

**Brown Baby Jesus:
The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities**

Kathryn Carrière

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Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

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I dedicate this thesis to my husband Reg and our son Gabriel who,
of all souls on this Earth, are most dear to me.
And, thank you to my Mum and Dad,
for teaching me that faith and love come first and foremost.

Abstract

Employing the concepts of lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*) and system as primarily discussed by Edmund Husserl and Jürgen Habermas, this dissertation argues that the lifeworlds of Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics in the Greater Toronto Area have permitted members of these communities to relatively easily understand, interact with and manoeuvre through Canada's democratic, individualistic and market-driven system. Suggesting that the Catholic faith serves as a multi-dimensional primary lens for Canadian Goan and Anglo-Indians, this sociological ethnography explores how religion has and continues affect their identity as diasporic post-colonial communities. Modifying key elements of traditional Indian culture to reflect their Catholic beliefs, these migrants consider their faith to be the very backdrop upon which their life experiences render meaningful. Through systematic qualitative case studies, I uncover how these individuals have successfully maintained a sense of security and ethnic pride amidst the myriad cultures and religions found in Canada's multicultural society. Oscillating between the fuzzy boundaries of the Indian traditional and North American liberal worlds, Anglo-Indians and Goans attribute their achievements to their open-minded Westernized upbringing, their traditional Indian roots and their Catholic-centred principles effectively making them, in their opinions, admirable models of accommodation to Canada's system.

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PART I: INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

Introduction and problem

Some years ago, a small yet significant event occurred in my life. I was pursuing my undergraduate degree and I, like many Canadian university students, was confident and secure with my ethnic identity. It was late in the evening, and I had offered to drive an Italian-Catholic co-worker home from the restaurant where we both worked. Getting into my car, he noticed a small pewter crucifix hanging from my rear-view mirror. Smirking at me, he said, “Christian? I thought all you Indians were Hindu.” I remember feeling my confidence fly out the window, as his unexpected words painfully stung me. *All you Indians? Hindu? What was he talking about?* The next few moments were near-humiliating for me, as I awkwardly attempted to explain my Catholic-Indian ancestry and “legitimize” to him my beliefs. In all honesty, I was not even sure whether he was listening to my verbal floundering or not. Shrugging it off, he casually switched the subject telling me that the issue was no big deal to him.

But it was a big deal for me. I remember thinking about it over the next few days with feelings of anger, resentment, disbelief and confusion. Where did his assumptions come from, and why did he think that I worshipped a different god than he did? Was I a fair-weather Catholic? Did I subconsciously act like a Hindu? I even recall doubting just how authentic my Catholicism was. Maybe I didn’t quote scripture enough or maybe my morals were lacking somehow. Maybe I should not have worn my cross underneath my shirt at work all of those months but rather put it proudly on display for all to see – that way they would have known I was a Christian.

To this day, I am unsure as to whether or not my friend was joking when he had questioned my religious background. And at the time, neither he nor I would have ever guessed that that very comment would eventually translate into the research topic for my doctoral studies. Over the years, the issue of what exactly made me, a Catholic Indian, different from other Indians continued to haunt me. And today, after years of in-depth research, I realize that my friend's remarks are just one example of how Christian Indians are oftentimes mandated to fit into dominant South Asian conceptual frameworks simply because of their origin and the colour of their skin.

As a Goan Catholic who was born and raised in Canada, I embarked on this project seeking to make sense of how exactly members of my community have managed to carve out their own identity despite the presence of so many other, and arguably more socially visible, Indian communities. During my preliminary research, I came across some members of the Anglo-Indian Catholic community who told me that they, like the Goan Catholics I was familiar with, had colonial (albeit British as opposed to Portuguese, as is the case with Goans) experiences that fundamentally shaped and continue to affect their identities. And yet they, too, have maintained a clear sense of who they are despite their diverse sociocultural roots and despite others' attempts to compartmentalize their identities. Upon further research, I decided to empirically study both Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic Canadians, using each group as a comparative base for the other. Shaped by Western colonialism, I quickly found that both groups continue to identify with the European culture and beliefs that moulded them. In spite of this, though, members of these communities assert that they have not overlooked their traditional Indian core.

Looking at religion's role in migrant identity construction, this dissertation commemorates their experiences through deconstruction of the notion of a monolithic religious and cultural Indian diaspora. It is an investigative study of the religious identity and sociocultural experiences of two distinct Canadian Catholic populations, Goans and Anglo-Indians, that unlike other Indo-Canadian communities have been academically overlooked and empirically understudied. Due to their histories with British and Portuguese colonialism respectively, these groups do not fit under what is conceived as the classic umbrella category of "Indian"¹. This study is my attempt to re-situate Goans and Anglo-Indians within India's diaspora and within Canada's multicultural rubric.

In order to discuss what I believe is the key role religiosity plays in the lives of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadians, I employ the notion of lifeworld, or *Lebenswelt* as discussed by Edmund Husserl (1970) and Jürgen Habermas (1987). Briefly put, the lifeworld is the milieu in which all things appear as palpable and significant, including the ways in which individuals experience and apply religion in daily life, that is, how and where they practice their faith, their faith-based relationships, their social mores and ethics, and their family values. I argue that the inherited Catholic heritage of Anglo-Indians and Goans serves as the basis for many of their thoughts and actions. Later in this chapter I offer a comprehensive yet critical discussion of the concept of lifeworld. Applying Husserl and Habermas' conceptual frameworks, this study unites three key theoretical concerns: (a) conceptualization of lived experience and lifeworld; (b) theorization of migrant identity construction; and (c) theorization of how individual and community connections influence cultural and religious growth and development. My research

¹ In the next section, I will discuss the origins of the notion of an Indian "umbrella" category as well as its implications for communities, such as Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, who clearly problematize and/or challenge its conceptual boundaries.

seeks to illustrate how these intermingle to create and influence the religious and sociocultural identities of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in Canada.

Although some excellent research does exist that engages with the dynamics of these communities (Anthony 1969; Brennan 1979; Caplan 2001; Danvers 1992; Gomes 1987; Lumb and Van Veldhuizen 2008; de Mendonça 2002; Pearson 1987) typically such studies focus specifically on colonialism and their historical development within India as a nation or South Asia as a region. Other studies use the Goan and Anglo-Indian communities as points of illustration in larger discussions pertaining to imperialism or politics. Indian Goans and Anglo-Indians, because of their relatively small population in contrast to other Indian groups, are generally only mentioned in passing or as “exceptions to the rule” in broader discussions. And, when Anglo-Indians and Goans are mentioned in them, such studies only briefly discuss the role religiosity plays in their sociohistorical and cultural development within India, and then only in comparison to non-Christian communities. Délio de Mendonça (2002), in *Conversions and Citizenry*, for example, thoroughly looks at Goan society from 1510-1610. While he does discuss how Goans reacted and developed in the context of colonialism, he does so only in relation to the historical and socio-political demands of the Portuguese empire. My research, on the other hand, uniquely treats these communities as primary research subjects whose experiences and viewpoints merit academic exploration. Religion is seldom used as a lens through which these groups are studied, and most works that adopt this perspective are written by theologians within a purely theological context. In explicitly studying the role of religion within the contemporary Goan and Anglo-Indian diaspora, this project innovatively moves beyond the conceptual and historical limits of previous research.

Within a migration context, there are studies which look at how particular Indian communities have adapted to Western society both in Europe and North America. However, as is the case with Indian-based studies, such research typically focuses on the larger populations or those that are more visible, such as Khalsa Sikhs. I have been unable to find any studies which look specifically at Goan or Anglo-Indian North American migrant communities. Furthermore, no research has exclusively looked at the Catholic members of these groups and how these individuals intermingle with both the wider Catholic and Indian communities.

In looking comparatively at both the Goan and Anglo-Indian communities and their experiences, this project fills a conspicuous gap within South Asian and migration studies literature. In exploring how Goans and Anglo-Indians engage both with one another and with Canadian society, this project demonstrates that their Catholic faith serves as a means of gaining autonomy which allows them to successfully navigate through and succeed within a Western system which, despite the ethnic and religious diversity of its population, has historically favoured Christians.

My chosen title of *Brown Baby Jesus* is therefore of dual purpose. Primarily, it points to the intricacy of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic experiences, which defy simple generalizations. This project permits a glimpse into these hybridized spaces wherein differences and boundaries of both institutional religion and everyday practical experience intersect in new, meaningful ways. Secondly, it demonstrates how various cultural and social factors can and have complicated notions of both “Indian” and “Catholic” for Anglo-Indians and Goans in Canada. For members of these communities, a brown-skinned baby Jesus sitting within a Christmas crèche symbolizes a repossession of religious tradition and culture in light of diversity and tension not just with other Indians, within India and abroad, but also with non-Indian Canadians.

Although researching and writing this project has certainly been a learning process, not only for myself but also for most of my informants who eagerly responded to my calls for participants, the journey is far from over. Because of their ability to inhabit and seamlessly switch between various realms of belonging, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadians dynamically honour their past, present, and future in complementary ways. Refusing to sit on any periphery, members of these communities optimistically lay the groundwork for their futures, affirming their beliefs, culture and values. Because it is their faith, as opposed to their national or ancestral identity, that fundamentally roots and links them together, Catholic Anglo-Indians and Goans remain resilient enough so as to ensure their own survival – a process that began centuries ago, with the arrival of European colonial adventurers.

Method and description of research participants

This study is a cultural anthropology designed to look at two distinct Canadian communities, Goan Catholic Canadians and Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadians. Like all anthropological studies, its goal is to empathetically grasp and make sense of particular aspects of their lives and their culture using qualitative accounts that describe cultural “webs of meaning” (Rabinow and Sullivan 1987:6). Using primary (individual and group interviews) and secondary (literature) data, this project seeks to fill the gap that exists in academic studies by discovering descriptive generalizations that can be made about Canada’s Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic communities.

Primary data collection for this project took place mostly over the course of one year and consisted of two concurrent phases of qualitative research. Participants were recruited within a three-month period through word-of-mouth and snowball sampling (Appendix A). Because of

the relatively small and close-knitted nature of both the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic communities in the Greater Toronto Area, these recruitment methods proved to be quite effective. A few participants were also recruited through on-line classified advertisements (Appendix A) on websites, such as www.craigslist.com and www.kijiji.ca. In total, thirty-one Goans and Anglo-Indians participated in group interviews and seventeen participated in one-on-one interviews (Appendix D). Eight of these participants had both a one-on-one interview and took part in a group interview, making for a total of forty participants. Six of the group interviewees were Anglo-Indian, two male (aged 49 and 60) and four female (aged 23, 29, 40 and 61); and two one-on-one participants were Anglo-Indian (60 year old male and 40 year old female). The other twenty-five group interviewees were of Goan descent, ranging in age from 26 to 72; and the other fifteen one-on-one interviewees were Goans ranging in age from 21 to 82 years of age. I was also fortunate enough to have one participant who could reflect on his experiences both from an Anglo-Indian and a Goan perspective, as he was of joint ethnic descent. In total, I interviewed twenty-two females (thirteen in group interviews and seven in one-on-one interviews) and twenty-six males (eighteen in group interviews and eight in one-on-one interviews). Of the forty participants, thirty were direct migrants to Canada (twenty five were Goan, five Anglo-Indian and one with mixed Anglo-Indian and Goan ancestry), ranging in age from 21 to 62. Seven participants were twice² migrants (four Goan and three Anglo-Indian), ranging in age from 29 to 82. Only one fifty-nine year old Goan male participant was a thrice migrant. Finally, four participants were born in Canada (three Goan, one Anglo-Indian), ranging between 23 and 29 years of age.

As a researcher, I did face a few challenges in terms of primary data collection. Originally, I had planned to speak with over one hundred participants, as well as organize and

² The terms “direct,” “twice,” and “thrice” migrant are discussed below.

moderate focus groups (as opposed to group interviews) in addition to one-on-one interviews. However, because of various factors (such as a lack of funds to provide participants with an honorarium and the relatively small population of both communities in comparison to other Toronto-area communities), I was only able to successfully attract forty participants. After realizing that I would not be able to lure more participants, I decided to transform my focus groups into group interviews thus allowing for smaller, more homogenous groups as opposed to larger heterogeneous groups which, I believed, would not be as dialogical as focus groups should in theory be. Hosting smaller group interviews allowed me to ask a larger number of questions to my participants while leaving ample room for comparison and in-group reflection (Appendix B).

All group interviews took place in a meeting room of a Greater Toronto Area Roman Catholic church. I decided to conduct the research in a Catholic church because I felt that the atmosphere would encourage individuals to better contemplate the role religiosity plays within their daily cultural lives. Free, private and very undemanding in terms of coordination of space- and time-bookings with its administrative staff, this particular church enabled me to easily conduct my research. Additionally, because group interviews were located in a church, the “religious” aspect of my research was legitimized in many of my participants’ minds. It told them that I took their, and my own, faith seriously and would not minimize or mock it within my study.

One-on-one interviews typically took place subsequent to the group interviews, with a few exceptions wherein particular individuals were unable or chose not to attend a group interview. Unlike the group ones, these interviews were generally conducted in public spaces in which the confidentiality of the conversation could be assured, such as coffee shops or the group-study areas of research libraries. In instances where informants were unable to meet in person,

one-on-one telephone interviews were conducted. The one-on-one interviews were generally much less formal in nature than group interviews, as questions were not as regimented and discussions often followed participant interests, with my own questions emerging from our conversations (Appendix C). Because I was interested not only in their Canadian life experiences but also their personal transnational histories, especially with older participants, interviews were often retrospective wherein participants were asked to reconstruct and contemplate their pasts. Supplemented with literary historical facts, retrospective discussions during the interviews not only divulged key historical information about participants but also revealed telling information about their worldviews today.

Of my participants, all had professional training or education, with a few of the younger ones still completing specialized university or professional programs (Appendix D). Fifteen were professionally trained in the business or finance fields and four were health care professionals. Participants also included: one engineer, five information technology specialists, four clerical or administrative workers, three skilled tradesmen, and three civil servants. I also interviewed four students, including one in medical school, a nurse-in-training and one in law school. Interestingly, one female who nonchalantly claimed her profession to be “housewife” was in fact a health care professional who, upon moving to Canada, had given up her career and chose to stay at home to care for her and her husband’s two children. The career choices and educational training clearly reflects the fact that Goans, on a comparative basis, are fairly well represented in professional and skilled worker fields³.

³ Manjo Sheth (1995) illustrates that Asian Indians are more highly represented in professional occupations than any other American migrant group. Attributing this to their high educational achievements and lack of serious language barriers, Sheth reports that over 71% of members of the South Asian community within the United States, prior to 1980, held a Bachelor’s degree while 45% held a Master’s degree. This number, however, has dropped significantly with only 22% of South Asian migrants holding a Master’s degree between 1985-1990. Unfortunately, no data which looks at the education levels of South Asian migrants upon entry into Canada exists which employs religion as a lens of analysis.

As interviews were all conducted in English, all participants were required to be fluent in the language which, in the course of recruitment, was not an issue at all as I have yet to encounter a Goan or Anglo-Indian in Canada who does not speak good English. All participants have lived in the Greater-Toronto area for at least six years, with one Anglo-Indian participant having lived there for over forty-eight years. All actively identify with the Roman Catholic faith, and to my knowledge all participants were born into the religious tradition as opposed to converting at a later age. Their religious orthodoxy levels varied greatly, often dependent upon age and stage in life, a phenomenon which will be discussed thoroughly in subsequent chapters.

Beyond simply being a religiocultural anthropology, this project is, at its core, a critical ethnography. Interested in relaying the authentic stories and experiences of my participants, I seek to contextualize many of their key religious traditions and cultural adaptations. As a Goan Catholic Canadian researcher, I admit that my perception of reality is far from that of the “ideally objective”⁴ researcher. As a community insider⁵, I was initially able to recognize some of the key similarities and differences between Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, especially those living in Canada, and was able to design my project around such assumptions. And, despite my role as researcher, I theoretically was and still am able to answer many, if not all, of the very questions I asked my informants simply due to my own beliefs and upbringing. As will be demonstrated throughout the course of this study, my own experiences will often be used to supplement and/or highlight views expressed by my informants. Although no formal participant observation or field observation was conducted during the course of this project, I believe that such observations

⁴ Shamoo and Resnik (2009) discuss how conflicts of interest and a lack of scientific objectivity can negatively impact researchers as well as the research institutions for which they work. Alex Stewart (1998) discusses how ethnography can be affected by personal characteristics (such as ethnicity) or orientation of a researcher. Acknowledging that full objectivity is near-impossible to achieve, Stewart provides readers with a reliable methodology so as to ensure data reliability.

⁵ As a Goan, Anglo-Indians viewed me more-or-less as a member of their own community as they acknowledged a large sphere of cultural overlap.

have, in fact, been taking place my entire life. Growing up as an active member of the Greater Toronto Area Goan, the Goan-Catholic and the larger Catholic community, I frequented many of the events that my participants spoke of. Almost always familiar with the beliefs and rituals they relayed to me, I was able to instantly and empathetically understand their views from an emic perspective. However, as a researcher from a non-Goan and non-Catholic educational institution (the University of Ottawa), I am able to comparatively judge both Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadian culture using external standards and frameworks, such as the theories that will be henceforth mentioned. Accordingly the one-on-one and group interviews, in contextualizing what I witnessed growing up and continue to experience today, supplemented with the various epistemological analytical principles, have permitted me to gain the breadth and the depth required to understand the rich religio-cultural landscapes of Catholic Canadian Anglo-Indians and Goans thus rendering this project methodologically and empirically sound.

Theory

Understanding the intersections of religion, ethnicity and lifeworld within the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadian communities requires an in-depth consideration of each variable, as well as a solid theoretical framework upon which such conceptualizations can be based. In many ways Goan- and Anglo-Indian Canadians appear to be “ordinary” Indians. With light- or dark-brown skin, dark hair, a flawless “fake” Indian accent which can be roused at a whim and an inherent love of anything pickled or curried, these individuals appear to fit well within the Indian mainstream population in Canada. However, upon closer inspection, it becomes evident that both communities palpably challenge the notion of a monolithic Indian diaspora. Stringent followers of the Roman Catholic faith, European religious and cultural

colonialism has, in many ways, prevented these communities from neatly fitting under the archetypal umbrella category of “Indian.” Additionally, due to their vast yet varied transnational migration patterns, both the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities have learned how to successfully balance and seamlessly switch between their syncretistic European and Indian roots and histories.

In this section I discuss neither the faith nor culture of the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics whom I interviewed or of their wider communities, but rather convey and examine the pertinent critical lenses through which I will explore these variables. I will present the primary theoretical frameworks that I employ and, in some cases, build upon them in my search to critically examine the ways in which these communities invoke, challenge and renegotiate their identity, ethnicity, religious lifeworld and the Canadian system. The theoretical frameworks allow for some regulation in how the heterogeneity of these populations emerges and is analyzed. Moreover these frameworks, both sensitive to and appreciative of the struggles and successes associated with transnational migration and the meaningful personalization of a global faith tradition, allow me to gain innovative insights into the ethnic and religious parameters of these communities. Such insights could prove useful not only to the Anglo-Indian and Goan communities living in Canada and abroad but also to educators, social workers, and policy makers who interact with these communities.

Migration and diaspora

Migration is a fundamental feature of modern-day human society (Pooley and Whyte 1991:1). Contemporary views concerning migration depart from earlier “push-pull” theories wherein individuals were believed to relocate either due to “push factors” (i.e.: migrating for

reasons, such as to escape political persecution, strife, natural disasters, or to simply improve one's socioeconomic living conditions) or because they were attracted or "pulled" to particular destinations by one or a combinations of factors (such as improved health care, education or increased job opportunities). Because "push-pull" theories are the oldest frameworks of international migration (Min 2006:8), they do not address various contemporary factors that motivate today's global migrants. Globalization, for example, is one dominant force that has introduced a new set of influential motivators called "network factors," which include free flow of information, improved global communication and more efficient, as well as, inexpensive transportation (UNESCO 2009). These factors, which also include family and/or social networks, while perhaps not in themselves fully dictating where one chooses to relocate, greatly facilitate and affect migration patterns. Network factors, as this study will illustrate, remain fundamental in recreating and maintaining the globalized identities of both Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in Canada.

Although there are many theories that, each in their own way, could contextualize the experiences of the Goan and Anglo-Indians whom I interviewed, there are two migration theories that are particularly useful in the context of this discourse. Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller (1993) discuss both historical and recent trends in global migration. They specifically identify four main characteristics that they consider effectual in determining past transnational migration routes as well as movements in the next twenty years: *globalization*, *differentiation*, *feminization* and *acceleration* (Castles and Miller 1993:8). While globalization increases the numbers and diversity in the nations of origin and destination for migrants, differentiation occurs when regions or states simultaneously undergo or experience various types of migration, such as refugees, temporary workers, students and so forth. Feminization involves the ever-increasing

role of women as autonomous agents in all forms of migration, especially those which were previously male-centred, such as labour migration. And finally, acceleration simply reflects the fact that the volume of movement is increasing in most global regions. In their 1998 edition, Castles and Miller add a fifth element which they believe will also play a role in global migration movements: the *politicization* of migration in which minority and majority issues become major and meaningful political topics (1998:9).

In many ways, Catholic Goan and Anglo-Indian migration patterns reflect Castles and Miller's model. Transnational trends (such as Castle and Miller's first four factors) that may be in their inaugural stages for some communities in developing nations are by no means recent phenomena and in fact have been noticeable motivating migration features for members of these communities and their ancestors historically. For example, while globalization has, in relatively recent years, encouraged both Goans and Anglo-Indians to move to nations where they may not have moved otherwise, the differentiated factor of colonial religious (i.e.: Christian and/or Roman Catholic) influence has motivated the transnational expansion of these communities already for quite some time. Furthermore, religion has operated as an international force, driving and motivating migration streams, especially for Anglo-Indians and Goans who, as I will illustrate, often journey to lands which they view to be more compatible with their Catholic Christian faith. Feminization also continues to motivate the transnational migration of Goans and Anglo-Indians, as due to Western influence, many of the women from these communities and many of my female participants were, in fact, and continue to be encouraged both by their families and their greater religiocultural community to relocate internationally for either employment purposes or to gain educational opportunities. While certain occupational fields, such as those requiring intense manual labour, may have been typically reserved for males within

these communities, some of the women I interviewed (or their mothers, aunts or grandmothers) joined the international professional markets as nurses or clerical workers, thus contributing to both the local economies and the financial livelihood of their families. Employing Castles and Miller's framework has not only permitted me to more fully analyze and understand how and why Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics have transnationally migrated historically but also sheds light upon how such motivating factors interact within particular contemporary contexts.

The second theoretical transnational migration framework that has proven valuable when investigating both the historical and contemporary movement patterns of Goans and Anglo-Indians is that provided by Robin Cohen in *Global Diasporas* (1997). Instead of looking at migration *per se*, Cohen seeks to understand global movement through the study of diasporas. Switching the focus from common characteristics of migrants (as Castles and Miller outline in their framework), Cohen returns to the factors inspiring and/or propelling such global diasporic movement, especially those which take place due to "outside" (i.e.: non-personal, such as public, civil or political) factors. He seeks to shift the attention from the common diaspora definition which refers to those who have experienced a common trauma associated with displacement due to violence and/or political persecution. Apprehensive about the ways in which nationality and ethnicity have been used to proliferate such movement typologies, such as the way the capitalized "Diaspora" has been used to refer to the Jewish or African experiences (1997:1), Cohen presents a neutral five-tiered model which utilizes a historical approach to identify varying types of diaspora: *victim*, *imperial*, *labour*, *trade* and *detrterritorialized* (1997:18). The victim category refers to populations who have been persecuted and driven or forcibly removed from their homelands, such as the Jews, Africans or Armenians. To define the imperial diaspora, Cohen looks at the global movement of British colonialism and recognizes the claim to cultural

and/or racial supremacy that often accompanies this type of movement. Portuguese imperialism, such as that experienced in Goa, also fits into this category. Labour diaspora, also called the “proletarian diaspora,” (Cohen 1997:18) involves those who migrate or are forced to migrate for labour-related purposes. Falling under this category are, for example, indentured workers (such as the Chinese and Indian labourers brought to the Caribbean by the British to work on sugar plantations) or domestic workers (such as women who travel abroad to become nannies or *au pairs*). The trade diaspora, like the labour diaspora, deals with the economy and commercial development, but those falling under this category wish to create cultural and, more importantly, economic ties with communities abroad. Cohen considers various Middle Eastern and Asian communities to fit within this category, such as Indian professionals, Chinese and Japanese business-men or –women and the Lebanese. I would also add to this category any of those migrants who have come to Canada, for example, as business immigrants⁶. Finally, the deterritorialized diaspora includes those who no longer identify with one particular nation-state or region because of their communal dispersion and globalized identity, such as Caribbean communities who have come from a variety of other regions (such as Africa, India, Europe, and so forth) and reside throughout North America while continuing to identify as Caribbean.

Cohen’s framework is unique in that, although he does associate each category with particular communities as points of illustration, he views each classification as something that is not and can never be comprehensively defined through the experiences of one specific ethno-national diaspora. Likewise, ethnic or cultural communities cannot have their full histories and experiences essentialized so as to fit within or under one “ideal-type” category. Rather, he

⁶ According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada, there are three classes of business immigrants: (i) investors, (ii) entrepreneurs and (iii) self-employed persons. To enter into Canada under this category, one is expected to make a \$400 000 investment into the Canadian economy and be committed to supporting the development and financial prosperity of Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, N.d.).

illustrates that various groups often fall under various categories of diaspora. This is important to note as both of the communities I explore within this study demonstrate the overlapping and dialogical nature of Cohen's diasporic categories. Many of the twice migrants I interviewed have, at various points in their lives, fit within various diasporas. Those who may have traveled to Uganda from India with the labour or trade and imperial diaspora, for example, later likely joined the victim diaspora due to their expulsion by General Idi Amin. With so many global movements many of these individuals, especially those from younger age groups, eventually fit under the deterritorialized category with their hybridized or post-colonial identities.

While Castles and Miller encompass both the personal and/or group push-pull factors found in older theories in their assumption that global movement is individually motivated, Cohen on the contrary focuses more on the outside factors which dictate where, when and if people choose to relocate internationally. The trends noted by Castles and Miller, together with the typology presented by Cohen, constitute a well-rounded framework which proves useful in both the historical and contemporary examination of Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic Canadians.

Migrant identity construction

Human beings place themselves and others within particular categories using identifying criteria that organize differences and similarities in meaningful and relevant ways. The standards used to measure such characteristics have greatly varied over time, from culture to culture and religion to religion, as they are fundamentally informed by the contexts in which they occur. Different identity criteria refer to particular features thus giving rise to many types of identity including, to name a few: cultural, ethnic, gender, linguistic, regional, religious, racial and

sexual. While each of these identity types is distinctive, they also typically overlap under the umbrella category of self-identity.

Given its centrality herein, it is important to be clear about what exactly I mean when I speak of self-identity or, more simply, identity. I view identity as the full product of one's (or many people's) particular identifying features both by themselves and through others. It is a fluid and dynamic quality that represents and bridges the experiences of the past and present, as influenced and informed by geographical, political, religious and cultural constructs. Even within the smallest of communities or in the most stable individuals, identity is in constant fluctuation and can never be fully explicated, studied or relayed to others. Identity exists on a continuum that transcends both period and location, and any representation of it reflects what can be considered a mere "snapshot image" of a larger ever-changing whole. Additionally, any descriptions referring to identity remain only as accurate as the words and expressions used to describe it and the capacity of others to relate to it. As the experiences, views and constructs that constitute it remain subjective, identity exists as something that is consciously and/or subconsciously informed by heterogeneous differences in the way each person experiences fundamental features of human interaction and life.

Charles Taylor considers identity to be, "...defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within which [one] can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what [to] endorse or oppose" (1989:27). Thus, although it fundamentally pertains to the self, identity can be equated with both the personal and the social. In the former sense, it relates to distinguishing characteristics that a person views as socially consequential but relatively unchangeable, while in the latter it simply refers to a social category in which individuals (or sets of individuals) are labelled and classified

by rules decoding membership and (alleged) attributes. Taylor's definition is, in my opinion, valuable in that it has a relational aspect to it, as one's personal and social identities are things through which one addresses a situation or makes a stand against others who may or may not share his or her views. Identity consequently is something that, although deeply and personally relevant, a person can fluidly commit to at certain moments and within particular socially prescribed contexts.

Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics both have complex migration patterns and transnational histories. These, as I will demonstrate, have enabled them to successfully balance multiple identities so as to maintain equilibrium between their religious, national, regional, ethnic, familial, caste, class and professional loyalties. In order to show how these communities, like most ethnic migrant groups, draw upon such identity categories on a regular basis, I employ Jean S. Phinney's (1990) theory of identity development. Using her three-stage progression of identity wherein individuals ignore and/or overlook, search for and finally achieve their identity status, I show that the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics whom I interviewed have complex ethnic conceptualizations. Stage one of Phinney's identity progression is the "Unexamined ethnic identity" which is characterized by the lack of examination/exploration of ethnicity by the individual. Individuals in this stage are not interested in ethnic matters and are thus relatively ignorant of them. The second stage, "Ethnic identity search," is incited by an encounter that forces individuals to rethink the meaning(s) surrounding their ethnic identity. In this stage, people probe or negotiate their ethnicity in various exploratory ways. Finally, in the third stage, "Ethnic identity achievement," individuals discover and internalize a clear sense of not only what their ethnic identity constitutes but also what it means to be ethnic within diverse societies.

The relevance of Phinney's theoretical framework to my analysis is that, whether or not Anglo-Indians and Goans were born and raised in Canada, they all exhibit the fluid and dynamic natures of their ethnic identities that follow a basic progression. Because of their colonial and migration histories, members of these groups have faced particular challenges in terms of accessing and understanding their unique ethnic identities. Because of the ways various identifying factors (such as religion, colour, language, race, class and caste, for example) interact within their lives, the Goans and Anglo-Indians that I interviewed have, at different moments in their lives, viewed themselves and members of their communities in diverse and even contradictory ways. Despite this, as similarly illustrated with Phinney's informants, most of my participants have culminated in accepting their heritage and complex histories.

In my recruitment advertisement, I actively sought out people who, "...fully or partially identify as Goan or Anglo-Indian, [who] live in the Greater Toronto Area, [who] have resided in Canada for at least one year, [who] are 18 years of age or older and [who] are...Roman Catholic" (Recruitment Advertisement). Focusing on these five identifying criteria I sought to give my data both consistency and in-group reliability. While some aspects (such as ethnicity and age) related to the personal and more-or-less unchanging identity, others (such as religious affiliation, location of residence and time in Canada) were more fluid and manipulatable. People who responded to my advertisement call demonstrated both identification with and a relative commitment to such criteria, as my recruitment advertisement stated that these certain characteristics would be ones that many of my questions would address or discuss. Because I did not present them with definitions of what I considered Anglo-Indian or Goan to be, nor did I insist on a particular level of Catholic religiosity, I was fortunately able to enlist participants with

a wide range of ethnic “purity” and religious zeal thus allowing me to study various identity levels within wider categories of “Catholic” and “Goan/Anglo-Indian.”

Migration accordingly simply adds another or a few more experiential dimensions onto the individual identity. Emphasizing the variable nature of identity both over space and time, regional and/or transnational migration provides individuals with opportunities to prolong, challenge, renegotiate and/or revamp how they wish to characterize both themselves and others. For example, living in India, Goans may be comfortable to identify themselves as “Konkani” (Konkani being the indigenous language of the Goan region). However, upon migrating to East Africa, where there may be a large Goan population, they may adapt to or adopt another identity and call themselves “Goan,” and with further migration to rural Canada, where there may be few other visible minorities, they simply go by “Indian” or, even more broadly, “South Asian” or “Asian.” Because of the ongoing nature of many of the transnational connections that migrants have, such individuals have learned how to switch between different, and sometimes oppositional, identities as context dictates. They reveal as much of their identities as they see fit within particular circumstances. Such abilities to switch between identities has been noted in migrant communities, particularly with second and third generations and their capacity to emphasize or portray certain ethnic, religious or cultural aspects of themselves when in school, with friends and with family (Helve and Holm 2005; Maira 2002; Kasinitz and Waters 2006).

The Goans and Anglo-Indians whom I interviewed all have distinct personal identities developed through awareness of their own characteristics and through relational, ongoing contact with their communities and the individuals that compose them. While a move to Canada may bring about particular changes, a willingness to uproot themselves and their loved ones from their land of origin does not at all imply a complete renunciation of everything emigrants have

come to identify themselves with. Rather, in most cases, it is likely that these individuals wish to amalgamate many various social and personal characteristics from their old life with newer Canadian ones, thus revamping their identity. And although they likely expect many facets of their social identity to change with such migration, this may or may not include core identifying features that they understand as immutable. In the context of this these, therefore, it is both important to distinguish between personal and communal identity features, and to constantly reflect on the sources of such designations.

Lifeworld, system, and belonging

Although used predominantly within a philosophical context, the concept of lifeworld is entirely applicable when looking at religious appropriation, cultural renegotiation and intergenerational transmission of values. However, because of its rootedness within the field of phenomenology, I must first briefly explore some central phenomenological ideas and then discuss lifeworld, system and their mutual relation.

Founded in the early twentieth century by various thinkers such as Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the phenomenological movement grew in response to philosophical science's tendency to rely on rigid common-sensical, religious, scientific or cultural assumptions. Phenomenologists sought to explore phenomena themselves and therefore as a system of philosophical thought, phenomenology can

best [be] understood as a radical, anti-traditional style of philosophising, which emphasises the attempt to get to the truth of matters, to describe *phenomena*, in the broadest sense as whatever appears in the manner in which it appears, that is as it manifests itself to consciousness, to the experience.” (Moran 2000:4)

Accordingly, in its most literal sense, the field concerns itself with the study of phenomena, experiences, structures of experience and how we, as human-beings and as individuals experience things and interpret their meanings.

Lifeworld, or *Lebenswelt*, as introduced in Edmund Husserl's phenomenology is the horizon of human experiences upon which all phenomena occur and are subsequently rendered meaningful. Because phenomenology looks at conscious meaning and experience within the personal and individual context, the lifeworld exists as the fluid realm in which we both consciously and subconsciously (in that all of our experiences are "lived" within the context of our lives) subsist. Husserl, with a clear focus on consciousness, recognizes how our embodied experiences are greatly affected by our perceptions of the world, that is, our knowledge of other people, their behaviours and of the governing structures of society. And although one's experience and context is intrinsically united with one's lifeworld, lifeworlds can be shared and/or communally experienced and relevant. It is this shared, mutually relevant aspect of lifeworld on which I will later focus in the analysis of the religious beliefs and the common experiences of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in Canada.

An important characteristic of the lifeworld for Husserl is that it provides an essential foundation for human experience in that its structures are perceived and interpreted by us without our explicit knowledge or intentional thinking. Lifeworld perceptions function automatically and anonymously without us having to consciously activate them. The lifeworld exists within the context of the unlimited, temporal and continuous *world-horizon*. Because each human experiences his or her own lifeworld uniquely, there are infinite possibilities for interpreting the world-horizon. Serving as a dynamic, continuous realm with which we co-exist, lifeworld

consciousness pre-exists and operates in a world-horizon of meanings and pre-judgments that are culturally, socially and historically embedded.

Natural life is fundamentally associated and relevant to the lifeworld. Husserl described it as one which is candidly original and exists prior to critical analysis or reflection (Husserl 1970:xxxix). It is what we, as actors, interpret and manipulate to constitute our lifeworlds. He claimed that

natural life...can be characterized as a life naively, straightforwardly directed at the world, the world being always in a certain sense consciously present as a universal horizon without, however, being thematic as such. What is thematic is whatever one is directed toward. Waking life is always a directedness toward this or that, being directed toward it as an end or as a means, as relevant and irrelevant, toward the interesting or the indifferent, toward the private or public, toward what is daily required or obtrusively new. (Husserl 1970:281)

Husserl considered this natural life as one that exists pretheoretically. However, despite its existence prior to critical reflection, natural life remains fundamentally practical and, accordingly, socially relevant to the world-horizon. The lifeworld, as our symbolic interpretation of natural life, thus becomes the world of immediate experience. Through its provision of tools with which our consciousness can make sense of natural life (Husserl 1970:xli), each person's lifeworld is what he or she takes for granted since "...every correction of an opinion, whether an experiential or other opinion, presupposes the already existing world, namely, as a horizon of what in the given case is indubitably valid as existing, and presupposes within this horizon something familiar and doubtlessly certain with which that which is perhaps cancelled out as invalid came into conflict..." (Husserl 1970:110-111). The point of departure for all of our activities, scrutinies and behaviours consequently becomes our lifeworld lens which accepts various fundamentals, or pre-given knowledge, in order to make practical life a possibility.

The original realm of “self-evidences” (Husserl 1970:127-128), the lifeworld is what comes naturally to us in the everyday activities of our lives. And, because of the vast variety of human experiences, cultures, religions and histories, no two lifeworlds are one hundred percent identical. Husserl considers “vocations,” such as science, art and the military as fields with their own pre-given life-worlds (Husserl 1970:136). A scientist, for example, takes for granted that gravity will prevent his or her research equipment from floating off into the atmosphere, just as a medical doctor subconsciously assumes that what makes life precious and worth saving is the daunting prospect of death. However, it is important to remember that such pre-given assumptions only retain their status so long as we are conscious of them (or their effects) as entities or objects within our personal world-horizons, which bear our meanings, beliefs, goals and intentions (Husserl 1970:142). The lifeworld as such is accordingly what we all fully recognize and with what we are most familiar, yet is always familiar to us through lived experience. Building upon Husserl’s definition of lifeworld, the following chapters will explore the ways in which Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic migrants experience and apply religion in their own lifeworlds, that is, how and where they practice their faith, their faith-based relationships, their social mores and ethics, and family values, and at what specific religious and cultural pre-givens they rely on as interpretive symbols and tools to make sense of natural life.

Jürgen Habermas expands Husserl’s notion of lifeworld in *Theory of Communicative Action* (1987). Whereas Husserl, as a phenomenologist, places emphasis on how individual and communal consciousness are impacted by lifeworld, Habermas, with his focus on rational social communication, analyzes the sociocultural linguistic meanings that are promulgated through the lifeworld. He considers the informal and culturally-rooted understandings provided by the lifeworld to be crucial in determining and dictating social communication through people’s

cognitive horizons. Entailing the shared perceptions and beliefs that develop through relational social contacts with family, friends and community, the lifeworld bears our views and fundamental assumptions about ourselves and others. The Habermasian value of the lifeworld thus lies in the fact that, because of its non-differentiated and deep-rooted nature, it is communally taken for granted. We cannot straightforwardly explain aspects of our lifeworld to those existing outside of it, as often “that’s just the way things are.” Similar to the “boys will be boys” analogy that used to be so common decades ago and is still sometimes repeated today, there are things which are just too difficult to explain because of their seemingly commonsensical nature. To be part of a social or communal lifeworld is to have a shared sense of who “we” are in terms of our values and/or convictions. Through communal interactions, symbolic behaviour and “communicative action” (where people reach common understandings through social relations), the core assumptions of the lifeworld are constantly reaffirmed and thus promulgated over time.

Habermas then applies his notion of lifeworld to the *system* at large. The system is comprised of the dominant differentiated institutional social structures, or system components, which guide and determine macro-level social interactions (1987:154-155). Federal, provincial and municipal governments, the media and corporations are examples of various subsystems that can be found within the system. Whereas the system exists and reacts on a large-scale level, the lifeworld is micro-focused and affects communicative action which serves to influence how the wider system intermingles with individuals and groups. According to Habermas, modernity has given rise to the uncoupling of the larger system (macro-level) and the lifeworld (micro-level). Claiming that “... [the] system and lifeworld are differentiated in the sense that the complexity of the one and the rationality of the other grow” (1987:153), Habermas recognizes that, although

they are intrinsically related and in many ways contingent upon one another for survival, the system and the lifeworld remain fundamentally oppositional in terms of goals and objectives. The system relies on the lifeworld in order to generate and embody the values and obligations that people have, as the system is meaningless without the lifeworld to contextualize its communal relevancy and personal applicability. However, governments and corporations, for example, so often work against the normative components, such as the morality and beliefs, comprising the lifeworld. And, rather than upholding the ideals and truths of our lifeworlds through the ways we interact with the system, the system has “colonized” or even superseded them in terms of the way it employs the existential tools of our lifeworlds. The symbols that were previously reproduced and promulgated by the lifeworld are now primarily associated with the macro-system and thus stand undermined. In this sense, the system alienates the lifeworld.

Habermas does distinguish between the lifeworld and system in his writing. Remember that the lifeworld is communicatively structured and “intuitively present” (Habermas 1987:131). It is a reservoir of basic knowledge and assumptions that serve as the tacit foundations for the life horizon. The system, on the other hand, includes the macro-oriented governments and institutions, which are designed to serve our technical interests. One may ask, however, where the Catholic Church lies; is the Church part of the system or the lifeworld? Habermas suggests that whereas the lifeworld is norm- and communication-based, guided by substantive (i.e.: very practical and designed to appeal to people’s values) rationality, the system is more formal in its rationality and has no room for communicative action and/or debate (1987). The system also represents structures of instrumental action and is clearly goal-oriented (i.e.: concerned with gaining capital, for example). The system is the realm of control and power.

