in Mumbai at the 2014 European Conference on South Asian Studies, I was asked a question about the conversion narratives that the Goans in my ethnographic research hold, and how that affects their identity creation. Rather than allow me to respond, a fellow attendee—a scholar of Keralite Christians, from a German university—jumped in, quite perturbed, and responded to the questioner that inquiring about the impact of the five-hundred year old conversion story in the lives of modern Goans was akin to asking about his own German ancestors and how their conversion from Roman Catholicism to Lutheranism in the sixteenth century affected his identity construction today.

Goan Catholicism. This observational data is supplemented by interviews with community members about their lives and identities as Goans. This on-the-ground engagement with the community allows me to access the communal narrative of my participants' foundational story and sense of self. In this way, my dissertation project is focused on demonstrating that for the Goans, their "Catholic-ness" serves not only as a religious identity, but also as a tool of cultural identity construction.

Anthropology of Religion

As noted previously, theories of Lived Religion draw from the work of cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz. This developing theoretical tie between Lived Religion and Anthropology, and the incorporation of anthropological methods into the field of Religious Studies, suggests a complementary interaction or scholarly exchange between these fields. Geertz conceptualizes religion and culture as two sides of the same coin: "first, an analysis of the system of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up the religion proper," such as the Catholic rituals and theologies that the Goan Catholic communities adhere to, and "second, the relation of these systems to social-structural and psychological processes," such as the unique ways in which the aforementioned Goans enacted their practices as part of a specific community in a particular place and time.[171] As such, Geertz's concepts of religion and culture have contributed significantly to the emerging subfield of Anthropology of Religion. Anthropology of Religion seeks to study a diversity of religious expressions through concepts central to the anthropological inquiry, including the concepts of culture, communal ideas, and shared feelings and

[171] Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," 125.

behaviours that are characteristic of a particular community.[172] In *Introducing Anthropology of Religion*, Jack Eller writes:

> To study anything anthropologically [is to] look at it as learned and shared human behavior. Since it must be observable, anthropology also treats it as public behavior, not primarily something that is "private" or "in people's heads;" it is certainly not initially in people's heads but rather, since it is learned and acquired instead of innate, initially "outside" the individual in his or her social environment. In a word, culture is a set of practices in which humans engage and, among other things, about which they talk and in terms of which they act. Therefore, anthropology does not limit itself to texts or history (although it certainly considers these) but rather to culture lived by the actual members of the society.[173]

This definition of religion from an anthropological perspective is similar to Orsi's description of Lived Religion as a way of understanding a community more particularly. For anthropologists of religion, the concept of religion is an extrapolation of culture, as it includes human interactions with and relationships to a constructed sense of the supernatural. These supernatural agents or beings are social constructs, and as such a part of society. The Anthropology of Religion differs from other anthropological studies, such as studies focusing on kinship, economics or politics, because these categories are *about* humans. Rather, the anthropological study of religion is not *only* about humans. Eller writes:

> The characters in religion are different, but they are not so different. They are the nonhuman: the dead ancestors, or "spirits" of plants or animals or natural objects (the sun and the moon) or natural forces (the wind and the rain), or "gods," or impersonal supernatural forces like *mana* or *chi*. Yet they interact with us. *They are social, because they are part of society*. In other words, religion is the discourse, the language and practice, or the means by which human society and culture is extended to include the nonhuman.[174]

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[172] Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion: Culture to the Ultimate*, 2.
[173] Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion: Culture to the Ultimate*, 2-3.
[174] Eller, *Introducing Anthropology of Religion: Culture to the Ultimate*, 8.

Therefore, Anthropology incorporates "religion" in its study by focusing on the "supernatural" as an extension of culture. Through this, the supernatural is studied in its relationship to human actors. For Anthropology, the emphasis of study is on examining society and culture, and the construction of religion therein. For the Goans, whose religion has been sorely understudied, as profiled in the literature on Indian Christianities, complementing the theories of Anthropology with the concepts of Lived Religion provides my project with a more versatile analytical framework. It is in examining the particular way in which religious, or supernatural, aspects of culture are expressed and maintained that anthropologists can begin to comprehend the nuanced integration of religion in the lives of believers. As a project that draws on both, theories of Lived Religion and the Anthropology of Religion, this research is well-placed to engage in just such an examination.

Transnational Ethnography

Goans trace their heritage to the state of Goa, in the southwestern part of India. The community of Goans central to this project are the descendants of immigrants who left the state of Goa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for the economic and educational prospects available to them in the metropolis of Mumbai.[175] As such, the community of Goans in Mumbai whom I worked with are a community of immigrants, and the community of Goans in Toronto could be considered a twice-immigrant community. That is to say, the Goan communities of my study are examples of migrant populations. In the study of migrants and migrant populations, the emphasis tends to be placed on how immigrating populations change the economics and politics of the

[175] This migration from Goa to Mumbai will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

countries to which they migrate.[176] This focus involves the examination of such factors as the globalization of migration, the direction of migration flows, gender issues in migration, the politicization of migration, and the types of migration occurring; for instance, labour migration versus refugee movements.[177] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller write in their volume *The Age of Migration*, that the study of migration and migrating populations has yielded valuable data on the current age of migration, including data on ethnic diversity, racism, and multiculturalism. While migration of human populations is not a phenomenon unique to the modern age, the scope of global migration today has made it a fundamental feature of modern human society.[178] In the academy, the anthropology of immigrants has been ethnographically studied for nearly a century now, and it continues to develop due to the ongoing impact of globalization.[179] In those regions of the world that have traditionally been the sites of ethnographic fieldwork (i.e. Africa, Oceania, Latin America, Asia, et cetera), there has been significant

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[176] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 2nd ed. (New York NY: Guilford Press, 1998), 13-14.

[177] These typologies are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 16-17.

[178] Colin G. Pooley and Ian Whyte, *Migrants, Emigrants, and Immigrants: A Social History of Migration* (London UK: Routledge, 1991), 1.

[179] Twentieth and twenty-first monographs on migrant populations are too numerous to list entirely. A sampling of such monographs from the early-1900s to the present includes: William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927); Audrey Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939); van Velsen, "Labour Migration as a Positive Factor in the Continuity of Tonga Tribal Society," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. 8 (1960); Stuart B. Philpott, *West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case* (London, UK: Athlone Press, University of London, 1973); Pnina Werbner, *The Migration Process: Capital, Gifts, and Offerings among British Pakistanis* (New York, NY: Berg, 1990); Brooke Larson, Olivia Harris, and Enrique Tandeter, *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); Regina Bendix and Herman Roodenburg, *Managing Ethnicity: Perspectives from Folklore Studies, History and Anthropology* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 2000); Nancy Foner, *American Arrivals: Anthropology Engages the New Immigration*, 1st ed., School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2003); Julia Meredith Hess, *Immigrant Ambassadors: Citizenship and Belonging in the Tibetan Diaspora* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Thomas F. Carter, *In Foreign Fields: The Politics and Experiences of Transnational Sport Migration* (New York, NY: by Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Seán McLoughlin, *Writing the City in British Asian Diasporas*, Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series (London, UK: Routledge, 2014).

movement of people outwards, towards the growing urban centres of the developing world. Anthropologist Caroline B. Brettell suggests this as the reason for the increased contemporary focus on migration.[180] She writes:

> Since the 1970s, migration studies within anthropology have expanded significantly both with respect to the questions examined and the cross-cultural coverage. Research has been extended to the populations in most parts of the world and international migrants, as well as those moving from town to town or city to city, have come under consideration.[181]

Brettell articulates three significant ways in which anthropological enquires have impacted migration studies. Primarily, the field of Anthropology has emphasized sensitivity to place when examining migrant populations. What this means, is that Anthropology focuses less on the broader demographic scope of migration patterns, and more on the intricate relations between the place from where a migrant originates, and the place to which they move; that is, it is a study of "how people in local places respond to global processes."[182] These local, place-specific, responses as undertaken by the two Goan communities that are central to this project are examined in depth in Chapters 5 and 6. The second way in which Anthropology is unique in its exploration of migrants is in its focus on "culture" as a key element in the migration process. Brettell argues that by including "the study of the interaction between beliefs and behavior, of corporate groups, and of social relationships," the field of Anthropology has created "an emphasis in

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[180] Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 3rd ed. (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2014), 148.

[181] Brettell and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 149. Brettell cites two key events in the academic development of this field: (1) the theme of the 1970 volume of proceedings of the American Ethnological Society, 'Migration and Anthropology' ("Migration and Anthropology." edited by Robert F. Spencer. Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society, 1970.); and (2) the two volumes of work dealing with the topic of migration, published in 1975, as a result of the World Anthropological Congress (Brian M. Du Toit and Helen Icken Safa, *Migration and Urbanization: Models and Adaptive Strategies*, World Anthropology (The Hague: Mouton, 1975); Helen Icken Safa and Brian M. Du Toit, *Migration and Development: Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict*, World Anthropology (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).).

[182] Brettell and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 149.

migration studies on culture change and on forms of social organization that are characteristic of both the migration process and the immigrant community."[183] The third way in which anthropological investigations into migrant populations have developed the field of migrant studies is through Anthropology's attention to meaning and lived experience. This emphasis on "lived experience" has resulted in studies emphasizing subjective migrant experiences, and the development of particular immigrant identities.[184] For instance, with my own subject communities, though on the surface it seems that they have created embedded lives in the locales of Mumbai and Toronto, deeper examinations unearths the ways in which this "fitting in" is tenuous for the communities in both cities, with each community having to renegotiate its engagement with these places in order to express their religio-cultural identities.

For anthropologists, the central point of interest in the human experience of migration is the lived or embodied experience. This includes points of culture, citizenship, place-making, boundary-construction, and community creation. Much of what has been written by anthropologists on the subject of migration is descriptive ethnography. Brettell suggests that "while often "located" in the study of a specific migrant community or population, most of this research is implicitly […] theoretical;" that is, it provides "insight into how and what is going on."[185] The current state of globalization offers ethnographers of transnational populations a unique opportunity to analyze how the global and the local interact with one another in the experience of the individual. David Fitzgerald suggests that multi-sited ethnography allows for a fuller revelation of the migration experience, and its impacts on the migrant population. He

[183] Brettell and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 149.
[184] Brettell and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 149.
[185] Brettell and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 174-75.

argues that while multi-sited or transnational ethnography is difficult to do, it "offers advantages for gaining access to members of multi-sited networks and explaining the effects of place on a variety of outcomes."[186] For this reason, my project's exploration of the community of Goans in Mumbai offers greater insight to understanding the community of Goans in Toronto, and what renegotiations of identity and practice the latter community undertakes in order to fully express their religio-cultural commitments. Fitzgerald's own transnational ethnographic work deals with Mexican migrants building new lives in the United States. In analyzing his subject population, he integrates both the "sending" and "receiving" country sites, much as I have done for the Goan Catholics of Mumbai and their counterparts in Toronto. He argues that utilizing this strategy of integrative bi-locational analysis allows for the isolation and revelation of several factors which impact international migration, and the creation of new identities in the "receiving" country.[187]

Of the modern migrant's multi-stranded social relationship to their location of origin and of settlement, Nina Glick Schiller et al. write:

> We [call] the immigrant experience 'transnationalism' to emphasize the emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. Immigrants are understood to be transmigrants when they develop and maintain multiple relations—familial, economic, social, organization, religious, and political—that span borders.[188]

It is due to its emphasis on the multiplicity of relationships maintained to cultural ties and locational values, and its alignment with the anthropological value of focusing on the

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[186] David Fitzgerald, "Towards a Theoretical Ethnography of Migration," *Qualitative Sociology*. 29, no. 1 (2006): 2.
[187] Fitzgerald, "Towards a Theoretical Ethnography of Migration," 2-4.
[188] Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc, *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, ix.

particular, that I have chosen the framework of Transnational Ethnography from which to examine the communities of Goan Catholics in both Mumbai and Toronto—each of whom trace their cultural memory back to the state of Goa. I will be focusing my study on particular concepts of transnationalism when discussing my Goan Catholic subject populations. While traditional migrant studies and transnationalism do have significant overlap, the latter is more limited in purview. Whereas the examination of global processes emphasizes a decentering from specific places to take a more global view, transnational processes are focused in a particular place, and transcend one or more particular places.[189] Since my study focuses on the migration of Goan Catholics from Mumbai, India to Toronto, Canada—that is, across borders, from one particular place to another—the term of choice in referencing this movement is "transnationalism."[190] Michael Kearney suggests that the "nation" in "transnational" refers to the "territorial, social, and cultural aspects of the nations concerned."[191] It is Kearney's definition that I employ in utilizing the term "transnationalism" when discussing the Goans; therefore, for the purpose of my study, it refers more to the socio-cultural places to which Goans feel connected than to the "nations" (i.e. India and Canada) in which they find themselves. Furthermore, transnational migrants, such as the Goan Catholics, move into spaces and create transnational places of meaning that have the potential to re-create their religio-cultural identities so as to fit into their new cultural and national surroundings[192] This

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[189] Linda G. Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Amsterdam, Holland: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 5-10, 64; Michael Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 24, no. 1 (1995): 548.

[190] Basch, Schiller, and Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, 42-44, 70.

[191] Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," 548.

[192] Basch, Schiller, and Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, 25-52.

recreation of place as a means of creating transnational ties with the place of origin is seen abundantly with the community of Goans in Mumbai; this community forms a migrant community that is nearly three centuries old, and continues to recreate particular aspects of the place of Goa, which their ancestors left behind, in order to maintain their unique religio-cultural identities. In order to recreate these Goan specificities, the Goans of Mumbai have developed practices that are particular to the city of Mumbai, which they now call home. This emphasis on the particular and the situated is vital to the anthropological endeavour as a means of accessing details that a more broad-sweeping study may overlook. In the case of my particular subject population, which is a minority community in both examined contexts, their particularity becomes overlooked unless examined specifically.

Further, the framework of Transnational Ethnography calls for the "historicization" of the field sites; this means that the subject population is contextualized in a place as part of a particular history. This is consistent with Robinson's call for examining the particularities of Indian Christian communities in conjunction with their particular histories. Arjun Appadurai writes:

> As groups migrate, regroup in new locations, reconstruct their histories, and reconfigure their ethnic 'projects,' the *ethno* in ethnography takes on a slippery, non-localized quality, to which the descriptive practices of anthropology will have to respond. The landscapes of group identity—of ethnoscapes—around the world are no longer familiar anthropological objects, insofar as groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous.[193]

[193] Arjun Appadurai, "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology," in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard Gabriel Fox (Santa Fe NM: School of American Research Press, 1991), 191.

The concept of "deterritorialization" has driven many past ethnographies of migration, but this has often led to "site stasis," which is a trap which many ethnographic inquiries fall into. For this reason, the concept of "deterritorialization" has been replaced with a "transnational" model in more contemporary works.[194] The concept of deterritorialization is one that exists within the theory of transnationalism, and refers to a particular social process whereby migrants operate in social fields that transgress geographic, political, and cultural borders.[195] The preference for "transnationalism" over "deterretorialization" is based on the focus in transnationalism on movement across spaces and the formation of new relationships of the actors in those spaces.[196] Transnationalism is a theoretical concept, used by anthropologists of migration and based in the recognition that, even after having immigrated, migrant communities maintain ties to their countries of origin, even if those places are geographically distant.[197] Brettell writes, "From a transnational perspective, migrants are no longer "uprooted," but rather move freely back and forth across international borders and between different cultures and social systems. These migrants bring change to localized communities not only through economic remittances but also social remittances."[198] According to Glick Schiller et al., this move in Anthropology is "part of an effort to reconfigure anthropological thinking so that it will reflect current transformations in the way in which time and space [are] experienced and

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[194] Appadurai, "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology."; Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism."
[195] Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc, *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*.
[196] Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 26.
[197] Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc, *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, ix; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 27.
[198] Brettell and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 157.

represented."[199] This assertion is sustained by spatial anthropologists Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, who write that part of the anthropological move towards a focus on transnationalism was in an effort to "understand the implications of a multiplicity of social relations and involvements that span borders."[200] This historicization and contextualization is a way of acknowledging that the field is constantly in flux, and that networks of transnational migration are fluid and moving pathways, rather than static and constant entities. For instance, for the Toronto community of Goans, a significant point of connection is their ability to import Goan foods to Canada. These Goan foods are made in Goa, and packaged as per Canadian food regulations to allow easier importation. For the community, it provides them with a "taste of home," and allows them to access cultural memories that they would not be able to have in Canada. As such, several small Goan importation businesses have been set up in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) to facilitate this transnational network of food importation. These food networks of identity maintenance employed by the Goans are discussed in greater detail later on in this dissertation.

In discussing contemporary changes within transnational and migrant ethnographies, Pyong Min suggests that there has been a scholarly departure from analyzing migration through "push-pull" theories wherein immigrants leave their homes due to certain "push" factors, such as persecution or strife, or choose new countries to restart their lives based on "pull" factors, such as attractive job prospects or improved access to resources. These push-pull theories fail to address a great number of

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[199] Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc, *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, 49.
[200] Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 27.

contemporary factors which motivate today's immigrant populations.[201] According to a UNESCO report on modern migration and globalization, today's model of transnational migration is often motivated by "network factors" such as access to information, improved global communication, and efficient and inexpensive transportation.[202] These network factors, which include family and social networks, greatly impact where an individual or family choose to migrate. It is these factors that are central to building, recreating, and maintaining religio-cultural and globalized identities for the Goan Catholics at the centre of this study. In their book *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Castles and Miller argue that one of the network factors that influence modern migration is the politicization of migration, where minority issues play a meaningful role in the process of immigrating. They argue, and this is certainly true for the Goan Catholics of Mumbai who immigrate to Toronto, that forces like religious identity operation as driving forces in the creation of migratory patterns. [203] As I explore in this project, this motivating network factor of religious affiliation, makes migrating to a Western nation like Canada more probable because the Goans assume that, in combination with their primary language being English, their religious identity will make them more culturally compatible. For many of my Goan interlocutors in Toronto, being able to join striving Catholic parishes and having the ability to send their children to Catholic schools as part of the public education system, were significant factors in choosing to immigrate to Canada.

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[201] Pyong Gap Min, *Asian Americans: Contemporary Trends and Issues*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks CA: Pine Forge Press, 2006), 8.

[202] UNESCO, "Migration and Globalisation: Introduction," http://www.unesco.org/most/migration/convention.

[203] Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 8.

Kearney writes that the "anthropological analysis of personal and collective identity depends on some theory of classification."[204] Along with identifying Goans as transnational migrants, the communities in Mumbai and in Toronto are diasporic communities. That is, they understand themselves as removed from the "home" state of Goa. Of the nature of the Goan diaspora, Helena Sant'ana writes:

> The concept of a diaspora was first used to explain the forced emigration of large groups of a population. After the 1980s, the idea began to be used as an analytical term to designate a certain system of migration, of complex international contacts and flows. The concept of a diaspora as a social construction implies the maintenance of ties between migrating populations coming from the same territory and the preservation of an identity and cultural specificity.[205]

The migration of Goans out of India and to the West, therefore, is also understood as a diaspora; additionally, it involves particular characteristics of Goan history, community development, and modes of integration. In responding to Kearney's call for a classification model, I have found Robin Cohen's classifications of diasporas are particularly valuable in ethnographically investigating the transnational identity creation of Goan Catholics of Mumbai and Toronto. In his book *Global Diasporas*, Cohen emphasizes the examination of individual diasporic communities and the factors that led to their migration. For Cohen, a diasporic community is one whose members share the following features:

- They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from an original 'centre' to two or more foreign regions;
- They retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland including its location, history and achievements;
- They believe they are not—and perhaps can never be—fully accepted in their host societies and so remain partly separate;

[204] Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," 557.
[205] Sant'ana, "Goans and Damnians in Portugal: An Overview of a Singular Diaspora," 137.

- Their ancestral home is idealized and it is thought that, when conditions are favourable, either they, or their descendants should return;
- They believe all members of the diaspora should be committed to the maintenance or restoration of the original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and
- They continue in various ways to relate to that homeland and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are in an important way defined by the existence of such a relationship.[206]

These definitional criterions of Cohen's "diasporas" is highly applicable to the Goans of my research, for whom the homeland of Goa is the ultimate place-holder of the religio-cultural identities. For my Goan interlocutors, the place of Goa, the historical conversion of their Goan ancestors under the Portuguese, and the religio-cultural attachments foster their continued sense of "Goan-ness." Further, Cohen's emphasis on diasporic communities sheds important light on the Goans of my own research, whose Catholic faith and Westernized culture act as primary catalysts in the decision to migrate out of India and to Western countries like Canada. By emphasizing the importance of diasporic communities, Cohen moves away from previous scholarship of migration, which focused more on patterns of migration, rather than on the migrant communities themselves, and the particularities involved in each "type" of migration, or the connections that these communities maintain to their homeland, even generations after migration.

To better understand diasporic communities like the Goans, Cohen outlines five "types" of diasporic communities. These types of diasporas are as:

(1) Victim diasporas: this category refers to communities who have been forcibly removed from their homelands.[207] This category is applicable to the Goan

[206] Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (Seattle WA: University of Washington Press, 1997), 6.
[207] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 36-60.

communities of East Africa, who were forced to leave their homes in various parts of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda during the mid-twentieth century after several generations of building their lives there. This exodus of Goans out of East Africa was due to the post-colonial "Africa for Africans" campaign that made it inhospitable for non-African ethnic communities to remain in East Africa. Many of these dispersed Goans sought refugee status in Canada, signaling the earliest wave of Goan migration to Canada.

(2) Imperial diasporas: this category refers to colonizing countries whose colonial agents set up communities in the countries of occupation.[208] For instance, the Portuguese missionaries and colonizers who set up permanent communities in Goa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would be considered a part of this type of diaspora.

(3) Labour diasporas: also referred to as "proletarian diasporas," this category refers to communities who were brought to new lands by colonizing powers as either indentured or free workers.[209] An example of this type of diaspora is the Goans who were taken to East Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as part of the Portuguese and British imperialist projects in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. These communities will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

(4) Trade diasporas: this category refers to communities who are culturally and economically invested in the country to which they migrate. Trade diasporas are involved in the economic and commercial development of the community, and see the migration process as a more fluid one, in which transnational ties between

[208] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 68-69.
[209] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 64-68.

the sending and receiving places are constantly maintained.[210] An example of this type of community is the early Goan migrants, who emigrated out of Goa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to find employment and opportunity in the urban city of Bombay. The Goans of Toronto who are a part of my project also fall into this category, as they migrated to Canada in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries to find employment, educational opportunities, and to integrate more fully into Canadian society.

(5) Deterritorialized diasporas: this category refers to communities that have been removed from the homeland for so long that they no longer identify with the homeland. To illustrate this type of diaspora, Cohen discusses various Caribbean communities, who though originating from various parts of Asia or Africa, identify as wholly Caribbean.[211] Other examples of deterritorialized diasporic communities that Cohen provides, are the Parsi and Sindhi population of the city of Bombay, who respectively originate from modern-day Persia and modern-Pakistan's Sindh province, but who have been a part of the city of Bombay for so long now, that they no longer identify with their lands of origin.[212]

Cohen argues against essentializing the experiences of a migrant community, whether ethnic, religious, or cultural, into one particular category of diaspora. By offering a fluid categorization model of the types of diasporas, Cohen offers this project a more nuanced understanding of the factors that surround the creation and maintenance of ethnocommunal identities amongst diasporic communities. This emphasis plays an important role when examining the Goan Catholics in my study, because it certainly held

[210] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 83-102.
[211] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 123-34.
[212] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 135-37.

true with many, if not all, of my interviewees; their historical, cultural, religious, and immigrant stories suggest they would "fit" into several of Cohen's categories of diaspora.

This classification of diasporas is particularly insightful in examining transnational communities; that is, migrant communities, like the Goan Catholics, that span two nations.[213] Diasporas, writes Nancie Gonzalez, are distinct from other patterns of migration because diasporic communities include a full cross-section of community members, and maintain the myth of uniqueness and an interest in their homeland.[214] In the forthcoming chapters, I highlight the Goan Catholic community's fastidious hold on its "Goan-ness" above all else, regardless of whether the community finds itself in Mumbai, or in Toronto. Central to current anthropological concerns with transnationalism, identity creation, and migration is the negotiation and renegotiation of ethnic identity with national identity. This is a concern that arises time and time again for transnational migrant communities; for the Goan Catholics of this study, this concern is nuanced by the nature of their transnationalism, which is tied more to their religio-cultural identity and the place of Goa, rather than the nation of India.[215] As such,

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[213] For other examples of transnational migrant communities, see Constance R. Sutton and Elsa Chaney, *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions*, 1st ed. (New York NY: Center for Migration Studies of New York, 1987); Michael Kearney and C. Nagengast, "Anthropolgical Perspectives on Transnational Communities in Rural California," (Davis CA: Institute for Rural Studies, 1989); Eugenia Georges, *The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development, and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic* (New York NY: Columbia University Press, 1990); George Gmelch, *Double Passage: The Lives of Caribbean Migrants Abroad and Back Home* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Basch, Schiller, and Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*; Basch, Schiller, and Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*.

[214] Nancie L. Solien González, *Dollar, Dove, and Eagle: One Hundred Years of Palestinian Migration to Honduras* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 31.

[215] For examples of these transnational migrant communities facing issues of incongruent facets of their identities, see John F. Stack, *Ethnic Identities in a Transnational World* (Westport CN: Greenwood Press, 1981); Sutton and Chaney, *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions*; Nancie L. Solien Gonzalez, *Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethnogenesis and Ethnohistory of the Garifuna* (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Nancie L. Solien González and Carolyn Sue McCommon, *Conflict, Migration, and the Expression of Ethnicity* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1989); Michael P. Smith and B.

representations of transnational spaces, identities, and communities pose a simultaneous challenge and opportunity for modern ethnographic inquiries, which is an opportunity that the current research project aims to embrace.

The framework of transnational ethnography offers my project the opportunity to analyze my subject population of Goan Catholics within the social fields in which they operate. By taking their transnational identities into consideration, I am invested in the anthropological thrust to investigate and challenge processes of immigrant assimilation or incorporation. Furthermore, by taking into consideration the transnational religio-cultural practices of this community, I am able to highlight the mechanisms by which the community maintains its unique cultural identity by bringing certain religious practices with them through the immigration process. Transnationalism offers me a valuable lens through which to maintain the anthropological move away from bounded units of analysis and localized community studies, and towards a "multidimensional global space with unbounded, often discontinuous and interpenetrating subspaces."[216] Finally, Transnationalism is closely linked with broader interests emerging from place theory to theorize space and place in new ways.[217]

Tarallo. "California's Changing Faces: New Immigrant Survival Strategies and State Policy." Proceedings of the California Policy Seminar, 1993.
; Basch, Schiller, and Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*; Michael P. Smith and Joe R. Feagin, *The Bubbling Cauldron: Race, Ethnicity, and the Urban Crisis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Anthony D. King, *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

[216] Kearney, "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," 549.

[217] Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology*. 7 (1992); Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, *Senses of Place*, 1st ed. (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1996); Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1997).

Place Studies

The emphasis that Transnational Ethnography puts on the particularity of places fits well with the theoretical framework of Place Studies. Place theory complements the anthropological nature of this dissertation as it aligns well with the spatial dimensions of cultural beliefs and practices considered or examined within the school of Anthropology. For Anthropology, the emphasis on place directs attention to the material and spatial aspects of culture; as well, there is the acknowledgement that place is an essential component in sociocultural engagement.[218] In particular, the dedication of Anthropology, and particularly ethnography, to the engagement of place theory manifests itself through the analysis of transnational spaces, as discussed in the previous section. Due to this complementary relationship between the theoretical fields, Place Studies offers an additionally powerful lens through which to analyze the Goan Catholics, as they construct their lives in Mumbai, India, and in the renegotiation of their religio-cultural identities in Toronto, Canada.

Place theory, the academic progeny of Anthropology, Phenomenology, and Geography, is a theoretical framework for analyzing the particularity of place itself. Edward S. Casey writes of this framework, that it is where "the insistently descriptive character of the phenomenological enterprise in philosophy rejoins the emphasis in Anthropology on precise description in the field."[219] In sum, drawing from Edmund Husserl, Phenomenology engages in a rigorous examination of the immediate world, or

[218] Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 2.
[219] Edward S. Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time," in *Senses of Place*, eds. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1996), 13.

Lebenswelt, the world as lived.[220] In order to investigate the *Lebenswelt*, Husserl developed a methodological technique called "*epoché*," which involves the suspension of judgement about the ultimate nature of things, considering instead the phenomena for itself.[221] Casey writes that in the phenomenological account, "the crux in matters of place is the role of perception."[222] This means that for both the anthropologist in the field, as well as the subject population being examined, perception begins with experience. As Husserl insists, perception is primary and place is a pre-scientific fact based on the way in which humans experience the world around them. This means that the very act of being human involves being within a place. Casey writes, "There is no knowing or sensing a place except by being in that place, and to be in a place is to be in a position to perceive it. Knowledge of place is not, then, subsequent to perception […], but is an ingredient in perception itself. Such knowledge, genuinely local knowledge is itself experiential."[223]

The construction of place is based on the way in which humans experience the environment around them; as such, humans are defined by the places they occupy as much as they define the places by occupying them. Within this analysis, the identities of Goan Catholics are created in particular places, and these places become vital to their identity construction. That is to say, "culture is situated."[224] Of this, Casey writes:

> To be cultural, to have a culture, is to inhabit a place sufficiently intensely to cultivate it—to be responsible for it, to respond to it, to attend to it caringly. Where else but in particular places can culture take root? Certainly not in the thin air above these places, much less in the even thinner air of pure speculation about them. To be located,

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[220] Walter H. Capps, *Religious Studies: The Making of a Discipline* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995), 111.
[221] Capps, *Religious Studies: The Making of a Discipline*, 113-14.
[222] Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time," 17.
[223] Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time," 18.
[224] Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time," 33.

> culture also has to be *embodied*. Culture is carried into places by bodies.[225] [Italics in original]

This focus on embodied experience is what phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty refers to as "corporeal intentionality;" that is, the actors within a place integrate themselves with their immediate environment.[226] Casey writes that this intentionality manifests itself in three ways: staying in place, moving within a place, and moving between places.[227] This last manifestation of corporeal intentionality is particularly pertinent to the Goan Catholics of my research, whose lives in Mumbai identifies them at perma-migrants who create meaningful places for themselves through communal rituals, and whose immigration from Mumbai to Toronto necessitates the incorporation of a new set of place-making activities as a way of developing their identities. In this process of immigration, Casey suggests that place-making is evident in the active role that immigrants take in the "building of homesteads in the land of emigration. […] The living-moving body is essential to the process of emplacement: *lived bodies belong to places* [italics in original] and help to constitute them."[228]

Tim Cresswell suggests that undifferentiated space has the characteristic of being generalized; its structure is rigid, almost scientific in construction. On the other hand, the concept of place is less regulated; rather than being rigid in structure, it is often relegated to the realm of particular descriptors.[229] For instance, if we think of Indian culture as synonymous with Hindu culture, then the Goan Catholics are seen as taking space in a "Hindu" system. They become lost in the homogenization of an Indian cultural identity.

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[225] Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time," 34.
[226] Merleau-Ponty quoted in Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time," 22.
[227] Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time," 23.
[228] Casey, "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time," 24.
[229] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 19.

However, if we focus on specific communities that are removed from this homogenous perspective of space, we can begin to notice and appreciate the detailed minutia that reveals a multitude of religious places. To this end, Cresswell writes, "While space is amenable to the abstraction of spatial science and economic rationality, place is amenable to discussions of things such as "value" and 'belonging.'"[230]Until recently, writes Agnew, understanding place as socially and morally inflected, carried little appeal beyond the field of geography; remaining particularly absent in the modern social sciences. As a reason for this, he offers:

> This has had much to do with the normative association of fields such as political science and sociology with nation-state building and the adoption of a scientific imagination that has tended to ascribe much greater significance in modernity to the preferences and motivations of individual persons (methodological individualism), social groups or neurological syndromes than to the historical-geographical contexts from which individual and group motivations could be seen as deriving.[231]

As noted in the discussion of Transnationalism, the significance of place is acknowledged. This contemporary theoretical stance on place has required place theorists to put certain definitions in place. There are three key dimensions of place, manifesting across disciplines, which bear definition. The first dimension of place is as a "location': this dimension views place as "a site in space where an activity or object is located and which relates to other sites or locations because of interaction, movement and diffusion between them."[232] For the Goans of my study, "location" would refer to the specific areas in Mumbai or in the GTA. The second dimension is the view of place as a series of "locales;" these are settings where the activities of everyday-life take place. "Locale,"

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[230] Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, 20.
[231] John A. Agnew, "Space and Place," in *The Sage Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, eds. John A. Agnew and David N. Livingstone (London, UK: SAGE Publication Ltd., 2011), 322.
[232] Agnew, "Space and Place," 326.

therefore, refers not only to the address of the place, but also to the social life and transformations that happen at that address. As such, locales are not necessarily tied to locations. For the Goans in Mumbai, this would be the community of *Dhobi Talao* or "mini-Goa" where Goan feast celebrations happen; in Toronto, a "locale" could refer to the banquet halls which the Goan community rents temporarily to hold feast celebrations and other social events. Finally, the third dimension of place is as a "sense of place;" this is identification with a place as a unique community. Of this dimension, Agnew writes, "A strong sense of 'belonging' to a place, either consciously or as shown through everyday behaviour such as participating in place-related affairs, would be indicative of a 'sense of place.'"[233] This third dimension is of note when analyzing the Goans in my own research whose religio-cultural identity is dependent on the remembered place of Goa, and informs their identity construction, not only in Mumbai, but also in the diasporic context of Toronto.

The communities in Mumbai and Toronto, the ones in which the Goans of my project create and live in, are dwelling places infused with their "Goan-ness." They have crossed state lines and oceans to become migrant communities, but they have brought with them aspects of their religio-cultural heritage that continue to mark them as "Goan," and continue to infuse the places they inhabit. For each of these communities, the "homeland" of Goa is the *ur*-place, whether actively remember or held onto in the form of a cultural memory. Goa is the place *to* which my participants claiming belonging, and *from* which they draw their religio-cultural identities. "Crossing" and "dwelling" are terms employed by Tweed to theorize the spatial relations involved in the practice of religion; they connote the myriad dynamic and fluid relations, movements, and

[233] Agnew, "Space and Place," 326-27.

embodiments that practitioners engage with in the spaces they inhabit.[234] The migrant Goan communities of my study have travelled, or crossed, out of Goa, and created meaningful dwelling places in Mumbai and in Toronto; in the processes of these crossing, these communities have re-constructed in the new space, a pseudo-Goan place, through the maintenance of particular aspects of Goan culture such as language, village association, food, and religious practices. Thomas Tweed writes of the Cuban community in Miami at the centre of *his* work, that their practices of Catholicism and feast-day rituals point to a hybrid product of "long processes of contact and exchange": between here and there, between generations, between religion and politics, and between memory and reality. He writes, "The ritual moved participants back and forth between the homeland and the new land. […] The ritual moved them across time. Their religion was retrospective and prospective. It was about…memory and desire."[235]

The very act of being an ethnographer means that as a researcher in the field, I was in a particular place, or rather in particular places. This is what Clifford Geertz refers to a "being there" in his analysis of the ethnographic state, where the anthropologist is simultaneously participating and observing the place they're in.[236] Tweed writes that it is vital for the ethnographer to acknowledge their position within the community with whom they engage.[237] He refers to this acknowledgement of position as "positionality," and of this this positionality writes:

> In research, the first step is reflexive positioning. The word *reflexive* means 'turning back'; it is a turning back to the self and, I would add,

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[234] Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 7.
[235] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, 5-6.
[236] Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1988).
[237] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, 7.

> to the community. Where [researchers] are at their best, they acknowledge where they are. […] Scholars function within a network of social exchange and in a particular geographical location. […] Interpreters are not in one place or between places, but always crossing boundaries always moving across. Interpretation is translocative and transtemporal too. The scholar moves back and forth from the desk to the archives, from home to the field, from here to there and now to then. […] The interpreter is everywhere at once or nowhere in particular, [allowing for] positioned sightings of religion in other times and places, since…the religious are always in place and moving across.[238]

To adhere to these powerful notions of positionality espoused by Tweed, this dissertation employs place theory as a lens for conducting an ethnographic investigation in order to create a broader understanding of the ways in which the Goan Catholic community has created its place in the cities of Mumbai and Toronto. The individuality of my research addresses several overlooked and neglected areas of research on minority religions in urban settings, the identity creation processes of ethno-religious minority groups, and the immigration experience and identity renegotiation processes of these groups. While the issues of Indian cultural identity have been dealt with, particularly in relation to the South Indian St. Thomas Christian communities of India,[239] academic research on the Goan Catholic community of India is lacking. Further, rather than echo previous research, this study applies an innovative approach to the study of Goan Catholics as active agents of their identity-construction in particular places.

A Note on Subaltern Studies

In my commitment to giving voice to the Goans of my research as the narrators of their own religio-cultural story, the theories of Subaltern Studies provide a nuanced

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[238] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, 178, 81-83.

[239] Paul M. Collins, *Context, Culture and Worship: The Quest for "Indian-Ness"* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2006); Paul M. Collins, *Christian Inculturation in India* (Burlington VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2007); David Mosse, *The Saint in the Banyan Tree: Christianity and Caste Society in India*, The Anthropology of Christianity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

reinforcement to understanding the alienation and sense of isolation that is woven through this community's narrative. Subaltern Studies is a subcategory within Postcolonial Studies; the theories of Postcolonial Studies are engaged with the power dynamics of examining previously-colonized groups through Euro-centric intellectual enquiry.

Edward Said's *Orientalism* was a pioneering work in the field of Postcolonial Studies. In it, Said examines the concepts by which European modes of knowledge production were justified, through colonialism, in defining members of colonized groups as "the other." He writes:

> Human societies, at least the more advanced cultures, have rarely offered the individual anything but imperialism, racism, and ethnocentrism for dealing with 'other' cultures. So Orientalism aided and was aided by general [European] cultural pressures that tended to make more rigid the sense of difference between the European and Asiatic parts of the world.[240]

Said further suggests that the East was perceived as "different" than the West; as such, the perspective of Orientalism allowed for a correlation to be drawn between that difference and a cultural "weakness."[241] These concepts of "difference" that were bestowed upon colonized societies, were perpetuated by an "us-versus-them" system of binary system of social relations between the European colonizers and the colonized Asian societies; this hegemonic system was the basis and foundation for colonialism. In representing the colonized as inferior and in need of rescue at the hands of the superior, modern European powers, Orientalism perpetuated a Eurocentric discourse, in which there was no room for the narrative of the colonized; that is, for the voices of the subalterns themselves. This power dichotomy between the dominant West and the

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[240] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1979), 204.
[241] Said, *Orientalism*, 204.

Eastern "other" is further discussed by cultural theorist Stuart Hall, who argues that by utilizing European cultural categories of language and ideas to represent colonized populations, the West was able to create and reinforce the discourse of its own cultural dominance.[242] In other words, in writing the story of their culture superiority, colonizing groups were able to reinforce and solidify their dominance over the "other;" that is, the colonized. Hall writes:

> A discourse is a way of talking about or representing something. It produces knowledge that shapes perceptions and practice. It is part of the way in which power operates. Therefore, it has consequences for both those who employ it and those who are 'subjected' to it. The West produced many different ways of talking about itself and 'the Others'.[243]

In transforming the discourse of Orientalism into practice, and therefore reality, the colonizing West was able to maintain its cultural dominance over the "other." This discourse of dominance resulted in the production of the "subaltern," an entity made possible by the exclusion of the "other" from the narrative discourse.

The broader theoretical framework of Postcolonial Studies has been eschewed in this project in favour of other theories that work in a more nuanced manner in understanding the Goans, their unique history, and the creation of their religio-cultural identities; having said that, within Postcolonial Studies, the subcategory of Subaltern Studies offers a valuable set of tools to add to this analytical project. The field of Subaltern Studies was established in the 1970s to promote the examination of subalternist themes in South Asian Studies.[244] The term "subaltern" is drawn from the writings of

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[242] Stuart Hall, "The West and the Rest: Discource and Power," in *Race and Racialization: Essential Readings*, ed. Tania Das Gupta (Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2007), 58.
[243] Hall, "The West and the Rest: Discource and Power," 59-60.
[244] Ranajit Guha, "Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society," (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1982), vii.

Antonio Gramsci, a twentieth century Italian Marxist theoretician, and refers to the subordination of a group, based on class, caste, gender, race, language, and culture; it is used to signify the importance of the relationships between the dominant and the dominated.[245] In 1982, a group of historians involved in the early development of the field of Subaltern Studies in South Asian studies, including Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, Shahid Amin, David Arnold, and Gyanendra Pandey, began the Subaltern Studies Collective (SSC). The SSC published multiple volumes of essays in a series entitled *Subaltern Studies*; the early volumes of this series were compilations of essays on the history of subaltern agency in the struggle for Indian nationalism, giving the perspective of the common man rather than the elite of society. In the inaugural volume of *Subaltern Studies*, Ranajit Guha writes that Subaltern Studies would not ignore the dominant discourse, because the subaltern were always subjected to it; however, the main aim of Subaltern Studies would be to "rectify the elitist bias characteristic of much research and academic work" in South Asian studies."[246] Guha, and the other theorists of the SSC, argued that this act of rectification was based in the notion that the elites had exercised dominance, rather than hegemony, over the subalterns. Towards this, Guha argues that the subalterns continue to create their lives independently of elite discourses, and in spite of hegemonic structures. He writes that the subaltern exists autonomous of the elite politics; that it "neither originated from elite politics nor did its existence depend on [it]."[247] The aim of the SSC was to put aside the elitist discourses about Indian

[245] Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *The American Historical Review*. 99, no. 5 (1994): 1477.
[246] Guha, "Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society," vii.
[247] Guha, "Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society," 3-4.

nationalism, and instead access the micro-stories of life on the ground for subaltern groups in India; for the SSC, the subaltern referred to the Indian rural masses.

There is a significant gap in this definition of the subaltern, however. In an interview given in 1992, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, arguably the greatest modern theorist of Subaltern Studies, addresses this gap: "Everybody thinks the subaltern is just a classy word for oppressed, for Other, for somebody who's not getting a piece of the pie."[248] For Spivak, the subaltern as defined by the SSC continues to put forth a privileging narrative; that is, the dominant histories of those subaltern communities. Rather, she posits that the subaltern refer to those groups which are unable speak, because they cannot be heard by the society in which they live. Spivak argues that once the subaltern is given a voice, it is subaltern no more; rather, in the upending of the subalternity of a group, new subalterns are created. In her now infamous essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?," Spivak proposes a more nuanced, flexible definition of the subaltern, which takes into account the particular histories of unvoiced groups, for instance the histories and experiences of women.[249] This emphasis on particularity as a means of allowing for the narrative agency of subaltern groups, is one that I have chosen to engage with in this dissertation project; not only by examining the Goans from the perspective of their unique historical emergence, but also by taking into account their own foundational story narrative. As has been discussed, Goan Catholics have been studied, albeit in a limited manner, under the rubric of Indian Christianity. This category of scholarship is defined in terms of an indigenous Christianity; that is, it focuses on forms of Christianity

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[248] Leon de Kock, "Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa," *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*. 23, no. 3 (July 1992): 45.
[249] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313, esp. 299-307.

that demonstrate a hybrid religious identity formed from the syncretistic or acculturated processes between the Christian ethos and the Indian or Hindu culture. However, as will be explored in Chapter 4, the particular history of Goa under the Portuguese missionizing imperative, and the interpretation of this history by today's Goans, has resulted in an adapted and adopted version of Portuguese Catholicism and culture for this religio-cultural community. As such, today's Goans maintain, and profess, little connection to their pre-conversion Hindu roots or to a sense of Indian identity. In this sense, Goans can be seen as a subaltern community within the already-subaltern system of Christian minorities in India today.

Gyan Prakash writes that the history of South Asia as written by the European colonizers led to the development of the SSC, and to the rise of Subaltern Studies. However, in the decades since the emergence of this theoretical field, the discourse of subalternity and power in India has shifted; where once the subaltern referred to the dominated "other" in the West-versus-East discourse, the connotations of subaltern have now shifted. In the construction of a post-colonial "Indian narrative," there is an assumption of universality; Prakash asks for the consideration of *whose* universals these are?[250] In other words, who is Indian? This is in keeping with Spivak's argument that it is impossible to retrieve the voice of a subaltern when it is not even given a subject position from which to speak.[251] The application of subalternity to the Goans of my research is clear; Goans emanate from a space (i.e. India) which is dominated by the Hindu cultural discourse, and are often considered cultural outsiders in that space. This sense of being cultural outsiders in India is voiced several times over by my Goan interlocutors, who

[250] Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," 1485.
[251] Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," 210-11.

have little attachment to the country of their birth. In this space, their voice and history and narrative are subaltern; their existence and identity creation exist independent of a Hindu-Christian dominance-based discourse, and in spite of a hegemonic framework. This is further voiced by the Toronto community of Goans, who are Indian by nationality, and racially homogenized with other Indians in Canada, unrecognized for their religio-cultural uniqueness. In this way, this community is a further subaltern amongst other Indian migrant communities in Canada. In addition, their expression of Catholicism is unvoiced in their new Western location because it differs from the mainstream Canadian Catholic presentation, which relegates religion to the private sphere and categorically separates it from expressions of culture; this separation of categories is difficult for the Goans because their identity is based on the amalgamation of their unique religio-cultural heritage. By engaging solely with the colonialist or nationalist conversations that dominate studies of South Asia, the narrative agency of the subaltern subject, in this case the Goans is denied. By accessing the community's narrative of its own religio-cultural identity through the ethnographic methods employed in this project, this group of subaltern subjects is able to enact that narrative agency.

Summary of Theoretical Contexts

The first part of this chapter discussed the four major theoretical contexts with which my dissertation project is in conversation: Religious Studies, Anthropology of Religion, Transnational Ethnography, and Place Studies. The framework of Lived Religion, within the discipline of Religious Studies, allows for a focus on religion-in-action, or the expressions of the adherents' beliefs and practices. Additionally, this lens permits a broadening of the scope of inquiry, beyond simply the "religious," and into the

everyday expressions of religion and identity, with a focus on the religious actors as authors of their own narratives. Finally, Lived Religion calls for an emphasis on embodiment, including attention to the material aspects religious expression. Drawing on the emphasis within Religious Studies on Lived Religion, my study is an examination of the particular ways in which the Goan Catholics of my project embody their religious beliefs in specific locations—namely, Mumbai and Toronto. By examining the specific practices of this community, such as domestic rituals and the communal celebration of feast days, there is a focus on these Goan actors as the narrators of their religio-cultural identities. Further, this study maintains the call put forth my Robert Orsi to examine religious communities through the social and communal interactions that take place "on the ground," which is where the ethnographic perspective comes into play.

As an ethnographic project, the research on which this dissertation is based, is very much "on the ground" with the Goan Catholics of Mumbai and Toronto. Complementing the theoretical underpinnings of Lived Religion is the Anthropology of Religion. As an extension of culture, the Anthropology of Religion takes into consideration the relationship of the religious actor with his or her religious belief, as it manifests in daily life and ritual activity, amongst other things. For my Goan Catholics participants, their religious affiliation not only affects their cultural expressions, but has significant impact on their sense of self, their identity creation, and their ability to adapt to the environments in which they live. Through participant observation, thick description, and interviews with community participants, this project employs anthropological methodologies to investigate this religio-cultural community.

With a commitment to engaging the voices of the subject community, this project is also engaged with Transnational Ethnography. Through this framework, this project highlights the ways in which the community of Goan Catholics maintain socio-cultural and religious ties to the remembered place of Goa, as a way of continuing to hold on to Goan cultural markers, particularly through emigrations and dispersions. It is through the examination of transnational networks, for instance the Goan community's reasons for migration and its established food networks, which the theories of transnationalism contribute to this research analysis. Further, transnationalism ties together the anthropological commitment to studying the particular, with the study of place that this dissertation undertakes. By adopting the lens of Place Studies, this project is committed to analyzing the ways in which the Goan Catholics communities of Mumbai and Toronto embody the specific places they inhabit. It is through the examination of the place-making activities such as material culture, domestic religion, and peri-religious community events that Goans of Mumbai and Toronto undertake, that my dissertation fleshes out the myriad ways in which the Goans create and maintain their particular religio-cultural identities, across geographic borders and various spatial contexts.

METHODS

The methodological scope of this project has been previously outlined, in the Introduction. To supplement this presented methodological framework, this section outlines the specific methods that were employed in the undertaking of this dissertation research project. These methods (i.e. tools, techniques, and processes) include an overview of the ways in which primary data was collected, recorded, stored, and reported; as well, this section on methods elucidates the nature of my role as a researcher and a participant observer in the construction of the community narrative presented in this project.

Primary Data

The primary data collection for this research project was conducted over a period of sixteen months between 2012 and 2014, and draws on formal participant interviews in Mumbai and Toronto, informal group conversations in both cities, observational data from community events that I attended in each city, and data from a survey instrument administered to willing participants. Of the sixteen months of fieldwork research, I spent half in Toronto, Canada; the other eight months I spent in Mumbai, India. In Toronto, the first wave of participants was recruited through an online posting on www.goanvoice.ca, an active online community of Goan Catholics living in Canada (Appendix A). Subsequent participant were made aware of the project through word-of-mouth and snowball sampling.[252] In Mumbai, I relied solely on word-of-mouth and snowball

[252] Snowball sampling involves identifying a suitable participant—in this case a Goan Catholic, age 18+, born in Mumbai, India, living either in Mumbai or in Toronto—and then asking this participant to refer fellow community members who are suited for the project, to the researcher. Paul Vogt, in *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology*, describes 'snowball sampling' as "[A] technique for finding research subjects. One subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and

sampling to gain participants, and had very little trouble in recruiting people. In each location, participants were invited to participate in a 60-90 minute conversation about being Goan Catholic. These interviews utilized broad questions that structured the interview (Appendix E), while still allowing for ample breadth for the participant to expand and discuss their thoughts. This open-ended model is in contrast with the traditional interview model of specific questions that lead and shape the discussion. The questions that I prepared were purposefully open-ended, and elicited answers and discussions that I could not have anticipated. Often, the participant and I would spend long periods in discussion of what the questions themselves meant. These discussions were often more enlightening than any formal answer to the questions themselves. Without open ended discussions, I would not have had access to certain organic conversations—often the place where the most valuable information was found.

Each participant interview began with an introduction that provided the participant with an overview of the project and the rationale behind the study. I explained confidentiality and the right to withdraw at any time, and received verbal acknowledgement and consent for the presence of a recording device at each interview. Furthermore, each participant was provided with a letter detailing the project (Appendix B), as well as a copy of the project's ethics approval through the University of Calgary's Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB). Prior to beginning the interview, each participant was asked to fill out two forms of informed consent; one of these was from the CFREB, and the other was a more detailed form of consent that was tailored to the study (Appendix C). Finally, each participant was provided with a survey instrument

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so on." W. Paul Vogt, *Dictionary of Statistics & Methodology: A Nontechnical Guide for the Social Sciences*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999), 368.

(Appendix D). These survey instruments included a section on identifying terms; that is, terms that participants used to identify themselves. This section elicited the most discussion about how my interviewees identify themselves, and the reasoning behind these identities. In almost all of my interviews, we paused when the participant reached this part of the survey, with the participant often processing out-loud these identifiers; many of my interviewees made mention that they had never considered how they identified themselves.

In Mumbai, my search for participants led to 41 individual interviews, with far more informal group conversations that became part of the observational data I recorded. In Toronto, I interviewed 35 individual participants, and also held informal conversations with groups at various community events to which I was invited as a researcher.[253] These informal group conversations were audio recorded with permission, but all identifying data of the persons involved were removed from the subsequent transcripts. Particularly in Mumbai, I found that having an informal group conversation provided a setting for better discussion as participants were more likely to speak freely on the topics of religion and politics; these topics are particularly "hot button" issues for minority communities in India at the moment. The prospect of filling out paperwork and having their name attached to their responses was daunting for some participants, and led to stilted formal interviews; this was a detriment overcome by the informal group conversations where participants were more comfortable chatting with each other in a casual manner. In these instances, I asked broader questions but allowed the conversation to develop more

[253] By interviewing more than 33-35 participants in each location, my study falls into the category of being statistically significant for the population of Goan Catholics in each city in which my research was conducted, as per Kenneth S. Bordens and Bruce B. Abbott, *Research Design and Methods: A Process Approach*, 7th ed. (Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Publishing, 2008), 111.

organically than in the formal interviews. These community events which I attended included festivals celebrating various saints, a New Year's celebration, a funeral, many masses, a Marion worship feast, domestic ritual celebrations, public rosaries, and one multi-day retreat at an ashram. At most of these events, I was able to record the event—often through audio, sometimes with video recording, and sometimes manually. Participants who consented were also photographed. Photographs were also taken of ritual and material objects, and sites of public celebration.

Participant Observation

The practice of participant observation is considered by many to be an art form; many practitioners of this methodology are resistant to the formulation of standardizing criterion,[254] advocating instead that those in the field organically learn the skills of participant observation.[255] The skills required to engage in participant observation have less to do with classroom learning and far more to do with the researcher's ability to make it a "way of life."[256] As such, anthropological fieldwork is heavily dependent on the researcher's ability to develop and maintain specific relationships in the field; making the fieldwork just as contingent on the researcher's personality as it is on the theoretical approaches of Anthropology.

This is certainly true of my own work with the Goan of Mumbai and Toronto, where I was "put to work" by my community in many ritual settings, including domestic worship and church services; as such, the descriptions of these events that I provide in this dissertation are not simply a matter of "observation." Rather, they are descriptions of

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[254] Danny L. Jorgensen, *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies*, Applied Social Research Methods Series (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1989), 8.
[255] Simon Coleman, "The Multi-Sited Ethnographer," in *Critical Journeys: The Making of Anthropologists*, eds. Geert de Neve and Maya Unnithan-Kumar (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 32.
[256] Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," 174.

events in which I participated. I have been careful to annotate descriptions of these events in my field notes with accounts from my participants, so as to provide a fuller picture of the events, thereby providing not my perspective alone, but also giving voice to community insiders.

Participant Interviews

Interview participants for this project were all self-identified members of the Goan Catholic community. They were each born in the city of Mumbai, irrespective of their city of residence at the time of my fieldwork. Participants in Toronto were first generation immigrants who immigrated to Toronto directly from Mumbai; that is, without having created permanent homes in other places in-between. All participants were over the age of 18 years old, with participants in Toronto having actively migrated to Canada; that is, as adults over the age of 18. The following information represents the demographic breakdown of the participants who contributed to the formal interviews of my research:

Total Sample	**76 participants**	**43 female**	**33 male**	**Age Range**
Mumbai, India	41 participants	23 female	18 male	22 to 76 y.o.
Toronto, Canada	35 participants	20 female	15 male	37 to 94 y.o.

All interviews took place at a location of the participant's choosing, usually their home or a local coffee shop. Most of my interviews took place during or after a dinner meal, which most participants insisted I attend as a way of seeing Goan culture "in action"! All of my fieldwork was conducted in English, as most Goans consider this their first language. My knowledge of Konkani, the native language of the Indian state of Goa, was only needed for translation of certain community rituals which used Konkani prayers and

hymns. During interviews, I took some notes, but aimed to maintain a more conversational air to the interview, because I did not want the barrier of a notebook or computer to hinder the flow of my participant's narrative. An audio recorder was present at all interviews. The transcription to and coding of these audio files was done by me. Where requested, all identifying information was been removed from the transcripts.

Summary of Methods

In conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Mumbai and Toronto over a period of 16 months, between 2012 and 2013, I conducted participant interviews, and practiced participant observation to obtain the primary data for this research project. Through advertising and snowball sampling, I was able to interview a statistically significant number of Goans in both Mumbai and in Toronto. Through interviews guided by a format of open-ended questions, and data gained from an administered survey instrument, I acquired deep insight into the ways in which these communities articulate their identities and narrate their foundational story. As a participating member of the host communities, I was able to immerse myself wholly into their practices and traditions as a means of gaining first-hand embodied experience into their religious practices, which offered insight into the role of religion in the Goan construction of religio-cultural identity.

CHAPTER 4: WHERE ARE WE FROM? HISTORY & CULTURAL NARRATIVE

> "You know the Goans by our food, our language, you know? We come from the Portuguese, but we're Indian. Still, we're different…I don't know how to answer this question!"[257]

This candidly confused answer came from a young woman whom I interviewed in Mumbai. Her response is typical of nearly all the answers that I received in response to the question of what it means to be Goan. There was a generally vague pointer to cultural markers, a tie to the Portuguese that is now a part of the community's foundation story, and then an ellipse in the conversation. What was apparent in most, if not all, of my interviews however, was that being Goan Catholic was more than simply a religious affiliation. While their Roman Catholicism was at the centre of the markers that my interview participants identified with, for them being Goan always had broader historical, cultural, ethnic, and national implications.

In this chapter, I explore the historical context through which the Goan Catholics emerged as a community, and the impact that this history has had on the contemporary narrative that the community has for itself, as it navigates life as a religio-cultural minority in India and in its decision to migrate to Canada. Through this chapter, I examine the colonizing and religious influences of the Portuguese in India, and trace the migratory paths of the Goans from their home state of Goa to the metropolis of modern-day Mumbai, and finally take a look at the immigrant community of Goans who have left India so that they can recreate their lives in Toronto. Through these migrations, the Goan community's ability to maintain its sense of religio-cultural communal identity is seen

[257] Alison D'Souza. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. September 16, 2013.

repeatedly, particularly through the development of clubs, the establishment of churches, and its perpetual tie to its Goan Catholic heritage and culture.

The culture of my subject population is described by the community itself as "Goan;" this term "Goan" holds the implication of Goan Catholic, a by-product of the colonial and missionizing efforts of the Portuguese in Goa beginning in the fifteenth century. The Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, whom I engaged with through my fieldwork, attribute all manner of their cultural expression to this religio-cultural affiliation, which includes a foundational narrative tying them religiously and culturally to the Portuguese colonizers. Geertz defines "culture" as a concept which "denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which [people] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."[258] The religion and the religious identities transmitted to the ancestors of my Goan participants through the Portuguese, continue to shape the religio-cultural identities of the Goans of my study. Today's Goans incorporate their religio-cultural affiliations to develop an identity that is built primarily on their Catholic religion, while also simultaneously including their unique history of culture as inherited from the Portuguese. These conceptions of self-identity include the community's foundational narrative which ties them to a greater degree with the now-gone Portuguese, thus leading to a sense of being "outsiders" in their birthplace of India. As such, these ostensibly non-Indian religious and cultural ties that today's Goans maintain as part of their identities, have served to create a rift in the way they perceive themselves, and are perceived by fellow Indians. With a perpetuated attitude of being Western and feeling like religio-cultural outsiders in India, the

[258] Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," 89.

contemporary Goans of my study, much like their ancestors, feel that their cultural values and religious affiliations make them better aligned with the Western world; thus leading to the contemporary age of mass migration by Goans out of India, to Western countries like Canada.

The place-making and identity-creation mechanisms that emerge through examining the history of the Goans offer insight into the ways in which the contemporary Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto embody the places in which they live, and sustain their Goan Catholic religio-cultural identities. By contextualizing the Goans in this way, this chapter sets the stage for understanding the modern community of Goans, particularly as they construct the narrative of their own history, and employ old modes of cultural integration and identity construction in new contexts.

Portuguese Catholicism in Goa

On May 20, 1498, under the auspices of King Emmanuel I, Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama and his crew, came to shore in the northern Keralite town of Kozhikode. According to legend, when da Gama was asked to explain his purpose in coming to India, his first words to the locals of Kozhikode were, "We came to seek souls and spices." The implication of this response is that da Gama's primary mission to India was a missionizing one. This is not entirely true; the main purpose of this initial foray by the Portuguese to Indian shores was political and commercial. Through this exploration endeavour, the Portuguese meant to break the monopoly that Muslims had on the spice trade in Europe at the time.[259] The Christianizing aspect of this imperial mission arose a half-century later, when King John II of Portugal requested Pope Paul III to send Catholic

[259] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 73.

missionaries to the Portuguese colony in south India. For today's Goans, the imperial arrival and presence of the Portuguese is all but forgotten; for the contemporary Goans of my research, the Portuguese presence in India was solely to bring the boon of Catholicism to Goa, thereby "saving" the ancestors of today's Goans.

The task of bringing Catholicism to Indian soil in the sixteenth century was given to the newly formed Society of Jesus. The Society of Jesus, commonly referred to as the Jesuits, was formed in Rome in the 1530s by a group of students from the University of Paris, led by Basque Spaniard, Ignatius of Loyola (1490-1556). The Jesuit missionary sent to India was Loyola's personal secretary, and co-founder of the Society of Jesus, Francis Xavier, who was a Spaniard by birth. Xavier arrived in Goa, the headquarters of Portuguese trade in Asia, on May 6, 1542. In 1549, Xavier was appointed the provincial superior of India, which Ignatius of Loyola had designated as the third province of the Society of Jesus, after Spain and Portugal.[260] This is significant, as it offers insight into how important Goa was to the Portuguese missionizing impetus. By assigning this degree of importance to Goa, the Portuguese were able to allocate more resources, both personnel and monetary, into the Indian mission.

Xavier and the Jesuits conducted immediate and widespread conversions to Roman Catholicism in Goa, Karnataka, and parts of Kerala. Under Xavier, children of already-Christian families who were born after 1537 were baptized into the Catholic faith. This introduction of Catholicism into the Indian context was not India's first engagement with Christianity. In fact Christianity came to India in several waves, the first of which arrived almost two thousand years ago. According to legend, it is believed

[260] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 89-90. Today, the Jesuit community in India is the largest in the world—followed by the United States and Spain.

that the disciple Thomas was the first to bring Christianity to India in the early years of the first millennium. Traditionally, Thomas is thought to have arrived on the Malabar Coast[261] of India in the year 52CE, and remained there until his death twenty years later. His engagement with the peoples of India was well accepted as part of legend, with some later sources making mention of his presence there. For example, in the late-fourth century, Saint Jerome wrote, "Christ lives everywhere, with Thomas in India and with Peter in Rome."[262] In addition to this, there are several Christian apocryphal documents that cite Thomas's work in India, including the *Acts of Saint Thomas*, a mid-third century work that traces Thomas's work through modern-day Pakistan and northwest India, down to Kerala.[263] Today's Thomas Christians, named for their patron saint, are believed to form one of the oldest Christian communities in the world. In addition to the work of Thomas on the Malabar Coast, early Christianity was introduced to India at various other points in history. These instances of Christian engagement in India include the work of Pantaenus, a Jewish teacher from a theological school in Alexandria, who founded a Christian community in India based on the teachings of Saint Bartholomew. This community made their home in Kalyan, an area of India in the vicinity of the modern city of Mumbai.[264] Syrian Christianity came to India in two waves, the first of which was in the fourth century from Persia, under the guidance of Thomas of Cana, who is referred to as Cnai Thomman by the Keralite Christians.[265] Thomas of Cana brought Syrian Christianity to the Indian subcontinent as part of the strong trade relations that existed

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[261] The Malabar Coast refers to the coastal region of India that begins south of the state of Goa, encompasses the western coastlines of Karnataka and Kerala, and stretches down to Kanyakumari, which lies south of the city of Trivandrum.
[262] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 59-60.
[263] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 60.
[264] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 60-61.
[265] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 60-61.

between India and communities on the Persian Gulf, including modern-day Iraq. The second wave of Syrian Christianity to India came in the ninth or tenth century, when bishops of the Syrian Christian Church, native to Armenia, settled in south India.[266] The principal bishop of the Syrian Christian Church, who had pope-like jurisdiction over this Indian Christian community, resided in Antioch, Syria. The Keralite Christian, Thomas Christian, and Syrian Christian communities of India maintained their faith, parallel to their non-Christian countrymen, for almost fifteen centuries. The arrival of da Gama in 1498, and the subsequent arrival of Xavier in 1549, simply added another voice to the already ongoing Christian conversation in India.[267] Today's Goans see the arrival of Catholicism through the Portuguese to India as the arrival of "authentic" Christianity. For today's Goans, this view of authenticity has less to do with seeing Catholicism as superior to other forms of Christianity; rather, it is an understanding of Western culture as brought to the Goans through Catholicism, as the authenticator of their Christianity. Non-Catholic Indian Christians seem "too Indian" to the Goans of my research; thus making them less like the Western Christians, whom the Goans resemble, at least culturally.

The existence of these other Christian communities in India made Xavier's introduction of Roman Catholicism to the subcontinent easier because Christianity was not new to India and so the locals were not wary of the Portuguese introducing Roman Catholicism into their already-pluralistic religio-cultural milieu. Xavier's missionary work in India began with already-Christian families; at first, he baptized children born after 1537, and then began baptizing adult converts into the Catholic Church. He disseminated standardized Christian rituals and prayers; his work was aided by local

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[266] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 61-62.
[267] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 62; Collins, *Context, Culture and Worship: The Quest for "Indian-Ness"*.

seminarians, who were early converts to Catholicism under Xavier and whose membership in the clergy was indicative of the Portuguese investment in Goa as a vital centre of Jesuit missionary work. Xavier's missionizing in India included giving sermons in village centers, conducting baptism ceremonies, and ensuring the instruction in the faith for the new Indian Christians by monitoring the preaching and ritual services of the clergy under his command. Xavier's work stretched south from Goa to Tamil Nadu and Kerala, and north to Vasai, a region nearby to the present-day city of Mumbai.[268] This Catholic network of sorts would later aid the Goan Catholics in developing migratory networks out of the state of Goa, particularly directed towards the metropolis of Bombay.

Over fifteen centuries in India, the Thomas Christians and Syrian Christians of India had moulded their religion to fit into their cultural surroundings. This included maintenance of certain aspects of the caste system, use of the vernacular language for prayer, and re-appropriating traditionally Hindu aesthetics such as *aarti* (sacred fire) and *pooja* (worship) in practicing Christian rituals.[269] On the other hand, the newly-introduced Catholicism drew its cultural identity from the Portuguese. What this means is that Indians who converted to Catholicism under Francis Xavier and his successors, were required to renounce their Hindu family names and adopt the family names of their Portuguese godparents. This mandated change in names included the adoption of Christian or Christian sounding first names, which facilitated assimilation with the Catholics of the Iberian Peninsula.[270] Prayer and ritual was performed in standardized

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[268] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 90-91; Curt Cadorette, *Catholicism in Social and Historical Contexts: An Introduction* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2009), 138-39.

[269] Collins, *Context, Culture and Worship: The Quest for "Indian-Ness"*, 6-7.

[270] The current Catechism of the Catholic Church addresses the issue of "Christian names" as such: "In Baptism, […] the Christian receives his name in the Church. […] The parent, sponsors, and the pastor are to see that a name is not given which is foreign to Christian sentiment." There is no further explanation as

Latin, and the Catholic churches in India were constructed in a distinctly Iberian architectural style. In addition to these significant changes in names, language, and architecture, Indian Catholics were required to adopt several other aesthetic aspects of Portuguese culture, including but not limited to habits of food, dress, family structures, and the arts.[271] By instituting such a rigid form of conversion and cultural transformation, Xavier and the missionizing arm of the Portuguese had effectively cordoned off the new Goan Catholic converts from their non-Catholic counterparts, therefore creating a completely self-contained religio-cultural community of Indians. This cultural conversion is reflected in today's community of Goans: through their Portuguese family names, like D'Souza, Pereira, Gonsalves, etc.; through their religiously-unrestricted dietary habits; and through their cultural alignment with the West over their Indian place of birth.

Of this change in religio-cultural identity, Fr. Roberto de Nobili wrote in a 1613 report sent to Rome that the Portuguese not only aimed at Christianizing the Indian converts, but also that the attempts to "Lusitanize" the Indian Christians were successful.[272] de Nobili was a Jesuit priest, renowned for his work with the Tamils of Madurai, with whom he developed systems of "accommodation," whereby he aimed to delineate between "religion" and "culture." To the realm of religion, he ascribed "the abstract discourse of truth, salvation, and morality," and culture was the "neutral, merely practical, or civil."[273] In other words, for de Nobili, culture was the vessel into which the truth of Christianity could always be poured. In this way, the Christians of Tamil Nadu

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to what constitutes a "Christian sentiment" or what falls outside the bounds of this sentiment. See Article 2156 *Catechism of the Catholic Church: Revised in Accordance with the Official Latin Text Promulgated by Pope John Paul Ii*, 2nd ed. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997).

[271] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 111-12.

[272] Lusitania refers to an ancient Iberian Roman province which covers the geographical area of modern-day Portugal. D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 122.

[273] Mosse, *The Saint in the Banyan Tree: Christianity and Caste Society in India*, 4-5.

with whom de Nobili worked were able to maintain the cultural aspects of their Indianness alongside their non-Christian fellow-Indians, while still adopting the Catholicism brought to India by the Jesuits. When de Nobili attempted to bring his philosophy of cultural accommodation to Goa, however, he was arrested and tried by the Goa Inquisition on a charge of heresy.[274] The Inquisition demanded that the conversion of Catholics by the Portuguese be total, resulting in what Bento Graciano D'Souza calls a "double-edged conversion" which demanded "a change of religion as well as the social habits."[275] The Inquisition in Goa was instituted by D. Joao III, King of Portugal at the behest of Francis Xavier, whom in a letter to the king dated May 16, 1545, wrote:

> The second necessity for the Christians is that your majesty establish the Holy Inquisition, because there are many who live according to the Jewish Law, and according to the Mohamedan sect, without any fear of God or shame of the world. And since there are many who are spread all over the fortresses, there is the need of the Holy Inquisition and of many preachers. Your majesty should provide such necessary things for your loyal and faithful subjects in India.[276]

This request to the king by Xavier was to ensure that those who were choosing to convert to Catholicism were not doing so merely to gain favour with the Portuguese, while still maintaining cultural ties to Hinduism and other "pagan" forms of worship and cultural expressions. For today's Goans, this history of an aggressive conversion is all but erased from the narrative of their religio-cultural foundation story.

Before arriving in India, the priorities of the Jesuits were established in 1540 by a Papal Bull, which directed the Society of Jesus in the propagation of the faith through public sermons, retreats, works of charity, and the education of children and illiterate

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[274] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 122-23.
[275] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 122.
[276] Quoted in D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 125.

adults.[277] Through Portuguese missionizing, the fabric of Goan society was considerably altered. Through the Goan Inquisition, the missionaries were able to excise "false converts;" that is, those who converted to Catholicism simply to gain favour from the Portuguese rulers, while still maintaining aspects of their pre-conversion religious and cultural identities. D'Souza quotes a letter from Xavier, who wrote of the conversion efforts in Goa:

> The people of this country who become Christians do so purely for some temporal advantage as is inevitable in a land where slavery reigns. Slaves of the Moors or Hindus seek baptism in order to secure manumission at the hands of the Portuguese. Others do so to get protection from tyrants or for the sake of a turban, a shirt or some other trifle or to escape being hanged, or to be able to associate with Christian women. The man who embraces the faith from honest conviction is regarded as a fool. They are baptized whenever and wherever they express a wish for the sacrament without any instruction; and many revert to their former paganism…[278]

As the quote indicates, Xavier comprehended the different reasons for conversion, and sought to establish a complete conversion to Christianity, which was ensured through the almost-total total adoption of Catholicism as expressed in the Portuguese ethos. At the request of Xavier, therefore, Portugal dispatched the Inquisition to Goa in an attempt to eradicate heretical beliefs, and the reversion of newly-converted Catholics to their former Hindu customs. The Inquisition continued until 1812, with a temporary suspension from 1774 to 1778. Between 1560CE and 1774, the Inquisition tribunals tried and condemned more than sixteen thousand such "heretics."[279] The general consensus of historians is that

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[277] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 123-24.

[278] Letter from Francis Xavier to D. Joao III, King of Portugal as quoted in D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 125.

[279] "Goa Was the Birthplace of Indo-Western Garments: Wendell Rodricks," *Deccan Herald*, January 27, 2012, 127; D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*. The Inquisition had been introduced in Portugal to deal with the tendency of newly-converted Catholics, mainly forcibly-converted Jews, to revert to the practice of their pre-conversion faith. The Inquisition in Goa played a similar role in relation to the new Goan converts.

the conversions in Goa were brought about by the promise of material rewards, the threat of violence, and the use of force. While true religious conviction playing a seemingly-insignificant role in effecting conversion,[280] the religio-cultural conversion was so complete that Catholicism's foothold with the Goans saw them adopt an entirely new cultural ethos; this internalization of the Portuguese missionizing work was so total that today's community of Goan Catholics has reconstructed its conversion narrative to include internal agency, and cast the Portuguese missionaries as the bearers of great fortune to the community. For instance, at a Goan social celebrating the Feast of St. Francis Xavier in Toronto, which I attended in 2012, the Eucharistic celebrant Fr. Cecil says:

> The Portuguese, they came for souls and spices. Look at us here. We are those souls, who were saved by their arrival. St. Francis Xavier [is] a name for which you and I should be grateful because we are Catholics.[281]

This gratefulness to the Portuguese for coming to India and bringing Catholicism and a Western way of life to the Goans, is a sentiment that is ubiquitous in the communities of Goans I worked with, both in Mumbai and in Toronto.

Upon adopting the new Catholic faith, vestiges of Indian culture were discarded completely as a sign of the genuine conversion to and adoption of the Catholic faith. D'Souza writes of the conquest and Christianization of Goa by the Portuguese:

> The Portuguese entered Goa with a firm determination to convert the local people to Christianity. By conversion, they meant not only the change of religion or the receipt of baptism as a sign of conversion

[280] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 129.
[281] Fr. Cecil Noronha. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

> but they directed their activities to secure a cultural conversion as well."[282]

This religio-cultural conversion meant that the Portuguese impact on Goa led to the "transformation of the economic anatomy and the social physiognomy of […] Goan society."[283] Under the Portuguese, the new Catholic converts were accorded many advantages. The religio-cultural conversion of the Goan Catholics was supported through advantageous changes in social institutions and public policies. To receive these benefits required supportive social structures that obviously redefined the boundaries between "colonizer" (the Portuguese) and "colonized" (the Goans), affording the Goan Catholics societal benefits on par with those received by the Portuguese. In the late-sixteenth century, public ordinances were issued, detailing these advantages:

> 1) No Hindu could hold public offices, but all had to be given to Christians.
> 2) Moneys left for Portuguese orphanages could not be given to Hindus.
> 3) Pagan rites and ceremonies were forbidden.
> 4) No convert could be disinherited owing to his conversion.
> 5) Converts in Goa [were] to enjoy the same privileges as the Portuguese.[284]

The promise of societal reward was a strong motivator for the new Catholic converts to abandon their pre-conversion ways, and to adopt the Catholicism and culture being promoted by the Portuguese.

In discussing the impact that the conversion to Catholicism had on Goan society, D'Souza writes, "The Portuguese not only reported to forceful mass conversions to Christianity but they also forced the Portuguese culture on the new Christians. Evangelization in Goa, therefore, carried a double meaning; it is Christianizing the

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[282] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 97.
[283] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 101.
[284] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 126.

natives and Europeanizing the new Christians."[285] By rechristening the new Indian Catholics with Portuguese surnames, dressing them in European fashions, feeding them beef, pork, and alcohol, and instituting Latin as the sole language of the Church, the new Catholic religion in India became well and wholly indoctrinated in the lives of the new converts. Theresa Albuquerque writes, "On adopting the new faith, transformation was total. Converts had perforce to shed old loyalties and inhibitions and take on everything new: worship, personal and family name, dress, language, learning, diet, attitude, custom, and manner of life."[286] This total cultural conversion also meant that while the Catholic faith took root, a total assimilation by the new converts to Portuguese culture was underway.[287] Another aspect of culture that was drastically altered with the Portuguese engagement in India is that of language; use of the Konkani language, native to the areas in and around the modern state of Goa, was severely altered. Helena Sant'ana writes that in the first phase of Portuguese occupation in Goa, beginning in 1510, the Jesuits considered Konkani to be a valuable point of entry into the communities of Goa. She writes:

> Mastery of the [Konkani] language was a tremendous instrument of power, and so, in complicity with the religious order, the Portuguese Crown compelled the Catholic priests to learn Konkani. During this phase, they compiled grammars, dictionaries', and catechisms. […] Years later, after the first conversions and the training of new members of the order, local priests began to be appointed, but they did not show the same interest in maintaining knowledge of the local language. When the Inquisition was set up in Portugal, the first measures to suppress the Konkani language appeared. All native-born people were compelled to learn Portuguese within three years.[288]

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[285] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 139.
[286] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, xix.
[287] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 213.
[288] Sant'ana, "Goans and Damnians in Portugal: An Overview of a Singular Diaspora," 135.

As such, evangelization by Portuguese missionaries was to be conducted solely in Portuguese. For this purpose it was decreed that all natives of Goa, particularly Catholics, were to compulsorily learn Portuguese.[289] Furthermore, those admitted to the priesthood were required to know and speak Portuguese only. Konkani literature was burned by the Portuguese since it was believed to contain "pagan doctrines."[290] D'Souza writes, "The result of all these persecutions launched against the native tongue was that the Goan Christians adopted foreign languages, Portuguese and English."[291] Since Latin was the only official language of the Church, and Portuguese was the imposed cultural lingua, the Konkani vernacular was forbidden.[292] Where maintenance of Konkani was allowed, it had to be written in Roman script rather than in the traditional Devnagiri script.[293]

Teresa Albuquerque writes that so complete was the conversion of the new Indian Catholics under Portuguese rule, it rendered the converts an absolutely new identity. Furthermore, by favouring the Catholic converts over their non-Catholic neighbours, the Portuguese created a societal rift between Catholics and non-Catholics in the state of Goa. Where the missionary effort had established educational institutions and seminaries, only Catholic candidates were admitted; as well, Catholics received better hygiene, medical care, and medicine through the missionary hospitals and medical facilities.[294] Regarding the consequences of this systemic discrimination, D'Souza writes:

> The discriminations introduced on the basis of […] religion, whereby the Christians were favoured, the intolerance shown to other religions,

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[289] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 143.
[290] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 143-44.
[291] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 144.
[292] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, xix.
[293] This adaptation of script would later benefit the Goan Catholics under the British regime.
[294] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 153-54.

> the close alliance formed with the Portuguese Government whereby sanctions were received for establishing the Inquisition in Goa, for suppressing the local vernacular, and disallowing the Hindus from joining Government educational institutions and Government services, earned a bad name for the Christian religion of the Portuguese.[295]

This antagonism towards the Portuguese and their missionizing efforts created a societal rift in Goa between the Goan Catholics and their non-Catholic fellow-Goans, leaving the Catholics of Goa a community set apart from their cultural neighbours. Albuquerque sums up this state of separation: "Though still eastern by birth and tradition, [Goan Catholics] became a hybrid breed—set apart from their fellow men, patronized by [the Portuguese]—yet foreigners in their own land."[296] One of my research interviewee encapsulates this hybridity well:

> See, we are part Indian, part Western. But, fully Goan, huh! That is why we fit in well wherever we go. That is one thing about us…we do not worry about whether we will fit in anywhere. We go anywhere, and we adapt. That is one great thing. I think it's because we are so mixed—like one part Indian, one part Catholic, you know what I mean?[297]

The Goan Catholics at the centre of my research have reimagined the conversion narrative of the Goans under the Portuguese. For today's Goans, the Portuguese influence and the transformation of Goan religion and culture is seen as a boon, and is illustrated by this quote from a sermon given at one particular Goan mass that I attended in Toronto:

> St. Francis Xavier [was] a person full of zeal, full of life, and ready to bring life to the community. He brought us salvation through the cross. Because of him, we are proud Catholics. What Paul was in those days, St. Francis Xavier was to each one of us. We are grateful to him.[298]

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[295] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 154.
[296] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, xx.
[297] Sandra Pereira. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 15, 2013.
[298] Fr. Cecil Noronha. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

For today's Goans therefore, their community's history of conversion to Catholicism under the Portuguese is not one fraught with struggle and force. The Portuguese missionizing drive was so complete in the state of Goa that it has rendered the subsequent community of Goan Catholics a *sui generis* religio-cultural identity. This religio-cultural identity continues to shape the ways in which the Goans of my research view themselves.

Foundation Narrative Tied to the Portuguese

The foundation story of the today's Goans is inevitably tied a cultural memory of a past affiliated with the Portuguese, during which the Goans were a privileged community. In Mumbai, my participants were quick to point to this cultural memory, and to the tie that Goans have to the now-gone Portuguese. When pressed to discuss Goan history, many of my participants said that they did not know for sure how Catholicism had arrived to India. For them, it did not matter how their ancestors had become Catholic. For instance, Brian D'Sa says:

> See, it is history now that Goa was considered first as a Portuguese colony. So, like that we are also considered Western. What they say is that we were originally Hindus and now we are all converted. There might be some truth in that. Actually, most of our surnames are Portuguese names. I do not know. I am still working that one out.[299]

Whether or not they know of their communal history of conversion under the Portuguese, most of my participants profess some manner of religio-cultural affiliation with the European colonizers responsible for the conversion of their forefathers. For Adeline, a middle-aged woman, who has worked hard to maintain a paper trail tying her family to the Portuguese, this affiliation is more tangible than her connection to the country in which she was born:

[299] Brian D'Sa. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 01, 2013.

> For me, what happens is my parents were from that time so they always preferred to think that they are Portuguese descendants and moreover now my father-in-law also had a Portuguese passport so that everything has been registered over there for us so it holds good and so also Michael [her husband] also has registered. Our marriage is registered in Portugal so what happens is you know we come in from that route so now it will be passed down to the children as well—that way. So for me there's that connection too, you know? We are Indian because we were born in India, but what does that mean to us?[300]

This affinity for the Portuguese was certainly more prominent in participants who were middle-aged or older, many of whom had been educated under Portuguese rule and held some degree of fluency in the Portuguese language. Severina Fernandes, another middle-aged woman with children in their twenties, says

> I mean we feel more strongly with [the Portuguese] rather than [with India]. I saw a little of Portuguese, because Goa was a Portuguese territory and I was young and I see the difference now and I would still prefer if it would have remained a Portuguese colony.[301]

This preference for a time when the Portuguese ruled Goa is echoed repeatedly by my many of my participants. When I asked Severina why she would have preferred to have lived under Portuguese rule, she responds:

> Because they were very strict, one thing is they were very strict, there was lot of discipline, strict means strict, so you could even leave your house open and go anywhere, nobody would even dare to come and do anything, even fruits would never be robbed from the streets, that much discipline. Food if it was stale it had to be thrown out, whereas today they will sell you, if it is selling it is selling, nobody is bothered to check whether it is fresh or stale or whatever, you know those things. So the quality of life was very different.[302]

This cultural affiliation with the Portuguese is in keeping with the totality of conversion that the early Goan converts underwent through the Portuguese; not only a

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[300] Adeline Freitas. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 11, 2013.
[301] Severina Fernandes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. September 19, 2013.
[302] Severina Fernandes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. September 19, 2013.

conversion of faith and belief, but also of culture and affiliation. However, the "memory" of the Portuguese, whether real or created over time to strengthen the foundational story that today's Goans have of being more "Western" than other Indians, is not necessarily replicated in the younger generation of Goans living in Mumbai. This generational difference is seen in the responses given by younger participants to questions about the Portuguese connection. To illustrate, the following quotes are from two participants in Mumbai, each in their early 30s. The first is from Ramona who recognizes the cultural connection that Goans have with the Portuguese, but does not necessarily feel that her identity as a Goan is particularly tied to them:

> For me, I don't know Portuguese. I don't know much about their culture. What I know is what we've taken and related as Indians as people from Goa or from Bombay…so maybe some of food, some of the language. Konkani has a lot of Portuguese influence, for example. But, not so much a connection to Portugal or Portuguese, anymore. I don't think so, anyway.[303]

Another response in the same vein is from Ashford, a young man in his early 30s whose pride in his Goan heritage is immensely apparently:

> I don't think right now people really think of Portuguese as the pro-generators of Goan culture. My parents would, because they have lived in a time when the Portuguese were there and not there. We for us, we don't even know that you know, I mean its been pure Goa so but what we think, what I personally think of what Goan culture is, I think it's an amalgamation of Portuguese culture and Marathi culture. Its whole mixture, its whole formation that has given birth to this new culture called Goan culture.[304]

Both Ramona and Ashford identify more with being "Goans from Bombay" than anything else. Later in each of their interviews, they would go on to elaborate for me the

[303] Ramona Freitas. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 12, 2013.
[304] Ashford Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 24, 2013.

ways in which the metropolitan city of Mumbai is an ideal place for them to be Goans; in Mumbai, they do not feel like "outsiders."

Goan Catholic Exodus to Bombay

The missionizing thrust of the Portuguese presence in India flourished in Goa in the centuries after it first began. The missionary work also radiated outwards from the state of Goa, into surrounding states, south to Tamil Nadu and Kerala, and north to Karnataka and Maharashtra, the capital city of which is Bombay. The Goan converts to Catholicism were subject to a total religio-cultural conversion, creating a linguistic, aesthetic, and cultural divide between them and their fellow-Goans, and aligning the new Goan Catholic community to a greater degree with their Portuguese colonizers. At the same time, similar communities of new Catholics were being developed by the Portuguese all along the Konkan Coast, primarily in Mangalore, Karnataka, and Bombay, Maharashtra. This created a Catholic network of sorts that proved useful for the Goans and other new Catholic communities. For the Goan Catholics, the absence of an urban centre in Goa, and the growing commercial importance of the city of Bombay were major factors in the movement of Goan Catholics out of Goa and into the Bombay region. Bombay's development into a metropolis offered incoming migrants ever-increasing opportunity for higher education and employment; due to their cultural alignment and language skills, the Catholic migrants were afforded better jobs, particularly in public office, under the Portuguese, and later the British. As well, the proximity of Bombay to the state of Goa meant that Goan Catholic migrants could easily return home as often as desired. Emigration out of Goa by the Goan Catholics, into the Bombay regions, happened in three distinct waves between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

Simultaneous to the colonization and conversion efforts of the Portuguese in Goa, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a parallel effort undertaken north of Goa, in the vicinity of the Bombay islands. The Treaty of Bassein, signed in 1534 between the Portuguese and Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, then-ruler of the Bombay Islands, saw the Portuguese extend their dominion into the Bombay region, gaining control of city of Bassein (modern-day Vasai), and the Bombay Islands, including Colaba, Old Woman's Island, Bombay Isle, Mazagaon, Worli, Matunga, and Mahim. Other territories included in the transfer of lands to the Portuguese, were Salsette, Kalyan, and Thane.[305] These island, territories, and the city of Bassein were immediately included in the *Padroado* (Patronage) of the Archdiocese of Goa, which had been newly-created at the time.[306] In Bombay, the Portuguese continued their missionizing efforts, with the community of Indian Catholics in this region being termed "Salsette Christians." For this community of Catholics, engagement with the Portuguese and Catholicism had similar comprehensive repercussions as it did with the Goans: they not only adopted a new religion, but also new names, dress, manner of living, attitudes, and language.[307] Today, this community of "Salcette Christians" is known as the East Indians or East Indian Catholics.[308] The Portuguese presence in the Bombay region lasted until 1739, when they were ousted from

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[305] By 1845, all of the islands and territories included in this list had been merged into one landmass through multiple land reclamation projects, resulting in the singular city of modern-day Mumbai.
[306] Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 1.
[307] Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 2.
[308] This change in name for the community was brought about due to the influx of other communities of Catholics, missionized by the Portuguese, who were pouring into the Bombay area in search of opportunities. These incoming immigrants, including the Goan Catholics, presented the Salcette Christians with competition for privilege and resources. Addressing this, Albuquerque writes, "The Goans, Mangaloreans, and the Salsette Christians all sported Portuguese names and soon they were in competition for loaves of office. […] In a vain bid to retain for themselves the privileges that they had previously monopolised, the Salsette Christians formally requested Queen Victoria on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of her reign, to permit them the use of the designation *East Indians* [emphasis in original], which would stamp them as the earliest supporters of the British, and acknowledge to the East India Company the benefits conferred on them." Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 7-8.

the region by the Marathas.[309] Simultaneously, the conversion efforts of the Portuguese in Goa were also extremely successful between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. So successful, in fact, that the missionary effort in Bombay was supplemented by importing newly-ordained Goan priests to propagate the faith. This marks the first wave of Goan Catholic migration out of Goa, and into the Bombay region. Goan priests, along with support staff, were brought from Goa to serve the various new parishes in the Bombay area. This first wave of early Goan immigrants to Bombay included "priests, cooks, waiters, musicians, bakers, tailors, carpenters, domestic servants, and seamen."[310] This wave of migration would be considered a labour or trade migration, according to Cohen's typology of diasporas, as detailed in the previous chapter. Of this first wave of Goan migration to Bombay, D'Souza writes, "[Emigration] began as a trickle and soon became a flood, because those who returned home after serving for some years brought with them "enchanting stories of the land flowing with milk and honey.'"[311]

The second wave of Goans immigrating out of Goa came through the British in the nineteenth century. The British East India Company's foothold in Bombay began in 1757, though the British had been using ports on the western Indian coastline as trading posts since 1600. Upon establishing the centre of operations in Bombay, the British began looking to expand their holds in the south part of India. The state of Goa was prime territory. In a show of intimidation to the still-present Portuguese, the British navy occupied Goan land and water territories for a period of sixteen years between 1797 and 1813.[312] During this time, the British required naval personnel, and found that the Goan

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[309] Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 2.
[310] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 200.
[311] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 201.
[312] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, xxvi.

Catholics were "just the sort of people they wanted to work for them, owing to the mode of their dress, food, drinks, social customs, etc."[313] When the British contingency left Goan territories in 1813, many of the Goans left with them, since the Goans had found that employment with the British offered them a steady source of employment and income. Per Cohen's classification of diasporic communities, this wave of migrants could be considered a combination of labour and imperial migrations. Due to the "western mode of life" led by the Goans, they were well suited to the British contingencies that were leaving Goa. These Goan cooks, musicians, and tailors accompanied their British masters to other places in British India, including the city of Bombay.[314] The education that they had received in the roman script at the tutelage of the Portuguese missionaries at the missionary schools, allowed these emigrating Goan Catholics to adopt the English language quite readily once in the employment of the British. Over time, English became the spoken language of most emigrating Goan Catholics, and today is considered the community's first language. This affiliation with, and affinity for, the British, is something that continues to this day amongst the Goan population of modern Mumbai. There is great cultural pride in having English as a primary language, and several of my interview participants made mention of the sentiment that Goans "had it better" while the British were still in India. Through direct and indirect communications, my interlocutors expressed preference for the remembered time during which, due to linguistic and cultural ties to the Europeans, Goans were superior to other Indians, whom the British saw as less cultured.

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[313] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 200.
[314] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, xxvi.

The last wave of emigration out of Goa was from the literate classes. Under the Portuguese, Goan Catholics had become societally favoured. They were afforded good educations, esteemed positions of employment, and opportunities to better their lives to a greater extent than their non-Catholic counterparts. By the early nineteenth century, the western culture into which the Goans had assimilated had become expensive to maintain. Therefore, it was in search of education and economic opportunities that the elites of Goan Catholic communities in Goa left their homeland.[315] This third wave which marks the last of the major migrations out of Goa by the Catholics can also be classified as a labour or trade migration, according to Cohen's outline on diasporas. The earliest groups to leave Goa moved to the city of Bombay and surrounding areas. Later communities formed in other major Indian cities like Calcutta (modern Kolkata), and foreign destinations like Karachi and various cities in the Persian Gulf and East Africa. Bombay was the primary choice of immigrating Goans because it was, and continues to be, the closest metropolis to Goa. The city of Bombay is geographically close to Goa, thus allowing for immigrants to return to their native land frequently. This proximity is important for the maintenance of strong cultural ties that the Goans of Bombay continue to have with their ancestral place. In fact, modern Goan culture in Mumbai dictates that a woman about to give birth must return to Goa to do so, so that her Goan child can have the privilege of being born in their "homeland." Many of my research participants, though wholly raised in the city of Mumbai, were born in Goa because of the prevalence of this practice. Furthermore, every single one of the individuals whom I connected with through my fieldwork, whether they still live in Mumbai or have since immigrated to Toronto, continue to maintain ties to Goa, frequently visiting the place of their ancestral

[315] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 202-03.

homes. During each of my interviews, I would engage in an almost-choreographed introductory dialogue with the participants during which we would talk about Goa, and attempt to assess the "home" village of the others' ancestors. There was not a single participant whom I encountered who had not been to Goa at least a few times. This tie to the place of Goa is vital to the way in which the Goan Catholics construct their identity. For today's Goans, the place provides a territorial tie to a remembered past, and a cultural memory.

The *sui generis* community of Goan Catholics created by the Portuguese conversion efforts in Goa from the fifteenth century onwards, created a relgio-cultural group that was separated from its geographic neighbours in their home state of Goa. Instead, the Goan Catholics became likened to other communities of Catholics that had been created by the Portuguese along the Konkan Coast. Through their engagement with the Portuguese and later with the British, a large number of Goan Catholics left Goa between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, seeking employment and education opportunities. The city of Bombay, as the closest urban centre to Goa, became a prime destination for these emigrating Goans, particularly since they continued to access societal benefits there under the Portuguese and British. For today's Goans, this history of dispersion out of Goa is lamentable; many of my participants expressed longing for a time when their ancestors lived on Goan soil, and for when the Catholics "had it better" under Portuguese rule. For many, living outside of Goa is treated as a permanent state of temporary residency, with the dream of one day returning to their native Goan place, where they imagine life will be "better."

Migrant Goan Life in Bombay

The Goans of Mumbai are considered, both by themselves and others, an extension of the Goan community in Goa. Due to the proximity of the city of Mumbai to the state of Goa, cultural and religious ties have been maintained and strengthened over time. This section highlights some of the ways in which the Goan migrants of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, profiled in the previous section, created new homes and communities in the city of Bombay, and maintained cultural ties to their home state, while being physically removed from Goa. D'Souza writes that through the centuries of migration from Goa to Bombay, the Goans embodied the quality of adaptability. Today's community of Goan Catholics has great communal pride in their ability to fit in well anywhere, particularly in the West; they credit much of this adaptability to their affinity for music, their love of food and drink, and their *susegad* (a Konkani word embodying the laid back attitude of Goans) attitude to life in general.[316] This propensity for adaptability served the early Goan migrants to Bombay well, particularly when eking out a place for themselves in the pulsing metropolis that was already home to a multitude of other communities. Albuquerque describes what she imagines the first impressions of Bombay were to the incoming Goan migrants:

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[316] D'Souza cites a rather entertaining verse by Goan historian Prof. J.A. Saldanha, who called the Goan Catholics the "Irish of India": "Like the Irish, [Goans] are imbued with a deep religious faith and loyalty to the catholic church. As the Irish have done in Australia and North America, the Goans have formed everywhere in India and East Africa small settlements which have become the nucleus of growing Christian communities with a church and priest, shedding the light of Christianity without the assistance of any grand missionary enterprise. The Irishman is unsurpassed in his sense of the humorous in the world around us, which does not forsake him even in his most despondent moments. The Goan humour is not so proverbially known as the Irish humour, but it is nevertheless lively and charming. The Irishman's artistic taste, which discloses so charmingly wherever opportunity is given to it to shine, the Goan displays remarkably in whatever profession he adopts. In music, painting, needlework, carving, dancing and even in the culinary art, who can surpass the Goan? Like the Irish, the Goan has his good priest wherever he goes. His partiality to the pig and strong drinks is excusable as that of the Irish. The Goans are poor like the Irish, but they have contributed to India as the Irish to the British Empire, some of her greatest sons, whose names are household words among all classes of people." Quoted in D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 202.