Tribal or traditional societies (such as theocracies or small rural village societies) may have little distinction between lifeworld and system, as such societies are small enough that its citizens only interact with others who shared their same lifeworld views. These individuals thus never have reason to think about the mass structures of shared experience. Additionally, such smaller, cultural and social structures never fully develop into macro-systems and in turn dominate people. Rather, within such societies, macro-issues are discussed and consensus is attained through rational (in the agent's opinion) communication. Tribal societies accordingly have a "formal" rationality but unlike the systems in Western nations, such formal rationality is achieved through common understanding. I do not consider the Catholic Church a system in the modern Habermasian sense, as it is not goal-oriented (instrumentally) and is not primarily concerned with control, power or domination. Additionally, the Catholic Church has a central social aspect to it, due to its theological concern with service to others. In this sense, the Catholic Church may in fact be comparable to the system of the tribal society. However, because the Church is very institutionalized, mainly within Western society, one could surmise that it lies between contemporary lifeworld and system. Roman Catholics, and particularly my informants, are more-or-less free to participate or not participate in the Church, and certain issues and practices are somewhat open to debate and/or modification by theologians, clergy and practitioners alike. And, as the Church itself remains a small fragment of the greater Canadian system that in itself is not always in accordance with the system's macro-focussed values, I suggest that it moves based on its own principles and substantive rationalism thus rendering it a component of the lifeworld. This said, the difference between lifeworld and system ultimately remains a matter of perception and of scale, as grand governing bodies, structures and

organizations may or may not escape our capacity to engage them personally depending on our social position.

Beyond Husserl, Habermas' ideas concerning system and lifeworld are also heavily influenced by German Ferdinand Tönnies, who published *Gemeinschaft und Gessellschaft* ("Community and Society") in 1887. Tönnies distinguished between the personal relations of the family and neighbourhood in rural pre-capitalist and pre-industrial society (i.e.: community) with the impersonal contractual relations between people in urban, material and industrial society ([1887] 1988:xv-xxi). Implicit in his notion of *Gessellschaft* is its increasing rationalization, instrumental rationality, domination and calculation. Similar to Tönnies' view of community and society, Habermas' believes that the dominance of the rational will ultimately lead to "undermining a genuine attachment between people and community" (Bonner and Bonner 1999:21).

In the course of this study, I will use Habermas' framework, but I will also problematize his antagonistic portrayal of the system and the lifeworld by showing how the lifeworlds of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics continue to provide meaningful symbols with which they can adapt to and even successfully manipulate the larger Canadian system. The very lifeworlds of these migrant communities have equipped them with the innate ability to shepherd their unique needs through adaptation of key cultural and religious praxes. Despite their status as "sheep" within the "flock" of Christianity, Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics have ambitiously carved niches for themselves within larger global mainstreams thus ensuring their survival as distinct communities. I believe it is because of their inherently religious nature that their lifeworlds have, in fact, provided these communities with the means to understand and manoeuvre reality. In other words, I suggest that rational and goal-oriented nature of the system does not alienate members

of these communities, as Habermas, Tönnies, Weber and Marx (to name a few) suggest but rather nurtures particular adaptive frameworks sustained by Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic lifeworlds. Additionally, because the tools and symbols required to navigate the Canadian system are European- and/or Western-rooted, the unique colonial histories of these people have equipped them with the lifeworld knowledge that is required to pilot the institutional (i.e.: the social, technological, economic, educational and judicial) systems and their components. Subjectively weaving their lifeworlds within a religious context, the Anglo-Indian and Goan migrants I spoke with inherently give Catholicism prioritized placing within the kaleidoscopic fabric of their lives.

Although I use the lifeworld/system model to structure my analysis, there are various other theories that would have also been helpful in understanding the adaptation patterns of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic migrants in Canada. For example, French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu discusses the concept of *cultural capital* which entails the skills, knowledge, cultural background and demeanours that are passed from one generation to the next (MacLeod 1995:13). He also employs the notion of *habitus* or the “system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks” (Bourdieu 1971:83). Although cultural capital and habitus do discuss the deep internalization of values that individuals and communities have, they both remain heavily transmitted and thus affected by social class. Upper-class cultural capital is distinct from that of the lower class, and the habitus engenders behaviour and attitudes differently depending on what the class origin of the individual is. Bourdieu is very concerned with social inequality and its perpetuation through habitus and cultural capital, whereas my own research does not have such a focussed interest in

class privilege. Additionally, as my participants in many ways use their Catholic faith to transcend various class hierarchies that they would have otherwise encountered within Hindu Indian society, Bourdieu's notion of habitus remains heavily problematized by their experiences.

Anthony Giddens also theorizes about how beliefs, values, and competencies shape our social worlds. In particular, he talks about *discursive* and *practical consciousness*. Discursive consciousness refers to the knowledge and mutual interpretations that are most often expressed verbally by human agents, incorporating the know-how that is needed to participate in the practices of daily life, as well as the ideologies that are used to justify them (Giddens 1986:45). Practical consciousness, on the other hand, entails the implicit common-sensical knowledge shared among members of a community based on experiences which are not easily verbally justified (Giddens 1986:49). Although discursive consciousness can eventually transform into practical consciousness, and vice versa, depending on situation and context, the two remain distinct in terms of self-awareness. Despite their practical nature for theoretical analysis, Giddens does not discuss why agents act the ways they do (i.e.: the motivation behind their actions). As my own research distinctly looks at how and where religion motivates and interacts with both discursive and practical consciousness, I chose to look beyond Giddens' work.

In order to conduct an analysis of key lifeworld elements of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in determining if and how they "fit" with the wider Canadian system, it is imperative to determine what exactly constitutes the Canadian system. When developing his lifeworld/system model, Habermas embraced the critical framework of the Frankfurt School, which was primarily concerned with the capitalist rationalization of the Western world (Bernstein 1994:68). The system which Habermas envisions is thus both modern and Western.

As aforementioned, the system consists of micro-/macro-oriented corporations, the capitalist market, governments and institutional subsystems instrumentally designed to rationally achieve particular goals (such as maintaining social order, acquiring capital or power). Like all Western societies, Canada is industrialized and subscribes to a capitalistic mode of economy (Clement 1997:27), which values growth, efficiency, sustainability, and freedom. Corporations, with their capital-driven and goal-oriented nature, serve as subsystems within Canada's larger system. The Canadian system also entails its own governments which exist at federal, provincial and municipal levels, as well as media networks designed to disseminate and promulgate particular ideologies, such as multiculturalism and individual freedom (both which will be discussed in the following sections). Health care, education and the legal system all work together with other sub-systems to regulate the broader system and purport particular hegemonies.

I believe that there are three particular systemic features that enable Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic migrants to efficiently adapt to life in Canada: (a) its assumption of the presence of manifold lifeworlds, (b) its subsequent discourse on diversity and (c) its rootedness in Judeo-Christian morality. Furthermore, free will and individualism are two characteristics that I believe are expected within the lifeworld of any person interacting and living within the Canadian system, despite the fact that its citizens come from countless nations and regions, belong to different ethnic communities and adhere to a variety of belief systems. Canada's multicultural policy headlines its discourse on diversity, as it recognizes a culturally diverse society which champions principles of tolerance, respect, equality and freedom (Rummens 2003:1). Emphasizing religion, sex/gender, class, sexual orientation, language, culture and ethnicity, the policy and its public initiatives seek to celebrate cultural pluralism. Encouraging people in rural

and urban regions to respectfully interact and learn about one another, the discourse of diversity and cultural inclusivity is embodied quite explicitly (*vis-à-vis* multicultural festivals and non-discrimination policies, for example) in the media, education system, health care, legal system and corporate sub-systems. In sanctioning and promoting multiculturalism, Canada systemically assumes the presence of diverse lifeworlds. Thus, in order to meaningfully interact with the Canadian system, individuals must not only be able to cooperate with those from other lifeworlds but also must be able to maintain a sense of identity and worth amidst their presence to ensure their communal longevity. Because Goans and Anglo-Indians have long histories with Western and Indian society as minority communities, I believe their lifeworlds are fundamentally designed to flourish in systems wherein they are not the majority. Their syncretistic roots and histories have allowed them to remain flexible and adaptive in praxis, custom and belief. The presence of other lifeworlds does not therefore threaten Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics as communities at all, as illustrated by my research.

Habermas views modernity as a process wherein actors liberate themselves from traditional values and roles so as to create new social orders through discourse and communication (2002:15-17). Within modern society, a secular morality emerges which appeals to humans based on their universal nature. Freedom, autonomy, human rights and democracy, according to Habermas, though secular in terminology, are directly rooted in the “Judaic ethics of justice and the Christian ethics of love” (Hillar N.d.:14). Such ethics, because of globalization, also call for the religions from which they are birthed to become more open-minded, reflexive and sensible thus shifting the focus from the Judeo-Christian traditions to more contemporary and global moral norms and arguments. Goan and Anglo-Indian Canadian Catholics, upon

arrival in Canada, are not only able to identify and take comfort in the Christian roots of the system but can also meaningfully relate to the universal ethics that modernity necessitates.

As mentioned above and further discussed in this study, the Goans and Anglo-Indians whom I interviewed considered themselves to fit rather well within the Canadian system both religiously and culturally. In fact, many of them do not see any sort of disconnect between their own lifeworlds and Canada's system and its components⁷. Many participants also attributed their social accomplishments to various congruities between the ideals and values of their own ethnic communities with those of the greater macro-system. Tracing their professional, educational and social achievements to their fluid Westernized upbringing as well as their Catholic-centred ideals, such individuals consider themselves as upholders and exemplary models of accommodation to Canada's social value-system. The Catholic faith which they have both effectively transplanted from nations all over the world and passed on to subsequent generations serves as an essential and practical lens, a vital dimension of their lifeworlds. When coupled with their colonial exposure to Western standards and institutions, the religious mores and values, and the generally liberal social ideals of Anglo-Indian and Goan Canadian Catholics serve as fundamental and shared reference points. Whether in India, East Africa, Europe or North America, the religious lifeworld anchored in the Western origins of their colonial histories provides the backdrop upon which all of their Canadian experiences continue to make sense. Accordingly, the following sections will wed Husserl and Habermas' conceptual frameworks and address three primary theoretical concerns: (a) how do Goans and Anglo-Indians in Canada conceive their lifeworld, and where does religion and "European liberalism" fit in? (b) how do members of these communities construct and/or renegotiate their migrant identities; and (c) how

⁷ I did not use such sociological/philosophical terminology as lifeworld and system during the course of my interviews.

do individuals and their communities retain their social, ethnic and religious interconnectivity? Concentrating on these issues, I shed a much-needed light on these communities and how they have effectively maintained a distinctive sense of Indian identity whilst simultaneously challenging dominant conceptions pertaining to race, religion, ethnicity, class, as well as national and ancestral belonging, in order to fit and thrive within Canadian society.

PART II: HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF GOANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS

“But, Goans...we have that culture that mixes with Western, so we have a great capacity to adapt anywhere we go because...we transcend both the [Indian and Western] cultures.” (Efu, m61G, Group Interview #4)

“... I’ve seen the Anglo-Indian community as one that has adapted throughout its history [...] It’s always been a blend of something...a bit of Indian, a bit of Western...things have changed, the same thing with culture.”

(Jill, f29AI, Group Interview #1)

“My feeling [is] that the Goans that tend to assimilate very easily and probably more easily than, in my opinion, than any other group.[...] They’ll fit in and disappear.” (Charlie, m41G, Interview #10)

Opinions such as those expressed above revealed themselves in many of my Goan and Anglo-Indian interviews. When asked their views on whether or not they believed members of their community were equipped with the tools they believed were necessary to successfully adapt to life in Canada, most participants would immediately agree and subsequently root their flexibility in their communal experiences. Taking a moment to reflect on their pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial histories both in India and abroad, many of these individuals would use their historical contexts to justify their sociocultural and religious adaptability today. In their opinions, when compared to other communities in the Indian diaspora, it is due to their syncretistic European and Indian roots and histories that Goans and Anglo-Indians are culturally reared or trained to be more-or-less religiously and culturally resilient. Neither the Goan community with their distinct Portuguese roots, nor the British influenced Anglo-Indians fit neatly underneath the paradigmatic, that is Hindu-based⁸, umbrella category of “Indian.”

⁸ For centuries, the study of India has solely focused on Hindu India. Rowena Robinson, in *Christians of India*, argues that the historical roots and development of various sociological, historical and anthropological schools in

Accordingly, it is through remaining somewhat adaptive in praxis, belief and custom whilst retaining the essence or core of their beliefs, that the Goan and Anglo-Indian populace has managed to prosper in diverse conditions and maintain their identity through the creation and sustenance of a palpable communal identity. Due to the influence of various political and cultural colonial super-powers on them and their predecessors, many Goans and Anglo-Indians whom I interviewed believe they, as a community, have developed a historically-ingrained capacity to prosper in even the least desirable of situations whilst simultaneously maintaining their group dignity.

In the previous section, I suggested that the Catholic faith serves as an indispensable and multi-dimensional lens for Canadian Goan and Anglo-Indians in their lifeworlds. Persisting as a fundamental and shared reference point for these communities, the lifeworld anchored in their colonial histories continues to be the milieu in which all experiences, even in urban Toronto, appear meaningful. Accordingly, this chapter discusses the historical background of both Anglo-Indians and Goans, beginning with their pre-colonial origins leading up to their colonial encounters and through to their North American migration and settlement. How did these people come to be Christian and, more specifically, Roman Catholic? And, how does religiosity, among other factors such as education and values, affect their identity? This chapter provides the basic historical framework necessary to address these questions and thus more fully contextualize the life experiences of the participants of this study. I discuss the relevant political terrain which impacted many of their lives abroad, as well as the general context of their Canadian immigration. Using various personal narratives and accounts of my participants to supplement

India gave rise to what she considers to be a neglect of non-Hindu Indian communities. The sociological and anthropological Dumontian perspective portrayed upper-caste Hinduism as synonymous with India at large. Such a Hindu-centred focus has given rise to the simultaneous reification of Hinduism and marginalization of non-Hindu communities (Robinson 2003:12).

historical fact, this chapter illustrates how the flexibility of these people is indeed rooted in their own life experiences. Bearing in mind the importance of the past in shaping the present and future, I then provide a general sociodemographic profile of both Anglo-Indians and Goans in Canada today, paying particular attention to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA).

Goans

“Goan” to search for spices

Although the small Indian state of Goa, located on the Western Malabar coast of India along the Arabian Sea, only formally became a state on 30 May 1987, the history of Goa is rich, spanning over centuries. Perhaps the earliest reference to Goa can be found in the ancient Sanskrit epic, the *Mahābhārata*, in its reference to *Goparashtra*, or a “nation of nomadic tribes or of cowherds.” (VI.10.42) According to legend, the Hindu god Vishnu’s sixth avatar, Parshuram (also referred to as Parshurama/Parasurama), cast out his arrow past the coastline, making the waters retreat thus creating the region. Over the centuries, Goa was ruled by different Buddhist (Mauryan Empire, ruled by Chandragupta Maurya and succeeded by Ashoka), Hindu/Jain⁹ (Rastrakuta, Kadambas, Chalukyas, and Silaharas) and Muslim (Bahamani and Adil Shahi) dynasties. While the early Mauryan Empire heralded an expansion of science and trade, the Hindu/Jain dynasties saw the growth of literary works and architecture in Goa. The Bahamani Sultanate, as the first Shi’ite monarchy in South India, facilitated the dissemination of the Persian (or Farsi) language and culture and after its collapse, the Shia Adil Shahi continued the development of trade, structural design, and music. The vast contributions of these diverse

⁹ I use Hindu/Jain interchangeably here for simplicity’s sake to illustrate the fact that these leaders of these dynasties, particularly the Rashtrakuta dynasty, often tolerated or even supported what were considered to be the popular religions of the day. While some kings supported Jainism through the development of temples and monuments, most kings began their inscriptions with invocations to either Shiva or Vishnu (Mishra 1992).

and powerful ruling empires helped cultivate prosperity in Goa due to the local growth of sea trade with neighbouring kingdoms. However, with the arrival of European powers in the late fifteenth century, the dynamics of life in Goa changed immensely.

In 1498, Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama landed in Kozhikode, formerly called Calicut, in what is known today as Kerala, just over 500 kilometres south of Goa. Da Gama was the first European explorer to discover a sea route from Europe to India around the Cape of Good Hope (Danvers 1992:34). At the time, Indian-European land trade was entirely in the hands of the Arabs which encouraged the Portuguese to seek sea routes (Danvers 1992:25). Da Gama's unsuccessful negotiations with Calicut's Eradi¹⁰ tribe would only be complicated further by resistance from local Adil Shahi Muslim merchants. Eventually, da Gama and his fleet were forced to leave Calicut and return back to Portugal due to mutual hostilities between them and the locals.

Twelve years later, in 1510, the Portuguese returned, under command of Admiral Afonso de Albuquerque, committed to usurping Muslim rule and controlling the Indian spice trade. Unable to secure a port further south on the Malabar coastline, de Albuquerque conquered Goa. An easily defensible location that was relatively inaccessible by land, the Port of Goa was situated almost midway between the key economic areas of Malabar and Gujarat, thus giving Goan fleet the possibility of controlling them both. In the sixteenth century, Goa was a medium-sized city by Indian standards (Pearson 1987:93).

In a likely demonstration of power and in an evident act of vengeance for Portugal's earlier defeat in Calicut, de Albuquerque was particularly hostile towards Goa's Muslim community, having its Muslim residents massacred. It is important to bear in mind that due to the

¹⁰ More specifically, the Saamoothirippād (or Zamorin in its anglicized form) who today constitute an upper-caste level of the Eradi (Ayyar 1999).

Shia Adil Shahi's influence, much of Goa had developed with a distinct Muslim flavour. Muslim Indian pilgrims often sojourned in Goa while on their way to Mecca. The local Hindu population had thus, in many ways, grown accustomed to and profited from the continued presence of Muslims in their community. However, as they were now his sworn enemies, de Albuquerque showed the Muslims no mercy. And, because the Eradi (Zamorin) tribe remained influential only within Calicut's borders, they did not serve as a threat or obstacle to Portuguese colonial ambition.

The Portuguese commissioned the building of a fortress capable of withstanding any outsider attack and, upon its completion, de Albuquerque dispatched several ships along the Malabar coast to encourage Portuguese trade. Although initially restricted to the coastal region known as Old Goa, by 1543, Portuguese authority and influence in the spice industry had spread north to Bardez, south to Salcette, and east to Mormugao (spanning over approximately over 600 square kilometres). Spices were not the only concern of the Portuguese, however. Indo-Portuguese historiography indicates that the spice trade consumed over ninety percent of "official attention" throughout the sixteenth century; the "work of conversion" remained significant on both an official and non-official level and thus continued to flourish long thereafter (de Mendonça 2002:1).

The Spread of Christianity in Goa

"The English ... this is all my opinion, I'm not a history major, but I think they [colonized] primarily for trade. I mean, they went in [India], they got all the jewels, they got all the minerals and spices, and they sent it back. That's all they were interested in – the business model, they were trying to increase their wealth. The Portuguese, the differentiation with the Portuguese, was that they were interested in spreading Christianity." (Trevor, m29G,

Group Interview #3)

Religious conversion was a primary task of Portuguese colonialism in Goa, as the city was considered the centre of Christianization in the East in the sixteenth century (de Mendonça 2002:67). In fact, as indicated by Trevor's statement above, Christendom in Goa was a powerful project which continues to be connected to Goan identity today. The topic of conversion is thus particularly relevant to this thesis, as it is in Portuguese colonial history that the roots of the Goan Catholic population are located. Because of the explicit religious, that is Roman Catholic, focus of this thesis and its attempt to argue the ongoing perceptual and social relevancy of the religious lifeworlds of both the communities herein explored in relation to the broader Canadian system, it is essential to discuss where such religious shared reference points originated. How was the religious lifeworld of Goans initiated and propagated through subsequent generations? And, what elements of the religious lifeworld continue to be pertinent today in an, arguably, increasingly secular Canadian society? De Mendonça argues, in *Conversions and Citizenry*, that when striving to understand the history of Goa, it is "not sufficient to know only 'what' happened and 'how,' but it is pertinent as also necessary to examine carefully 'why' and 'when' these events took place, in order to re-created a broad historical framework to understand the facts of conversion and their effects" (2002:2). I build upon de Mendonça's statement to incorporate not only some key facts of conversion and their effects but also examine whether or not conversion itself was renegotiated in different social, political, and geographical contexts. This section thus explores particular agents of Christian conversion as they remain relevant to the experiences of the Goan Catholics in Canada today. The subsequent section will look comparatively at how Anglo-Indians became Christian.

Prior to Portuguese colonialism, Goa was a religiously diverse land, particularly due to the influences of Hinduism, Jainism and Islam. Because of its use in the creation and maintenance of social order, the function of religion was similar to that of governing political power. De Mendonça argues that new rulers of any religious orientation quickly learned that, within Goan society, government edicts and decrees were relatively inadequate in comparison to religion as a means of securing conformity of the local behaviour with the new rulership, and in the creation of political and social duties (2002:7). The Portuguese conquerors introduced the locals to both the Portuguese language and to institutional Christianity via missionaries who were given religious jurisdiction over the new territory by the King. As a colonial power, the Portuguese were well known for lending state fiscal support to their global religious conquests, particularly within their colonized territories. This is unlike the British or the Dutch powers that appeared to lack an explicitly religious mandate.¹¹

In order to fully comprehend the religious impact of the Portuguese on sixteenth century Goa, one must understand the prevailing social conditions at the time. Because of its accessibility from the sea and its rich history, Goa was not simply a detached Portuguese territory with administrative and political influence. Rather, as previously mentioned, in 1530 Goa officially became the Portuguese viceroy's headquarters in Asia, which led to an increase of Portuguese settlers. In fact, Goa experienced such large population growth that it soon became the largest "Portuguese" city after Lisbon (de Mendonça 2002:68). Portuguese was considered the official language of Goa, and schools, businesses and local government offices all ran in Portuguese. An old, untraceable Portuguese proverb states, "*Quem vio Goa excusa de vér Lisboa*," (i.e.: "Whoever has seen Goa need not see Lisbon") attesting not only to the unmistakable Portuguese

¹¹ The British did, however, wish to change local social and religious practices via civil legislation and education in order to make "a few good civil servants for the British empire." (de Mendonça 2002:8).

character of the region but also to the evident social, economic, cultural, and religious (i.e.: Christian) advancements of the region (da Fonseca 2001:155-6). Historian Frederic Marjay agrees in his claim that, “There may be no geographic or economic frontier but there is undubitably [sic] a human one: Goa is the transplantation of the West onto Eastern lands, the expression of Portugal in India” (Marjay 1959:7). Boasting smaller village homes alongside large colonial Portuguese-style villas, storerooms, Christian and Hindu hospitals, and religious buildings of all sorts, Goa indeed was the hub of Portuguese India. While Goa did have a distinct cultural flavour in comparison to that of wider Indian society, I suggest that Portuguese traditions and habits intermingled with those of pre-colonial Goa to create a new and, in many ways, hybridized society thus encouraging Goans to remain fundamentally accommodating and flexible in nature.

Olvinho Gomes claims, “To understand and appreciate Goan culture and family in its proper perspective one has to study intimately the social structure of a Goan village” (1987:8). The majority of Goan society preceding Portuguese rule was village-based. Villages consisted of *comunidades*¹² which existed prior to their occupation. Many such Goan villages survived pestilence, natural disasters and dynastic changes. Pereira, in his study on Goan village associations, believes that some of the villages that continue to exist today have existed “since the beginning, demarcated just as they were at the time of their foundation” (1981:4). Each village consisted of an assemblage of houses and one or a few small temples where the village deity (or deities) would be communally worshiped. Extended/joint family, caste and religion affected social duties and personal relationships. It could be surmised that due to each village having its own deity (or deities) to worship, the consequent lack of a larger Goan group cohesion

¹² The *comunidade* was the primary Goan housing development pattern that included clusters of homes on communally shared land (Pereira 1978).

and solidarity may have furthered or encouraged their conversion process as it could proceed one village at a time. On the other hand, the relatively confining nature of the village may have also acted as a buffer against any potential conversions that would have occurred. Nor was the caste-system a patent obstacle for the Portuguese in their conversion quest, as it was in fact quite comparable to distinctions of rank and class in Europe.¹³ Missionaries could easily, should they so choose, continue to uphold and promote caste distinctions as something divinely upheld and sanctioned. This idea will be discussed in greater length further on.

Early studies on Indian villages reveal them to be fairly isolated and self-sufficient, where land was communally owned thus evidencing a potentially egalitarian society. Spears agrees with this in his assertion that “[...] the classes which, locked by economic, social and religious ties into an intimate interdependence, made up the village community” (Spears quoted in Srinivas 1987:44). However, Srinivas argues the intrinsically inegalitarian nature of India in that the idea of hierarchal precedence not only has always existed but has also helped structure larger Indian society (Srinivas 1980:64). Whereas class and rank deal with the absence or presence of authority, control or power, the caste system upon which India is fundamentally based deals more with issues of spirituality and religiosity.

The most well-known system of hierarchy which would have had influence in pre- and post-Portuguese India (and to a degree today, in Canada, as I will discuss in the subsequent chapter) is that of *varna* or caste. *Varna* divisions were generally accepted throughout India, although not all Indian communities necessarily subscribed to them. They were arranged by order of ascendancy in status from service up through to priesthood. *Brahmins*, or the priestly caste, are the highest level and are followed by the *Kshatriyas* or the warrior/king caste. The

¹³ Contrary to popular belief, the notion that caste was against the principles of Christianity does not reveal itself in Goan missionary historiography, although there are some criticisms of caste being occasional obstacles to conversion and the reason behind some religious relapses (de Mendonça 2002:74).

Vaishyas is constituted by the merchants and shop-keepers and the *Sudras* are the servant caste. It is important to note that the *Untouchables* or *dalits* traditionally included the spiritually impure as well as those from non-Hindu faith systems; these were not even honoured with a classification in the *varna* system. Within ancient Indian society, the existence of *varnas* ensured that order would always theoretically be maintained. While religion and its teachers, keepers, and translators (i.e.: the *Brahmins*) always remained highest in terms of superiority and priority, all priests (as well as merchants and servants) had an obligation to honour and obey the king (i.e.: a *Kshatriya*). Caste designation, like rank and class within European society, was (and continues to be) passed through lineage. Though it is difficult to climb the caste ladder, it is possible and has been done (as will be subsequently explored in this study). Higher caste levels, such as the *Brahmins*, had more rules and responsibilities in terms of diet maintenance, hygiene and purity whereas lower castes, as they were more “tainted” to begin with, were given more leniency in terms of cleanliness and religious purity.

As pre-Portuguese Goa was primarily Hindu, the *varnas* played an influential role in how society was organized and governed. Countless temples and *pagodes* housed innumerable idols of all sorts. However, only *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* were permitted entry into these ornate houses of worship. *Sudras* and *dalits*, due to their lack of purity, were forbidden access. Similarly, the traditionally Indian social and religious preferential treatment of men over women not only prevented women from participating in many religious rituals and rites alongside their male counterparts but also perpetuated female illiteracy *en masse*, thus cultivating an increased economic dependency on males.

Portuguese kings, governors and government officials played noteworthy roles in the spread of Christianity within Goa. Claiming that conversions were their most important and

significant duty, the kings of Portugal served as the self-acclaimed spiritual and temporal leaders of Portuguese India (de Mendonça 2002:8). Conversion decrees were sanctioned by the king, and missionary groups and organizations were funded by these *patron* figures (de Mendonça 2002:8). It is critical for us to note that the Portuguese kings, government officials and, to a degree, missionaries were all working under the arguably typical European mindset that Hindus, Muslims, Arabs, Aboriginal peoples and Africans possessed neither civility nor religiosity, as an ignorance of Christianity implied an absence of culture (de Mendonça 2002:10). Accordingly, because of their apparent inferiority, the dissemination of the “true” religion (i.e.: Christianity) became not just a spiritual task but also a pressing moral priority. Although the king was considered the primary sponsor for the spread of Christendom in Portuguese territories, trust of its overseas execution was predominantly laid in the hands of governors and sanctioned officials. However, as de Mendonça notes, because of their physical distance from the prime patron (i.e.: the king), many governors and officials indirectly served their own interests as opposed to those of their king (2002:12-13).

Missionaries and the Church comprised the final tier in the conversion drive. While the king patron and governing officials were responsible for the creation and edification of particular decrees and working policies, the missionaries, who were generally members of religious orders, constituted the practical backbone of the Goan conversion effort. Portuguese missionary activity was particularly strong and aggressive during the sixteenth century (de Mendonça 2002:16). Individuals (i.e. men) with a “vocation for India”¹⁴ were recruited and sent to further the religious cause by winning Christianity new converts.

¹⁴ De Mendonça translates this phrase to mean “zealous persons with a proselytizing mentality, having great zeal and enthusiasm to instruct and convert Hindus” (2002:16). St. Francis Xavier, in his search for missionary candidates demanded that interested individuals fit the following profile: “he should not be a young man but between 30 and 40 years of age possessing all virtues, but especially the virtue of chastity, since occasions to sin

St. Francis Xavier is perhaps the most well-known and widely celebrated religious role model for Goan Catholics worldwide. Regardless of where they are located, whether in India or the diaspora, such Goans continue to recognize the vast religious contributions of St. Francis Xavier. During the course of my fieldwork, various Goans mentioned the relevance of this patron saint both in terms of cultural importance and religious development. As Dom, a thirty-six year old Goan claims, “There’s always the patron saint of Goa, the St. Francis Xavier, that all of [sic] Goans, regardless of where they’re traditionally from or what village they’re from, they will always try to converge to that and celebrate that.” (m36G, Group Interview #1)

St. Francis Xavier was born in 1506 in Spain. After studying in Paris and receiving his Holy Orders, he took part in the founding of the Society of Jesus (more commonly known as the Jesuits). On the 7 April 1541, he boarded a vessel sailing for India and subsequently landed on Goa’s shores in May, 1542. In his official role as *Apostolic Nuncio*,¹⁵ St. Francis Xavier spent nearly his first half-year in Goa teaching and ministering to the infirmed and elderly in Goan hospitals. This illustrates that the work of missionaries often overlapped with health care and educational tasks.¹⁶ Beyond this, as Rector and Professor, St. Francis Xavier taught both seminarians and laypersons about Jesus Christ. Some attribute particular healing powers to him, such as curing the deaf and handicapped, and even resuscitating dead people. Goan folklore claims that he once levitated himself whilst distributing the Eucharist at St. Paul’s College in Goa. After remaining in Goa for some time, the saint decided to voyage further into Asia to

against it [present] themselves everywhere. The heat and the licentious life in Goa itself, [offers] sensual temptations not only to the European layman but to the religious person alike.” (de Mendonça 2002:16-17)

¹⁵ Derived from the Latin word, *nuntius* (meaning envoy or ambassador), a Papal Nuncio or Apostolic Nuncio is an ecclesiastic diplomatic title. Considered the head of a diplomatic mission, an Apostolic Nuncio is ranked just beneath an Archbishop.

¹⁶ In 1591, the Portuguese administration decreed that all infirmed Hindu and Christians in Goa would receive free medical assistance. Missionaries were also encouraged to travel from village to village and determine the medical needs of its inhabitants. De Mendonça believes that, seeing the concern Western Christians had for their well-being, many Hindus willingly converted to Christianity (2002:59-60).

spread the Christian faith. It is said that St. Francis Xavier died on 3 December 1552, on the Chinese island of Sancian. He was initially buried there according to Chinese ritual, and after seventy-five days, his body was exhumed and found to be fresh-looking and non-decaying. His body was then taken to be buried in Goa, as St. Francis had expressed this desire whilst alive. According to popular belief, St. Francis Xavier's body resisted decomposition for many years thereafter without the use of embalming or other artificial methods. Regardless of the veracity of the folklore surrounding his death and burial, the incontestable fact remains that St. Francis continues to be an extolled part of Goan Catholic identity.

The Portuguese, perhaps due to ignorance or perhaps due to optimism, believed that the Hindus would mechanically and immediately embrace Christianity, unlike the Muslim or Jewish communities (de Mendonça 2002:22). However upon arrival, a melange of factors, such as the relatively small number of Portuguese in Goa as well as the fortitude of the Hindu faith within the hearts of its devotees, prevented them from achieving their desired conversion goals as quickly as they had initially anticipated (Pearson 1981:23, 28). Accordingly, a relatively small number of conversions took place within the first few years of Portuguese colonization. Perhaps the earliest noted conversions were those achieved by de Albuquerque, as one of his initial tasks was to find his shipmen acceptable wives. As soon as he was able, de Albuquerque had no less than 450 of his men married to Christian-converted locals (Danvers 1992:217). Typically, these women were widows or dancing girls who desired marriage to Portuguese soldiers not only for economic stability but also, in many cases, to escape social stigma within their Indian communities (Rubinoff 1995:166). Upon marriage, a Portuguese "man of character" (i.e. shipman or soldier) and his newly converted Indian wife were rewarded with land, cattle, and houses so as to provide them with the essentials to begin a new and permanent Christian life in

Goa (Danvers 1992:217). Because de Albuquerque's primary governing concerns appear to have been economics and trade, initially he was quite tolerant of local Hindu religious traditions (except when dealing with intermarriage between Portuguese men and local women, as his men were restricted from marrying Hindu women). Islam, on the other hand, was often denounced likely due to both de Albuquerque's and European Christianity's tumultuous history with it.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, with the arrival of religious order missionaries and a larger Christian base population, Hindu conversion rates to Christianity increased. St. Francis Xavier, like other missionaries, took several steps to convert the local vassal population whilst simultaneously striving to prevent the relapse of neo-converts to Hinduism. In addition to basic education and persuasion, economic and political favours, tax breaks and concessions, property and land gifts, prestigious public service jobs, and retention of caste and/or previous status (if one was higher caste) were all measures used by Christian authorities to encourage locals to convert. In this context, a new "divide and rule" social policy emerged that, while permitting continuation of Hindu customs and traditions that did not contradict Christianity, such as caste, foodways or the use of song and dance, sought to isolate new converts from their Hindu neighbours thus discouraging any and all forms of idolatry (Neill 2004:129). Accordingly, idols were forbidden from public view and private possession within the homes of Christian converts, and although religious processions were still permitted within Goan society, the use of Hindu religious images were prohibited. New converts could thus maintain a variety of meaningful cultural symbols so long as such images fit did not contradict within and/or diminish Christianity's supremacy. It is important here to emphasize that it is this malleability and fluidity with respect to the religious aspects of their lifeworlds that has helped cultivate and sustain the flexibility of the Goan Catholic community in Canada today.

On 25 September 1555, the religious *Peace of Augsburg* treaty was signed between King Charles V of Spain and Ferdinand I of Austria, in Germany's Bavaria. This important convention established a religious truce between the growing sect of Lutheranism and Catholicism. Calling for limited tolerance between devotees of the "old religion" (i.e.: Catholicism) and those "espousing the Augsburg convention" (i.e.: the Lutherans), this agreement established a principle for religious truce (Reich quoted in Patrick 2007:77). According to its policy of *cuius regio, eius religio* (Latin meaning, "whose kingdom, his religion"), the faith of a state was that of its ruler. Nonetheless, the treaty also excluded other Protestant groups, such as Calvinists, Zwinglians and Anabaptists, in addition to all non-Christian religious communities.¹⁷ Although this treaty was primarily developed to bring peace to Germany after years of religious tension and conflict, the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* heavily resonated with the Portuguese colonialists. The declaration brought an end to the previously lenient and somewhat tolerant policy towards the Goan Hindus as European rulers of the "old religion," including the Portuguese, were now formally granted *ius reformandi* (Latin meaning, "the right of reforming"), signifying that they had the right to introduce religious modifications in their territory. The period of mass conversions that followed has been labelled, by some (De Souza 2008:293; Neill 2004:608; Saraiva 2001:342-353, to name a few) as the Inquisition because of pervasive intolerance towards non-Christians. Although this thesis will not thoroughly analyze the Inquisition *per se*, it will discuss how Goan Christian converts reconfigured various pre-Christian customs in order to gain status and membership within the Portuguese colonial and religious community.

Christian converts within Portugal's new colony of Goa were deeply attached to many of their previously Hindu practices causing some Goans to view Christianity as a form of Hinduism

¹⁷ Article 17 of the *Peace of Augsburg* states, "However all such as do not belong to the two above named [i.e.:Lutheran and Catholic] religions shall not be included in the present peace but be totally excluded from it," (Reich quoted in Patrick 2007:77).

(Collingham 2006:66). Because of this, religious orders and missionaries took steps to thwart Hinduism-Christian syncretism¹⁸. Financial and material inducements were the initial bargaining tools offered by the Portuguese when dealing with local vassals. However, because of a lack of consistency and the absence of a clearly defined notion of Christian orthodoxy, as well as the highly religious and culturally pluralistic context in which Goans lived, neo-convert syncretism occurred frequently.¹⁹ The inherent diversity of Goan society, it seemed, militated against new converts maintaining strict religious purity. Additionally, the relatively few Christian religious figures and leaders in Goa often were unable to provide new converts with enough spiritual education, guidance or oversight to cultivate their faith due to their lack of manpower and resources. Although new converts in Goa did, to a degree, adopted various cultural and religious elements indigenous to European Christianity, many of them continued to retain some of their pre-conversion practices they considered important and which caused them to “waver between the two faiths, practising now one then the other, or both simultaneously” (Boxer 1978:88). Clearly, such syncretisms were actively discouraged by the local religious orders, the Portuguese governing powers and, in particular, the Inquisition. Regarded as a threat to the purity of the faith and the overarching unity of Christendom, the mixing of Hinduism and Christianity was not to be tolerated. Hence, quite often, missionaries and governing officials condoned the destruction of Hindu relics and monuments in hopes of preventing the mixing of the two belief systems (Da Fonseca 2001:47).

¹⁸ I choose to utilize the term “syncretism,” as opposed to relapse, because of the blatant pejorative connotations associated with the latter. While indeed the inclusion or continued practice of particular nodes of Hinduism would have been frowned upon by Christian missionaries and colonizers, thus constituting a true “relapse,” neo-converts would not have viewed the inclusion of or reconciliation between new Christian and older Hindu practices and thoughts as something necessarily negative.

¹⁹ De Mendonça argues that new convert syncretisms were not, for the most part, a result of the conversions being forced but were rather attributable to the pervasive influence of Hinduism and the diversity inherent within Goan society at the time (2002:296-325).

Ritualistically, various neo-converts incorporated various Hindu customs into the practice of Christianity. As they continued to live and work among Hindus, new Christians were forced to learn how to balance their traditional cultural (i.e.: Goan) and new religious obligations. For example, Hindu festivals and weddings were customarily ornate ceremonies, symbols of prestige and honour for both the couple and the extended family. Within Goa, local Christians continued to arrange lavish feasts which lasted over a week. Replacing Hindu religious imagery with those of Christianity, neo-converts were able to maintain their standing with their neighbours and proudly display their social status to the rest of the community in ways that would be understood and appreciated by the general Indian public. During some Christian religious festivals, missionaries would serve rice, curry and other Indian sorts of food in hopes that the new-converts would not feel too alienated and subsequently yearn for their Hindu ways of the past. Interestingly, many Christians began to loan their Hindu neighbours their own valuables for various temple feasts and processions in which they now were forbidden to participate. As Pearson notes, “Hindu processions continued despite prohibitions and Christians lent jewellery, finery and slaves to the participants....” (Pearson 1987:128)

And, soon enough, Hindu practices entered into Christian sacred rituals. The influence of Hindu *bhakti* (devotional) movements helped new converts to better relate to the Christian faith system. The solemnity and reservation of the European procession, for example, was easily eclipsed by flamboyant Indian style of procession. In the following description, Abbé Carré notes, with some discomfort, how the religious procession in Goa mingled Christian elements with particular aspects from Hinduism:

The ninth day of the Feast of the Rosary ended with a solemn service at the church of the Dominican Fathers. There were a sermon and a grand procession of the Blessed Sacrament all round the town, together with music, concerts, and other ceremonies, in which the Portuguese delight. But I was not pleased at the troops of dancing girls

and masqueraders, who danced with very indecent postures in front of the procession. This detracted from the devotion and respect due to such a solemn occasion. In the evening, after the blessing, the fete was completed with fireworks, dancing girls, and a comedy acted in the church of the Dominican Fathers. (Carré 1947:135-136)

Though some missionaries and religious leaders, including Carré, may have scoffed at some of the ways in which local converts expressed their faith, it is clear that such Christians were learning to incorporate their new religious traditions into their Indian lives in evocative and meaningful ways. Additionally, giving Christian festivals and feasts an Indian flavour not only encouraged new converts to continue their new Christian ways, but also increased the chances of sparking interest from non-converted Hindus or non-Hindus (bearing in mind that, despite the efforts of the Inquisitors, Goa was at that time still a very culturally and religiously diverse society). The Portuguese colonizers and religious missionaries showed an initial leniency towards new converts, allowing them some freedoms (such as incorporating previous “Indian” foodways into Christian celebrations) while denying others (such as idolatry). Thus the Portuguese felt they exhibited a tremendous capacity to assimilate through adaptation which served to distinguish them from other colonizing powers, such as the British and Dutch, who were not as willing to adapt to the customs and beliefs of those they conquered (De Almeida 2004:52).