> From wherever they finally landed, the newcomers caught their first glimpse of Bombay. It must have seemed familiar—lovely, verdant and sunny like Goa! But they were probably confused to hear the weird babble of so many strange tongues—sounding harsh and totally incoherent. Also to encounter so many people jostling together, clad in attire like they had never seen. They had to move on…to traverse a rough beaten mud track through the haphazard groves of trees and bushes, past humble dwellings of Bhandari toddy-tappers, Agri cultivators, Koli fishermen and the Indo-Portuguese…to reach the Goan quarter.[317]

The "Goan quarter" was called *Dhobi Talao*. These emigrating Goans set up their new homes in *Dhobi Talao,* an area in the southern part of the city of Mumbai, directly on the shores of the Arabian Sea. *Dhobi Talao*, which literally translates to 'washer man's lake,' had traditionally been home to the *dhobi* (washerman) population of Mumbai, and provided a valuable source of water to the area.[318] Over time, this area of Bombay became colloquially known as Mini Goa due to the high numbers of Goan migrants who settled there. It is in this part of Bombay where I spent most of my time in 2013, becoming acquainted with the Goan Catholic community that continues to thrive there. Goans continue to be the majority inhabitants of the *chawl*-style tenements that were constructed in the early-1900s to accommodate the masses of new immigrants. *Chawls* are a style of apartment building, usually about five storeys high, with ten-to-twenty *kholis* (rooms) on each floor. Today, Goan families in *Dhobi Talao* continue to live in the *kholis* into which their grandfathers had moved a century or more ago.

In addition to the settlement area developed to accommodate the incoming Goan migrants in the city of Bombay, Goans also founded clubs to accommodate the high number of young men seeking employment who were streaming into Bombay. D'Souza writes:

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[317] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 11.
[318] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 11.

> Before the Goans immigrated to Bombay they were for centuries accustomed to village communities. Therefore their mental horizon was filled with the community way of life. The emigrant Goans therefore felt the necessity to establish in their new place of settlement (Bombay) institutions similar to those they were accustomed to in their villages in Goa. They founded the village clubs. The only major difference is that a village is the hearth of the village community whereas a tenement is the hearth of the club-life.[319]

These clubs, called *cudds* or *coors*[320] in Konkani, are numerous in the city of Bombay; there are approximately 341 Goan Catholic clubs in the city of Bombay, with most of them being founded between 1857 and 1944.[321] Most of these clubs are concentrated in and around the area of *Dhobi Talao* because this was the centre of Catholic life and an area in which the Goan population is concentrated.[322] In an unpublished MA thesis from 1958, Olga Esther Baptista writes that the beginnings of the Goan clubs were fairly organic; they began "as a loose group of individuals hailing from the same place and having certain interests in common. Later as members grew and provision of benefits increased, regularization and written rules became necessary."[323] Clubs were generally built on village lines, with each village in Goa having a corresponding club in Bombay to which migrants from that village could move and find a supportive Goan Catholic community while trying to build a new life in Bombay. This was, in a way, a reconstruction of the place of Goa through the organization of the clubs. Club life promoted communal identity by allowing expat Goans to live amongst familiarity, in a foreign land, allowing the new immigrants to focus on building a new life and home, and

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[319] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 205.
[320] The words *cudd* and *kudd* are interchangeable spelling-variants on the same Konkani word.
[321] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 203, 07; Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 19.
[322] Olga Esther Baptista, "The 'Coor' System: A Study of Goan Club Life in Bombay," in *Research in Sociology: Abstracts of M.A. And Ph. D. Dissertations Completed in the Department of Sociology, University of Bombay*, eds. Dhirendra Narain, Department of Sociology University of Bombay, and Indian Council of Social Science Research (New Delhi, India: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 147.
[323] Baptista, "The 'Coor' System: A Study of Goan Club Life in Bombay," 148.

gaining a new livelihood, without worrying about the immediate concern of where to live. D'Souza writes, "The first consideration which actuates the Goans wherever fate takes them, is to select a home for themselves, and for those who may arrive after them. This is the nucleus of the future club."[324] While the original clubs were developed along village lines, the large number of clubs in Bombay reflects rifts within those communities, thus leading to the formation of more clubs, each of which had a more-specific communal identity.[325] D'Souza outlines the main roles of the club, and the privileges awarded to its members:

> (1) A right to reside in the club.
> (2) To participate in the deliberations and activities of the club.
> (3) He has a right to have his grievances redressed.
> (4) He is entitled to join the Death Benefit Fund.
> (5) He has a right to be elected to the managership [sic] of the club.
> (6) He is entitled to a loan from the club according to the conditions laid down which vary with different clubs.
> (7) To have his wife or a relative reside in the club to look after him in times of illness.
> (8) His family, if they are visiting Bombay, may be allowed to stay in for a fixed period, rent-free.[326]

In addition to these benefits, members were also provided with meals, banking, access to employment, healthcare, and death insurance policies through their club memberships.[327] In 1936, D. M. Ferreiro extolled the virtues of the Goan club system in *The Examiner*, a weekly Catholic newsletter in the city of Bombay:

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[324] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 205.
[325] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 205-06. D'Souza addresses these rifts: "Originally, all villagers of one village lived in one club, but later on there was a split due to some difference of opinion. These differences arose from caste differentiation, financial wrangles, '*vaddo*' rivalry—'*vaddo*' (ward) in the m majority trying to lord over the others, the original dwellers or '*joncares*' of the village in Goa versus the later settlers, the more educated members trying to 'boss' over the less literate; the young resenting the 'old-fashioned' ways of the older set, and in some cases, the expelled members forming a club of their own. Sometimes, one village boasted the existence of as many as 7 to 10 clubs."
[326] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 206.
[327] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 206.

> The club is a source of untold blessing to the Indo-Portuguese emigrant. It offers a shelter to a new arrival to the city. It entertains him for some days and thereafter charges him moderately. It is often the club that secures him a job and then enrolls him as a member on payment of a small subscription. It enables him to live cheaply and thus helps him to maintain his family in comfort and ease in Goa. It gives him the benefit of joining a Death Benefit Fund and allows him small loans, if necessary. It is the club that often defends him when persecuted or oppressed. It is the club that arranges, after his death, for his burial in case of need and helps those whom he leaves behind. Hence, the club is a hotel, a village union, an employment bureau, a friendly and mutual society, all rolled in one.[328]

In addition to these aforementioned functions that the Goan clubs fulfilled in the lives of their members, the clubs also served to maintain and strengthen the community's religious identity in the migrant context. Religion served as a binding tie between members of the *kudds*, and the penalty for not participating in the religious activities of the *kudd*, for instance not attending rosaries, involved punitive measures including being fined.[329] The *kudd* therefore acted as a means of replicating Goan village life, including the maintenance of religious life through the recitation of the daily rosary, masses at church, and the celebration of the village patrons and the feasts of saints.[330] This maintenance of celebration continues not only in modern-day Mumbai, but also in the diaspora. In fact, during my fieldwork in Toronto, I attended a number of events celebrating various saints and village patrons. By continuing to observe these communal celebrations, the Goan community, now removed from village life by many decades, continues to remember its roots as a way of identity maintenance. Albuquerque writes that for the early emigrant Goan to Bombay, the *kudd* had a lasting positive impact on

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[328] D.M. Ferreiro, *The Examiner*, February 1, 1936.
[329] Olga Esther Baptista, "The 'Coor' System: A Study of Goan Club Life in Bombay" (University of Bombay, 1958), 37.
[330] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 208; Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 96.

Goan culture: "It inadvertently inculcated in the emigrant the desire for a better standard of life for his children. Moreover, greater mobility induced a new social adaptability, which aroused in him a wider liberal outlook."[331] The *kudds*, in combination with the parish church and its priests, served to maintain and strengthen the religio-cultural identities of the early Goan Catholic migrants to the city of Bombay.

The existence of the *kudds* allowed the early Goan migrant community to maintain its insularity even after having left their home state. This insularity was an obvious way of maintaining cultural identity, particularly since dispersal from the home place is often seen as infused with the danger of cultural dilution. Additionally, the details of *kudd* life offer certain insights into the early transnational connections that the Goan Catholics developed, by maintaining ties to the place they left behind, Goa, while building new lives in their new chosen location, Bombay. As far as can be ascertained, the club system in the city of Bombay is a construct unique to the Goan Catholic migrant population in the city.[332] These modes of identity-maintenance undertaken by Goan Catholic migrants once removed from Goa, and having moved to city of Bombay, continue to exist in evolved forms today. In fact, these modes of identity-construction and maintenance of ties to Goa, such as belonging to village-specific community groups and clubs are found re-constructed in the Goan Catholic diaspora, as the community undertakes further migration, out of India and to the West.

Outsiders in India: Goan International Migration

The term "outsider" was used often in the course of my interviews to describe how my Goan participants often feel in India. Though the younger generation does not

[331] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 22.
[332] Baptista, "The 'Coor' System: A Study of Goan Club Life in Bombay," 152.

cling to a Portuguese tie in the same manner as my older participants, and their comments reflect an acknowledgement of being Indian, there is still a sense of being "different" from other Indians. This difference is something highlighted through the current political climate in India, where the current Hindu nationalist government is engaged in an increasingly "India for Hindus" rhetoric. The cultural ties that the Goans of Mumbai feel, whether through memory or through religio-cultural values, to a now-gone European colonial power, combined with the contemporary political rhetoric of India that highlights this Catholic community's lack of "Indian-ness," serve to effectively separate them from the fellow-Indians. The next section examines this idea of being an "outsider" in India, the adherence to "Western" cultural values that the Goans of Mumbai hold dear, and catalyzing impact that this feeling of not belonging in India has on the decision of many Goans to migrate out of India.

Though the migration of Goans into the city of Mumbai continues to the present day, the economic, cultural, and political climate of India over the last half-century has created a reality in which minority groups in India are hard-pressed to access education, employment, and social opportunities. Further, the lack of meaning to being Indian is a theme that repeats itself in many of my interviews. Inevitably the conversations turn political, and my participants make allusion to being foreigners in their place of birth. Dwayne, a young political science major at the University of Mumbai, with hopes of immigrating to Canada in the future, says:

> Goans used to be at the top before, in the British time. But now, now our educational institutions are closed; we are losing our land and other things. *Aamchi maathi aamchi Mumbai*[333] is taking over—we

[333] Marathi, "Our soil, our Mumbai." Translation by author. This phrase is in reference to a campaign run in the late 1980s to early 1990s in Mumbai entitled *Aamchi Maathi Aamchi Manasa* ('Our soil, our people'),

> are not Maharashtrian so we cannot belong…there is no room for our people here. We are like foreigners.[334]

This harkening to a time when Goan Catholics were a privileged community in Mumbai, particularly under colonial administration, is not a new theme. On the same point, another participant, Brian D'Sa tells me that when the Portuguese were in India, the Goans were a privileged community:

> We were the kings then, now the Hindus are trying to take *badla.*[335] That is what is making us feel as outsiders all the more, to tell somebody with pride that you are an Indian, that pride does not come because you are not recognized in your own country, so when you are not recognized in your own country what pride would you have to say that you are an Indian?[336]

This revenge by the Hindus that Brian references is a nod to the increasing power of Hindu nationalism in India. The increasingly-political presence of Hindu nationalism has, in the last few decades, led to a significant rise in the persecution of non-Hindu religious communities, particularly the Christians and Muslims. Alluding to this persecution, Alison says:

> We feel like outsiders and now with the whole stuff that happens in the country also towards Catholics and all that, all the more you feel like you are an outsider and we are kind of treated like that.[337]

This sense of isolation and "being outside" is pervasive throughout my interviews. It is no surprise then, that the idea of moving out of Mumbai is appealing to Goans. Peter recommends that all Goans move back to Goa. "It is a paradise," he tells me.[338] He plans to leave Bombay when he retires in a couple of years and move back to Goa, the place

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run on the Indian public television channel *Doordharshan*, promoting the reservation of Indian farming lands for use by Maharashtrian Indians only.

[334] Dwayne Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 22, 2013.

[335] Hindi, "revenge." Translation by author.

[336] Brian D'Sa. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 1, 2013.

[337] Alison D'Souza. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. September 16, 2013.

[338] Peter Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 21, 2013.

that his own father had left nearly a century ago. For the younger generation of Goan Catholics in the city of Bombay, plans of moving to the West are a distinct probability.

This, combined with the Goan memory of being affiliated with the West, and the globalization of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, have all factored into the wave of Goan migrants out of India and into the West. Per Cohen's typology of diasporas, these migrations of Goans could be categorized as deterritorialized migrations, imperial migrations, or labour migrations. The city of Bombay remained, until the mid-nineteenth century, the most significant place to which migrant Goans moved. By the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, however, Goan migration began significantly expanding out of India. This migration out of India by the Goans was predominantly in pursuit of employment opportunities. As such, migrating to places in which the colonial administration was active saw a large influx of Goan migrants during this time, including modern-day Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. The Portuguese had been in control of a significant portion of East Africa since 1509, with the area between Mozambique and Malindi, Kenya being under the leadership of the Governor General for Portuguese Africa, Arabia, and Persia. However, Albuquerque writes that in 1534, with the untimely death of the Governor General, the area was made subject to the Viceroy of Goa; this arrangement was maintained until 1753. Furthermore, during this time period, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction for East Africa also fell to the Archbishop of Goa.[339] Due to this significant Portuguese connection between East Africa and Goa, Goans supplied the Portuguese with personnel support in the East African colonies, supplying "military reinforcements, entire naval fleets, army personnel, food provisions and priests."[340]

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[339] Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya*, 13.
[340] Albuquerque, *Goans of Kenya*, 13.

With the British taking control of East Africa in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the established presence of Goan Catholics in the region furthered the migration of Goans out of India and into East Africa. Margret Frenz suggests that in comparison to other migrating South Asian populations of the time period, there was something unique about the Goan Catholic migration. She writes:

> They were comparatively well educated, with a functional knowledge of English that eased their way into work in various departments of the colonial administration. In both the colonial administration's and their own view, the "Western" lifestyle and affiliation to Christianity provided them with an ideal *entrée* to public employment, as they inspired "confidence" and "trust" in British administrative officers.[341] [Italics in original]

These reasons for migration, as part of the colonial administration, were similar to the first and second waves of migration of Goans from Goa to Bombay. In East Africa, the Goans' integration into colonial government administration and various tiers of civil services worked to sequester them from native East Africans. The policies of social and racial segregation in East Africa during this time served to maintain the insularity of the migrant Goan community there. Frenz writes that these policies greatly impacted the ways in which Goans established their social institutions in East Africa:

> Clubs, churches, and schools created a 'common sense' of community, or belonging at the level of the Goans, since a wider sense of community was denied them by racial segregation policies. […] The creation of distinct Goan spaces and communities in the different East African colonies or protectorates was the result of processes of engaging with and withdrawing from the new local contexts, and their economic, social, and political conditions.[342]

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[341] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 15-16.
[342] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 16-17.

As with the *kudds* in Bombay, so too the social institutions established by the Goans in East Africa aided in maintaining the community's sense of "Goan-ness," even in a migrant context. The transnational ties that the Goan migrants in Bombay maintained with the state of Goa became further sustained once the community had left India. In fact, Frenz argues that the transnational connections with Goa were often as, if not more, important as the creation of localized identities in East Africa, as the remembered connection with Goa provided a stronger glue with which to maintain communal identity. These transnational ties to Goa were maintained through a myriad ways; of these, Frenz writes:

> [Goans in East Africa] located themselves with reference to locations across the Indian Ocean, whence came relatives and friends, and with whom contacts were maintained through correspondence and/or regular visits. Goans kept the connections between South Asia and East Africa alive on different levels: their social connections with family and friends; the symbolic connections in maintaining their religious affiliation, celebrating rituals and feasts; and the material connections through sending remittances or receiving support.

The social, symbolic/religious, and material connections to their Goan identity, particularly in the sequestered context of being in East Africa, allowed this early diasporic community of Goan migrants to maintain their religio-cultural expressions through to the mid-twentieth century, when all non-Africans were forced to leave East Africa due to increasing political tensions with the colonial powers.

East Africa was not the only destination for the early migration of Goan Catholics out of India. Centres of British colonial administration were particularly significant recipients of Goan Catholic migrants in the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth century. A census undertaken in 1954, estimated that the approximately 180,000 Goans living outside of Goa at the time, were dispersed as follows:

Bombay	80,000
Other parts of India	20,000
Karachi	10,000
Other parts of Pakistan	20,000
East Africa	30,000
UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Other Part of the Persian Gulf	20,000[343]

In each of these places, Goans set up forms of *kudds*, thus maintaining communal identity in much the same way, and leading to a prolonged sense of "Goan-ness." During my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to interact with many new Canadians who hailed from the Karachi-based community of Goans. Though they were not able to participate directly in the present research project, they did provide me with great insight about their identities. They identify *only* as Goan because they do not identify at all with Pakistan. Most of them had been born in Pakistan around the time of the partition, and due to the post-partition politics between India and Pakistan, had never even been to Goa. Yet, their identities as Goan Catholics were firmly rooted in their religious affiliation, their dietary customs, and the remembered place of Goa which most of them had only accessed through the stories of their parents and grandparents. One gentleman wistfully said to me, "We got stuck on the wrong side during the partition. I would give anything to go to Goa even one time."[344] Unfortunately due to the continuing strife between the two nations, those born in Pakistan are unable to obtain entry visas into India, making this gentleman's wish to visit (what he called) "the motherland" simply a dream.

The drastically shifting global politics of the twentieth century saw Goans from India and elsewhere begin a new wave of migration. India gained independence from the British Raj in 1947; the Portuguese left Indian soil in 1961, following a 450 year presence

[343] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 203.
[344] Group conversation with author. G.O.A. New Year's Eve Social. Toronto, Canada. December 31, 2012.

on the subcontinent. The favour with which Goan Catholics had been treated under colonial administration in India was no longer a reality. Similarly, the mid-twentieth century post-colonial Africanization and nationalization policies instituted in Zanzibar, Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda left the Goan populations of East Africa unable to sustain their communities there. Frenz writes, "It became more and more difficult to get and keep jobs, to sustain families, and their political marginalization left Goan East Africans very vulnerable."[345] Simultaneously, the mid-twentieth century saw developed Western countries like Canada, the UK, and Australia begin broadening their immigration policies to welcome new immigrants from South Asia.

Western & Going Westward: Goan Catholics in Canada

When posed with questions of what makes Goans different from other Indians, that is in discussing what differences exacerbate the aforementioned sense of "outsider-ness" that Goans feel in Mumbai, my interlocutors point to aspects of culture, such as food, dress, and language amongst others. The term "Western" arises repeatedly in my interviews.

> We have more of a Western…I mean you can easily pick a Goan in a crowd… unlike the East Indians and the Mangaloreans, [other groups of Catholics in the city of Mumbai] they stick to their culture more the Indian side, whereas we lean on more to the Western style.[346]

Alan, a young musician in the city of Mumbai, discusses what it's like to be a Goan in the pulsating entertainment industry that is Bollywood:

> Goans are not really business minded. It goes back to the Western culture, basically. See, mostly the music we prefer is Western, so we are going back to the Western culture, that is basically where we

[345] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 296.
[346] Alison D'Souza. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. September 16, 2013.

> stand. Goans, we basically like the jazz, whereas when we are here they will prefer the Indian music and we do not like it. If you go to Goa also in Goa it is western music or the traditional local music, either those two, but they will not go to this Bollywood and all that. So it becomes more difficult for us to come out with our music in this country, because it is not recognized.[347]

Another participant discusses Goan attire, and how she feels that her choice on "non-Indian" attire makes her a more suitable candidate on the job market:

> On the whole, Goans are quite Western. I mean you do not see us roaming around…we have never been brought up roaming around in *saris*, or you know that traditional Indian *salwaar*. Even whenever I went for an interview anywhere, they see my skirt blouse and they ask if I am from Goa. Then, you know, they kind of trust you…[348]

On language:

> When I was studying in University, doing linguistics, I was asked what was my mother tongue and I said English, because that's what we speak at home. We have only ever spoken English at home.[349]

For the Goan community of Mumbai, the adherence to a Western way of life—of food, language, dress, and culture—even if only in ideal, is a case of pride. This community is quick to highlight, in its self-identification, markers of Western culture which, for community members, is integrally tied to a Catholic religious affiliation. It is believed that these religio-cultural markers will make migration to the West easier, where the Christian ethos is dominant. As will be discussed later in this dissertation, these markers of a Western cultural identity, fronted by their primary identity of being Catholic, is the catalyst in the decision for Goans today to migrate out of India, to Western countries like Canada.

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[347] Alan D'Souza. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. September 17, 2013.
[348] Nerissa Pinto. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. September 29, 2013.
[349] Ramona Freitas. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 12, 2013.

The earliest Goan Catholic communities to immigrate to Canada were the East African Goans in the 1970s. The persecution of non-Africans in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania led to the flight of Goans out of the region. Frenz writes that Goans made up a significant portion of the approximately 7000 South Asian refugees from East Africa that arrived in Canada in 1972.[350] Since the 1970s, Canada has being a recipient country for Goan Catholics migrating from East Africa, India, Pakistan, and the Middle East.[351] Exact numbers of how many Goans have immigrated to Canada since then, are difficult to access since Goans are not listed under their own category in Canadian census data; rather, they are listed by their country of birth (i.e. India, Kenya, Nairobi, etc.), or by their ethnicity, which Canada classifies as "Indian." However, based on memberships in Goan clubs in Canada, it is estimated that by the 1980s, the Goan community of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) had risen to approximately 5,000 individuals; census numbers from the 1990s suggest that the number of Goans living in Canada at the close of the twentieth century was approximately 23,000, with nearly a half of them living in the city of Toronto and its surrounding areas.[352]

The *kudds* and clubs that Goan migrant communities formed in Bombay and elsewhere, find themselves recreated in the modern, Canadian context. Narendra Wagle, in this entry entitled "Goans' in the *Encyclopedia of Canada's People*, writes:

> In Toronto and Montreal, informal 'village' associations act as friendship and quasi-kin circles for both established Goans and new immigrants. These 'village unions,' as they were called in India, came

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[350] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 247.
[351] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 248.
[352] Narendra K. Wagle, "Goans," in *Encyclopedia of Canada's People*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 613.

> into existence as part of the large-scale immigration of Goan Christians to Bombay.[353]

Frenz adds to this, writing that these Goan Canadian social associations exist predominantly in the major cities, with Goans from the surrounding areas coming in for major functions and events.[354] These social engagements are undeniably a mode through which Goan Catholics continue to reinforce their communal identities as Goans, while simultaneously constructing new identities as Canadians. For my Goan participants in Toronto, being a part of a strong Catholic parish community was paramount. Many of them are active members of their church communities in Toronto, and feel that these Catholic communal ties feel the most "familiar" to them in re-establishing their lives as immigrants in Canada. This point is sustained by Frenz, who writes that the integration of Goans into Canadian society is largely achieved through religion, as Goans join already-existing Catholic parishes in Canada.[355] Similarly, the thrust of Carrière's dissertation also sustains this point; that is, that the Catholicism of Goan migrants in Canada facilitates their integration into Canadian society through participation in Canadian Catholic churches. Frenz writes, "Goans in Canadian cities prefer to associate themselves with other Catholics rather than with other South Asian migrants. The centrality of religion is reflected in the tradition of starting any [Goan] social gathering with a mass."[356] These religio-cultural functions and the Goan associations in Toronto form a major part of my fieldwork, and as such are an important focal point in examining the identity construction of Goan Catholics in Canada.

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[353] Wagle, "Goans," 613.
[354] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 249.
[355] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 249-50.
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Summary

In this chapter, I have detailed the history of the Goan Catholics who are central to my dissertation. Borne of a Portuguese missionizing effort that began in Goa in the fifteenth century, the early Goan converts to Catholicism were transformed not only in religion, but also culturally; as such, they adopted cultural markers more indicative of their Portuguese colonizers than their fellow non-Catholic Goans, including diet, language, and dress. In conjunction with the historical narrative provided, I have also woven in the foundational narrative that today's Goans hold as part of their own history and identity. The narrative held by the community is not always aligned with the historical narrative; rather, it functions as an account which the community utilizes to strengthen its own identity as Goans and as Catholics in India.

This chapter also traced the waves of migrations that Goans undertake out of the home place of Goa, with particular emphasis on the migrants who set up communities in the city of Bombay. By establishing *kudds*, or clubs, Goan migrants in Bombay and elsewhere were able to recreate the village structures of Goa, which they had left behind. In this way, the Goan subculture in the multicultural city of Bombay remained insular, thus retaining its Goan religio-cultural identity even though it was removed from Goa itself. The *kudd*, the church, and the community each served to maintain these boundaries of the Goan migrant community in Bombay; as such, this migrant community developed vital techniques of community-preservation that would be replicated in many other migrations.

Finally, this chapter turned to the migration of Goans out of India, to various countries in East Africa, and to Western countries like Canada. Each instance of

migration by the Goans sees the community maintain its religio-cultural identity through the development of community-strengthening techniques, including the establishment of clubs and Goan associations. Modes of maintaining communal identity, both traditional and innovative, have allowed migrant communities of Goans the world over, to retain a sense of identity, preserving those aspects of their religio-cultural heritage that, though now removed from Goa for many generations, make them undeniably Goan.

CHAPTER 5: RELIGIO-CULTURAL GOAN IDENTITY

The history of the Goans, as discussed in Chapter 4, offers insight into the religio-cultural influences that impacted the contemporary community of Goans in Mumbai, particularly in regards to the Portuguese influence in India, and the conversion efforts of the Portuguese missionizing project under Francis Xavier and his Jesuit followers. As discussed, the conversion to Catholicism by the Goans under the Portuguese was so complete, that it rendered them absolutely new identities, culturally different from their non-Catholic Goan neighbours. The influence of the Portuguese, and the irrevocable impact that they had on Goan Catholic religio-cultural identity is now a significant part of the foundational story that the Goans of my research profess. D'Souza writes:

> A new direction to social change was imparted to the Goan society during the Portuguese rule and that the society experience qualitative transformation, which lifted it to a new time of social structure founded on the basis of achievement, universalistic criterion, competition, class-structure, secularism and legal-rational norms. This transformation was due to the impact of the foreign rule.[357]

These changes to traditional Goan society are viewed favourably by today's Goans; for the modern Goan community of Mumbai, and the diasporic Goan community of Toronto, the social and religio-cultural imports brought to India by the Portuguese are seen as divine blessings. In this chapter, I discuss the religion and the religious expressions as they are manifested in my engagement with the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto. For a community whose entire identity is predicated on their religious affiliation, and whose cultural expressions are so tied to that religion, this examination is of primary importance in understanding the identity of the Goans at the heart of my research. As an ethnographic project, the primary form of engagement with each community of Goans in this

[357] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 351.

dissertation is through observing the ways in which "faith and materiality commingle,"[358] for this community. The examination of the commingling of religious practice with everyday living is in keeping with the theoretical underpinning of Lived Religion. Orsi suggests that the theory of Lived Religion is vital to understanding human religiosity:

> [It insists] that something called 'religion' cannot be neatly separated from other practices of everyday life. […] Nor can 'religion' be separated from the material circumstances in which specific instances of religious imagination and behaviour arise and to which they respond.[359]

He continues that in order to best approach the study of "religion," scholars must begin by "meeting men and women at this daily task, in all the space of their experience."[360] It is in keeping with this call of Lived Religion that this chapter engages with the Goan community's religiosity. Through an engaged examination of their religious engagements, rituals practices, religious material culture, and their institutional affiliations, this chapter traces the undeniable impact of the Catholic religion on the cultural identities of my Goan Catholic interlocutors.

An Identity Built on Religion

> "My name is Peter Francisco Domingo Gabriel Menezes, and my godfather is Saint Francis Xavier—patron saint of the Goans!"[361]

Peter is extremely proud of his names; to him, they are a symbol of his Catholicism. His names, chosen for saints and ancestors, are significantly Catholic. As mentioned previously, the Catechism of the Catholic Church requires baptized Catholics to have Christian names: "In Baptism, […] the Christian receives his name in the Church. […]

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[358] Leigh Eric Schmidt, "Practices of Exhange: From Market Culture to Gift Economy in the Interpretation of American Religion," in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 69.
[359] Orsi, "Everday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," 6-7.
[360] Orsi, "Everday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," 7.
[361] Peter Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 24, 2013.

The parent, sponsors, and the pastor are to see that a name is not given which is foreign to Christian sentiment."[362] For the Goans, this "Christian sentiment" is manifested through christening their children with the names of various saints and ancestors. For my interlocutor Peter, he is named after the apostle Peter, who is considered the first Catholic pope, as well as after St. Francis Xavier and St. Dominic Savio, two saints whom the Goans revere greatly, and finally after the archangel Gabriel, who is considered to be a messenger of God's word. For Peter to have as his godfather St. Francis Xavier, the patron saint of Goa and the first Portuguese missionary to introduce Catholicism to Goa, is tremendously significant. Per the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, the godparent has a "truly ecclesial function."[363] Having Francis Xavier as his spiritual godfather signifies that Peter's spiritual journey is guided by a figure that the Goans see as one of the primary reasons for their faith. As mentioned previously, Xavier is viewed by the Goans as second only to Christ. Therefore, having Xavier as one's godfather, makes one infinitely more graced, and nearer to Christ in their faith. Peter tells me that his names, his faith heritage, and his spiritual ties to Francis Xavier have given him a blessing-filled life, all of which he credits to the Catholicism brought to Goa by the Portuguese, whom he sees as the religio-cultural benefactors of the Goans.

I interviewed Peter in October 2013 in Mumbai, India. The annual wave of autumn-time feasts celebrating the Virgin Mary had just come to a close, and the Goans of Mumbai, whom I came to know over time, were starting to settle back into regular life—at the church and at home. Over the weeks that I was there, I was an active member

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[362] See Article 2156 in *Catechism of the Catholic Church: Revised in Accordance with the Official Latin Text Promulgated by Pope John Paul Ii*.
[363] See Article 1255 in *Catechism of the Catholic Church: Revised in Accordance with the Official Latin Text Promulgated by Pope John Paul Ii*.

of their households and feast celebrations. I observed and was told multiple times, that for the Goans, religion is not merely practice of a faith; for my Goan interlocutors, their Catholicism is a way of life. It is reflected in the way they view the world and the ways in which they live their lives and construct their identities in relation to those around them.

The Catholicism of the Goans in my study is also a key factor in the Toronto community's decision to migrate to Canada. Many of my Toronto participants informed me that their perception of Canada was of a country in which the Christian ethos was dominant; much like the Hindu ethos is dominant in India. This knowledge about Canada, along with the prevalence of Catholic parishes, public Catholic schools for their children, and a strong network of Goan friends and family who had previously migrated to the Toronto area, were the main factors informing the decision of Goans who had made Toronto their home. This classification of religion as the most important factor in deciding to undertake the migration process was practically universal, not only for my participants in Toronto who had already migrated, but also for my participant community in Mumbai, for whom migration was a real possibility.

Yet another indicator of the primacy of religion in the lives and identities of the Goan community, were the results of the survey instrument that I administered to all my interview participants (Appendix E). A section of the instrument asks participants to rank terms of self-identity in order of how much each term resonated with them. There were five terms, with an option to add additional ones. Of the seventy-six survey instruments administered, sixty-two listed "Goan" as their primary self-identifier. Of these sixty-two participants, forty-nine individuals were unable or unwilling to rank "Goan" and

"Catholic" as different from each other, and chose to indicate both identifiers as primary. One participant, while filling out the survey, discusses his rationale in how he identifies:

> Well I identify myself more number one as a Catholic. Number two, I identify myself as an Indian since I am born and brought up in Bombay. Goan to me is a way of participating in the culture since we are Goan; I also become a Goan by participating in the culture. All that, you know, being Catholic and then also the culture, that is number one…that is Goan to me.[364]

This struggle to articulate and quantify their complex religio-cultural identities was a common one for my participants. They expressed repeatedly that the terms "Goan" and "Catholic" were synonymous; that is, to say you are a Goan is to imply that you are also a Catholic. This is in keeping with the distinctive processes discussed in Chapter 4, whereby the religio-cultural transformation that the Goans underwent through the Portuguese, saw Catholicism be engaged as a vehicle for cultural conversion. Further, Dwayne's identification as "Indian" simply because of his location of birth and nationality is consistent with the ideas of nationality discussed in Chapter 3. For Dwayne, as for the wider Goan community, their Indian nationality is a nominal moniker made true for them by a place of birth or a passport.

"What is Goan culture?" was by far the most thought-proving and challenging question posed to my participants. I made it a point of asking this question first, and then allowing the conversation to float to other questions, before re-asking the question once more at the end of the interview. By the end of our conversations, most participants were able to give me a truly eloquent answer of what it means for them to be Goan. Here is one participant's response:

> To me Goan culture is what we've learnt, what we've grown up with, influenced by the Portuguese being part of Goa and ancestors being

[364] Dwayne Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 22, 2013.

> part of Goa, everything is what the Portuguese have brought to them. It is food, it is religion itself, it's being Catholic, Roman Catholic, celebration of festivals, celebration events, the house, the church, the school is important. All of that would be Goan culture. It's the music, it's the dance, it's the focus on education, on women's rights, on work. All that is culture. That's Goan culture.[365]

The emphasis on religion as a part of their cultural identity was a constant through my participant interviews. This emphasis on religion is highlighted through the Goan adherence to the Catholic sacraments, both in Mumbai and in Toronto. For my participants, baptizing their children was a matter of pride and faith. Many showed me photographs of the elaborate celebrations that followed their children's baptisms, welcoming the new Catholics into the communal faith family. Goan godparents take their roles as faith ambassadors in the lives of their godchildren very seriously. One participant tells me that for him to have a good mother and a good godmother, means that he has been twice blessed.[366] Similar pomp and celebration is present for the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto when young people receive the sacraments of Eucharist at the age of eight, and are confirmed as "soldiers of Christ" through the sacrament of Confirmation at the age of thirteen. These celebrations include parties, with extended family and friends attending, a special meal, new clothing for the family, and gifts for the child receiving the sacrament. Furthermore, receiving the Eucharistic sacrament on a weekly basis, at least, is essential for my Goan participants as it affirms their faith regularly. Though most of my participants confess to not enjoying the sacrament of Reconciliation very much, they tell me that they make it a point of going to confession regularly; for them, it is a cathartic ritual that cleanses the soul. Marriage is seen, by my participants, as an integral sacramental aspect of Goan family life. By marrying, and

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[365] Ramona Freitas. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 12, 2013.
[366] Ashford Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 24, 2013.

having children, my participants in Mumbai and in Toronto tell me, they are able to pass down their culture and religion to the future generations, just as it had been given to them. Furthermore, many older participants inform me that the Goan way is to "give one son to a wife, and give one son to the church."[367] Joining a Holy Order as part of the community's sacramental obligation is very important to the Goans as well. They see the contribution of their sons and daughters to apostolic ministry as strengthening the Catholic faith, thus passing on the faith tradition as it had been passed on to their ancestors by the Portuguese missionaries. Finally, the Goan adherence to the Catholic sacraments is seen during times of illness and death, when the local parish priest is called to pray over a sick or dying person. Having this instance of faith during trying times is important to my participants, who see their faith as their touchstone of strength in healthy and trying times.

In addition to being communally dedicated through active engagement with their Catholic faith through the sacraments, the Goans of my research also engage their faith in other ways, in order to maintain their religio-cultural identities. The Goans of Bombay celebrate their religious identities in very distinct ways, through parish feasts, domestic rituals, and the recitation of the rosary in small communal groups. In Toronto, these traditional modes of worshipping and being religious are either directly practiced, or re-invented in imaginative ways to suit the new Canadian home of the Goan community; for instance, in the celebration of "socials" to observe the feasts of particular saints. In the following sections on Mumbai and Toronto, I explore the ways in which religion and religious behaviours manifest themselves in the lives of my Goan participants. Exploring the nuanced, particular, and unique modes of religiosity employed by the Goans, is a

[367] Angelica D'Souza. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 13, 2013.

means of exploring the primacy of religion in the lives of this community, as it informs their system of beliefs and their cultural identity.

Mumbai, India

I arrived at Chatrapati Shivaji International Airport, in the sweltering, pulsating city of Mumbai on the eve of *Ganesh Chatruthi*—the Hindu celebration of the elephant-headed Lord Ganesha. This celebration culminates in the city shutting down so that processions of millions can journey to the shores of the Arabian Sea, to lay statues of the mischievous *Ganapati* afloat. The taxi driver, who was taking me to the rooming house where I would be staying for the duration of my fieldwork trip, tells me that my arrival on such an auspicious day would surely mean that my work in the city will be blessed. "You have come at a very auspicious time," my chatty taxi driver tells me. He informs me that in a few days, the Catholics would come together for celebrations of the Virgin Mother, and then in a couple weeks I would see the Hindus celebrating *navratri*, and then the Muslim observance of *bakri eid.* "Here in Mumbai, we are all everything: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and even Christian. We are all separate, but still one," he tells me proudly.

I had arrived in Mumbai wearing my intrepid ethnographer's hat, confident in my hypothesis that the city's Goan Catholics would tell me just how "Indian" they are—that their brand of Catholicism was moulded to its Indian context; all my observational research would substantiate this expected response of adaptation and acculturation. Alas, this was not the case. One after another, my participants informed me that they were proud of being non-Indian; that they viewed their religio-cultural roots as coming from the Portuguese, and the Catholicism brought to India in the sixteenth century. One

particular interlocutor of mine—a woman whom I'll call Alison, who had become a constant companion on my trip—surmised the general view of my participants well:

> See, first and foremost I am a Catholic. It is not a small thing. In our Catholic culture, we are shaped a certain way, you know: we are very family-oriented, we go to Mass regularly, we value our community. These things…our faith, first and foremost…keeps us strong, you know? I suppose it just goes from generations to generations through the Portuguese, we picked up this culture because we were a Portuguese colony, so we picked up their lifestyle, so our whole lifestyle the Portuguese influence is there and you see it very strongly in Goa, but being from Goa we moved out but that thing comes with you, who you are, you cannot just shed who you are.[368]

Alison is not wrong. Interview after interview, I was met with the same sentiment: a pride in the Catholic faith, and a delighted drawing of lineage to the Portuguese who brought their ancestors that religio-cultural heritage. As mentioned previously, this sentiment was found also found echoed in the quantitative data of the survey instruments administered to the participants. This is in keeping with Albuquerque's assessment, detailed in Chapter 2, of the absolute nature of religio-cultural conversion that the Goans underwent through the Portuguese missionizing impulse in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[369] Nearly half a millennium old, these Portuguese-Catholic aspects of identity are now firmly embedded in the way today's Goans view themselves. This symbiotic fusion of religion and culture to create identity is central for the Goan Catholic community of Mumbai; it is this primacy of religion as a marker of identity that is profiled in this section, through the exploration of a community feast celebration, and a domestic ritual in which the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* participate.

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[368] Alison D'Souza. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. September 16, 2013.
[369] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 213.

Sonapur Feast Day

"Happy Feast!"

"Happy Feast to you, too!"

"Looking good, men. Happy Feast."

"See you at Mass. I have to run to the bazaar first. Happy Feast!"

"Happy Feast! *Sorpotel kelein*?"[370]

Neighbours greet one another in the street, friendly folk from open windows greet passersby, and everyone in the mostly-Goan community of *Dhobi Talao* is ready for the annual parish feast day. On par with the community's observance of Easter and Christmas, for the parishioners of Our Lady of Dolours, feast day preparations include a thorough cleaning of their homes, having new clothes tailored, and the preparation of the finest traditional Goan foods for the occasion. Informally called the "*Sonapur*[371] Parish feast," this event has been prepared for by the parishioners, the clergy, and the Parish Feast Committee for several weeks now. The feast week begins on the fifteenth of September each year, commemorating the feast day of Our Lady of Dolours. The date of the *Sonapur* Feast celebration is particularly intriguing because it is set up to not clash with the Nativity of Mary feast, which is celebrated annually on 8th of September by the Salcette Catholics or East Indians, who are native to the Mumbai area. This calendric compromise allows for the "original" Catholics of Mumbai, the Salcette Catholics, to celebrate the Nativity feast, a celebration to which millions of devotees flock, while still making space for the Goan community to celebrate in its own, albeit less elaborate, way a

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[370] Konkani, "Have you cooked *sorpotel*?" Translation by author.

[371] *Sonapur* is a section of *Dhobi Talao* which, as per Albuquerque, was a popular burial site prior to becoming populated in the 1800s. Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 13.
Translated, the word "*Sonapur*" could mean either "city of the sleeping," or "city of gold." Today's community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao* prefer the latter meaning. Translations by author.

few days later. The *Sonapur* Feast week is filled with celebration and prayer, including daily Masses at the church, community rosaries twice a day in the parish chapel, and a long line-up at the priests' confessional booths, so the parishioners of Our Lady of Dolours can confess their sins, and be spiritually cleansed for the feast day celebrations. This spiritual cleansing is a mirror of the physical cleansing and adornments that the community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao* undertake in preparation for their feast day. The week of prayer and preparation culminates with the parish feast day. I had been invited by the Menezes family to be their guest on the feast day; the family includes the parents, Peter and Anna, along with their three sons, Ashford, Lester, and Dwayne, each of whom is in their mid- to late-20s. They live on the 3rd floor of one of the *chawl*-style apartment buildings in *Dhobi Talao*, which was a space into which Peter's father had moved in the 1920s, when he first migrated to Bombay from Goa in search of better employment opportunities. The Menezes grandparent's migration out of Goa and to the Mumbai area was part of a larger wave of labour migrants moving to the urban centre in search of better employment opportunities. As discussed in Chapter 3, the literature on labour migrant communities suggests that these transnational migration movements take place in a fluid social space, whereby migrants participate in more than one society, thus maintaining ties to the place left behind while also building new lives in the new place.[372] Peter, along with his ten brothers and sisters, had all been raised in the 300 square foot apartment, which is divided into three rooms, including a kitchen, a bedroom, and living room. Peter, being the eldest son of ten siblings, inherited the home from his father, and

[372] Ludger Pries, "Determining the Causes and Durability of Transnational Labour Migration between Mexico and the United States: Some Empirical Findings," *International Migration*. 42, no. 2 (2004); Peggy Levitt and B. Nadya Jaworsky, "Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends," *Annual Review of Sociology*. 33 (2007).

has since raised his own family in the space to which his father had moved nearly a century previously. The Menezes family's tie to their *kholi* simultaneously ties them to their ancestor through a sense of belonging to that place, while also rooting them in a state of permanent placelessness, since the *chawls*, and the *kholis* therein, were intended as a transition space for Goan migrants coming to Bombay in the early-twentieth century; as such, the development of the *chawls* into a space where the Goan migrants would put down roots and raise future generations of Goans was an unanticipated occurrence. Another point of transnational pride that connects the Menezes family to the "home" place of Goa is their ancestral bungalow in Goa, which the Menezes family visits often, thus maintaining a tangible connection to the old place.

The Menezes family offered me open access to their lives during my time in Mumbai, with the young men acting as my unofficial ambassadors to the Goan community in *Dhobi Talao.* I arrived to the Menezes home early on the morning of the feast day, not fully sure of what the day would look like. I had been told that after attending the 10am Mass, there would be an afternoon "fête," with games, prizes, and entertainment; in the evening, there was a dance planned for the youngsters in the community to attend. When I arrived at the Menezes home, Anna was in the kitchen preparing the special feast day food; this emphasis on Goan food as central to the feast day experience is consistent with D'Sylva's hypothesis that food is central to the religio-cultural identity construction that Goans undertake.[373] In readying themselves for the feast day Mass, the Menezes brothers were busy getting dressed in their finest; one was frantically searching for his cufflinks and another was spritzing himself with an

[373] D'Sylva, ""You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food." The Interection of Gender, Food and Identity: A Case Study of Goan Women in the Greater Toronto Area," 136.

overzealous amount of cologne, and the third was unable to find his favourite tie. Peter sat back and watched the frenzy; he and Anna had already attended Mass earlier that morning. This staggered attendance of Mass in the family was an occurrence that I observed regularly. It seemed that the older generation preferred to attend the less-crowded Mass services, either on Saturday or Sunday evening, or early on Sunday mornings. This also allowed someone to be home at all times, to receive feast day visitors and prepare the feast day meal, as Anna was doing that particular day. The entire neighbourhood was abuzz with hundreds of families getting ready for the day in exactly the same way. The sound of neighbours and passersby exchanging "Happy Feast" greetings was ubiquitous. As I waited for my three young companions to finish readying themselves for Mass, chatting with Peter about the political climate of India and his perspective on the upcoming federal elections, we heard the parish church bells ring out, signalling the beginning of Mass. With surprising speed, the three young men, who only moments ago had not been ready, were ready and hightailing it out the door. This race to the church after hearing the bells ringing is striking. In his book *Village Bells*, which profiles a nineteenth century French village, Alain Corbin writes of the church parish and its bells:

> The emotional impact of a bell helped create a territorial identity for individuals living always in range of its sound. When they hear it ringing, [people] in the centers of ancient towns experienced a sense of being rooted in space. […] Bell ringing was [a marker] obviating the quest for an identity. […] The bell tower prescribed an auditory space that corresponded to a particular notion of territoriality.[374]

For Corbin, church bells serve to shape the *habitus* of a community, while providing those living within that community with a sense of rootedness to a place; if one is able to

[374] Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1998), 95.

hear the bells, then one belonged to the place in which it chimed. Since the human experience of place is strongly affected by one's experience of feeling like an insider versus feeling like an outsider, to be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it; the more profoundly inside a place one is, the more strongly one identifies with that place.[375] As the Menezes brothers and I dashed to the church in a matter of minutes, we were joined by others from the neighbourhood who were also running late. The four of us were lucky to get inside and find seats in the overflowing church. Eventually there would be a crowd, three to five people deep, that would surround the church and listen to the service from outside the physical walls of the church. I asked the young men to save my seat, and went outside to film the processional as the clergy entered the church.

On the outside of the church building, a large stage had been erected; on it, a nine piece brass band of local musicians was playing hymn tunes (See Figure 1-A). A procession of eleven priests, all of whom belonged to the parish of Our Lady of Dolours, were joined by six altar servers and three deacons; the procession emerged from the sacristy of the church, and solemnly walked around the outside of the church, the brass band played a dutifully solemn hymn for the processional, and two altar servers swung pots of ceremonial incense to purify the way (See Figure 2). With a crucifix at the head of the group foisted high, the processional entered through the back of the church as the congregation rose. The Mass was a beautiful sacrament, celebrated in English and accompanied by a choir singing English and Konkani hymns. This use of the Konkani language in the Eucharistic celebration is in keeping with the identity maintenance that Mumbai's Goan community undertakes, as discussed in Chapter 2 and explored in the work of Albuquerque, who argues that exporting Konkani music from Goa to Mumbai

[375] Edward C. Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London, UK: Pion Publishing, 1976), 49.

was a significant way for the Goan migrants in Mumbai to retain ties to the homeland of Goa, and to create a strong community in the migrant setting.[376] At the feast day Mass at Our Lady of Dolours church, the gold and purple and red decorations that adorned the inside of the church flapped in the breeze of the fans set up to help alleviate Mumbai's post-monsoon September heat. Members of the congregation were dressed in their fanciest attire, with men in suits and ties, women in gold-laced saris[377] and beautiful silk dresses, and everyone adorned with stunning gold and diamond jewellery. The centrepiece of the church altar was the Virgin Mary's statue, dressed in a stunning red and gold outfit, ornamented with gold, and surrounded by marigolds, lilies, and rose petals. At the end of the Mass, each one of the thousands of people at this Eucharistic celebration would queue up to touch the feet of the Virgin's statue, with many consuming a petal of the flowers that surrounded the statue. As the service ended, the clergy processional wound its way through the congregation, and back outside. In a sense, by winding its way around the outside of the church building, both before and after the Mass, the procession of priests and deacons served to bring the outside space into the sacred space of the Eucharistic celebration. The processional also serves to gather the entire congregation, including those inside and outside the physical church space, into the circle of a "sacred community." After Mass, on the stage outside, the same brass band was playing a lively hymn to accompany the procession; meanwhile, the congregation poured out of the church and into the area surrounding the church. Here, adjacent to the band's stage which was adorned with images of Our Lady of Dolours and messages of

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[376] Albuquerque, *To Love Is to Serve: Catholics of Bombay*, 75.