As mentioned, Christian missionaries often did nothing to undermine caste, perhaps due to the similarity to their own class and rank distinctions. This, coupled with the fact that conversions were often occurred *en masse* within each village, permitted a transplanting of the caste system from Hindu society into the newly formed Christian community, albeit with some minor changes. Da Roche notes that, “the attachment to caste is more persevering than any other [practice or tradition] as caste prejudices are deeply imbedded in the mentality and behaviour of

the Hindu” (da Roche quoted in Gomes 1987:82). Janet Rubinoff concurs in her claim that, “[...] although the Church was able to impose a separate religious and cultural identification on the converts from their Hindu counterparts [,] they could only do it within the context of the indigenous social system” (1995:173). In this context, the missionaries targeted members of the *Brahmin* caste as key potential converts; their religious training and sensitivities made them desirable recruits as new priests and as indigenous religious leaders who would also attract new converts and help prevent Hindu Christian syncretisms. I remember my shock as Gabriel, a fifty-five year old Goan whom I interviewed, told me that not only did Goan *Brahmins* have their own seminary (as opposed to those for non-*Brahmin* caste Catholic Goans) both in colonial and post-colonial times, but that there continue to be religious tasks and rites that only priests from the *Brahmin* caste can perform. (m55G, Group Interview #7)

Below the *Brahmins* within Goan Christian colonial society, were the *Chaddo*, who in essence replaced the *Kshatriyas*, or warriors/kings (Sinha 2002:30-33). The *Sudras* also continued to exist within the Catholic Goa caste hierarchy. An interesting addition to the Goan Christian caste system were the *Kunbis*, comprising of local aboriginal land workers and servants. The *Kunbis* fit below the *Chaddo* but above the *dalits* or *Untouchables*. It is important to note that officially Catholicism has never recognized caste or *varna* within its faith system, and many Goans both in Goa and in the diaspora continue to deny its existence, claiming that the absence of caste distinguishes their own Roman Catholic community from the general Hindu population. However, I wish to suggest not only that *varna* and subsequent caste prejudice indeed has a long history within the Goan Catholic community, as evidenced by my primary data, but also that it has managed to transplant itself to Canadian soil where the intrinsically

inegalitarian nature of Indian society has lent itself to the continuation of caste (Srinivas 1987). I further discuss these ideas in the section on Goan Canadian identity.

Despite the many criticisms of neo-converts for tainting the integrity and ritualistic purity of Christianity, some argued that in fact local Christians were committed and faithful followers of Christ. St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit patron saint of Goa, declared that “...if those who criticized only knew how little instruction these Christians had received before their baptism, and how young their faith was, they would not be surprised to see how these neo-converts had not turned into worse Christians yet” (de Mendonça 2002:209). In other words, the local Christians were people to be admired for their determination to retain what very little they were taught about Christianity and incorporate it meaningfully into their lives. St. Francis Xavier appeared to understand and be sympathetic towards the spiritual duress that religious conversion entailed, as baptism alone was not enough to make an individual, especially an adult, forget his or her previous belief system.

Finally, the influence of Christian religious orders and missionaries, particularly that of the Jesuits, stretched far beyond the strictly religious domain. In many ways, in fact, it contributed to Goan sociocultural and economic growth. For example, in 1549, the Rector of St. Paul’s Cathedral in Goa, asked Portuguese King João III for a clock, instead of an hourglass. Consequently, by the 1560s, the Jesuits began adjusting their clocks based on lunar observations, attesting to the scientific and astrological developments accomplished by the missionaries. The sixteenth century introduction of accurate clocks, Cipolla surmises, laid the groundwork for the early nineteenth century Goan industrial revolution (1970:124-125).

Likewise, the Jesuits first introduced the printing press to Goan society in 1556. This was the first press in Asia and indeed, except for Cambridge, Massachusetts and Mexico, was the first

outside of Europe. Although it was primarily used to spread the particular part of Renaissance knowledge that was the Catholic faith, the printing press also indirectly promoted literacy within the vassal population. The dissemination of religious texts and pamphlets gave individuals the tools necessary to practice reading and potentially writing, not just on religious topics but on a wide array of matters. The fact that the printing press in Goa was the only press in Asia at the time encouraged increased trade and cross-cultural connections with those outside Goa or India hoping to use or benefit from the press (Borges and Feldmann 1997:45; Saradesāya 2000:15-17). In fact, Pearson suggests that the total impact of sixteenth century Portuguese activities in Goa, beyond the religious realm, was “stronger, longer, and qualitatively more innovative than any exogenous impacts [by previous rulers] in previous centuries.” (Pearson 1987:107)

“Goan,” goin’, gone: the fall and aftermath of Portuguese rule

A 1580 throne succession crisis in Portugal occurred due to the sudden death of young King Sebastian I in battle. Without an heir, Sebastian was succeeded by his great uncle, Cardinal Henry who himself had no children, being a religious cleric. Henry sought to renounce his vows and take a bride in order to continue his family’s dynasty, but was denied permission by Pope Gregory. Two years into his reign, Henry passed away without having appointed a Council of Regency to select a successor. Philip II of Spain, whose mother was Portuguese, was one of the claimants who eventually convinced Portugal’s aristocracy that a union with Spain would prove financially profitable. During the years that followed, Portugal lost much of its power and control to the Spanish. When Philip II died, his son Philip III succeeded to the throne and began to heavily burden the Portuguese with taxes and embargos. The Portuguese nobility stood to lose

financial stability as well as local power, especially if Philip III was to get his way in transforming Portugal into a Spanish royal province.

In 1640, a Portuguese revolution ended the dual monarchy between Spain and Portugal. The Treaty of Lisbon was signed in 1668 which not only recognized Portugal's independence but also secured Portuguese sovereignty over its colonial territories. This had very real consequences for Goa and its inhabitants as, despite Portugal's precarious post-war condition, it maintained control over the region. By the seventeenth century, however, Portuguese authority in Goa declined as a result of Anglo-Dutch capitalism and Portuguese military losses to other European colonial powers outside of India. The Dutch by then had become so powerful that they had driven the Portuguese out of other regions of Asia, especially in the South East, and even tried unsuccessfully to capture Goa in 1603. By the late seventeenth century, the Dutch controlled much of the spice trade in India, and Brazil succeeded Goa as the economic centre of Portugal's overseas kingdom.

Because Portugal's colonial power was diminished, Goa became more susceptible to various epidemics throughout the seventeenth century as they lacked the systemic resources to treat and prevent it. Despite Goa's industrial development and European-styled infrastructure, reduced colonial finances seriously weakened several its social and public institutions, such as the health care and education system, which would have played important roles in curtailing epidemics. While such outbreaks devastated the morale of both the local vassal population and the Portuguese colonizers, in many ways the epidemics encouraged new open-mindedness and tolerance between Christians and non-Christians, as well as between Europeans and Indians. Since European medicine was at that time useless in dealing with Indian or tropical illnesses, "the physitians [sic] that go [sic] out of Portugal into these parts must...keep company with the

Indian Surgeons to be fit to Practice; otherwise, if they go about to cure these Distempers, so far different from ours after the European manner, they may chance to [k]ill more than they [c]ure” (Sen 1949:162). Missionaries, archbishops, viceroys and nobles permitted themselves to use Hindu doctors for relief of particular ailments after unsuccessfully being treated by European cures. In Daman, Goa, during the late 1690s, a French visitor expressed disbelief at seeing a young Portuguese child with a fever, whose “Indian physician, instead of letting her bleed [with leeches], had covered her head with pepper” (Priolkar 1961:14). Even in the busy Christian hospitals, one could find a new, albeit unequal, coexistence between European and Indian medicine. The Royal Hospital in Goa, for example, bled their European patients to cure particular illnesses, as was customary in Europe at the time. After being bled, to restore their colour, patients were then prescribed a glass of cow urine three times a day, as “[the] remedy has been learnt of the idolators [Hindus] of the country” (Tavernier and Ball [1889] 2006:160-161). Interestingly however, just a mere hundred years earlier the mixing of local (i.e. Indian) and European medicine was strictly forbidden, punishable by law.

Additionally, because of the Portuguese revolution, many soldiers, sailors and merchants were shipped back to the motherland to support the coup against the Spanish. The reduced Portuguese population that remained in Goa was insufficiently equipped and trained to deal with mass epidemic outbreaks. Syncretism rates during these years thus grew steadily as, in the absence of the watchful Portuguese eye, converted Goans, though steadfast with their Christian beliefs, were suddenly free to mix elements of their beliefs systems as they saw fit. Searching for meaningful ways to cope with their fears associated with the epidemic, Goan Christians experimented with their faith so as to better reflect and remember their own roots and ancestral traditions.

The eighteenth century saw resurgence in Portuguese colonial zeal, even though Goa did not recover the power that it had during the sixteenth century's Golden Age. The Inquisition *per se* had ended, but King João nonetheless called for a new crusade which sought to extend Portuguese control to other Indian regions. Ponda, Sanguem, Canacona, and Cabo de Rama were all added to Goa's area, and continue to be part of Goa today. Unlike during the initial Goan conquests, inhabitants of these regions were not pressured to convert to Christianity. This expansion was solely for political and military reasons. Despite Goa's growth in geographical size, Portugal continued to decline as a colonial power due to the growing influences of the British and Dutch. To further complicate matters, in 1787 Goans revolted against their colonizers, claiming that all major political and religious positions were held by the Portuguese and were thus discriminatory.

In 1799, during the Napoleonic Wars, Portugal became concerned with being unable to defend their empire from the French and their navies. As they were allies, the British dispatched a naval squadron to Goa's shores to blockade and defend the region. This British occupation of Goa lasted until 1813, and greatly impacted Goan society. During this time English-speaking influence surpassed that of the Portuguese, and many locals became much more fluent in English (they already spoke some English due to the presence of various European missionary groups, and from exposure to British Indian society).

During World War I, Portugal followed British orders to intern German ships that were anchored in their ports. This caused Germany to declare war on Portugal in 1916, forcing the nation to focus their attention on the events in Europe rather than their colonial endeavours abroad. During this time, Goans loyally volunteered their time and resources to helping both the Portuguese and British. Goa's advanced railway systems enabled the swift transport of supplies

to the war fronts. In World War II, Portugal was able to maintain its political neutrality which meant that Goa was relatively unaffected by European events. The post-war economic boom, however, provided Goa with the opportunity to develop both its agricultural and industrial sectors, in part because it provided low-cost iron ore for the Japanese economy.

From the late 19th to mid-twentieth century, there was also growing interest among many Goans to learn English (Kurzon 2004:61-63). Many Goans were well aware that Indians who were living in British-ruled India were learning English and were thus given increased employment opportunities. And, a good number of Goan Catholics were already rather well versed in English because of their exposure to English-speaking missionaries and chaplains from Europe. English lessons and English-schools began to be set up by elite members of the Goan Catholic community, as they believed comprehension of the language facilitated their entry into prestigious administrative positions. Such local interest in English worried Portuguese colonizers, as they feared that English-speaking schools and opportunities would lead to “denationalisation” of the Portuguese colony (Kurzon 2004:64). Accordingly, Portuguese officials offered financial incentives to schools that chose to emphasize Portuguese language education. Their efforts, however, proved ineffective as Goans became more and more Anglicized.

On 15 August 1947, India gained independence from its British colonizers, thus ending the British Raj (which will be discussed in greater length in the next section of this study which explores the history and origins of the Anglo-Indian Catholic community). Although many Indian princely states became part of the newly independent Indian Union, the French and Portuguese continued to hold on to their Indian territories. India’s government strictly followed its peaceful negotiation policy in its attempt to persuade Portugal to transfer power of Goa to

India. The Portuguese, however, were adamant in retaining their land and resisted diplomatic solutions. This forced India, in 1955, to place a trade embargo on Goa, prohibiting any economic interactions with the territory, in hopes of compelling the Portuguese to surrender. The Portuguese angrily resisted, resorting to violence to suppress demonstrations and rallies organized by the locals. In 1961 the Indian government, claiming that the Portuguese had opened fire on their merchant ship Sabarmati, decided upon military intervention. Dubbed Operation Vijay (Vijay meaning “victory”), the Indian military invaded Goa on 17 December 1961. Over 30 000 land troops entered Goa, supported by both the Indian naval and air forces. As Goa was defended by only 3 000 soldiers, most of whom were inexperienced and unprepared fighters, the region fell quickly and near-peacefully. On 19 December 1961, Goa was reintegrated into India subsequently gaining its title as a single Union Territory and included the two other remaining Portuguese colonies, Diu and Daman into its borders. Goa’s first government was elected in 1963, and Goa consequently separated from Diu and Daman (both of which remain union territories), to become an Indian state in 1987.

Goa has developed uniquely from the rest of India for centuries. Surviving diverse rulers and reigns, the Goan people have developed a pliant and resilient self-identity. Because of their land’s cosmopolitan nature and flip-flopping historical rulership, Goans have had to exhibit considerable levels of religious and cultural tolerance. Exclusivist religious and cultural movements have not been a significant feature of the Goan people’s history, although that has not always been the case with some of their colonizers and conquerors. Goa’s diversity has accordingly prohibited the breeding of such narrow-mindedness. Furthermore, the Goan people in Goa have learned to associate their identity not with their Indian ancestry *per se*, but rather with their religious roots and communal historical experiences.

Similar to the Goans, as illustrated by the few quotes provided at the beginning of this chapter, many Anglo-Indians I interviewed insisted that historical and religious aspects of their lifeworlds have provided them with the means and mindsets necessary to successfully live their lives in Canada today. Like the Goans, the Anglo-Indians I spoke with were and remain strongly influenced by colonialism. However, unlike Goans, Anglo-Indians had and continue to have no homeland to call their own and in which to root themselves and their experiences. While Goan people, as a regional group, existed centuries prior to Portuguese occupation, the Anglo-Indians were a product of the British rule. The next section will explore the unique historical context which gave rise to the Anglo-Indian community in India and how they, like Goans, developed both a similar consciousness and a comparable religious lifeworld despite their very different origins and communal experiences.

Anglo-Indians

“... We’re the most flexible community in the world. [...] We have no motherland. We have a homeland, but we have no motherland where we can say, “This is our country.” [It’s] because of the foreign and the Indian influence in all of us, you know? [...] We’ve adapted wherever we’ve gone. We’re a very adaptable community. We hold on to our roots, we hold on to our little customs and traditions within each family circle. We hold on the commonality to being an Anglo-Indian because we remember the food, we remember the dances, we remember the social gatherings, we remember our friends who were all the same, we remember the church we went to, and the school that taught us our first beginnings. So, these are the things that tie us together, but we’re adaptable to any country we live in.”

(Charlene, f60AI, Interview 9)

“[Anglo-Indians] embrace new ideas and traditions and it’s not necessarily something that can get lost...to a degree, I would say Anglo-Indians and Goans have already, pre-adapted, before coming here.” (Jill, f29AI,

Group Interview #1)

Similarly to Goans, Anglo-Indians have a distinct cultural identity and structural location due to the pervasive influence European colonialism has had on their lives and those of their ancestors. In many ways congruous with the views of most Goans I spoke with, my Anglo-Indian Catholic informants consider themselves to have a unique religious identity that coincides with and thus “fits” within the larger global Roman Catholic milieu unproblematically. Beyond this, they believe that it is primarily because of their exposure to the European way of life that their wider community has socially adapted and modernized at a rate quicker than their other non-Anglo-Indian Indian counterparts, although there are some interesting exceptions²⁰. The syncretism opportuned through their colonial and postcolonial histories has communally equipped the Anglo-Indians I interviewed not just with a religious lifeworld that continues to serve as a systemically acceptable and socially meaningful interpretative framework but also with the tools and mindsets necessary to understand, adapt to and manipulate the system - be it that of the British Raj or contemporary Canadian society.

This section aims to locate in the shared history of Anglo-Indians the core origins of such indispensable and multidimensional lenses. It determines which historical circumstances and contexts have helped cultivate and foster the communal pliancy and adaptability that the Anglo-

²⁰ Many of my Anglo-Indian participants automatically included Goans into their frame of reference when referring to their own progressiveness. Jill, for example, without being led, claimed, “I’d probably say that... to a degree, I would say Anglo-Indians and Goans have already, pre-adapted, before coming here” (f29AI, Group Interview #1). And, when talking about English proficiency, Savio stated, “...I think that [prior knowledge of English] makes it easier for Anglo-Indians and Goans to integrate into the society.” The inclusion of the Goan or Anglo-Indian other may simply be attributable to participants’ knowledge that my research looks both at Anglo-Indians and Goans. While this may be partially the case, I believe that many consider there to be various spheres of overlap existing between the two Catholic communities. As was revealed to me throughout the course of my research, many Anglo-Indians routinely participated in Goan functions, and vice versa, and shared similar friends. Because of their shared histories with European colonialism, Goans and Anglo-Indians considered one another to be kin, of sorts. Other communities which participants often referred to in terms of a relative shared history included the Mangaloreans, the Kerala Christians, and the French inhabitants of Pondicherry (James, m41G, Interview 11; Victor, m21G, Interview 14; Claude, m33G, Group Interview #1; Lorna, f40AI, Group Interview #2; Annabel, f61AI, Group Interview #5; and so forth).

Indians I interviewed have both exhibited and continue to attribute to themselves. I also look at how the historical/colonial mixed-race²¹ status of the Anglo-Indians in many ways provided them with practical opportunities for increasing their social status and economic worth whilst simultaneously giving them a distinct and superior²² identity to that of the general Indian within British India. Of key importance here is how the religious lifeworld of Catholic Anglo-Indians developed. How did they convert to Catholicism, and what life changes ensued? I finally explore the relevant political, social and religious contexts that would have greatly affected the creation and shaping of Anglo-Indian identity, as well as the adaptations that occurred within the Anglo-Indian general community in 1947 with India's independence.

Unlike Goans, who are historically and spatially linked to a particular area of land within India from which they and their ancestors originate, Anglo-Indians lack such a visible geographical root. Despite this, there appears to be a very clear sense of what exactly constitutes an Anglo-Indian, especially in the minds of those whom I interviewed. Accordingly, one of my primary tasks in this section is to determine what exactly an Anglo-Indian is. Looking at questions of semantics and etymology, as well as conceptual continuity and intergenerational conveyance, I am interested not only in how Anglo-Indians came to be but also how they

²¹ There are many terms which have been used to classify or refer to those populations or communities with mixed ancestry, including hybrid, Creole, half-caste, country-born, Eurasian, métis, mulatto, mixed-race, mestiço, biracial, interracial, multiracial, and chimera. Many of these terms, including others, have been used pejoratively and to intentionally exclude and/or cause offence. Lionel Caplan considers such terms to be “theoretically contentious” and accordingly considers the term métis (deriving from *métissage*, meaning the crossing of two races) to be the least offensive and most accurate when dealing with the Anglo-Indian population (2001:18). For the purposes of this study, I will be relying on terms provided to me by my own informants, so as to validate and pay tribute to their personal views and sentiments. I will also make use of a variety of the least-offensive and socio-politically appropriate terms (in light of historical context) interchangeably.

²² It is with reservation that I use the term superior. Interviews with Anglo-Indians revealed to me a clear historical sense of communal superiority compared to those who do not have such exposure (both genetically and ethnologically speaking). Historical evidence, as will be discussed in text, illustrates the colonial preferential treatment for mixed-race Indian and Europeans over those who were simply Indian. However, full-blooded Europeans were almost always preferred over an Anglo-Indian. Although the sense of Anglo-Indians being superior to those who have no European blood in many ways has diminished with passing generations, my data illustrates various circumstances in which such propensities reveal themselves within the community itself. The similar can be said with the Goan Catholic population when looking at their preferential treatment over the Hindu Goans by the Portuguese.

persisted as a minority community with such dynamism and force. Who does and does not fit under the category of Anglo-Indian, and what changes or events instigated such an identity transformation from something relatively pedigreed to something hybrid and heterogeneous? This section will investigate such questions and more through thorough exploration of the relevant historical roots of India's Anglo-Indian community. It will survey and discuss the key roles the British Empire had in the creation and continuity of the Anglo-Indian community in order to establish how Anglo-Indians were able to renegotiate their place and role within Imperial India to positively benefit their own lives due to the complementary natures of the broader system with their own lifeworlds. I will be supplementing historical detail with personal anecdotes provided to me by my participants in order to emphasize not only how Anglo-Indians have historically challenged prevailing conceptual divisions between colonized and colonizer but also how both their existence and identity continually exemplify notions of communal and cultural plasticity.

Before we begin, however, it is essential to emphasize that, like the Goan population, *all Anglo-Indians are not Roman Catholic*. Because of the diverse colonial and historical roots of Anglo-Indians, it is common to encounter members of the community who subscribe to other religious traditions outside of Catholicism. A vast number of Anglo-Indians, for example, are Protestants who continue to have their own churches and community groups (Frere 2005:13). Anglo-Indians in the diaspora are also distributed among various non-Catholic Christian denominations, such as Methodist, Presbyterian and various evangelical sects (Gist and Wright 1973:111). According to Gist and Wright, the “prestige” of the Church of England has and continues to attract considerable amounts of middle- and upper-class of Anglo-Indians (1973:111). Additionally, as with the Goans, there are also many members of the community

who have clear Catholic roots but have chosen to renounce or turn away from their faith. This latter issue continues to be of great concern to many of my informants, and will be discussed later on in this study. Finally, it is important to note that, unlike the Goan population which has a relatively pronounced Hindu population due to reasons discussed in the previous section, there appears to be a comparatively small number of Hindu Anglo-Indians. Based on the experiences and personal knowledge of my participants (I questioned each of them whether or not they had ever heard of or encountered a Hindu Anglo-Indian), Hindu Anglo-Indians do not seem to be visible both within and outside of India. I propose that there is a two-tiered reason for this. Primarily, Anglo-Indians are very proud of their European ancestry and use it to distinguish themselves from the general, non-European Hindu Indian population. I suggest that it is this very desire of differentiation that has spawned not the birth but rather the inter-generational promulgation of such a hybrid category as Anglo-Indian, especially in the postcolonial diaspora. Hindu Indians would arguably not have such needs or aspirations to distinguish themselves from the Indian “norm,” as a Christian Indian would. Secondly, upon Indian independence, many Anglo-Indians (including most of my participants and their families) preferred to align themselves with European society instead of that of India. Accordingly, they chose to physically relocate to other British influenced nations in Europe, North America or in Australia. Most Hindu Indians, I suggest, would likely have felt neither the same losses nor apprehensions as Anglo-Indian Christians did with Indian independence and thus would not have felt a desire to gain personal security by emigrating from India. Protestant Anglo-Indians typically followed similar migration trajectories as those of their Catholic counterparts throughout the British Empire due to the organizational features of Western society and the increased opportunities that

they there have. Although my research strictly deals with Roman Catholic Anglo-Indians, in no way do I wish to essentialize the Anglo-Indian population into one strictly homogenous category.

What is an Anglo-Indian?

There is no single and accepted definition of what constitutes an Anglo-Indian, as throughout history a variety of different and even contrasting definitions have been proposed and accepted by those within and those outside of the Anglo-Indian community. Perhaps the most noteworthy and renowned description is found in 1950's *Indian Constitution* in Article 366:2, which states that an Anglo-Indian is "...a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only." This two-tiered definition is interesting for a variety of reasons, as Anglo-Indian is primarily viewed as something bequeathed paternally. Those who can trace their lineage back to a European female, according to this constitution, are not considered to be Anglo-Indian. The second half of the definition also names those living in India who have European parents living in Europe as Anglo-Indian. In this sense, an Anglo-Indian includes those who are of strict European descent who, for one reason or another, reside permanently in India. European Soldiers and colonial administrators, for example, fit underneath this latter half of the constitutional definition. It is interesting to note that this definition does not specify that one must have British blood flowing through his or her veins but rather that one's ancestry must simply be European. Accordingly, many other groups of Indians (such as those affected by Dutch, French, or Portuguese colonialism) could potentially be embraced within the broad category of Anglo-Indian. Even many Goans, according to this

definition, can be considered Anglo-Indian.²³ It has been postulated that European refers to those who have English as a mother-tongue; however, the lack of formal clarification within the *Indian Constitution* has allowed for a variety of both strict and loose interpretations.

Lionel Caplan, in his historicized ethnography of Anglo-Indians in Madras, simply considers Anglo-Indian to be another designation for the term Eurasian, the mixed-race and culturally amalgamated community of descendents of European men and local (i.e: Indian) women (2001:1). It is surprising that Caplan appears to be in agreement with the *Indian Constitution* in his belief that Anglo-Indian status is bequeathed paternally, as he does not address the issue of maternal lineage. Although he recognizes the presence of other European nationalities within India, such as Armenian, Flemish, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Prussian, Spanish and Italian (2001:3), the span of his book primarily equates Anglo-Indian with British-Indian, in terms of mixed-ancestry. Those of British descent who had British citizenship and, due to work or political reasons, were living more-or-less permanently in India, Caplan refers to as British, usually with an explanatory addendum, thus emphasizing the cultural and/or ethnic gap between the “mixed” or “brown” Anglo-Indian and the “white-skinned” Brit.

Historian Douglas Peers, in contrast, considers the term Anglo-Indian representative of the British community in India. Originating from a “small and self-contained society of traders and officials” (2006:32), Peers views Anglo-Indians as those who historically were not of Indian ancestry themselves but inhabiting the European enclaves that could at one time be found within India. Peers, like Caplan, despite his initial broad use of Anglo-Indian to include all Europeans, subsequently focuses on those of British lineage, likely due to his textual focus on British

²³ Despite this technicality, I found that during the course of my field work, not one individual (Goan or Anglo-Indian alike) insisted that Goans fit within the category of Anglo-Indian. Rather, every interviewee seemed to be aware of and understand the innate differences between Anglo-Indians and Goans, attributing them primarily to British and Portuguese colonialism respectively.

colonial rule. He explicitly distinguishes Anglo-Indians from Eurasians (i.e.: those of mixed British and Indian ancestry, as a result of sexual encounters), as he states that Anglo-Indians viewed mixed-race Eurasians with “considerable disdain” (2006:34).

In *The Cult of Imperial Honor in British India*, Patterson, like Peers, uses the term Anglo-Indian in the historical sense to connote those of British descent living in India. He states that, “[Anglo-Indians] clearly evinced the dependence of the construction of an ‘Anglo’ identity on Britons residing in India, as well as the importance of thinking themselves as being somehow ‘Indians’ separated from England – a crucially important distinction to the sense of self-worth as rulers (2009:215). For the context of his own research then, Patterson strictly limits the term to exclude all those beyond the British. Seldom throughout his book does he discuss the descendants of Indian and European encounters and marriages, whom he refers to as Eurasians. However, Patterson does briefly discuss the semantical shift which occurred when the term “Anglo-Indian” (meaning Briton living in India) in the 1911 Indian Census was replaced with “Eurasian” (prior to that meaning those with mixed ancestry), effectively meaning a loss of prestige for those British living in India who believed themselves to be more pure due to their elite albeit non-domiciled British nature. Patterson attributes this shift in designation to be indicative and reflective of the perceived colonial decline that took place during the early twentieth century.

Alison Blunt distinctively builds upon basic definitions, such as those provided by Peers, Paterson and Caplan, in her exploration of Anglo-Indian women. Rooting the word in the mid-late nineteenth and early twentieth century, she states that the term Anglo-Indian traditionally referred to the British in India. However, although some still maintain the traditional definition of the term, Anglo-Indian now refers to a “domiciled community of mixed descent, who were

formally known as Eurasian, country-born or half-caste [thus forming] one of the largest and oldest communities of mixed descent in the world” (Blunt 2005:1-2). Beyond this, Blunt asserts that Anglo-Indians, wherever they reside, are “English-speaking, Christian and culturally more European than Indian” (2005:2). Moving beyond the ancestral and linealogical, Blunt discusses what she believes are defining social and cultural characteristics of Anglo-Indians. Although one can accuse her of being too generalizing in her definition, I rather argue that Blunt is simply illustrating defining features of those she encountered during her primary data collection. As is the case with my own research, a limited range of characteristics is not always indicative of general population trends but may just reflect particular search criteria in participant selection.

Despite unclear theoretical definitions of what precisely constitutes an Anglo-Indian, members within the community have a very strong sense of what makes them a part of their cultural community and where their roots originate. While their definitions did vary from age to age and from person to person, each of my Anglo-Indian participants considered his or her partial British heritage a defining feature of his or her Anglo-Indian identity. Although indeed some individuals spoke of being European, it quickly became evident to me that they, in this context, were using British and European interchangeably, often switching between the two with little discretion. Affecting their upbringing, education, beliefs, customs, religion and social values, the British way of life impacts every realm of being for Anglo-Indians thus producing a unique Indian/British hybridity. As Charlene states, “...what makes [you] an Anglo-Indian...is that you tend to go towards the British or the foreign [i.e.: non-Indian] side of your family, rather than the Indian” (f60AI, Interview 9). I consider Charlene’s definition of Anglo-Indian to be broad as it encapsulates not just those who are direct products (i.e.: son or daughter) of British/Indian unions or encounters but also embraces their descendants so long as they have

consciously or subconsciously chosen to follow a more British lifestyle. Lorna, like Charlene, does not mention the importance of a male-European family-head in her reflection on what makes her Anglo-Indian but rather chooses to be broad, simply rooting her identity in her British ancestry: “[T]he term Anglo-Indian was only given to people who were descendants during the British Rule, in India” (f40AI, Group Interview #2).

Annabel, in contrast, understands the paternal lineage of Anglo-Indians, as described by the *Indian Constitution*, when she states:

[W]hen Europeans came to India and intermarried with the Indian women; both societies ostracized these people because the British didn't want people who had married the Indians. And, the Indians each had an air of superiority and figured that the other ones [Anglo-Indians] are the ones that are inferior. So, the Anglo-Indians, these people who have intermarried...by force, they formed their own tight-knit community... (Annabel, f61AI, Group Interview #5)

What is interesting about Annabel’s definition is that embedded in it is not only the history and origins of Anglo-Indians but also the Indian rejection and British ostracization that she believes fundamentally helped cultivate the close-knittedness of the Anglo-Indian community. Accordingly, in Annabel’s opinion, although the point of origin for Anglo-Indians was the encounter between the British male and the Indian woman, the descendants and ancestors that ensued continues to form the base of the Anglo-Indian community.

Informant Devlyn, like Peers, recognizes that British citizens living in India technically constitute the foundation of the Anglo-Indian population. Accordingly, he acknowledges the importance of British lineage in intermarriages and mixed-race descendents: “...you could be a white Anglo-Saxon, a white man, living in India during the Raj, and [you] would be called an Anglo-Indian... [However] there has to be some English lineage in there. [But]... there are some [people] that will tell you that anyone who has some Indian descent and has descent from *any* [my own emphasis] part of Europe will be also called Anglo-Indians” (m49AI/G, Group

Interview #2). Devlyn also raises the subject of those with any European ancestry who claim themselves to be Anglo-Indian and how they continue to label themselves as such thus illustrating his awareness of the lack of a clear cultural definition. Although they view themselves to be genuinely Anglo-Indian, Devlyn considers such individuals to be inauthentic due to their lack of English (i.e.: British) heredity.

The point I wish to emphasize through provision of the above descriptions and accounts is that, despite their acknowledgment of particular historical contexts, Anglo-Indians remain a very vaguely defined community. For the purposes of this paper, I will refer to Anglo-Indians as those with British/Indian mixed ancestry, originating either maternally or paternally. All of the Anglo-Indians I interviewed also subscribed to the Roman Catholic faith, however this is not representative of the general Anglo-Indian population, as while most Anglo-Indians are Christian many of them are from Protestant traditions²⁴. Interactions between the colonizer and colonized gave rise to a new community which in many ways blurred the boundaries between previously stringent social and racial categories. To these mixed-race individuals and their descendants, what makes truly makes them Anglo-Indian is the fact that they continue to partially align themselves with the British whilst simultaneously recognizing the key influence Indian society and culture has on their lives. As Annabel illustrated in her definition, it is their very hybrid British-Indian identity that fosters the development of the Anglo-Indian community. Nevertheless, although their definitions and self- and communal-identity constructions rarely

²⁴ While it would be interesting to discuss and analyze how Protestant Anglo-Indians view and define themselves, there is a serious gap in academic which addresses such topics thus disallowing comparative research. Interestingly, however, a vast majority of my Anglo-Indian informants simply assumed that most of their communal brethren subscribed to the Roman Catholic faith. This, I suggest, could either be because they have never encountered any Protestant Anglo-Indians or, alternatively, because most Anglo-Indians in the diaspora are, in fact, Roman Catholic. As there lacks concrete statistical data pertaining to religious orientation of Anglo-Indians, any conclusions remains speculative.

correspond with theories or constitutions *en masse*, the beliefs and experiences of Anglo-Indians legitimate their existence within their own cultural space.

The roots and development of British India

The history of colonial rule in British²⁵ India, though as intriguing and dramatic, is in many ways fundamentally different than that of the Portuguese in Goa. Primarily, the Goan community existed prior to Portuguese colonial rulership and, although they may have self-identified as “Indian” as opposed to “Goan” due to a lack of discernible distinction from the general Indian population, the inhabitants of Goa were, in essence, a cohesive (albeit religiously and culturally diverse) unit. For centuries, the people of Goa survived despite changing dynastic powers and political takeovers. While in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Portugal had commissioned explorers, sailors, and missionaries under the direction of Vasco da Gama and Admiral Afonso de Albuquerque among others to secure particular lucrative Indian ports and their surrounding areas, the British Indian Empire’s roots can be traced back to a commercial trading group, called the East India Company (EIC).

India’s wealth in natural and material resources for centuries captured the interest of foreign powers. Its prime location between Africa and Asia, nestled between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, enticed many traders and warriors to attempt to secure themselves major sea and land routes. More importantly, the economic products (chiefly spices, minerals/jewels and textiles) that came from India warranted not only conquest but also massive expansion. From Europe, the Portuguese were the first to touch the Indian shores in Calicut (Peers 2006:20) and

²⁵ I will be focusing on British India, as opposed to “European” India, at large because each Anglo-Indian participant I interviewed focussed specifically on their “Britishness.” To them, it is their British roots and ancestry that grants them their status as Anglo-Indians. Although I acknowledge that some definitions equate Anglo-Indian with “European-Indian,” for the sake of comparative purposes with Goans and Portuguese colonialism, I will be strictly looking at the British Empire in India in relation to Anglo-Indians.

were soon followed by their Dutch, French and, of course, British rivals. Unlike the Portuguese, the British relied upon privately owned enterprises to penetrate foreign markets. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth commissioned a Charter to the East India Company permitting the initiation of trade with India and her people. As a chartered corporation, the EIC was granted a monopoly over the Indian market (Peers 2006:22). The British were primarily interested in acquiring spices, cotton textiles and luxury items, such as silk garments and wall-décor, which were easily importable and relatively inexpensive to acquire. After landing in India, British traders set up shop where they could barter and do business with locals on an ongoing basis thus establishing commercial relationships. During the next century, the East India Company opened enough small trading factories subsequently necessitating the development of coastal enclaves along both the eastern and western Indian coastlines. These settlement locations were very significant in that they not only increased levels of trade due to their shoreline proximities but also allowed future territorial and commercial expansion forays into India's interior (Peers 2006:24).

On 9 August 1683, by Charter, the British crown granted East India Company permission to mint currency, to acquiesce autonomous territorial gains as well as the jurisdiction to command fortresses and troops (Riddick 2006:5). Such a provision gave the EIC full power to both declare war and make peace with any "heathen" state, not just in India but also in the rest of their colonial territories in Asia, Africa and America. East India Company thus gained both political and economic rule over its regions; and the Company became a colonial power, of sorts. It is imperative to note that although the East India Company was privately owned, its title as an English Royal Charter (granted by Queen Elizabeth I) meant that it primarily served British interests. However, the transition from the EIC as a commercial venture to a government in

charge of controlling and developing local infrastructure gave rise to increasing anxieties about how to manage and regulate expansion (Ghosh 2006:2).

Fort William, in Calcutta, soon became the largest British European-style citadel in India, making it the business and bureaucratic centre of British India (Peers 2006:32). Its exponential growth of trade and commercial assets allowed Calcutta to grow from just over 10 000 inhabitants in 1710 to over 150 000 by the end of the eighteenth century (Marshall 2000:312). It is important to recognize that the vast majority of Calcutta's inhabitants were, in fact, not of British descent but rather of various non-European backgrounds and ethnicities.

23 June 1757 marked the Battle of Plassey in which the forces of the East India Company defeated the army of Mîrzâ Mohammad Sirâjud Dawla, who was more commonly known as Siraj-ud-daulah. Located between Calcutta and Murshidabad in West Bengal, the battle lasted a mere few hours. Under supervision of Major-General Robert Clive, who subsequently was accredited with the establishment of British military and political rulership in both Bengal and southern India, the battle's success in many ways foreshadowed the promises of British rule. The victory at Plassey connoted that the East India Company had successfully transformed itself into a political authority capable of exercising rulership over rival powers. By 1765, the EIC attained control over all of Bengal and established Warren Hastings to serve as its British Governor-General. Though eventually suspected of corruption, Hastings played a key role in educating the British about Indian history, culture, religious and social customs. In 1784, he stated:

Every application of knowledge and especially such as is obtained in social communication with people, over whom we exercise dominion, founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state...It attracts and conciliates distant affections, it lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection and it imprints on the hearts of our countrymen the sense of obligation and benevolence...Every instance which brings their real character will impress us with more generous sense of feeling for their natural rights, and teach us to estimate them by the measure of our own...But such instances can only be gained in their writings;

and these will survive when British domination in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources which once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance. (Cohn 1997:45)

Setting precedence for Britain in terms of the possession of colonial knowledge and the importance of familiarization with one's subjects, Hastings often relied on high-caste Indian scholars and intellectuals to counsel both him and his administrative office in the formation of their laws. Replacing Indian despotism and an alleged (i.e.: by the British colonizers) social anarchy with "civilized" British law and collective policy, Royal governance took it upon themselves to abolish particular questionable social and/or religious practices, such as *sati* in 1829, in order to refine the behaviour of their Indian subjects. Simultaneously, the British initiated an accelerated expansion of EIC territories gained either through subsidiary alliances (due to lack of a male heir) or through military acquisition (Ludden 2002:133).

In the *Charter Act of 1813*, British parliament renewed the Charter of the EIC but discontinued their trade monopoly, allowing other British ships to travel to and from India (Doc. 45, as quoted in Marshall and Tuck 1998:113). Permitting other forms of private investment, as well as religious missionary work, the British increased their influence in and supervision of their Indian territories. In 1833, a new Charter Act was passed in which the EIC's trade license was altogether revoked in order to make the Company a legitimate part of British government. Despite its loss of permission to trade, the EIC became the single most central source of government revenue for the British due to increased taxes and land value revisions that the group assessed and collected on the Queen's behalf (Brown 1994:67).

Incited by these increasing taxes and unwanted British control, the Bengal Presidency organized a rebellion in 1857, involving rebel and farm-based soldiers from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, present-day Bangladesh and West Bengal. The new presence of British religious missionary

organizations, due to 1813's Charter Act, also caused many Indian rebel soldiers to believe that the EIC's primary objective had changed from a trade-related mandate to a social/religious one involving mass conversions of Indian locals to Christianity. This fear motivated an increased participation of Indians, both Hindu and Muslim, to rise up against the British. With a high number of civilians (i.e.: aristocrats, land-owners, merchants and peasants) rebelling, the Company was faced with one of the largest and most well-organized threats in the history of their Indian rule. Though quelled rather quickly, by mid-1858 the rebellion had caused Britain to reassess the EIC's role in the governance of Indian affairs. The East India Company soon thereafter was abolished and India became a Crown colony to be directly governed by the British Parliament under Queen Victoria's watchful eye. On her behalf, the Governor-General continued to govern Indian affairs, as India's Official Viceroy. Ending the hundred year era of Company rule in India, 1858 marked the beginning of the British Raj. Queen Victoria's rule in India brought forth many changes. With a mandate that she and Britain would primarily work to ensure the welfare of her Indian subjects, English-language education increased considerably for inhabitants of India. Women's rights were gained through various declarations, as the age of consent for marriage was increased and female education was encouraged (Rappaport 2003:429-430). The social implications of such developments and how they specifically relate to Anglo-Indians will be discussed in the subsequent section.

Britain's role in World War I automatically engaged India and its people in the battle, as India was not a free nation (Pati 1996:1). Because India "enjoyed a special position in the Empire and with her vast population and resources she was expected to play a leading role in the war, superior to that of the other colonies of Great Britain" (Pati 1996:8-10). Recruitment calls took place throughout much of British India, and hundreds of thousands of volunteers came forth

to support their colonial mother. Throughout all of Britain's colonies, India contributed the largest contingent for World War I: 1 401 350 people, which was about a quarter of the number of recruits from the British Isles themselves (Pati 1996:34). Despite India's vast offerings in terms of person-power, monies and precious resources, the period between 1914 and 1918 gave rise to much political agitation in India because of the heavy demands on its national revenues and resources that were permitted in the name of Britain's defense. The aftermath of the war saw incredible casualty rates, lack of adequate medical care for veterans, devastating epidemics, massive inflation and increased levy rates, as well as a shattered economy due to the interruption of trade. The political ferment in India continued on, manifesting in various uprisings and civilian protests against the Crown.

Surging further growth of India's Independence Movement, unhappy citizens took to the streets, protesting against both British influence and authority. 1919's *Rowlatt Act*, colloquially known as the Black Act, gave India's Viceroy permission to detain political activists and arrest any individuals suspected of committing or plotting treason or sedition without a warrant. Additionally, the *Rowlatt Act* allowed the Viceroy and his government to silence all questionable press. Inspired by the vision of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi to non-violently protest against Act, thousands of Indians withdrew their cooperation with what they considered to be a corrupt British state. Of course, this greatly angered both British authorities and those Indians who continued to loyally supported them. Their impatience and irritation culminating on 13 April 1919, in Amritsar at the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (or the Amritsar Massacre), British commander Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer ordered his soldiers to fire munitions into an unarmed and non-violent crowd of people, including women and children, who had assembled to

protest the ban. It has been estimated that 1 651 rounds of ammunition were fired, murdering up to 1 499 people and wounding 1 137 (Ackerman and Duvall 2001:74).

Between 1920 and 1935, India saw an increase in the non-cooperation non-violent movement. Urging people to boycott British institutions, to resign from bureaucratic employment, refuse to pay taxes and relinquish British endowments and honours, the movement called for a new inclusive generation of Indians, including those from non-Hindu traditions, as well as lower caste Indians and women, to come forth and rise together against British colonialism. In 1935, the *Government of India Act* represented the final British constitutional effort to appease Indians. With goals of establishing a loose federal structure, cultivating and maintaining provincial autonomy, as well as the protection of the interests of Indian minority groups, the Act's provisions failed to be effectively implemented due to textual ambiguity.

In 1939, British Indian Viceroy Linlithgow publically declared India's willing participation into World War II without first receiving permission from India's provinces, as was mandatory as stated by the *Government of India Act*. The Indian population became incredibly divided over their country's participation in the war; however, over 200 000 men wilfully participated in WWII, most from the British Indian Army (Weeks 1979:89). Meanwhile, in opposition to Linlithgow's pronouncement the entire Indian Congress resigned from their local governance councils. India's arbitrary entry into World War II prompted the creation and growth of various sociopolitical movements, such as the Quit India Movement or the Bombay Mutiny/Royal Indian Navy Mutiny. The latter encompassed both strike and mutiny by Indian sailors in the Royal Indian Navy, involving over 75 ships, 20 land establishments and over 20 000 sailors.

After the war ended, the Crown and her people were unwilling to support a policy of growth and conquest in India due to the fact that England had been extremely impaired and wanted to focus on its own recovery. On 3 June 1947, British Indian Vicsount Mountbatten announced the partitioning of British India into two sovereign dominion states: a secular India (i.e.: the Union of India) and a Muslim Pakistan (the Dominion of Pakistan). By 14 August of that same year, Pakistan was declared a distinct nation of its own. And, one day later, India was announced an independent nation. Viscount Mountbatten was the last-ever Governor-General of India and, to the dismay of some and the joy of others, British colonial rule in India had come to an end.

Anglo-Indians in British India

In detailing some of the historical events that permitted the ascendancy of the British Empire and the Raj, the previous section discussed some of the political contexts that were been influential in the birth and promulgation of India's Anglo-Indian population. This portion focuses on Anglo-Indians and will look precisely at the socioeconomic and cultural changes that brought about and promoted intermarriage between British and locals (i.e.: Indians). I thus explore the "birth" of Anglo-Indians and the context in which their community developed. Paying particular attention to colonial and local sociocultural boundaries, this section investigates how their treatment by others compelled Anglo-Indians to renegotiate particular aspects of their identities so as to distinguish themselves from the general Indian population. I root Anglo-Indian cultural flexibility in particular historical experiences which I believe reared them to successfully draw upon their Western characteristics. In doing so, Anglo-Indians were able to lead successful lives in an Indian colonial context.

Because of the religious emphasis of this project and due to the fact that all of my Anglo-Indian participants self-identify as such, I also discuss how this community came to be Christian and Roman Catholic, more specifically. I investigate the events leading up to their conversion in order to determine how and why Catholicism was able to successfully root itself in the lives of these people and their descendants despite the non-Christian status of their Indian predecessors. The Anglo-Indians I interviewed consider their religiosity to be a key defining feature of their culture and ethnicity. The religious lifeworld imparted to them through their British ancestors and colonizers served as a key way to set themselves apart from those Indians outside of the faith. In determining how core elements of their Catholic faith attached themselves to other social, economic and cultural realms of their life in very real ways, I will illustrate how and why religiosity perhaps remains one of the most pervasive force that links Anglo-Indian Catholics today, not just with their British and Indian ancestors but also with their global religious community. Serving as a lens through which Anglo-Indians can interpret the events of yesterday, today and tomorrow, their Roman Catholic faith continues to be a relevant and steadfast symbol of belonging for those within their community.

The birth and growth of Anglo-Indians

Acknowledged as the descendants of the mixed race children of British colonialism in India, the origins of the Anglo-Indian community span back to the sixteenth century arrival of the East India Company on India's shores, as commissioned by Queen Elizabeth. As shiploads of spirited, unmarried British men appeared in India, a mixed race population of British-Indians became unavoidable (Hawes 1996:1). Because of the duration and relative riskiness of sea travel from Britain to India, the seamen knew they were fated to remain, at least for some time, in the

colonial territory. The crown initially expected its people to remain chaste and lead celibate lives in India, as EIC workers lived and spent time in the factories where they worked (Hawes 1996:2). However, with celibacy proving to be an impossible scenario, the establishment of domestic relationships became necessary which, in many ways, left British colonial authorities helpless in their prevention. Informal unions or common-law partnerships between British soldiers, merchants, sailors, and civilians and Indian women occurred frequently because most European women were restricted from accessing British colonies and, moreover, the men could not meet the expenses necessary to marry those few women who were granted access to the Indian subcontinent because of their lack of social status and/or wealth (Stoler 1989:138-139). Additionally, married men were typically disqualified from recruitment for business or administrative positions thus furthering the British gender imbalance and promoting mixed-race encounters in India (Caplan 2001:2).

As up to 40% of the British sailors and troops in India were Irish and Scottish Roman Catholics, the East India Company employed many Roman Catholic priests as chaplains in their colonial territories (Ballhatchet 1998:14, 59). These chaplains, as well as Protestant chaplains, did their best to ensure that British Christians would not stray from their faith and helped to implement official policies in cases where intimate relationships were unavoidable due to sexual and/or relational isolation, in order to hopefully provide some regulations concerning local unions. The East India Company, for example, had an official guiding principle that acknowledged intermarriages between their employees and local females (Anthony 1969:12). After making occasional attempts to pay for the transport of British women to India, the EIC soon found that their transportation and maintenance costs were too expensive. Beyond this, such efforts seemed superfluous in that relationships between locals and British continued to occur.

The East India Company conceded, stating “Our souldiers [sic] [will have] to marry with Native women, because it will be impossible to get ordinary young women, as we have before directed, to pay their own passages although Gentle-women sufficient do offer themselves” (Love 1913:533). Through marriage, the EIC sought to prevent licentiousness and sexual promiscuities. As encouragement, soldiers were rewarded financially if they decided to marry locally and have their children baptized Christian (Hawes 1996:3). Because priests and chaplains baptized converts and infants as members within the denomination which they themselves followed, Catholicism and Protestantism both grew within British India. However, despite religious enticements and the clear presence of Roman Catholic priests, the East India Company was not so much concerned with religious conversions as they were with ensuring that their soldiers remained moral in a Christian sense (Hawes 1996:3). This is vastly unlike the Portuguese colonialization of Goa which, from their colonial inception in India, conspicuously used religious conversion to vehemently promote sanctioned intermarriages between Portuguese ship crew and local widows or dancing girls (Danvers 1992:217). Because it was not until the *Act of 1813* that British parliament renewed the Charter of the EIC and permitted missionary groups to officially enter India, it is more likely that religious orders played more of a subsidiary role in legalizing and/or sanctioning partnerships and unions between British men and local Indian women.

The sexual imperialism of the British in many ways encouraged unequal power relationships between men and their local wives (Hyam 1990). Despite their affiliations with their spouse in Britain, many men kept secondary local female mistresses and/or servants who, due to poverty, participated in such relationships out of necessity and survival purposes. The point I wish to emphasize here is that these relationships eventually became socially acceptable and recognized societal norms, resulting in the birth of mixed-race children. Nabar states,

“Anglo-Indians ‘concretised’ the encounter between British and Indian; [as] they were, after all, its inevitable ‘end-product’” (1994:12). These “end-products” will be discussed in this section and how they, as a community, learned to adapt to and overcome cultural and racial stigmatizations and obstacles placed in their way by both the British and the Indians in order to assert a unique identity of their own.

The emergence of a mixed-race population²⁶ gave rise to a wide variety of social and racial issues as Anglo-Indians, in many ways, blurred the divide between colonizer and colonized, and white and brown. Anglo-Indian scholar, Lionel Calpan states that, “Differences within Anglo-Indian, based initially on distinctions of paternal rank, grew subsequently into those of occupation, income, and standing (2001:26). In other words, the first generation offspring came from a wide variety of socioeconomic classes and edification levels. While some children had educated officer or administrator fathers, others had fathers who were mere sailors or merchants struggling to make ends meet financially. Despite this, regardless of the status of their father, mixed-race children were initially acknowledged by British officials as products of their presence. Upper class British fathers strived to maintain and protect the class of their mixed children by sending them back to Britain for schooling, seeking employment for their sons and finding acceptable marriages for their daughters (Hawes 1996:12). Those sent to Britain to be educated were expected to return for covenanted services in the EIC.

In these early years of Anglo-Indian history, members of the Anglo-Indian community were often granted access to employment and services previously exclusive to white British citizens. While they were unable to attain employment in the highest of East India Company ranks or positions (which were reserved for those of “pure” British ancestry hired to work in

²⁶ Note that the term “Anglo-Indian” did not become officially recognized until 1911 by the Indian Constitution, so any reference to Anglo-Indians is done retroactively and for the sake of simplicity and textual cohesion.

senior administrative and military positions, governing and ruling over Indian locals), early Anglo-Indians, at this time, suffered little discrimination. The offspring of poorer British men had much fewer prospects in that, as their mother would have likely come from a lower Indian caste, their parents would not have been able to afford proper education or health care. Hawes suggests that the meagre living conditions and lifestyle of the men clearly reflected their lack of social status, subsequently carrying forward to their children who often suffered neglect and remained destined to follow the caste of their mothers (1996:12).

However, as Anglo-Indian numbers increased substantially with subsequent mixed-race generations appearing, their presence had to be dealt with more formally. Hawes states, “[Anglo-Indian] importance...first becomes clear in the sixty years from 1773 to 1833, when an explosion in the numbers of British Eurasians forced their presence, their needs, and their demands on to the social and political agenda of British India” (1996:vi). Because of a mixed-race baby boom explosion (many children being the product of sexual promiscuity), a key task for the British was the promotion and development of moral fibre and religious character. After 1813, Company missionaries and chaplains began to enter British India with vigour, spreading a “new moral racism [which] came to confirm the vision of a disciplined Christian people” (C. A. Bayly 1989:115). Concerned with the diminishing reputation of British men who were acting in ways incongruous with how it was believed Christians should behave, missionaries took it upon themselves to educate those inhabiting the colonial territories and to “civilize” their half-caste children, especially those who were orphaned or abandoned and residing in care institutions. Not all mixed-race orphans were equal, as their treatment was typically determined by what was thought fitting for the gender and class in Britain (Hawes 1996:31). Males received elementary education and skill-training, while females were prepared for marriage through domestic rearing.

Only those children of high-rank officers were fortunate enough to receive higher education and, in return, were expected to become civil servants or professionals.

As mentioned, many Anglo-Indians were primarily funnelled into clerical, administrative, or lower-level bureaucratic positions. Working in the government thus became the most important and lucrative source of employment for these individuals (Hawes 1996:48). However, in the late nineteenth century, mixed-race (i.e.: Indian and British) people were formally barred from the higher salaries of government service and they lost social parity with the white elite of India (Hawes 1996:37). Despite this, those educated and literate Anglo-Indians remained desirable employees as they served as liaison figures between the British and their local subjects. In many ways, the type of employment secured by an Anglo-Indian determined where exactly they fitted within the British-Indian social spectrum. Increased salaries meant increased prestige and social status thus indicating increased recognition by the British.

Ease of entry into the British bureaucratic and commercial systems was not just experienced by Anglo-Indian Christians during colonial times. Syrian Christians, for example, flourished under British rule, as they, like Anglo-Indian Christians, had English education and various British contacts that permitted their upward social mobility. They also frequently served as intercessories between the British colonial government and other Indian, especially Christian, populations (Kurien 2002:52). In such instances, the sociocultural, political and religious alignment of colonized communities with those of their colonizer permitted them tangible benefits that otherwise they would have never received. Accordingly, the early- to mid-nineteenth century saw much social advancement for Anglo-Indians. The increasing power, prestige and wealth of some very visible mixed-race Anglo-Indians caused many British citizens

residing in India to feel threatened and/or discouraged, blaming successful Anglo-Indians for their own financial and/or social failures.

In 1796, Lord Cornwallis arrived on India's shores to serve as Governor-General. Because of a war with France in Europe, Cornwallis questioned the loyalty of Anglo-Indians as well as their potential for political mischief. Working closely with Lord Wellesley, Cornwallis decided that there would be a decisive shift in British policy towards their Indian "possessions" (Hawes 1996:57). New policies and edicts banning them from covenanted service, the ownership of property or land, and from participating in legal proceedings and jury duty, Anglo-Indians were affected rather adversely in a variety of civil and social ways. Beyond this, Anglo-Indians were prohibited from participating in combatant roles because of their status of "Natives of India" (Hawes 1996:57). Additionally, financial incentives were no longer provided to those British men who opted to marry a local woman; instead they faced financial disadvantages or penalties. Such discriminatory measures were rationalized through fervent belief that the British remained racially superior to Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, and that social and behavioural distance was the only way to avoid moral contamination (Hawes 1996:58). The Court of Directors stated:

[We expect our servants] to preserve the ascendancy which our national Character has acquired over the minds of the Natives of India must ever be of importance to the maintenance of Political Power we possess in the East, and we are well persuaded that the end is not to be served by a disregard of the external observation of religion, or by any assimilation of Eastern manners and opinion, but rather by retaining all the distinctions of our National principles, character and usages. (Hawes 1996:58)

Such a statement illustrates that both locals (Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and Muslims, for example) and Anglo-Indians, despite their education and appropriation of British mannerisms could never attain legitimacy in the eyes of their colonial rulers. The notion of British ascendancy with its emphasis on a national character clearly problematized the belonging and acceptance of Anglo-

Indians in its supposition that those of mixed-stock were inevitably morally and racially inferior than those of pure European heritage.

Because of these pronouncements, Anglo-Indians were suffered both socially and economically. Jobs and land were taken from them, and they were suddenly restricted in their social movement in ways previously implausible. However, despite such strict regulations concerning their livelihood and personal freedoms, Anglo-Indians remained a significant and visible community in British India. With relatively large populations throughout British India, Anglo-Indians were able to mobilize politically and impel the discovery of a communal self-interest. The racial and social prejudices of the British, though with many patent negative consequences, in fact inspired Anglo-Indians to communally seek liberation from their marginalization. Hawes suggests that the emergence of Anglo-Indian mobilization was in fact not something reflective of the entire population of Anglo-Indians but rather of a small segment of educated elite (1996:74).

It is important to note that despite their communal identity, the Anglo-Indian community was by no means homogenous or geographically localized. Because of their heavy British roots, Anglo-Indians had in many ways replicated the British notion of class. The English-educated and financially secure Anglo-Indians were far removed, by choice, from those of their fellow community members who were impoverished and uneducated. In fact, one could argue that the upper-class Anglo-Indians had more in common with their white-skinned “pure” British social and civil associates than they did with the Anglo-Indians who were restricted, for a variety of reasons, to menial positions. In Calcutta in 1825, for example, Anglo-Indians created their own gentlemen’s club in opposition to their exclusion from the upper circles of British-Indian high society. Barring lower-class Anglo-Indians from socializing with them, well-to-do Anglo-Indians

believed such clubs would protect their social status and augment their notoriety among the British. As British credentials were key to the self-perception of educated and affluent Anglo-Indians (Hawes 1996:75), those Anglo-Indians wishing to maintain their high social rank found themselves having to renounce their “Indian-ness” thus associating themselves more with the British. In hopes of gaining distinction and acceptance by their colonial rulers, such Anglo-Indians also accentuated their knowledge of the English language, British domestic behaviours and social customs thus demonstrating their affinity with British society and custom. Though some Anglo-Indians had acquired familiarity with British traditions through their European or Jesuit schooling, the majority of Anglo-Indians gained such knowledge through second-hand exposure in India (Hawes 1996:79). This left those Anglo-Indians from low caste or lower class backgrounds unable to emphasize their English linguistic skills and British mannerisms accordingly leaving them with no option but to quietly align themselves with and merge back into mainstream Indian society.

For many colonial Anglo-Indians, skin-colour became an important social discriminator, as those with lighter skin were considered fortunate. Better contenders for employment and more prominently accepted by the British, fair or “wheatish” (i.e.: the colour of wheat) Anglo-Indians with light eyes were more successful than their darker skinned counterparts. Lighter skinned Anglo-Indian women were more desirable and frequently sought after for marriage by not just members of their own community but also by the British, when applicable. For boys, their skin colour was what decided, in addition to finances, whether they were suitable to go back to Britain for schooling: lighter boys were appropriate candidates, while darker toned boys were forced to remain in India to attain their education as they would not be accepted in Britain. This was because lighter skinned Anglo-Indians could more easily pass as British while the dark skin

of some of their fellow community members could not hide, deny, or reject the “barbarity” of their Indian ancestry. Skin colour, like education and wealth, became an indicator of Anglo-Indian social class, mimicking the biases of their colonial rulers.

Colourism was not, unfortunately, only experienced by Anglo-Indians but was frequently felt by other Indian communities in their dealings with the British. The Sikhs, for example, in the early eighteenth century were also judged by the tone of their skin. For example, Sikh leader Haider Ali is admirably described in British colonial textbooks as being a “...‘good’ Indian [who] was light-skinned, athletic, brave in battle, fair and tolerant” (Mangan 1993:28). With light-skin being equated with other positive “British-like” qualities, Sikhs, as with the Anglo-Indians, began to impose colourist values on members of their own community. Much excellent research has been done looking at colourism’s roots in a variety of post-colonial nations (Rondilla, J. L. and P. R. Spickard 2007; Glenn 2009; Golden 2005; R. E. Hall 2008). Due to its massive role in determining the intensity of both their success and failures, the colonial roots of such colourism greatly impacted the social and ethnic development of the Anglo-Indian community and, in many ways, continues to resonate and influence their community today, as will be discussed later on in this study.

Beyond colour and class, dress was also a means for the British to assert their superiority over the general Indian public. As Patterson notes, “Clothes and customs sanctioned the [European] way of living in the tropics, and wearing the proper outfit meant that one was acceptable in imperial society” (2009:112). The British often looked down upon Indians who wore clothes they believed to be too tacky and outdated in fashion. And, although Anglo-Indian women were thought to look better than their fully Indian counterparts (Hawes 1996:79), the British did not approve of their seemingly ridiculous attempts to fuse Indian styles with those of

Europe. It thus makes sense why colonial Anglo-Indians seeking to align themselves with the British would go out of their way to dress similarly to their colonial rulers would while conscientiously rejecting materials, styles and jewellery considered Indian or manufactured in India.

Most importantly, as many of them were and had been Christians for generations, Anglo-Indians viewed religion to be a bond that innately linked them with the British. Unlike the Christians in Goa who were almost all of the Roman Catholic denomination, Anglo-Indians at that time came from a variety of Christian backgrounds, including Anglican, Armenian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Anglican and even Greek Orthodox. Gist and Wright acknowledge this in their claim that, at least nominally, all Anglo-Indians are Christian and while Anglo-Indian Catholics constitute the majority of those Christians²⁷, there are many other influential non-Catholic denominations which are relatively heavily populated by Anglo-Indians (1973:111). With shared beliefs, practices and holidays, colonial Anglo-Indians considered their faith to be the central claim to membership within the European community. Originating with the financial incentives given to their British forefathers who permitted their mixed-race child to be baptized as a Christian and/or Roman Catholic, Anglo-Indians have a long and intimate history with Christianity. Many of them who were educated in India were taught and housed by Christian missionary societies, which even gave some of them opportunities to continue on as missionaries, catechists or religious educators (Hawes 1996:85).

Catholicism, because of the key role that Roman Catholic chaplains and priests had in converting and/or baptising early members of the Anglo-Indian community, was able to grow

²⁷ This may seem surprising due to the fact that Britain is and was predominantly Protestant. Additionally, as many of the religious missionaries that were permitted entry to India by the crown after 1813 were Protestant, one could easily assume the majority of Anglo-Indians to be Protestant, as opposed to Catholic. How and why members of these communities converted to Roman Catholicism will be discussed shortly.

rapidly. The Jesuits, in particular, as they promoted education at all levels (Ballhatchet 1998:125), were able to ensure the continued devotion and austerity of Catholic converts. And, converted Indian Jesuits played a key role in the dissemination of the Catholic faith among local Hindus and non-Christian Indians. Many Anglo-Indian men joined the Jesuit Society, as they were able to relate to their education, mannerisms and communal orientation. Barbara Courson, in study of the history of Jesuits, claims that there were two types of Indian (i.e.: non-European) Jesuits: the apostles of the Brahmins (i.e.: high class, upper caste), and those of the Pariahs (i.e.: lower caste/class) (1879:122-123). While the Brahmin Jesuits traversed upon horseback, seeking converts from the higher echelons of Indian society, the Pariah missionaries traveled by foot, clothed in rags, teaching the peasants, farm-workers and labourers. In maintaining caste-distinctions, Indian Jesuits were able to appeal to the traditional Indian hierarchy and win converts accordingly. And, many Anglo-Indians who had not been baptized at birth converted to the Roman Catholic faith.

With their apparent linguistic, social and religious civilities, the Anglo-Indians did not understand why they were being treated unfairly in British India. The aforementioned social and political exclusions of elite Anglo-Indians thus cultivated a sense of resentment amongst them. Because the largest numbers of Anglo-Indians resided in Calcutta, many of whom were highly educated and spoke English, leadership emerged within its large community. Also, in the other Presidency towns (i.e.: administrative units) of Madras and Bombay, Anglo-Indians began to organize themselves in parallel to Calcutta so as to challenge prevailing British stereotypes against their community. Schools for Anglo-Indians were opened, academic societies flourished, and small-scale Anglo-Indian presses published articles and editorials in English.

Despite the vitality of Anglo-Indian mobilization, community support remained unreliable and varied. As mentioned, because of the elite-centredness of the movement, those fitting outside of the upper- and middle-class boundaries did not find their needs adequately represented by their fellow community members. Additionally, many Anglo-Indians were passive towards the cause, preferring to spend their money on less-speculative projects. Finally, some individuals chose not to be publically identified as Anglo-Indian should they inadvertently upset their British employers or governors. Fearing that their job security and financial stability would be lost, such individuals preferred to leave the majority of the brunt work to a small albeit dedicated group of community activists. Despite the lack of full and complete community support throughout India, the Anglo-Indians continued their initiatives to gain proper recognition in the eyes of the British.

Forcing themselves on a public political agenda, in 1830, Anglo-Indians presented Parliament with a petition signed by between 600 and 700 “respectable” Eurasians living in Calcutta and Bengal (Hawes 1996:133). Timing it to coincide with the renewal of the East India Company’s Charter, the petition was designed to boldly assert the wishes of India’s Anglo-Indian community. Stating that they were British, as opposed to Indian, the petition cited grievances from all over India concerning Anglo-Indian legal status and ambiguity, employment, social restrictions/prohibitions and education (Stark and Madge 1892:49-50). Despite its thoroughness, the petition was swiftly discredited by Parliament. And, shortly after its submission, Parliament decided that first generations of Anglo-Indians were not to be treated as British subjects but rather as Christian Natives of India, meaning that they “should be on exactly the same footing both in respect of rights and obligations as other natives of India” (Hawes 1996:145). Accordingly, similarly to Native Indians, Anglo-Indians were suddenly disallowed

from covenanted service and particular social orders. Particular provisions, however, were made for Christians saying that they would be given “special” considerations within legal hearings and proceedings. Despite this, in all essence, very little was achieved by 1830s Anglo-Indian petition (Hawes 1996:149). However, it did succeed in drawing Parliamentary attention to the fact that Anglo-Indians were dissatisfied with the ways that they were being treated by Crown policy.

Additionally, the refusal for fair and equal treatment by the British motivated Anglo-Indians to learn to better provide for themselves. Realizing the importance of education in securing successful futures for them and their descendants, the Anglo-Indians who had been so steadfast in their activism re-funnelled their energies into the funding and development of educational societies and institutions. For example, in 1834, St. Xavier’s Catholic College in Calcutta opened and although it was founded by Jesuits and intended to benefit all those from Christian minority groups, the institution was heavily funded by Anglo-Indians. Because of the prestige of St. Xavier’s and other similar schools, Anglo-Indians were able to cultivate an ethnic sense of contribution and pride. In maintaining rigorous educational and examination standards, mirroring British-style education, Anglo-Indians accentuated their distinction from the general Indian population. Moreover, by integrating religious training into the fundamental educational institutional framework, Anglo-Indians illustrated their devotion to the Crown’s Christian faith.

In 1833, the EIC’s Charter was renewed by the British and a new Act was signed which was much more agreeable to the Anglo-Indians. According to the Charter, the East India Company was no longer a merchant and trade organization but was rather an administrative body, representing the Queen. Stating that, “No native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under

the said Company,” (Pope 1832:197) the declaration theoretically negated most of the prohibitions and restrictions placed on Anglo-Indians. However, despite its authoritative power, only the skilled-worker, lower-administrative and trade positions were opened to people of any race in India, as most higher positions continued to be recruited and filled in Britain. Regardless, the determination of the Anglo-Indians allowed them to propel themselves into the workforce with full force. Their knowledge of British ways and their superior command of the English language allowed them to surpass other Indian candidates who did not have the opportunity to learn British workplace skills.

Important contributions of the British to India were the railway and telegraph systems that spanned across much of the nation. Because of key roles trading and commerce had within British India, having both a reliable telegraph system and railway became not so much niceties as necessities. As Pomeranz and Topik state, “British rule had helped the country get a huge rail grid well before the volume of commercial freight would have made it profitable to build one (1999:234). And, shortly after the first railway’s opening in 1854, much of India was linked with modern means of communication and transportation. Because the Anglo-Indians, as noted earlier, were forced to construct themselves into a relatively unified unit due to British rejection, they were able to infiltrate the railway system rather quickly and efficiently, filling positions quickly and working reliably. Typically working in bureaucratic and leadership roles at such rail stations, many Anglo-Indian men relocated themselves and their families into what came to be known as “railway towns.” Because of the large number of Anglo-Indian railway workers, small ethnic communities began to develop and grow in rural areas outside of larger cities. As one of my interviewees, Charlene, who grew up in a railway town north of Calcutta states, “[...it was a] little conclave of Anglo-Indians that lived there amidst villages and... amidst a lot of different

cultures and religions. And, that's what it was called... a railway town" (f60AI, Interview #9). The comfort and social/economic advancement that Anglo-Indians experienced because of their employment in the telegraph and railway sectors, unfortunately, did not last very long.

In 1857, an Indian Rebellion took place. Known as the Sepoy²⁸ Revolt, Sepoy War, or First Indian War of Independence, a planned mutiny of the British East India Company's occurred because of an apparent British preference for high-caste workers and various changes in the terms of Hindu and Muslim professional service. Additionally, it was believed that the new Pattern 1853 Enfield Rifles that soldiers were obliged to use and fight with were greased with pork lard (which was anathema to Muslims) and/or beef fat (cows being sacred in Hinduism) thus depicting the British as insensitive to the beliefs of their Indian fighters. At the time of the Mutiny, Anglo-Indians were heavily employed throughout the EIC in both military and civilian fields. And, although they did not participate in the Mutiny, due to the fact that the British were their own reference group, a sizable number of Anglo-Indians lost property during the rebellion because of nationalist anger directed towards their pro-British stance (Gist and Wright 1973:6). Once the rebellion was over, in 1858, the Anglo-Indians sought reimbursement from the British for their loyalty. However, much to their displeasure, the Crown stated that neither Indians nor Anglo-Indians who had remained loyal would receive any remuneration (Stark and Madge: 1892:160-161). Despite their unwillingness to aid with relief payments, the British strived to provide for the members of the Anglo-Indian community by creating an entirely Anglo-Indian regiment called, "The Eurasian Corps," which unfortunately quickly failed to gain notoriety and members due to poor organization, low wages and competition from other higher-paying jobs (Gist and Wright 1973:16).

²⁸ The term sepoy derives from the Persian word *Sipâhi* meaning "soldier," usually referring to an indigenous Indian soldier who was allied to Europeans. Interestingly, Anglo-Indians fit outside of this category as typically sepoys were Muslim or Hindu in descent (Barthorp and Anderson 1994).

As the Indian independence movement grew in the early twentieth century, Anglo-Indians found themselves in a bit of an awkward position. During the years of repression, their community was pushed towards a marginal and insecure existence because of their lack of acceptance by the British whom they morally, religiously and ethnically chose to align themselves with. However, because of their non-Indian loyalties, the indigenous population also rejected them. When the local Indians called for a boycott of British institutional systems (including rail, education and telegraph), many Anglo-Indians continued to work and display their allegiance to Her Majesty. During the national railway strike, for example, Anglo-Indians kept many of the trainways in operation consequently further alienating the leadership and supporters of the Indian nationalist movement (Gist and Wright 1973:19). Supporting the boycott would not only contradict the message that the Anglo-Indians had worked so hard to relay to their colonizers, stating the steadfastness of their European upbringing and their commitment to the Crown, but would also put thousands of Anglo-Indians out of work, as in 1928, about one-half of their population relied on the railroad system for employment (Gist and Wright 1973:9).

By the early-30s, Anglo-Indians began to feel apprehensive with regards to their future in India. Primarily, as the general Indian population became more vocal about their unequal treatment by the British, more and more Anglo-Indians lost work only to be replaced by indigenous workers. Appealing to authorities for employment security and protection, Anglo-Indians became even more socially and politically visible, chairing committees and appearing before various statutory conferences in their own defense (Breecher 1959:179-180). While concessions and constitutional advances were made for India, the Anglo-Indians received no dispensations or mention until 1935 when the community was specifically mentioned with regards to provisions of governmental seats and educational endowments.

Despite this minor reprieve, the continued growth of the Indian nationalist movement worried Anglo-Indians not just about their political and economic security but also their personal well-being and cultural development. If India was to be granted decolonized independence, the Anglo-Indians stood to lose many connections with what they considered to be their primary (i.e.: British) culture. While some key members of the community who previously served as political and social leaders and activists migrated from India in hopes of attaining protection and security, others attempted to forge alliances with the elite of the nationalist movement (Gist and Wright 1973:20).

In 1947, when Indian Independence was achieved, new and old alliances helped ensure that all minority Indian groups, including Anglo-Indians, were granted basic provisions. The Anglo-Indian community, in particular, because of their political organization and lobbying skills, were able to secure special guarantees in the areas of education, civic appointments and political representation in both state and national assemblies (Gist and Wright 1973:20). The President of India, in fact, was given the authority to nominate up to two members of the Anglo-Indian community to serve in his political body should he feel that they were inadequately represented. And, fortunately, since 1949's constitution Anglo-Indians have always had two members of Parliament to consider and fight for their needs (Gist and Wright 1973:20).

Because of their heavy British influence and upbringing, Anglo-Indians have discovered how to survive on the cusp between two very distinct, and sometimes oppositional, cultures. Having to fight for recognition within the British community, Anglo-Indians have, over the years, developed and honed characteristics that, in their minds' eye, connote their innate European-ness. However, because of their clear Indian roots and ancestry, Anglo-Indians have simultaneously learned to fit in within India's indigenous society if/when necessary. Very

different from Goans, whose colonial experiences were with the Portuguese rather than the British, Anglo-Indians have emerged as a unique, dual-heritage, Indian minority group. Considered as “bulwark[s] of British India...buffer[s] between rulers and ruled,” (Jupp 1991:434), Anglo-Indians were at times historically viewed as British, while during other moments they were considered Indian. In other periods, they were unfortunately viewed as neither which, though disheartening and alienating, inspired Anglo-Indians to rally as a community, become more self-reliant and thus masters of their own destiny.

Goan and Anglo-Indian movement and immigration to Canada

Despite their respective historical differences, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics both have experienced relatively similar patterns in terms of their emigration from India and subsequent international relocation. Portuguese and British colonialism, in countless ways, has impacted how members of these communities view themselves and those around them, cultivating and fostering particular cultural, religious and behavioural traditions that continue to distinguish them from other Indian communities residing within and outside of the ancestral homeland. Although trade ventures, work opportunities and educational prospects prompted significant Indian emigration during pre-colonial and colonial times both within colonial territories and throughout other Asian, European, African and the Middle Eastern regions, the vast majority of emigration occurred around or after decolonization. The prospect of reintegration into India, without colonial control or authoritative presence, gave rise to many social and economic apprehensions within Anglo-Indian and Goan Christians. Fearing losses of security and freedom, members of these communities traveled abroad in search of what they

believed to be more acceptable living conditions and fuller prospects for their own futures and those of their children.

Throughout the course of my primary data collection, I encountered four types of Goans and Anglo-Indians: (a) *Twice migrants*, (b) *Thrice migrants*, (c) *Direct migrants* and (d) *Goan Canadians* or *Anglo-Indian Canadians*. The Anglo-Indian and Goan participants whom I interviewed had remarkably unique narratives that spoke of not only how they came to reside permanently in Canada but also how they continue to relate, if at all, to their place of birth and to India. Because of the experiential similarities of both communities, this section looks at the general migration patterns for Goans and Anglo-Indians concurrently in order to more fully contextualize how members of these groups have socioculturally and religiously adapted in order to maintain a certain flexibility that permits a relatively seamless adaptation into various countries where they continue to be a minority presence. This section uses secondary literature and participant anecdotes as joint points of analysis, discussing how Anglo-Indians and Goans left India, sojourned through or lived in various lands, and eventually settled in Canada. It looks at relevant historical and political contexts that may have affected their re-settlement or motivated subsequent immigration, and how they continued to further hone adaptive qualities and characteristics originally rooted in their communal colonial experiences in India. Residing in nations that they believe best represent their values, members of these communities have sought homes where they feel they truly belong.

(a) Twice migrants

The first group of Goans and Anglo-Indians I encountered in the course of my interviews are what Parminder Bhachu calls *Twice migrants* (Bhachu 1985, 1990). Referring to Sikhs who

have first moved from India to East Africa where they gained valuable skill-sets, English-speaking capabilities, as well as knowledge in the fields of administration, social services, and professional training, Bhachu describes how Sikh experiences in Africa, in many ways prepared them for their subsequent move to Britain. A “training-ground” of sorts, East Africa positively impacted the organization of the Sikh community, particularly in Westernizing their principles and communication networks thus allowing them to formulate and get used to the idea of what life would be like in Britain whilst simultaneously dispelling a “myth of return²⁹” (Bhachu 1985, 1990). Although my research does not involve Sikh-Indians, Bhachu’s framework remains just as helpful and relevant in terms of categorization for the Anglo-Indians and Goans whom I interviewed, as many members of these communities relocated from their ancestral Indian homeland to either East Africa or Pakistan prior to their move to Canada thus making them twice migrants. It was in these nations that such individuals and their families could continue to freely practice their Western-styled ways, and maintain and/or supplement many of the traditions and customs that were ingrained in them through their colonial histories. And, although they may not have moved to Africa or Pakistan with the intention of eventually moving to another country, they eventually continued on to Canada for reasons similar to those of their initial departure from India: in search of security, increased freedom, better employment or educational opportunities, more socio-economic comfort, or to ultimately give their children better and brighter futures.

As mentioned, the Indian emigration of Goans and Anglo-Indians began long before colonial rule was under threat. In the mid-nineteenth century, diverse labour markets emerged and began to expand, creating specific job opportunities for Anglo-Indian and Goan migrants

²⁹ A myth of return is when a migrant has an avowed intention to permanently return back home, or to the land of their origin, for good. The myth of return, according to Bhatti, particularly endures when “there is political instability in the countries where the families originated,” as it gives migrants an excuse or reason to postpone their return (1999:7). As they hope for improvement, such migrants put off a final decision and continue to culturally/psychologically/politically straddle two worlds simultaneously (Bhatti 1999)

who lived in India at the time (Eades 1987:87). Colonial rule gave these communities, primarily those from upper-middle class families who had converted to Christianity, myriad opportunities to familiarize themselves with and meet the educational and skill-training standards of European society. With fluent professional-level knowledge of English (as English was and still is generally considered the mother-tongue for both Goan Catholics and Anglo-Indians in general³⁰), as well as Western behavioural and cultural rearing, Goans and Anglo-Indians stood out from other Indians who were not as acquainted with the occupational and technical needs of European colonial bureaucracy. Additionally, “the cultural syncretism and Christian religion which characterize[d] Catholic Goans gave them an advantage over Hindu and Muslim counterparts in acquiring service jobs and they quickly moved into this economic niche” (Eades 1987:87). More “European” than their non-Christian Indian counterparts while simultaneously attuned and sensitive to the requirements of Indians in general, Goans in particular served as liaisons of sorts between colonizers and their subjects. This is not unlike Anglo-Indians who at first were considered reliable Crown employees, with their partially British blood and Christian values, who were thus able to serve under Her Majesty and secure prominent positions which were typically reserved for higher ranked members of society. Infiltrating into the governmental sectors, the trades and white-collar positions, Anglo-Indians, like Goans, willingly worked to better their own lives while demonstrating to their colonial rulers their disciplined capacity to live, work, and behave as civilized Europeans.

³⁰ The establishment of British rule in the mid-nineteenth century introduced English education to India. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many English schools were opened and parents, considering English to be a more prestigious and practical language to learn, opted to send their children to such schools. Within Goa, knowledge of the English language thus soon came to be aligned with increased social status and class. And, due to the vast influence British bureaucracy had on Goans in general, functioning in English on a daily basis became the norm.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Goans and Anglo-Indians began to settle in the British-ruled port-city of Karachi, in Pakistan. Anglo-Indians, because of their mixed-ancestry and familiarity with the British system, were particularly sought by the British to settle and work in Pakistan. As both *imperial* and *labour* migrants (Cohen 1997), Anglo-Indians were able to venture beyond India's borders and cultivate their economic success while asserting their allegiance to the throne. And, although Goa at the time was a Portuguese colony, the consolidation of the East India Company with India caused many Catholic Goans to seek life beyond Portuguese rule. Emerging as an important commercial and economic centre, Karachi appealed to both Goan and Anglo-Indian Christian communities, as they were able to easily secure low-ranking bureaucratic jobs and were able to work in various skill trades (Walbridge 2003:177). Goans, like the Anglo-Indian counterparts, were offered jobs with the British Indian Civil Services, including the police force, railways, and telegraphs.

Besides the Goan and Anglo-Indian communities, there were other groups of Indians who migrated to Karachi for work-related reasons. Many Parsis (i.e.: Indian Zoroastrians), for example, migrated from India to Karachi under the greater sphere of British rule (Hinnells 2005:189) and, as with both the Anglo-Indians and Goans, created their own communal institutions so as to encourage their own socio-political development. Additionally, as Parsis primarily worked as contractors and suppliers to the British forces, they were able to quickly gain both wealth and social notoriety in Karachi amongst locals. Founding schools, hospitals and political initiatives benefitting not just their own community but also all other members of society, the Parsis heavily contributed to the growth and development of the city (Hinnells 1996:58-60).

Goan and Anglo-Indian enclaves in Pakistan began to appear, as communities rooted themselves around the railway hubs over which key members of their society had authority. Those subscribing to Catholicism were able to utilize educational facilities built by the Jesuits thus providing themselves and their children with relatively rare opportunities learning European-styled English, which became strong cultural markers for both communities, while continuing to further and cultivate their religiosity (Walbridge 2003:179-180). Additionally, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics were both able to maintain a strong sense of group solidarity through the Church, which offered its services in terms of settling new immigrants and ensuring that they remain steadfast in their faith while surrounded by members of their community. In this sense, members of these communities did not experience much of the cultural or religious trauma that is typically associated with international relocation. As sixty-two year old Mavis, a Goan who grew up in Pakistan recounted, “[We would be] going to church on Sunday’s, going for baptism, first communion, confirmation, et cetera. So, it was pretty prescribed as far as Catholic tradition goes... Catholic children would invariably go to Catholic schools...” (f62G, Group Interview #4). She also stated, “In certain way, the community in Karachi was distinct from a non-Christian community. Professional and some social interactions being non-Christian components in that area I lived in...but beyond that there was very little connection between [Christians and non-Christians]...[it] was absolutely frowned upon by those who lived there. So, with that sort of separation, my Goan [i.e.: Christian] identity was very strong” (f62G, Interview #6). Recognizing some of the inevitable tensions associated with living in a non-Christian majority nation, Mavis here displays that despite the cultural and religious segregation, she was able to better understand and appreciate particular aspects of her ethnic identity, as she was encouraged to associate with like-minded people.