[377] Wearing of *saris*, a traditional Indian garment is not very common within the Goan community, though some older women do partake of this Indian cultural dress, particularly on special occasions. The adoption of this dress for special occasions is an anomalous marker of inculturation as a function of Goan community's location in India. The Goans who leave India do not partake of wearing *saris*.

peace and love, was a bazaar with a number of stalls, with vendors selling myriad wares, including numerous stalls of Goan treats (See Figure 1-B), religious curios such as scapulars and rosary rings, and a few stalls selling Konkani CDs and books. While this part of the feast day celebrations may be seen as solely "cultural," it is an integral part of the feast itself; many of the community members make mention to me that they look forward to the feast bazaar every year as it is a part of their feast day tradition. In this way, this seemingly-secular space of a pseudo-marketplace is implicated in the religiosity of the Goans of *Dhobi Talao.* On our way back to the Menezes home, we picked up a packet of Goan sweets, my three companions stopping every few minutes to greet acquaintances and neighbourhood friends, sharing plans for the day, and exchanging feast day greetings.

Once back at the Menezes home, we were joined by Anna's sister, Lourdes and her family. Anna brought us all a snack of *sorpotel* and *puris*, traditional Goan fare made especially for the occasion of this feast day (See Figure 3). Having enjoyed our snack, the entire group, save for Anna and Lourdes who remained behind to continue preparing the feast day lunch, headed to the feast day fête that the parish social committee had put together. In an open courtyard in the neighbourhood, which the organizers had festooned with strung up balloons, streamers, and banners, the fête was well underway when we arrived (See Figure 1-C). A DJ was mixing the latest music, that blared through the space and beyond on multiple loud speakers. The fête's emcee, a boisterous young man, in addition to his hosting duties was also running a number of prize-winning contests, including a Bible-knowledge quiz and a 50/50 draw.

The centre of the space was a makeshift dance floor, while the periphery had a number of games set up for attendees to play; games included mini-cricket,[378] ring toss, and mini bowling to name a few. To participate in these games, one could purchase tickets costing Rs.20 apiece, sold at a makeshift booth; here, attendees could also buy tickets for a cold beer, a boon on the sweltering September heat of Mumbai. One corner of the courtyard was set up with games for children and outside the courtyard, in an adjacent space, a group of seniors who were uninterested in the games or dancing, had set up a lively game of "Housie," a game akin to Bingo. Dwayne, one of the Menezes boys, won a number of games of mini-cricket and as his prize was given a case of contraband Kingfisher beer cans; these prizes were imported from Goa especially for the occasion by a man whom the community referred to as "Uncle Joe." The reason these prizes were contraband was that the state of Maharashtra, the capital city of which is Mumbai, was in the middle of the Hindu festival of *Anant Chaturdashi*, which that year ran for a fortnight beginning on September 9. The state observed this festival by designating the fortnight as a "dry" time: that is, the sale, purchase, and consumption of alcohol are strictly forbidden in the entire state of Maharashtra during this time. The Goans of *Dhobi Talao* are on extra alert around "dry days" because local police officials, knowing the Catholic community's fondness for alcohol, makes a point of patrolling the neighbourhood on these state-sanctioned dry days, and for levying heavy fines against those found disobeying the ordinance. So, through the connections that Uncle Joe has in Goa, the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* have brought in a large number of beer cases, each one holding twenty-four cans of beer. Every time someone "wins" a game, a network of youngsters springs into action to get them a case of beer. In this way, each family in the community

[378] A game akin to mini-putt or mini-golf but played with a cricket bat.

can share in the illicit pleasure of a case of beer, imported from Goa. When Dwayne won his games, a young man named Andrew told him to wait a few minutes for his prize; Andrew then called someone, told the person on the receiving end of the phone call to bring him a "special prize," and winked mischievously at us. A few minutes later, Andrew received a call asking if everything was clear, to which he deployed a couple of friends to check for police presence in the neighbourhood; upon their return with an all clear, Andrew signalled to the person waiting with the prize to come deliver the case of beer to Dwayne. When I inquired into the separation of the beer exchange from the main fête celebrations, my informants tell me that the delivery was conducted away from the courtyard in which the fête was being held so as to separate this activity from the more wholesome and family-friendly activities of the fête. However, this separation of spaces could also be attributed to a cautionary measure to ensure that the fête remain operational even in the event that the "beer network" become raided by the authorities.

Lester tells me that the fête and all its accoutrements are all a vital part of the *Sonapur* feast celebrations for the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*:

> Just to go to church for the feast, is not enough. That we do every week. So we have to, you know, go beyond. It is this whole thing [gestures to the fête]: the celebration, the music, all of us coming out. We're all dressed up and having a good time. It's all part of Mother Mary's feast, *yaar*. Even our food, having a nice peg,[379] that's all part of the feast for us. Like mummy now has made the food at home…we look forward to that, you know? And all the families are doing that also. That is how we celebrate as a…you know…a whole group. It's a very special occasion for us…every year. It's solid *maja*[380], and we, like you know my family and all, we just look forward to it.[381]

[379] "Peg" is a colloquial term for a shot of whiskey or brandy.
[380] Hindi, "Fun" Translation by author.
[381] Lester Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 22, 2013.

A case of cold Kingfisher beer in hand, our group headed back to the Menezes home, where Anna and Lourdes had readied the lunch feast. The spread included traditional Goan *sorpotel*, fresh *puris*, a rich rice pilaf, spicy chicken *xacuti*, fried fish, and half a dozen side dishes as accompaniment. Ashford, the eldest Menezes son, had procured a bottle of Johnny Walker Black Label whiskey for the occasion, and poured everyone a healthy-sized beverage as the group prayed before the meal. Drinks ready, the group tucked into the sumptuous meal, and discussed local goings-on of the neighbourhood, the fête, and what the next week held for the parish as it wrapped up the feast day and prepared for the annual journey of the Virgin Mother's statue through the community, as detailed later in this chapter.

The *Sonapur* Feast celebration is a holistic religio-cultural extravaganza for the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*. As Lester so succinctly says in the quote above, the feast celebrations comprise everything including the Mass celebrations to the music, the gathering community, the preparations, the food, and the fête. While the feast celebration could be seen as a cultural event which simply happens to begin with a religious ritual, vis-à-vis the Mass celebration, this categorical separation of religion from culture would deny the intangibility of religion and culture in the creation of Goan identity. Acknowledging the interconnectedness of this Goan community's religio-cultural expressions, adheres to Orsi's call for the recognition of the historical and cultural specificity in the imagination and performance of religion.[382] Of examining religious communities from the theoretical perspective of Lived Religion, Orsi writes:

> What is called for is an approach to religion and culture that embeds the religious person and community in history, that sees history and culture not as something religious persons are 'in' but as the media

[382] Orsi, "Everday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," 16.

> through which they fundamentally are, and that also understands the power of cultural structures and inherited idioms—both to shape and discipline thought and as well to give rise to religious creativity and improvisation. What is called for, in other words, is the recognition that it is the historicized and encultured religious imagination that is also the imagination by means of which, […] the frozen circumstances of our worlds are forced to dance by singing to them our own melodies.[383]

For the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*, expressing their religiosity through their cultural commitments and in the particular place where they find themselves is an intrinsic part of their religio-cultural identities. As such, "religion" does not manifest in the strictly-religious celebration of the feast day Mass, but also in the Masses celebrated during the week during which the parish commitment to celebrating Masses in both Konkani and English is observed; this performance of the religious in both languages is an active way for the community to maintain a connection to the traditional language of Goa, particularly by the older generation of Goans living in *Dhobi Talao*. Furthermore, this mingling of the religious and the cultural is manifested through the preparation of various spaces for the feast itself; these spaces include the church, the home, and the soul, all of which are cleansed through physical or spiritual means. In this way, the parish, the community homes, and the individuals are prepared for the feast celebrations. The church space, ostensibly the center of the feast day religious celebrations, is defined not only by the physical walls of the church building, but by the procession of priest and deacons who circle around the church building, gathering all those within the church as well as those who remain outside into the worshipping place of the Eucharistic celebration. This religious boundary drawn by the procession of priests blurs the divide between the inside and outside of the church, making the entire space around the church into a sacred place.

[383] Orsi, "Everday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion," 16-17.

Additionally, the band that plays while the procession enters the church is the same band that plays music for the dance, later in the evening; the bandstand itself is a simultaneously religious and cultural space, playing songs for dancing and merriment while also boasting banners of the Virgin Mary and Konkani prayers. The parish priests, authority figures and community leaders during the Mass services, can also be seen being a part of the community celebrations at the fête, playing games with the children, and interacting with the community which they serve. Other aspects of culture that are also a meaningful part of the *Sonapur* feast celebrations include food and clothing. The community's emphasis on preparing traditional Goan food to commemorate the parish feast intrinsically connects the culinary cultural engagement with the religious celebration, and the focus on dressing well and buying new clothing for the particular occasion marks the feast as a sacred time. In addition to the focus on Goan food, the importation and consumption of alcohol is a key marker of identity and difference for the Goans of Mumbai. The very act of rebelliously ensuring the availability of alcohol as a marker of a Catholic celebration during the governmentally-sanctioned Hindu holy days, marks the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* as religiously and culturally different form the predominantly-Hindu culture in which they find themselves in the city of Mumbai. These myriad ways emphasize the interconnectedness of religion and culture for this Goan community, particularly as they express their religio-cultural identities through the celebration of the *Sonapur* Feast in the city of Mumbai.

Who's the Pilgrim? Lived Religion and the Domestic Worship of Mary

In adhering to the theoretical lens of Lived Religion, the religiosity of the *Sonapur* community can be seen extended throughout the week after the feast day celebrations,

which sees the sacred centre of the community move from the church centre to various domestic locations in the community. It is in these domestic sacred spaces of the *Dhobi Talao* community that the nuanced nature of religion and cultural comingling is further examined. After the parish feast celebrations of Our Lady of Dolours in *Dhobi Talao* are complete, and all the church decorations taken down, the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary central to this parish begins its nine-day-long journey through the community. For months, the Ladies' Sodality of the parish worked to coordinate this annual journey that their blessed mother makes through the homes of the community. The statue journeys from the church to a parishioner's home, spending twenty-four hours in that home before journeying on to another parishioner's home. This continues for nine days, until the statue journeys from the last home back to the main altar at the church, where it will remain until the following year's event. Mrs. D'Souza, a member of the sodality, told me that Goans from all over the city of Bombay come to this feast celebration because most Goans trace their roots to this parish. Indeed, just as Mrs. D'Souza had described, hundreds, if not thousands, of Goans from across the city of Mumbai returned to *Dhobi Talao* for the previously profiled *Sonapur* Feast celebrations, with many remaining to pay homage to the Virgin Mary over the nine days of the Marian worship rituals in the parish homes. Just as the procession of priests at the feast day Mass brings the exterior space into the realm of the sacred, church place, so too in the case of this travelling Marian statue. The pilgrimage of the Virgin Mary through the community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao*, with stops in homes along the way, sacralises the entire neighbourhood, drawing a sacred space in which the Goans conduct these domestic rituals. Furthermore, the return

of former residents of the community at this feast time is reminiscent of a return pilgrimage to the home place of *Dhobi Talao*.

The nine homes which had been chosen to play host to the travelling Virgin's statue, also play host to a multitude of visitors each night. On one particular day during this community celebration, I was sitting in the front room of the *kholi* that the Franco family lives in, chatting with Tyrone Franco about my research project. It is Tyrone's family who is playing host to the Marian statue this particular day; Kenny, the younger of the Franco sons, barrels down the corridor of the chawl-style building, announcing the arrival of the Virgin Mother: "*Saibin mai ailein! Saibin mai ailein!*"[384] He continues to yell, up and down the corridor of the chawl; simultaneously, he is banging together a large metal skillet and spoon as an effective makeshift drum. As part of the *Sonapur* Feast celebrations, and to prepare for the arrival of the Virgin Mary to the home, the home was cleaned from top to bottom, and festooned with multi-coloured ribbons, balloons, and strands of coloured paper. In addition to the main home altar, a mainstay in the homes of most of my Goan interlocutors, a special altar was fashioned where the statue was to be placed on its stay in the home (See Figure 4). Since the Franco family has two boys, I was commissioned to offer a female perspective on the decorations. The young men were extremely proud of the final result, and informed me later that their altar was the talk of the neighbourhood because it was the best of all the home altars that year.

Altar decorations were not the only area where I was put to work. I previously swept the house, cut the fresh roses that someone had delivered, and was sent to a flower stall in the neighbourhood selling specifically "Catholic" flowers, to buy garlands for the arriving statue. It was this experience of purchasing "Catholic" flowers that acted as a

[384] Konkani, "The blessed mother is here! The blessed mother is here!" Translation by author.

trigger of inquiry when a few days later I found myself outside the *Bhajana Samaj Ram Mandir* in Matunga, while waiting for my friend to get her hair done. Outside the *mandir*,[385] I saw flower stalls virtually indistinguishable from the "Catholic" one at which I had purchased flowers for the Marion visit (See Figure 5-A and B). At the *mandir*, it is the *Devi Rajarajeshwari* who is celebrated. She is the consort of the Hindu god *Rama*, and is credited with bringing peace, prosperity, and happiness for the coming year. This *mandir* is one of a few homes in the city to Mumbai's South Indian community, set up by migrants from Tamil Nadu in the early twentieth century. In further research, I learned that although the Matunga area was home to the first waves of Tamil immigrants to Mumbai, most of them had moved away to other parts of the city. However, many of those who now live in other parts of Mumbai, continue to tie their religious and cultural backgrounds to this temple, and return annually to celebrate the goddess during *Navratri*. The narrative of this migrant community in the city of Mumbai echoes the story of the Goan Catholic migrant community. Having said this, there are particularities to this encounter that must be noted. First, the flower stall to which I had been directed to, to purchase flowers for the visiting Marian statue, was designated a "Catholic" stall. Though its "Catholic-ness" was not apparent to me, an observer, to the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* these flower stalls were the designated and acceptable ones due to their location at the sacred Catholic site of Cross *Maidan*, which I only recognized in the analysis phase of my dissertation. It was due to their place, rather than any inherent "Catholic-ness" in the flowers themselves that had these particular flower stalls demarcated as "Catholic." Furthermore, the Tamil community of Mumbai, long dispersed throughout the city, return to the *Bhajana Samaj Ram Mandir* to celebrate *Navratri* at the temple. The Goans of

[385] Hindi, "Temple." Translation by author.

Mumbai, however, do not return only to the church of Our Lady of Dolours, but also to the neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao*, which symbolizes for them a "home" place. As such, this home place is an undeniable site of religio-cultural expression.

Another similarity that I found interesting was the community's desire to present their respective deity with the very best gifts and adornments. During the nine days of *Navratri*, the goddess is adorned with gifts of garlands, given offerings of fruits and incense, and decorated in the finest fabrics. One particularly gossip-happy temple goer made a point of telling me that a local gold merchant has donated a crown for the goddess that year, and that the crown, made of a kilo of gold and encrusted in diamonds, was worth approximately Rs.50 lakhs, or the equivalent of $80K USD. The Goans of *Dhobi Talao* are not quite so extravagant in their adornment of the Virgin statue; in a later interview, Angela Franco, the woman whose sons had commissioned my help with their home altar, told me that while her family does not have very much money, they save up so that they can "give Mother Mary the very best" when she comes to their home, including the prettiest flowers, the most extravagant decorations, good food for their guests, and a clean and welcoming home for their most special guest. "We are simple people," Angela tells me, "but Mother Mary is coming to our house, so we scrimp and sacrifice to make sure she has the best things, and that we make ourselves presentable for her."[386] The similarities in aesthetics and devotion between the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* at their parish feast, and the Tamils of Matunga at *Navratri*, suggest a syncretism of sorts due to the acculturated nature of religious life in the city of Mumbai. Yet, there are distinctions between the two, not the least of which is the degree of publicity and extravagance with which each community celebrates its festival. For the Tamils, *Navratri*

[386] Angela Franco. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 29, 2013.

becomes a celebration in the streets of Mumbai, and whole neighbourhoods are enveloped in the pomp and pageantry of the festival. There is an obvious abundance of monetary and political resource available to the celebrating community. On the other hand, the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* curtail their feast celebrations to the small insular community in which they live. They have neither the municipal permits, nor the financial resources necessary to celebrate their faith in a public manner the way their Hindu counterparts do. Having noted this, however, it is also vital to know that the lack of resources available to the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* does very little to dampen the sense of celebration that I observed during my time there. The interaction that I observed between the official "church" space and the domestic expressions of religion has produced an undeniably strong sense of Goan religio-cultural identity for the community of *Dhobi Talao*. Further, the devotional aspects of lay religion, that is the religious expressions of the regular person who is not a member of the church clergy, have served to create a strong lay community of devotees in *Dhobi Talao*, whereby members of the community feel ownership of religious expressions such as dressing the statue of the Virgin Mary, building altars, et cetera. Even with the limited funds and space available, each member of the community exuded a sense of joy and excitement at the celebration of their parish feast and the ensuing domestic rituals, taking great pride in "showing" it to me, and warmly and generously making me a part of their festivities.

As Kenny clangs his spoon and skillet together, and proclaims the arrival of the Virgin's statue, members of the household in which the statue spent the previous day are heard coming down the hallway. They are singing a slow and off-key, but heartfelt, rendition of *Ave Maria*. The statue is hoisted on a makeshift palanquin, and is making its

way down the hall. Kenny abandons his noisemaking in the hallway and lights the pot of *dhoop*,[387] meant to purify the room. This ceremonial purification of the sacred space through the use of incense is a mirrored process of the one observed before Mass on the feast day, during which the altar servers, who were leading the church procession, waived pots of *dhoop* meant to purify the way as the processional of priests and deacons circled the church and entered into the church space. With Kenny purifying the hallway with his own pot of *dhoop*, the statue of the Virgin Mary comes down the hallway, gaining followers at each open door. By the time the procession arrives at the Franco home for the evening's celebrations, the crowd swells to approximately 40 people. The singing has moved on from the doleful *Ave Maria* to an upbeat Konkani hymn called *Mai Mogaachi*,[388] to convey joyfulness at the arrival of the statue in the new home. Greeting the Virgin Mother at the threshold of the home, Tyron adorns the statue with several garlands of marigolds and lilies, and then brings the statue into the home and gently places it on the altar that has been prepared for it (See Figure 6-A). Kenny fusses with the garlands and the decorations: "So the photos will look good," he whispers to me. These digital photos would later be peered over by the family, each person exclaiming over how beautiful the decorations looked, and making comments that it was truly a celebration worthy of the visiting Mother. Often, special photographs are printed and displayed in a showcase in the family home to commemorate the special occasion.

The community members, who followed the statue to the home, crowd into the tiny front room and face the altar on which the statue now rests (See Figure 6-D). Accompanying the statue, is a well-worn binder containing detailed and specific

[387] Konkani/Hindi, "Incense." Translation by author.
[388] Konkani, "Mother whom we love." Translation by author.

instructions and prayers to be administered and recited in a particular order upon the statue's arrival in each home (See Figure 7). Several prayers are recited in Konkani and in English, followed by the praying of the Rosary. Each decade of the rosary is said by a different section of the group in attendance, including all the ladies, all the men, the children, et cetera. Then the "Litany of Our Lady," a call and response recitation of the fifty-one names for the Virgin Mary is recited. The leader of the evening's prayer says the name, and the faithful assembled respond, "Pray for us":

> Holy Mary—Pray for us
> Holy Mother of God—Pray for us
> Holy Virgin of Virgins—Pray for us
> Mother of Christ—Pray for us
> Mother of Divine Grace—Pray for us
> Mother Most Pure—Pray for us

Once all the prayers are prayed and the formal portion of the evening's activities is complete, the attendees line up to touch the feet of the Virgin statue (See Figure 6-B). This procession of devotees to touch the Virgin Mother's feet resembles closely the congregation at Mass on the *Sonapur* Feast day who queued up after Mass to venerate at the statue's feet. The recitations, the prayers, the devotional aspects of this domestic ritual mirror closely the church service, except the entire ritual is conducted within the home space, and without any clergy. The entire domestic worship ritual is set up, managed, and conducted by the parish laity.

Once the devotional aspects of the ritual are complete, each visitor is handed a plate of snacks (See Figure 6-C), which they take into the corridor to enjoy. In the corridor, Kenny and his brother set off a few dozen firecrackers, a fantastic celebration of light and sound in honour of housing the Virgin's statue for the evening. The evening winds down as the neighbours and visitors leave; the few who remain, sit around

beaming about the success of the evening, sipping on “adult” beverages served to us by the host. Amongst the topics of discussion are the fashions of the visitors, the bits of neighbourhood gossip that trickled in, the success of the altar decorations, and how tasty the snacks were.

Though the notion of place and place-making is more specifically dealt with in the following chapter, it should be noted here that the journey made by the statue of the Virgin Mary through the homes of devotees in the Goan community of *Dhobi Talao* designates the entire neighbourhood as a religious community. It creates a boundary within which the Goans exist and engage in their religio-cultural identities. This spiritual and physical boundary making also acts a religio-cultural divide between the “in space” of the Goan community, and the “out space” of the broader Hindu culture found in the city of Mumbai. Furthermore, by creating sacred places in the domestic realm, and involving the lay community of Goan devotees in the maintenance of this religious boundary making, the homes and families of these Goans also become a part of the religio-cultural expressions of being Goan. Finally, in mirroring the food and decorative aspects in these domestic rituals that were previously observed at the larger feast day celebrations, the cultural markers of food, drink, and decoration become intrinsically tied to the religious aspects of this communal celebration. In this way, religion and culture are once again intertwined to produce a unique expression of this community’s identity. The pilgrimaging statue of Mary reinforces the identities of the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* as an insular religio-cultural community. For the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*, there is limited access to space. This makes it difficult to conduct a procession in the same way as other larger religious communities in Mumbai. Instead, for the Goans, the statue of the Virgin Mary

makes its way through the community, pausing at homes along the way, in similar manner to a pilgrim making pauses in his or her pilgrimage. This statue, by travelling from the sacred church place, through the crossing places of the festooned *Dhobi Talao* alleyways, and into the home of the Goan devotees, sacralises the domestic places that this Goan community inhabits. In *Rituals: Perspectives and Dimensions*, Catherine Bell writes of the nature and effects of pilgrimage:

> Setting out from home and a familiar world, the pilgrim endures the trials and tribulations of the journey, passes through strange lands to which he or she does not belong, and finally arrives at a place considered holier than others, a sacred centre where wisdom or grace or gifts are dispensed. Securing a token of that dispensation, the pilgrim returns home bearing the transformed identity of one who has made the journey, touched the sacred objects, and received heavenly boons for the effort.[11]

For *Dhobi Talao*'s Goans, their divine mother makes the pilgrimage, vacating her throne at the parish church, and making several stops through their homes. Each site of pause is consecrated by her presence, transformed into a sacred centre of wisdom and grace. Touching her feet, calling out her names, praying for her intercessions—these acts of faithfulness enacted on Mary's pilgrimage to *their* homes bring heavenly dispensations to the devout Goan attendees, as they host her in their domestic place.

Mumbai Goans Moving On

The unique religio-cultural identity of the Goan community in Mumbai has been developed over generations of this migrant population interacting with the city to which its foreparents migrated in search of opportunity. For the Goan Catholics who have been central to my work in Mumbai, leaving India for the West is a very real possibility, and a highly desired life step. Many of my interlocutors expressed the ease with which they thought they would fit into the Western country to which they migrated. Of one young

woman who showed particular interest in moving to the United Kingdom, I asked what she thought life would be like for her in the UK. She responds:

> For a Goan, it would not be anything. I do not think it would be anything different because we are very Western. For us it would come naturally. Like for instance when we went to Germany, to France and to places like this we were very comfortable there, we did not feel like a fish out of water, because there are lot of Indians who go there and they are like oh we cannot eat this food, we have to do only this, they bring home with them abroad, whereas when we go, *for us it is like home* only. The thing is when you travel abroad, the minute you say you are from Goa, they enjoy our company much more. The foreigners they somehow accept Goa as something different from India, I have noticed that. They like us because we are like them—not like the other Indians.[389] [Emphasis added]

Without realizing it, my interviewee had echoed back to me the very sentiment that the Portuguese and British had instilled in the early Goan Catholic converts—that their adherence to the Western ideal made them more favoured in the eyes of their European colonizers, thus gaining them greater societal status over other Indians. This is also indicative of the subalternity of the Goans of Mumbai, as discussed in Chapter 3. The historical and cultural alignment that today's Goans profess to the now-gone Portuguese colonials means that they feel little connection to their fellow-Indians with whom they do not share cultural ideals. With no colonial administration to offer social status to the Goan community today, they have become the under-represented minority to the previously-subaltern Hindu Indians. For my interlocutors in Mumbai, their religious affiliation, which culturally isolates them from their fellow Indians, is seen as a catalytic force in the hypothetical migration to the West, which is viewed as predominantly Christian. In the next section, I explore the ways in which the Goans of Mumbai who

[389] Audrey Dias. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 4, 2013.

have immigrated to Toronto renegotiate the religio-cultural identities that they had developed prior to the transnational move.

Toronto, Canada

> For me, I don't think so it will be so different. Now see, most Indians are primarily vegetarian, but you go there [meaning, Canada] it's nothing different. I mean you eat beef, you eat pork, you eat everything so you are easily adaptable to the food. Your sense of clothing, we are anyway wearing Western clothes. You know Indians have *dhoti* and *kurta* and all that—we don't do that so...We wear jeans and t-shirts just like the foreigners. Then, also, most of us are born and brought up talking English so again, that has a very strong influence. I think we fit in there more than other Indians.[390]

The ease of adaptation to Western society that my interlocutors in Mumbai expressed, was reinforced in my interviews with Goans in Canada, and is reflected in the quote above, by a young man named Christopher, whose immigration visa to Canada was almost ready at the time of our interview. He foresees no real issues inculcating into Canadian society. In Toronto, my Goan participants re-iterated the narrative provided by my interlocutors in Mumbai, that their status as "outsiders" in India in combination with their Western lifestyle, acted as catalyzing forces in undertaking the migration process. Carrière, in her dissertation on Goan Catholic migrants in Canada, voices the notion of the Goan community's Catholicism acting as a powerful and positive force of integration into Canadian society.[391] Of his choice to migrate out of India, one Toronto participants says:

> Like, they used to always call us *pavwallahs*[392] to the Christians, especially the Hindus. Some Hindus are very nice, I have got good friends, but some of the Hindus used to always discriminate that we do not belong to this country [India] and like you should go with the

[390] Christopher Noronha. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 15, 2013.
[391] Carrière, "Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities."
[392] Hindi for "bread men" or "bakers." Translation by author.

> Portuguese and this and that, so that was there. But here [Canada] no one talks about religion, here everybody is treated equally and there in India they have these special privileges for *harijans* [lower caste individuals] and all that, but we Catholics do not get any privileges down there. That is the reason I did not like India so much, because they always have discrimination and corruption. Corruption is the worst thing in India. Here, there is no corruption and all. Here you go by merit, but there if you want any work to be done you have to give money under the table. Poor people cannot come up there in India like how they can come up here in Canada. And one other thing…here, everybody is equal.[393]

The promise of a country like Canada, where the Christian ethos and Western cultural ideals are predominant is appealing to the Goans of Mumbai. As such, the push to move out of India and to Western countries is very real for them. The last few decades have seen an unprecedented number of Goan Catholics migrating out of India to receiving countries like Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom. In fact, Goan Catholics living outside of India (i.e. in the diaspora) far outnumber the number of Goan Catholics currently still living in India today.[394] While Carrière's assertion that the integrative aspects of Catholic worship, such as going to Mass regularly, do allow the migrant community of Goans in Toronto to integrate quickly into local Canadian Catholic parishes,[395] I argue that the nuances of expressing their religio-cultural identities in a holistic way, as has been profiled of the community in Mumbai, is not something that is readily available to the Goans of Toronto. This lack of identity expression has necessitated re-imagination of communal engagement for the Goans in Toronto. It is this re-imagination and renegotiation of their unique religio-cultural identities in the new context of being migrants in Toronto that this section addresses.

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[393] Lellis D'Souza. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 12, 2013.
[394] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 6.
[395] Carrière, "Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities."

My fieldwork in Toronto was the polar opposite of my experience with the Goans of Mumbai. Where Mumbai is messy and loud and frantic, Toronto is ordered, quiet, and neat. The gridded streets are a signifier of the orderliness that this city embodies. Touted as one of the most multicultural cities in the world, Toronto is home to more than half of the Goans living in Canada. In his entry on the Goans in the *Encyclopaedia of Canada's People*, Narendra K. Wagle writes, "Since Goans are not listed separately in the Canadian census data, no clear immigration and settlement statistics are available. It is estimated that there are approximately 13,000 in Ontario and 10,000 in the rest of Canada. The estimated total population of 23,000 is calculated on the basis of the membership in the Toronto-based Goan Overseas Association (GOA), the Montreal-based Canorient Christian Association (CCA), and Goan associations and clubs in the cities of Hamilton, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver."[396]

There is no particular place in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) to which Goans migrate, or settle down. The community is scattered widely across the 6000 square kilometers that the GTA encompasses. This lack of a central Goan place stumped me when I first arrived in Toronto; how was I to begin my fieldwork? I knew that my fieldwork time was precious, and the more time I wasted looking for what was not there vis-à-vis a spatially-specific Goan community in Toronto, the less time I would have to do actual fieldwork. This distinct lack of Goan-specific institutions in Toronto is in stark contrast to the Goan institutions established by other diasporic Goan communities, for instance in East Africa, as profiled by Frenz and outlined in Chapter 2. For Frenz's community of Goans, who made their homes in East Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Goan clubs, school, and churches provides a solid social

[396] Wagle, "Goans," 613.

infrastructure that allowed for the maintenance and reproduction of Goan religio-cultural identity; further, these Goan-centric institutions also allowed these diasporic communities to be fairly insular, thus creating the conditions required for retaining communal values over several generations.[397] For my community of Goans in Toronto, Catholic churches and Catholic public schools are an already-established part of society; these churches and schools are seen by the Goan migrants as sites of integration, through which the Goan community can easily become a part of Canadian society. Additionally, as the Goans view themselves as a "Western" community, with ideals that are more closely aligned with European cultural values, there is no internal push from the community to build a Goan-centric church; this is particularly interesting in light of the existence of several ethnicity- or nationality-specific churches that have been built in the GTA in recent decades.

One day, having spent yet another day at the library doing work that was not fieldwork, I was returning to my rented room in the suburbs of Toronto, when a Facebook invitation to a local party popped up on my phone. The party invitation encouraged me to begin thinking about virtual communities, particularly those fostered online in spaces such as Facebook. It occurred to me, that in a place like Toronto, where communities had little access to physical space, perhaps virtual spaces were where they came together to form communities. I took to the internet to look for a Goan community in Toronto; I was floored by how active a presence I found, not only on Facebook but also on community websites like www.goanvoice.ca and www.goatoronto.com. Not only was the Goan community in Toronto present, it was active and engaged in maintaining its

[397] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 135.

Goan identity. This shift of presence from a physical space to a virtual one was very telling of the dispersion that the Goan community experiences in the GTA. It pointed to the glaring lack of physical space available to the community within the Toronto area, and also highlighted the innovative nature of migrant communities in creating new lives for themselves. Furthermore, I observed another interesting shift in the online, virtual Goan community: rather than foregrounding their religious identity as a key identity marker of the community, it was Goan "culture" that was highlighted. In hindsight, my own amazement at the existence of this virtual community of Goans is an indication of my own ethnocentric bias, which allowed me to assume that the clubs on Facebook and elsewhere online were "cultural" entities. The interaction that I have since had with the Goan community in Toronto has debunked this biased categorical separation of religion from culture, as for this community there is very little distinction between the two. What I learned in interacting with the Goan community of Toronto is that the religious aspects of their religio-cultural identity become implied and modified for this Goan community. In keeping with the Canadian practice of separating religion from culture, the virtual Goan community foregrounds its cultural commitments; however, through active interaction, it is undeniable that their religious identities are never far removed from the cultural expressions of Toronto's Goan community. In order to begin my engagement with the Goans of Toronto, I began interacting with the community online, in Facebook forums and elsewhere. In contacting John D'Souza, the editor of the Goan Voice website, I was able to publish my call for participants, and within a matter of days I had a dozen or so interviews lined up, with invitations to community events and social gatherings.

Re-Negotiating Identity Post-Migration

Through my engagement with the community of Goans in Toronto, a sense of religious integration and simultaneous cultural displacement was apparent in the narratives of my participants. As a community that prides itself on its Catholicism and its culturally "Western" identity, the Goans who emigrate from India to Canada assume a cultural "coming home" of sort through their immigration process. Due to the universality of the Catholic Church, my Goan participants in Toronto expressed to me that religiously they fit in well upon arriving in Canada. This ease of integration through Catholic communities in Canada, is echoed by Carrière, who writes:

> Because of the sheer number of Roman Catholics residing in the Greater Toronto Area and predominantly in Canada, I believe Goans and Anglo-Indians have more options available to them in that they more-or-less do not have to adapt and/or alter their worship styles in order to find a religious community to join and participate in.[398]

For many of many of my own Goan participants in the GTA, maintaining their religious practices offered the first real opportunities to integrate into Canadian life as new immigrants to the Toronto area. One participant, a gentleman who had lived in Canada for nearly three decades at the time of our interview, said:

> It was not easy at the beginning. When we first came here, we only knew my uncle. Other than that we had nobody [here]. There were other Goans, but everyone is so far flung here, and especially in those days, you know? But we went to church, and that is what kept us sane, in a way. We knew that that was the same, so we were comfortable. Then slowly slowly [sic] things fell into place—we became familiar with this place. But it took some time, you know?[399]

Francis's story is a familiar one; many of my Toronto participants told me that being Catholic helped them "fit in" when they first came to Canada. In addition to feeling

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[398] Carrière, "Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities," 152.
[399] Francis Carvalho. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 09, 2013.

familiarity and finding community within Catholic parishes in the Toronto area, the Goan immigrants found that speaking English as a primary language was a positive factor in their integration into Canadian society. For instance, Sandra tells me that employment opportunities were more available to her as an English-speaker when she first arrived in Canada:

> It wasn't so bad back then. We got jobs quickly. We were always English speaking, like so it was fine. We got jobs because based on in fact [sic] I guess you could say that because we were Catholics and grew up in a community that was predominantly English speaking. When you went out for a job you got a job fast because you spoke the language. And you were understood by people. Like, even though we have an accent and all.[400]

This ease of integration afforded to members of the Goan community in Toronto, due in part to English being their primary language, and to their Catholic religious affiliation, is the essential thrust of Carrière's thesis argument. While this is certainly true, I posit that the integration and adaptation undertaken by Goan migrants to Toronto is more nuanced and complicated than integration through the simple act of finding a church at which to worship. Francis's mention, in the quote above, to the Indian accent with which the Goans of Toronto speak, is an indication to an aspect of Goan identity that is seen as a marker of "difference" in Canada. This marker is important to understanding the transition that the Goans migrants to Toronto make in the migration process from India to Canada. In India, the Goans are seen as "other" due to their linguistic ties, their dietary habits, and their religio-cultural values, which align them more with the Portuguese colonizers than with the predominantly Hindu culture found in India. In migrating to Canada, Goans become homogenized with all other Indians as Canadian multiculturalism synonymizes "culture" with "ethnicity" or "country of origin." Instead of allowing emic

[400] Sandra Pereira. Interview by author. Toronto, ON. May 15, 2013.

constructions of difference to identify members of the South Asian diaspora, these immigrant communities in the West are invariably classified under the "convenient rubric" of country of origin, instead of religio-cultural identity.[401]

Goan Catholics who immigrate to Canada become part of an invisible diaspora. Here, I have borrowed the term "invisible diaspora" from Selva Raj and Knut Jacobsen; for Raj and Jacobsen, the lack of scholarly attention that has been given to Indian Christian communities in the diaspora has resulted in "Christian immigrants from diverse ethnic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds [being] largely overlooked by academics," thus resulting in "a silent and invisible community, under-represented in scholarly literature and public academic discourses."[402] Raj and Jacobsen propose a number of reasons for this omission in scholarship, not the least of which is the homogenization of all South Asian immigrant identities in the Western diaspora, based on racial identity.[403] In this same vein, the Goans of my research who have immigrated to Canada, and have integrated with relative ease into the Catholic communities of Toronto, become homogenized with other Indians in the Canadian context of multiculturalism. This "othering" in Canada through the homogenization of Goans with other Indian communities, from whom they were "othered" in India in the first place, is extremely problematic. Socially, Goans become viewed as racially "Indian," and according to many of my participants, are often mistake for Hindu. One of my interlocutors says:

> First when I started working at the bank, they used to all ask me, 'How do you speak English so well? How come you eat beef?' They thought we were all Hindus. Then also, the names mix them up, like how come we have names like D'Souza and Fernandes and all. Then

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[401] Knut A. Jacobsen and Selva J. Raj, eds., *South Asian Christian Diaspora: Invisible Diaspora in Europe and North America* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 3.
[402] Jacobsen and Raj, *South Asian Christian Diaspora: Invisible Diaspora in Europe and North America*, 1.
[403] Jacobsen and Raj, *South Asian Christian Diaspora: Invisible Diaspora in Europe and North America*, 1.

> over the years, like you know, they have gotten know me, and now they know that we are different.[404]

This "difference" that Mario alludes to points to the difference he, and other Goans, perceived between themselves and other Indians. Though they see themselves as the cultural descendants of Portuguese colonizers, this religio-cultural tie to the West is not something that is acknowledged in Canada. For my Goan interlocutors in Toronto, renegotiating their identities as Goans in Canada involves a lot so "explaining." Many of my participants tell me of having to "explain" their religio-cultural heritage to co-workers, new friends, and at times, even their children who are born in Canada. One mother of two young sons tells me:

> We had to explain to our kids that yes, we are Indian, but we are not like the Indian friends they have in school. We don't have special cultural clothes, and we eat everything. They ask us why. For us, growing up, there was no 'why'! We just accepted that we were different, but this generation, they want to know everything. So we have to explain about the Portuguese and all, you know? I don't even know half the story, but somehow I managed to explain this and that to them. Now they understand that we are Catholics, then there are Hindus and Muslims who are also Indian. It's all very multicultural back home too.[405]

Other participants tell me of coworkers who inquire into how and why they have no dietary restrictions like other Indians; still others have been recipients of questions about the incongruence between their Indian-sounding accents and their Portuguese-sounding names. Of answering these repetitious questions as newcomers to Canada, another participant tells me:

> Yes well, those questions are asked especially here. A lot of people they cannot understand if someone is from India, you have got all these funny surnames, Portuguese, from A to Z, every culture and then you have different religions and you eat different foods and you

[404] Mario Silveiro. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 13, 2013.
[405] D. Fernandes. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 29, 2013.

> have different dress codes too. We have a completely Western style. The Portuguese came and gave us all these things, you know, religion, dress, language; then also, the English came and gave us fish and chips, so we are like totally different in India. So it is difficult to explain to them how we are the same to look at, but we are different in every other way.[406]

Most of my participants express taking these questions and explanations in stride; for them, it offers an opportunity to foster new relationships in their new chosen home, by allowing their new friends an opportunity to understand them more comprehensively.

Being Goan in Canada

For the Goan community in Toronto, maintaining their identities as Goan Catholics while also integrating into Canadian society, is a process that involves the renegotiation and reinvention of Goan traditions and rituals. For this community of immigrants, as with other migrant communities, maintenance of community rituals and traditions serves not only to remember the community narrative and history, but also to transmit that religio-cultural memory to next generation.[407] This transmission of "memory" is done through a myriad ways for migrant communities; for the Goans in particular, this transmission of culture is seen in the reproduction of food, the retelling of myths, the performance of song and theatre, and the maintenance of religious traditions like the presence of a home altar or the recitation of the rosary. For my participants in Toronto, all of whom were born and raised in the city of Mumbai, and none of whom had actually lived in the "home" state of Goa, these modes of cultural transmission served to develop in them a strong sense of Goan identity. By employing similar modes of cultural transmission upon migrating to Canada, the community in Toronto is further able to

[406] Francis Carvalho. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 9, 2013.
[407] Julia Creet and Andreas Kitzmann, eds., *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

ensure continuity and maintenance of its religio-cultural values, particularly in second-generation Canadian-born Goans.

For the Goans of Toronto, communal maintenance and generational transmission of Goan values involves re-imagining traditional Goan practices in the new Canadian context. These traditions and rituals, re-invented over time and place, are what Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger refer to as "invented traditions."[408] In *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm defines "invented traditions" as such:

> A set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetitions, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuation with a suitable historic past.[409]

In keeping with this, the Goan community in Toronto employs various modes of "being Goan" that allow themselves to be linked back to their Goan ancestors, thus maintaining a continuing sense of their religio-cultural identity. For the Goans of Toronto, as for their forefathers who had migrated from Goa to Bombay, being a re-rooted community requires a reinvention of Goan traditions, allowing them to integrate their communal history with their contemporary status as new Canadian immigrants. Similar to the roles fulfilled by the *kudds* developed in the early years of Goan migration to Mumbai, and as noted by Frenz,[410] the contemporary Goan associations in Canada also function to maintain Goan values, and promote the sustenance of Goan heritage through communal activities. The development of these Goan associations in Toronto is an adaptive strategy, or what Hobsbawm would call an "invented tradition," which allows the community to

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[408] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.
[409] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.
[410] Wagle, "Goans," 613.

recreate an institution that resembles the *kudds* of Bombay while also navigating the particularities of life in Toronto. In their 2008 Vision Report, the G.O.A. explicates its goals to celebrate Goan culture in Toronto:

> The members of the Goan community expressed that they are proud of their culture and support the Goan Overseas Association because they want to be part of a group that celebrates this culture. The most important expectation that the Goan community has of the G.O.A. is to build awareness of the Goan culture. [Goans] want to keep up the traditions of the Goan culture and pass them along to future generations. Many families with young children indicated they attend G.O.A. events to expose their children to the Goan cultural heritage.[411]

In order to maintain this cultural heritage, the G.O.A. in Toronto organizes several activities, events, and socials for the Goan community. An example of such a cultural event is an annual get-together entitled "Viva Goa," hosted each summer by the G.O.A. in Toronto. The daytime activities of "Viva Goa" include semi-competitive sporting activities like football (soccer), basketball, and volleyball. The sports teams for these activities are created along Goan village lines, with the G.O.A. requesting villages with larger representation to create more than one team.[412] Interestingly, a miniscule number of Goans migrants to Toronto, emigrate directly from Goa. Most Goans have been born outside of Goa, either in Mumbai (as is the case for participants in my study) or parts of East Africa. Therefore, these village associations are vestigial remnants of the Goan places to which their Goan ancestors once belonged. By organizing friendly sports competitions between "villages," the G.O.A. maintains a sense of "Goan-ness;" in this way, there is an active recreation and re-imagination of a place that is was not actually experienced. Another aspect of the "Viva Goa" event is the "cultural programming;"

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[411] G.O.A. Toronto, "The G.O.A. Vision Report," http://www.goatoronto.com/wp-content/uploads/GOA-Vision-Report.pdf.
[412] Toronto, "The G.O.A. Vision Report" A1-A2.

these cultural offerings include a stage, with opportunities for Goan dance troupes, singers, and actors to display particularly-Goan art forms. There is an emphasis on promoting Konkani-language performances, and involving new immigrants in the cultural programming, so as to make them feel welcomed to the Toronto community, and also to provide the Toronto community with a sampling of "back home."[413] As in any G.O.A.-hosted event, there is an abundance of food, with particular emphasis on providing participants with Goan foods. These Goan foods, usually sourced from individuals and Goan businesses in the Toronto area, form an integral part of a transnational food network that will be discussed in more detail later in this dissertation. By re-imagining Goan villages as contemporary sports teams, by providing the diasporic community of Toronto with Goan cultural programming, and by making conscious choices to engage with their culture, the Goans of Toronto, though spatially and temporally removed from the home place of Goa by many decades, actively maintain ties to their cultural roots. Finally, it should be noted here, that most, if not all, G.O.A.-sponsored events include the celebration of a Mass, the recitation of a Rosary or another prayer. Though these "cultural" events are billed as "secular," the inclusion of religious elements is in keeping with the inseparability of the Goan religio-cultural identity. Much like the *Sonapur* Feast celebrated by the Goans of Mumbai, communal celebrations for the Goans in Toronto feature cultural expressions that are underlain with the community's deeply-rooted and foundational Catholicism.

[413] Toronto, "The G.O.A. Vision Report" A1-A2.

The Social and Religious in Diaspora

It was the Fall of 2012 and I found myself immersed in conversation with Goans attending the St. Francis Xavier Feast celebrations, hosted by the cleverly acronymic G.O.A., formally known as the Goan Oversees Association, in Mississauga—a suburb in the GTA (See Figure 8). This particular festive social, an annual event hosted by the Toronto chapter of G.O.A. was held on a rainy Sunday afternoon at a banquet hall in an industrial part of town, a bit out of the way from the main city. However, I was informed that the rental rate was more reasonable, and that the owners allowed the organizers to bring in their own food, which is a courtesy that most other banquet halls do not offer. The day's event included a Mass, a lunch buffet, a packed dance floor, an arts and crafts corner for the younger attendees, a bazaar, and a well-visited open bar. There were approximately four-hundred people eating, drinking, praying, meeting old neighbours, and making new friends. Everyone is dressed in their finest, beautiful dresses, well-tailored suits, and lots of gold jewelry for the special occasion. The scene was reminiscent of the congregation at the *Sonapur* Parish Feast in *Dhobi Talao*. Just like the fête and the bazaar outside the church at the *Sonapur* feast day celebrations in *Dhobi Talao*, this Goan social in Toronto seems to be more "cultural" than "religious." However, on closer examination, the social provides a unique space for the Goans of the GTA to partake in their religio-cultural community without having to undertake the act of separating their religious identities from their cultural one; the act of separating the two entwined aspects of their identities is undertaken in their day-to-day lives in Canada. For the community of Toronto's Goans, with whom I had been engaged in fieldwork for nearly three months by then, the social was imbued with a sense of homecoming. There

was a definite sense of relaxation that the attendees exuded, almost like an exhale that one might release upon putting a heavy bag down on the kitchen table after coming home from a long day at work. When I asked one event attendee, as part of a broader table conversation, about why she and her family attends these socials, she tells me, "Outside, we are just Canadians, but here we get to remember ourselves."[414] It is this act of remembering which she mentions, that the social facilitates. This social, not something that occurs in the pre-immigrant community in India, is a development borne of dispersion. Where once the church parish was the centre of religious life for the Goans of Mumbai, in its immigrant experience the social now serves as the meeting ground for this community.

As discussed previously, Goans who had immigrated out of India and to East Africa in the eighteenth century under the employment sponsorship of the Portuguese first developed the G.O.A. In East Africa, the original mandate of this organization was to bring together Goans, irrespective of education, origin, or employment, and to promote and sustain Goan culture in the immigrant context.[415] Today, the G.O.A. has representation in all major receiving cities to which Goans have migrated, including four in Canada: Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, and Calgary, with the Toronto chapter being the largest of the Canadian groups.[416] G.O.A. Toronto defines itself as such:

> The Goan Overseas Association (G.O.A.) is a strong integrated cultural organization that seeks to preserve the Goan identity and develop a wider appreciation of Goan culture locally throughout the GTA and worldwide. The organization will continue to actively

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[414] Mrs. Dias [Event attendee]. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

[415] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 151.