Enjoying comfortable socioeconomic Western-styled livelihoods, due to their abilities to take advantage of job opportunities offered to ambitious and properly-trained minorities, Anglo-Indians and Goans lived lives that in many ways, they believe, helped prepare them for life in Canada. Devlyn, a Goan and Anglo-Indian who was born and raised in Pakistan stated:

...we were always looking at what the Westerns [i.e.: Westerners] wore [sic]. Bell-bottoms, jeans, and you know cowboy boots, and all that kind of stuff. And then we came [to Canada] prepared, I guess, knowing what we were getting into. Mind you, there were challenges. There were always challenges...getting a job and stuff like that, there were all those kinds of challenges. And, you know you kind of let that get to you, you know, when I came here, I was quite young...We came here prepared, prepared to integrate into Canadian society, living there we prepared ourselves, I guess. (m49AI/G, Group Interview #2)

However, with the events leading up to partition in 1947, those Indians (Goan, Anglo-Indian, or other) residing in Pakistan felt unsure of their futures because of the increased political strife that was felt throughout the nation. Twenty-six year old Wayne, a Goan, though born and raised in Canada, knows all too well about the turbulence his parents experienced whilst living in Pakistan during the decolonization era:

...my Mum gave me her reasons for leaving Pakistan and it was really downhill. And, my grandmother tells me stories about how one of the daughters in her family, they were abducted and we found what had happened, and they had her converted to Islam. Really, the guy just stole her and took advantage of her. Like, [my family was] afraid of that kind of stuff, and also of the political uprisings and stuff. (m26G, Interview #12)

Like with those Anglo-Indians and Goans living in India, the prospect of partition fuelled vehement feelings of apprehension within those who chose to align themselves with Britain. As neither community wished to be viewed with suspicion by those supporting independence, thousands of Anglo-Indians and Goans took flight from what they believed to be an increasingly unstable future in Pakistan. As scholar Nancy Brennan states, "...large numbers of Anglo-Indians have emigrated and most of those who remain [in independent India or Pakistan], wish to

emigrate. The reasons are a combination of the pull of a more secure life abroad, the attraction of a culturally similar nation, and the push of serious economic difficulties that threaten their way of life...” (1979:271).

In addition, the nineteenth century division of Africa between various European colonial powers, created a significant demand for managerial workers and manual labourers. This, in itself caused various African nations, especially those in East Africa, to experience migratory *differentiation* (Castles and Miller 1993), because of transnational movement due to labour, imperialism, trade, education or even family reunification related reasons. For example, many Goans who were literate in Portuguese and familiar with European bureaucratic requirements were recruited as *imperial* and *labour* migrants (Cohen 1997) in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. Even larger numbers of Goans and Anglo-Indians, however, went to trade, labour and study in comparable capacities in English-speaking British East Africa, including present-day Kenya and most of Uganda (Kuper 1975, Motani 1975). Housewives, such as eighty-two year old Maria for example, and their families followed their husbands overseas to begin new lives in Africa. Claiming, “...my husband whom I married, he worked in Africa. So, after we got married, within 2 weeks, I was married and I...sailed by boat...to Africa,” Maria told me not only that she had left her family and siblings in India to move away with her new husband but also that it was quite customary and, in fact, expected of women at that time (82fG, Interview #3). Because of her husband’s affluent job in a British bank, Maria enjoyed a rather cosy life in Kenya, which provided her and her five children with all the social and economic niceties they desired, as well as a considerable-sized Goan community to socialize and reminisce with. According to Eades, upper-middle class Catholic Goans were very eager to capitalize on the growth of the white collar industry in Africa because they were able to gain “marketable skills

which encouraged intergenerational geographical and occupational mobility” (1987:87-89), such as gender-equal education (as opposed to the predominantly male-centred education systems found in traditional India) and exposure to the higher strata of British society.

Other Indian communities, not just of Christian descent, also migrated to Africa in order to provide themselves with increased work- and education-related opportunities. Parminder Bhachu, who created the “twice migrant” framework, discusses how Sikh-Indians who journeyed from India to East Africa acquired practical skills in the fields of administration, education, and social services. Bhachu (1985, 1990) argues that these skills allowed them to gain status within the ethnic African minority, however as noted by other researchers (Banton 1983) such Sikhs were often inclined to wear the turban and continue visible religious practices so as to sustain their distinct identity³¹. This, unfortunately, also gave rise to increased racial discrimination from non-Asian (i.e.: both British and indigenous African) individuals and social groups.

Steven Vertovec, in *The Hindu diaspora*, discusses the growth of the Hindu population in East Africa which, he believes, constituted the majority of the Indian population (2000:25). As most Hindus were Gujarati traders, East Africa lacked the cross-section of hierarchical castes that could be found in India (Vertovec 2000:25). Subsequently, although the Gujarati community gained significant resource control in East Africa, they were quite unable to maintain traditional systems of caste beliefs and transactions. Without different levels of the caste-system, the prestige and honour associated with higher-caste belonging became vastly diminished. Because of this, it was quite important to members of this particular South Asian community to remain closely in-touch with India via travel and trade. Unlike the Goan and Anglo-Indian East Africans

³¹ It is interesting to note that the vast majority of East African Sikhs tended to be more *Khālsā* (meaning pure or baptized) oriented. Opinderjit Kaur Takhar suggests that this is because most East Africa Sikhs tend to be from the *ramgarhia zat* (or caste) who, in general, tend to be more *Khālsā*-oriented in their faith (2005:42). The *ramgarhias* aim to differentiate themselves from the *jats*, who are the majority group in the Sikh community (or *Panth*), on the grounds of religious superiority and thus tend to be more traditionalist their practices and beliefs.

who left India not only due to their inability to fully relate to non-Christian Indian society but also to maintain their higher status that they had become accustomed to under colonial rule, the Hindus (i.e.: Gujaratis) living in East Africa had moved there for economic and work-related reasons. Because they were familiar and comfortable with Indian traditional society and did not feel the same sociocultural and religious alienation that Christian Indians, such as Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, did, maintaining connections with India continued to be a priority to them despite their residency in the diaspora.

Because of the relatively high number of Goans and Anglo-Indians in Africa, specifically in Uganda and Kenya, members of these communities typically had large social groups in which they could interact. As many of them came from upper-middle class Christian backgrounds, and had gained social status through their prominent jobs and social assignments, Goans and Anglo-Indians were able to create and cultivate a relatively self-sufficient and exclusive society in which they could raise their children. Special schools, run by religious organizations, were mostly attended by members of their community who shared their morality and spirituality. For example, in Mombasa, Kenya, a number of my participants attended what was nicknamed the “local Goan high school” (Elizabeth, f56G, Interview #12). With such a high number of Goans who adhered to strict Roman Catholicism, the school was able to integrate religious training into daily education by revolving around a strict liturgical calendar. Elizabeth, for example, claimed that various prayers, such as the Angelis and the rosary, were said by all students during the day and that they would walk to and from church together as a group (Elizabeth, f56G, Interview #12). Because it was primarily attended by Goans and was so religiously oriented, Goan parents supported the school both financially and socially. Parents gained comfort from knowing that their children were educated in a culturally-specific setting and, it appears, that the children

therein educated also came to appreciate the role their strict religious schooling had in shaping and cultivating their religiosity. The following snippet of a discussion about how Canadian Catholic schools today compare to Catholic schools in earlier times illustrates the importance of such schools in Goan Roman Catholic rearing:

Christina: It's harder because, for us, our religion as you said defined us. And, our whole focus growing up in life was our religion. (f54G)

Gabriel: Sure. (m55G)

Christina: ...we went to a Catholic school. So, church was very big in our life. Here, church doesn't look big in our kids' lives because even though they went to Catholic schools, the focus wasn't Catholicism in those schools. They might have one hour of religious studies a week, but if they didn't finish their math program, the teacher would say, "Okay, skip religion and let's finish our math." So, their Catholicism, unless we did it at home with them, it didn't focus much. I know friends whose kids, as soon as they finished high school, and then just said, "I'm not going to church. No way."

Sophia: It's the conscience and our sense of guilt, though. That's what makes it hard [to not focus on Catholicism]. (f58G)

Joseph: That's [i.e.: conscience and guilt] typically Catholic though. (m59G, Group Interview #7)

The education system was critical in shaping, reinforcing and transmitting existing cultural values and religious norms to subsequent generations. Because Goans and Anglo-Indians both spoke English at home, besides speaking Latin in the Church (until the post-Vatican II switch to the vernacular), the education system which they supported also functioned in English. This perhaps reflects colonial policy which, at one time, strived to instruct students in their own languages as the Church, in search of native converts, had decided that use of indigenous languages would prove the most expedient for conversion (Garzon and Brown 1998:55). And, seeing that both Anglo-Indians and Goans chose to align themselves with European society (thus

in many ways motivating their primary emigration from India), it only makes sense that they selected English as their primary instructional language and mother-tongue.

Religious practices taught at school were reinforced by parents at home and the larger local ethnic community. Major religious holidays and cultural feasts were celebrated with family and friends at culturally-specific social clubs and institutions. In Kenya, for example, there were a variety of clubs that catered to particular classes of Goan and Anglo-Indian society. As aforementioned, the caste-system was not a patent obstacle for the Portuguese and British in their conversion quest, as it was in fact quite analogous to European distinctions of rank and class in Europe (de Mendonça 2002:74). Accordingly, much of Anglo-Indian and Goan society abided by or at least was aware of class divisions and proscriptions. The G. I. (Goan Institute) was a social club specifically intended for higher-class members of the community and thus endeavored to be as exclusive as possible in terms of membership. Christina, a middle-aged Goan who lived for some time in Kenya, recalled that the G. I., "...was probably [for] Kshatriyas [i.e.: warrior-class] and the merchants" (f54G, Group Interview #7). She also remembered that, "...[Kenyan Goans] had a Tailor's class...the Tailor's Club in the St. Francis Xavier Society" which was also exclusive in its membership. Ruth Fincher and Jane Jacobs, in their study about ethnicity, class, gender and other axes of variation in postmodern cities, interviewed a male leader of the Goan community who, referring to the G. I. claims:

We try to keep this ratio [of 75% Goans and 25% non-Goans] in check so that we may not lose our identity...when we have a new application, the committee can say, "Yes, we accept you" or "No, we cannot accept you." We don't have to give any reasons [for acceptance or rejection]. We can just say no [on the grounds] that the background [of the applicant] is not good...So we can find the reasons to keep you out. (1998:238)

Although local governments sought to rid their regions of racialized and class-based places, they simultaneously had non-interference policies in religious bodies. Therefore the easiest way for

Goans and Anglo-Indians to maintain their class-based social strata was to redefine their communal spaces as religious ones. Redefining such spaces were easy tasks, as the majority of their community members shared similar religious affiliations (Fincher and Jacobs 1998:239).

Anglo-Indians had the *gymkhana*³² clubs which were also class-based and, in many ways, reflected the imperial ethos that they wished to maintain. Masani talks about the *gymkhana* and its role in perpetuating predominant social hierarchies. He writes:

My father was among the few black members of the Delhi Gymkhana Club. This was only for show; Indians who had been knighted were regarded as *wogs* acceptable to the British. But the Gymkhana Club and other clubs which started taking Indians made conditions very difficult. You had to be interviewed. Your wife had to be there with you...they made few exceptions, but no young Indians were ever accepted as members in those clubs; so the contacts were only business contacts. (Masani 1990:52)

In accepting only knighted Indians as members of their Delhi club, this gymkhana was able to maintain its near-regal exclusivity. Morris and Winchester speak of the important role the Indian gymkhanas had in the social lives of Anglo-Indians who lived in India: "...[it] was an easier-going sort of place, where women and families were welcome, and it had tennis, badminton and racquets courts, skating-rinks sometimes, cricket-pitches, golf-links in later years and a generally cheerful ambience" (2005:61). Because of their key role in the outward display of Anglo-Indian European civility, it is no wonder that such institutions popped up wherever enclaves of Anglo-Indians could be found. The gymkhana was, after all, a place where one could go to be seen and to "have their evening gin and lime" (Sophia, f58G, Group Interview #7) whilst asserting and reconnecting with one's culture.

As Goans and Anglo-Indians made up a relatively small percentage of all of the Indians in Africa, there were many other social clubs for members of other communities popping up

³² Whitworth claims that the origin of this Anglo-Indian word is unknown yet he roots the latter part *khānah* in the Persian word for house (Whitworth 1885:114). My participant Sophia, on the other hand, offered me a simple definition: "Gym is like gymnasium, and khana is like caste" (f58G, Group Interview #7).

throughout both rural and urban areas. The Gujarati Hindu Swaminarayan, for example, had various social, cultural and religious clubs within East Africa for their people to frequent. As with Anglo-Indians and Goans, the social identities of both the men and women were formed within such clubs (Williams 1984:180). However, unlike the Goan and Anglo-Indian clubs that typically did not forge meaningful ongoing points of contact with India, the Swaminarayan centres sought to connect its members with as much Indian, as opposed to British and/or East African, culture as possible. Because African Goans and Anglo-Indians, I believe, aimed to identify as much as possible with the cultural ways of their colonial rulers and thus distanced themselves from non-Christian and non-Westernized Indians, maintaining a strong Indian identity was accordingly of minimal import.

Because they had in many ways created a new “homeland” in Africa, complete with social clubs and status hierarchies but lacking outside non-Christian Indian influences, Goan and Anglo-Indian twice migrants tended to be geared toward remaining in their African destinations. As Ballard states, “As a semi-marginalized minority in East Africa, these communities were already aware of the benefits to be gained from developing alternative institutional arrangements of their own, and that the adoption of a strategy of ethnic consolidation was wholly compatible with a strong commitment to collective and professional advancement” (2000:135). Many of them had subsequent generations of family, and had gained and retained many capital resources. The thought of going back to India, to the land of their ancestors, never occurred to many of them despite the fact that they still had extended family residing there. India was a place where they could vacation or visit once or maybe twice a year and send remittances to, but Africa was where their new homes and friends were, and it was where they had become even more prosperous. The large communities of Catholic South Asians also ensured that exclusive

marriage and ritualistic community networks could be upheld. The practices and feasts celebrated by their predecessors had successfully implanted themselves into African society, and their communities showed no sign of traditional deterioration. However, things soon changed.

The withdrawal from Africa by the British in the 1960s in coalescence with the Africanization policies of the newly independent states severed the employment prospects of those Goans who were not citizens of the nations in which they lived. At that time, many Goans and Anglo-Indians who lived in Africa either retained their Indian or British passport, for both political- and prestige-related reasons. As they were required to choose between British, Indian or Kenyan/Ugandan citizenship, some members of these communities felt it was impressive and socially advantageous to maintain their European subject-status especially in politically tumultuous times. When asked why her family did not seek Kenyan citizenship, fifty-seven year old Moira stated, “I think it was because my Dad felt that politically Kenya wasn’t that stable. And, so he didn’t want to commit to being a citizen of Kenya. So, we were sort of British subjects...” (f57G, Interview #2). Maria, similarly, spoke of the lack of choices for Indians who were living in politically unstable Africa:

...Kenya was being “Africanized” and...Kenya was taken over by the Africans, by the blacks. The British had to move from there to go back to England. And,...we had to either stay there or give up our citizenship and become citizen...We were afraid that things might go wrong... You know [...] before we left there was lot of trouble in Kenya, called the “Mau Mau³³” – the blacks, the Africans [wanted] to kill the British....when they were taking over Kenya. So, we had to move before trouble started. And...my two daughters who were in [North] America... The second one...she sponsored [my husband and I] and took us to Canada. (82fG, Interview #3)

³³ Maria is referring to the Mau Mau peasant revolt which took place between 1952 and 1956, in colonial Kenya. As one of the first nationalist revolutions against contemporary European colonialism in Africa, this revolt was chiefly led by peasants who fought against the British. The Mau Mau guerillas terrorized both the British and all others who “betrayed” Africa subsequently affecting the safety of Goans and the villages they resided in greatly affecting their migration decisions (Barnett and Njama 1966; Maloba 1993).

Those Goans and Anglo-Indians living in Uganda fared even worse as on 4 August 1972, President of Uganda, Idi Amin, ordered the expulsion of all of Uganda's Asians, giving them ninety days to leave the nation as *victim* migrants (Cohen 1997). Responding to the highly Indophobic³⁴ social climate of the country, President Amin claimed that in a dream God had instructed him to expel the Asian foreigners. He criticized them for their "lack of faith in his government, their exploitation of the African, and their social exclusivity" (Kuepper, Lackey and Swinerton 1975:36). Many Indigenous Africans believed members of the highly-trained and skilled Asian community to be stealing opportunities that they, as rightful Ugandans as opposed to migrants, deserved. President Amin, from the beginning of his rulership in January 1971 when previous ruler Dr. Obote was overthrown, denounced the place of South Asians in Ugandan society. Calling for a mandatory census of all Asians, regardless of their citizenship status in October 1971, Amin publically denied and criticized their Ugandan contributions. On 30 July 1972, Amin claimed that "Our [i.e.: Ugandan] industry and commerce are being manned by foreigners" (Kuepper et al. 1976:36) and by 4 August of that same year the President publically announced his plan to expel all Asians regardless of their citizenship. Seventeen days later, Amin cancelled his orders, specifying that only noncitizens were to leave the nation, leaving most Goans and Anglo-Indians living within the Uganda's borders with no choice but to vacate the nation or apply for quick citizenship to remain in a nation where they knew they were not wanted. Many Goans and Anglo-Indians hastily returned to India to rebuild their lives, as those who were rapidly approaching or had already approached the state-imposed fifty-five year old age of retirement found it much easier to return to the place of their birth to retire and lead a quiet life. However, others who had lived most of their adult lives outside of India or had been

³⁴ Indophobia, or hostility towards those from the Indian subcontinent, as well as their cultures and religious traditions, was relatively common in the mid-twentieth century within Uganda and was by no means exclusively directed towards either Goans or Anglo-Indians.

born and raised in Africa, because of their marketable skill sets, fluency in English and relatively high educational trainings, had the option of migrating to the West.

It is important to note here that not all of my participants had similar transnational migration patterns; not all twice migrants went directly from India to East Africa or Pakistan, and then to Canada. In providing some examples, I hope to more fully illustrate the heterogeneous nature of the twice migrant category. Charlene, for example, a sixty year old Anglo-Indian, went straight from India to England in 1959. As her father had fallen severely ill, her mother believed he would receive better care in the United Kingdom and decided to relocate Charlene and her family there. After living and being successful in England for nearly sixteen years due to the “purely Western” upbringing and behaviour of her family (Charlene, f60AI, Interview #9), a series of strikes in the 60s motivated Charlene and her husband to leave for Canada, as they believed they could give themselves and their child a better life there. Fifty-six year old Elizabeth, on the other hand, a Goan who was born in Kenya, left for England with her family at the tender age of eight in search of a better life. After sending her father to England in search of accommodation and employment, Elizabeth’s mother followed soon thereafter with their five young children. Elizabeth and her siblings spent almost all of their childhood in England. Many years later, after getting married to another Goan in England and having a child, Elizabeth and her husband decided to relocate to Canada because they believed England to be getting overcrowded. Said Elizabeth:

[We] came to Canada because England was getting very very overpopulated. Everybody lived on top of each other...you know? Everything was crammed. The cities were just full, the traffic to travel...the school...the housing....everyone. It was so congested. I used to feel it was an island and [if] someone pulled the plug on it, that [the] island would sink. It was just so overpopulated. There was no space...you didn’t even feel, you know how everyone has a personal space about, I think it’s a 1 foot circumference? [...] You didn’t even feel that you had that. You got into a bus or on a train, or any mode of transportation in England, and people

were in your space. You'd have your head stuck in someone's armpit. Exactly...you'd have their crotch in your back. (f56G, Interview #12)

As was the case with Charlene, leaving England had never been a possibility for Elizabeth until she and her husband had realized that their living situation would never improve. Because both couples possessed Western-styled educations, marketable trade skills and had gained enough capital whilst in the UK so as to give them a relatively good start in Canada, these individuals were able to uproot themselves from home as they knew it and begin new lives abroad.

I also encountered some twice migrants, such as Moira, a fifty-seven year old Goan, who left East Africa in her late teens to pursue post-secondary education in the United States. Accelerating in both academics and athletics in Kenya, Moira and her sister both received scholarships to study abroad. Her educational skills and training, Moira believes, is what made her such a desirable candidate for college in North America and allowed her to academically excel at a rate faster than those who were simply born in the United States (Interview #2). Additionally, because of the staunch Catholicism of her family and her Goan community back in Kenya, Moira chose to attend a college that was run by Dominican nuns. However, despite the congeniality of the small college, Moira felt uprooted and alone. She told me that, "... [there was] no sense of community. I suppose, because being in University they were all students, but that's what I missed most...is having...like a Goan community, or a pseudo-Goan community around me. That's all I ever knew in Kenya, was a Goan community. So, when I went to the United States, that's what I missed most, having that infrastructure around me" (Moira, f57G, Interview #2). The pervasive presence of the Goan community was something that, to Moira, her new life lacked despite her academic and athletic success.

It is interesting to note that all three examples involve women who, in some form or another, broke out of the traditional Indian mold of co-dependence and male-subservience.

Charlene's mother took on the primary care-giver role and had relocated her entire family to the UK after coming to the conclusion that her husband would receive better medical care overseas; and Elizabeth's mother had sent her father to England to make roots and find work while she provided full care for Elizabeth and her four siblings. Moira and her sister had journeyed to the United States, as single women who were visible minorities, without any chaperones or relatives to protect or watch over them. I suggest that such ambition and goal-orientedness is in fact quite common within the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities. I further propose that the *feminization* of migration (Castles and Miller 1993:8) for members of these groups is, especially in the last fifty years, a cogent force in their transnational movement.

Not all South Asian female migrants, however, have found it easy to pursue their career goals or leave their homeland and travel abroad without chaperone or to even hold a job. Some scholars report that Sikh women in the diaspora, for example, are expected by their extended family and communities to remain home and not pursue outside (and especially not international) work. In such traditional Sikh households, women are imagined to be more-or-less fully reliant on their husbands for their personal and financial well-being and are sometimes met with hostility when they attempted to break free of their family's expectations (Rait 2005:133). Nana Oishi, in her study of women and globalization in Asia similarly reports that, although Hindu women have a high entry into the Indian work force, only very few emigrate on their own to work abroad (2005:6-7). Oishi suggests that this could be due to religious reasons, but does not go into any further detail (2005:7). Brah however, in *Cartographies of diaspora*, discusses Islam and its role in preventing more than four-fifths of eligible Muslim women from entering the British migrant workforce (1996:70). Brah suggests though that perhaps this number is an

overestimate, as many Muslim women are involved in home working which falls outside of statistics' reach (1996:70).

Beyond Hindu and Muslim Indians, one group that clearly challenges traditional conceptions of women being dependants and insignificant contributors to the economy is the Kerala Christian community in the United States. Sheba George in studying Kerala Indian Christians found that women play prominent roles in the financial well-being of their families (George in Warner and Wittner 1998:268-271). She also discusses how such women regularly travel abroad, secure work as nurses and eventually sponsor the rest of their families to join them (George in Warner and Wittner 1998:270). Simmi Jain, in *Encyclopaedia of Indian Women through the Ages*, also discusses Kerala Christian women in India, and the monumental role the Church had in encouraging them to become economically independent:

The [C]hurch's message of service, alongwith [sic] the efforts of various missionaries to induce girls to work in their charitable organizations seems to have germinated the idea of girls leaving their homes for the sake of work. It is natural, therefore, that jobs involving "service" are the ones which have traditionally attracted girls from the Christian environment. (Jain 2003:332)

When looking at George's research about Kerala Christian women in the United States, it becomes clear that such notions of "work as service" transcend national boundaries and continue to motivate many of these women to travel abroad so as to provide more fully for their families. As with the Goan and Anglo-Indian Christians I interviewed, women from Kerala seem to, in many ways, contradict the traditional Indian model of women being financially dependent on men who are viewed as the primary bread-earners for family. Through international travel abroad, often far from family members, such women, including many of those I interviewed, were given the opportunity to diversify they typology of migrants (i.e.: through Castles and Miller's (1993) *feminization* of migration) and thus defy generally accepted models of male and

female domestic function. It appears that, in such cases, their Christian faith provided them with the justification to transcend and/or discount conservative Hindu male/female expectations. This is not to say, however, that women are or have always been treated equally to their male counterparts within their own religion as Christianity too in many ways denies women their full personhood and equality (Küng and Bowden 2005).

Women within the Hindu Indian community, on the other hand, are traditionally not permitted as many liberties as those from most other South Asian communities in terms of migrating abroad for work and to support their families. Prema Kurien, in *Kaleidoscopic ethnicity*, discusses how her female Indian informants were restricted from labouring abroad due to traditional archetypes that deemed males as the sole bread-earners in most families (2002). Beyond this, she claims that most females with husbands working abroad were not even informed of the nature of their husband's work or other key details of their lives (2002:90). Interestingly, Kurien, a female researcher, found it difficult to obtain information about such labour-migration, as she was forbidden from going into her participants' houses at night when the males were home. Kurien's participants' and her own experiences illustrate that the traditional Hindu notions of gender-related duty and responsibility, as well as socially expected rights and freedoms, clearly contrast with the modern liberalism that the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I interviewed possess. Although in both Kurien's and my own participant groups, gender remains closely linked with honour, Kurien's interviewees appear to be more conscientious of maintaining their own and their family's positive reputation by abiding by strict gender restrictions whereas my informants sought to augment their honour and familial distinction through transnational relocation and work abroad perhaps mimicking European notions of gender equality and female liberalism.

Accordingly, one can surmise that the vast influences of both European and Christian society, in comparison to traditional Indian culture, encouraged Goan and Anglo-Indian women to actively engage with the communal and global economies and occupy roles as wage-earners, remittance-senders, and primary care givers. Such Asian women, Bhachu argues, “interpret and reinterpret their cultural systems in the changing diasporic contexts as cultural entrepreneurs” (Bhachu 1995:239). Through their cultural and educational agency, these women successfully utilize social and cultural networks gained in transnational settings to place themselves as innovators and pioneers of new diasporic identities.

(b) Thrice migrants

While the *Twice migrants* I interviewed had one nation of residence between the land of their birth and Canada, where they continue to reside today, *Thrice migrants* have lived in two nations between their original homeland and their new Canadian home. Adding another experiential “leg” to their journey, such *Thrice migrants* were even further Westernized and prepared for life in Canada than many of their counterparts. Building upon Bhachu’s twice migrant framework, Danièle Joly identifies thrice migrants as those who have gone “from India to East Africa, from East Africa to Britain and then in the 1980s and 1990s their further move to countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia” (Joly 2004:128). Giving migrants an even increased command of the English language thus escalating their administrative and bureaucratic skills, Joly, like Bhachu, considers such global travel beneficial in facilitating and maintaining the reproduction of cultural bases and community networks. The thrice migrants I heard about or encountered, after leaving East Africa or Pakistan moved to places where they believed they would be able to fit in socioculturally whilst employing and further honing their

practical skill-sets. Such thrice migrants not only had transnational connections associated with their Indian homeland that they were able to draw upon, but also had links with their primary East African (or Pakistani) destination, in addition to their recent ties in Europe, Australia or the United States.

Fifty-nine year old Rui, a Goan, was the only thrice migrant that I had the opportunity to interview. Born in Goa, Rui decided to leave India as a young man to pursue life in England. Motivated by the Independence movement and related apprehensions of a dim future in India, Rui's command of the English language and personal determination easily secured him a job in Britain's computer industry. Although most of his family remained in India, Rui had no desire to return to India as he felt his opportunities were greater in the "true" Western world (m59G, Group Interview #4). After living in England for some time, his work led him to Switzerland, where he gained professional experience and increased transnational connections. He also was able to learn German and French while living in Switzerland. When the opportunity presented itself for him to move to Canada, Rui decided to move and call Canada his permanent home. Despite his residence in Canada since 1975, Rui maintains his international social and professional networks and continues to credit his own personal flexibility and accommodation skills to his global migrations and experiences (m59G, Group Interview #4). His international experiences and diverse "homes" truly render his belonging within Castles and Miller's *globalization* of movement category. Thrice migrants like Rui, similar to twice migrants, reaped great rewards due to their multiple migrations. And, like Rui, many of them likely picked up new languages beyond English and were able to further cultivate their sociocultural adaptation skills thus preparing them even more for the experiences they would encounter in Canada.

(c) Direct migrants

Thirdly, there are those Goans and Anglo-Indians who came to Canada from India as *direct migrants*. Contrasting with those *twice* and *thrice migrants* who tend to migrate with a more-permanent mindset, direct migrants typically migrate for goal-oriented or economic purposes (van der Veer 1995:224). Mainly consisting of those from older generations, such as those who came to Canada through family sponsorship³⁵, others fitting within this category predominantly also include those who came to Canada either for work or school related purposes, having obtained a visa while in India or fitting under Canada's skilled-worker immigrant category. Most of these individuals came to Canada relatively recently (i.e.: post-1976³⁶) because even with decolonization in the mid-twentieth century, Anglo-Indians and Goans were unable to easily immigrate to Canada from India due to restrictive governmental policies. Parminder Bhachu, in *Nation and migration*, considers direct migrants or direct migrants to have a much younger age profile than those who are twice or thrice migrants (Bhachu in van der Veer 1995: 224). Bhachu also claims that, unlike twice and thrice migrants, direct (or "primary") migrants maintain very close links with the Indian motherland, and accordingly have a strong sense of ethnic pride and conservatism (1985:3, 9).

³⁵ In Canada, family sponsorship refers to Citizenship and Immigration Canada's policy of helping immigrants reunite with their families. A Canadian citizen or permanent Canadian resident is able to sponsor his or her spouse, common-law partner, conjugal partner, adopted or dependent child, parent, or grandparent to become a permanent resident in Canada under the "Family Class" category, given that one can provide for them financially upon arrival. (See: "Sponsoring your family," *Citizenship and Immigration Canada*, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/sponsor/index.asp>)

³⁶ In 1976, the Canadian government built upon the changes that were brought forth with 1967s implementation of the Points System (which gave preference to immigrants who, among other things, spoke English and/or French, were old or young enough to work regular jobs, had pre-arranged Canadian employment, had family within Canada, were educated and/or trained, and were planning on moving to regions where employment could be easily found). The *Immigration Act* of 1976 made amendments giving provinces more power in setting their own immigration law, as well as more-broadly defining the "prohibited" classes, focusing on economic categories rather than racial or social classes. Most importantly, this act defined four classes of immigrants who could enter into Canada: families, refugees, assisted relatives, and independent immigrants (Hawkins, Wardle and Coolidge 2002:40-47).

While Bhachu's research involves direct migrants from India and predominantly migrated to the United Kingdom, the direct migrants I interviewed came from various "homelands" and relocated to Canada for various reasons, at various stages in their lives. Despite the variety of birthplaces my informants had, a large percentage of my direct migrants I interviewed in fact came straight from India to Canada. Sixty-one year old Armando, a Goan, for example, migrated from Goa to Canada thirty-seven years ago to begin his post-graduate studies in engineering. In the near-forty years he has been in Canada, Armando has lived across the nation and worked in a variety of fields. Much of his family has since relocated to Canada, as well, although many continue to live in India. Fitting within Bhachu's categorical definition of direct migrant, Armando maintains very strong filial connections with Goa and heavily identifies with Goan culture. And although Bhachu also describes a fierce cultural conservatism that can be found within all direct or primary migrants (1985:9), Armando seemed rather proud of his Western liberalism (which will be discussed in the subsequent chapter) that revealed itself throughout many of our discussions. Closely linking his cultural liberalism and reflexive acceptance of others to his historical experiences both in India and in Canada, Armando only displayed conservatism when he spoke about issues pertaining to religion and his Roman Catholic tradition. While perhaps Armando, upon his initial arrival to Canada, did display traditionalist values and principles, one can only speculate about the true changes that occurred over time with regards to his acceptance and tolerance levels. What matters in the context of the current discussion is that, despite his direct migration from his Goan homeland to Canada, Armando today has maintained what he considers to be the essence of his unchanging Goan-selfhood. Nevertheless Armando continues to regard himself as becoming increasingly Canadian. He stated:

I would say that my Goan-ness stays the same, and my Canadian-ness is increasing...But I do not feel any less Goan than I was, I just feel more Canadian as I move forward...So for me, it's still difficult, even though I've been here for 37 years, and my ancestry is Indian, I do not feel as though I am Indian. Politically and economically...I am very entrenched in Canada. For example, the way that I get goose-bumps about Canada with some great achievements with athletes, it doesn't do a thing for me if an Indian does the same for India. So, [being Goan] doesn't lessen my Canadian-ness at all. (m61G, Group Interview #4)

Unwilling to move back to India for retirement, Armando claims that he will only visit Goa for vacation purposes as his true home is in Canada. Challenging Bhachu's idea that direct migrants both maintain and cherish an active myth of return due to cultural and/or religious clashes and minority status in the host community, one can speculate that it is perhaps because Armando views his own culture as that of the Canadian mainstream, despite his visible minority status, that he feels no need to return to the region of his birth where his culture has majority-status.

Anglo-Indian Warren, like Armando, is a direct migrant who came to Canada from India over forty years ago when he had just completed his high school training at nineteen years of age. Arriving with neither family nor friends to provide support or guidance, Warren considered his migration an adventure. Claiming, "I didn't have any problems when it came to work. You know, I interviewed, I applied for work... you know, my skills were well appreciated...Yeah, I just, I didn't feel or find it an issue or problem" (Warren, m60AI, Group Interview #5), he attributed his Canadian success to his Western cultural upbringing in India: "[It's] the upbringing...the culture. The culture was more Western than Indian, typically. When you look at the way in which we dress, you know it's the simplest form of demonstrating it... [we] dress in pants, shirt, dress...and so forth. So, it's Western and so are [our] general habits" (Warren, m60AI, Group Interview #5). Beyond fashion, Warren was raised in a family where they spoke English at home, and educated their children according to Western standards. Upon his relocation to North America and, with time, as the size of the Canadian Anglo-Indian community

grew in size and influence, Warren realized that he would never permanently return to India, as he was able to lead a lucrative, successful life in Canada.

Other types of direct migrants I encountered were those from younger generations, who were born in East Africa, Pakistan or Europe – the places where their parents or grandparents had initially migrated to from India. These individuals in many ways problematize Bhachu's idea of what constitutes a direct migrant, as most of them did not choose to come to Canada but rather accompanied their families who had emigrated. Arriving in Canada when they were in their late-teens or younger, these individuals have vivid memories of growing up in another country and many continue to heavily identify with their homeland. For example, twenty-four year old Julia, a Goan, was born and raised in Nairobi moved to Canada when she was seven years old with her parents and her sister. Claiming "...my parents left to give my sister and I better opportunities, so that we could be educated abroad...my parents were okay, they did well, considering they moved to another country [i.e. Kenya] and re-established themselves, but they wanted more for us," Julia feels obliged to do her best and be as successful as possible today, and she believes her initial education in Nairobi gave her a wonderful head start in life because of its more stringent guidelines and requirements. Because she lived her teenage and adult years in Canada, she has come to strongly relate to Western culture and its associated liberalism. However, she does recognize a discrepancy between the values she possesses and those of her parents:

I feel as though our parents, my parent's generation is a lot more conservative. My generation is significantly more liberal than they are... my parent's generation are still staunch Catholics; church-going, absorbed...take everything for the "gospel" truth. No pun intended (laughing). So, if the Church says that abortion is wrong, my parents believe abortion is wrong. If the Church says that being homosexual is not okay, my parents believe that. So, they take everything at face value, I guess. (Julia, 24fG, Interview #5)

Since her happy childhood memories are associated with an easy-going, low-responsibility life in Nairobi, Julia admitted to me that she sometimes thinks about going back to Africa and starting a life there but, as most of her family and friends remain in the Toronto-area, she told me she would never permanently leave Canada.

Rosie, another Goan who migrated to Canada with her family when she was a young child from Nairobi, also has vibrant memories of growing up abroad. She, unlike Julia, however thinks of Nairobi as one of her homes alongside Canada. She said:

I've been back once, I've been back once after high school, and it wasn't too different...So, I went back and I was like, "Wow." And I still have some friends there, and I was just, it was just amazing. It was amazing to go back, it was kind of nostalgic, I was kind of sad, in a way because I went back and was like, "Oh my God, I can't believe we left this place." But it, in a way, I was sort of, like, I appreciated a lot of what I have here...I look back and I think, "I love this place." Like, I still consider it home and I would go back in a second, like, but I think, I think of home being Canada too. And, it's not so much the place, but it's more the memories of it. Like, having fun, and your family and everything else...Could I see myself possibly moving there? Yeah. You know, if everything, there are so many things that factor into that. Like, I'm very close with my family, right? So, moving anywhere, it's like...what if I met somebody and married and moved away? Yeah, maybe. But, as a place to live, I would love to move back there. (Rosie, f27G, Interview #5)

Practically-speaking, Rosie knows that she can never return back home because of how rooted her social, professional and family networks are in Canada. But, like Bhachu found with the direct migrant Sikhs she interviewed (1985), the memories of "home" were enough to fuel even the most subtle of desires to return. Interestingly though, Rosie does not consider Goa to be a homeland, as all of her memories associated with the Goan culture and community are either from Nairobi, where she remembers a very active and large cultural community which she and her family were a part of, or in Canada today where her local community and support networks are.

Finally, there are those direct migrants, like Maria (f82G, Interview #3), who are elderly and came to Canada sponsored by their children. These individuals came to Canada out of necessity (socioeconomic or cultural), as most of their children and grandchildren had already rooted new lives outside of their homeland. Because their children (either direct, twice or thrice migrants) came to Canada independent of the grandparent generation, once they were well enough established, they called for their parents to reside with or nearby to them.

Kamala Elizabeth Nayar, in her study of Sikhs in Vancouver, discusses the important role such elderly direct migrants have within migrant families (2004). Claiming, “Many grandparents of the first generation see themselves and the parents (i.e.: their children) as crucial ‘coaches’ for the grandchildren...” (2004:90), Nayar acknowledges the key role culturally recognized norms play in molding domestic relationships and shaping identities. Without the voices of the elderly direct-migrant generation, especially in Sikhism which relies heavily on the oral transmission of customs and practices (Nayar 2004:128-133), many century-old religious traditions remain susceptible to adaptation and/or even extinction.

Raymond Brady Williams agrees that this migration movement is critical as South Asian grandparents to be primary transmitters of religious tradition (2004:232-3). Acknowledging that the grandparents “exercise a conservative influence by encouraging the use of ethnic languages, cuisines and mores and in some instances yearning for an India that no longer exists...some retired grandparents take up new positions, with or without pay, as priests, administrators and religious specialists” (2004: 233). As Williams is primarily looking at Hindus, Jains, Sikhs and Parsis, I suggest that the religious roles Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic grandparents may have in the lives of their descendants may not be as critical because of the Christian-majority status of Canada. Additionally, as almost all of the Goan and Anglo-Indian people I interviewed were

raised in English-speaking households, the need for grandparents to encourage its use by children residing in Canada is unnecessary. However, grandparents coming to Canada directly from the Goan homeland continue to be invaluable sources for education about traditional conservatism, as well as the promulgation of cuisines and mores. Telling stories and recounting memories to those who have never been to India is, in many ways, simply enough to spark an interest in, if not a yearning for, India.

(d) Goan Canadians & Anglo-Indian Canadians

Lastly, *Goan Canadians* and *Anglo-Indian Canadians* make up the final major category of informants I encountered during the course of my data collection. Consisting of those born and raised in Canada, these individuals are also commonly referred to as “second generation” (born in Canada) or “third generation” (with parents born in Canada) Canadians, depending on their migration histories. With parents or grandparents who immigrated to Canada, such Goan and Anglo-Indian Canadians whom I interviewed typically fell in the “under-35” category, had very young children or were childless, were recently married or single and were rather well-educated. Bandana Purkayastha, in *Negotiating ethnicity*, looks at second generation South Asians living in the United States and discovers that they are quite unique from their parents’ or grandparents’ generations (2005). Purkayastha finds that although members of this generation do not always follow the path of their predecessors in terms of education or cultural conservatism, these individuals have learned to renegotiate their multi-ethnic existence through redefining the traditions of their parents, consuming ethnic products, adopting ethnic labels, and the social participation in voluntary ethno-specific societies. The participants I interviewed fit nicely within this framework as, although they have a very close connection with what they consider to be a

relatively liberal Western or Canadian culture, they simultaneously maintain both a keen interest and attachment to their cultural heritage. On many levels rejecting the cultural conservatism perhaps sometimes “pushed” onto them by their parents, extended family and community members, these individuals embrace a loose-sort of humanism³⁷ that I attribute in part to their high exposure to other cultures and religions (due to Canada’s multicultural policy and to their residence within the diverse Greater Toronto Area).

For example, Freddy, a twenty-nine year old Goan, told me that his Goan culture was taught to him by his family and community ever since he was a young child, despite his being born and raised in the Greater-Toronto-Area:

It’s the way we grew up. You get ingrained, “this is Goan food...,” “these are Goan people...” So, you learn all that stuff as you’re growing up. But then you have the Canadian side of it because you go to all of these Goan functions and stuff, and you have all this Goan culture, but you do have that aspect outside of that. So, you have to mingle the two – so, I guess, that’s how I created my identity” (m29G, Group Interview #3)

Displaying a multi-ethnic identity, Freddy has learned how to be “more Goan” in particular social contexts, such as family events or community functions, and can be just like “any other Canadian” in non-cultural specific settings, such as when he is with his friends or at work. However, he believes that it was not until he had physically visited Goa that he fully understood the full essence of the culture that was, in so many ways, pushed upon him: “I don’t know if you guys [referring to other members of the group interview] have had a chance to Goa. I went twenty years ago, I guess, maybe, and that was nice. And that sort of helped a lot. I think before

³⁷ By humanism, I am referring to such participants’ concern with what it is to be human, and with human-beings comprehensively. The International Humanist Ethical Union states, “Humanism is a democratic and ethical life stance which affirms that human beings have the right and responsibility to give meaning and shape to their own lives. It stands for the building of a more humane society through an ethics based on human and other natural values in the spirit of reason and free inquiry through human capabilities” (IHEU <http://www.iheu.org/bylaws>). Likewise, many younger participants claimed to be more interested in causes and initiatives that benefit humanity at large, as opposed to particular ethno-cultural or religious communities.

that you don't really have an idea of what it is to be Goan. I think going back there helps solidify that a lot in your head a little bit more" (m29G, Group Interview #3).

Twenty-three year old Claire, an Anglo-Indian, also was born and raised in Canada. Although her family keeps a close Anglo-Indian social circle, she has never been to India to see the land where her parents grew up and migrated to Canada from. She told me, "In my opinion, [...] it [i.e.: her Anglo-Indian identity] comes from my parents. Not necessarily that I've experienced the 'being Indian' side of it, but from having their influence" (f23AI, Group Interview #5). Like Freddy, she attributes much of her culture to the traditions, foods and values that were passed down to her from her parents. The pervasive cultural influence of her parents has, in many ways, grounded her Anglo-Indian-ness but, regardless, she continues to identify as Canadian: "I think from my perspective, I probably grew up more associating as Canadian instead of Anglo-Indian just because of our lifestyle" (f23AI, Group Interview #5). Linking various aspects of their Western lifestyle, such as their Christian beliefs, their style of dress, their English-language mother-tongue and their very subtle British accent, to her Canadian upbringing, Claire believes she has bridged the gap between her ethnic ancestry and her Canadian existence.

I also found that the strength of the religiosity of such Goan- and Anglo-Indian Canadians depended on their age and respective stage in life. While many of these individuals openly refer to themselves as "practicing Catholics," they acknowledge that generational differences exist in terms of what exactly constitutes "practicing." Freddy, who has besides leaving home for university purposes has spent his entire life in the Greater Toronto-area, told me: "...my grandmother still calls me, and every time I'm going somewhere she says [Freddy uses a fake Indian accent to quote his grandmother], 'Okay, say a Hail Mary when you get in the car and say

a Hail Mary when you get to where you're going.' And, I'm like, 'Okay, awesome' [sarcastic tone]. I think [my family] would be much more happier [sic] if I was a lot more practicing in their notion of practicing" (m29G, Group Interview #3). Freddy, like many of my other younger informants, is all too aware that his religiosity is lacking in particular areas. However, when in the company of family and friends, he attends masses and other religious celebrations to keep the peace in his family. He believes that he will become more pious with age and that God, being compassionate and understanding, will be there when he is more fully ready to commit to the Catholic faith. As I will discuss further in the next section, I suggest that perhaps it is because he is part of the religious majority in Canada that Freddy, and others whom I interviewed, can easily take his religious beliefs for granted whereas his parents, who grew up in lands where they were "competing" with other religions and had to maintain an religiously insular status to preserve their traditions, constantly had to assert and testify their religiosity. Additionally, because of the vast and wide-spread natures of both the Catholic Church and the Goan and Anglo-Indian communities, Freddy and others of his generation may worry less about the pressures of being "seen" in church than their parents may have. While an absent presence in a church-pew in Goa would have been immediately detected warranting the informing of one's parents, skipping or missing church in urban Canada can easily go unnoticed. The subsequent chapters will go into much more detail about the evolution of religiosity that has taken place within these transnational communities.

Compared to their parents and predecessors, those Anglo-Indians and Goans born in Canada exhibit strong cultural confidence. Because of the diversity of the cities in which they reside, they have never felt a pressing need to exert or fully commit themselves to one particular identity. Some days they can be Canadian, others they can be Indian, while on others they can be

Goan. What is important for the current discussion is that, unlike many of their parents who migrated to Canada from one, two, or even three other nations, those Goans and Anglo-Indians who were born and raised in Canada indeed remain very open-minded both religiously and culturally. Despite their physical distance from the land their ancestors called home, they have found new and meaningful ways to discover and live their culture. Food, music, social groups and traditions all connect these individuals together with others living in the international Goan or Anglo-Indian diaspora. Journeying to India, for some, has rekindled an interest and/or clarified where particular customs came from and why they remain culturally significant. And, living in Canada has bequeathed these individuals with an innate appreciation for those unlike themselves culturally and religiously. Befriending and interacting with Hindus, Sikhs or Muslims, though perhaps shunned by previous generations, is commonplace today. Balancing the ever-changing needs of life in an ethnic family and life as a Canadian, such younger generation Canadians have renegotiated their identities so as to better reflect their unique personalities and needs.

Twice migrants, thrice migrants, direct migrants to Canada and Anglo-Indian Canadians or Goan Canadians all continue to identify with their cultural ancestry in some way or another. Each of the individuals whom I had the opportunity to interview proudly spoke about how and why they are both Goan or Anglo-Indian and Canadian simultaneously. They fondly talked about the families, friends, and experiences that have helped them become the people they are today. Those who migrated to Canada from other nations have positively benefitted from Western exposure and skill-training, and have been able to surmount various political and economic challenges to provide themselves and their families with brighter futures. Living in a variety of social, religious and cultural contexts, many of these individuals have learned to become

culturally self-sufficient and resilient. The older generation has thus been able to set up meaningful cultural pillars that they themselves value: ethnic associations, religious organizations and functions; while those of younger generations may not understand the meaning of such institutions to older generations because they themselves have never felt culturally or religiously threatened.

During the course of my interviews, I came to realize that the length of time one has spent in India does not affect one's level of Goan- or Anglo-Indian-ness. Also, one's name, family or village is no longer as important in the broader cultural diaspora, as it was or continues to be within small Indian neighbourhoods. What make these individuals identify as Goan or Anglo-Indian are their cultural praxes, their behaviours, their religious traditions and the communal experiences that they have personally contributed to. It does not matter where one fits on the scales of cultural conservatism or Catholic orthodoxy. What really matters is that these individuals fit on the scale somewhere and that in Canada they have the freedom to dynamically oscillate between their own personal points of reference and priorities that may or may not be like those of their parents and grandparents. Not one of my participants asserted to me that *so-and-so* is *not really* Goan or Anglo-Indian, despite the fact that no two individuals had perfectly similar life experiences. Being in Canada, having that ethnic exposure, and identifying as Goan or Anglo-Indian is what really matters to these individuals.

The migration patterns of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I spoke with are not unique to these specific South Asian communities. Rather, I believe that most, if not all, other Indian communities have similar migration patterns that fit within the *twice migrant*, *thrice migrant*, *direct migrant* and *Canadian-born* framework. Although other South Asian groups have indeed journeyed beyond India's borders reaching Pakistan, East Africa, Europe and North

America, their key-driving motivations (or “push-pull” factors) for travel remain fundamentally different from the families of those I interviewed. Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics, as illustrated, left India partially due to the fact that they felt they were unable to fully relate to the traditional socioreligious and cultural values of non-Christian independent India. Additionally, because they were also uncertain as to whether or not they would retain their privileged social status in post-colonial India, these individuals sought job opportunities abroad.

In comparison, other South Asian communities typically primarily emigrated from India for economic or work-related reasons. Traveling around the globe, similar to their Goan and Anglo-Indian counterparts, such South Asians eventually came to consider Western society a better option for them economically and a safer, more promising atmosphere to raise their children in. Kesavapany and Ramasamy illustrate the large-scale roles Indian migrant labour had in the development of East Asia’s commodity and industrial sectors during those time periods. Paralleling the nineteenth East Asian Indian labour diaspora with the modern-day work migration market in the Persian Gulf, Kesavapany and Ramasamy suggest that both groups of labourers, despite international resettlement, view(ed) their work-term as a transient source of acquiring capital and intend to return to India after a period of time (2008:21). Gurharpal Singh discusses this “collective imagining of India” which consists of emotions, traditions, attachments and connections that sustain a psychological appeal and drive for emigrants to return to the motherland (Parekh, Singh and Vertovec 2003:4). It is this collective imagining of India that Singh believes defines and distinguishes the Indian diaspora while fuelling a fierce Indian transnationalism (Parekh et al. 2003:4). I suggest that Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics, as evidenced through the beliefs of my participants, do not share such vehement attachments to India as an ancestral homeland, as their colonial histories and Westernized identities have

drastically altered, if not severed, any emotions, links and attachments India as a nation. These notions of ancestral belonging and Indian nationalism will be further discussed in the lifeworld section of this project.

Goan and Anglo-Indian presence and identity in contemporary Canada

Although many of my participants came to Canada during various time periods and in different contexts, a great majority of the migrants I interviewed arrived in Canada during or after the 1970s. Waggle, in Paul Magosci's *Encyclopaedia of Canada's peoples*, estimates that over 90% of the Goan community arrived in Canada in the 70s, with the majority arriving from East Africa and Pakistan (Magosci 1999:613). While some of them settled across the nation, wherever they were able to find quick and reliable employment, many of them journeyed directly to southern Ontario where either they had family or friends whom they could rely on for settlement support or where they believed they had the best chances to succeed. As this project specifically focuses on Goans and Anglo-Indians within the Greater Toronto Area of Ontario, the remainder of this section briefly discusses where members of these communities typically reside, as well as some facts and statistics about their community life in the Greater-Toronto area.

In 1999, Waggle extrapolated that there were approximately 13 000 Goans living in Ontario and 10 000 more living in the rest of Canada (Magosci 1999:613). Calculating his estimate based on the membership in the Toronto-based Goan Overseas Association (GOA), the Goan associations in Hamilton, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver and Calgary, as well as the Montreal-based Canorient Christian Association (CCA), Waggle valiantly attempts to make do with the best available tools. However, it is important to note that not all Goans are part of such ethnic organizations. In fact, well over half of my Goan respondents were not registered

with a Goan Association, although many of them had attended some events out of curiosity. Such associations, because they have membership fees as well as agendas which do not represent the beliefs or needs of all Goans, remain controversial topics for many of the Goans whom I interviewed. While the 13 000 Goans Waggle accounted for may indeed continue to be affiliated with such organizations, many more Goans are not.

Blair Williams, in his book on Anglo-Indians in India, North America and the United Kingdom, estimates that there were between 5 000 and 6 000 Anglo-Indians living in Canada in 2000 (Williams 2002:165). With about 3 000 Anglo-Indians living in the Toronto area and 1 000 living in Montreal, Williams found the other 800 to be in Vancouver and the final 200 in the rest of Canada (Williams 2002:186-187). Extrapolating his estimates based on the attendance of the 1992 Anglo-Indian Reunion that was held in Toronto, Williams acknowledges that there could be up to a 20% margin of error with his numbers (Williams 2002:187). Similar to Goan population estimates, using social function attendance or association membership numbers to determine how many members of a particular community exist in one region is not always a reliable and effective tool. As not all members of the community attend culturally-specific events or register with particular associations, many Anglo-Indians, like Goans, remain excluded from such head-counts. Additionally, sometimes ethnic organizations may bolster or supplement numbers so as to appear to be more influential and/or established than they are in reality (Haddad and Smith 2002:146). Because many such groups, but not all, are privately run and operated (as opposed to publically funded charities or governmental organizations), no consistent and reliable mechanisms are in place to ensure record precision when it comes to number counting. Difficulties in establishing accurate numbers for both Goans and Anglo-Indians in Ontario, and specifically within the Toronto-region, are only amplified when factoring in other factors, such

as religiosity, socioeconomic status, geographical distribution and education. Accordingly, there is no research that has been done accurately quantifying either how many Goan or Anglo-Indian Catholics live in Canada or Ontario, let alone the Toronto region.

Based on my data, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics exhibit great evidence of system integration and adaptation within Canada, and especially within the Greater-Toronto Area. All of those I interviewed are Canadian citizens, although some of them do carry dual-citizenship between Canada and other nations (such as Britain). All of my participants had already received or were in the process of receiving their post-secondary education, while a majority of the adults had attended post-graduate education of some sort, either in Canada or abroad. To my knowledge, all participants, at the time of interview, lived in houses within integrated, multicultural upper-/middle-class neighbourhoods. Most of my respondents, except for some younger participants who were still students or recent graduates, also stated or implied that they owned their homes. Many of them were heavily involved in their Catholic parishes and cultural (Goan, Anglo-Indian or Indian) associations. A great number of my participants reported being politically involved (i.e.: voting, canvassing and/or writing petitions), although none spoke of candidacy or holding office. None of my participants reported being involved in or employed by the Canadian armed forces, although John (m61G, Group Interview #6) had been a member of the British army while he was living in the United Kingdom. Even though many of those I spoke with had Goan or Anglo-Indian social circles, no participants limited their friendships based on in-group ethnic belonging. And, many of them, especially the younger participants, reported dating members of other ethnic and even religious communities.

Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics are also involved in the Canadian arts and entertainment scene and many of them, as will be discussed later, are easily identifiable by their

surname in combination with their physical features. Perhaps the most popular Canadian Anglo-Indian is comedian Russell Peters who has been nominated for various Gemini awards, has toured internationally and has hosted the internationally televised Juno awards show. Heavily recognized by both Goans and Anglo-Indians alike, Peters' proudly displays his Anglo-Indian heritage. He writes on his webpage:

My family and I are Anglo-Indian. Anglo-Indians are a community of Indians, from India who were mixed with the British when they occupied India. Both of my parents are Anglo-Indian and both of their parents were Anglo-Indians and so on. Anglo-Indians traditionally always married Anglo-Indians. Anglo-Indians are Christian (I'm Catholic, as is my mom and my brother, my dad was Anglican), which also goes back generations. The first language for Anglo-Indians is English and our communities [can] primarily be found in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. [...] I'm always amazed as to how many Indians, especially the younger ones, don't have a clue about our history. Go ahead and GOOGLE 'Anglo-Indian' and check yourself! (<http://www.russellpeters.com/FAQ.aspx>)

Using his fame to encourage his fans to take time to learn and appreciate Anglo-Indian culture, Peters' acknowledges the multicultural nature of both his fan-base and Canadian consumer society. Goans, while they have no equivalent of Russell Peters, also have a strong media presence, including television reporters (Francis D'Souza, Merella Fernandez and Dewlyn D'Mellow, for example) that connect with other Canadians on a daily basis.

Goans and Anglo-Indians also contribute to Canada's literary scene extensively. Charlene, for example, informed me that she had worked as an Editor for an unnamed Anglo-Indian magazine and she also writes and distributes online articles regarding Canada's Catholic Anglo-Indian community. There are also countless Goan and Anglo-Indian authors who have published books in Ontario, including Ladis Da Silva, Peter Francis, J. P. Lobo and Professor Peter Nazareth. An interesting resource I managed to locate for my research is a book entitled, *Goa masala: an anthology of stories by Canadian Goans*. Published in Toronto, with over thirty contributors, this book very clearly illustrates the syncretic adaptation and systemic integration

of Goans in Canada, as it highlights their transnational nature and pride as well as the importance of their Canadian heritage in shaping their individual identities and communal experiences.

Because of their common experiences with colonialism, as well as their vast transnational migration patterns, both the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities have learned how to successfully balance their syncretistic Western and Indian roots and histories. Uprooted from various homelands, for a variety of reasons, members of these communities who live in Canada today have learned how to quickly and effectively capitalize on their flexible social skills and practical knowledge in order to provide themselves with a sense of security and accomplishment in settings where they may be minorities. Their experiences in the Indian sub-continent, Africa, Europe and, now, in Canada mesh together giving these individuals the capacity to flourish in even the least advantageous of situations whilst simultaneously bolstering their communal integrity. Religiously, both Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics have demonstrated their capacity to flush out key meaningful aspects of their faith which serve as indispensable and multi-dimensional lenses for their perceptual and contextual fields of existence wherever they live and amidst the presence of other religious communities. As a primary, shared reference point for these communities, the religiosity (i.e.: the religious aspects of their lifeworld) embedded in their colonial histories continues to be the very backdrop on which all of their life experiences render significant and lucid.

PART III: THE LIFEWORLD OF CANADA'S GOAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITIES

"So, we have a very open kind of family life, values...Back in India, we always, kind of always, looked towards what the west was...adapted food, clothing, wanted what they had, and had, you know, a great social life in regards to the others who, kind of, lived a very secluded path...I wouldn't say secluded...but a strict kind of life especially in regard to growing kids and stuff. So maybe that all is...has made it very easy for us, once we've migrated, to just fit in within any group of anyone in Canada." (Lorna, f40AI, Group Interview #2)

"...when I'm explaining to somebody who doesn't know who an Anglo-Indian is...when I talk about the conservative Western Culture, I talk about the fact that we speak English, we wear Western clothes...the habits are very Western. In the Indian culture they have arranged marriages, whereas we don't. We date and we choose our own partners. Most of us...well, actually, all of us are Christians of some denomination. So, I think that's why the, sort of, the skewing towards the European part of their culture rather than the Indian. So, it's a differentiation." (Annabel, f61AI, Group Interview #5)

"...I see [Goans] in business, I see them in commerce, I see them in religious aspects of life, I see them...it's not a specific sector of society that they're only engaged in. It's across the board. Including residency patterns – there's no concentration per se. It's across the board." (Savio, m51G, Group Interview #2)

The Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics whom I interviewed during the course of this project all, in one way or another, expressed the belief that they and members of their community typically "fit" well within Canada. Statements such as those above were often disclosed within a wide-variety of discussions pertaining to education, employment, financial stability, culture, clothing and entertainment and, of course, religiosity. Each with a clear idea of what it means to live in Canada, my research participants clearly felt that they, both as individuals and a community, exhibit particular behavioural elements and social values that indeed demonstrate

and warrant their full-fledged and active membership within Canadian society. While those who were born abroad draw upon their international experiences so as to illustrate how and why they are able to positively assimilate today, those born here point to the pervasive and ongoing influences that their family and community continue to have within their lives as prescribers of religious and cultural knowledge and know-how. Generations after the cessation of Portuguese colonialism and decades after British Indian imperialism's departure, members of the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic communities suggest that Western influence has fundamentally hybridized core elements of their being thus instilling in them the capacity to resiliently adapt to life in Canada. Using personal examples to highlight their own views, these individuals deeply adhere to the notion that they, as visible minorities who believe in and follow the Canadian "norm," are desirable and ideal citizens within Canada's cosmopolitan mosaic.

In the previous chapter, I provided encapsulated histories of both the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities. Exploring their origins and discussing their some of their vast transnational migration patterns and experiences, as well as the effects of such global movement, I presented readers with a basic view of what life was like for those within these communities. Focusing on how various pre-colonial (i.e.: ancient Indian or Hindu), colonial (i.e.: British or Portuguese) and post-colonial lifeworlds (i.e.: in India or migration destinations) shaped their communal and individual development, I attempted to illustrate the "giving" and "taking" that was oftentimes obligatory in order to ensure mutual harmony and respect between Goans and Anglo-Indians and their greater communities. Looking at religion, culture and social location within such contexts, it became clear that in order to guarantee or at least ascertain their viable futures Goans and Anglo-Indians had to remain both flexible and adaptive in many of their beliefs, rites and social values. Despite their relatively small population, in comparison to the

non-Christian majority which more-or-less dictated the evolution of various non-Western (i.e.: Indian or Kenyan, for example) systems generally speaking, these communities have learned how to best utilize and draw upon their exposure to Western society and their subsequent given lifeworlds so as to foster prosperity in a broad scenario of situations whilst concurrently affirming their inherent group dignity.

In this section, using primary data obtained through one-on-one and group interviews with nineteen females and twenty-one males of Goan, Anglo-Indian or mixed ancestry, I focus my attention and analysis on the lifeworlds that members of these communities share. 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 ethnic and religious communities may find both difficult and arduous.

Looking at a variety of determinants, I suggest that, contrary to Jürgen Habermas' respective belief that the lifeworld remains fundamentally disentangled from the system due to the latter's alienating nature of the former, Goans and Anglo-Indians uphold and employ a lifeworld that provides meaningful symbols for them to interpret their actions in the broader Canadian system. The subjective prioritization of Catholicism within their lives permits them to manoeuvre reality using a faith-based driving-force. Thus because of their inherently

religious nature, such lifeworlds more comprehensively provided these communities with symbols that allow them to understand and manipulate reality. Accordingly, the micro-level components comprising the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians are both consistent and agreeable with the macro-level systems of relations that constitute Canada's institutional structures.

This is not to say that Habermas' antagonistic understanding of the relationship between lifeworld and system are not entirely relevant to either this study or in the analysis of such religious or ethnic communities. Rather, it is the knowledge of the existence of such antagonisms that exist between Canada's macro-level and micro-level constituents that has given rise to the relative success that members of these communities experience. The discernments, expertise and skills bequeathed to these individuals through their colonial exposure to Western society have allowed them to accelerate within such a Canadian context. Many of these individuals believe that had they continued to live within India or Africa, for example, they would not have fared so well in that their own lifeworlds would have been alienated by the dominating societal systems. It is this implicit belief that, in most cases, led them to Canada and it is knowledge of this actuality that has permitted their success herein. Habermas' ideas thus remain exceptionally helpful in elucidating why, in some circumstances, many members of these communities believed it necessary to renegotiate or adapt particular practices, beliefs or rites in order to "fit" better within the Canadian system.

Accordingly, this segment of this study comprehensively addresses the following questions: (a) How do contemporary Goans and Anglo-Indian in Canada view and define themselves; (b) How fundamentally pervasive is/has religion been in maintaining their ongoing self and communal images; (c) How does religion continue to shape the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indian

Catholics; and (d) How do Goans and Anglo-Indians identify and create a space for themselves as Canadians? The first section entitled “Institutional rootings: being Catholic in public contexts,” discusses the religious foundations of the lifeworlds of these communities and how many of the beliefs, rites and rituals that constitute them are in accordance with the values of the macro-system. Looking at how religion reveals itself through the ways the Goan and Anglo-Indian lifeworlds interact with the certain elements of the Canadian institutional system, I illustrate some key components that, according to participants, allow their fuller systemic integration.

The second section, entitled “Brown baby Jesus: reclaiming Indian Catholicism,” builds upon the ideas presented in the first section. It acknowledges and discusses how the development of family values and how particular modifications that occurred with Canadian settlement, some inevitable and some self-induced, have in many ways altered the domestic dynamics of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics. Acknowledging the vast influence religiosity has within the construction and maintenance of dominant household and social values, this section fundamentally situates the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic value system within their religious lifeworlds. I talk about how both communities have adapted certain Hindu beliefs by replacing the meanings behind ancient practices with those of Catholicism thus reconciling their ancestral, colonial and contemporary histories. By doing so, Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics participate in systemically acceptable religious traditions within Canada while simultaneously honouring the roles their Hindu roots continue to have within their daily lives. I also herein survey how particular values have changed and/or evolved intergenerationally.

The third part of the lifeworld section entitled “*Goaphiles, Gollywogs and Canadesiacs*: juggling a hybridized ethnic identity,” discusses how Goans and Anglo-Indian Catholics ethnically identify, as well as how such identities have developed. Looking specifically at how social

location, context and history have affected the construction of how such individuals view themselves and others, I talk about how and why key defining features of their selfhoods inherently unite them with the greater Canadian system. Also, where relevant, I touch upon issues pertaining to pan-Indian relations and interreligious dialogue and acceptance.

The final section, entitled “Light eyes and *wheatish* skin: on the pervasive role of race,” investigates the surprising role that skin colour and colourism have within these communities. Looking at unique conceptions of colour and notions of desirability in relation to cultural and religious bias as well as in-group/outgroup belonging, I recognize in this instance the impossibility of discussing ethnicity without touching upon race. My recorded data contains countless allusions and references to the key roles that colour, race and belonging play in the everyday lives and lifeworlds of my participants. Accordingly, I examine the functions racial conceptions have within these communities, and how such constructs both positively and negatively impact members of these groups. This section both contrasts against and compliments ideas presented pertaining to the Goan and Anglo-Indian lifeworlds and their general affinity with the greater Canadian system.

In each of the sections outlined above, I use participant anecdotes as well as my own personal experience as a Goan Catholic to illustrate how the religious-centred nature of Goan and Anglo-Indian lifeworlds has provided these communities with the means to comprehend and manoeuvre through Canadian reality. The distinctive colonial histories of these people have endowed them with the lifeworld experience that is necessitated to command the institutional components of Canada’s macro-system. This section thus has a very different tone than the previous one which explored the historical roots and migrational experiences of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics. Because it relies less on historical fact and more so on anecdotes, views and practices, this segment has an exploratory yet critical ethnographic quality to it which

accepts the opinions that were presented to me at face value, supplementing them, wherever possible, with fact.

This section investigates both the Goan and Anglo-Indian lifeworlds simultaneously because of the given similarities these groups have in terms of their experiences and values. Many participants, perhaps because of their knowledge that I would be exploring both communities, constantly referred to Anglo-Indians and Goans in their comments and responses thus recognizing their mutual semblance. Acknowledging their relatively similar religious beliefs, customs, social values and experiences, numerous participants frequently talked both about Goans and Anglo-Indians regardless of the fact that, most typically, questions were only posed about their own cultural group. While the histories of these community groups remain rather unique due to their respective experiences with British and Portuguese colonialism, my data illustrates that their lifeworlds are remarkably similar to one another. Of course, if and where key differences become evident in how the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians have been developed, influenced or maintained, I discuss the origins of such differences as well as the implications such distinctions may have in their daily lives as well as in the ongoing preservation of both their ethnic and religious identities.

In order to enrich and deepen my analysis, wherever possible, I provide grounds for comparison by discussing relevant experiences, rites, values or other empirically researched phenomena within other cultural and religious migrant groups. As much of this section is devoted to the empirical analysis of my primary data as obtained through one-on-one and group interviews, this section offers a sound basis for cross-cultural and interreligious comparison. By exploring other Indian community groups I not only emphasize both how and why Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in many ways challenge prevailing conceptions of what it means to be

Indian but I also underscore the monumental role European colonialism has had on determining the current social location and integration of these cultural groups in Canada today. Exploration of other communities, each with their own respective histories, through such a comparative lens also permits a clearer understanding of the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians and why exactly they remain more congruent with the Canadian system than many other migrant communities.

It is important to note that while I am arguing the distinctiveness of both the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities in comparison to other Indian migrant communities who have not had similar colonial experiences, religious affiliations and migratory paths, I am not necessarily asserting that such characteristics distinguish these communities from other Catholic communities in Canada. In fact, it may even be argued that Goan and Anglo-Indians share more similarities with Canada's Portuguese or Polish Catholic communities than with Hindu, Jain or Sikh Indians. Perhaps this is true but, due to space and time constraints, that discussion cannot transpire within the breadth of this study. The point I do wish to underscore, however, is that Anglo-Indians and Goans who live in Canada are able to successfully draw upon both their European and Indian cultural values and traditions and meaningfully make sense of them within a Catholic-centred context which, to them, is fully relevant and acceptable. These dual and often overlapping domains of belonging have subsequently permitted a relatively seamless adaptation process for members of these communities. The simultaneous juggling and reconciliation of fundamental elements of their faith and ethnic traditions emphasize their distinction within Catholicism's tapestry through the religious incorporation of key Indian cultural elements within systemically acceptable and lifeworld meaningful contexts.

A. Institutional rootings: being Catholic in public contexts

Irrespective of where they live, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, pride themselves on their religiosity and subsequent membership within the global Catholic faith community. As it was one of my recruitment criteria, all of the Goans and Anglo-Indians with whom I spoke identified themselves as Roman Catholic, although their levels of orthodoxy and practice ranged from quite strict and conservative to relatively lax and liberal. Despite such variations in their levels of zeal and steadfastness, all participants placed themselves within the greater sphere of Catholicism, claiming their belief-system to be one of the most important, if not central, force in their lives influencing not only their inward thoughts and attitudes but also often underlying and/or motivating their outward behaviour and decisions within public settings and contexts. When asked various questions about whether or not they believed their form of religiously “fits” within Canada’s diverse tapestry, most participants quickly responded that Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics had very few, if any, religious obstacles to face within Canada. Because they consider Canada to be Christian-based and -centred, such individuals told me that rarely, if ever, did they encounter religious difficulties in their attempts to maintain the spiritual practices or traditions particular to their community. In fact, their contextualized versions of Catholicism permit and cultivate their success within Canadian society. As all of my participants were born into families that practiced Catholicism (i.e.: none of them converted into the faith at a later stage into their lives), they all had life-long experiences upon which they could reflect and subsequently discuss for the purposes of this project.

This section primarily explores the ongoing and pervasive role that religion has within the lives of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadians. Building upon the historical context earlier provided in this study, I herein survey various practices and faith-related traditions that

members of these communities consider fundamental in their religious lives. Looking at generational differences, as well as age-related distinctions, I locate religion as a primary shaping influence in the ongoing construction and maintenance of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic lifeworlds. I posit that many of the common understandings and assumptions such individuals have about who they are and what they believe in are primarily based upon particular religious values propagated by, within this specific context, the Catholic faith. This is not to say that those with different religious backgrounds or even those who do not identify with any religious tradition cannot or do not share similar values; rather, I simply suggest that the many morals and standards such Anglo-Indians and Goans have are latently or obviously reflective of codes proliferated and disseminated by the global Catholic Church. Passed on through generations, this common sense of who Goan Catholics and Anglo-Indian Catholics are is both realized and constantly reaffirmed through religious practices that locate themselves as active agents within their faith tradition.

Looking specifically at churches and schools, I demonstrate below that Goans and Anglo-Indians have always felt relatively free and able to situate themselves and settle within virtually any English-speaking Canadian community. Accordingly, members of both groups have neither had the desire nor the need to create their own institutions so as to give them a better sense of rootedness and belonging. Unlike many other migrant communities, Anglo-Indians and Goans have developed non-enclaving tendencies and claim to be comfortable living a broad range of social and even political environments. Whilst determining what factors constitute the religious lifeworlds of these communities, this section discusses how and why Goan and Anglo-Indian contextual and perceptual fields of existence are in accordance with the Canadian macro-system. Where Jürgen Habermas would see antagonism and thus a disconnect between such lifeworlds

and Canada's greater macro-system, I suggest that in fact therein lie congruities and parallels due to similarities in goals, values and motives which, at a deep-seated level, reflect similar Western origins.

i. There's no place like church

Perhaps the most important and visible lifeworld elements of Anglo-Indian and Goan religiosity are those pertaining to and taking place within the physical church building. The Catholics I interviewed, though varying in their rates of attendance, all expressed to me the importance of going to mass. Instilled in them from a very young age, attendance at mass for Goan and Anglo-Indians has always been a fundamental way of being Catholic. Their religious tradition of going to church on a weekly basis dates back to the origins and introduction of Catholicism to both communities by prevailing colonial (i.e.: British or Portuguese) influence³⁸. As aforementioned, in Goa the relationship between the political state and the Catholic Church was transparently manifest in that the state aggressively espoused mission and conversion efforts (Robinson 2003:43). During the colonial years, the Portuguese had set up various churches and chapels within their territories and quite often legislated the compulsory attendance of mass for new converts (Fahlbusch and Bromiley 2003:172). Although many Goan Catholics were indeed obliged to be there, most happily attended as frequently as their lifestyles permitted so as to highlight their believed distinction and social superiority over those who continued to adhere to Hindu beliefs. In a similar fashion, Anglo-Indian Catholics who attended mass were able to immerse themselves in a community which shared similar religious values and European ethics

³⁸ Although Britain primarily introduced Protestantism to colonial India and its subjects, many soldiers and administrators, as well as school groups, religious organizations and hospitals were Roman Catholic. As British colonialism lacked the religious mandate that Portuguese colonialism had, the Catholic Church was allowed to grow in size and influence in British India. For more information on the roots of Catholicism within the Anglo-Indian community, refer to part two of this study.

thus placing them, albeit momentarily, within a majority setting perhaps unlike the world outside the church doors where most people adhered to other religious traditions. Within the Indian and African contexts (Kenyan and Ugandan, specifically, as those were the nations wherein most of my migrant participants were raised), members of these communities continued to place great emphasis on the attendance of mass as it reaffirmed their place within the colonial worlds and served to visually testify their beliefs. Because of the vast amounts of time spent within such church buildings and amidst fellow parishioners, these individuals developed close intra-church relationships with members of both their ethnic and spiritual communities (Gist and Wright 1973:111; Larsen 1998:142). As many of its members are involved in dense and close-knitted social networks (Hu-DeHart 2006:255), the church offers its members a “space of sociability” where members can interact with one another more fully (Ammerman 1997:352).

One of the first things that Anglo-Indian and Goans Catholics migrants told me they did upon arrival into Canada was to locate a church to attend. Elizabeth, for example, stated that not only did she find a church to register with but also that she and her husband chose to live nearby to it so as to ensure they would easily be able to attend it regularly. She told me, “One of the things my parents ingrained in me and...to this day, I also practice, is that whenever I bought a house, or whenever we moved, it had to be in the vicinity of a [Catholic] church, so that we could get to a church. Yes, religion plays a big big part [in my life]” (f56G, Interview #12). Elizabeth continued to tell me how easy it was to find a good Catholic church in Canada, because of their [i.e.: the churches] relative similarity to one another in terms of prayers, mass structure and liturgical celebrations.

For other South Asian religious communities, however, finding an appropriate place to worship may prove to be more arduous. According to Kamala Elizabeth Nayar, many Canadian

Sikhs are very discerning when choosing which *gurdwara* to affiliate themselves with because of both caste and clan loyalties, as well as differences in ideological and theological beliefs (2004:176). Such concerns can clearly affect if and how quickly Sikhs may begin their settlement process upon entering into Canada. A Sikh *gurdwaras'* location will sway where practicing Sikh migrants will settle, whereas Roman Catholic migrants generally do not need to worry about if and where they can attend mass on Sunday. Because of the relative scarcity of *gurdwaras* in comparison to the vast amount of Roman Catholic churches, Canadian Sikhs who wish to attend religious services regularly tend to live in clustered communities centred around particular institutions in larger metropolitan cities. Interestingly, with the South Asian Jain Canadian community, Paul Magosci notes that, although they have very few Jain temples which fully cater to their religious needs, its members have been able to find meaning and fully participate religiously within Gujarati Hindu temples (1999:636). In these instances, the religious affiliations of such Jains have not been a barrier to their resettlement and social participation.

In contrast, 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. And, as they are relatively comfortable worshipping in a variety of Catholic communities, ranging from very conservative to liberal and within diverse congregations due to the structured elements of the Catholic mass (including a gospel reading, the Our Father prayer and the Eucharist), these groups have more freedom in terms of opportunities and locations for institutional religious practice. However, should particular individuals insist on joining a more liberal, conservative or social justice-

oriented parish, the establishment and organization of Roman Catholicism within Canada allows them to relatively easily locate a church more suited to their worship requirements.

Charlene, an Anglo-Indian, expressed to me the importance of going to church and being part of a Catholic community. Coming to Canada as a young child from East Africa, she had gained great comfort from the fact that Canadian Catholic mass is relatively predictable and is celebrated in a similar fashion to that of the community where she was born:

[T]he Catholic Church all over the world is the same. To me, to go to church on a feast-day, or to go to church on...at...you know, to go to mass on Sunday...It was the only stayed thing in your life, when you first immigrated. Because everything was the same: the prayers were the same, the priests were the same, you still knelt down and stood up and said "God be with you." All of those were the same. So, that to me was important... in my adjustment to life here, that I had my faith. And, I always turned to my faith in times of trouble and in times of joy. Because, I thank the Lord for all of the joy I have, and if I'm in trouble, I turn to him for strength. (Charlene, f60AI, Interview #9)

To Charlene, her faith provided her with the constancy and strength that she had needed to cope with the vast changes endemic in international migration. Although she may have been unfamiliar with various elements of Canadian society due to her colonial upbringing in Kenya, every time she stepped into a church Charlene knew she was not only amidst others who welcomed her and her family on the basis of shared-beliefs but also that she could immediately fit in because of her proficiency in and knowledge of the rituals entailed within the mass. Despite some minor changes in the mass-flow that she would have noticed, such as the hymns sung or the intercessions recited, the majority of the rituals would have essentially been identical to those Charlene had become accustomed to growing up abroad.

Beyond this however, the global Catholic Church has, for many years, made it part of their mandate to accommodate Catholic migrants within their communities (Garcés and Martin 2008:48). *Gaudium et spes* (Latin meaning *Joy and hope*), the *Pastoral constitution on the*

Church in the modern world, recognizes various social forces that cause people to migrate and encourages international groups and the larger Church to assist such migrants and their families (Hornsby-Smith 2006:137). Additionally, the virtue of solidarity, which especially has been championed by Pope John Paul II (John Paul II 1992:24-25; *Undocumented migrants* 1996:1-6), has helped encourage Roman Catholic dioceses to be welcoming and accepting of migrants within their local church communities. The playing out of such directives, in combination with the tendency of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics to be more liberal and less rigid in their own styles of worship (based on my primary data), have allowed my participants and their families to seamlessly continue their religious practice upon migration into Canada.

Elizabeth McAlister, in *Gatherings and diaspora*, notes a similar pattern with the Haitian Catholic immigrant community in New York City (Warner and Wittner 1998:123-160). As many of them lack familiarities of their Haitian homeland within the United States, the American Church has come to serve as a lens through which Haitians are able to contextualize the complex cultural landscape of the metropolitan city. As a spiritual locus for such individuals, the Church becomes a place where they can initially and immediately relocate, and even renegotiate their temporal identities within a safe and familiar context. In a similar fashion, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics who move to Canada are able to find instant solace from the uprooted and displaced aspects of their lives by seeking out a church where they can effortlessly continue the religious practices they cherished in their homeland. In locating and regularly attending a church, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics instantly fill a basic requisite in their lives and thus begin their resettlement process.

Many members of both communities whom I interviewed were strongly affiliated with the churches they continue to belong to. Because of the ease of accessibility and the often large

congregational sizes of such churches, these individuals were able to easily integrate within them, only drawing attention to themselves if they so desired. Allowing Goan and Anglo-Indian migrants to reassert the religiosity that was most often taught to them by their parents and/or grandparents abroad within a socially acceptable Canadian context, the Church serves as means that provides these individuals with the recognizable and steadfast comforts that perhaps they may lack in other areas of their lives due to transnational migration. The Church also provides them with venues and arenas for creating new and meaningful friendships both with members of their ethnic community, if present within their congregations, and also with those from diverse backgrounds. Offering individuals the opportunity to immediately become more-or-less accepted within a public and active community organization, Goans and Anglo-Indians in Canada can connect with others as much or as little as they feel necessary. Additionally, unlike in some of the smaller, more intimate Indian or African Catholic communities which my participants spoke of, where a person's absence is not only noticed but subsequently gossiped about, Canadian Catholic churches are typically larger in size and more diverse thus disallowing religious "watchdogs" and granting participants more freedom in how they choose to practice or individually tailor their faith.

One of the questions I asked my participants was whether or not they would attend a "Goan-" or "Anglo-Indian-centred" church (i.e.: an ethnic church whose members were predominantly from the cultural group which they themselves identified with). Because of the vast importance both communities placed on cultural customs and religion, I had hypothesized that participants would jump at the opportunity to be part of a stable worship community which was geared towards their own cultural traditions and religious particularities. However, out of the thirty-one Goans and Anglo-Indians who participated in group interviews and seventeen who

were given a one-on-one interview, not even one informant claimed they would go out of their way to regularly attend such a church if one existed. Although some expressed interest in going once or twice to see what the mass would be like, every single participant told me that he or she was content attending a multicultural church which was more conveniently located. Richard, a well-established medical professional claimed, “No, no no...I wouldn’t go [to a Goan church]. Why? Because I think my faith is beyond social barriers. My faith certainly is a lot wider-based, and it takes Goans, non-Goans, non-believers, everyone,” (m61G, Group Interview #6) illustrating that his idea of church very consciously entails an open-community in which everyone can feel welcome and comfortable participating within. Likewise, Bob, a business man, said “A fully-Goan church? I would not go. If it’s close-by, maybe. But I wouldn’t if it was out of my way and far. God is everywhere, so that way I won’t [...] It’s a Catholic church, so there would be no differences. Really, I think God is everywhere, and it’s the same thing, so no” (m59G, Group Interview #4). Although Bob, like most participants, later on in the interview recognized that there are indeed various liturgical practices and religious traditions that continue to make Goans unique in how they practice their faith, he adamantly asserted that there was nothing preventing him from fitting in within any diverse Catholic community because of the fundamental theological and ideological similarities most, if not all, Catholics possess.

Not all Catholic migrant communities in Canada, however, share my informants’ belief that there is no need for ethno-specific congregations. McGowan and Clarke, in association with the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, report that Poles and Italians have a long history of creating distinct parishes that also serve as cultural, religious and social loci for members of their community (1993:138-149). Researcher Nicholas De Maria Harney, in his study of Italians in Toronto, similarly discusses the historical importance of the Italian national parish in terms of

maintaining the symbols and meanings of popular migrant religion (1998:147-149). Sheba Mariam George, in her book on Kerala Christians, explores the key role that the Keralite migrant church has in the maintenance of religious and cultural traditions (2005). Reporting that Keralites travel far distances to attend their ethnic church, George discusses the “post-immigration need for community” (2005:122) for members of this community as “few venues exist where Keralite Christians can cultivate social ties” (2005:123).

Although my own research suggests there is no need for a Goan and/or Anglo-Indian Catholic ethnic church within the Greater Toronto Area, other valuable research attests that such churches offer their parishioners opportunities for interaction with those with common social values and religious beliefs (Warner 1998), as well as an environment in which new experiences can be understood and even theologized (Yang 1999). Ethnic churches also offer its members opportunities for advancement and recognition that they may be lacking otherwise (George 2005). The fact that my participants did not desire an ethno-specific worship setting demonstrates that they, as individuals, may feel quite comfortable navigating through and interacting with Catholics outside of their own communities and thus do not require the extra support that ethnic churches can culturally and socially provide.