[416] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 249.

> maintain family, culture and tradition through social, cultural, athletic, and educational activities within the Goan community. We seek to strengthen our role in the Goan community by providing a high standard of leadership for Goans.[417]

While religion, or Catholicism, is not explicitly stated in this statement by the Toronto G.O.A., as has been previously discussed, for the Goan community, being Goan is synonymous with being Catholic. This synonymy is seen recreated in the practice of religion in the many cultural events that the association sponsors.

Amongst the many services that are offered by the organization, the G.O.A. offers programs for new Goan immigrants to Canada, in partnership with local settlement agencies. Additionally, this organization helps newcomers to access employment services, volunteer opportunities in the local community, and a community of Goans within which the newcomers can fit in.[418] As part of this organization's mission to promote Goan cultural heritage through social and cultural events, G.O.A. also hosts a number of socials and get-togethers each year, including the annual celebration of Goa's patron saint, St. Francis Xavier, a fantastic New Year's Eve gala, and various intramural sporting events like the annual summer cricket and soccer matches. Interestingly, as part of the G.O.A. Vision Report, which outlines the organization's mission to "facilitate the sharing of knowledge, culture, values and the history of what it means to be Goan,"[419] the organization specifically outlines a commitment to developing a secular, non-religious, inclusive Goan community by clearly stating that it does not provide religious experiences for its members.[420] However, my experience as a participant observer who

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[417] G.O.A. Toronto, "About Us," http://www.goatoronto.com/about-us/.
[418] G.O.A. Toronto, "New Immigrants (Goan Origin)," http://www.goatoronto.com/contact-us/new-immigrants-goan-origin/.
[419] Quote found on p.2 of Toronto, "The G.O.A. Vision Report".
[420] Found in Appendix A of Toronto, "The G.O.A. Vision Report".

had the opportunity to attend a number of these events sponsored by the G.O.A., I realized that, while this vision of secularity for the Goan community was well documented on paper, it was not one that the G.O.A. could reasonably carry out in practice. Each of its community events integrated various religious expressions such as beginning with a Mass or some form of Catholic prayer. Even the most non-religious of community events, a senior's day trip to a local casino included the recitation of the Rosary on the bus to the casino. The religion and culture of the Goan community is undeniably intertwined. To highlight this hybridization of religion and culture, the following is a profile of one G.O.A. event, the annual celebration of the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, patron saint of Goa, which I attended as part of my fieldwork in Toronto.

For today's diasporic Goan Catholic community in Toronto, St. Xavier is not simply a patron saint for having brought Catholicism to India; rather, the community venerates him as second only to Christ himself. Today, the incorrupt body of Xavier, along with several of his personal artifacts, are interred at the Basilica Bom Jesu in Old Goa, which is a site of pilgrimage and worship for Goans and other Catholics (See Figures 9 and 10). I had the opportunity to visit this site during my time in India. Once every decade, the body of Xavier, kept in a beautifully ornate silver casket, along with its accompanying relics are placed on public display; during this time, they are brought down to ground level for exposition to the public. During this time, thousands of pilgrims travel to Old Goa to touch the casket and venerate the saint whom they credit with bringing Catholicism to Goa.

Fr. Cecil Noronha, celebrant of the Eucharistic celebration that was a part of the St. Francis Xavier feast celebration, which I attended in Toronto, said during his sermon:

> St. Francis Xavier [is] a name for which you and I should be grateful because we are Catholics. [He was] a person full of zeal, full of life, and ready to bring life to the community. What Paul was in those days, St. Francis Xavier was to each one of us. We are grateful to him.[421]

The congregation nods in agreement with Fr. Cecil's emphatic statement. Fr. Cecil's sermon goes on to highlight Xavier's many journeys throughout Asia, emphasizing the missionary's courage, his vitality, his love of Christ, his gift of languages, et cetera. Fr. Cecil points out that Xavier's life was not an easy one, having never remained in one place for long, starting communities that he was unable to see develop fully, and suffering from severe illnesses and an early death. Fr. Cecil sees these tribulations as analogous to those faced by the Goans as immigrants in a new country. He urges the congregation to seek in Xavier an example of steadfast determination when creating their new lives in Canada, remembering the mission with which they have left their original homes to create new and better lives here. Fr. Cecil's words are insistent, and I can tell that his point has hit home for many of the event's attendees. It is this struggle to fit into the new place to which Fr. Cecil makes reference in his sermon on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, alluding to the continued effort of the Goans to create new and meaningful lives in Canada, while maintaining their religious identities as Catholics, and their cultural identities as Goans (See Figure 11).

This annual celebration of the feast of St. Francis Xavier is quite significant for the Goan community in Toronto. The celebration itself is a reconfirmation of the community's Catholic identity, and its inheritance of Catholicism from the Portuguese. In a sense, Xavier serves as the godparent for the entire Goan community. By aligning the

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[421] Fr. Cecil Noronha. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

saint's life and trials with the struggles faced by the contemporary Goan community, the sermon serves to align the Goans of Toronto even further with their patron saint, once again emphasizing their identity as Goan Catholics. Finally, the feast day events begin with a celebration of the Eucharist, is similar to the celebration of the *Sonapur* Feast by the Goans of Mumbai; in the same vein as their counterparts in Mumbai, the celebration of the Xavier's feast day serves to highlight the centrality of religion in the religio-cultural identity of Toronto's Goan community.

At the social, one of the many attendees who had much to say about my research topic says, "We have no church here that's ours."[422] His comment is in direct response to an ongoing conversation that I was having with a group of event attendees, including Fr. Cecil about the push from the Archdiocese of Toronto against celebrating the Eucharist, the most holy of Catholic rituals, in a banquet hall, as was done at this particular social event and others like it for several years now. This is problematic for the Goans of the GTA who reside in a land space that spans almost 6000 square kilometers. I am told that there are myriad obstacles for the Goans to have their Mass at a church venue that is separate from the place where the rest of the social is held. If this community were to have a Mass at a church, it would have to be a special Mass, with special permission to keep the church open outside of regular Sunday service; the parish priest, who most likely would not be Goan, would have to be a part of it. He might not understand the nuanced nature of this community's Catholicism; he would not understand Konkani hymns, and he might be opposed to permitting them. To add to this, several attendees at the St. Francis Xavier social tell me passionately, that it would always feel like they were imposing on someone else's space. Having no Goan church per se, the Goans of Toronto,

[422] Event attendee. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

similar to their counterparts in Mumbai, celebrate the Eucharist when they come together as a cultural community instead. As illustrated through the Goans of Mumbai and the *Sonapur* Feast, there is no real separation between being "Goan" and being "Catholic". For the Goans of Mumbai, the bazaar, the fête, the food, and the Eucharistic celebrations were all a vital part of the Goan feast celebration. For the Goans in Toronto, their religio-cultural identities, and the integrated expressions thereof, are so vital that they are actively engaged in a struggle with the Archdiocese of Toronto, so that they may continue to celebrate Mass within the context of a Goan communal gathering. Their unique expression of Catholicism, developed over decades of living an embedded life in the city of Mumbai which saw them develop relgio-cultural practices that integrated their Catholic commitments with their Goan cultural values, includes a socio-cultural dimension which is distinct from mainstream Canadian Catholicism., which separates religion from culture.

While the St. Francis Xavier Feast celebration is colloquially referred to as a “social,” this term does not accurately encompass all the facets of this coming together of the Goans of Toronto. The social evokes the memory of all the places to which this community once belonged: the church parish, the bazaar, the *kudd*. Mrs. Fernandes, a particularly chatty attendee at the day’s social, who migrated to Canada from Mumbai, regales me with tales of living in *Dhobi Talao*, and running to church when she heard the first bells ring out on a Sunday morning. She recalls with a mischievous twinkle in her eyes the one instance when she and her friends had been out dancing until the early hours of the morning and couldn’t make it home before heading to church, so they stumbled

into church still wearing their party clothes, only to be publically admonished from the pulpit by the parish priest.

As detailed previously, during my fieldwork in Mumbai, as a guest in one of the homes of my participants during the parish feast of Our Lady of Dolours parish, I experienced firsthand the call of the parish bells. These bells signalled to us and others in the neighbourhood that Mass was about to begin. Upon hearing the bells, my hosts and I, along with several of the neighbours who were also running late thanks to elaborate feast day preparations, dashed to the church, arriving in a matter of minutes; we were even able to find seats in time for the beginning of Mass. My experience of running to the church in Mumbai echoes the stories told to me by Mrs. Fernandes at the St. Francis Xavier social in Toronto. To be able to hear the bells toll, and run from her home to the church in a matter of minutes is an experience very far from the experience of the Goans of Toronto, who have to traverse the GTA's six thousand square kilometers to come together for the day's feast celebrations—an event to which, Mrs. Fernandes had to drive 45 minutes in order to attend. Where once audible church bells rang out to indicate time of day or the start of Mass, the Goan Catholic community of Toronto now has to rent out a banquet hall in the industrial part of a Toronto suburb to engage in that act of remembering itself. Where once the church was the central entity to the Goan community's existence in Mumbai, the community of Goans in Toronto now has to fight to keep the "religious" aspects of their communal identities included in their religio-cultural celebrations.

At the G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration, the end of the Eucharistic celebration signals a shift, and the banquet hall is transformed from a hushed sacred

scene to bustling party zone (See Figure 12). This shift from the sacred to the celebratory is similar to the shift observed at the *Sonapur* feast celebrations; in other words, the transition is seamless since for the community there is no distinction between the religious and cultural expressions of "being Goan." At the social in Toronto, the banquet hall space that just moments earlier was the sacred church place, becomes a lively dance hall, with the boisterous sounds of Elvis singing about a hound dog. The bar opens and drinks flow freely as a lavish buffet of Goan food is set up on the peripheries of the dance hall. The four hundred guests are mingling about, catching up with friends and becoming acquainted with newcomers. Conversations about visits to India, life in Canada, and stories of "people we know" abound. Amongst the pieces of gossip and chatter, there is also a joyful note because guests have been looking forward to this annual event. The social affords them an opportunity to come together as a Goan community, which is a rare occurrence, I am told. In the buffet line-up, one attendee tells me:

> You know, with the rigmarole of day to day [life], I don't get to see so many of these people at all except at these kinds of events. Now see, I've come from Scarborough,[423] but it's good—I like to come, eat the food, you know…there are no Goan restaurants with our kind of food, so it's a sort of familiarity. And they do a great job every year, so we keep coming back. It's a good way to get the kids to come too—they're not so much for the Goan thing, but still they come. It's good.[424]

The praise for the Goan caterer who has provided today's buffet offering is unanimous. The smells and tastes of "home" are devoured as attendees revisit the buffet several times over for the *sorpotel*, Goan fish curry, and cutlets. The dance floor doesn't lose momentum during the meal, as people stop to dance to their favourite tunes before

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[423] Scarborough is a suburb in the Greater Toronto Area, and an hour drive away from the day's social event.
[424] Event attendee. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

returning to their meals. The music is a healthy mix of golden oldies, country and western, and crowd-pleasing tunes like the YMCA song. In a far corner of the banquet hall, a sizeable group of senior citizens has set up a game of "Housie," and are excitedly calling out numbers and punching their game cards. They break into raucous laughter from time to time as the game's host calls out the numbers using saucy puns.

Beyond the doors to the main hall, a bazaar of sorts is set up (See Figure 13). Here, nearly two dozen vendors are purveying all manner of Goan-centric items: homemade Goan foods, books about Goan life, Goan-made Christmas decorations, CDs of Konkani songs, DVDs of Konkani movies, religious curios like statues of the Virgin Mary and bottles of Holy Water, tickets to *tiatr*[425] productions in the GTA, and promotional materials for Radio Mango FM 101.3, the GTA's only Konkani-language radio programme. There were also a number of booths hosted by local Goan business owners, including real estate agents, investors, photographers, and insurance brokers. The bazaar outside the St. Francis Xavier social dance hall is reminiscent of the bazaar that the parishioners of Our Lady of Dolours in Mumbai set up in celebration of their parish feast. The significant difference in the two celebrations is seen in the space available to the community: in Mumbai, the entire neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao* including the streets, the space between the *chawl* buildings, the homes, and the church become infused with a sense of celebration; on the other hand, all the aspects of the Toronto community's celebration have been condensed into the space of a suburban banquet hall, with restrictions on food, music, and timings.

[425] *Tiatr* is a particular form of Goan musical theatre, usually performed in Konkani. I had the opportunity to attend a *tiatr* production during my time in Toronto, entitled *Fotkeria Mogache* ("Love's Lies").

For the Goans who migrate to Toronto, the presence of thriving Catholic parishes in the GTA make the prospect of living in Canada very attractive. Their Catholicism drives their decision to migrate; as religio-cultural "outsiders" in India, the idea of living in a country like Canada where they can practice their religion as part of the mainstream is a highly appealing prospect. This is illustrated well in the following quote by an interviewee in Toronto, in response to my inquiring about his family's decision to immigrate to Canada:

> See, my brother and his family were already here. So we thought, you know, things in India are not going so good. We had good jobs, but we weren't so sure that our kids would be able to have good opportunities, you know? My brother said, "Come for a visit and check it out," so we came and we really liked it. That was in '86 or '87. And then we moved here. The kids went to Catholic schools, and we joined a good parish. Plus, we already had the language and all, and we knew a few people, so the transition was really not that tough, you know?[426]

For many of my Goan interlocutors in Toronto, like Mario quoted here, being able to join striving Catholic parishes and having the ability to send their children to Catholic schools as part of the public education system, were significant factors in choosing to immigrate to Canada. These points of integration at church and school are certainly beneficial to the Goans in Toronto in their migration experience. However, the integrative nature of their religio-cultural identities is not fully addressed in these Canadian Catholic churches or schools. Rather, the cultural aspects of being Goan are separated out of expressions of Catholicism, a categorical separation that the community is unaccustomed to, and must negotiate through inventive and imaginative ways. As seen through the account of the St. Francis Xavier social here, there are significant parallels between this celebration and the celebration of the *Sonapur* feast that the Goan community in Mumbai undertake. In each

[426] Mario Silveiro. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 13, 2013.

celebration, the religious and the cultural are brought together in a way that expresses the unique identity of the Goan community. For the Goans of Toronto, the re-imagination of their religio-cultural expressions is brought about due to the absence or lack of a Goan Catholic place. For Toronto's Goans, the "social" is a way of navigating the change in access to physical spaces that the community now faces. In creating these re-imagined celebrations of their relgio-cultural identities, this community is able to maintain its sense of Goan-ness in the diasporic context of Toronto.

Summarizing Goan Religio-Cultural Identity

Religion and culture are fused in a myriad of nuanced and intangible ways for the Goan communities at the centre of this research inquiry. Maintaining the Catholicism brought to Goa by the Portuguese in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and passed down over generations, today’s communities of Goans in Mumbai and in Toronto identify themselves primarily by their Catholic religious affiliation. For them, this affiliation includes markers such as names, style of worship, domestic rituals, and dietary habits. In order to retain their religio-cultural identities in the diasporic contexts of Mumbai and Toronto, each community has re-imagined ways of maintaining its sense of "Goan-ness."

In the pulsating city of Mumbai, the Goan community in *Dhobi Talao* has been a migrant population for a number of generations now, maintaining and renegotiating its religio-cultural identity in the very same neighbourhood into which the Goan migrants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries moved. In the practice of their religious commitments, this Goan community has developed innovative ways of expressing their devotion, particularly to the Virgin Mary. Unable to take to parade in the streets of

Mumbai due to the constraints of space available to them and the community's lack of societal influence, the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* have modified their religious practices. In the neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao*, affectionately referred to as "mini Goa," the Goan community's religio-cultural commitments are fully expressed; from daily Masses in Konkani, to communal celebrations that fuse Catholicism with the rich cultural markers of being Goan, the community of Goans in Mumbai have developed innovative ways of maintaining their Goan identity in the city of Mumbai. For instance, for this community, the Virgin Mary herself makes a procession through the community, travelling between domestic venues, and making stops along the way. This act of religio-cultural reinvention offers a glimpse into the particular ways in which this community makes its home in the city of Mumbai. The Goans of *Dhobi Talao* have developed particular ways of "being Goan" and practicing their religio-cultural traditions in Mumbai. These practices are inherently tied to the place in which the community finds itself: the neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao* in the city of Mumbai. Their church parish, their domestic rituals, even the seemingly non-religious events like the fête, are all a vital part of the community's expression of its Goan identity. For this community, there is a co-mingling of religion with culture, such that there is no categorical separation between the two; to be Goan is to be Catholic.

In Toronto, the Goans are a relatively new migrant community, barely a generation old. As such, they have neither the Goan-specific neighbourhood as their counterparts in Mumbai do, nor do they have a Goan-specific church at which to worship. This lack of physical space means that the community has reinvented the ways in which it congregates; most notably is the virtual spaces, such as online forums and Facebook,

which the Goans of Toronto partake of as a way of coming together in the GTA. The virtual forums are interesting in that they are presented as Goan cultural entities, thus separating the religious commitments of the Goans out. In reality though, the categories of religion and culture are undeniably intertwined for this community, as is observed in the religious elements that infuse even the most secular of cultural events, such as a Goan seniors' trip to the casino that begins with a recitation of the Rosary. The Toronto Goan community's religious affiliation as Catholics, the catalytic force behind their decision to migrate to Canada, acts as an integrating factor that allows them to fit into the multicultural Catholic parishes in Toronto. However, while this religious integration fulfils the church-going commitments of the Goan community, it does not allow the community to express the entirety of its religio-cultural identity; instead, "religion" is categorically separated from expressions of "culture" in a way that to which the Goans are unaccustomed. As a result of having to separate their religious identity from their expressions of culture, the Goans of Toronto have developed unique ways of re-negotiating their religio-cultural identities, in Canada. One way in which the Goans of Toronto maintain their communal identity is by belonging to Goan organizations such as the Goan Overseas Association, which facilitates communal activities both religious and secular. It is through the G.O.A. that the community of Toronto's Goans partake of a created space in which their religio-cultural identities are more fully engaged. This engagement is highlighted through events like annual socials which celebrate Goan feasts, such as the feast of St. Francis Xavier that is profiled in this chapter.

For the Goan communities in both Mumbai and in Toronto, the expression of their identity is adapted to suit the location in which they find themselves. These place-specific

particularities are based on, and serve to reaffirm, the communities' religio-cultural identities as Goan Catholics. For this community, their religious affiliation is tightly intertwined with their cultural ties: for them, there is no difference between the monikers of "Goan" and "Catholic;" rather, being Catholic is their way of being in the world.

Figure 1: Images from the Sonapur *Feast Day, Mumbai 2013*

Figure 2: Processional of Priests & Laity at the Sonapur *Feast Day Mass, Mumbai 2013*

Figure 3: A traditional Goan dish of sorpotel *and* puris*, Mumbai 2013*

Figure 4: Altar Settings in Three Homes for the Marian Visits in Dhobi Talao*, Mumbai 2013*

Figure 5: Catholic and Hindu flower stalls, Mumbai 2013

Figure 6: Images from the Marian visits in Dhobi Talao, *Mumbai 2013*

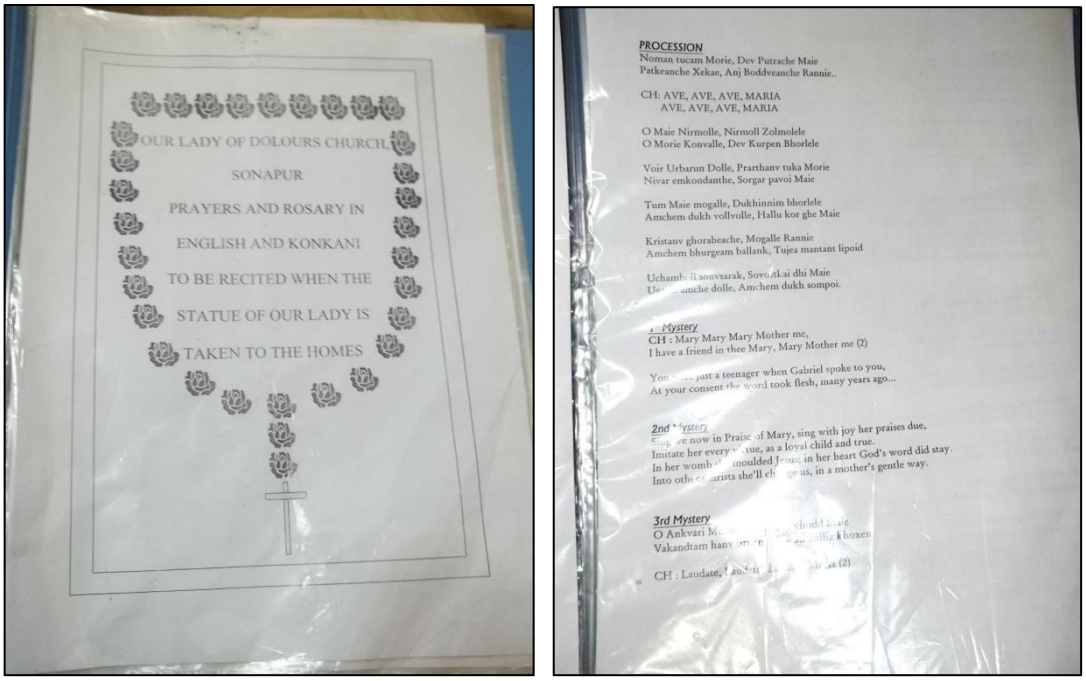

Figure 7: Pages of the binder accompanying the statue of the Virgin Mary as it travels through the Goan homes of Dhobi Talao, *Mumbai 2013*

*Figure 8: Flyer for St. Francis Xavier Feast Social hosted by G.O.A., Toronto 2012**

* Flyer from the Facebook event posting of the Goan Oversees Association publicizing the St. Francis Xavier Feast event. Posting dated October 2, 2012. <https://www.facebook.com/events/125707117576510/>

Figure 9: Interred remains of St. Francis Xavier at Basilica of Bom Jesu, Goa 2013

Figure 10: Basilica of Bom Jesu, Goa 2013

Figure 11: A statue of St. Francis Xavier with poinsettias, Toronto 2012

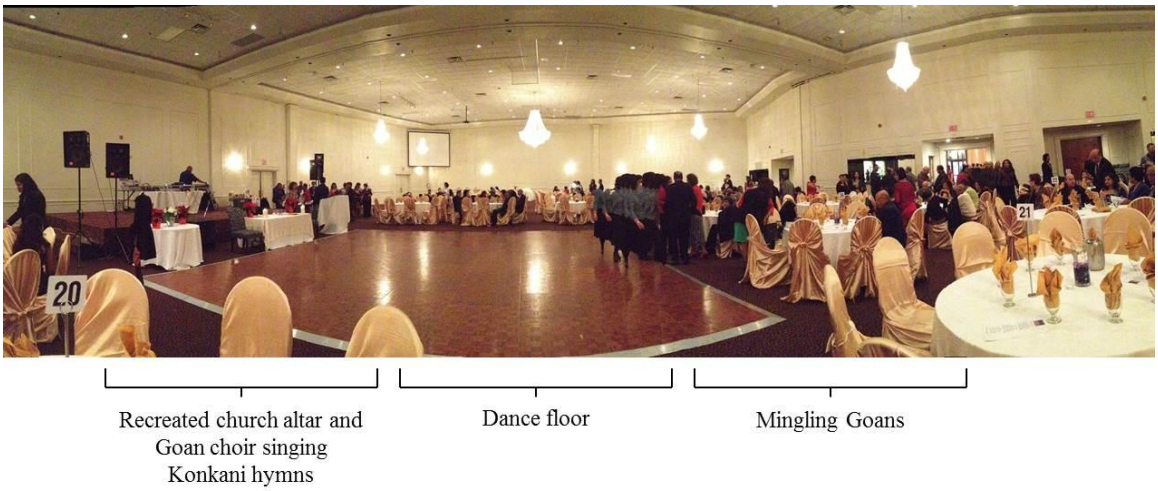

Figure 12: The banquet hall setting of the St. Francis Xavier social, Toronto 2012

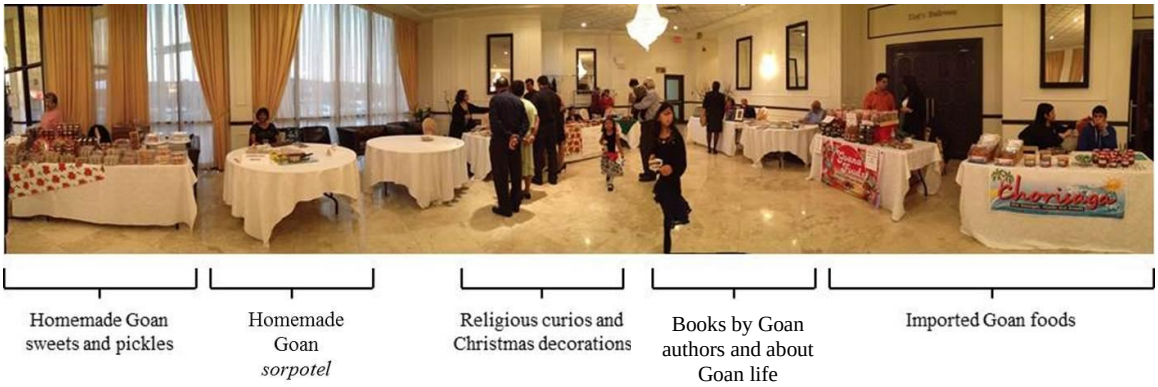

Figure 13: The bazaar of the St. Francis Xavier social, Toronto 2012

CHAPTER 6: GOAN PLACES OF MEANING

> I think when we say 'we are Goan', it gives us a sense of belonging, a sense of identity that we relate to or connect to. It gives us a *place of origin* from where we come or where our forefathers have come from and it makes us relatable to whoever [sic]. We identify, like it means I am identifying as [Goan] in my workplace, you know, easily you are related to, because India is a place with multiple states. So when I say I am Goan, it is a given that it is more relatable.[427] [Italics added]

Goa is the *ur*-place. It is the "homeland." Whether or not they were born there, and regardless of ever having *been* there, Goans, like the ones in my research, will tell you that Goa is where they are "from." In keeping with Tweed's notion of the dynamic and fluid relationality between crossing and dwelling spaces, Cresswell writes, "Places are never 'finished' but always 'becoming.' Place is 'what takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context through the creation and utilization of a physical setting.'"[428] As such, place is a key element in the identity creation process of an individual or a community. This is why being "from" Goa is so important for the dispersed communities of Goans; it is a way of identifying their rooted-ness to a particular place, though they may be dispersed from there now. I observed the community's connection to, and longing for, the particularity of a Goan place in my interviews, when participants would invariably ask me which village my forefathers were affiliated with. It was only upon answering them, and having them ascertain the "place where I came from" that the remainder of our conversation could proceed. This was an aspect that was identical in nearly all my interviews, both in Mumbai and in Toronto. This recollected connection to the ancestral village-place in Goa is replicated in the

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[427] Ashford Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 24, 2013.

[428] A. R. Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 74, no. 2 (1984): 279. Quoted in Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, 35.

dispersed migrant communities of Goans around the world, through the setting up of the *kudds* in Mumbai, and the development of Goan village-based soccer teams in Toronto.

The communities of Mumbai and Toronto are "dwelling" places that are infused with their "Goan-ness." These communities have crosses state lines and oceans to become diasporic migrant communities. Through their migrations, they have brought with them aspects of their religio-cultural heritage that continue to mark them as "Goan," and continue to infuse the place they inhabit. This chapter focuses in on the particularity of those spaces inhabited by the Goan communities of Mumbai and of Toronto, examining the ways in which these communities engage with the space around them as ways of maintain and reinforcing their religio-cultural identities as Goans. As discussed in Chapter 3, there can be no conversation of identity without acknowledging that identities are formed in particular places, since people neither exist nor construct their identities in a vacuum. Simultaneously, places are shaped based on the ways in which humans experience them. As such humans are defined by the places they occupy as much as they define the places by occupying them, and the very act of being human involves being in place. For my dissertation, the focal point of location is the urban setting, the cities of Mumbai and Toronto. These places equally impact and are impacted by the inhabitants who construct their identities therein. In cities, where space is often organized by function, changes to the organization of space affect the functions that are carried out within it. This is testament to the reality of urban growth. While urban "gridding" attempts to manage the utilization of urban space, thus dictating the nature of the relationships created between people and the space itself,[429] communities cannot be

[429] Robert A. Orsi, *Gods of the City: Religion and the American Urban Landscape* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 15.

bound by artificial topographical impositions. It is the subjective and fluid nature of place-making in the processes of identity construction that allow for individuals and communities to create meaningful attachments to particular places. Orsi suggests that the identity formation of a religious community is affected by the place in which that community finds itself. For this reason, it is important to note that the two chosen locations of my research share several commonalities. Tracing the genealogical and cultural commonalities between Mumbai and Toronto facilitates a more nuanced conversation of comparison between the place-making processes of the migrant Goan communities in each city. That is to say, establishing certain constants highlights the various and varying factors that affect the creation and maintenance of Goan religio-cultural in each place. In this sense, the comparison of these communities is one of difference, rather than one of similarity,[430] highlighting the factors involved in the Goan Catholic community as it uses its agency to articulate and re-articulate its unique religio-cultural identity within these urban contexts of Mumbai and Toronto.

The European colonization of the region encompassing the modern city of Mumbai began in the mid-sixteenth century, under the occupation of the Portuguese. In the 1660s, the British were gifted the city of Bombay as part of the marriage dowry of Catherine of Portugal's marriage to Charles II of England.[431] For the British, the large natural harbour of the city of Bombay offered an advantageous strategically-positioned military presence in the Indian subcontinent, where it remained until India's independence in 1947. The European, particularly the British, occupation of the city of Bombay was mirrored several decades later by the European encounter in the city of

[430] Smith, "Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acervus Erit."
[431] Fernando and Gispert-Sauch, *Christianity in India: Two Thousand Years of Faith*, 176.

Toronto, Canada. The French were the first to explore the region surrounding the modern city of Toronto, arriving in the mid- to late-eighteenth century. The city of Mumbai has a large port and an intricate system of waterways between its seven islands that provided European explorers with a crucial set of pathways into the Indian subcontinent. Similarly, the series of trails and waterways that led from northern and western Canada into the Toronto region were important for European exploration.[432] In 1760, after the American Revolution, the British moved north and captured the Toronto region from the French. The British once again capitalized on the large natural harbour of Toronto on Lake Ontario by constructing Fort York, which acted as a military entrance point, guarding the city from American insurgencies.[433] In addition to these similarities concerning encounters with European colonizing powers, the cities of Mumbai and Toronto also share several modern cultural similarities. As port cities, neither Mumbai nor Toronto is its respective country's capital city. Rather, according to the Globalization and World Cities Study Network at Loughborough University, which conducts annual census analysis on global urban centres, both Mumbai and Toronto are classified as "Alpha cities;"[434] meaning that each city is a centre of culture, economics, and migration.

In his examination of the Italian migrant population of East Harlem, New York City in *The Madonna of 115th Street*, Orsi writes that migration from southern Italy to East Harlem in the late-nineteenth century took place for a myriad reasons, not the least of which were survival of the family, economic and financial opportunities, and

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[432] Amy Lavender Harris, *Imagining Toronto* (Toronto, ON: Mansfield Press, 2010), 30.
[433] Harris, *Imagining Toronto*, 32.
[434] "The World According to GaWC 2010". Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Study Group and Network. Loughborough University. http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2010.html. Retrieved 2011-09-15.

preservation of culture.[435] These reasons for dispersal are echoed twice-over by the Goan Catholic community. First in its dispersal from the state of Goa and its relocation to the city of Mumbai, and second in its modern resettlement in the diasporic community of Toronto. Drawing on Cresswell, a place is a space that is invested with meaning and identities. The Goan Catholic community in Mumbai occupies a place in a space that is otherwise defined the predominant Hindu culture and religion. The Goan community in Toronto invests rented space and their homes with meaning since there is no "communal place". Though the age of each migrant community and the degrees to which each community has embedded itself in its new geographic home differs, both groups are diasporic communities, each removed from the "homeland" of Goa. This chapter draws on my fieldwork experience in Mumbai and Toronto, and on the materials provided earlier in this dissertation, to explore the particular place-making endeavours that the Goan communities in each city undertake. These place-making activities include each community's commitment to traveling "back" to Goa, highlighting a sense of impermanence in the post-migration locales; as well, I examine the ways in which "being Goan" is emphasized at rites of passage, such as births, weddings, retirements, and deaths; and finally, this examination of place-making turns to how the communities of Goans in Mumbai and in Toronto re-imagine, recreate, and keep alive the place of Goa in their new locations, through community organizations, clubs, and through the narrative of their religio-cultural identity tied to the homeland. This examination of place-making is in keeping with this project's commitment to Lived Religion, as it investigates the nuanced ways in which the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto maintain their Goan identities and memories of the "homeland" in the places that they now call "home."

[435] Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950,* 17-20.

Mumbai, India

My fieldwork trip to Mumbai was not my first time there. However, I allow my chatty driver to give me the guided tour of the city, as we wind our way from the airport. I ignore the less-than-direct route he's chosen to take, enjoying instead his perspective on his home city and the pride with which he introduces it to me. Through the haze of my jet lag and nearly 24 hours of travel, I jot my first impressions of Mumbai: "loud, sweaty, salty, traffic lights are a suggestion, lots of farm animals milling about, colour colour everywhere." My notes eventually became more orderly, but those first pages of immediate thoughts are not far from the reality of the city with which I would become so familiar over my months of fieldwork.

All the handy theories on urban centres and place studies that I had absorbed as part of my training to go into the field would provide limited guidance in a city like Mumbai, a place which defies any impulse to fit it into a neat theory of space and place. There are no gridlines in Mumbai, no clean lines delineating one neighbourhood space from another. There is no distinctly Christian neighbourhood or Muslim neighbourhood per se; where there are such things, they are marked by local knowledge. My personal contacts in the city put me in touch with the thriving community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao*. Once I became immersed in the community it was obviously a predominantly-Goan neighbourhood, though there was no evident signage indicating it as such.

The Goan community infuses the neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao* with markers of its religio-cultural identity, inhabiting the many spaces in myriad ways to highlight their commitments be "being Goan." This "Goan-ness" is apparent at the parish church, where language ties and Catholic practices connect this community to the place of Goa. The

community's identity also infuses the domestic sphere, where Goan families maintain familial and home rituals and practices. The space between the home and the church is not forgotten in *Dhobi Talao*; it too is imbued with the religio-cultural identity of this Goan community, whose lives spill out of the domestic and church places, and who are engaged in the crossing spaces between the two as well. It is these spaces of "crossing" and "dwelling," the spaces of meaning and the spaces between, as theorized by Tweed and discussed previously, that this next section examines.

The Home

The tenements of *Dhobi Talao* were built more than a century ago to accommodate the high volume of Goan immigrants moving into the city of Mumbai. The popularity of the *kudds* profiled earlier in this dissertation, meant that an increasing number of Goan migrants relocated to the city of Bombay in search of work. The infrastructure for a Goan subculture in the city was already in place, thanks to the *kudd* system. The steady stream of Goan migrants into the Bombay area required the building of high-capacity housing, which is what the *chawl*-style building of today's *Dhobi Talao* were. Each *kholis*, with an area of approximately 300 square feet, provided temporary housing while the newcomers found their footing in the new urban landscape. However, the migrants built lives and livelihood in the neighbourhood, continuing to live and raise families in the tiny *kholis* of the *chawls*. The Goan community of today's *Dhobi Talao* has swollen into this tiny place, living in a state of perma-impermanence, in permanent homes that were meant to be short-term housing for their immigrant forefathers. The sense of being from somewhere else is perpetually attached to the identity narrative of this Goan community, as highlighted in the previous chapter. Though most of the

individuals with whom I interacted over the days of the parish feast and the Marian visits, have spent their entire lives in the city of Mumbai, they do not identify as being *from* there. Trying to take up as little space in an already overcrowded city, these Goans of Mumbai find innovative ways of bringing meaningful ritual to the practice of their faith, and to the formation of their communal identities. One such innovation is observed in the travelling Marian statue, the ritual profiled in the previous chapter. The readying of the home for the visiting Marian statue, which includes the setup of an altar for the state, cleaning of the home, and putting up decorations and flowers, is all a part of the ritual. In preparing the home, the Goans in *Dhobi Talao* create a sacred domestic place where in the travelling Virgin Mother can have an appropriate place to stay. Of domestic worship amongst the Haitian community at the centre of her research, Elizabeth McAlister writes:

> Domestic prayer services are not uncommon in the Haitian context. The home is transformed into sacred space by rearranging furniture, constructing an altar, and assembling a familial community in prayer. […] The Haitian home altar can be seen as an alternative sacred space.[436]

In much the same ways as McAlister's interlocutors, the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* also recreate a sacred space in their homes, in creating altars, rearranging furniture, and gathering as a communal family to pray in the home. This special occasion setup and decoration is in addition to the regular domestic religiosity that is seen in the homes of *Dhobi Talao*'s Goans.

Each home that I visited had home altars of varying size setup in the front area (See Figure 14). The main object on the altar was usually a framed picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Virgin Mary; these pictures were occasionally adorned with a

[436] McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," 144.

garland of fresh marigolds or lilies. More often than not, arrangements of fake flowers were set up on the altars by way of adornment. In addition to picture frames of Jesus and Mary, the altars usually included at least one crucifix, a vial of Holy Water, a picture or statue of a favourite saint, and the family's rosaries. I was informed that these rosaries were used daily in each family's daily recitation of the Rosary, which was usually said around 7pm, right before eating dinner. One young man tells me conspiratorially that if he is extra hungry on a particular evening, he speeds through his recitation of the Rosary; his mother, who is listening to our conversation, tells me that in such instances, she purposefully goes slower in her own recitation, so that her son can wait for dinner! This mischief and banter about the domestic practice of their Catholicism is very much a part of the Goan community's engagement with its religiosity. For them, religion infuses every aspect of their lives, and as such, is in turn a part of their story-telling, their mischief, and how they tell me about their daily lives. The family Rosary is something that almost every participant in Mumbai refers to; for them, it is a time to bond as a family, to bridge generational gaps, to maintain religious practice, and to make space in their daily routine for a marked moment of religious engagement.

Within the community of Goans in Mumbai, this active engagement of saying the Rosary daily is supplemented by several passive instances of religiosity. For instance, many of the older Goans whom I encountered during my time in Mumbai had a small cross tattooed on their right thumbs. Additionally, many of these individuals, both male and female, had larger religiously-themed tattoos on their forearms; usually a saint or the image of a church, or an intricately designed crucifix. When asked, most tell me it's tradition to have the small cross tattooed on their right thumb; almost a coming-of-age

ritual which marks them permanently as Catholics (See Figure 15-A, B, & C). This visual marker of religiosity that is ubiquitous amongst the older generation of Goans in Mumbai is not seen replicated in the younger generation, many of whom balk at having their religious affiliation inked into their skin in such a permanent way. One interlocutor tells me that having such a symbol on his thumb would seriously hinder his professional advancement, and he sees no need to "advertise" his faith to the world. Other, less permanent, religious ornaments sported by the Goans of Mumbai, include scapulars. Scapulars are thin woollen strand that usually has two small cloth patches bearing the images of a favourite saint, the Virgin Mary, or a special Bible verse. The woollen strand is tied around one's neck. My Goan interlocutors in Mumbai tell me that not only do their scapulars show their faith, but that they truly believe in the protective power of this talisman in warding off "evil forces." In addition to scapulars, the most popular material symbol of religiosity was a ring shaped like a mini Rosary, and worn on the ring finger. These non-descript rings, worn by Goans of all ages in Mumbai, had ten small nodes and tiny cross to symbolize the ten recitations of the Hail Mary and the one recitation of the Lord's Prayer that makes up one decade of the Rosary (See Figure 15-D). One participant tells me that she uses her ring to quietly recite the Rosary on her 90 minute daily commute to work. In this way, through the small piece of religious materiality that the ring provides, she is able to practice her religion in the public space of Mumbai crowded trains.

Through the procession of Mary, the domestic shrines, and the daily recitation of the Rosary, the individual homes of *Dhobi Talao*'s Goan community become religious places; as such, they are places for the performance of Goan Catholicism. Additionally,

through personal adornments and the addition of ink to the pigmentation of their skin, Goan bodies also become sites for the performance of their religion.

The Neighbourhood

The Our Lady of Dolours church is undeniably the heart of the Goan community in *Dhobi Talao*. It is an unassuming structure that stands out only in its pristine white colour, which is in stark contrast to the surrounding, nearly-century old buildings, which embody the wear and tear of years and the city's pollution. During celebrations and festivals, decorations branch off the church and decorate the entire neighbourhood. Twinkle lights and streamers are strung high above the street, between buildings, forming a decorative canopy to signify a celebratory space. Star-shaped lanterns are lit up at night and are seen adorning the hundreds of balconies in the *Dhobi Talao* chawl-style tenements. These paper lanterns are smaller versions of the enormous star that hangs on the face of the parish church. The *chawl* buildings of *Dhobi Talao* have no markers or signs on them to indicate which building they are. When participants tell me to visit them at such-and-such building, I have to ask for more specific spatial markers; for instance, in my notes about visiting a particular participant, my written directions are as follows: "Follow road from church to mutton shop, then quickly turn left into gulley. Building with red stars on 3rd floor balcony…not that one, but two doors after. Fourth floor, no.47." This is an excerpt from my fieldwork journal, in which I had taken down directions during a telephone call with a participant, while setting up the interview. As I learned quickly, the neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao* is not always marked by the conventional markings of street names or building numbers. Rather, spatial markers such as "the church" or "the mutton shop" or "red stars on the third floor balcony" mark the

space. Where there *are* street signs denoting the names of the lanes in *Dhobi Talao*, the names are new and neither used nor recognized by the Goan community which inhabits the space. For instance, the main road leading into *Dhobi Talao* is locally known as "Marine Drive;" this is the moniker by which my participants and others in the city of Mumbai refer to the roadway. However, the official municipal street signs for this road read "Netaji Subhash Marg." When I told some of my participants about getting lost because I kept looking for "Marine Drive" and could find it nowhere, they chuckled because they are thoroughly accustomed to having the names of their streets changed to reflect the shifting political tides in the city of Mumbai and in India. In fact, one participant tells me that even the neighbourhood's centuries-old name of "*Dhobi Talao*" is no longer legally correct; the city has changed the name to "K. Vasudeo B. Phadke Chowk," named after a Marathi freedom fighter credited with being instrumental in redeeming India from British colonial powers in the country's twentieth century fight for independence. Obviously the name change has not taken root, particularly not with my interlocutors, one of whom jokes that "K. Vasudeo B. Phadke Chowk just doesn't roll off the tongue like Dhobi Talao does!"[437] More importantly, the lack of signage and the continued use of "older" designations by the Goan community indicates that, for the Goans, this is "their place." They are the place-makers, and know the territory. As well, the star-shaped lanterns indicate that this territory has the Goan church as its marker.

During my time in Mumbai, I became quite familiar with the streets and alleyways of *Dhobi Talao*. After the *Sonapur* feast day celebration, as discussed, I attended each of the nine stops that the Marian statue made in the community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao*. Each day, I would travel from my boarding room in the suburb of Bandra,

[437] Savio Fernandes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 26, 2013.

to *Dhobi Talao* to attend the ritual in a different home. Among the very many things that I came away with from this experience, was the notion of pilgrimage, and its renegotiation in this context. For this community of Goans, whose lives in the pulsating metropolis that is the city of Mumbai, there is a distinct lack of available space. As a minority group living in the city, the Goans of Mumbai do not wield geographic, economic, or political clout; they do not have the type of societal clout required to organize a city-wide festival like the Hindu festival of *Navratri*, or a public parade through the streets akin to the one that Robert Orsi's Italian Catholics do in New York City. In his *Madonna of 115th Street*, Orsi offers in spectacular detail the pomp and circumstance with which the Italian Catholics of the Congregation of Mount Carmel and neighbouring parishes take over the streets of Harlem, New York each year. He profiles the singing, street vendors, candles, Mass, and statues of the Virgin Mary on parade, accompanied by praying and celebrations. The religious spectacle for Orsi's Italian Catholics is a public affair; it occurs in the public space.[438] Orsi writes:

> Two processions were necessary to reach all the streets of Italian Harlem. […] Behind the processional banner, people walked, chanting. […] at the head of the procession marched *i prominenti*, members of the Harlem and New York elite. The festa was presided over by local merchants and businessmen, [who] paid for the fireworks that were set off on street corners near their stores when la Madonna passed. As la Madonna slowly made her way through the streets of Harlem, the devout standing on the sidewalks in front of their tenements kicked off their shoes and joined the procession. Fireworks that had been strung along the trolley tracks were lit as la Madonna approached, making a carpet of noise and smoke for her. Noise, smoke, people shoving to get closer, the city's public transportation bearing down on them, children lighting firecrackers—

[438] Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*, 1-12.

> all this, and men and women were still able to kneel on the gritty sidewalk as the statue of la Madonna passed.[439] [Italics in original]

For the Goan Catholics of Our Lady of Dolours in *Dhobi Talao*, space is unfortunately limited. Though they have all the markers of the pilgrimage that Orsi writes about, including fireworks, banners, singing, prayer, candles, and the Virgin Mary at the centre, the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* have modified their ritual so that these markers of procession are incorporated into the pilgrimage that their Virgin Mother makes through the neighbourhood instead. Instead of thousands of the faithful taking to the streets to find community and faith, the faithful are visited by the Virgin Mary herself. As mentioned, the post-monsoon season in Mumbai is busy with a number of religious celebrations; simultaneous to the Goans celebrating their parish feast in *Dhobi Talao*, was the annual city-wide celebration of *Ganesh Chatruti* during which hundreds of thousands of Ganesh devotees pilgrimage to the Arabian Sea with enormous statues of *Ganpati*, the mischievous, elephant-headed Hindu god, disrupting traffic and city life. Comparing the travelling statue of the Virgin Mary to the travelling statues of *Ganpati*, Mrs. Pinto, a lady from *Dhobi Talao*, whom I'd spoken with several times over the days of the Marian visits, tells me, "We don't go in the streets like the Hindus with their *Ganpati*. Mary comes to our houses. We should feel privileged." Rather than marking space by taking to the streets, the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* have their space made meaningful by the travelling Virgin herself. By journeying from her permanent abode at the parish church, and making various domestic stops along the way, the Virgin Mary acts as a place-maker for the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*, marking the neighbourhood as uniquely Goan and Catholic. In

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[439] Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950*, 7-8. Italics in original.

many ways, the pilgrimaging statue of Mary also creates a boundary between the Hindu public spaces and the Goan neighbourhood places.