Supporting the notion that ethnic churches do in fact provide purposes beyond the theological and/or religious, those participants who expressed interest in “checking out” (i.e.: once or twice, but not worshipping there regularly) an ethnic church told me that they actually would be doing so for strictly social reasons, as opposed to religious ones. As Jill claimed:

I think I would be more interested in making more connections with others who associated as being Anglo-Indian. But in terms of the practice of the mass, or various religious rituals/traditions, I really don't think that would be a reason to attend regularly. I probably would just attend whatever church was closest [to me]. (f29AI, Group Interview #1)

Because of the clear overlap between their religiosity and cultural regions of belonging, many participants expressed the belief that an ethnic church would transcend much of its liturgical purpose and, rather, transform into a social gathering mirroring the churches of Old Goa, Karachi or Calcutta where people's social lives fully revolved around the Church and its community. As Don told me, "...I don't think there would be any differences if you had an all-Goan church. I think it would just be more of a social gathering for the Goan population, and even the Anglo-Indian population, just to get together more than anything" (m36G, Group Interview #1). Nuno, a young man who was born and raised in Canada, despite his claim that he would not attend an all-Goan congregation, similarly recognized the worth that such a church would have for members of the community:

I think younger Goans would go to pick-up Goan girls and things like that, older people would just go there and affiliate with other Goans from back home and it's a good social networking tool, I guess, [with the] dances and events that they have there. And, I think it would be a good thing for Goan society in general...I think when people come to this country they [i.e.: policy makers, government workers] would like to put you in areas where there is predominantly people living there. And, they know that by putting people from similar cultures there...it's easier for you to fit in so you're not so homesick and at the same time you can support each other's businesses and all that, and that's how people would grow. So, I think having a church of all Goans would be good, in that sense, because, again, we can all support each other and all that. Having said that, obviously there's politics and a lot more things can go wrong. '*So-and-so* wasn't here on Sunday, and you see what *so-and-so* was wearing...' I don't know if these are good things or bad things. (m29G, Group Interview #3)

Nuno acknowledges the communal and social value of a church within migrant communities. Serving as a place where people can be with others just like themselves, an all-Goan or all-Anglo-Indian church would be able to better minister to the cultural needs of the people it serves than, for example, a Caucasian church. However, identifying some of the problems that come with small, familial religious communities, Nuno admitted that gossip, hearsay, scandal and politics would enter the picture thus potentially overshadowing or detracting from the

fundamentally religious purpose of the church. Despite his recognition of some of the benefits of such a church, Nuno later told me he remains very content attending the multicultural church that his parents go to because he likes seeing and interacting with the diverse people who fill its pews.

Nuno's concern that an ethnic church would turn a liturgical and religious setting into a social meeting place is a legitimate one, although not all groups have reportedly experienced such a social transformation. Fenggang Yang in his study on Chinese American Christians found that, unlike Korean Christians who rely heavily on their churches for social purposes and cultural rearing, Chinese Christian churches typically do not transcend their liturgical or spiritual boundaries (1999:91). Yang attributes this to the myriad cultural associations available to Chinese Americans of all ages, political views and socioeconomic statuses (1999:91-92). As there are so many cultural groups in place to remember, reaffirm, and renegotiate cultural beliefs, practices and values, Chinese churches remain free to pursue the religious tasks for which they were both designed and intended.

Like Chinese migrants, Goans and Anglo-Indians despite their relatively small population in comparison to other Asian cultural groups, such as the Koreans or Sikhs, have ethnic associations in which they can socialize and meaningfully interact with others from their communities. My participants mentioned two particular organizations: the Goan Overseas Association (GOA) and CanOrient. The GOA, despite the fact that the majority of Goans in the Greater Toronto Area are Roman Catholic, has a non-religious directive and strives as a non-profit organization to "pass on [Goan] traditions, values, history and talents to the younger generation as well as share them with [other] communities" (<http://www.goatoronto.com/vision.html>). Despite the GOA's clear efforts to be a welcoming

Goan environment for youth, adults and seniors of any religious denomination, most GOA members remain fundamentally unable to separate their predominantly Catholic faith from their Goan culture and thus serve to continually infuse religion into otherwise cultural celebrations. Events, such as the “Goan Pilgrimage Day” on 29 August 2010, are arranged with blatantly Catholic ritualistic elements, including a procession, mass, benediction and rosary. In doing so, G. O. A. organizers recognize the ceaseless importance of the Catholic faith of its members. This, of course, may be upsetting to some members of the community who strive to maintain the organization’s secular status.

CanOrient, or the CanOrient Christian Association of Metropolitan Toronto, unlike the GOA, is open to “Any immigrant or Canadian with origins in the Christian community of the Indian sub-continent, or the spouse or child of such immigrant or Canadian” (http://www.canorienttoronto.org/imenu_detail.asp?cid=7). With a blatant religious mandate, this association has successfully bridged the gap between culture and religiosity in its activities. Open to all migrants and/or Canadians with Christian Indian roots, CanOrient employs the faith of its members as a point of embarkation for both community growth and cultural development. Although many of my participants reported an involvement (past or present) in one of both of the associations, at least half of my informants were not registered with such groups and not even one of them claimed such organizations to be anything but social groups. In fact, because of alleged internal politics and differences of opinion amongst their community members, most of my respondents claimed to prefer spending their social and religious time within their multicultural and non-ethnic specific church congregations illustrating that in fact, for members of both the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic communities, associations remain fundamentally non-religious entities despite the beliefs of their members and/or religious mandates. Their churches,

irrespective of their congregational ethnic demographic, clearly remain at the forefront of their communal faith.

While my participants were speaking, I wondered whether a great contributor to their cultural open-mindedness within the congregational context was the fact that they all spoke and worshiped in English. Even those older participants who were raised in the Latin-speaking church have, over the years, learned how to religiously function comfortably within an Anglicized church. Assertions that Canadian Catholic churches are all relatively similar in their modes of worship and operation only, it seems, make sense within a uniform English-speaking context. What if Goans and Anglo-Indians were more comfortable worshipping in another language? What if English was not their mother-tongue? Although participants told me that they would be at ease within any Catholic church and accordingly saw no reason to go out of their way to attend a ethnic church which catered to members of their own community, they seemed to operate under the, perhaps correct, assumption that an English church was the institutional norm for the Catholic church within the Greater Toronto Area. In this instance, the English linguistic norm of the Catholic institutional system has deepened Goan and Anglo-Indian capacity to integrate within the most diverse of parishes but also has, in some ways, simultaneously thwarted the need or fundamental desire to have a culturally specific church thus, in many ways, aligning them more fully with the multiculturally focused mandate of the wider system.

For both Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic communities, English is not only their mother-tongue but also the language in which they worship and praise God. This key element of their lifeworlds has enabled them to situate themselves within just about any Roman Catholic parish irrespective of its location. Even Catholic Canadian churches which are ethno-specific, predominantly catering to those who either do not speak English or choose to worship in another

language typically have one or two masses a week that are conducted in English for the benefit of their younger members who may prefer to worship in English (Bramadat and Seljak 2008:185-185, Witham 2005:117-118), as well as for those who may be from outside of their ethnic community. Mississauga's St. Maximilian Kolbe Catholic parish, which caters to the city's large Polish community, for example, has eight masses per weekend, six of which are in Polish and two of which are in English (<http://www.kolbe.ca/>).

Because English is one of the accepted languages of the Canadian system (the other being French which, although potentially adding an interesting dimension to this study, is not explored herein due to the fact that my participants all reside(d) in Ontario), Catholic parishes recognize the value of offering some of its masses and services in a language that can, in theory, be understood by anyone irrespective of his or her ethnic origins so long as they can function within Canadian society. Because the conceptual language of Goan and Anglo-Indian's lifeworlds is English, members of this community have been able successfully integrate into virtually any Catholic congregation they choose.

This contrasts with some of the difficulties that other South Asian migrant communities experience when attempting to worship in new and "foreign" Canadian parishes. In instances where English is not their first language, such immigrants experience heightened feelings of rootlessness and flux if they fundamentally cannot worship in the language which they are used to. Many scholars have noted the difficulties various migrant communities have experienced due to their inability to fully participate in the churches they now attend because their own mother-tongue is neither liturgically recognized nor spoken by others in their congregations (Yang 1999; Guest 2003; Orsi 1999). Because of the recognized importance some individuals place on being able to worship in their mother-tongue, many members of immigrant communities subsequently

commute great distances or incredibly modify their religious practices so as to be part of an ethnic church (Badillo 2006; Iwamura and Spickard 2003; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Foley and Hoge 2007).

Many South Asian religious communities primarily function in a non-English language. Language, for members of these communities is not a geographic or secular matter but is rather intrinsically tied with their religiosity. Sikhs, for example, consider Punjabi the official language of the Sikh religion (Cole and Sambhi 1995:190). Whereas first and second generation migrants may have fuller knowledge and comprehension of Punjabi, younger members of the Sikh community who were born and raised in English-speaking nations³⁹, such as Canada, typically lack the linguistic skills of their ancestors because they neither have the formal schooling or the pervasive social environments wherein they can perfect such skills. Additionally, because scriptural Punjabi is quite different from the colloquial Punjabi that third generation Sikhs tend to speak (Nayar 2004:146), younger Sikhs may not be as driven to pursue their faith. A neglect of scriptural Punjabi, in these instances, “cuts Sikhs off from their spiritual heritage in the form of worship in the *sangat* and ability to understand the *Guru Granth Sahib* [scriptures], as well as converse with the family elders who are often custodians of the tradition at the popular level” (Cole and Sambhi 1995:190). It is important to note that while some third generation Sikhs have requested English within their *gurdwaras*, older more traditional Sikhs (predominantly from the first generation) tend to frown upon the idea as they view Punjabi as the “correct” language through which they animate their religious worlds (Nayar 2004:146).

As Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics primarily function and worship in English, I believe their religious worlds and the prayers that fill them maintain consistency and meaning upon

³⁹ William Owen Cole and Piara Singh Sambhi report that Sikh communities scarcely exist in nations where English is not spoken as the official language, with the exception of some East Asian and Middle Eastern nations (Cole and Sambhi 1995:189).

Canadian migration. Texts do not have to be translated so as to ensure their comprehension by younger generations, and older family members do not disapprove of English's use but rather accept and appreciate it due to its prevalent role in their general lifeworlds.

Despite its predominantly English *modus operandi*, the intrinsically multicultural flavour of Canadian Roman Catholic dioceses, especially those within the Greater Toronto Area, in the opinions of my participants, is what gives such religious communities their welcoming atmosphere. The diversity of both Canada and its Roman Catholic community has given rise to the co-existence of countless lifeworlds. The institutional Canadian Church, though it endemically accepts and promotes the acknowledgment and praxis of such cultural differences, in this instance, calls for harmony under the pretext of religious "community." The Catholic Church thus not only entails but also recognizes the differences that distinguish yet unite its members. Because Goans and Anglo-Indians have developed lifeworlds rooted in cultural and religious flexibility, as illustrated in the previous history chapter, members of these communities are today able to situate themselves within whatever congregation they see fit. As Ernest told me, "If you believe in your faith, then you know, God is everywhere. So, you wouldn't go to miles and all to just go to a Goan church. Me, personally, I wouldn't go to church just because there are Goans coming [sic] there. I believe in multiculturalism" (m41G, Group Interview #4). The system's multiculturalism⁴⁰ is what permits the fitting in of both Goans and Anglo-Indians within the parishes they worship; and it is this multicultural spirit that has been so deeply ingrained in their lifeworlds via their colonial and migration histories.

⁴⁰ Now a very "loaded" term, multiculturalism has been heralded by some while others consider it dangerous due to its fragmentation of Canadian unity (Day 2000:3-4). Three prevalent usages of multiculturalism have been noted: "to *describe* (construct) a sociological *fact* of Canadian diversity; to *prescribe* a social ideal; and to *describe and prescribe a government policy* or *act* as a response to the fact and an implementation of the ideal (Angus 1997:139; Kallen 1982:51). Scholar Richard Day notes the addition of a fourth meaning of multiculturalism being "an *already achieved ideal*" (2000:6). Typically, my informants used the term multiculturalism to refer to the sociological fact and social ideal of Canadian diversity, as predominantly experienced and expressed in urban contexts.

Being part of a Catholic Church community also has other very important implications for the lives of both the Anglo-Indian and Goans whom I interviewed. Beyond weekly mass, many of the participants were at some point or continue to be heavily involved in social activities and groups within their church community. While many male members of the older generation were affiliated with the Knights of Columbus, many women were involved in the Legion of Mary or in prayer groups. Men, women and youth were often involved in weekly tasks, such as helping with children's liturgy classes, reading at mass as lectors or volunteering in other causes. From the younger generation, most participants told me that they used to, or continue to, go to their church's youth group and many of them were altar servers when they were younger. Others whom I interviewed were involved in the choirs, councils and committees of their churches. Devlyn told me that he and his wife have been successful in integrating their faith into the lives of their children:

Yes...yes. Most of the time when you'll see us in church, you'll probably see the three of us on the altar all of the time. My two kids are servers, and I'm a Eucharistic minister, so sometimes the deacon looks at me and says, "The whole family's up here!" [laughing] But, that's part of growing. They [his children]...you know, she's in Catholic school, he's in a Catholic school, he's a server, he's a squire. So, you know, they're all busy and doing stuff in the church. (m49AI/G, Interview #8)

While younger children are often pressured or even forced by Goan and Anglo-Indian parents to be visibly active within their parish communities, for older individuals the reasons for such involvement vary from individual to individual. Richard claimed that his participation in Catholic community church groups is, "...definitely not for social reasons. It is because we are creatures of the Creator; we have a mandate to give the Creator thanks, glory, and praise" (m61G, Interview #1). He continues to feel that it is his responsibility to be an active role model within the church because it is his job, both as a Catholic and as father to his children. Eddie, on the other hand, became active in his church community because his cousins and friends were also

involved, "...my cousins were actively involved, and we became actively involved when we joined in. We became servers, we served mass and everything" (m21G, Interview #14). For Eddie, attending and being involved in his church community not only allowed him to assert his own agency and make relevant personal decisions within a culturally and socially acceptable context but also simultaneously allows him to develop social networks with those whom he may not have had such extended contact with otherwise. Eddie told me that his parents were always very supportive of his church involvement and, in fact, from a young age encouraged the ongoing maintenance of those social connections and networks developed and cultivated through his church community (m21G, Interview #14). Weekend retreats and evening meetings at the church, for example, were always permissible whereas late night parties and gatherings with his friends may have been more closely monitored.

The cultivation of social connections within a religious institutional context is something that is not unique to Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics. Many other religious communities, both large and small, encourage its members to participate in social events, especially those geared towards the youth. Some Hindu Canadians, for example, have the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) which aims to "protect and spread Hindu values through various activities" (Ayres and Oldenburg 2005:120). VHP has created summer camps and educational conferences in Canada and globally which serves not only to ensure their Hindu youth develop a religiously-acceptable sense of identity but also maintains strengthens and establishes links with the Hindu international community. Similarly, many Jewish communities also provide opportunities for their youth to participate in appropriate social events, such as summer camps, religious retreats and sporting events (Diamond 2000). Various Muslim community groups have also arranged and/or sponsored religious-focused lectures, social events and discussions aimed at transmitting

particular Muslim values to the youth (Haddad and Smith 2002:327). Such types of events are quite common in most contemporary religious communities as they not only encourage increased interest and participation from their younger members but also serve as means of socialization. The Goans and Anglo-Indians I spoke with recognized the value of such gatherings not simply in the fostering of their spirituality but also in the forging of oftentimes life-long friendships.

Some of the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed also spoke of being very financially supportive of the churches they attended. As aforementioned, social class and/or influence within the Indian colonial homeland was strongly linked with financial stability and subsequent generosity towards the church. Rewards for such monies given often entailed “priority” seating within churches, as well as plaques or signs publically recognizing the donations given. Many Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics within India gave money to their churches and their religious order affiliates because doing so not only earned them status but also made them feel they were being proactive agents in the determination of their own destinies (Borges 1994:57-61, Eddie, m21G, Interview #14). Donating money to charity was a good thing and so they would be heavenly rewarded. Surprisingly, the Anglo-Indian and Goan Canadians I spoke with even volunteered information about their own charitable donations within their church communities, perhaps reflecting the continuing belief that with giving comes status. One participant stated that he gave over half his earnings to the Church (through a variety of charities and causes); while another said she gave about one-third of her income to Church charities. Even younger participants told me that they felt they were doing a good thing whenever they put what little money they could spare in the donation basket. Additionally, some people’s claims that they wish they could give more but are unfortunately unable to due to financial and/or life constraints

clearly illustrates the internalization of their culturally rooted belief that giving to the church charity remains a necessary requisite their faith.

The lifeworlds of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics nicely fit within Canada's systemic intuitional requirements in terms of their support and advocacy of giving to charity. As mentioned, the donation of charitable monies gives such individuals recognition within the community, as well as heavenly merit. However, giving money to one's church within Canada has much more practical and financially beneficial advantages. Chiefly, Revenue Canada watches over registered charities under the *Income Tax Act* and offers donors a tax credit that reduces their income tax. Catholic churches and their affiliated causes constitute thousands of the more than 77 000 registered Canadian charities (Marutto 2003:4). Enticing individuals to give not just financial gifts but also possessions and property to such charities, the Canadian government allows individuals to claim all or part of the full amount of charitable givings, which count as tax deductions. Unlike in India, where donations are often lost within the system or casually accepted without receipt and no tax-credit incentives are offered, Goans and Anglo-Indians in Canada are herein provided with the means to continue their charitable practices whilst benefitting financially. Gaining social status and recognition may, in such cases, be overshadowed by the practical benefits of charitable tax-breaks. Interestingly, Goans and Anglo-Indians also have the option to donate money to ethno-specific charities, such as the Goan Charitable Organization or the Indian-Canada Cultural Association which, although sometimes lacking clear religious mandates (as is the case with the Goan Charitable Organization, for example), serve to secure individuals and families acknowledged status whilst concurrently helping those within their sociocultural communities through their provision of assistance to the disadvantaged or needy. In such instances, the culturally and religiously upheld act of giving

money to one's church or religious organization gains meaningful acknowledgment by the Canadian system. By offering both tax-breaks and political/public recognition (for larger gifts), Canada's macro-focused system legitimizes and implicitly propagates the traditional practice of charitable giving that is still heavily lauded within Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic society.

As illustrated, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics value the church institution and physical setting. Even those I interviewed who did not attend church regularly admitted the importance of having a religious community which one could be a part of, if so desired. As a protector and instiller of the traditional values and norms that older generations identify with, the Catholic Church continues to have a place within the lives of my participants. Recognizing the important role "church" has always had and continues to have within their overlapping realms of religious and cultural existence, such individuals asserted that, although they may not practice as frequently as they "should," they know they will likely return to practicing full-time when it better suits their lifestyle and/or schedule. Many of the older participants told me that once they had children, they chose to return to the faith and attend church weekly so as to ensure their children were taught the same fundamental values they themselves had learned at church when they were young. Younger participants, likewise, told me that once they settled down and had children in the future, they planned on becoming more active members in their Catholic parishes.

The belief, from younger Goans and Anglo-Indians, that churches will be ready and waiting for them whenever they required them illustrates the fact that the full significance of these buildings and practices that occur therein cannot be quantified in terms of traditional or cultural value. As Dom told me:

I think we've seen an evolution of faith, as well. If you look at our parents, they're very devout. And if you look at the younger generation, and they'll go as a matter of convenience or if they have to. I look at my brother and his friends, and those that have gone away to university, they won't go, and the only time they'll go is if

they've come home for the weekend and they're forced to go. And, I think to them it's not a huge degree of...there's no urgency because there's no fear that, "Oh, I'm going to lose my faith." I think that for our parents, you know, they say the rosary every night and they're continuously praying. (m36G, Group Interview #1)

Dom astutely recognizes that, unlike his parents' generation who had to constantly assert their Catholicism in India where Hinduism was the dominant faith tradition, he has never felt that his religious lifeworld was at risk or threatened by an outside, perhaps conflicting, religious or political presence. He has never had to prove his faith to others. This *laissez-faire* attitude, often illustrated in the comments of the youth I interviewed, is reflective of the broader religious institutional system in that, because of its multicultural and multi-religious rubric, Canada has attempted to guarantee all of its citizens fundamental religious freedom. This is most evident as seen through the "Fundamental Freedoms" section of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* which states: "Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms: (a) freedom of conscience and religion; (b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication; (c) freedom of peaceful assembly; and (d) freedom of association" (http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter/1.html#anchorbo-ga:l_I-gb:s_1). Particularly in sections (a), (c) and (d), the Charter recognizes that Canada is not only founded on such principles but also that, in most cases, limiting such freedoms is wrongful and illegal. Whereas in other nations where Christians and Catholics specifically may have been or still are subject to persecution and/or ill-treatment, within Canada Catholics generally do not feel threatened in how they practice their faith.

Interestingly, the issue or problematization of gender never came up when my participants spoke of their church-life. As the Church, especially in contemporary society, has been charged with religiously legitimating or sacrilizing patriarchy (Schneiders 2004), I was expecting some interviewees (namely women) to bring up some of the liturgical restrictions

and/or challenges they face. Because all of the women I interviewed were very modern in that they had received a good education, were quite able to support themselves financially (although some of them chose not work so as to volunteer , or care for their children or house) and believed that a woman can do anything a man can, I was quite shocked that none of them took the opportunity to challenge the organizational patriarchy of the Church. In fact, these women not only expressed contentment with their position in the Catholic Church but also were able to reconcile their seemingly contradictory domestic, professional and religious roles as females.

Although the Canadian system gives women the capacity and means to challenge its particular elements which may not treat them on par with their male counterparts, when dealing with religious institutions, such as the Catholic Church, many of my female informants seemed able to put their values on the proverbial “backburner.” Despite the fact that at work, school, or even at home such women adamantly advocate gender equality, it appears that for members of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic community, attaining male/female equality within the Church is neither a key nor necessary concern. Even though they told me that they encourage their daughters to be just as successful, if not more, than their sons and that they themselves were “ahead of the times” when it came to women’s rights and independence (Annabel, f61AI, Group Interview #5; Mavis, f62G, Interview #6), the women I spoke with did not seem to notice or perhaps care that the churches they attended were strewn with patriarchy.

I suggest that this is fundamentally due to the way these women’s lifeworlds have developed. Within traditional Indian society, various social ills such as child-marriage, *purdah* (social separation of males from females), female infanticide, educational and professional restrictions, dowry collection, and even *sati* created and reaffirmed fierce historical patriarchal norms that divided the rights, duties and responsibilities of men and women (Taneja 2005:17-

24). Deeply embedded in the traditions of the cultural lifeworld, gender thus became socially mobilized so as to sustain systemic/institutional normativity. Accordingly, early Anglo-Indian and Goan society reflected some of these notions of femininity simply due to their exposure to wider Indian culture. However, with the arrival of colonialism and Christianity, the patriarchy of Indian society was simply replaced with that found within both the Church and modern Europe. The gendered structure of the colonial Church, in such cases, was driven by a new European language of myths, symbols and values. Thus the restriction of women from becoming priests, for example, would not have struck Goan and Anglo-Indian converts as bizarre or unjust because, within traditional Hindu society, they would have been denied many of the religious and social rights that their male counterparts would have been granted. Consequently their lifeworlds, as the terrain of civil society upon which ethical choices and social development occur, served to promulgate and sustain notions of patriarchy and acceptability. Although they clearly rejected the social patriarchy inherent of traditional Indian culture because of their affiliations with Western society, the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians condoned and reaffirmed the tolerability of gender inequality within a purely Christian/Catholic context because of the faith's ritualistic dissimilarity from Hinduism, Sikhism and other Indian religions. As Goan and Anglo-Indian converts' lifeworlds would have oriented them towards accepting Western hegemonic norms through participation in particular actions that create certain familiarities and assumptions, I believe that the gender inequalities found within Christianity would have simply gone unnoticed, especially in comparison to the social patriarchy of traditional Indian society. The women I spoke with illustrated just this in that while many of them asserted their cultural liberalism due to the way they view women, they had simultaneously come to accept the patriarchy of the Church because, within that specific context, it is not only

expected but more-or-less rational. And, because the modern Canadian system itself sanctions (but perhaps not condones) the male/female discrepancies that are found within the Catholic Church, members of these communities are able to legitimate the views and practices that construe their lifeworlds. Meanwhile, they can easily castigate particular, more visible, gender inequalities found within traditional Indian society, such as female infanticide, sati and even arranged marriages to a degree, because the Canadian system and Western society does not approve of such practices because they stand against their key principles of individual autonomy and social equality.

The Canadian system therefore has, through its provision and acceptance of Catholic churches institutionalized the very religious-centered community that Goans and Anglo-Indians have come to so greatly treasure. The institutional face of the Church propagates a form of religious-centred rationality that indeed has instrumental ends, such as the furthering of an ordered truth that focuses on Jesus and the proliferation of Christian or Roman Catholic values. However, unlike the macro-systems Habermas critiques in his works, the Church is arguably not concerned with attaining mass control or power. Additionally, as the Church has a key “social” aspect to it, in that Catholics are concerned with faith and service (Hardon 1975:*i*), one could surmise that it lies between the contemporary social lifeworld and system. However, since Catholics are more-or-less free to participate or not participate in the Church and although the church is perhaps a facet of the greater Canadian system, it moves based on its own values and functional spiritual rationalism.

The lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians permit the cultivation and dissemination of the Church’s superstructural ends in a context that is both traditionally relevant and meaningful. Where Habermas would consider the institutional Church’s means and ends to be both

uncoupled with the lifeworlds of its followers (the former colonizing the latter), I believe that post-Vatican II ecclesial system, which among other things encouraged the increased the participation and roles of lay people as well as the use of the vernacular (i.e.: English in the case of Anglo-Indians and Goans) as opposed to Latin, has in fact made Catholicism more pertinent to and accessible for Anglo-Indians and Goans in Canada. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the inherent cultural flexibility that Goans and Anglo-Indians have so deeply ingrained within them permits their entry into diverse congregations which, oftentimes, have incredibly diverse ethnic affiliations. Many of my participants, in fact, preferred being in such cosmopolitan churches. Because the Canadian Charter protects the religious rights and freedoms of its citizens and the Canadian tax system encourages charitable giving, such communities are able to easily continue many of the congregational activities they traditionally have practiced.

Goans and Anglo-Indians have thus, in my opinion, relatively seamlessly placed themselves within Canadian Catholic parishes because of the similarities, if not congruities, that exist between their own lifeworlds and the greater system at large. Various factors pertaining to the church, such as their use of English and their societal concentration in term of accessibility, are closely related to the sustenance of the lifeworlds of these participants. Serving as a source of rootedness, social status and extracurricular activity, these churches act as much more than simple locations where individuals can communally recite their beliefs and pray. I believe that the Canadian system has enabled Goans and Anglo-Indians, among other ethnicities that will be comparatively discussed herein, to utilize the tools and symbols familiar to them in their own milieus in order to socially and religiously benefit themselves and those within their community. Looking at how their lifeworlds specifically “fit” within the greater Canadian system, the unique colonial and cultural histories of Goans and Anglo-Indians have permitted not only a context

through which their members can interpret their actions but also have equipped them with the knowledge that is necessary to steer through and fit in, in their opinion, within any Catholic Canadian community.

ii. Education and schooling

Education is imperative in the formation and sustenance of the individual lifeworld. In a very literal sense, the term *Lebenswelt* or “lifeworld,” connotes the consciousness of the self, specifically pointing towards the vivacious process of growing up. Phenomenologically speaking, lifeworld includes the human perspectives pertaining both to the self and others based on a continuous stream of consciousness which embodies all past and present beliefs and expectations. Accordingly, lifeworld entails a sort of ongoing experiential lens which grounds all human practice, akin to the gradual education process in which children newly acquire intellectual and life perspectives, adding them to those which they already possess. And, depending on the value of the education provided within a school, the lifeworlds of children can deeply change and fundamentally remain forever affected.

Thomas Lotz considers schools to be vastly different from the relatively stable forces of family life, environment and community in that while the latter are typically flexible thus offering children heightened potential for self-discovery, schools are relatively regimented and restrictive towards sanctioned and/or expected behaviour (Lotz 2001:77). Despite its regulatory nature, through attending school students learn not only how to seamlessly transition themselves from their “homeworlds” to their “schoolworlds” but also experience new forms of social relations and experiences that frame their contextual worlds of consciousness.

While Lotz considers religion to be a typically invisible force within most schools (Lotz 2001:80), he considers its role to be quite valuable in the opening up and shaping of discourses and cognitions of student experience in the lifeworld that are necessary to make sense both of themselves and the world they live in. Within educational institutions, teachers and educators are able to advance how lifeworlds are represented and interacted with. Despite their important role in moulding and solidifying lifeworld consciousness, some migrant communities living in Canada experience not only contextual unfamiliarity within schools but also a potential lifeworld belittling or diminishment. I here contend that members of the Anglo-Indian and Goan communities not only learn valuable life-skills and tools within the Canadian schools that coincide with their lifeworlds but also that such proficiencies and perceptual lenses better equip them with the capacity to successfully manoeuvre through other aspects of the Canadian system. This section explores how the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians are in fact predicated and propagated through the education system(s) that they encounter within their Canadian neighbourhoods. The framing of primary human experiences into contexts which can be understood through common religious narratives and symbols allows such students to advance their own lifeworlds whilst reaffirming and re-centring the religious beliefs culturally propagated by their families and communities.

Education, since colonial times in India, has been of utmost import to the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities. The high emphasis placed on European-styled education for both communities gave early converts and their families opportunities to not only further their English-language skills⁴¹ but also to develop a general sense of familiarity with the European

⁴¹ Bear in mind that Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics (except in the early years of Portuguese colonialism) in India typically considered English to be their vernacular (Eades 1987:88), as they spoke it at home and used it as a means of distinction from the greater non-Christian (i.e.: Hindu) population, thus reserving local Indian dialects for public places, such as the marketplace.

institutional system⁴². Within Goa during colonial times, parents proactively encouraged their children to acquire internationally (i.e.: European) marketable technical, linguistic (i.e.: English) and administrative skills through heavy investment in secondary education (Eades 1987:87-88). Also, educational institutions within India and Africa alike, as they were run by religious organizations, catechized its students with were believed to be imperative ethical values and religious codes. As discussed earlier, strict religious mandates that often revolved around the liturgical calendar not only impressed Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic parents concerned with the moral upbringing of their children but also encouraged them to continue particular religious practices within the domestic context.

Accordingly, by instilling in such children not only a Western-styled education but also recognizable “British” sounding accents (in comparison to those who customarily spoke local languages), schools were able to provide children fuller access to the lifeworlds of their larger communities. Recall that both Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics characteristically opted to align themselves with European religious and cultural society. The values, social codes and conceptual understandings comprising the inner structure of the micro-centred (albeit macro-relevant) lifeworlds, though obviously influenced by Indian traditional society, continued to be phenomenologically contextualized through a Western lens. Accordingly, within colonial

⁴² Although such was commonly the case pertaining to India and European colonialism therein, some believe that the African education system negatively suffered due to European colonialism’s influence. Boahen, for example, argues that because European powers with African concentrated on making colonies themselves pay for access to their administrative and bureaucratic services, relatively little was done to disseminate Western education (1990:242). Additionally, many African colonies (especially between the World Wars) suffered a limited quality and range of education due to the common belief that European education and social thought was “destructive of colonialism as a system of relations” (Boahen 1990:242). In 1925, British policy emphasized that “Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life” (Mazrui 1978:289). This greatly differed from earlier British policy within India which heralded English and “useful” knowledge (Hardgrave and Kochanek 2007:36). Despite vast differences between colonial education styles in Africa and India, all of my participants who either had been born or raised in a British African colony claimed that their education, often received in religiously-centred institutions supported by the Catholic Church or some of its affiliate organizations, in fact was superior to that previously available.

society, wherein fundamental institutional components (i.e.: the legal, health care, bureaucratic and financial systems) were designed and positioned so as to favour those familiar with and possessing the skills necessary to navigate it, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics were able to fare remarkably well.

However, with the end of colonial rule and national independence in India, members of these communities found themselves ill-equipped to fundamentally make sense of and thus pilot the new (i.e.: Indian) institutional system(s). Their accustomedness to categorizing their human experiences into milieus which primarily made sense through religious narratives and symbols served to handicap Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics from fully interacting with the post-colonial system. With such inabilities, they believed, would subsequently come unemployment, loss of prestige and financial stability, social castigation and thus comparatively bleak futures. Such were the factors that motivated those I interviewed to emigrate and eventually relocate in Canada where they believed their lifeworlds would be fundamentally more compatible with the dominant macro-system.

Scholar Lionel Caplan looks at how Anglo-Indians fare in their capacity to navigate through the post-colonial Indian system. He argues that in contemporary India, Anglo-Indians generally feel as though they are being victimized in schools due to unfair linguistic standards (i.e.: the Anglo-Indian inability to cope with high standards demanded in Indian languages) as well as the caste-line organization of both the education system and the job market which breeds apathy in young students within the community (2001:80). As Anglo-Indians in India are not Scheduled⁴³, they and millions of other Indians are unable to fill places reserved for those

⁴³ The term “Scheduled Caste” first appeared in 1935’s Government of India Act and later re-appeared in the Government of India Scheduled Caste Order of 1936 (Jha 1997:2). Outlining particular castes, races and tribes which were generally considered to be disadvantaged or “depressed,” these issues acknowledged the vast role untouchability historically had within India. Neither Anglo-Indian nor Goan Catholics in India are Scheduled.

deemed less advantaged than them. Although Caplan does not explicitly employ religion as an axis of critical analysis, his views confirm Habermas' belief, as well as my own, that the deep-seated differences existing between lifeworld and system can, at times, be completely alienating towards and of one another. The previous congruity of the Anglo-Indian lifeworld with colonial India, as instilled via the education system, in many ways provided them with the tools necessary to make sense of the demands of the greater system. Once it ceased to exist, many individuals who had been taught to emphasize their European-ness, were more or less thwarted from fully fitting in, in comparison to others who, because of their continued relations with and membership within the Hindu-Indian community found the post-colonial system somewhat meaningful and compatible with their lifeworlds. Within Canada, I believe both the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities have been able to rekindle the link that is relatively lost within India between their lifeworlds and the greater system.

Each province within Canada has its own education system and is thus responsible for many of its respective laws, rights, goals and administrative features. And, because of its multicultural and multi-religious rubric in combination with its relatively high number of immigrants, education has generally been regarded as a useful tool in teaching newcomers not only how to adapt to many of the massive life changes associated with transnational relocation but also with how to better assimilate into Canadian life (Bhatnagar 1981:85). Learning the language, familiarizing them with Canadian social and legal values, and acclimatizing them to the cultural and religious mosaic herein, each province adapts or modifies their own educational system so as to reflect their particular needs and objectives.

I believe Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic immigrants, and even those born and raised here, are in various ways exempt from the typical educational acculturation processes that many

migrant communities undergo within Canada. The fundamental design and focus of Ontario's educational system, and even of Canada in general, coincide with the conceptual meanings entailed within the lifeworlds of members of these communities. Rather than alienating them through use of a different language, the suppression of values deemed unacceptable by those believed to be "Canadian" and religious censorship, the Canadian⁴⁴, educational system, which in itself comprises a large aspect of the national macro-focused system permits the continuity and sustained growth of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic lifeworlds.

Primarily, knowledge and use of English as their mother-tongue has allowed members of these communities to gain immediate access the Canadian education system. Goans and Anglo-Indians both consider English their vernacular and thus have no adjustment to make when attempting to fit in within most Ontario schools. They, in my opinion, are thus not restricted in terms of their educational ambitions or potential achievements. Of those Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed, every single second or third generation individual had pursued further education beyond high school. Many of them had even continued on through graduate school and were attending or had attended professional schools, such as law school or medical school. None of the participants mentioned having any difficulties integrating into the Canadian education system in terms of linguistic capabilities, although some did mention encountering some discrimination because of their "non-Canadian," Indian or British accents.

After 1976, when Canada modified its 1967s points system thus permitting easier access for immigrants seeking new lives herein, despite their proficiencies in English, Goan and Anglo-Indians who entered into Canada were often greeted with surprise from others (i.e.: namely white

⁴⁴ For the purpose of simplicity, I will be using the terms "Canadian," Ontario" and "Greater Toronto/Toronto" pertaining to the education system more-or-less synonymously unless otherwise indicated. As all of participants, at the time of interview, lived within the Greater Toronto Area, I will generally be referring to the education system therein as reflective of greater, national systemic values and mechanisms.

people) due to their unexpected command of the English language. As Lorna stated, “I’m sure [others] get told the same thing...when we come here, “How did you learn English? How do you speak English so well?” So it’s like we’ve always spoken English...maybe with an accent...” (f40AI, Group Interview #2). Lorna told me that she was often shocked at people’s capacity to assume that she spoke another language at home or within community functions simply based on where she was born or the way she looked. Lorna’s children, because they have been raised in an environment where they speak English at home, have never had to learn how to switch between “home” and “school” languages and have accordingly never had to juggle conflicting linguistic modes of meaning and interpretation within their personal lifeworlds.

Various scholars have studied the importance of English-language comprehension in determining school success in North America. Margaret A. Gibson, for example, in her study of Sikh immigrants in an American high school found that the two most important factors influence the academic success of Punjabi⁴⁵ students are (a) their age of entry into English schools and (b) their proficiency in English (1988:90). Pertaining to Canada specifically, Abada and Tenkorang found that those black, Chinese and South Asian university-aged students who spoke neither of the official languages socially had only a 14% chance of pursuing a university degree (2009:199). Being able to socially converse in English not only gives students the confidence to pursue higher education in a language beyond their own mother-tongue but also simultaneously allows them to more successfully maneuver through the Western English-centred macro-system. Ernest, a middle-aged Goan male, echoed this in his claim:

I think that from one perspective you have the, you know, align[ment] with the Western traditions in every aspect of your life...be it an English education, which was largely a British education provided by the British. As well as, you know,

⁴⁵ While Gibson’s study predominantly discusses “Punjabis,” a category in which she includes Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims (1988:2), it is important to note that almost 90 percent the Punjabis in the community she studied are Sikhs.

your cultural habits... So, when you come west, be it to Canada or to North America, from an accent perspective, you fit in better in Canada because of your British English education and hence, you're probably understood better in Canada than you are in the U.S.. (m41G, Group Interview #4)

Recognizing the benefits of linguistic continuity in terms of acculturation and general social fitting-in, Ernest later told me that the British-style education he received abroad not only taught him how to function within the Canadian system upon his arrival herein but also equipped him with the tools necessary to help his children ensure their success in school. Additionally, unlike parents of children within other cultural communities who neither speak English at home nor received an English education growing up, Ernest can identify with and relate to the academic needs of his children today. By taking an active interest in his children's homework and studies, Ernest believes he is more fully encouraging his children to become as successful as they can be. In supporting his children's education, he accordingly is able to both reinforce his community's cultural emphasis on education as well as influence the development of his children's lifeworlds and their various streams of consciousness.

Unlike Goan and Anglo-Indian immigrant families who fare rather well within the Canadian educational system, there are countless Canadian migrant communities who unfortunately endure some struggles. Peter Stalker recognizes that while "coming from another country is not [necessarily] a disadvantage," (1994:87) many immigrant children find themselves handicapped because they do not speak the language of instruction (i.e.: English or French). Between 1981 and 1988, he notes that 55% of children between the ages of 4 and 17 who had arrived in Canada spoke neither language (Stalker 1994:87). Because of their difficulty fitting in with the conventional education system, such children are often streamed into special needs or special education classes despite evidence of actually having learning disabilities. This alone can be very frustrating for immigrant youth as they not only may come to see themselves as

subordinate or inferior to other students who are fluent in the language of instruction but also may come to the conclusion that such special education classes are only for members of minority communities or visible minority groups. Although Schaafsma and Sweetman (2001) recognize that those who arrive in Canada young, despite initial language-related struggles, eventually return to education comparable to or higher than Canadian-born rates, I believe that the delayed nature of such fitting in can indeed have detrimental implications for the development of these young students and may consequently affect their capacity to fully and efficiently acclimatize to the systemic requirements and expectations of life in Canada.

Some school boards in Canada acknowledge that adjusting to Canadian, English-speaking schools may be difficult for the younger members of particular migrant communities. The Vancouver School Board, for example, because of their relatively large Punjabi student body has made provisions to teach Punjabi on their school premises, albeit after school hours, and has even hired ethno-specific home/school workers who speak Punjabi to interact and encourage students (Ghuman 1994:35). By recognizing the importance of immersion language programs, the Vancouver School Board has allowed many of its students to become highly successful in maintaining an interest in their mother-tongue and ethnic culture, as well as in English and arithmetic (Rosenthal 2000:189).

Many South Asian migrant Canadian communities, such as the Sikhs or Hindi-Urdu, themselves also recognize that some of their young newcomers are struggling to succeed in the Canadian education system due to language requirements and have thus established independent ethno-specific schools. Such schools, when able to, offer students an environment where they can learn English amidst peers, study “Canadian” topics their own language, as well as read sacred scriptures and interact with community leaders. These schools follow provincial

curriculum guidelines thus ensuring that, theoretically, the youth who attend them remain academically on par with other students attending public or Catholic schools. Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic migrants, as their lifeworlds permit their youth to relatively seamlessly enter most Catholic and even public Canadian educational institutions, therefore have never had the need nor desire to create their own educational institutions. Additionally, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics do not settle in ethnic enclaves and tend to be geographically dispersed throughout urban regions, as evidenced by the areas of residence of my informants. I suggest that this reflects the fact that they, as communities, do not rely on ethno-specific schools to instruct their youth and therefore are not geographically bound to particular regions. This contrasts heavily with other migrant communities who settle near the schools their children attend. For example, 7% of Ontario Muslims attend and reside near Islamic schools (Zine 2008:6). Such schools are very important for Muslims because they provide students with a “culturally congruent space” (Zine 2008:14), which is free from racism and religious prejudice (Rezai-Rashti 1994).