The Church

The church building of Our Lady of Dolours is the heart of the neighbourhood fondly known as "mini Goa;" it is an unassuming white structure, surrounded and towered over by the *chawl*-style buildings of the community (See Figure 16). The members of the Our Lady of Dolours parish spoke fondly and with deep attachment of belonging to the parish, being actively involved in the goings-on of the church community, and drawing strength and support from their fellow parishioners. Belonging to a parish community of fellow-Goans allows this group to maintain their religio-cultural identities in a fairly insular manner, even in the every shifting city of Mumbai. Through the church, the community in Mumbai feels connected to their Goan heritage, and actively maintain a cultural memory of "homeland." The relationality between places as a means of re-creating the old place in the new one, is abundantly apparent for the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*, who seek to maintain their Goan-ness in a myriad ways that link them to their unique history and the home place of Goa, all the while negotiating their interreligious and intergenerational lives in the community of *Dhobi Talao*, located in the southern part of the bustling metropolis of Mumbai. The clean and maintained sacred space of the parish church is in stark contrast to the busy, untidy, difficult to navigate streets of *Dhobi Talao*. Yet, somehow, these spaces are related. One offers the "dwelling" space of religion, while the other is the "crossing" space that bridges the church and the home spaces of the parishioners of Our Lady of Dolours. Erik Jacobsen suggests that walking through spaces is a fundamentally powerful sensory experience:

> One finds oneself enjoying the environment while using one's feet as a method of transportation. While walking to our destination, we may be able to follow a path that takes us by a view we'd like to enjoy or under a tree that is in blossom, one of the joys of navigating the built environment on foot is the ability to choose from among multiple options to get from one place to another.[440]

For *Dhobi Talao*'s Goan community, the home and the church are particular spaces of "dwelling," where they can enact their identities as Goans and as Catholics, in a multiplicity of ways, including prayer, food, communal gathering, decoration, et cetera. The "crossing" space of *Dhobi Talao*'s alleyways and winding side streets is also part of the community's world. It is sandwiched between the home and the church; it offers a path between one and the other; it also permeates the entire neighbourhood that is affectionately referred to as "mini Goa." On special occasions, the streets themselves become festooned; decorated, adorned, and tidied, just as the homes and the church spaces are. For the Goan community in Mumbai, therefore, these spaces of "crossing" and "dwelling" are vital to understanding the ways in which they orient themselves as religious actors.

A religious dwelling place, like the church in *Dhobi Talao*, serves to orient the devotees spatially and temporally, drawing connections between the "here" and "now," and the "there" and "then" of their existence.[441] On the value of having a church place within a community, Jacobsen writes:

> The church in which I was baptized still stands today as a symbolic witness to God's presence in the neighborhood [sic]. The building has aged well and communicates that my baptism was more than a spontaneous accident of history. I can take my daughter there to show her that God continues to be active and faithful in the lives of people

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[440] Eric O. Jacobsen, *The Space Between: A Christian Engagement with the Built Environment* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 43.
[441] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, 7.

> today. The act of showing the next generation the places that mark God's faithfulness in our lives is an act of obedient remembering.[442]

The residents of *Dhobi Talao* take similar pride in belonging to the parish of Our Lady of Dolours. Many generations of the families in the Goan community there have been baptized, confirmed, and married in the church. This pride in being so rooted in the place, through the church, is seen in the community's engagement with the church and its many activities. For instance, the many sodalities of the Our Lady of Dolours parish take turns decorating and adorning the inside and outside of the church building on a regular basis. The altar is well maintained with beautiful chalices and rich ceremonial cloths. On special occasions, like the *Sonapur* Feast profiled in the last chapter, the church is festooned with streamers and buntings, which decorate pews, doorways, and the main altar. The inside of the church is cleaned daily by the sacristy minister, a man named Dominic, who takes great pride in maintaining the floors and pews to the nth degree. This commitment to cleaning the sacred church space is mirrored in the homes of the Goans in the community. As discussed in the previous chapter, cleaning their homes, particularly for feast days and special occasions, is an integral part of readying the space for religious holidays. By mirroring the cleaning of the church in the homes, Goans of *Dhobi Talao* re-create the sacred church space in the domestic space. The scene outside the church building is in contrast to the sparkling cleanliness that Dominic maintains inside the church. *Dhobi Talao* is an old area, one of the oldest in the city of Mumbai, and its residents are not necessarily well-off; the wear and tear of the ancient cobblestone streets is compounded by the lack of care administered to the area of the city by the municipals powers that be. The winding and narrow alleyways are litter-strewn and crowded by a

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[442] Jacobsen, *The Space Between: A Christian Engagement with the Built Environment*, 72-73.

variety of human and animal inhabitants; it is a place that people "from" there know intimately, and where an intrepid Canadian ethnographer can become easily lost.

The church itself is a busy place, with community rosaries, sodality meetings, and a bevy of other activities taking place in the church building each day. From a copy of parish bulletin, the following is the Mass schedule of the parish of Our Lady of Dolours:[443]

Daily Mass (Mon-Sat):	**Sunday Mass**
6:30AM (Konkani)	7:30AM (Konkani)
7:30AM (English)	8:30AM (Children)
7:00PM (English)	9:30AM (Parish)
	10:30AM (Youth; 4th Sun. Sr. Citizens)
	5:00PM (English)

MASS AT CROSS MAIDAN: EVERY FRIDAY 6:30PM

As is seen in this busy Mass schedule, the parish of Our Lady of Dolours is a busy and bustling one. Over my time in Mumbai, I attended several of these Mass services, and I should note here that none of the Masses that I attended were poorly attended. Regardless of language, time of day, location, or particularity of congregation (i.e. youth or senior citizens, for instance), each Mass service was attended by a few dozen parishioners, at the very least. What was noticeable in the attendance of the Masses was the generational difference in the attendance of the early-morning, Konkani masses. These services, which were conducted completely in Konkani, tended to be attended by an older demographic of *Dhobi Talao*'s residents; for instance, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Peter and Anna attended the Konkani language Mass early on the morning of the *Sonapur* Feast. Many of the older individuals whom I encountered over my time in *Dhobi Talao* told me

[443] "The Sonapur Parish Bulletin," *Our Lady of Dolours Church*. Vol. 13, no. 3 (Sunday, September 22, 2013).

that it made them feel more "connected" to the Goan heritage to worship in the language of their ancestors. For them, their religious adherences in combination with their linguistic ties combined to form a more complete expression of their religio-cultural identities. For the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*, hearing Mass in Konkani, their native tongue, is a bridge between their Catholic religion and their Goan cultural roots. For the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*, now removed from the home place of Goa, utilizing the Konkani language of their ancestors is a way to infuse their contemporary dwelling space in the city of Mumbai with the cultural essence of the homeland, thereby making it *their* place. The use of Konkani is not limited to worship in the church. It can be found in the bilingual mission statement of the parish, which is found on the weekly parish bulletin, and reads as follows:

> A family that comes and shares in fellowship with Christ | *Jezu sangata poramos kortalo ani bhag ghetolo gorabo*.[444]

In addition to its prominent presence in the ritual life of the church, and as mentioned previously, Konkani is also used in the domestic worship rituals of the parishioners of Our Lady of Dolours. For instance, the detail-filled binder that accompanies the statue of the Virgin Mary through the home visits contains instructions for the home ritual in both English and Konkani; it also has hymns and prayers in both languages, and most of the homes that I visited during the nine day ritual said prayers and sang hymns in each of the languages. One household even said the entire rosary in Konkani, with the non-Konkani speaking attendees responding in English. In addition to many Mass services held each week, Our Lady of Dolours church also houses a busy chapel area with an exposed Blessed Sacrament, which is venerated by parishioners and other devotees continuously. I

[444] Konkani, "Jesus will do what He promised and take away our sins." Translation by author. "The Sonapur Parish Bulletin."

am told that while the Sacrament is “exposed,” there must be at least three people present in the chapel, engaged in Eucharistic meditation. The parish community here is so vibrant, that in my months with this community, I did not see the Blessed Sacrament lack for visitors. At any given time, on any given day, at least a dozen or so parishioners could be found at this sacred site, engaged in silent prayer and individual mediation. In addition to Dominic the sacristy minister, the parish community of Our Lady of Dolours is also served by 11 parish priests. These clergymen, along with a small service staff, live in an abode that is attached to the church building; their proximity to the church makes it easier for them to serve the bustling parish, for the community to have access to them.

Thus, the church is not simply an architectural centre, which marks a location. Rather is also a "dwelling" place where the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* can perform their religion with varying degrees of regularity; on a daily, weekly, monthly, or annual basis. For this community of Goans, the church is also a place of cultural memory. Through its Iberian style, it connects them to the Portuguese from whom they inherited their religio-cultural traditions. As well, through its use of Konkani, the church continues to linguistically connect the community to the home place of Goa.

Cross *Maidan*

In addition to the “in-house” church services mentioned above, the parish community of Our Lady of Dolours also celebrates Mass every Friday at 6:30pm at Cross *Maidan*.[445] A *maidan* is an open public park space, usually meant for recreational activities. Mumbai has many such public *maidans*; these green spaces are oases in the otherwise always-busy city of Mumbai, where residents and visitors can take a break

[445] Hindi, “Recreation ground” or “playground.” Translation by author.

from city life, grab a quick meal at the many roadside food stalls, or engage in a friendly neighbourhood game of cricket. Cross *Maidan* is one such space in Mumbai, a few minutes' walk from the neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao*. The *maidan* itself is a long, rectangular playground, mostly covered in grass and mud. I regularly observed lively cricket and football matches being played there; as well, it seemed to be a popular hangout for young couples taking a romantic stroll in the city. At the north end of the *maidan* is a large section which has been paved; in one corner of this paved section, there is a large man-made grotto housing a statue of the Virgin Mary, and in the centre of the paved section, under a constructed pavilion, is a majestic crucifix (See Figure 17).

The cross, for which this *maidan* is named, is historically believed to be a remnant of a sixteenth century Portuguese-built Catholic Church which stood in the present-day *maidan* space, but was demolished in approximately 1760.[446] The land on which Cross *Maidan* rests belongs to the state of Maharashtra; however, has been leased to the parish of Our Lady of Dolours, which is responsible for the upkeep of the cross and the services held in the space, since the mid-nineteenth century.[447] Walking along the noisy street of Mumbai's Fashion Street, enthralled by the sensory stimuli that the city has to offer, it is easy to miss the unassuming entrance to Cross *Maidan*. Nestled behind hundreds of stalls selling food, clothing, souvenirs, and mementoes of every kind, and hidden from the noise and traffic, this site of public Catholic worship and pilgrimage is a short walk from *Dhobi Talao*, and is considered a sacred space by the today's community of Goans in Mumbai, and the broader community of Catholics in the city. Each Friday, hundreds of parishioners from Our Lady of Dolours, as well as devout Catholics and non-Catholics

[446] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 154.
[447] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, 156-57.

from all parts of the city of Mumbai, attend Mass at Cross *Maidan*. Attending one of these Masses is truly an act of participant observation; the space is packed to the hilt with devotees, many of whom credit this particular site as a miraculous place to access the divine. During the week, this particularly Catholic place, quietly cushioned in the loudness of the fast-paced city around it, is an oasis of greenery and serenity. Each of the sacred structures is decorated in flowers, candles, and monetary offerings from devotees, who come to pray in the open space at all hours of the day and evening. As well, the Archbishop of Mumbai celebrates annual Maundy Thursday and Good Friday services at this sacred site, making it a truly special place for Catholics in the city. Needless to say, this is a sacred place for the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*, and for the larger Catholic community of Mumbai.

The Goans of *Dhobi Talao* are extremely proud of being the keepers of such a sacred site of Mumbai's Catholicism. The residents of *Dhobi Talao* tell me that the Cross *Maidan* site is a miraculous one, with many blessing and boons being attributed to worshipping at the cross there. One woman tells me:

> I try to go every Friday for Mass at Cross *Maidan*. It's very powerful, my girl. So many prayers are answered there. Even when I was young, and I had exams, I would run to the Cross. When my mother was dying, I would just sit at the feet of Our Lady there, and the tears would just run down my face, and I would just pray. I get so much peace there. Now even when [my daughter] was going through all this *lafda* with [daughter's husband], I have given it all up to the Cross…every Friday I have prayed for her, that her burden might be less.[448]

The woman quoted here grew up in *Dhobi Talao*, and now lives elsewhere in the city of Mumbai. She returns to her childhood neighbourhood on a regular basis, to pray at Cross *Maidan*, and I met her while she was visiting her childhood parish home for the *Sonapur*

[448] Adeline Freitas. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 11, 2013.

feast celebrations. She, like many Goans from *Dhobi Talao*, describes Cross *Maidan* with a special reverence, citing it as a centre of worship and devotion. For the Goans of *Dhobi Talao*, Cross *Maidan* is an integral place of religious performance, and identity construction. Being able to practice their faith in a space that is embedded in the middle of the urban landscape, makes this community feel like it has ownership of a public space, while simultaneously ingratiating the community into the bustling environment of the city itself. However, in recent years, this ingrained engagement practiced by the community of parishioners of *Dhobi Talao*'s Our Lady of Dolours is made tenuous by shifting political tides in India. As mentioned, the state of Maharashtra owns the land on which Cross *Maidan* exists, and has for the past few centuries leased the land to the *Sonapur* parish on automatically-renewing 99 year term leases, the last of which ended in 2002. Since then, the community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao* has had to petition the local Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) to have their lease on the Cross *Maidan* land renewed; this petition has been used by MLAs as a vote-garnering bargaining chip, and the new lease that the *Sonapur* church was given to the Cross *Maidan* land was only 10 years in length. In 2012, the community had to re-petition the MLA, and was granted a 2-year lease, which is not automatically renewed. This means that the Goan community must now petition the government for a lease renewal every two years. In a Mumbai newspaper write up on the issue, a Catholic activist for the Cross *Maidan* space says, "[The MLA's] help is especially suspect since the lease has been renewed only for 10 years and has come just before the election."[449] This exploitation of the Cross *Maidan* space as a political bargaining chip and a site of governmental negotiation, does not take

[449] Manoj R. Nair, "Cross Gets Fresh Lease of Life," *Mumbai Mirror*(August 25, 2009), http://www.mumbaimirror.com/columns/columnists/manoj-r-nair/Cross-gets-fresh-lease-of-life/articleshow/15949475.cms.

into consideration the rootedness of the Goan community in the city of Mumbai. Neither does the threat to this particularly Catholic sacred place recognize the Goan community's religious ties to the devotional space of Cross *Maidan*. One participant, requesting that their response remain unaffiliated with their name, addresses this loss of space ownership by Goans in the city of Mumbai:

> Goans were the ones who owned things and they are losing that right now, because everyone else is taking charge. Land…own land, own educational institutions, did missionary work…now that is being taken up by others who feel they can do a better job or they are the ones who were born here. *Aamchi Mumbai*, *Aamchi Maathi*, you know? They say, we are the Maharashtrians, you all come from somewhere else so you do not deserve anything. So politically and legally there are issues.[450]

This participant's hesitation to affiliate his/her name with his/her response, which could be seen as a critique of the current state of Indian politics, was not at all uncommon. In Mumbai, a great number of my participants were hesitant to fill their names out on forms, fearing that their names would be attached to their opinions, and cause them some trouble. Inevitably, when conversations turned to politics in Mumbai, I had to assure my participants that I could assure them anonymity; as well, I assured them that they could, at any time, withdraw the consent they had signed to be a part of the project. These extra assurances helped build confidence in my participants. Their immediate fear of political and societal persecution, however, was very revelatory about their state of "outsider-ness." One participant, Alwin, articulates this so poignantly:

> Now see, like you and your parents and all, my brother is also in Canada for many years. But still he is not considered Canadian because he is an immigrant. But for us here, *we feel like we are immigrants in our own country*.[451] [Italics added]

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[450] Participant LA. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 18, 2013.
[451] Alwin Coelho. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 10, 2013. Emphasis added.

This sentiment of feeling like an "outsider" in India is pervasive in the Goan community of Mumbai. Unfortunately, this political situation is indicative of the current climate of India which sees religio-cultural minority groups such as the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* as "outsiders" taking up "Indian" space. Though the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* have lived their lives, practiced their religion, and maintained their religio-cultural identities in the city of Mumbai for centuries, they are still considered as "other" in the city; this sense of isolation and threat to specifically-Catholic spaces, like Cross *Maidan*, has been a catalyst in the new wave of Goan migration out of India, and to countries like Canada.

For the Goans of Mumbai, their places of meaning are evident not only at the parish church through religious rituals, but also in the neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao*; not only in the homes through domestic worship, but also on the very bodies of these Goan actors, many of whom are marked in permanent ways with signs of their Catholicism. By infusing the many spaces in and around the neighbourhood *Dhobi Talao* with facets of their religio-cultural expression, such as use of the Konkani language in the celebration of Mass, the maintenance of adoration in the church's Blessed Sacrament, the devotional worship at the centuries-old Cross *Maidan*, and in worshiping the Virgin Mary in domestic rituals, this community of Goans is creating a unique place for itself in the city of Mumbai. As noted however, this creation of a Goan Catholic place in the city of Mumbai occurs within a predominantly Hindu space. For instance, Goan places of meaning such as Cross *Maidan* in Mumbai are susceptible to eradication based on the "India for Indians" political rhetoric that is rampant in India today. This means that the Goans have to innovate new ways of marking their place in the city that they call home. These place-making mechanisms include innovative rituals such as the pilgrimage of

Mary, and a focus on the domestic realm. The increasing state of feeling like they do not "belong" in the city of Mumbai has resulted in a contemporary wave of Goan migration out of India, to new places like Toronto.

Toronto, Canada

As a community whose primary marker of identity is religion, it is their religious affiliation that acts as a catalyst in the decision to migrate to Canada, where the Christian ethos is thought to be prominent. As Catholics for whom religious identity places first in their sense of self, Goans envision living in a place where they will be a part of the religious majority as an ideal situation. With numerous Catholic churches, abundant public institutions like Catholic schools, and the primacy of the English language, Canada is the ideal location for Goans to migrate. It is a place, at least on the surface, where Goans will "fit in." the idea of living in a country like Canada, built on Christian values, and being able to practice their Catholicism in an unrestricted and unthreatened way, is extremely appealing; therefore, for Goans migrating to Canada, their religion is a primary factor in the decision to leave India and recreate new lives in Canada.

Belonging at Church

In keeping with the primacy of religion in their lives, the Goans who migrate to Canada immediately seek a local Catholic parish to join. Many of my interviewees make mention of looking for homes in neighbourhoods that have a “good” parish, by which they meant a well-attended church, usually with affiliated Catholics schools for their children to attend. However, as has been demonstrated in the previous section on the Goans of Mumbai, the Goan performance of Catholicism entwines their religious commitments and their expressions of culture. Unlike contemporary Canadian

Catholicism which relegates religious practice to Sunday mornings, and special occasions like Christmas or Easter, for the Goans, their daily lives are infused with a sense of "Catholic-ness." Fr. Edwin Gonsalves of Toronto tells me of his life growing up in Mumbai:

> See, in Bombay one thing is you know, everything revolved around the church…the life of…even the social life revolved around the church, even if you had small festivities, everything revolved around the church. So church was just very much the heart of the community. Like, what it means to be a baptized Catholic right. You receive your sacraments, but don't just go there once in a while, you it's your life right. And so you know there it was always a community. You never felt a sense of distance and things like that. So I think that one thing…that's what the culture brings.[452]

Fr. Edwin migrated to Canada, as a 19 year old with his parents, in 1994. It was only after migrating, during his time as a student at the University of Toronto that he decided to join the priesthood. Part of his decision, he tells me, to become a priest in Canada was fuelled by his desire to foster that sense of community that he had experienced as a Catholic growing up in Bombay (See Figure 18). Similarly, many of my interlocutors in Toronto echo the sentiment of joining thriving parishes in Toronto as a way of actively practicing their faith; as well, joining parish communities in Canada evoke the memory of a place and a community to which they could feel a sense a belonging. McAlister echoes this notion of the church acting as a site of integration, where the new immigrants can immediately renegotiate their new identities, in her work with Haitian Catholics in New York City.[453] For McAlister's Haitians in New York, their contemporary religio-cultural identities are a product of several historical social forces:

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[452] Fr. Edwin Gonsalves. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 17, 2013.

[453] McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," 131-32.

> These social forces extend back to the legacies of French colonization and the lasting effects of slavery, and the ways that Afro-Haitian religion appropriate Roman Catholicism to form what Haitians call 'le mélange' (the mixing) and what anthropologists call 'religious syncretism'[454]

This religious syncretism, or mixing, is apparent in the Goan practice of Catholicism as well; though inherited from the Portuguese, over the past few centuries, today's Goans have adapted their religiosity to reflect their locational particularity in India. These adaptations are re-usurped in the migration process to Canada, where new syncretistic processes are undertaken. McAlister continues that for her Haitian interlocutors, migration to the United States means that they become part of the Haitian diaspora; that is, their lives in New York City are defined in relation to Haiti, which is the essential location.[455] This is similar to the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto, for whom Goa is the *ur*-place, and where these communities continue to be "from." For the Goans of Toronto, while their Catholic religion acts as a catalyzing force in deciding to migrate to Canada, and then again as an integrative influence in allowing them to assimilate into Catholic communities in the Toronto area, their expression of Catholicism is immensely altered in the course of being new immigrants. The uniquely-Goan ways of practicing their religious traditions, of creating community, and of maintaining their religio-cultural identities require revision and reinvention. McAlister suggests that communities like the Haitian Catholics, or in my case the Goans, use discursive strategies to blend cultural and institutional religious practices.[456] Thus, they are negotiating their identities not only as

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[454] McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," 125.
[455] McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," 132.
[456] McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," 153.

religiously Catholic actors, but also reinforcing their cultural identities in the new place, through transnational ties to the old place.

The physical space of the church building is a particularly vital place in which the Goan community of Toronto maintain their religio-cultural identities in Canada. Spending time in the church building, amongst fellow parishioners, allowed my Goan participants to develop a sense of community, both with fellow Catholics and other Goans in the same parish. For many, being a part of a multicultural Catholic church strengthened their sense of identity as Catholics. In *Congregation and Community*, Nancy Ammerman and Arthur Farnsley write, "Religious congregations, including the small groups they house and sponsor, are then a space of sociability where real commitments are made, and where persons are thereby formed and transformed."[457] These "small groups" sponsored by the church communities in Toronto include groups such as the fraternal Knights of Columbus, the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA) for new Catholics, and other such sub-communities. Many of my Goan participants are members of these groups, finding that membership offers them a similar sense of community as they had "back home." For my Goan interlocutors in Toronto, the church acts as a place where they are immediately and effectively identified as Catholics. The connotation of being a parish "member" is instantaneous, in that it connotes belonging. Of her Haitian Catholics integrating into life in the United State, McAlister writes:

> Roman Catholicism is, for Haitians, one ritual performance among others in a larger cultural repertoire. It is a religious 'code' that in the United States can stand in public for all of Haitian religious culture, Vodou and Catholicism alike. Catholic churches are familiar spaces that host the saints intimately known to many Haitian Catholics. And whether one is praying to Ezili or to the Virgin Mary, stepping into a

[457] Nancy Tatom Ammerman and Arthur Emery Farnsley, *Congregation & Community* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 354.

> Catholic church is also stepping into a legitimate modern American identity.[458]

For the Goans of Toronto also, the church acts as a site at which they can access recognizable aspects of their identity such as being Catholic, going to Mass, and feeling like a part of a parish community. These aspects of their new lives in Canada harken back to some of the practices that they undertook pre-migration, therefore serving to reaffirm their identities as Catholics, which aids in the surface integration of life in Canada. It is within the context of the church, a site of familiarity, comfort, and immediate belonging, where the Goans of Toronto begin to engage in the process of renegotiating their identities as new Canadians.

As Frenz suggests, Goans who migrate to Canada achieve a large degree of social integration by becoming involved with already-existing Catholic parishes in the Greater Toronto Area.[459] The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto is the largest archdiocese in Canada, with 223 parishes in operation across the GTA, and with Mass being celebrated in 33 languages on any given weekend.[460] Konkani is not one of the 33 languages in which Masses are celebrated in the Archdiocese of Toronto; however since they are a community whose primary language is English, this is not generally of concern. For my participants in Toronto, finding a Catholic parish to attend is not a struggle; there are many options available to them. Furthermore, since the structure of the Mass is standardized across the Catholic Church, globally, the format in Toronto is identical to the one in Bombay, and therefore one that the Goans are very familiar with.

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[458] McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," 153.
[459] Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World: The Goan Experience, C. 1890-1980*, 249.
[460] Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, "About Us," www.archtoronto.org.

Additionally, being able to go to Mass, and instantly feeling like part of a community, was for my participants, a beneficial and welcome constant, particularly given their experiences as new immigrants navigating the many challenges that are inherent to an international migration. By accessing a parish to attend, and attending it regularly, the Goans of Toronto partake of a practice that is familiar and comforting. Through this, they fulfill the pre-immigration requisite of going to church regularly, thus becoming more integrated in their lives in Toronto, and engaging in the very real processes of developing their identities as new Canadians.

No Goan Church Community

The church parishes in Toronto to which my Goan interlocutors belong are, indicative of Toronto's multi-ethnic population, very diverse. This diversity of Catholics is a factor that my participants in Toronto tell me they enjoy very much. When I ask them about whether or not they wished there were a Goan-specific parish in the GTA, most participants gave me the immediate answer of not necessarily feeling the need for this. Many claimed that being part of a multicultural church parish community made them "more Canadian." One participant provides me with the following line of reasoning as to why the Goan community of Toronto is not inclined to develop its own church parish:

> Because I think we are…we like to think we are multicultural, we get along with everyone; our language is English, most of us, especially. Our generation all speak English so why would you have a special church unless you are going to do it in Portuguese or Konkani something like that. Not too many of the Goans know these languages so it wouldn't make sense.[461]

This immediate answer of integrating into Canadian multicultural society because of their Catholicism was almost universal for my Toronto participants. However, with some

[461] Ethel Moniz. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 10, 2013.

discussion, many participants lamented the loss of a communal church space, the way they had in India, and the particular quality of belonging that they felt as part of Goan church parish. When I asked one participant to describe what made the church parish in India different from the one she rarely attends in Canada, she tells me:

> I guess it all goes back to the population of the congregation. We were all Goans, and Indian. And then the priest also was a Goan, so the way he spoke to people and the congregation, and also the hymns that [were] sung. I guess it's all those things, you know, that you identify with those people. But when I go here there are Filipinos and Sri Lankans and white people…and the priest is sometimes difficult to understand, and we're not used to these, most of these hymns and all. I don't know…There something about being with Goan people that…you may not know them, but it's just like…you still kind of have a something in common. You just felt something different.[462]

Lalitha continues to tell me that her attendance at her local parish in Toronto is now nearly non-existent. Yet, when she visits India, she attends daily Mass at the parish in which she grew up. She says that if there were a Goan community church in the GTA, she would make it a priority to attend, though she laments that with the distances involved in getting from one place to another in the GTA, she may have a hard time going to the hypothetical Goan church if it were far away from her home in Scarborough, a suburb of the GTA. The development of a Goan-specific parish community in the GTA is not seen as something to hope for by my interlocutors. One particularly lively participant voices his reasoning for why a Goan-specific Catholic parish in the GTA is not a reality:

> You see now the Polish, and the Italians, and even the Chinese, and the Filipinos…they all have parishes around here. But we don't have one. Why? I'll tell you the truth. First and foremost, we Goans like to think that we are [he gestures air-quotes here] "just like the Canadians". We want to fit in so we just adapt and give up our culture, without thinking about what we are really giving up. Do we

[462] Lalitha Moniz. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 7, 2013.

> think about our kids and all? No. They will not have those cultural values that we grew up with. We think that we left India so we have to leave everything that was good behind also. Now, we are just trying to fit in with this culture. Then, secondly, we are not at all politically inclined. You think the Chinese and all got what they got by just sitting around and drinking and bullshitting? No. They talked to the politicians. In this country, you have to get involved and get out there. Otherwise, nobody is going to come and say to you, "Take this church for you." I tell my kids all the time, lobby your politicians. Make them hear your voice. Then another thing is, we Goans are not community minded. In the sense, we think, "I will do good for myself and my family. Why should I bother if it's not going to benefit me?" This is not the right attitude. You can't be lazy in this country—you have to act. We are still holding onto that Goan *susegad*[463] attitude. When the Polish or Portuguese or Italians came to Canada, they didn't say "I'm just going to take it easy, and only work for me and mine." No. They struggled and made it for their entire communities. We should also be doing the same.[464]

Though scathing, Rudy makes a point that I hear echoed in several other interviews: that the Goan community's ability to adapt and "give up" aspects of its religio-cultural identity in its quest for societal integration in Canada, has resulted in the community "losing itself."

Though there is no Goan-specific church in the GTA, when the community does feel the desire to come together as Goans, there are many socials and Goan feast celebrations in the GTA, as profiled previously. The social, for the Goans of Toronto, is a site of multiple meanings; it is at once a church, a dance hall, a dinner table, and a market place. In other words, this social is a makeshift solution meant to recreate for Toronto's Goan community a communal gathering space similar to those which the community belonged prior to the migration to Canada. For the Goans in Toronto, the social is an in-between site: between a place that they remember and the place in which they have

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[463] Konkani, "Easy going" or "relaxed". Translation by author. This is a term that is used often by Goans to describe the "Goan way of life"—it is indicative of the more-relaxed nature of life in Goa, particularly in comparison to the fast pace of city life in Mumbai.
[464] Rudy Fernandes. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 11, 2013.

chosen to make their new homes. This sense of being between cultures and places, of belonging to no place in particular, and with having no territorial home per se, was a narrative that was re-iterated to me multiple times at the St. Francis Xavier feast social that I attended, and which has been discussed previously. For this diasporic community of Goans in Toronto, who experience a sense of perma-placelessness, the Xavier social, and other events like it, provides a space to express their liminal identities by connecting the church and the public spheres, by linking their religion to their expression of culture, and by tying the old country to the new one. For Toronto's community of Goans, the social is a place on the road between place and placelessness, where this community's religio-cultural identity can exist without explanation. To facilitate the coming-together of this relgio-cultural community in Toronto, there are a number of Goan priests working within the Archdiocese of Toronto, who provide special Mass celebrations for the Goan community when it comes together for Goan-specific events, like celebrating the Feast of St. Francis Xavier for instance. These masses at Goan events, though conducted in English, include Konkani hymns and other Goan-specific accompaniments like *mandos*, or Goan songs. My participants tell me that it is very special for them to hear the *mandos* during Mass, as it brings about a sense of "home."

For my participant group in Toronto, going to church on a regular basis, at least weekly, was a practice instilled in them as children growing up in India. It was a fundamental way of asserting their identities as Catholic. Further, my interlocutors also expressed that becoming involved with their parish communities in Canada was a significant way of maintaining their Catholic values. My interlocutors each tell me that being Catholic allowed them to become involved in their communities in a more

meaningful way, as the simple act of going to Sunday Mass made them part of a broader community of Catholics in Canada. Many of my Goan participants develop deeper involvements in their parish communities, such as taking on volunteer roles on various church committees. One interviewee says:

> Now, it`s just me—the kids are grown and gone, and my wife and I are unfortunately separated. So I have lots of time, you know? A few years back I was just go go go, and I had a massive coronary incident. Then I had a triple bypass surgery at Centennial Hospital. I was so inspired by how well they took care of me there, so now I volunteer there a couple times a week. Also, I volunteer at the church—we have a program where we sponsor refugee families from Iran to come here, so I am on the steering committee which helps to bring them here and set them up with housing and food and what not. Tuesdays and Thursdays in the morning, I go to Mass at St. Bartholomew's—that my parish. And on Mondays and Wednesdays, I attend Holy Spirit for Mass. Sometimes I also go to St. Bonaventure for Mass. They're all close by, so it's quite good for me. See, in that way, it's really good to keep busy and get involved, you know? There are lots of opportunities to get involved.[465]

This attendance of multiple parishes was not an uncommon theme amongst my participants, many of whom attended services at a number of parishes, based on factors such as service timings, or fondness for a particular priest. For these Goans, the church is still a central place in their lives. However, since there is no communal church parish as there is for the Goans of *Dhobi Talao* in Mumbai, and in order to partake of an active Catholic life the way they would "back home," these Goans of Toronto renegotiate their church participation by attending multiple parishes simultaneously. While not all of my participants followed this model of attending multiple churches, most made it a point of attending Sunday Mass, on a regular basis, and claimed derision for those who only attended church on special occasions like Christmas and Easter.

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[465] Mario Silveiro. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 13, 2013.

> We go, [my husband] and I, every Sunday without fail. We love going for Mass. Sometimes [the parish priest] is a little bit weird, but whatever. He is not our God! Sometimes we miss, but then we go to Redeemer in the evening. We don't like to miss Mass. It's good to go regularly, you know? Not just on feast days, like. When the kids were young, they came with us also. Now, when they are at home, they come with us. Now, what they do when they are outside the house, I don't want to ask them, but I don't think [they go to church], but that's theirs, you realize yeah? It was important for us to give them our values when they were young, but now it is their lives to live, you know?[466]

Attending Mass, and taking their families with them, seemed very important to the Goans whom I interviewed. For them, it is a tangible way of maintaining their identities as Catholics, continuing to practice their faith in a way that they have done all their lives, and a significant way of imparting their values as Catholics to their children. Another participant tells me, hesitantly, that her desire to go to church since immigrating to Canada has decreased; she feels no sense of community at church:

> Well, to be very honest with you, we used to go to church. I used to go to church. I don't go to church anymore. [My husband] goes to church. But when I go to India I make it a point to attend mass there as often as I can. I just find it's so empty over here. I feel like I don't belong. I feel like I just don't belong in that community. From being someone who would go to mass on a daily basis because I wanted to, I became this person who would go to church because I have to go to church on a Sunday and I go to church and my mind would be wandering and people would be talking and doing whatever they want and then after a while I felt that what's the point. So he goes to church every day. Every Sunday, I mean. But I don't. I do go for Christmas, New Year, the major feasts and if somebody has something going on I will go to church. I do pray. I have to meditate and I guess it is the Goan in me; I have to meditate at St. Anthony. But if it's to go to church here, I feel I don't belong. And I don't want to participate in something that doesn't mean anything. But it's important for use to give those values to [our son], so I send him to church with [my husband]. And we pray every night before we go to bed. And I pray the Rosary, faithfully. Every single day.[467]

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[466] Ethel Moniz. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 10, 2013.
[467] Lalitha Moniz. Interview by author. June 7, 2013.

For Lalitha, attending church in Canada is just not the same as attending church “back home.”

It is the primacy of the Catholic commitments that catalyzes the decision of Goans to migrate out of Mumbai and to Toronto. The infrastructure of Canadian Catholic institutions, such as churches and school, facilitates the initial integration of these new Goan immigrants in Canada. However, the holistic nature of Goan Catholicism, which entwines religion and cultural expressions of identity, is not fully addressed by these Catholic institutions in Canada. As such, Goan immigrants in Canada struggle to find a "place" to fit. In order to navigate this new location, Goans in Toronto find themselves leaving the church and focussing on domestic worship where they feel more familiar, or attending several parishes to tailor-make their religious engagement, or joining Goan associations and attending Goan socials where they can express the entirety of their religio-cultural identities in the their new chosen place of Toronto.

Domestic Worship

Without a Goan-specific church in the GTA to attend, many Goans in Toronto supplement, or even substitute, church attendance with domestic worship. Lalitha’s comments bring up two significant points of domestic worship by the Goans of Toronto, that I encountered during my interviews, most of which were conducted in the homes of my interlocutors: (1) regular recitation of the rosary; and (2) the presence of home altars in most of the homes I visited. Regarding recitation of the rosary at home, many participants professed love of this domestic ritual. For them, it harkened back to a time when they were younger, and came together as small neighbourhood communities in

Bombay to pray the rosary. One participant, raised by her grandmother in Bombay, recalls the daily recitation of the rosary "at home":

> We say rosary in our house every day, even now. Five decades of the rosary. Three mysteries: glorious, sorrowful, and joyful. There are four now, but we only say three. Even if [my son] doesn't want to say, I say the rosary alone, every day. Then he takes me to church. It's very powerful, you know. My rosary is my favourite devotion.[468]

The "power of the Rosary" is something that many of my participants profess. Borne from the recitation of the Rosary at home, or in small communities in India, a couple of my interlocutors have begun Rosary recitation programs in their communities. For instance, Fr. Edwin Gonsalves[469], parish priest at St. Barnabas Roman Catholic Church in the GTA, tells me that he has started a Rosary club in the parish:

> Reciting the Rosary is a dying form of prayer, here. Some of the older ladies still do it, but it's not like when I was growing up in Bombay, you know? And it's a really beautiful and powerful grace that we receive through the Rosary. So I thought, let's start a Rosary club—teach the new generation, and those who have never even recited the Rosary about this beautiful thing. And you know what? People come! Every evening, in the chapel, about twenty to thirty people come. All types, those who are praying for something in particular, or even just because. It's very beautiful. That's the power of our Blessed Mother at work.

Another participant, an elementary school teacher at a public Catholic school, tells me that as part of her role as the director of the school's Youth Faith Ambassadors group, she has helped institute monthly Rosary recitations at the school:

> You see, some of our kids don't get taken to church and all, so when I tell them stories from the Bible, they are in awe. Then, this year, I started the Rosary. I invited the Rosary Apostolate to come and say the Rosary. So now they come like once a month to say the Rosary with each of our classes. We do it once a month on the last Friday of the month. And we collect notes from the kids of what they're praying

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[468] Angelica D'Souza. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 13, 2013.
[469] No relation to the author.

> for et cetera. It has really made a difference in the school, I'll tell you. It's a really great program, the Rosary Apostolate.[470]

In addition to this community work, Sandra and her husband also pray the Rosary daily in their home. For them, like many other participants, the regular recitation of the Rosary is a meaningful and familiar way in which to practice and sustain their Catholic faith.

The recitation of the Rosary in the homes of my Goan interlocutors in Toronto usually takes place in front of their home altars. These home altars are the second aspect of domestic worship and material cultural that I observed as part of my fieldwork; they are present in most of the homes of my interview participants. Within the community of Goans in Toronto, these altars were usually brought with my interlocutors from their homes in Mumbai. The objects on the altars are vital pieces of material culture from their pre-migration lives that these Goans hold onto (See Figure 19). Home altars are ubiquitous in India; people of many faiths erect often-elaborate spaces of worship in the household, at which domestic rituals are performed. In India, Catholic, Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, and others religious practitioners have home altars, each holding statues of deities, sacred objects, candles, and other items of significance; in addition, these altars are usually decorated in flowers, and bestowed with offerings such as fruits and money. In Canada, the practice of erecting a home altar is not quite so prevalent, and many of my participants were embarrassed when I inquired about their home altars because they often felt that it was a point of difference between them and "Canadian Catholics." However, on deeper engagement, a deep sense of pride in the

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[470] Sandra Pereira. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 15, 2013. The Rosary Apostolate refers to program run in the Greater Toronto Area entitled "The Rosary Apostolate in the Schools," which aims to bring evangelization of the Catholic faith through prayer to students. As per their website www.rosaryapostolate.com, their aim is to bear witness to the Catholic faith by teaching children to love Jesus with the Heart of Mary by praying the Rosary and the Act of Consecration.

altars would emerge, as they began to tell me of the significance of their altars. One participant says, when I point to her beautifully arranged altar:

> Yeah, I had people laugh at me because of it. But I just love it. See the holy pictures are from my dad. All the things are from home. We couldn't leave them behind. We couldn't find an altar here, so [my husband] went to Canadian Tire and bought a shelf that he installed upside down. [Laughter] You make do, you know? It's so special to me. That's the Sacred Heart that was given to me by the nuns in my school, on our marriage. And the statue of Mother Mary was given to us by my aunt, who has now passed away. It has so much meaning for us.[471]

Lalitha's home altar, as was the case with most of the altars that I observed in the homes of my participants, was recreated to resemble the altar she had in India. The altars of the Goans in Toronto were all constructed in similar fashion to the altars that I observed in Mumbai. They also carry memories in material form. Another participant, Angelica, beams when I tell her that I'd like to take her picture in front of her altar.

> God bless you, my dear girl. That is the Sacred Heart of Jesus and his Blessed Mother Mary. Very powerful.[472]

Then she puts a drop of Holy Water from her altar on my forehead. I inquire about two books on the altar (See Figure 20). Of these special objects, she tells me:

> Oh my girl. These are most powerful. This is the Bible. I can't read it so much anymore because of my eyes after the surgery—I had my cataracts you know? But before that, whole day and night I could read this Bible. Then this is Don Bosco[473]--I do his novena every day in the morning. Then I do the cooking, and then I just lie down for some time. Then at 3 o'clock in the afternoon I say this prayer [holds up prayer card]. It is the Divine Mercy. I am not praising myself. I am a sinner. But see, my girl, these are the things of God. I have always

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[471] Lalitha Moniz. Interview by author. June 7, 2013.
[472] Angelica D'Souza. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 13, 2013.
[473] Don Bosco (1815—1888) was an Italian priest who founded the Salesians, a lay order whose work in poverty prevention, healthcare, and education is pervasive in India. He is highly venerated by the Catholics in Mumbai.

> been this way. Through all the hardships and everything. Now see…my children, they are blessed.[474]

Ranging in size from a small shelf on the wall, to the average sized hutch filled with religious curios, to an entire room set aside as a sacred space within the home[475], the altars of my Goan participants in Toronto contained a combination of fruits, flowers, candles, prayer cards, novenas, bibles, rosaries, pictures and statues of various saints, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus. The most prevalent object across the board was a statue or picture of the Virgin Mary, a figure whom the Goans revere above all others. Many of my participants point to her chastity and obedience to God as a model of virtues on which they aim to shape their lives. My Goan participants see the figure of the Virgin Mary as the key intercessor in the relationship between them and God. Where the Virgin Mary processes through the Goan homes of Mumbai, marking the place of "mini Goa," she now acts a pivotal figure in the Goan homes of Toronto, marking them also as a place of "Goan-ness."

The Spaces Between

There are two things about me that were significantly influential in the success of my fieldwork trip to Toronto: (1) I have a deep love of the GTA, borne from having grown up in a suburb of Toronto; and (2) I enjoy driving very much. I make mention of these two things because my work in Toronto was akin to making a several months-long, spider web-like, road trip zigzagging across the Greater Toronto Area. As I mentioned previously, the GTA encompasses a land space of approximately six thousand square

[474] Angelica D'Souza. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 13, 2013.
[475] One participant's home was anomalous in that it had large religious ornamentation on the front lawn of the house, including a three-foot tall statue of the Virgin Mary. I attributed this less to the participant's own religiosity, and more to their residential location in Little Italy, an area of Toronto in which many of the Italian Catholics decorate their front lawns with religious statues and objects. The Goan participant was merely "fitting in"!

kilometers.[476] From Oakville and Burlington in the west, Markham, Pickering and Ajax in the east, and Mississauga, Brampton and Toronto proper in the middle, my Goan participants lived, worked, and worshipped across four municipalities, multiple cities, and amongst hundreds, if not thousands, of other religions, cultures, and ethnic groups in the GTA. To engage with these Goans across the GTA, I conducted interviews in their homes, attended their book club meetings, went to their socials and feast celebrations. All this engagement meant an incredible amount of driving on my part; some days I would interview two or three participants, each living an hour or more away from each other. Needless to say, I clocked many miles, travelling between sites. In a way, my zigzagging across the GTA to reach particular places that my participants inhabited is a metaphor for the Goan community's presence in Toronto. The Goan dwelling places of church, home, and special occasion banquet hall, are closed spaces that are bound by walls, and insulated and isolated from the outside space. I had to utilize another enclosed place, my car, in order to cross from a particular Goan place to another. Jacobsen writes:

> One of the unintended consequences of the automobile-oriented development that we pursued in the second half of the twentieth century is the way that it has increased the distances at which we encounter one another. […] By increasing the distance between people in the built environment, automobile-oriented development tends to decrease the intimacy that people can have with one another in their environments.[477]

The space between Goan homes, church functions, and social gatherings, that crossing space that is so vital in creating meaningful connections between dwelling places, is obviously lacking for the Goan community in Toronto. There is no Goan "neighbourhood" in Toronto, like Mumbai's Goans have in *Dhobi Talao*, or like

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[476] OECD, *Oecd Territorial Reviews: Toronto, Canada 2009* (OECD Publishing), 37.
[477] Jacobsen, *The Space Between: A Christian Engagement with the Built Environment*, 42.

Toronto's Little Italy or Little Portugal, where religio-cultural functions like Easter parades and viewings of FIFA World Cup matches in the street are pervasive. Relatively speaking, the Goans of Toronto are a young migrant community, having arrived much later to Toronto than many other religio-cultural communities, which are now well-established in the city; therefore, to quote Cresswell, Toronto's Goans "clearly inhabit material landscapes that [they] had little say in constructing."[478]

In contrast to the pedestrian-only alleyways of the Goan community of *Dhobi Talao*, there is a distinct lack of sensory experience for the Goans of Toronto, as they navigate the built environment of the GTA through the enclosed capsuled spaces of automobiles, rather than on foot. As such, driving is an essential part of life in the GTA; cars become travelling spaces which Goans use to transport themselves between various sites of communal engagement. It is in these automotive spaces of my Goan interlocutors in Toronto that I observed yet further expressions of their religious identities. For instance, a rosary was hung on the rearview mirror of most of the cars driven by my participants in Toronto, and by the attendees of the socials and functions that I attended. Additionally, when I received rides from interlocutors to communal events, I noticed on a number of occasions, other religious objects in their cars, including a number of objects stuck to or atop the dashboard, such as pictures of the Virgin Mary, miniature statues of saints, small crucifixes, or tiny vials of Holy Water. In many ways, the dashboard was a travel-sized version of the home altars that I saw in the homes of my Goan interlocutors. Many told me of their faith, and how having these talismans of their devotion in their car was a way to engage God's protection in dangerous driving situations. A number of participants also told me that they have CDs of religious hymns and Konkani music in

[478] Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, 35.

their cars, which they listen to on their long commutes to work each day. This reminded me of the one participant in Mumbai who used her rosary ring to recite the Rosary on her way to and from work on the crowded trains of Mumbai. In much the same way as my Mumbai participant, these Toronto Goans also engage their religiosity in the travelling space between home and work, by listening to religio-cultural materials in their cars.

Jacobsen writes that one of the distinct advantages of being able to navigate the built environment on foot, rather than in a car, is that more of the human senses are stimulated in such an engagement; in other words, walking through a neighbourhood allows for an embodied engagement with the environment.[479] He writes that the automobile was introduced as a way of providing "salvation from the burden of embodied existence," thus resulting in built environments that are "both ugly to look at and inconvenient to navigate as embodied humans."[480] For the Goans of Toronto, who pre-migration belonged to neighbourhood where walking was the primary means of navigating through the built environment, transitioning to the North American model of navigating disembodied spaces can be quite shocking. It is in engaging their religio-cultural identities in navigating through the new urban landscape of Toronto, that these Goans create meaning, not only in the "dwelling" places of church, home, or the social, but also in the "crossing" places of the automobile, which is used to move them within the urban landscape, and between those nodes of meaningful places In this way, the Goans of Toronto construct communal places of meaning in the already-constructed spaces of the Greater Toronto Area.

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[479] Jacobsen, *The Space Between: A Christian Engagement with the Built Environment*, 43.
[480] Jacobsen, *The Space Between: A Christian Engagement with the Built Environment*, 54.

Summarizing Goan Places

With a religio-cultural identity constructed on the Catholicism brought to them by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and on the "home" place of Goa, the migrant communities of Mumbai and Toronto at the centre of this research project have developed unique ways of practicing their religion and constructing their identities in conjunction with their place-making activities.

In Mumbai, the migrant community of Goans in the neighbourhood of *Dhobi Talao* is nearly three centuries old. Though they have been a part of the city for a long time now, this community still feels as if they are "from" somewhere else. In maintaining their domestic rituals, their neighbourhood church, and local religious sites, this community has created for itself meaningful places in which they are able to sustain their unique religio-cultural affiliation. The impending threat to the particularly-Goan places of meaning, such as Cross *Maidan* in Mumbai, caused by the tumultuous nature of politics in India today, sees these Goans in Mumbai feeling increasingly alienated in the city of Mumbai. This sense of alienation, lack of access to social resources to maintain their neighbourhood, and a general sense of being unwanted in the city, has led to massive waves of migration of Goans out of Mumbai to Western countries like Canada. For these migrating Goans, their religious affiliation acts as an isolating factor in India, and as a catalyst in their decision to immigrate to Canada.

In going to church regularly and becoming involved with their local Catholic communities, the Goan migrant community of Toronto is able to maintain its Catholic religious practices. Canadian multicultural society categorically separates "religion" from "culture." This separation is difficult for the Goans of Toronto to undertake, as the

integration of these two spheres forms the basis of their religio-cultural identities. In order to bridge of these two categories, the Goans of Toronto supplement their mainstream Catholic involvement with involvement in other unique places where they can assert their "Goan-ness," including Goan associations and feast socials. As well, the domestic space becomes a vital place for the maintenance of the Goan identity, through regular recitation of the Rosary, and through the erection of altars in the home. Where the Goans of Mumbai inhabit the space of "mini-Goa" where religion is integrated every space therein, the specifically-Goan places available to the community in Toronto is a collection of separated spaces. For now, the Goans of Toronto continue to re-imagine the spaces they inhabit so that they can create places of meaning as Goans, as Catholics, and as new Canadians.

Figure 14: Home Altars, Mumbai 2013

Figure 15: Religious tattoos and jewelry, Mumbai 2013

Figure 16: Our Lady of Dolours Church in Dhobi Talao, *Mumbai 2013*

Figure 17: Images from Cross Maidan, *Mumbai 2013*

Figure 18: Fr. Edwin Gonsalves and his very Canadian altar, Toronto 2013

Figure 19: Participants Angelica & Lellis, and Lalitha & Tony, with their home altars, Toronto 2013

Figure 20: Angelica`s prayer books, Toronto 2013

CHAPTER 7: TRANSNATIONAL TIES

The religio-cultural identities of the Goan communities that are central to this project, are built on a unique history of engagement with the Catholicism brought to India by the Portuguese; further, this religio-cultural identity is shaped through the places in which Goans find themselves after having left the home place of Goa, for instance Mumbai or Toronto. The maintenance of this religio-cultural identity is facilitated through active engagement with their Catholic faith, with the home place of Goa, and by creating Goan communities in the cities which they now reside. Each of the Goan communities featured in this project are migrant diasporic communities, with continued ties to the "home" place of Goa. The Goans of Mumbai are a much older diasporic community than the Goans of Toronto; as such, they are more embedded into the city of Mumbai than their Canadian counterparts. As well, each community has developed place-specific mechanisms of engaging with their Goan religio-cultural roots. One aspect of commonality between the migrant Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto is their steadfast bond to the place of Goa; as such this bond is crucial in maintaining their identities. This chapter focuses on the practices that the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto undertake as a way to maintain ties to the *ur*-place, Goa. Through this commitment to transnationalism, these Goan communities continue to maintain their unique religio-cultural identities. In this way, the goal of this chapter is analyse the ways in which these Goan diasporic communities encompass the state borders and world oceans that they cross, in order to recreate dwellings in new places, while renegotiating and renovating their identities outside the *ur*-place of Goa, employing unique mechanisms to maintain the ties between history and present, and between the old place and the new one.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the anthropological focus on transnationalism, as a way of understanding migrant communities, offers an understanding of these communities through their multiplicity of cultural commitments and contexts. These commitments and social contexts are not necessarily bound by geographic borders; as such transnational communities transcend national borders in order to maintain their identities through connections to various places and times.[481] Peggy Levitt writes that in order to understand the experience of the contemporary migrant, consideration should be given to the kinds of cross-border factors that are at play:

> [We should be] asking how individuals and groups actually organize themselves, and differentiate themselves, without assuming, a priori, that they are organized into nation-states. Understanding religion and migration demands going beyond comparing one country to another. Instead, it requires mapping, without conceived notions, the networks of individuals and institutions that immerge and how they operate.[482]

By recognizing the Goans of Mumbai and of Toronto as transnational migrant communities, it is apparent that these communities are not "uprooted" or isolated from the pre-migrant context of Goa; rather, the "memory" of Goa, of Goan culture, religious ties, and values, are brought along with the migrant community across geographic borders. Of course, these markers of identity and cultural memory are supplemented with the more-tangible continued connections of food, language, social engagements, and religious practices. Of the Haitian diasporic community in New York City, McAlister writes that rather than simply substituting practices in the new location for those left behind in Haiti, the new location is added as a site in the spiritual network that connects them to the old country. The location of the Haitian immigrants is added to the

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[481] Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 27.
[482] Peggy Levitt, "Redefining the Boundaries of Belonging: The Transnationalization of Religious Life," in *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives*, ed. Nancy Tatom Ammerman (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 105.

"religioscape" of transnational Haitian religious culture.[483] The term "religioscape" is built on Appadurai's theorization of the various flows that are set in motion with the rising rate of modern globalization, including "ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes."[484] Of these, Appadurai writes:

> I use terms with the common suffix scape to indicate first of all that these are not objectively given relations which look the same from every angle of vision, but rather that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected very much the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actor: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as sub-national groupings and movements (whether religious, political or economic), and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighbourhoods and families. […] These landscapes thus, are the building blocks of what I would like to call 'imagined worlds', that is, the multiple worlds which are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe.[485]

This historicization and contextualization is a way of acknowledging that the maintenance of transnational identities is an endeavour that is constantly in flux, and that networks of transnational migration, much like migrant communities themselves, are fluid and moving pathways, rather than static and constant entities. For the Goans communities of Mumbai and Toronto, what this means is that the new place in which the have recreated their homes, are part of the "religioscape" of the home place of Goa, and it is through the maintenance of transnational ties that Goan religio-culture and identity remains sustained.

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[483] McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," 133.
[484] Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Theory, Culture & Society*. 7 (1990): 296.
[485] Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," 296-97.

Mumbai, India

Transnational ties that serve to bridge the sending and receiving places are observed with the Goan communities both in Mumbai and in Toronto. Though removed from Goa, each community maintains its ties to their ancestral place through regular visits to Goa. Mumbai's geographic proximity to the "home" place of Goa makes the maintenance of these ties relatively easy and feasible possibility. In order to bridge the spatial and emotional boundaries between Goa and Mumbai, the community of Goans in Mumbai maintain ties to the home state through regular visits, maintaining food pathways, and sustaining language ties in numerous ways. These nuances mechanisms of identity maintenance have allowed the Goan community in Mumbai to sustain their unique religio-cultural ties, though they are a migrant community many generations removed from Goa itself.

Goan Back

The city of Mumbai is a mere 600 kilometers away from the state of Goa; this distance is easily overcome via an hour-long flight, or an overnight bus ride. This means that for the community of Goans in Mumbai whom I engaged with through my fieldwork, travelling back and forth from Goa was a regular occurrence. Most of my participants went "back" to Goa multiple times a year, with a number of older participants maintaining homes in Goa at which they spend several months out of the year. One participant in Mumbai tells me:

> We go to Goa two three times a year. It is so nice to go there, you know. *Susegaad*.[486] Just go, take the *Kadamba* bus at night, and by

[486] *Susegaad* is a term used to describe a particularly-Goan style of easy-going relaxation. The term has become synonymous with Goan culture, and epitomizes the Goan community's value of leisure.

> morning, you are eating mangoes. The air is clean and fresh and I only go to Goa. I don't go anywhere else. That is what I love.[487]

This is a common sentiment amongst my Mumbai participants; that is, the regularity of visits to Goa, as well as the high frequency of vacations to Goa. Many participants mention that with Goa's natural scenic beauty, white sandy beaches, and unparalleled food, visitors from all over the world have made Goa a hotspot tourist destination, and that it would be a shame for Goans themselves to not take advantage of their "home" (See Figure 21).

This notion of "going back" is echoed by many of my participants in Mumbai. Though none of them have ever lived in Goa, their identity of being "Goan" is so significantly a part of themselves, and so inherently tied to the place of Goa, that the state which their ancestors left centuries ago is still considered the "home" place; they are, and will always be, a migrant community in the city of Mumbai. Of the Haitian community in New York City whom she works with, McAlister writes:

> Many Haitians in the contemporary United States perceive themselves to be living *nan djaspora*, 'in the diaspora,' defined against Haiti as an essential location of its own, regardless of whether they live in Miami, Montreal, Paris, or Senegal. […] They return to Haiti during periods of illness or unemployment; for vacations; for important family events like baptisms, marriages, or funerals. […] Both opportunity and tragedy can be the occasion to *janbe dlo*, or 'cross over the water.'[488] [Italics in original]

This notion of return is one that resonates with my Goan participants in Mumbai; for them, their lives in Mumbai are constructed in direct relation to their identities as Goans. As such, it is important to them to be able to maintain those ties to Goa, through "returning" to the home place, particularly for milestone events, such as births, marriages,

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[487] Tyrone Franco. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 5, 2013.
[488] McAlister, "The Madonna of 115th Street Revisited: Vodou and Haitian Catholicism in the Age of Transnationalism," 132.

and deaths. Similar to McAlister's Haitian community in New York, the members of Mumbai's Goan community live transnational lives, embedded in networks that cross between their current location in the city of Mumbai, and the remembered locale of the state of Goa. In this way, they sustain social relations that link their place of origin, Goa, with their current settlement, Mumbai.

For my participants, one particular visit was of utmost importance in maintaining ties to Goa; this visit was that of a pregnant woman visiting Goa late in the third trimester of her pregnancy, so her child could be born in the home place. My community participants inform me that tradition dictates that the woman's family in Goa take care of her during the time of childbirth and for a few weeks after. Most of my participants, though raised in Mumbai, were born in Goa because of this tradition. Many of them told me that it was important to have their birthplace as Goa, particularly on their birth certificates, as this maintained a sense of geographic identity. Another important "return" to Goa happens at the time of marriage. Many of my participants in Mumbai were married in Goa, in the churches to which their ancestors belonged. In this way, their names were inscribed alongside generations of Goans before them, creating a record of belonging and lineage. I am told that a family wedding in Goa results in dozens of Mumbai-based family members travelling to Goa to attend the wedding, bestowing familial blessings on the young couple.

Taste of Goa

> See, for me, Goan culture is to prepare *patolleo*. *Patolleos* are basically the sweet dish…it is a rice cake with jaggery. It is cooked in a turmeric leaf so this is a pure Goan tradition that we know people in Bombay or rather even we do it. Further down, when you talk about weddings, there are so many things that in a wedding structure there is a very Goan tradition like for example you have something called as a

> *ross*[489]. A *ross* is you have one day before the wedding wherein coconut milk is applied to the bride and bridegroom in their respective houses. Then when you are the bride and bridegroom after the nuptials when they come back from the home as husband and wife, they enter together, that's also a Goan tradition, they come in and then you say a litany, you know it is special for couples. So you know things like these, there are a lot of things, not too many are coming to my mind now, but there are quite a few.[490]

Alexandrina goes to Goa often. It is a relatively easy, overnight bus ride from her home in *Dhobi Talao* to Goa. Once there, she stocks up on jaggery, an unrefined brown sugar popular in Goa, as well as Goan sausages, Goan vinegar, and other ingredients that allow her to cook and bake Goan food at home. Going to Goa, for her, is part holiday and part necessity; not only do her regular trips to the "home" state get her out of the bustling city of Bombay, but they also offer her the opportunity to maintain culinary ties to the place that she thinks of as her cultural home. Ben Kasstan writes that serving traditional food not only allows a community to nourish the body, but also offers in each morsel of food "a lasting taste of memory and familiarity."[491] He writes that as much as time and space determine a community's experience of life, "memory and history are irreversibly inscribed on the body."[492] Food and taste, therefore, act as reflections of a cultural memory, and of lived experiences that are shaped by particular social processes.

Tweed writes, "Religion begins—and ends—with bodies."[493] By this, he means that the human body is the primary site upon which and through which a person engages with their religion. The body is the point of reference from which all other stimuli are

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[489] "Ross" is a Konkani word, which literally translated means "juice," particularly referring to the juice that is sourced from fruits. The Hindi word रस ("raas") means the same, and is used interchangeably by the Goans to refer to this pre-wedding ritual. Translations by author.
[490] Alexandrina Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 26, 2013.
[491] Ben Kasstan, "The Taste of Trauma: Reflections of Ageing Shoah Survivors on Food and How They (Re)Inscribe It with Meaning," *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*. 26 (2015): 363.
[492] Kasstan, "The Taste of Trauma: Reflections of Ageing Shoah Survivors on Food and How They (Re)Inscribe It with Meaning," 354.
[493] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, 98.

processed. In acknowledging this, Tweed suggests that the embodied practices of food are recorded in religious practices through the human body.[494] In this way, it is this embodiment of a cultural taste memory, or re-living a taste of "home" that fuels Alexandrina's frequent visits to Goa. For her, it is not that Bombay offers any shortage of culinary experiences; however, it is only in the ingredients of "home" that she can access that cultural memory that ties her back to her Goan religio-cultural heritage. For her, like so many of my interlocutors in Mumbai, discussing Goan food is immediately connected to a discussion of communal celebrations, such as weddings, feast days, births and deaths. These rites of passage, marked with the sacramental liturgy of the Catholic Church in the unique religio-cultural ways of the Goan community, are also marked by the tastes of their ancestral home. This focus on Goan food as a vital component in the religio-cultural celebrations of the Goans of Mumbai is observed in the previous chapter profiling the *Sonapur* Feast Day celebrations. From the sweet treats imported directly from Goa and sold outside the church to those who had just attended Mass, to the home cooked *sorportel*, *vindaloo*, chicken *xacuti*, et cetera, these food items are intangibly tied to the celebration of the feast day itself. As we left the Mass service on the morning of the feast day, Dwayne stops at the stall selling Goan sweets and purchases a bag of *doss*, a sweet cookie made of grated coconut and chickpea flour. He tells me that just that bit of sweet in his mouth makes him "feel like it's Feast, *yaar*."[495] His brothers tease him for having such a sweet tooth, but then share in his bag of *doss*, and agree that there is a special taste to it that simply adds to the celebratory air of the feast day. Tweed suggests that the sensory engagement of the body in the act of consuming food is a vital way of

[494] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, 99.
[495] Dwayne Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 22, 2013.

defining what "home" is, and what a religious experience consists of.[496] At the *Sonapur* feast. the Goan delicacy of *doss*, purchased from a vendor who had set up shop particularly for the Goan community's feast day, is a sensory way in which *Dhobi Talao*'s Goans are able to bridge the gastronomic memory of Goa with their lives in Mumbai, thus maintaining their transnational religio-cultural identities as Goans living outside of their "homeland."

My Mother's Tongue

Another aspect of cultural identity that the communities of Goans that I engaged with deemed significant was that of language. For many transnational communities, maintaining native languages is an important way in which ties to the "homeland" are preserved. As discussed previously, the linguistic history of the Goans is a complex one. While Konkani is considered the native language of Goa, the religio-cultural conversion efforts of the Portuguese in Goa allocated Konkani to only the domestic realm; that is, Konkani was only spoken by the Goan Catholics at home. In public, the early Goan converts adopted Portuguese, and Latin was used in church. These shifts in language patterns garnered favour for the Goans with the Portuguese colonizers, gaining the Goans privilege through employment and education opportunities. Furthermore, through the adoption of the Roman script as their own, the Goans easily embraced English as the *lingua franca* under British rule in India. Today's community of Goans, both in Bombay and in Toronto, consider English to be their primary language.

[496] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, 105.

In my own research, most of my middle-aged participants, though proud of having English as their first language made it a point to divulge to me that they were fluent in Konkani, the language of their Goan ancestors. Adeline says to me:

> I got the language. I can speak Konkani, and I can read and write Konkani. We made the effort during that time although we were exposed to so many things in Bombay. All my brothers and sisters, you know, we used read the newspaper in Konkani to our parents. So that way, you know, we kept the language. Nowadays, our kids don't want to learn. They say 'Mummy, English is the best.' But you know, it is important to keep that connection. They will pick it up sometime, I think. They have a love of Goa.[497]

The practice of reading the Konkani-language newspaper to her parents is one that facilitated the maintenance of the Goan language for Adeline and her siblings, though they were all raised in the city of Mumbai. Erica Hoff suggests that transmission of language, particularly to second-generation immigrants, is dependent on a variety of factors, the most important of which is exposure to the native tongue in the home, and within the ethnic community.[498] In Mumbai, the prevalence of the Konkani language within the Goan community of *Dhobi Talao* maintains this linguistic connection; for instance, the parish of Our Lady of Dolours celebrates a Konkani Mass every day, thus Goans from the community practice an integral ritual of their faith in the language of their ancestors. Though none of my participants in Mumbai were raised in Goa, most of the older participants preferred to attend the Konkani Masses, as it offered them an aural engagement of their religio-cultural identities. This connection to the Konkani language of their ancestors is also maintained in the homes of my Goan participants in Mumbai. In hearing their parents speaking Konkani to one another, the younger generation of Goans

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[497] Adeline Freitas. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 11, 2013.
[498] Erika Hoff, "How Social Contexts Support and Shape Language Development," *Developmental Review*. 26, no. 1 (2006): 62.

in *Dhobi Talao* are, if not fluent, at least familiar with the language of their Goan foreparents. One young man tells me of his relationship to the Konkani language of his ancestors:

> At home right now we speak English since we're born and brought up in Bombay, but my mom and dad they communicate in Konkani. In fact most of the time when they communicate, when they're talking to each other, they speak in Konkani, but I think when they communicate with us they talk in English. What the little Konkani that I know I have picked up hearing them. [Here, his brother giggles and mumbles something about only knowing the swearwords].[499]

In keeping with Hoff's assessment that exposure to language in the home is important in the transmission of the language to the next generation, the younger generation of participants in my research reflect Adeline's assessment of the state of language comprehension. Raised in the multi-lingual setting of Mumbai, and in homes where English is the predominant tongue, they are uninterested in speaking or learning Konkani, though most have an awareness of it through their parents. Ramona, a young woman with a degree in Linguistics, tells me that though English is her first language, she thinks of Konkani as her "mother tongue." Then she second-guesses herself: "Well, maybe it's my mother's tongue, I don't know," she says.[500]

In these ways, by maintaining the language of Konkani in church and at home, and by providing the next generation of Mumbai's Goans with at least an aural familiarity with their ancestral tongue, the Goans of Mumbai are invested in bridging the remembered "home" place of Goa with the life that the community has recreated for itself in the city of Mumbai. Furthermore, as discussed previously, in maintaining Goan culinary traditions, practicing the Catholicism brought to Goa many centuries ago, and in

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[499] Dwayne Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 22, 2013.
[500] Ramona Freitas. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. November 12, 2013.

returning to the home place often, the Goans of Mumbai are deeply invested in the acts of sustaining their transnational connection to the ancestral place of Goa, thus preserving their religio-cultural identities as Goans.

Toronto, Canada

The memory of the place of Goa is well and alive with the Goans living in the diaspora. Per Cohen's taxonomy of diasporic communities, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Goan community in Toronto can be classified under a number of diasporic categories, particularly "labour" and "victim." The primary category of Goan migrants in Toronto would be "labour" diaspora, as most of my interlocutors inform me that their most significant reason for immigrating to Canada is for increased educational and employment prospects. However, on deeper engagement, it becomes apparent that this diasporic community, implicitly persecuted in India for its religio-cultural affiliation, can also be considered a "victim" diasporic community. In desiring to leave the country of their birth, where they feel like religio-cultural outsiders, the Goans who have migrated to Toronto harness their religious identities as the catalyst for not only making the decision to immigrate, but also in facilitating their integration into Canadian society. Many of my Goan informants in Toronto, told me of their experiences in India being fraught with a sense of "being from somewhere else." One participant even shared with me an exchange that he had with a co-worker in India, during which his Hindu colleague told him that, though they may be Indian by birth, Catholics should "*go back* to Europe or America."[501] This idea of "going back" to the West points to the idea of a reverse migration of sorts. As discussed earlier, the Goan community of Toronto sees their immigration to the West

[501] Rudy Fernandes. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 11, 2013. [Italics added]

as a "return" to a place where their Western religious heritage, as bequeathed to them by the Portuguese, will be valued and sustained. However, as also discussed in the previous chapter, though there is a cultural "return" in one sense, it is not a "home place" to which they are going.

My Goan interlocutors in Toronto see themselves as being "from" Goa. While the geographic proximity of Bombay to the state of Goa allows for easy access to their home place for Goans living in Bombay, the community of Goans living in Toronto must find new and inventive ways of maintain ties to the *ur*-place that informs their foundational narrative, their sense of belonging, and their religio-cultural identities. For the Goan community in Toronto, visiting Goa is a top priority when discussing the maintenance of connections to a homeland. Though unable to visit with the kind of frequency and ease afforded to the Mumbai community, the diasporic community of Goans prioritize visiting Goa as often as possible; for them, it is a way of maintaining cultural ties and also of imparting a sense of cultural belonging on the younger generation of Goans, particularly those born in the diaspora. One participant says:

> We go every two three years. There was a break after my parents died, I didn't go for about 7 to 10 years and now I keep going every two three years.[502]

Bell writes of the modern function of travel and tourism, that is "closely related to the ritual activities traditionally involved in religious pilgrimage."[503] She argues that for the traveller, these experiences offer "a fundamental ritual pattern of transformation by means of a spatial, temporal, and psychological transition."[504]

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[502] Ethel Moniz. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 10, 2013.
[503] Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 248.
[504] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 248.

> I go straight to Goa nowadays. I don't bother with Bombay—too much *lafda*.[505] We take the charters from London direct to Goa, rent a car for the holiday, and we have a house there, you know? So, it is much nicer than dealing with the *jhanjhat*.[506] Also, the kids don't like Bombay…they much prefer Goa. It's *susegaad*. [Laughter].[507]

Visiting Goa regularly or semi-regularly is a way for the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto to instill a sense of Goan cultural belonging in their children. The act of crossing back to Goa is yet another strategy by which to maintain as sense of "Goan-ness." The maintenance of this sense of identity tied to the place of Goa was of particular concern with my participants in Toronto, many of whom feared that their children would not know "where they are from" without a tangible idea of what Goa is. One participant expressed this fear in regards to raising her teenage son, Christopher:

> It is important for us to show Christopher where he comes from, you know? Now, he's born and brought up here, and his friends and all are all mixed. But here, everyone thinks that to be Canadian is amazing. That's true also, but we want to instill in him our values, and also to show him that we are also something unique. So we go to Goa with him, and he really likes going there, you know? We also have those beaches you see in the postcards…everyone here goes to Mexico and all, but we tell him Goa is also spectacular. It is important, you know. Otherwise, he will lose that heritage. He will forget where we come from. He need not know the language, but we needed him to know the culture and you know how it is, so like you know the family culture, and the way, and the behavior like you know. So we've taken him like four or five times, we've gone [to Goa]. So he has been exposed to what it's like. He talks to his cousins so like he's kind of kept in touch with them. He knows how they are there. Yet, because he's so here and steeped in this culture there's nothing that we can really do. It pains our heart.[508]

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[505] Loosely translated, *lafda* means "hassle" or "nuisance." Translation by author.
[506] *Jhanjhat* is a Hindi word, meaning "hectic-ness" or "busy-ness." Translation by author.
[507] Melvin Marques. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 17, 2013.
[508] Sandra Pereira. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 15, 2013.

This heartbreaking sentiment was often espoused by my Toronto participants, who lamented the loss of language, values, and Goan-ness in their children, even while encouraging the younger generation to integrate fully into Canadian society.

Ties to Goa

The G.O.A. in Toronto has developed and is actively involved in, as part of its mission, several programs that help the Goan community in Toronto to maintain its ties to Goa in active and engaged ways. One of these ways of maintaining ties to Goa is sustained through an annual fundraising drive that the G.O.A. sponsors. The funds raised in this drive are used for a number of charitable and non-profit endeavours in Goa, including the sponsorship of orphans in Goa, providing aid to the financially-underprivileged in Goa, and providing new Goan immigrants to Canada with financial assistance in the transition process of being new immigrants.[509]

Another exciting way, in which the G.O.A. seeks to provide its members with opportunities to foster active ties to Goa, is through participation in the Know Goa Programme (KGP), which is sponsored by the Government of Goa's Officer of the Commissioner for NRI[510] Affairs. The KGP is a program "formulated for the benefit of Goan Diaspora Youth who are not Indian Nationals but whose parents and/or grandparents are of Indian origin, and have had no opportunity to discover their roots in India in general and Goa in particular."[511] The KGP offers Goan youth, age 18 to 28 years old, born and living outside of India the opportunity to visit their "home" place as a

[509] Toronto, "The G.O.A. Vision Report" A5-A6. A5-6

[510] NRI refers to a Non-Resident Indian person, which generally means an Indian national residing outside of India; however, it could also refer to a Person of Indian Origin (PIO), whose nationality/birthplace is outside of India, but who traces his or her cultural roots and ancestors to India.

[511] G.O.A. Toronto, "Know Goa Programme," http://www.goatoronto.com/news-events/know-goa-programme/.

way of getting to know their roots. The two-week trip involves visits to "premier educational, cultural, historical and industrial places of interest" in Goa, as well as interactions with local youth groups, and government officials.[512] As part of the KGP, the Government of Goa bears 90% of all travel and accommodation costs for the participants accepted into the program. The Toronto G.O.A. is actively engaged in raising funds to supplement this governmental effort, and covers the remaining 10% of the travel and accommodation costs for young Goans from Toronto who choose to participate in the KGP. During my fieldwork in Toronto, I had the opportunity to chat to a few past participants of the KGP. Though they were not interview participants, chatting with them about the program and their experience of "going back" to Goa, though none of them had ever been there before, was an enlightening one. One young man, a second generation Canadian, who had attended the KGP a few years prior, told me of his experience:

> I was born and raised here, so like I had no idea what going back there would be like. My parents have always talked about Goa as this paradise, or something. It was so hectic—the whole trip; there was so much, so so much to see and do. The beaches, we only had a little time there, but they were incredible. And the whole time I was there, I was like, "Yes. This is where I come from." It was like *going home* for me, you know. Like I know that doesn't make sense, but there was something familiar. The people were so nice, and I found out things about Goa that I never even knew. I came back here and told my parents, and even they were surprised. I mean, like, being Goan has always been a part of who I am, you know? My parents have always made it a point of telling us that, and we always come to these kinds of events, so that was always a part of me. But man, *going back* to Goa was something else entirely. To see those old churches and the body of St. Francis Xavier, and know that that is where my people come from, you know? There is a connection to the earth there. I will never forget it. I will take my kids back there some day. I don't know. I can't explain. It was amazing.[513] [Italics added]

[512] Toronto, "Know Goa Programme".
[513] Event attendee. G.O.A. St. Francis Xavier Feast Celebration. Mississauga, Canada. December 2, 2012.

This sentiment of "going back" and "going home" is exactly what the G.O.A. is trying to foster through its support of the KGP. By actively cultivating ties to the home place of Goa, particularly in the diasporic community that has such little opportunity to "go back," the sense of "belonging" to that place is strengthened. Additionally, the sponsorship of the KGP enables the Goan community in Toronto to feel actively engaged in maintaining those spatial ties, which for many immigrants can feel out of reach.

This notion of "going back" and of remaining in contact through a return of sorts to the home place, in this case Goa, is in keeping with the transnationality of the Goan community in the diaspora. Of a similar "return" by second-generation Polish immigrants living in the United Kingdom, who return to or visit Poland as a way of "going home," Kathy Burrell writes in *Transnational Ties: Cities, Migrations, and Identities*, that "going 'back' to Poland is arguably more a symbolic pursuit of the past than a genuine reconnection with home as a specific place."[514] Similarly, for the young members of the G.O.A. in Toronto, "returning" to the home place of Goa, is less about Goa being their actual "home;" rather, it is a way of maintaining a symbolic tie with a cultural place from which their ancestors came, and from where a significant portion of their identities as Goan Canadians stem. In this way, the Goans of Toronto are able to maintain tangible ties to the home place, while continuing to build lives for themselves in the diasporic setting of Toronto.

[514] Kathy Burrell, "Time Matters: Temporal Contexts of Polish Transnationalism," in *Transnational Ties: Cities, Migrations, and Identities*, eds. John Eade and Michael P. Smith (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 21.

Food Networks

For my Goan participants, the focus on food as a way of addressing queries into their cultural identity is not surprising. D'Sylva writes in her thesis that in her examination of Goan culture in Canada, the connection between food, taste memories, and the connection to Goan culture is undeniable: "The connection between food and identity [is] all about the memories evoked through the sensory engagement with Goan food. They are Goan because they eat Goan food, and they eat Goan food because they are Goan."[515]

> To me, Goan culture is complete enjoyment. We Goans are very content with our lives and that has come to mean, you know, living. Since [my] mom dad both are Goan, I am very content with life and to elaborate on what was said…during festivals like even during Christmas, we have we make so many different sweets and they all come from Goa. Like *bebinca* and *doss* and *neureoes*…so that's all a part of it. It has become a ritual, every Christmas we want that or unless without that we won't feel we've celebrated Christmas. Now here in Toronto, so many of our Goans are selling these things, so it is much easier to feel that Goan Christmas thing, you know?[516]

This connection that Francis makes between Goan foods and the celebration of religious holidays is an echo of my Goan participants in Mumbai who associate certain traditional Goan foods with the celebration of feast days. The centrality of Goan foods to the celebration of Catholic feasts like Christmas and Easter is a topic that is mentioned several times overs throughout my interviews in Toronto. For my participants, engaging their Goan culinary roots, passed down over generations and brought with them in the migration to Canada, is a tangible way of maintaining the religio-cultural identities as

[515] D'Sylva, ""You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food." The Interection of Gender, Food and Identity: A Case Study of Goan Women in the Greater Toronto Area," 112.
[516] Francis Carvalho. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 9, 2013.

Goans. In an article examining the food practices of Goan migrants in Portugal, Marta Vilar Rosales writes:

> Food—in common, in fact, with other seemingly insignificant domestic things—is an important source of data to allow us to explore the multifaceted complexities of transnational migrations. Food-related practices hold a remarkably expressive potential, arguably greater than all other daily practices. Moreover, food is highly mobile, easily carried from one place to another."[517]

In bringing Goan foods into their celebrations as Catholics in Canada, the Goan community of Toronto continues to access their unique cultural identity and its connection to their expression of Catholicism. In this way, maintaining transnational ties of identity through food is also tied to the maintenance of the Goan community's unique religio-cultural identity.

As my participant Francis mentions above, the increasing availability of Goan foods in the Toronto area, has allowed the Goans living there to maintain and strengthen its identity as a Goan community in the diaspora. Of the Barbadian community in Atlanta who are central to her research, Jennifer Sweeney Tookes writes that migrants living in the diaspora crave the taste of "traditional" Barbadian food, and that partaking of this traditional cuisine is a way for the community to assert its Barbadian identity, particularly since they are removed from the homeland.[518] She writes:

> Barbadians are displaying their ethnic identities and reinforcing their bonds to others who claim that same heritage through the tangible medium of food. By sharing food they perceive to be traditional with other Barbadians they are reinforcing their common bond, even in the diaspora.

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[517] Marta Vilar Rosales, "My Umbilical Cord to Goa: Food, Colonialism and Transnational Goan Life Experiences," *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*. 20, no. 3-4 (2012): 252.

[518] Jennifer Sweeney Tookes, "'The Food Represents': Barbadian Foodways in the Diaspora," *Appetite*. 90 (2015): 69.

In a similar way, accessing Goan foods for the Goan community in Toronto is a way of asserting and maintaining their unique religio-cultural practices. To facilitate this food-based identity construction, the Goan community in Toronto, like other migrant communities, has created food pathways through which Goan foods are imported to Canada. Following Canada's food-related regulations means that the import of Goans food is usually administered by small Goan-run businesses that have the resources to navigate the importation. For instance, on the Goan Voice website, amongst the plethora of advertisements from Goan-owned and operated businesses in the GTA, is one by Goana Products, which boasts a wide selection of Goan foods, imported to Toronto, directly from Goa at reasonable rates.[519] Goana Products, available at a dozen or so stores in the GTA, is operated by a Goan businessman in the GTA; it creates a transnational food network between Goa and Toronto through which the Goan community in Toronto can access specifically-Goan foods, like Goan sausages, fish and prawn pickles, *sorpotel*, and *vindaloo*. Certainly bringing Goan foods and ingredients to Toronto is not as easy as the experience of my participants in Mumbai who can simply go to Goa and purchase the desired products. There is also the significant shift here of procuring the Goan food items, from the spatial realm to a virtual, less embodied one. Yet, for the Goans of Toronto, having these "tastes of home" maintains tangible ties to the place of Goa; additionally, it also upholds for them a sense of "Goan-ness," through the maintenance of the embodied cultural experience that taste provides.

During my fieldwork in Toronto, most of my participants chose to conduct the interview in their homes, and many insisted on inviting me over for dinner. This religio-

[519] Flyer accessible at "Goana Products," Goan Voice, http://www.goanvoice.ca/2012/issue09/ref/Goana-March-2012-flyer.pdf.

cultural commitment of the Goan community in Toronto to maintaining its identity through food is reminiscent of Bell's view on the partaking of food as a form of religious ritual:

> Shared participation in a food feast is a common ritual means for defining and reaffirming the full extent of the human and cosmic community. […] the principle of sharing food marks it as a community, [and] most religiocultural [sic] traditions regard food and community in this way.[520]

In partaking of these dinner feasts with my interlocutors in Toronto, I learned about the Goan community's ties to "home" through food. At one such dinner, one participant heaps spoonful upon spoonful of Goan prawn *balchao*, a special pickled condiment, onto my plate:

> Eat, eat! It's the best stuff. We get it straight from Goa. Sometimes, I just eat it with only rice. When I was young, I could eat it straight from the spoon. [Laughter]. There's nothing like it, you know! It brings back such memories for me. I just love it. Don't worry, just eat. For desert, we have Alphonso mangoes.[521] We get it from Bajaj Grocery on Clarke [Boulevard]. Just before Dixie [Road]. It's a bit pricey, but they're damn good![522]

The ability to import particular ingredients from Goa, and make them available to Goan consumers in Canada creates a transnational opportunity whereby the sending and receiving places are bridged, thus allowing Goans in Canada to maintain ties to their native culture while creating new lives in the West. While Goans do not necessarily have a contemporary nation state (i.e. Goa) with which to identify, the straddling of cultures and the maintenance of links to an imagined place, maintains the cultural identities for Goans in the diaspora. The Goan communities of Mumbai and of Toronto, each long

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[520] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 123.

[521] Alphonso mangoes are a variety of mango grown in Goa, and declared by Goans to be the best mango variety available. The variety was introduced to the Konkan region of India by the Portuguese, and named after Portuguese military expert Alfonso de Albuquerque. See Sejal Sukhadwala, "Do You Know Alphonso Mango?," *The Guardian*, Friday, April 27, 2012.

[522] Lalitha Moniz. Interview with author. Toronto, Canada. June 7, 2013.

removed from the geographic context of Goa, partake of what Clifford James calls a "productive game of identities," as a way of not only preserving tradition and therefore identity, but also transforming traditional practices to suit their new spatial context and sustain the creation of their new hybrid identities.[523]

Language Ties

For the pre-migration Goan community of Mumbai, maintaining the Konkani language of their Goan heritage is inculcated into their practice of Catholicism; for instance, as detailed previously, in the community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao*, this linguistic tie is abundantly apparent through the celebration of Konkani Masses, the integration of Konkani hymns into liturgical services, and the recitation of Konkani prayers in domestic rituals. For the Goans of Toronto this religious tie to their linguistic heritage remains unattended, since their Catholicism is practiced as a part of the Canadian mainstream. A 2011 report compiled by Statistics Canada, on the transmission of immigrant languages in Canada, suggests that the transmission of immigrant languages is a vital element of the settlement process for immigrant communities in Canada.[524] The report's author, René Houle, writes, "Like religion, language of origin can be a marker of ethnicity, and can provide socioeconomic advantages like access to certain goods and services offered by or for the immigrant community."[525] Houle continues that while immigrant groups of Europe have a more difficult time persevering linguistic ties over time, more-recent immigrant groups, for instance Spanish-, Chinese-, or Punjabi-

[523] James Clifford, "Taking Identity Politics Seriously: 'The Contradictory, Stony Ground...'," in *Without Guarantees: In Honour of Stuart Hall*, eds. Paul Gilroy, Lawrence Grossberg, and Angela McRobbie (London, UK: Verso, 2000), 100.
[524] René Houle, "Recent Evolution of Immigrant-Language Transmission in Canada," (Statistics Canada, 2011), 3.
[525] Houle, "Recent Evolution of Immigrant-Language Transmission in Canada," 3.

speaking communities, have been found to be more likely to maintain language ties, for generations after migrations.[526]

In a similar vein, the Goan community in Toronto deals with issues regarding the loss of language with the younger generation of diasporic Goans:

> My granddaughter was born on 29th of December last year. She's about four and a half months old now. My son told me to speak to her in Konkani so she will at least get the language—he didn't get it, but he wants her to understand at least. So I still try to speak, like when I have her to myself alone, but you know what as soon as we speak Konkani to her, she finds something different, she starts crying. She is so used to English, and makes a face like 'what the hell is this?' She immediately makes a face and if we continue little longer she cries. So then I stop.[527]

This lack of transmission of the Konkani language to the younger generation does not seem to be a cause for major concern with my participants. As evident from their foundational myth, for the Goans of Toronto, their primary language of English is the key marker of their religio-cultural identity. For the community in Toronto, having English as a first language is a point of significant pride as it has facilitated easier integration into Canadian society, of which the community is very proud.

> I think we like to be I think multicultural. We get along with everyone. Our language is English, most of us, especially our generation we all speak English so why would our children learn Konkani, you know? Celine, my eldest, she understands a bit more than the other two, because when she was born we would speak Konkani to each other in the house. But then my sister came to stay with us and she doesn't speak Konkani so then we went back to English. So the other kids, they understand maybe, we are talking something and then you switch to English. They know what you're talking about, but not really.[528]

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[526] Houle, "Recent Evolution of Immigrant-Language Transmission in Canada," 3-4.
[527] Francis Carvalho. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. May 9, 2013.
[528] Ethel Moniz. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 10, 2013.

Having English as a primary language, allows for some ease in the already-complex post-migration processes of integration that the Goans in Toronto undertake.

Through my fieldwork however, I found that for some in the Goan community of Toronto, the idea of losing Konkani completely is a significant point of pain. One participant tells me:

> I speak Konkani. I speak fluent Portuguese as well, I have initial education in Portuguese, and my parents spoke Konkani at home. […] My boys do not speak Konkani or Portuguese at all, that is probably one of the mistakes I have made. That is what my parents would say.[529]

There is the sense that with the increasing degree of integration into Canadian society, future generations of Goans will lose all linguistic ties to their native tongue. Unlike the younger generation of Goans in Bombay, who are exposed to Konkani through hearing it spoken by their parents and grandparents, and through frequent visits to the home place of Goa, the younger generation of Goans in Toronto do not have the same auditory connection to the Konkani language. Of this difference in linguistic environment and its effect on language transmission, Hoff writes, "Language acquisition depends on access to communicative opportunities and an analyzable language model. Language acquisition [proceeds] differently in environments that differ in the provision of these supports."[530] Unlike their Bombay counterparts, even the older generation of Goan immigrants to Toronto rarely speak Konkani with any degree of regularity in the home, and as such it is not part of the auditory environment.

> I think [Goans] keep our identity secret to a certain extent. Unfortunately we do not preserve our culture as much as the non-Goans do, especially the Punjabis, you know? But we try, especially [my husband], and his group. They get together and promote ancient

[529] Rudy Fernandes. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 11, 2013.
[530] Hoff, "How Social Contexts Support and Shape Language Development," 58.

> Goan culture...they perform the *mando*.[531] [My husband] composes *mandos* and…and we perform at various functions or village socials here and there. It's a good way to keep the language and culture alive.[532]

In many ways, the community of Goans whom I interacted with in Toronto was *more* concerned about maintain ties to the home place of Goa, and made greater efforts to do so than their counterparts in Bombay. In order to preserve some semblance of transnational tie to the native tongue of Konkani, community associations like the G.O.A. in Toronto continue to make concerted efforts to include Konkani-language materials in their social events. At the G.O.A.-sponsored Masses that I attended during my research in Toronto, a significant number of the hymns sung during the Goan Masses were Konkani. In speaking with the G.O.A. choir director Suzanna Pereira, I learned that the G.O.A. community in Toronto has also taken it upon itself to contribute significantly to an online database of Konkani hymns and cultural songs. Once again here there is a shift in the way in which the Goans of Toronto are able to engage with their cultural language; unlike the Goans of Mumbai who are able to hear Mass in Konkani on any given day of the week, the diasporic community of Goans in Toronto must create a virtual space in which their linguistic ties can be preserved. The database, entitled "Songs from Goa in Konkani," originally compiled by a Goan gentleman from Austria, includes hymns, *mandos*, and other types of Konkani music, complete with musical notations. Through this database, the diasporic community of Goans the world over is able to maintain linguistic ties, if only through music, to its native language.[533]

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[531] *Mandos* are traditional Konkani folk songs from Goa. They usually tell stories of village life, or the history of the Goans.
[532] Ethel Moniz. Interview by author. Toronto, Canada. June 10, 2013.
[533] The web database "Songs from Goa in Konkani" has an absolute wealth of materials pertaining to Konkani music, Goan history, and culture. "Songs from Goa in Konkani," de Noronha, Lourenço, http://www.songs-from-goa.at/index.php.

The transnational ties that the Goan community of Toronto maintains with the home place of Goa, allow this community to uphold its religio-cultural identity, albeit in modified and renegotiated ways. By reinventing their connection to the place of Goa, through visits and cultural activities, by sustaining culinary habits particularly in Goan social settings, and by developing new modes of language maintenance, the community of Goans in Toronto is actively engaged in preserving its transnational identities. In these ways, Trough removed from the place of Goa by multiple migrations and several years, this community of diasporic Goans continues to foster its religio-cultural identity.

Summarizing Goan Transnationalism

As a theoretical concept employed in the anthropological study of migration, transnationalism is based in the recognition that, even after having immigrated, migrant communities maintain ties to their places of origin, even if those places are geographically distant.[534] According to Brettell, transnationalism views immigrants as not necessarily uprooted, but rather, free to move back and forth in a myriad ways across borders and boundaries of cultures, places, and social systems.[535] For the Goan communities of Mumbai and of Toronto, maintaining their identities as "Goans," permanently removed from their home place of Goa, involves preserving a myriad connections to "being Goan," including food, language, visits to the "homeland," et cetera. This chapter has demonstrated repeatedly the importance placed by the Goans on maintaining these transnational ties as a way of sustaining their unique religio-cultural identities, particularly as they are geographically and temporally removed from the home

[534] Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc, *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, ix; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, 27.
[535] Brettell and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 157.

place of Goa, thus categorizing the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto as diasporic communities. Here I would like to revisit Cohen's description of what a "diasporic community" is as a way of illustrating the applicability of this term to the Goan communities of my project. For Cohen, a diasporic community is one that has been dispersed from an original "centre" to two or more foreign locations.[536] For today's Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto, this original centre is certainly the *ur*-place of Goa, to which they continue to tie their religio-cultural heritage. Secondly, in keeping with Cohen's definition, Goans in these diasporic locations continue to retain a collective memory,[537] which includes their foundational narrative tying them to the Portuguese and a Western culture. For both communities of Goans who are central to my project, there is a distinct sense that they are not wholly a part of the cities in which they live; though the community of Goans in Mumbai is more than three-hundred years old, there continues to exist as sense that they will never be "fully accepted in their host society," thus remaining partly separated.[538] Further, the idealized notion that both communities of Goans have of the home place of Goa, as a paradise to which they all hope to "return," is also reflected in Cohen's definition of diasporic communities, as is the Goan-held belief in the maintenance and restoration of Goa to its former glory.[539] Finally, as has been amply explored in this project, Cohen's criterion that diasporic communities by definition continue in various ways to relate to the homeland, using the existence of that place to sustain their ethnocommunal identity[540] is reflected in the transnational ties that the

[536] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 6.
[537] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 6.
[538] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 6.
[539] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 6.
[540] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 6.

Goans of Mumbai and Toronto maintain to the place of Goa as a way of maintaining their religio-cultural identities in the diaspora.

For the diasporic Goan community of Mumbai, maintenance of transnational ties to Goa is fostered through regular visits to the homeland, by speaking the Konkani language of their Goan ancestors, and by participating in the culinary habits maintained by Goans through the centuries. This maintenance of identity by the community of Goans in Mumbai is facilitated by the geographic proximity of the city of mumbai to the *ur*-place of Goa. "Returning" to Goa for births, marriages, feasts, and vacations is a vital part of the way in which Mumbai's Goans sustain their "Goan-ness." This proximity to the home place is not a luxury afforded to the diasporic Goan community of Toronto, who are further separated from the homeland than their Mumbai counterparts. Though many of my interlocutors have made "going back" to Goa a priority, this international travel is not an easily-undertaken, or always-viable, prospect for all members of the Goan community in Toronto. Therefore, they sustain their transnational ties to Goa and to their religio-cultural identities in renegotiated and modified ways. For the Goan community of Toronto, the maintenance of food networks, through which Goan foods are either imported to or recreated in Canada, is of utmost importance. Maintaining transnational culinary ties, allows this diasporic community to have a "taste of home," though they are geographically and culturally removed from Goa itself. Further, in reinventing modes of engaging the Konkani language such as the maintenance of online Konkani databases, Toronto's Goans are able to stave off the demise of their "native" tongue, a fate that many of them see as inevitable particularly in the Western, English-speaking context of Canada. These active renegotiations of the ways in which Goans maintain their

transnational ties to the *ur*-place of Goa, allows this religio-cultural community to sustain its unique identity, through multiple migrations and the integration into Canadian society.

The move in anthropology which examines the transnationality of migrant communities such as the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto, offers an opportunity for reconfiguring the ways in which we think about identity construction and identity maintenance.[541] For the Goans, their identities are not static; rather, they are in a constant state of renegotiation. This identity maintenance allows the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto to transmit their unique religio-cultural heritage to the next generation of Goans, and to continue to preserve it over time and across places.

[541] Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc, *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, 49.

Figure 21: Scene from Goa, Goa 2013

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

> The Goan is, in a way, an exile in his own land; paradoxically in his own home, a stranger in a strange land. For geographic exile is not needed for certain exilic patterns. An exile need not leave home in any significant sense in order to suffer from the pain of not belonging. […] The Christian Goan is torn by these affinities [to other Indians] and by the strong tugs of his fellow Christians all over the world, especially in the West. The reconciliation of these two sensibilities, the tension between the two, makes for drama. The sensitive Goan has to be aware of the war within himself. […] It has a profound impact on those who realise the warring that takes place in the Goan unconscious. The Goan belongs and yet does not belong to himself.[542]

This excerpt is from a paper entitled "Stray Thoughts on Exile" by Eusebio L. Rodrigues, originally delivered as a presentation at the 1991 Conference on Goa organized by the University of Toronto's Centre for South Asian Studies. Though academically-sponsored, the papers presented at this symposium were not academic in nature; rather, they were presentations by "insiders" to the Goan community, reflecting on the nature of being Goan in Canada and elsewhere in the diaspora. Like Rodrigues, many of the presenters focused on the nature of isolation and being "out of place" that Goans experience, both within India and in the diaspora. The theme of "exile" is not necessarily one that the Goan participants of my project identify with, because the term "exile" implies a victimhood of sorts. However, my participants in both Mumbai and Toronto do express sentiments of feeling "out of place," and echo Rodrigues's sentiment of feeling "the pain of not belonging." For my interlocutors in both Mumbai and Toronto, each of which is a community that has long been removed from the home place of Goa, there is certainly an expressed narrative of isolation and disconnection from their current environments. However, what my project has worked to highlight is not this story of

[542] Eusebio L. Rodrigues, "Stray Thoughts on Goan Exile," in *Goa: Continuity and Change*, eds. Narendra K. Wagle and George Coehlo (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Centre for South Asian Studies, 1995), 52.

victimhood or exile per se; rather it has focused on the agency that my interlocutors have harnessed through their religious affiliation in creating and maintaining their unique religio-cultural identities as Catholics and as Goans. Wagle, editor of the papers which comprised the 1991 UofT Conference on Goa, writes in his preface:

> A distinct Goan identity began with the advent of Portuguese rule in Goa. At that point, Goa became culturally ambidextrous: one hand linked to the Indian soil and Hindu past and present—more specifically to the Konkan coast—and the other to Portugal and its Roman Catholic institutions and European lifestyle.[543]

This religio-cultural ambidexterity that Wagle refers to is evidenced repeatedly amongst the Goans of my own research, both in India and in Canada. It is due to this multiplicity of religio-cultural commitments that the community of Goans in Toronto finds it difficult to fully integrate into Canadian society even though their membership in Catholic churches facilitates an easier initial integration into a religious community. The members of the Goan communities of Mumbai and Toronto bridge the spaces between places, between cultural ties and religious roots, all the while maintaining a strong communal and transnational connection to the place of Goa, to which they credit their origin. Addressing these many affiliations, this dissertation has worked to showcase the communities of Goans of Mumbai and of Toronto as they navigate myriad ways to maintain their unique religio-cultural identities.

This research project began as a way of understanding Goan Catholic immigrants to Canada as they balance their religio-cultural identities as a community of Indian Christians with the undertaking of integrating into Canadian society. In order to fully explore the realities of Toronto's Goan community, the project undertook the task of

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[543] Narendra K. Wagle, "Preface," in *Goa: Continuity and Change*, eds. Narendra K. Wagle and George Coehlo (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Centre for South Asian Studies, 1995), i.

examining where this community "comes from," as a way of understanding their many religious and cultural ties. As such, through this dissertation I undertook an ethnographic exploration of two diasporic Goan communities, one in Mumbai and the other in Toronto. The extant literature on Indian Christian communities, such as those which profile the Saint Thomas Christians of South India, suggested that I would encounter findings similar to previous scholars of Indian Christianities who argue for the "Indian-ness" of these Christian communities. Indeed, much of the scholarship that is available on Christianity in India and the Christianities *of* India showcase just how "Indian" the various Christian communities being profiled are. Prior to embarking on my fieldwork, the extant literature suggested that I would encounter similar trends with the Goans as well, whereby they would be torn between their Hindu ancestral roots which tied them to being Indian and the Catholicism and Western-culture brought to them by the Portuguese. Further, on the surface, this struggle between being Hindu/Indian and being Catholic/Western is replicated in Canada, where Goans are classified as "Indian" based on their race and country of origin. However, these binary categories proved insufficient once I began to engage with the Goan communities "on the ground." For both communities at the centre of my project, the connection to "being Indian" is minimized in an effort to express their unique religio-cultural identities as Goan Catholics. Indeed, it is the primacy of their religion and the transnational ties to the place of Goa that allows these communities to maintain their unique religio-cultural identities, both in Mumbai and in Toronto.

As this project has explored, the Goans who were converted to Catholicism under the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, experienced a religio-cultural conversion so

pervasive that it required the adoption of new names, new habits of food and dress, and new expressions of culture. Albuquerque writes that the influence of the Portuguese was "most perceptible in the race and religion they left behind."[544] The Catholicism to which the Goans were converted was widely propagated, and more significantly, thoroughly indoctrinated in religious and cultural forms. D'Souza argues of this conversion: "Since the Portuguese cut at the roots of traditional society by forcing conversion to Christianity, the new Western culture was more easily assimilated"[545] By assimilating to a culture that was more in keeping with the cultural expressions of the Portuguese, the early Goan Catholics became more religiously and culturally aligned with their colonizers than with their fellow Indians, with whom they now shared few cultural and no religious ties. This cultural affiliation that the Goans had with the Portuguese, and later with the British, was a catalyzing force in the migration of Goans out of Goa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during which Goans were a part of the Portuguese and British envoys to places outside of Goa, particularly to the city of Mumbai, but also to places like Karachi, Pakistan, and various places in East Africa, where both colonial forces were making their mark. These early Goan migrants, who left with the colonials as part of the colonial administrative workforce, were part of what Cohen calls a "labour diaspora," which are a diasporic community that was originally relocated by colonizing powers as part of a labour force.[546] The religio-cultural affiliation that the first waves of Goan migrants out of Goa had with the Europeans is something that has endured through the centuries, and is seen manifested in the communities of Goans that I engaged with through the course of my research. In fact, it is this enduring religio-cultural affiliation with the West that my

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[544] Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay*, xix.
[545] D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change*, 213.
[546] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 64-68.

interlocutors in Toronto cite as their primary catalyst for choosing to leave India and migrate to Canada. Their Catholic religion and Western cultural leanings make Toronto, Canada an ideal destination to which to relocate in search of education and employment opportunities. These 20th and 21st century migrants out of India and to the West, would be categorized under Cohen rubric of diasporas as a "trade diaspora;" that is, a community that becomes culturally and economically invested in the country to which they relocate, while still maintaining fluid transnational ties to the place they left behind.[547] As this project illustrates, religion is the primary marker of identity for the Goans of Mumbai and of Toronto. Their Catholicism, as given to their ancestors by the Portuguese in India, informs the myriad ways in which the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto maintain their religio-cultural identities. It is this primacy of religion, in conjunction with a cultural-alignment with the West that is at the centre of the project as a whole. Furthermore, for both the communities of my project, in Mumbai and in Toronto, this religio-cultural identity is predicated upon an unshakeable tie to the *ur*-place of Goa, to which both communities link their heritage. In order to maintain their uniquely-Goan way of being Catholic, each of these communities undertakes the maintenance of transnational ties to Goa.

In his essay on exile, an excerpt of which opened this chapter, Rodrigues laments the plight of Goans who have immigrated to "Toronto, to London, to Washington DC,"[548] that their ties to the homeland of Goa, though still very real, are growing increasingly weaker:

> For the Goan in exile today the distance from Goa is immense—two ways: physical (which could change), and psychical and

[547] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 83-102.
[548] Rodrigues, "Stray Thoughts on Goan Exile," 56.

> psychological. Our sons and daughters, our grandsons and daughters find it difficult, almost impossible, to retain Goa in their being. The ties are too thin, stretched out, and will soon break up and be lost. It is and will be very difficult to bring the Goans together as a group—the old Goan and village associations no longer have the cohesive power to create and maintain a sense Goanness.[549]

Rodrigues's concern that Goans are losing their sense of identity is shared by my interlocutors both in Mumbai and in Toronto. Though not in exile from the place of Goa, each of the communities of my project is removed from the home place, and feel "out of place," to varying degrees, in their current cities. As diasporic communities, the Goans of Mumbai and of Toronto certainly embody Cohen's assessment of diasporic communities as not being "fully accepted" into their host society.[550] For the Goans of Mumbai, engaging with the place of Goa offers a tangible and active way of maintaining "Goanness." The proximity of the two places makes the Mumbai Goan community's ties to the *ur*-place far easier to maintain than their Toronto-based counterparts. For Toronto's Goan population, for whom their religio-cultural ties acted as a catalyst in the immigration process, maintaining their uniquely Goan heritage in Canada's multicultural landscape requires a renegotiation of the ways in which the religio-cultural community of Goans comes together and how it maintains its sense of "Goanness" in the multicultural, multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-everything landscape of the city of Toronto. To address the loss of identity that Rodrigues laments, the Goans of Toronto have harnessed place-specific ways to ensure that their linkages to the home place of Goa, and to the Goan values that they hold as central to their religio-cultural identities, remain intact and continue to be transmitted to the next generation of Goans. Examples of these strategies are seen in establishment of Goan socials to celebrate Goan feast days, or in the

[549] Rodrigues, "Stray Thoughts on Goan Exile," 57.
[550] Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 6.

sponsoring of Goan youth programs which allow young people of Goan descent to visit and learn about Goa. Further, the transnational ties that are maintained through food and language are also seen replicated in Toronto, as the community invests itself in commercial avenues to import Goan foods to Canada, and has devoted a great deal of resources to staging Konkani plays and theatre productions in the GTA; thus, ensuring that Goans may enjoy their ancestral tongue in their new Canadian home.

Goan Forward

The two communities whom I engaged with as part of my fieldwork over 16 months between 2012 and 2013, continue to remain in contact with me; many of my participants have become keenly interested in the final product of this dissertation because to them, it means that their experiences as an underrepresented religio-cultural minority, both in Mumbai and in Toronto, have been validated or recognized. Many have written to me over the last year to encourage my writing, provide me with further insight into their participation in my project, or update me on what is going on with the Goan community in their respective city.

Mumbai, India

Life for the Goan community of *Dhobi Talao* in Mumbai seems to go on, as it has for the last century. The Goans of *Sonapur* and the parish of Our Lady of Dolours have well-established routines that allow them to maintain their lives as an insular religio-cultural community in the thriving metropolis of Mumbai. The parish continues to struggle with the municipal powers over the site of Cross *Maidan*, which the city and the state covet as part of larger urban plans in the city of Mumbai. The lease that the *Sonapur* parish held on the Cross *Maidan* site during my time in Mumbai ran out in 2014, and the

current lease is set to expire in 2016. The crucifix at Cross *Maidan*, the only remnant of the first Portuguese church in Mumbai, and the site itself, where that first church building stood, are the earliest and most sacred vestiges of this community's tie to the city of Mumbai. With municipal powers being unable or unwilling to provide the community with leases longer than two years at a time, the community's hold on the sacred place of Cross *Maidan* becomes increasingly tenuous.

Many of my participants in Mumbai had, over my time with them, shared with me their intention to leave India at some point in the near future. Many have filed immigration paperwork, and still others continue to build nest eggs to facilitate the expenses involved with an international immigration. One example of this move out of India is Ashford who was one of my primary interlocutors in Mumbai, and who was a constant companion and friend to me throughout my fieldwork there. Ashford has, since my time in Mumbai, left the city of his birth to find work and opportunity in Dubai. The mid- to late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries have seen Arabian Gulf cities like Dubai and Abu Dhabi become major receiving sites for Goans looking outside of India for employment opportunities. Since Indian nationals are not allowed to apply for citizenship in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Goans who move to places like Dubai for work are on limited-time work visas; however, living and working in the UAE acts as a springboard for these Goans to move further westward, to countries like Canada. In a recent email correspondence, Ashford tells me that he has found a thriving Goan community in Dubai, and that his plan is to work in Dubai for a few years, earn a nest egg, and then migrate to Canada. His mother has relatives in Calgary, and he tells me that

he is looking forward to seeing me again when he arrives. His plan, he says, includes eventually being able to sponsor his brothers for immigration to Canada as well.

The *Sonapur* parish of Our Lady of Dolours that Ashford and his brothers, and their father before them, were born and raised in, is now in its second century of operation. They have an active community of young people, who have recently put the church 'online', creating a Facebook group and Google+ account for the church. Through membership in the Facebook group, I have gleaned that a new restoration fund for the church building has been established, collecting and sourcing funds for a proposed renovation and partial rebuilding of the church building which has provided the community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao* with a place of worship for over a hundred years. The proposal indicates that these plans for renovation are to go into effect in 2020. This virtual presence of the community of Goans in *Dhobi Talao* is an innovative way of maintaining ties to those who have left Mumbai for the West; as evidenced by the membership of this online community, many of the parish's past members who have since immigrated to places like Canada and Australia, continue to participate in the parish's online community. These Goans, now located in the West, also act as a major source of funding for the *Sonapur* community's restoration project. By sending money back to the "home parish," these diasporic Goans are creating new and innovative ways of maintaining transnational ties to the place they left behind.

Toronto, Canada

The Goan community in Toronto has been extremely busy since I left them, and a number of my interlocutors, John D'Souza of the Goan Voice and Rudy Fernandes in particular, have kept me constantly updated on the goings on of the community as it

grows and adapts to its new Canadian home. In early-2013, as I was wrapping up my fieldwork in Toronto, a small weekly radio show called Radio Mango was starting up. With its slogan of '*Amchi Bhas. Amchi Music*',[551] the mission of Radio Mango is as follows:

> To bring together the Konkani speaking communities of Goa and Mangalore through the medium of radio. To help the community identify with it roots and cultural heritage through a common touch point: The Konkani language. RADIO MANGO'S final destination is to be THE VOICE of the Konkani speaking people, and THE platform for this community.[552]

In the two years since its small beginnings in Toronto, Radio Mango has grown into a major part of the Goan community in Canada, providing the Canadian Goan community with cultural entertainment and opportunities to engage as a unique religio-cultural group while still being a part of the fabric of Canadian society. In 2015, Radio Mango is celebrating its 3rd anniversary. Featuring a gala dinner for the community and a number of corporately-sponsored prizes, the event's primary sponsor is Air Canada. The celebration, which is slated for September 2015, has the slogan 'Konkani Must Live On!' (See Figure 22). This corporate and communal interaction to maintain the linguistic heritage of the Goan community in Toronto, and indeed in Canada, is an encouraging step towards the transnational maintenance of identity that this community aims to achieve.

In early-2014, having recently returned from my fieldwork trip to Mumbai, I was contacted via email by Rudy Fernandes, a community connection in Toronto who had participated in this research project earlier in 2013 and wanted to keep me updated on the activities of the Goan community in Toronto. Rudy directed me to an editorial that he had

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[551] 'Our language. Our music.' Konkani. Translation by author.
[552] RadioMango.ca, "Radio Mango: About Us," http://radiomango.ca/about.html.

written for the G.O.A. Toronto website entitled 'Tribute to Our Clergy', which described in detail an appreciation event held in a Toronto suburb in November 2013, and organized by the Canadian Goan Christian Group (CGCG), of which Rudy is an executive member. The event was aimed at celebrating the contributions of Goan clergy in the Archdiocese of Toronto, and included a Mass celebrated by the Archbishop of Toronto and con-celebrated by a number of Goan priests, deacons, nuns, and seminarians; in total, there were one thousand attendees at the event.[553] The editorial states that the goal of the CGCG in organizing such events is to publically celebrate the Goan Catholic faith, while highlighting the "fine overall contribution [that] Canadian Goans are making to enrich the fabric of Canada."[554] Rudy ends his article with the following call to fellow Goan-Canadians: "Let us all be Proud out Loud of our Goan diaspora community that continues to meet important new challenges—especially in helping our youth to live their faith while relishing their Goan roots." I include this example of my post-fieldwork engagement with the Goans of Toronto because it once again highlights the primary role that religion plays for this community in maintaining its sense of communal religio-cultural identity. Rudy's article makes it abundantly clear that the continuation of Goan values to the younger generation of Goans, who may be born in Canada, is principally dependant on the transmission of Catholic values that are so intrinsic to the Goan identity.

Nearly two years removed from the field, and deep into the writing phase of this dissertation, I received an email from John D'Souza of the Goan Voice website inviting me to a Eucharistic celebration that was being held in mid-March to celebrate the

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[553] Rudy Fernandes, "Tribute to Our Clergy," http://www.goatoronto.com/tribute-to-our-clergy/.
[554] Fernandes, "Tribute to Our Clergy".

canonization of the very first Goan saint. Born in Benaulim, Goa in 1651, St. Joseph Vaz served his early priesthood in Goa before embarking on a missionary journey to Sri Lanka, where he missionized until his death in 1711.[555] On January 24, 2015, in Colombo, Sri Lanka, Pope Francis declared Joseph Vaz to be a saint in the Roman Catholic Church, and patron saint of both the Archdiocese of Kandy, where he served his mission, and the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman, where he was born.[556] It was in commemoration of the canonization of St. Joseph Vaz into the sainthood that the Goan community of Toronto was celebrating a Mass in mid-March (See Figure 23). In his editorial for the Goan Voice featuring this special event, John D'Souza details the celebratory event, which included attendance by approximately four hundred members of Toronto's Goan and Sri Lankan Catholic communities, and was celebrated by a number of Goan priests. The Mass was supplemented by a Goan choir, of which John writes, "The English and Konkani hymns blended very well and added a magnificent dimension to the occasion."[557] The canonization of the first Goan saint is a significant moment of pride for the worldwide Goan community; it symbolizes a "deep spiritual communion with the Church,"[558] offering the community a recognition by the Church to which Goans have pledged their allegiance for generations and through which they draw their very religio-cultural identities. For the community of Goans in Toronto who came together in March to celebrate this significant step in their community's history, the inclusion of a Goan saint in the altar of Catholic sainthood serves to affirm and solidify their faith as the

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[555] "Bells to Peal in Goa at Canonization of Bl. Joseph Vaz," Vatican Radio, http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2015/01/12/bells_to_peal_in_goa_at_canonization_of_bl_joseph_vaz_E2808E/1117929.

[556] John D'Souza, "Saint Joseph Vaz - Celebration of Canonization," GoanVoice.ca, http://www.goanvoice.ca/2015/issue07/peopleplacesthings.htm#ppt_1.

[557] D'Souza, "Saint Joseph Vaz - Celebration of Canonization".

[558] Archbishop Filipe Neri Ferrao of Goa and Daman as quoted in "Bells to Peal in Goa at Canonization of Bl. Joseph Vaz".

central component of their religio-cultural identities. Finally, John ends his coverage of the celebratory event by thanking the parish priest of St. Francis of Assisi parish, where the Goan Mass celebration was held, for "accommodating" the Goans in their celebration of the canonization of the first Goan saint.[559] While the canonization of St. Joseph Vaz represents a point of pride and inclusion for Goans, the continued language of accommodation employed by Toronto's Goan community is indicative of the ongoing processes of religio-cultural adaption that this community undertakes as part of its post-migration experience in Canada.

That's Just the Goan Way: Closing Remarks

The initial driving force behind this research project was a question about the identity construction of the Goan Catholics of Toronto. In order to fully comprehend the many commitments of this religio-cultural community, however, I had to explore where the "came from", that is, I had to examine the "sending place" of Mumbai. The Goans of Mumbai share their historical and religious lineages with the Goans of Toronto. As well, both cities are home to diasporic communities of Goans; as such, the communities of Goans in both cities share aspects of identity-maintenance, and transnational connections to the *ur*-place of Goa. In entwining the historical narrative of both communities with the ethnographic exploration of the modern communities as they exist "on the ground," this project is situated within the contemporary scholarship of Indian Christianities. By engaging with the Goans of Mumbai and Toronto as they exist in each place today, this project also addresses particular aspects of these communities' religio-cultural identity that has been left unexamined by the majority of extant scholarship. That is, as discussed

[559] D'Souza, "Saint Joseph Vaz - Celebration of Canonization".

previously, the extant scholarship on Indian Christianities focuses on the "Indian-ness" of Christian communities in India, highlighting the cultural ties that these communities have with their fellow-Indian and Hindu neighbours. However, as has been amply demonstrated through my dissertation, this connection to "being Indian" is challenged by the community of Goans living in Mumbai, as their Catholicism acts as a greater marker of religio-cultural identity than their geographic location in India or their ancestral Hindu roots. Furthermore, for the community of Goans in Toronto, it is this religio-cultural Goan Catholic identity that catalyzes their decision to immigrate to the West. The inclusion of Goans in the corpus of scholarship on Indian Christianities is based more on the geographic location of Goans in India, since Goans could not have arisen as a religio-cultural community in any other place. However, the study of Goans as a community of Indian Christians is not indicative of the connection that today's Goans feel to the place of India or to Indian cultural values. This incongruence between the community's location in India and its self-identification as "non-Indian" has resulted in a communal narrative that has today's Goans aligning themselves culturally and religiously with the Portuguese colonizers who have long since left the Indian subcontinent.

The waves of modern migration out of India and to Western countries like Canada are indicative of the aforementioned Goan notion of feeling "out of place" in India. However, for the community of Goans in Toronto who are a part of my project, upon migration to Canada they become homogenized with other Indians; as mentioned previously, this classification is based on race and country of origin, and ignores the emic construction of identity that this minority religio-cultural community has for itself. Further, while their Catholic faith catalyzes the decision for Goans in Mumbai to

immigrate to the West, and does facilitate the initial integration into Catholic parishes in Canada, this project has also demonstrated that the culturally-specific particularities of the performance of Goan Catholicism are not fully expressed in the Canadian context. As such, the Goan community in Toronto undertakes innovative ways of maintaining its religio-cultural identity; these innovations of identity-maintenance are built upon the mechanisms of identity-maintenance that the community of Goans in Mumbai partake of. In this way, the community of Goans in Toronto, having left Mumbai, continues to maintain transnational ties to the place they left behind. Finally, by examining the community of Goans in Toronto in relation to the community of Goans in Mumbai, which the Toronto community "came from," this project is a bi-locational investigation that is invested in the examination of transnational ties that each community maintains. The theories of transnationalism focus on the ties that migrant communities maintain with the places they have left behind while also building new lives in the new place. By investigating these transnational connections that the Goans maintain, particularly to the home place of Goa, this dissertation elucidates how the community strives to maintain the Goan religio-cultural identity in the diaspora. In examining these Goan communities through a transnational lens, this project not only contributes to an understanding of the factors involved in Goan migration, but also offers insight into the strategies of transnational identity-maintenance that each subject community undertakes; for instance, through the establishment of *kudds* along Goan village lines in Mumbai, and the vibrant presence of the Goan Overseas Association in Toronto. For the two Goan communities central to this research, engaging with them ethnographically, as sustained by the theories of Lived Religions, has illustrated the importance of examining particular communities as

they exist "on the ground" in order to appreciate the value of transnationalism in understanding migrant communities. By examining the broader nature of commitments that Goans in the diaspora have to maintaining their religio-cultural identities, this project offers a fuller understanding of the communities of Goans in Mumbai and in Toronto.

One evening, near the end of my fieldwork in Mumbai, I was sitting with my participant and friend, Ashford at his family's home in *Dhobi Talao*. Ashford had been my interlocutor *par excellence* throughout my time in Mumbai, welcoming me into the community of Goans with whom I would engage, and introducing me to opportunities that would serve to enrich this project in a myriad imperceptible ways. I had completed a number of interviews that day, to which Ashford had accompanied me as a community liaison and also as bodyguard of sorts in the sometimes-dangerous city of Mumbai. At day's end, as we decompressed from the day's rigorous schedule, Ashford poured us each a generous helping of Johnny Walker, and we discussed my project and our plans for the future. Ashford told me of his plans to leave Mumbai soon, possibly for Canada, but hopefully through Dubai, where he hoped to spend a couple of years earning a nest egg to finance his immigration to the West. He framed his aspirations of emigration in terms of my project because a question that I had asked him during our interview in the previous months had triggered his thoughts on culture and identity: "What is Goan culture?" This question of defining Goan culture is one that I had used to bookend most, if not all, of my interviews, through my fieldwork in both Mumbai and Toronto. It was a question that usually gave my interviewees pause when I first presented it, though when I brought it up a second time they usually had far more to say on the definition of what it means to "be Goan." Invariably, the responses to this question that my interview participants provided,

foregrounded their Catholic faith, made mention of a link to the Portuguese by way of allusion to a quasi-European cultural link, and tied the Goan community to the place of Goa. It is these aspects of Goan identity that have been central to this doctoral research project: a unique historical narrative, a pervasive Catholicism that is incorporated into expressions of culture, and an undeniable tie to the ancestral place of Goa. For Ashford, who saw me nearly every day of my time in Mumbai, this question was one that gnawed at him, and one which he chose to repeatedly bring up in our conversations. On this particular day, exhausted and sipping on whiskey, he reiterated to me, "As I said, first and foremost we are Catholics. We are *Goan* Catholics." This emphasis that he placed on the word "Goan" struck me, and I asked him to explain it. He said, "See, you have the Portuguese influence [and] you had the Indian influence, it's a mixture of both that they call Goan 'culture'." He gestured air quotes around the word "culture," and went on to restate for me the inextricability of culture from religion that Goans experience as part of their identities. Our conversation moved on to his plans for leaving Mumbai. I asked him if he thought that he would have trouble integrating into life abroad, after having spent the first three decades of his life in Mumbai. He told me that he did not think so, stating that a good Catholic parish was all he needed to feel "at home." He believed that as a Goan he had a distinct advantage, because Goans by nature are very adaptable, thanks to their integrated religio-cultural roots. He said, "So what happens is when Goans go aboard, they gel into, I think wherever Goans go, they just gel into what they are getting into. So if someone wants to go to Canada, they'd probably you know...the next generation would actually be Canadian. If they went to America, they would be Americans, you know. The culture would change actually. I think the influence of the

place where they are, that would really set upon them." I pressed on, inquiring into how he envisioned maintaining ties to being Goan once he had left home. He responded: "I will always be a Goan…that is in my blood. As long as you can be surrounded by your people and culture you will be able to hold onto it. If you move away, you have to adapt. You have to, I think. Sink or swim, you know? That's just the Goan way!"[560]

[560] Ashford Menezes. Interview by author. Mumbai, India. October 24, 2013.

*Figure 22: Radio Mango's 3rd Anniversary Celebration Sponsored by Air Canada**

* Flyer from the Radio Mango website. <http://radiomango.ca/mediagallery.html>

*Figure 23: The community of Goans in Toronto celebrated the canonization of the first Goan saint, St. Joseph Vaz, in March 2015**

* Image of the celebratory Mass booklet from GOA Toronto's webpage "Mass to Honour St. Joseph Vaz", found at < http://www.goatoronto.com/mass-to-honour-st-joseph-vaz/>. Mass booklet designed by Suzanne Pereira of GOA Toronto.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Call for Participants

Call for participants in Toronto, as published on www.goanvoice.ca

GOAN VOICE
www.goanvoice.ca

Newsline Canada
News Clips From India
News Clips From Goa
Reunion 2012
Goan Voice UK
People Places and Things
Events
Reading List
Obituary
Commentary
Announcement
Health & Wellness

Classified Adverts
Subscribe to Goan Voice
Contact Us
Links & Reference Section
Newsletter Archives
2002-2003
2004
2005
2006
2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012

Announcements

Project on Toronto's Goan Catholic immigrant community from Bombay

Roselle M. Gonsalves, a PhD candidate at the University of Calgary is writing her doctoral dissertation on Toronto's Goan Catholic immigrant community from Bombay (Mumbai). Her project focuses on the immigrant experiences of Goan Catholics in Toronto, and how this community forms its identity in the new place.

If you are a Goan Catholic, who has immigrated to Toronto from Bombay, and would like to be a part of this exciting conversation, Roselle would like to hear from you. Your participation is completely voluntary and confidential. Interviews will be approximately 60-90 minutes in length, and can be held in a place of your choosing, or over the telephone, if that is your preference. Roselle can be contacted by telephone at 403-978-6912, or by email at rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca.

Dr. Ribeiro Goan School Alumni Memorial Mass (Goa) Scheduled for 10:00 AM. Saturday, Jan 26, 2013 in Old Goa

The Dr. Ribeiro Goan School Alumni Memorial Mass has been scheduled for 10:00 AM, Saturday, Jan 26, 2013 at the Basilica Bom Jesus, Old Goa, Goa 403402. Former student, Rev. Fr. Ayres Fernandes, will preside at the Memorial Mass.

Light refreshments will be served after the mass. Further details can be found on our DRGS web site: https://sites.google.com/site/memorialmassgoa/

Bring in the New Year 2013- Montreal - Quebec

With L A Party Planners'
New Years Eve Dinner Dance
At Tandoori & Grill Banquet Hall - 4690 Sources Blvd. DDO.
Click here to view flyer
All proceeds of this event in aid of
Mother Teresa's Children Foundation

Goan Voice designed and compiled by Demerg Systems India,
Alfran Plaza, "C" Block, 2nd Floor, S-43/44,
(Near Don Bosco School), Panjim, Goa-403001
Tel::: 011 91 832 2420797 Email: info@goanvoice.ca

Appendix B: Introductory Letter to Participants

To participants in Mumbai, India

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF ARTS

Roselle M. Gonsalves
Department of Religious Studies
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta Canada T2N 1N4

T +1.403.978.6912
F +1.403.210.9191
E rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca
ucalgary.ca

Date:

Dear _____,

I am a Ph.D. Student at the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Calgary. I am conducting research for my dissertation on the impact of place on the ways in which a religious community constructs and maintains its identity. Specifically, I am interested in studying the Goan Catholic community as it exists in Mumbai, India, as well as the immigrant Goan Catholic community in Toronto, Canada. By examining this community in these two places, I aim to explore the importance of religious and cultural identities in creating community groups, and the role of place in shaping these community groups.

I am writing to introduce myself to you, and hope you will be interested in being interviewed about your life as a Goan Catholic living in Mumbai, India, amongst Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, and Catholics of other cultural backgrounds.

In order to participate in these interviews, you must identify as both Goan and Catholic, must have been born, and currently residing, in the city of Mumbai (Bombay). You may be a member of clergy, or lay persons. I would like to assure you that participation in this interview process is completely voluntary and that should you at any point in the interview wish to refrain from answering specific questions or to withdraw from the entire interview process, you will completely free to do so. I do not perceive that this interview will pose any risks to the you and I hope that as a member of the Goan Catholic community you will be able to assist me in my research project.

The privacy of those who choose to participate in my research project is of utmost concert to myself, my supervisors, and the Department for Religious Studies at the University of Calgary. Interviews will take place at a location of your choosing. During these interviews, I will take notes, and with your permission, tape record our conversation. These transcripts will not contain any names or identifying details. You will have the option to choose, or be assigned, a pseudonym which will be used to refer to you through any work for which this research is used, including but not limited to my doctoral dissertation, research publications, and academic conference presentations. At the end of the study, the transcripts will be retained in locked files at the Department of Religious, University of Calgary. Through the departmental administrator, only my supervisory team and I will have access to these files, which will be destroyed after ten years. Unless a you indicate otherwise, any material used in my dissertation or in publications resulting from this study will have all identifying characteristics or statements omitted or paraphrased, to ensure your anonymity, which is of utmost importance to me.

This research data will aid in the completion of my doctoral dissertation. As such, **I would be happy to provide you with a final copy of my dissertation after it has been submitted and**

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

defended. Please indicate on the consent form whether you would like to see a summary of the research results and how you would like me to make this document available to you.

Thank you for your willingness to be involved in this project. Your participation is very much appreciated. Should you have any further questions regarding the project, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisors, [redacted]. **You can also contact the University of Calgary's Ethics Board,** [redacted] **you should have any questions regarding your role as a participating orgainization or the rights of your organization's members who choose to participate in this study.** You may contact me at any time at 1-403-978-6912 or via email at rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca.

I look forward to working with you on this exciting project about the Goan Catholic community.

Yours Sincerely,

Roselle M. Gonsalves

To participants in Toronto, Canada

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF ARTS

Roselle M. Gonsalves
Department of Religious Studies
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta Canada T2N 1N4

T +1.403.978.6912
F +1.780.800.4970
E rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca
ucalgary.ca

[Date]

Dear ___,

I am a Ph.D. Student at the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Calgary. As part of my dissertation project, I am conducting research on what it means to be a Goan Catholic living in the city of Toronto. My broader project compares the Goan Catholic community of Mumbai, India to the immigrant Goan Catholic community living in Toronto, Canada. I am interested in what impressions of life in Toronto you had before migrating here, and how the immigrant experience has changed or upheld your perception. Also, I would like for you to be a voice within your community for what it means to be a Goan Catholic, and how you form community, in the multicultural city of Toronto.

I am writing to introduce myself to you, and hope you will be interested in being interviewed about your life and immigration experience as a Goan Catholics living in Toronto, Canada, within a multi-racial and multi-cultural North American city.

In order to participate in these interviews, you must identify as both Goan and Catholic, must have been born in the city of Mumbai (Bombay), and have immigrated to Toronto, Canada as adults, that is after the age of 18. You may be a member of clergy, or lay persons. I would like to assure you that participation in this interview process is completely voluntary and that should you at any point in the interview wish to refrain from answering specific questions or to withdraw from the entire interview process, you will completely free to do so. I do not perceive that this interview will pose any risks to you and I hope that as a member of the Goan Catholic community you will be able to assist me in my research project.

The privacy of those who choose to participate in my research project is of utmost concert to myself, my supervisors, and the Department for Religious Studies at the University of Calgary. Interviews will take place at a location of your choosing. During these interviews, I will take notes, and with your permission, tape record our conversation. I will transcribe these tapes myself, and these transcripts will not contain any names or identifying details. You will have the option to choose, or be assigned, a pseudonym which will be used to refer to you through any work for which this research is used, including but not limited to my doctoral dissertation, research publications, and academic conference presentations. At the end of the study, the transcripts will be retained in locked files at the Department of Religious, University of Calgary. Through the departmental administrator, only my supervisory team and I will have access to these files, which will be destroyed after ten years. Unless a you indicate otherwise, any material used in my dissertation or in publications resulting from this study will have all identifying characteristics or statements omitted or paraphrased, to ensure your anonymity, which is of utmost importance to me.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

This research data will aid in the completion of my doctoral dissertation. As such, **I would be happy to provide you with a final copy of my dissertation after it has been submitted and defended. Please indicate on the consent form whether you would like to see a summary of the research results and how you would like me to make this document available to you.**

Thank you for your willingness to be involved in this project. Your participation is very much appreciated. Should you have any further questions regarding the project, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisors, [redacted]. **You can also contact the University of Calgary's Ethics Board,** [redacted] **you should have any questions regarding your role as a participating orgainization or the rights of your organization's members who choose to participate in this study.** You may contact me at any time at 1-403-978-6912 or via email at rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca.

I look forward to working with you on this exciting project about the Goan Catholic community.

Yours Sincerely,

Roselle M. Gonsalves

Appendix C: Informed Consent Forms

CFREB Informed Consent Form

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Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Roselle M. Gonsalves | Faculty of Arts, Department of Religious Studies | University of Calgary
+1-403-978-6912 | rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca

Supervisors:

[redacted]

Title of Project:

What's Goan On? The Processes of Hybrid-Identity Construction in the Goan-Catholic Communities of Mumbai, India and Toronto, Canada

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This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study:

This study is a comparison between Goan Catholics living in Mumbai (Bombay), India and Toronto, Canada, and how each community identifies itself. This research asks what does it mean to be a Goan Catholic, and explores the ways in which living in either Mumbai or Toronto effects this. I am interested in understanding how being a Goan Catholic affects the daily lives of this community's members, in expressions such as food, clothing, and language. Finally, I would like to explore what Goan Catholics in Mumbai envision life in Toronto as, and what the immigrant experience of Goan Catholics in Toronto has been, particularly in relation to their pre-migration vision of Canada.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

In order to participate in these interviews, you must identify as both Goan and Catholic, must have been born, and currently residing, in the city of Mumbai (Bombay)/Toronto. You may be a member of clergy, or lay persons. This interview will take approximately 45-60 minutes to complete. I would like to assure you that participation in this interview process is completely voluntary and that should you at any point in the interview wish to refrain from answering specific questions or to withdraw from the entire interview process, you will completely free to do so. I do not perceive that this interview will pose any risks to the you and I hope that as a member of the Goan Catholic community you will be able to assist me in my research project.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to provide your gender, age, country of brith and residence, and how you identify yourself. Your real name will not be used in this research. You have the option of either choosing or being assigned a pseudonym.

There are several options for you to consider if you decide to take part in this research. You can choose all, some or none of them. Please put a check mark on the corresponding line(s) that grants me your permission to:

I grant permission to be audio taped: Yes: ___ No: ___

I wish to remain anonymous: Yes: ___ No: ___

You may refere to me by a pseudonym: Yes: ___ No: ___

The pseudonym I choose for myself is: _____

You may quote me: Yes: ___ No: ___

You may contact me following the interview for clarification questions: Yes: ___ No: ___

I would like to receive a copy of your completed and defended dissertation: Yes: ___ No: ___

The best way to make this dissertation available to me is:

_____

_____

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

Risks: There are no foreseeable risks from participation in this project, greater than risks encountered in everyday life.

Benefits: For the members of the Goan Catholic communities in Mumbai and in Toronto —on both of which there has been little scholarship produced—the benefits of this project include the opportunity to participate in this study. This community has experienced several waves of migration, assimilation, and a renovation of religio-cultural identity; as such, a study of this nature is a commitment to exploring and comprehending these processes from an academic perspective. I anticipate that participants will see the interviews and the resulting work as an opportunity to tell their stories and be heard and understood by the larger community.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and anonymous. As part of your involvement in this project, you will have the option of choosing, or being assigned, a pseudonym. You should be aware that at any time prior to, during, or after the interview process, you are free to discontinue participation. The

transcripts of these interviews will not contain your name or any identifying details, and they will be stored on my computer in password-protected files for the duration of the study. At the end of the study, the transcripts will be retained in locked files at the Department of Religious, University of Calgary. Through the departmental administrator, only my supervisory team and I will have access to these files, which will be destroyed after ten years. Unless you indicate otherwise, any material used in my dissertation or in publications resulting from this study will have all identifying characteristics or statements omitted or paraphrased, to ensure your privacy, which is of utmost importance to me.

Signatures (written consent)

Your signature on this form indicates that you 1) understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) agree to participate as a participant in this research project.
In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____Roselle M. Gonsalves_____

Researcher's Signature: _____Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Roselle M. Gonsalves
Department of Religious Studies | Faculty of Arts | University of Calgary
+1-403-978-6912 | rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca
Under the supervision of:

[redacted]

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

Project-Specific Informed Consent Form

Participants in Mumbai, India

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF ARTS

Roselle M. Gonsalves
Department of Religious Studies
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta Canada T2N 1N4

T +1.403.978.6912
F +1.403.210.9191
E rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca
ucalgary.ca

RESEARCH ON GOAN CATHOLICS IN MUMBAI, INDIA

Pupose of Research
The purpose of this project is to assess they ways in which Goan Catholics in the city of Mumbai form community and maintain their identity.

Specific Procedures to be Used
By agreeing to be a participant in this research project, you will be intereviewed for approximately 60 minutes about what it means to you to be a Goan Catholic.

Benefits to the Individual/Group
For the members of the Goan Catholic community—on which there has been little scholarship produced—the benefits of this project include the opportunity to participate in this study and have the community's voice reflected in an piece of academic research. This community has experienced several waves of migration, assimilation, and renovation of religio-cultural identity; as such, a study of this nature is a commitment to exploring and comprehending these processes from an academic perspective. I anticipate that participants will see the interviews and the resulting work as an opportunity to tell their stories and be heard and understood by the larger community.

Risk to the Individual/Group
There is no perceivable risk to you as a participant in this project.

Voluntary Nature of Particpation
Your participation is completely voluntary and that should you at any point in the interview wish to refrain from answering specific questions or to withdraw from the entire interview process, you will completely free to do so.

Human Subject Statement
Should you have any further questions regarding the project, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisors, [redacted] You can also contact the University of Calgary's Ethics Board, [redacted] if you should have any questions regarding your role as a participating orgainization or the rights of your organization's members who choose to participate in this study. You may contact me at any time at 1-403-978-6912 or via email at rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO READ THIS CONSENT FORM, ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROJECT AND AM PREPARED TO PARTICPATE IN THIS PROJECT.

_____ _____
Participant's Signature Date

_____
Participant's Name

_____ _____
Researcher's Signature Date

ROSELLE M. GONSALVES
_____
Researcher's Name

Participants in Toronto, Canada

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF ARTS

Roselle M. Gonsalves
Department of Religious Studies
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta Canada T2N 1N4

T +1.403.978.6912
F +1.780.800.4970
E rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca
ucalgary.ca

RESEARCH ON GOAN CATHOLICS IN TORONTO, ONTARIO

Pupose of Research
The purpose of this project is to assess they ways in which Goan Catholics in the city of Toronto, Ontario form community and maintain their identity.

Specific Procedures to be Used
By agreeing to be a participant in this research project, you will be intereviewed for approximately 60 minutes about what it means to you to be a Goan Catholic, as well as your experiences immigrating to Canada.

Benefits to the Individual/Group
For the members of the Goan Catholic community in Toronto—on which there has been little scholarship produced—the benefits of this project include the opportunity to participate in this study and have the community's voice reflected in an piece of academic research. This community has experienced several waves of migration, assimilation, and renovation of religio-cultural identity; as such, a study of this nature is a commitment to exploring and comprehending these processes from an academic perspective. I anticipate that participants will see the interviews and the resulting work as an opportunity to tell their stories and be heard and understood by the larger community.
In terms of benefit to Canadian society, this research is of particular value to
Canada's commitment to multiculturalism, multilingualism, and multi-religiosity. This is important, especially as Canada continues to grow in diversity and aims to address the changing dynamics of its population, as well as accommodate the cultural and religious needs of many new Canadians.

Risk to the Individual/Group
There is no perceivable risk to you as a participant in this project.

Voluntary Nature of Particpation
Your participation is completely voluntary and that should you at any point in the interview wish to refrain from answering specific questions or to withdraw from the entire interview process, you will completely free to do so.

Human Subject Statement
Should you have any further questions regarding the project, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisors, [redacted] You can also contact the University of Calgary's Ethics Board, [redacted] if you should have any questions regarding your role as a participating orgainization or the rights of your organization's members who choose to participate in this study. You may contact me at any time at 1-403-978-6912 or via email at rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO READ THIS CONSENT FORM, ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RESEARCH PROJECT AND AM PREPARED TO PARTICPATE IN THIS PROJECT.

_____ _____

Particpant's Signature Date

_____

Participant's Name

_____ _____

Particpant's Signature Date

ROSELLE M. GONSALVES

_____

Participant's Name

Appendix D: Participant Survey

For participants in Mumbai, India

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF ARTS

Roselle M. Gonsalves
Department of Religious Studies
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta Canada T2N 1N4

T +1.403.978.6912
F +1.403.210.9191
E rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca
ucalgary.ca

PARTICPANT INFORMATION & DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Name: _____

Through this project, you have the choice of being referred to by a name of your choice. Would you prefer to (check one):

_____ Be referred to by your given name

_____ Remain anonymous (not be referred to by any name)

_____ Be referred to by a pseudonym (a name of your choosing)
If so, what name would you want used to refer to you: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Phone Number(s): _____

Email: _____

Age Group

□ > 25	□ 25 to 32	□ 33 to 40
□ 41 to 48	□ 49 to 56	□ 57 to 65
□ 65 <	□ Prefer not to say	

Gender: _____

City & Country of birth: _____

City & Country of residence: _____

Are you a clergy member of the Catholic Church? _____ Yes _____ No

If yes, what is your role? _____

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

In order of importance, rank [from 1 to 7] the following terms for how you identify yourself:
[If there is a term you do not identify with, leave it blank]

_____ Indian _____ Goan

_____ Mumbaikar _____ Goan Catholic

_____ Catholic _____ Other _____

Comments (Optional)

_____

_____

_____

_____

Do you wish to receive a copy of this dissertation project once it has been submitted and defended? _____ Yes _____ No

I thank you, in advance, for your participation in this project, and I look forward to having you be a participant in my doctoral research work.

- Roselle M. Gonsalves

_____ _____
Participant's Signature Date

_____
Participant's Name

_____ _____
Researcher's Signature Date

ROSELLE M. GONSALVES
_____
Researcher's Name

For participants in Toronto, Canada

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF ARTS

Roselle M. Gonsalves
Department of Religious Studies
2500 University Drive NW
Calgary, Alberta Canada T2N 1N4

T +1.403.978.6912
F +1.780.800.4970
E rgonsalv@ucalgary.ca
ucalgary.ca

PARTICPANT INFORMATION & DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Name:

Through this project, you have the choice of being referred to by a name of your choice. Would you prefer to (check one):

_____ Be referred to by your given name

_____ Remain anonymous (not be referred to by any name)

_____ Be referred to by a pseudonym (a name of your choosing)
If so, what name would you want used to refer to you: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Phone Number(s): _____

Email: _____

Age Group

□ > 25	□ 25 to 32	□ 33 to 40
□ 41 to 48	□ 49 to 56	□ 57 to 65
□ 65 <	□ Prefer not to say	

Gender: _____

City & Country of birth: _____

City & Country of residence: _____

How long have you lived in Canada? _____

Are you a clergy member of the Catholic Church? _____ Yes _____ No

If yes, what is your role? _____

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

In order of importance, rank [from 1 to 7] the following terms for how you identify yourself:
[If there is a term you do not identify with, leave it blank]

_____ Indian

_____ Mumbaikar

_____ Catholic

_____ Goan

_____ Goan Catholic

_____Canadian

_____ Torontonian

_____ Other _____

Comments (Optional)

_____

_____

_____

_____

Do you wish to receive a copy of this dissertation project once it has been submitted and defended? _____ Yes _____ No

I thank you, in advance, for your participation in this project, and I look forward to having you be a participant in my doctoral research work.

- Roselle M. Gonsalves

_____ _____
Particpant's Signature Date

_____
Participant's Name

_____ _____
Particpant's Signature Date

ROSELLE M. GONSALVES
_____
Participant's Name

Appendix E: Researcher's Interview Guide

For all participants:

- Provide overview of project, and rationale for study
- Explain confidentiality, and point out recording device
- Explain participant's right to withdraw from study at any point in time
- Provide participant with contact information for research supervisor
- Have participant **read and sign consent form**
- Provide participant with copy of letter w/ project description, and copy of ethics approval
- If willing, have participant fill out survey instrument

- At close, invite any last comments or questions
- Remind particpants of right to withdraw
- Invite participant to contact me at any time for further information

<u>Questions for Participants in Mumbai, India</u>

1. Where were you born?
2. Do you go to Goa? How often?
3. Why is it important to you to go to Goa?
4. How does living in Mumbai affect you as a Goan?
5. What are some difficulties and some benefits of being Goan?
6. Describe the ways in which Goan Catholics come together in Mumbai.
7. How does being a Goan Catholic affect your daily life? Ex: Languages, food, religion, culture, dress, etc.
8. What does this mean for you in relation to living in Mumbai?
9. How are Goan Catholics different from other Catholics? Ex: Mangalorians, East Indians, etc.
10. In the city of Mumbai, where do Catholics live? Are there areas of the city that have a higher Catholic population? Where? Why do you think this is?
11. As a Goan Catholic in the city of Mumbai, what locations (gymkhanas, clubs, churches, gyms, etc.) do you frequent, and what activities do you partake in that are important to you?
12. Why are these memberships/activities important to you?
13. Do you identify with other non-Catholic Indians? How so?
14. Do you identify as Indian or Goan, primarily? Why so?
15. What do you envision life in Toronto to be like for Goan Catholics?
16. Have you visited Toronto?
17. Do you have family/friends living in Toronto? What have you heard about life in Canada from them?
18. Do you envision an immigration plan for your future? What do you anticipate this will be like?
19. What does it mean for you to be a Goan Catholic?

Interview Questions for Participants in Toronto, Canada

1. Where were you born?
2. What was life like for you in Mumbai? Why did you choose to migrate from Mumbai?
3. When did you immigrate to Canada?
4. How did being a Goan Catholic inform your decision to migrate to Canada?
5. How is life in Canada different than your life in Mumbai?
6. How does living in Toronto affect you as a Goan Catholic? What are some difficulties and some benefits?
7. Did your religion make it easier/harder for you to adjust to life in Canada? How so?
8. What were some changes that happened in your religious life after coming to Canada?
9. Describe the ways in which Goan Catholics come together in Toronto. How does this differ from the ways in which you formed community groups in Mumbai?
10. Why are memberships in these community groups important to you?
11. In the city of Toronto, where do Goans/Catholics live? Are there areas of the city that have a higher Goan Catholic population? Where? Why do you think this is?
12. How does being a Goan Catholic affect your daily life? Ex: Languages, food, religion, culture, dress, etc. What does this mean for you in relation to living in Toronto?
13. In what ways has migrating to Canada from India changed the ways in which you view yourself/the Goan Catholic community? In what ways has this view remained the same?
14. How did you envision life in Toronto before you moved here? How does that compare to what life here really is like for you?
15. How important is maintaining your religious identity in Canada? Is it the same as it would be if you were still in India?
16. How do you think your religious community fits in with the rest of Canada today?
17. Have you been back to India? Tell me about this (with regard to culture and religion)
18. Do you think religion complicates adjustment into Canada for non-Catholic Indians? How or why/not?
19. As you become “more Canadian” does that mean you will become “less Indian”?
20. What does it mean for you to be a Goan Catholic?

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