Pertaining to religiosity, another key educational factor that has enabled Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics to achieve congruity between their lifeworlds and the greater Canadian system is the special position of Catholic schools within Ontario. In 1867, the Canadian Confederation sought to protect existing publically funded school for the Catholic minority in Ontario (as well as the Protestant minority within Quebec); and under section 29 of the Canadian Charter no provisions can detract such rights. In the mid-1980s, the Ontario government legislated that there would be equal funding between Catholic and non-denomination public educational facilities which, of course, caused those from other religious communities to feel excluded⁴⁶. With further

⁴⁶ The preferential treatment of Catholics in Ontario has, for some time, been quite a controversial issue. Eamonn Callan, in Kymlicka and Norman’s *Citizenship in diverse societies*, for example, considers the fact that Catholic schools are publically funded, whilst others are not, to be fundamentally discriminatory in nature (Callan 2000:55-56). While I recognize the validity of these claims, as well as the discriminatory nature of the Confederation’s

analysis and legal intervention, the Supreme Court found that full funding (i.e.: including grades twelve and thirteen) of Catholic schools was indeed “constitutionally required because [they] restored to Catholics rights that had been guaranteed at Confederation...” (Callan 2000:56). As the nation was founded upon the confederate recognition of special educational rights for both Protestants in Quebec and Roman Catholics in Ontario, the Supreme Court found that such educational rights could not be revoked (*Reference re Bill 30 an Act to Amend the Education Act*). I believe that these rights have equipped Catholic schools with the means to prosper on a provincial level. Special religious schools for Sikhs, Jains, Hindus and Parsis, for example, are typically privately funded within Ontario which renders them more scarce and also heavily reliant on the economic stability and generosity of its donors (be they Canadian or from abroad). Such South Asian communities have thus had to place their children in schools that are unable to promote their religiosity through faith-centred education.

Accordingly, because Catholic schools are both accessible and relatively frequent in terms of geographical distribution within Ontario, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics have been able to place their younger generations within schools that are designed, on many levels, to cultivate their faith. Unlike the public system, Catholic schools in Ontario integrate faith into their countless activities thus embodying the values that the Church teaches. Classrooms are replete with religious symbolism, and each morning begins with a Catholic or Christian prayer. Religious teachings are often incorporated into other lessons, and religious figures (such as priests, nuns, deacons and so forth) from the local church are often seen roaming the hallways, getting to know the students and staff. Most Catholic high schools, and even some elementary

protection of these groups, I do not wish to debate this issue herein. I simply wish to illustrate how the preferential treatment of Roman Catholic pupils within Ontario’s school system had indeed benefitted Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in the maintenance of lifeworlds analogousness to Canada’s greater macro-system.

schools, adhere to strict uniform policies as well. The use of uniforms, as in religious and private schools, means less emphasis on fashion thus equalizing visible socio-economic categories (Zine 2008:98-99). Core Catholic values, such as being Christ-centred, faithful, family-oriented and compassionate, are taught to students in hopes of fostering a greater sense of overall spirituality. Quite often, religious holidays are school-holidays, and those which take place during the school-week are often celebrated with a field-trip to the church or a school-wide liturgical assembly or mass.

Many Catholic schools also have codes of conduct which assert to both those within the school system, as well as those outside of it, the core values that distinguish these schools from public educational institutions. The Dufferin-Peel Catholic District School Board, serving the Dufferin-Peel region of Southern Ontario, has a *Catholic Code of Conduct* which outlines what it feels should be the primary characteristics of those affiliated with it. Key aspects of the *Code* are explicitly religious, such as: “respect [of the] Catholic Church teachings and traditions,” “strive to live a virtuous life in accordance with gospel values,” and the “use [of] verbal and non-verbal communication appropriate to a Catholic environment” (*Catholic Code of Conduct*, Dufferin-Peel Catholic District School Board Policy/Regulations). These characteristics clearly declare and re-assert the ideals that the school board’s administrators and the Catholic Church believe all Catholics, staff and students alike, should possess.

Goan and Anglo-Indian parents, because of their own religious-centred educational upbringing most often prefer to enrol their children within such Catholic schools. The religious-centred traditions, rites and values maintained therein are favoured over those promulgated by the public school system, as such parents consider a religious education key in the proper and traditional upbringing of their child(ren). And, although many of my informants informed me

that they would like to see even more emphasis placed upon religious within Catholic schools, it was generally agreed upon that any Catholic education is preferable to no Catholic education at all (Group Interview #6, Group Interview #7). I believe this is due to the fact that the interpretive values, symbols and meanings taught within a domestic context take meaningful root within Catholic schools thus allowing children to theoretically maintain continuity between the religiosity both practiced and encouraged at home and that taught within the classroom. In opting to send their children to Catholic school, Goan and Anglo-Indian parents legitimize the overlapping contextual lifeworld spheres of home and school and religion's place therein. Other South Asian communities, however, must struggle with the competing natures of their children's home and school lifeworlds, as they may not only have different lifeworld symbols and assumptions but also can fundamentally function in completely different vernaculars.

Despite their religion-centredness, Catholic schools, as they remain publically funded within Ontario, simultaneously must enforce values that reflect the greater Ontarian (or even Canadian) system. The *Catholic Code of Conduct*, for example, asserts that students and teachers must:

“respect and comply with all applicable federal, provincial and municipal laws,” “respect the dignity and rights of others,” “respect and celebrate diversity by honouring differences in people, their ideas and their opinions,” “respect and treat others fairly, regardless of, for example, race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, religion, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, marital or family status, economic status, disability or exceptionality,” and “resolve conflicts peacefully...” (*Catholic Code of Conduct* N.d)

Note that these rules and regulations not only appeal to Catholics but also to the greater Canadian community. Coinciding with various rights and freedoms as outlined in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, these characteristics embody what many believe are fundamental Canadian values which ought to be upheld by all, irrespective of one's race, ethnicity or religious

affiliation. By lumping such “secular” ideals amidst flagrantly “religious” ones, the Dufferin-Peel Catholic District School Board promotes the intermingling of its students’ and teachers’ religious lifeworlds with the greater Canadian institutional macro-system. Likely recognizing the greater social requisite and political relevancy of such values within the health care system, corporate world and general public, this school board herein attempts to impart within its community conceptual skills and interpretive lenses that will benefit them outside the educational context. By actively taking steps to ensure the simultaneous and overlapping cultivation of “Catholic” and “secular” values, the school board is in fact legitimizing them both. Other Catholic school boards, such as the Halton Catholic District School Board and the Toronto Catholic District School Board, also have similar recognized mandates which envision Catholic and universal values whilst asserting their interrelation.

The Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed had much to say about the overlap between the educational values taught in school and those encouraged by the Catholic Church. Rui, for example, claimed:

...there are universal values and that’s what [Goans] care about. It’s one of those things – no matter where you came from, you’ll still have those values from your family and your Catholic education...And, as far as religion, I think that I like the Canadian system where you don’t necessarily have to go to church but you do everything that a human being has to do – charity, doing good for other people. It’s the same values...So, that’s good. (m59G, Group Interview #4)

Rui has come to the realization that, in many situations, being a “good Canadian” means the same thing as being a “good Catholic.” Beyond this, Rui believes that the religious values learned at home and at school easily translate into larger society because he considers society’s universal values to be quite similar to those of the Catholic Church. These universal values also, in Rui’s opinion, are what truly matter to Goans.

Despite their children's enrolment in Catholic schools, many Goan and Anglo-Indian parents, as aforementioned, believe that their children are not receiving or had not received the same quality of religious education that they themselves had received when they were younger, growing up abroad. In every group interview I conducted with "parent"-participants, informants critically commented on certain elements with which they were not happy within their children's Catholic schools. Young adults, on the other hand, would comment on their parents' inability to realize that times are simply different today. Comparing the stringent standards that were imposed by the religious orders that ran the schools which they attended abroad with those enforced today by the publically funded Catholic schools in urban Ontario, Goan and Anglo-Indian parents told me that they believed it was up to the schools to help maintain the fundamental religiosity of their children that they cultivated at home. The following discussion clearly exemplifies this belief.

Moira: And, here, I think it's much harder to enforce [religion] with our children. I know with my own kids, it has been difficult to enforce. Like, rosary every night went right out of the window. (f57G)

Vincent: But, part of this is also [that]...the school was also supported by our parents. (m56G)

Richard: Schools were very religious orientated [sic]. (m61G)

Vincent: Here they are not. I mean, here they don't...I've never known our Catholic schools here to insist or tell the kids or give them the time to go to confession. Never.

Richard: Absolutely correct.

Moira: Yeah, you're right.

Vincent: Yes, never with my kids – and they grew up here. Whereas back home, that's what happened.

Moira: The school took you to confession.

Richard: I walked to confession from school to church.

Mark: In England, you used to go for First Friday mass... (m62G)

Nicola: And, we had to rest on Sundays, we couldn't do things that weren't holy, we just had to be quiet and stay with the family. (f58G)

Moira: I even see that as a problem here. I don't know if it's because, as parents, our lives are busy and we don't have time to do this for our children, or their expectations are different, or there is less support from the system. (Group Interview #6)

Participants above illustrate their agreed-upon conviction that Catholic schools do not support the beliefs they claim to value and support. When they were growing up abroad (i.e.: Kenya and India, for the above participants), these individuals relied heavily on their educational system to cultivate their fundamental religiosity. In the Catholic schools they attended, students said the rosary together as a group and also walked to and from church to attend masses and confession. Even busy parents who may not have had the time to be as religious as they would have liked to be gained comfort from the fact that their children's schools were picking up the slack. Because Moira, Vincent, Richard, Mark and Nicola all told me they had attended either convent schools or ones run by a priestly order which were predominantly attended by Goans, they were exposed to a particular culturally-relevant type of Catholicism within their classrooms. The values, prayers and rituals subscribed to within such schools were more-or-less adhered to by most of the Goan families who supported them financially. Because saying novenas and attending confession on a daily basis, for example, were priorities for members of their religio-cultural community and were simultaneously considered integral shaping elements of individual self-awareness and spirituality, schools could enforce such traditions as strongly as they saw fit.

It should also be mentioned that, as the parents above all attended pre-Vatican II (i.e.: pre-1965) Catholic schools, the type of education they received would have been vastly different

than that found within the post-Vatican II schools of their children. Pre-Vatican schools had distinct focuses, including strong discipline, encountering the sacred (through the sacraments, rituals and devotions), Catholic knowledge and learning, purity and charity (Grace 2002:55-79). Post-Vatican II schools, in comparison, are today more concerned with the development of social consciousness, interfaith dialogue and understanding, and pastoral development. Additionally, such schools are “expansive, liberating and humanizing rather than narrow, restrictive, and closed” (Byrk, Lee and Holland 1995:144-145). Students are treated as young adults who are not only free (within reason) to make their own choices but also to reap the consequences and/or rewards for their actions.

Although these participants acknowledged that it does remain up to the parents to instill religious values within their children, they strongly disliked the fact that the Catholic schools today did not fully support the religious lifeworlds which they had become accustomed to growing up. However, as many of them related, attending Catholic school was often a better option for their children than attending public school, which some consider “wishy-washy” and lacking a moral compass. For the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic parents I spoke with, Catholic schools seemed to function similarly to the ethnic church in that therein particular lifeworld values are not only instilled but also reaffirmed on a continual basis.

It is important to note that most Goan and Anglo-Indian parents spoke in reference to elementary schools, as they considered this time in a child’s life to be fundamental in the shaping of one’s religiosity and in the development of one’s moral consciousness. Catholic high school, it seems, was less of a contentious issue for participants, because many of their high school aged children were enrolled in special advanced or enhanced classes that were only available in public schools. Additionally, participants believed that the instillation of religious values needed to take

place during the early years of their child(ren)'s education and that, subsequently, attending a Catholic high school was not as detrimental in their spiritual development.

During the course of my interviews, I also discovered that Catholic schools often provided Goans and Anglo-Indians with opportunities to meet and network with other members of their cultural community. Most parents were of the opinion that Catholic schools were preferable options over public schools, because any Catholic education is better than no Catholic education. Accordingly, although my participants told me that they did not seek out ethnic churches, many of them went to great lengths to ensure that their children attend Catholic school. Moira, for example, claimed, "I didn't want my kids attending the public school nearby. The kids [there] weren't a good influence so I drove my kids to the Catholic school every morning so that they would be in a good environment" (f57G, Interview #2). Moira and her husband believed that the values instilled in the children in the local public school were not similar to those they wanted their own children to have, and that this was a direct result of the school's secular nature. Making personal sacrifices in terms of time and convenience, Moira chose to drive her children daily to a Catholic school which, interestingly, had a Goan as a principal at the time. Although it was "nice," Moira later admitted to have a Goan principal overseeing her children, it was more important that their children receive a "good" Catholic education (f57G, Interview #2).

Consequently, because of the emphasis placed on religion as well as their relative concentration of Goans and Anglo-Indians in the urban Greater Toronto Area, many Catholic schools have relatively noticeable (i.e.: around one or two per cohort) Goan and Anglo-Indian populations. These students, because of their "non-Indian" (i.e.: British or Portuguese) last names, are relatively easy to distinguish, by both parents and older students, from other South Asians. Many students were thus able to make friends of similar ancestry whom they would not

have met otherwise. As Julia told me, "...my family friends tend to be Goan, and I have a few Goan friends who I have met through university ... [and] throughout high school that had no association to my family" (24fG, Interview #5). To Julia it was important that these Goan friends were not linked with her family in any way. Such friends were "her own" and were thus not susceptible to some of the pressures and demands that those affiliated with her family may have been. Additionally, the fact that she herself chose her friends gave Julia comfort and likely increased her personal identity development. Van Niekerk notes, in his study of the Afro-Surinamese and the Indo-Surinamese in the Netherlands, that youngsters can clearly benefit from a circle of culturally similar friends independent from the family who can provide them with other worlds and ideas (2002:196). Kimi Kondo-Brown reports similar findings with regards to youth in the Chinese Canadian community, as her respondents widely used Chinese to communicate with school mates as well as with friends outside of school (2006:220). Although there are many more Chinese Canadians living in the Greater Toronto Area than Goans and Anglo-Indians combined, Kondo-Brown importantly recognizes the key role peers can have in the intergenerational maintenance and propagation of cultural values.

As Goan and Anglo-Indian parents believe the educational system should have a key role in the fostering and cultivation of the religious values of their subsequent generation, their opting to enrol their children within Catholic schools permits them to worry less (albeit still worry) about their spiritual development. Within Catholic schools, Goans and Anglo-Indians are also provided with increased opportunities to network with those ethnically similar to them thus instilling in them an augmented sense of cultural pride and belonging. Those who attend public schools not only preclude themselves from receiving a regular religious education as part of a community of fellow-believers but also, it seems, lessen their chances of meeting fellow

members of their community that perhaps they would not have met. As Nuno claimed, “Well, in high school, I chose to go to a public school. I didn’t want to do [i.e.: wear] uniforms...so that’s probably one of the opportunities that I missed, in terms of networking with a lot of Goans, because obviously they would go to a Catholic school...a good Catholic high school. And, I...gave that up” (m29G, Interview #15). This is not to say, however, that those Goan and Anglo-Indian youth who attend public school are less religious, less Catholic or even less informed about their faith. Rather, in some instances, as was the case with myself and my siblings who despite attending Catholic elementary school attended the local public high school because of its gifted program, religious-centred families (as almost all of the participants I interviewed claimed they were from) who send their children to public schools make an increased effort to teach and inform them about their faith community and the Church, in general. Whereas daily prayers, First Communion and Confirmation classes and Ash Wednesday masses would typically take place within the school community, Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics attending public school typically had to make an increased effort to participate in such events, usually and willingly cutting into their own extra-curricular activities or domestic lives. This, of course, requires increased participation and time-commitments from parents which, in today’s two-income family society (Bourne and Ley 1993:17-18), may prove difficult.

A final key factor heavily contributing to both the reaffirmation of the Goan and Anglo-Indian lifeworlds as well as to their general compatibility with the greater system is the fact that calendar of the Canadian institutional system intersects with the Christian calendar. Because most major Christian religious holidays (i.e.: Christmas, New Year’s, Good Friday and Easter) are generally considered to be holidays within a civic context, Anglo-Indian and Goan students never have to choose between their schooling and their faith. Rather, most often they are

encouraged to more fully acknowledge them and participate more entirely in them. Even public schools revolve around a Christian-based calendar which gives students holidays, such as Easter, Good Friday and Christmas off⁴⁷.

While this, of course, has incredible benefits for those migrant communities who themselves follow a Christian-based calendar, those who are not of a Christian background often find themselves not only having to make personal sacrifices so as to fully participate in the feasts and holidays of their own religion but also having to continually justify and/or bring attention to their minority status within a Christian-majority community. Author Amir Hussain, a Muslim who grew up in Canada in the 70s, notes that because he was not Christian, he understood very early what it meant to be a minority (2006:10). Even in public school, the school year was based on the Christian calendar with no classes on Sunday (i.e.: the day many Christians worship) or during the Christmas and Easter breaks (Hussain 2006:11). As a Muslim, praying five times a day, attending mosque on Friday (the day of Assembly) for communal prayer and even eating halal all proved to be difficult tasks for Hussain to practice. Etan Diamond, in his study of Orthodox Jews in Toronto, similarly notes that the sacred obligations often require Jewish students to be absent from school when a holiday falls on a weekday, as unlike the weekly Sabbath, Jewish holidays are not fixed to specific days of the week as civic holidays often are (2000:7-8). Additionally, especially in northern regions of Canada, where sundown takes places earlier, Orthodox Jewish students are often limited in terms of their academic and extracurricular activities because of their obligated abstinence from any secular activities as well as many types

⁴⁷ Bear in mind that many universities and colleges are taking steps to be more inclusive and multi-faith in how they schedule their exams and study breaks. During my undergraduate training, for example, I routinely had Winter examinations on during the Easter weekend which, even a decade ago, would have been unheard of. Despite such efforts, Canadian colleges and universities still mimic the majority population and consumerist patterns and more-or-less revolve around a Christian calendar, with no school or administrative services available on Saturdays and Sundays, as well as an extended non-denominational "Holiday" break.

of “work,” which through rabbinical interpretation include using electricity, writing and riding in vehicles/driving (Diamond 2000:7-8).

Many non-Christian South Asian students may also be required by their religious beliefs to take off holidays, such as Diwali or Guru Nanak’s Birthday, where they are obliged to spend time with family or visit their religious institutions. Ramadan, in particular, can be challenging for Indian Muslims as it is the Islamic month of fasting in which they are required (if able to) refrain from eating and drinking during sunlight hours, as well as to pray more often than usual. Many North American schools now acknowledge the particular needs of Muslims by providing prayer rooms (if an exclusive prayer room does not exist) and some also permit Muslim students who are fasting to sit apart during lunch (Minow, Shweder and Markis 2008:188-192). Some schools with large Muslim populations also allow fasting students to limit their participation in or be excused from physical education due to health concerns, and instruct school health clinics to monitor those who observe Ramadan (Minow et al. 190). While such schools go out of their way to pursue equality within their diverse student body, other schools do not make such provisions resulting in students having to either miss or compromise their schooling or, conversely, neglect their religious needs. Accordingly, unlike the case with Goans and Anglo-Indians, many religious communities have chosen to settle in regions which are not only heavily populated with other members of their community (i.e.: ethnic enclaves) but also have religious day schools and institutions nearby so as to facilitate the unproblematic fulfillment of their spiritual requirements as easily as possible.

Because, even in public schools, Goan and Anglo-Indian students seldom have to defend their Catholic beliefs to others in order to obtain special permission to pray, attend major religious holidays or to worship on Sundays, their personal lifeworlds are constantly legitimized

by and within the larger Canadian system. Their religious lifeworlds are thus treated as givens because of the relative uniformity that is reflected in the “secular,” civic and educational calendars through adherence and/or recognition of central religious holidays. Being given holidays off by the greater system not only causes individuals to accept such, perhaps unintentional/implicit, validity claims but also permits them to easily spend time with their families which can be expected during the “holiday” seasons. This subsequently results in reaffirming their communal consciousness and lifeworld solidarity.

Various elements of the Goan and Anglo-Indian religious lifeworld, as illustrated above, have enabled them to rather effortlessly enter into diverse communities within urban Ontario. Because numerous systemic elements pertaining both to churches and schools permit them to retain and utilize integral elements of their lifeworlds, members of these groups are truly able to embrace Canada’s multicultural community ideal and geographically situate themselves almost anywhere. My primary data illustrates that my participants all came from a wide-range of places and locales. Since my group interviews took place in Mississauga, a clear majority of Goans and Anglo-Indians who were involved in my research either lived or worked in the city. However, many participants kindly commuted to my research site from other regions, such as Scarborough, downtown Toronto, Brampton, Milton, Oakville, Ajax, Orillia, Vaughn and even Newmarket. The churches and schools that they claim to regularly attend are thus located in a variety of diverse communities. Many of them, over the years, have moved from city to city, or even province to province, for work- or school-related reasons, and have subsequently been active members of various religious and educational communities. The fact that most of my participants claimed they had never met one another prior to my research⁴⁸ testifies that, at least within the case of those I interviewed, these Goans and Anglo-Indians are completely staggered in terms of

⁴⁸ As evidenced by the introductions that took place at the beginning of each group interview.

where they resided. Residential concentration, for these individuals, has simply never been necessary. Unlike the case with Spadina's Chinatown (Tian 1999), Roncesvalles' Polish community (Radecki 1979) or College Street's Little Italy (Zucchi 1990) in Toronto, Goans and Anglo-Indians have never had the need to create their own region or area in which they have schools and churches that, although open to the general public, cater to their specific communal needs because, as illustrated, essential elements of their lifeworlds remain congruous with the greater Canadian system that can more-or-less be located within any community irrespective of where it is and the people that constitute it.

Looking at how the lifeworld of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics compliments particular institutional systemic aspects of Canada, especially those pertaining to religious worship in the Church as well as public education, it becomes apparent that their fundamental givens in many ways permits an ease of adaptation and acculturation that many other migrant groups do not and cannot experience. Various institutional facets, such as the predominance of the English language both within schools and churches, the public funding of Catholic schools and the following of the Christian calendar, remain aligned with the religious-centred lifeworld values of members of these and intermingle with beliefs they cherish. The cultural and religious contents of these communities, as discussed, within Canada, are constantly authenticated by the system thus giving increased weight to the lifeworlds and traditions of their past. Although some practices and meanings within the system may contrast with conventionally accepted standards within Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities, as illustrated by the fact that parents are unhappy that Catholic schools do not pray the rosary daily for example, the fact of the matter remains that their institutional assumptions are neither scrutinized by nor eclipsed within

Canada's system but are rather echoed thus significantly diminishing any potential to seriously disrupt their lifeworlds.

B. Brown Baby Jesus: reclaiming Indian Catholicism

Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, residing in the Greater Toronto Area, have cultivated and maintained powerful sets of family morals and traditional practices that they believe allow them to maintain particular aspects of their religious and cultural heritage whilst simultaneously permitting their successful integration within the greater Canadian system. Because of their unique ancestral lifeworlds, which employ both rich Hindu influences as well as Catholic doctrinal essentials, members of these communities have learned how to renegotiate distinct customs so as to better represent and reconcile their traditional, colonial and contemporary histories. Reflecting many lives lived in a variety of transnational contexts amidst diverse religious and cultural populations, these individuals have reinvented their traditional practices thus symbolizing the cultural malleability that their communities possess as a whole.

Habermas believes that the institutional (i.e.: structural mechanisms that govern behaviour and actions) core of the lifeworld is the household (Habermas and Seidman 1989:19). I agree with Habermas in that I view the household/domestic realm as the locus where lifeworld norms are re-/invented, embodied, disseminated and thus propagated on a regular basis. This section builds upon this notion and discusses the development and continuity of particular household values that many Goans and Anglo-Indians whom I interviewed shared, or at least acknowledged in terms of communal and/or social import. Building upon the previous sections which rooted them together in their shared historical and experiential reference points, I talk about how family ideals and traditions continue to deeply impact Anglo-Indian and Goan lifeworlds on a daily basis, as well as how enduring religious symbols and interpretive meanings

facilitate greater systemic belonging whilst honouring the role that their Hindu roots have within their daily lives. In adapting certain Hindu beliefs and practices, and replacing the religious significance behind them with those of Catholicism, Anglo-Indians and Goans are able to tread the boundaries between two very distinct cultures. Looking at key issues that were mentioned by my participants, I demonstrate not only how they have developed over time so as to successfully intermesh with ever-changing social contexts but also why such ideas and lifeworld conceptions remain integral in the shaping and rearing of subsequent generations. Illustrating venues of intergenerational acceptance, renegotiation and collision, this section analyzes how, despite evident changes between generations, some key family values and traditions continue to heavily shape the lifeworlds of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in Canada.

Before doing so, however, it is imperative to briefly determine the exact roles that family traditions and values have within the lifeworld and what their relevance is with regards to fostering its consonance and amity with the greater macro-system. Remember that the lifeworld is a reservoir of steadfast convictions that individuals and communities draw upon in order to aid their interpretive processes and make sense of their life horizons. Traditions, in that they relate to worldly situations, tasks and goals thus offer people ways to intersubjectively recognize and validate truth claims about shared knowledge. Because various symbolic structures of the lifeworld are replicated and sustained through them and their ongoing practice, particular customs and traditional rites enter into the realm of cultural knowledge. Additionally, their linguistic or communicative rooting and reliance, insofar as they rely on verbal and non-verbal forms of transmission, render traditions as cultural storehouses of sorts that not only reveal key critical and symbolic frameworks but also normalize and encourage communicative contact and action. The interminglings of moral-practical and religious elements manifest through customary

traditions that help to influence and/or confirm other lifeworld views and symbols. The family values and ethical standards that so often influence and shape particular traditions thus serve as resources that predicate and colour lifeworld traditions and the certainties that ground them.

As the lifeworld consists of the given space in which quantitative and qualitative assumptions and cultural knowledge are rendered significant, Habermas considers the institutional system, with its focus on the broader economic, institutional and administrative aspects of the macro-system, to be oppositional, antagonistic and alienating towards the lifeworld. This is because the central forms of assumed cultural and symbolic information which are sustained through cultural and religious traditions, according to Habermas, are of an entirely different order than the forms required for and involved in the maintenance of institutions, the media, legal bodies and governmental authority(ies). Below, I illustrate that, contrary to Habermasian thought, the operating logic that formulates and sustains communal values and family traditions found in the lifeworlds of both Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics, is in fact in many ways comparable to that of the Canadian system. Many such rituals and principles are encoded to be particularly meaningful and relevant within a religious (i.e.: is Roman Catholic) context as are the traditional standards of the greater system. The dimensions of reason that lifeworld cultural practices and values appeal to are thus similar to those of various components of the Canadian system.

i. (Re-) inventing Indian rituals and traditions

It's early in the evening in Canadian suburbia. About twenty or so South Asians have gathered in a small dining room, encircling a table which is covered with a lavish celebratory feast. Some older ladies are wearing *saris* or *salwar kameez*, while most of the female teenagers

are wearing Western-style dresses. A few “uncles” are wearing silk *kurtas*, in bright shades of red, blue or green. Other men are wearing their good, brand-name tailored suits. Festive, yet dated, Indian music can barely be heard over the loud, excited voices. An elderly grandmother is sitting next to her granddaughter, telling her that it’s about time she got married: “You are almost 25! I already had three children by your age. If you were in India, you know, you would be married by now.” “But, Mama,” the young woman claims, “I can’t get married now...I’m still in school!”

Colourful garlands have been draped from various pieces of Indian-themed artwork that hang from the walls. Tiny Diwali and Indian-styled ornaments hang doorways, and small candles are strategically placed throughout the room. The smell of incense faintly wafts in from the kitchen, where the matriarch has unsuccessfully tried to dim the pungent smells of food preparation. Meat curries, a pork roast, vegetables, *masala*-fried fish, a variety of pickles and chutneys, and of course, lots of fresh *naan*...the smells rising from the steaming uncovered dishes are intoxicating. Some women stand near the table with pride, looking proudly at the edible fruits of their labour and shamelessly accepting praise from others.

“Let us pray...” The male-household head’s voice cuts through the crowd. He lowers his head and joins his hands solemnly, cuing others to quiet down and do the same. The music is muted, and those who were playing cards in the next room hurry in join the others. Pin-drop silence ensues. “Almighty Father, we ask you to bless this food and those who have prepared it on this special day. We remember those who have gone before us, and those who cannot be with us here today. We ask you to especially bless the hungry, the needy and all people everywhere. Amen and Merry Christmas.”

Such can be considered a typical Christmas scene at any given Goan or Anglo-Indian Catholic's house. Whether in India, Canada or some other nation, like other Roman Catholics, members of these communities usher in Christmas at church, either the day of or the night before, at midnight mass. A large meal follows, with Indian and North American dishes that compliment one another's flavours. Formal clothing is worn and extra amounts of time are spent on hair and make-up. Gifts are exchanged, symbolizing goodwill, Christian fellowship and love of one another. Similar celebrations take place at other key religious holidays, such as Easter, as well. Also, Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics, like most Canadians, celebrate secular occasions like Thanksgiving, birthdays and New Year's Eve. Although oftentimes, the ways in which Goans and Anglo-Indian Catholics celebrate, such as the large amounts of food, the loud music, the sweet desserts and even the overflowing counter-top makeshift bars, render their belonging within greater Canadian society, there simultaneously exist countless traditions which add a distinct Indian flavour to the Roman Catholic and Canadian mainstream.

Family and communal customs are meaningful ways for any migrant community, anywhere around the world, to pay tribute to the customs of their ancestors. Such traditions are the "predictable acts that communicate the family's [and community's] identity and values" (Conoley 2009:59). Pertaining to the lifeworld, these acts not only imply nostalgia but also the ongoing imperative to uphold connectivity and continuity between generations. The intergenerational and transnational characteristics similarly signify the given assumption of the ethical necessity of such continuing rituals. Without such given lifeworld continuities, members of the community would be deprived of essential normativity in everyday life.

However, despite their intergenerational importance within such communities, traditions and rituals, surprisingly, are not static but rather are dynamic, changing and invented over time.

Eric Hobsbawm, in *The invention of tradition*, considers invented tradition to refer to the “set[s] 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 repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:1). Hobsbawm believes such invented traditions to, in fact, not rupture from the past in terms of relevancy, custom and belief but instead to establish continuity with a particular appropriate historic past. Where Hobsbawm suggests that invented traditions are not genuine ones in that they take shape and proliferate spontaneously in hope of seizing or employing power, I instead agree with Anthony Giddens in his view that all traditions are invented traditions and have been invented for countless reasons (Giddens 2003:40). Because no traditions can remain immune or impervious to change, they all, in one or more ways, evolve over time. Especially within diaspora communities, such as the Goans and Anglo-Indians I explored, I consider reinvented traditions integral in their rerooting and resettlement. Inventing and re-inventing traditions and contextualizing them within a common history, as revealed below, not only allows Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics to actively assume some responsibility over their lifeworlds but also permits them the ongoing capacity to address and/or respond to novel situations within new Canadian contexts. In this sense, members of these communities become shepherds of their own faith while simultaneously remaining proverbial sheep within the larger Church.

David Hall and Robert Orsi’s Lived Religion framework compliments Hobsbawm, Ranger and Giddens’ ideas to provide unique insight into how Anglo-Indians and Goans have re-invented cultural and religious symbols and beliefs to better fit and thrive in a society where they are visible minorities with unique ancestral histories. A watershed in the field of religious studies, the very notion of Lived Religion suggests scholars dynamically widen the boundaries of

contemporary and historical religion to include the “densely textured level of everyday practice and lived experience” (D. Hall 1997:11). Shifting away from the text- and institutional-oriented lenses of the past, Hall presents the challenge to fundamentally rethink what religion is and what exactly it means to be religious. Robert Orsi, in particular, builds upon this in his emphasis that both religion and religiosity can neither be easily defined nor compartmentalized and that we should look beyond the neat and tidy sphere of doctrinal influence to see how religion actually manifests within the everyday lives of people (Hall 1997:3-21). To Orsi, the expressionisms and idioms that animate the religious lives of people implicate them as active agents among their god(s) and/or goddess(es). The relational bonds between people and their beliefs thus intersubjectively connect groups and communities to one another, as well as to the religious worlds that animate their very lives (Orsi 2005).

Throughout the course of my fieldwork, it was reaffirmed to me that both Anglo-Indians and Goan indeed have quite vibrant cultural and religious lives. Rituals, beliefs and traditions continue to be passed on through generations and between transnational communities. Like many Roman Catholics, these individuals abide by the central rules of the doctrinal faith and regularly partake in its rituals. However, as illustrated in the description of a Christmastime gathering above and relayed to me through participants’ personal narratives, oftentimes integrated within such rituals are flagrant Indian notions, traditions and concepts that, ironically, are used to enhance and nurture their Catholic spirituality. Those I interviewed, both young and old, talked about how they have learned how to engage and cope with the inevitable contradictions of being religious and cultural in urban Canada. Their religious beliefs and practices, though uniting them with the larger global Roman Catholic Church on a fundamental level, prove to be dynamic and specifically linked to their particular social context, as Orsi suggests (Orsi 2005). Through

asserting religious belonging within a Christian majority country while simultaneously honouring the noteworthy role that their Hindu roots had and continue to have within their daily lives, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics tailor their beliefs and practices so as to render the assumptions and givens of their lifeworlds pertinent and agreeable to the requirements and values of the greater Canadian system. In doing so, they give their religion and beliefs and prioritive placement in the rubric of their lives.

Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadians in many ways appear to be “ordinary” Indians. With russet skin, raven hair, a flawless “fake” Indian accent⁴⁹ which can be roused at a whim and an inherent love of anything pickled or curried, at face value members of these communities appear to fit well within the Indian mainstream population in Canada. Other Indian religious communities can even relate to ways they eat, celebrate, imagine and dress. However, upon second and closer glance, it becomes apparent that members of these ethnic communities palpably defy the notion of a homogenous Indian diaspora. For the faithful followers of the Roman Catholic faith, European religious and cultural colonialism have given rise to traditions, beliefs and practices that permit the continuous straddling of various circles of identity and belonging. And, due to their vast yet varied inter-generational transnational migration patterns, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics have learned how to effectively balance and, if necessary, effortlessly switch between their syncretistic European and Indian roots. As this section illustrates, these groups have renegotiated key aspects of their Hindu pasts in order to reinforce existing cultural values and in-group perceptions while simultaneously allowing room for new growth and adaptation in Canada.

⁴⁹ Most of my informants did not have perceivable Indian accents. Rather, a clear majority of the direct, twice and thrice migrants had mild British-sounding accents and word pronunciation (i.e.: “toe-mah-toe” and “vit-a-min” rather than “toe-may-toe” and “vite-a-min”). Those Anglo-Indians and Goans who were born in Canada had no, in my opinion, accent.

Religion serves as a source of coping and adjustment within Canada, amidst the presence of other migrant communities. Drawing attention to the fluid boundaries of ritualistic praxis and religious observance within the families and individuals I spoke with, and their key roles within their everyday lives, this section illustrates some of the ironic and disordered ways that re-invented tradition continues to manifest thus evidencing how religion not just testifies to Goan and Anglo-Indian religious belonging within a Christian majority country but also reasserts their place within the broader Indian migrant community.

In order to comprehend some of the ironies of the religious lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians in Canada, it is important to understand the dynamics of life in India. In India, Catholics are “double minorities,” in that they are both ethnically and religiously distinct from the majority (i.e.: Hindu) population. Developed by Douglas and Boal, the double-minority model of social stratification occurs when a small numerical population size coalesces with other various social or political referents that also place individuals or communities within a minority (1982:3). Hundreds of years of Portuguese (for Goans) and British (for Anglo-Indians) colonial rule vastly impacted the religious morals and cultural traditions of those who had converted to Christianity, and many such values continue to heavily resonate with Anglo-Indians and Goans today. For example, within India, European influence has Europeanized both the first- and last-names of members of these communities. Goan names with clear Portuguese roots, such as Antonio Pereira or Christina Fernandes, for example, to this day are easily distinguishable from those “Indian-sounding” names, such as Anish Mehta, Balvinder Singh, or Sunita Patel, which are typically more widespread within the Indian general population. Additionally, many Goans who reside in Goa are traditionally given what I like to call “virtuous” names at Baptism which reflect either religious occasions or ideals. Many Goans will likely be able to tell you about a

great-Aunt or relative with a very conventional name, such as Conception, Felicity or Assumption. Likewise, Anglo-Indians often have Anglicized first-names, such as Edward, Marcus and Evelyn that are conspicuously paired with British last names, such as Nicholas, Davey and Bennett. Alison Blunt, in her ethnography of Anglo-Indian women, claims that British surnames, even today, continue to be central markers of Anglo-Indian identity as they reflect “paternal ancestry [thus] making it both difficult and undesirable to challenge the constitutional definition of who counts as an Anglo-Indian” (Blunt 2005:197). In these cases, I believe one’s name, in combination with appearance (which will be discussed further in this study), not only serves as an ethnic identifier thus distinguishing Goans and Anglo-Indians from those outside of their community but also serves as a clear testimony of their religious (i.e.: non-Hindu) heritage. Anglicized, Christian first-names come together with European surnames to assert in-group belonging for members of these communities, as most often it is easy to “figure out” whether a person is Catholic and/or Goan/Anglo-Indian simply by their names, especially when comparing them to those outside of the spiritual and cultural community⁵⁰.

Religiously, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics residing in India are also relatively easily identifiable, due to visible elements of their faith (such as the crucifixes they wear), the rituals they practice (such as the celebration of Christian holidays), and their stringent church attendance. Many of the males I interviewed who had come directly from India had tiny self-tattooed crosses on their thumbs or fore-fingers, done using ink and a pin when they were in their early teens. Brothers, relatives and friends (or so they told me) all had similar-looking crosses on their hands thus asserting their belonging within their own religious and cultural filial circle.

⁵⁰ Although Portuguese-Indian rule was centred in Goa, Portuguese Catholic missionaries did travel to other Indian regions which resulted in increased conversions. New converts would, in many cases, change their last names and baptize their children with Portuguese-sounding names. In Sri Lanka, for example, Catholics make up over 90% of the Christian population and are oftentimes easily distinguishable because of their Christian given names and Portuguese surnames (Gunawardena 1996:315).

Such tattoos symbolically reflect affinities with others or membership within a social group (i.e.: Christianity), where higher values may be placed on the public declaration of loyalties. Goan and Anglo-Indian males, both in India and in the diaspora, also wear conspicuous crucifixes or crosses hung from bright yellow gold chains around their necks while many of the women in their families choose to wear pendants of Our Lady or devotional scapulars consisting of two small pieces of cloth, leather and paper containing religious images or words joined together by a string. Unlike articles of clothing or other pieces of jewellery which are changed or rotated on a daily basis, such religious accessories remain permanent fixtures on these individuals and thus transmute from objects with ornamental- or decorative- status to steadfast identity-markers. These visible displays of religiosity are effortlessly maintained outside of the domestic realm within most public contexts due to their relatively subtle and non-intrusive natures. However, when noticeable by others, such symbols connote distance from established religious and cultural Indian mainstream. These small yet ritualized practices, because of their ideological and symbolic meaning, have truly become traditions in the Hobsbawmian sense.

Beyond this, most Catholic Goans and Anglo-Indians lead lives that are truly religious-centred. Charlene, an Anglo-Indian in her sixties recalled how important religion was to her community when she was growing up:

You'd find that a lot of Anglo-Indians are quite religious...The Church was...a drawing unit, it brought you all together on Sunday. You would come to church, you would go to each other's house after church, you would attend midnight mass. After church [was] when the community got together. Everything was always [taking place] after church. So yes, religion was very important...at least in my mother and father's circle, you know. They would also arrange Christmas parties, you know, but within the church for the children. My mother was always in a lady's circle, where they knitted for missionaries and things like this. But church was very important to them, yes. (f60AI, Interview #9)

A sixty-two year old Goan participant similarly told me, “[We would be] going to church on Sunday’s, going for baptism, first communion, confirmation, et cetera. So, it was pretty prescribed as far as Catholic tradition goes... Catholic children would invariably go to Catholic schools...” (Mavis, f62G, Group Interview #4). The children of their communities would wear uniforms that identified them from non-Catholic school children, and young females were forbidden from wearing any non-religious jewellery or adornments in accordance with the Catholic virtues of modesty and humility. Such uniforms, as suggested by Jennifer Craik, though rooted in colonialism’s emphasis on aesthetic as well as disciplinary control, continue to be viewed by many post-colonial communities as instillers of Western values and codes of conduct that would increase social and academic accomplishment (2005:76-77).

Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, because they were minority-groups within India, typically lived in ethnic-clusters or in large community groups with whom they could intermingle and socialize on a regular basis. As many of them came from middle-to-upper class backgrounds, they were able to cultivate and sustain a relatively self-sufficient and exclusive society in which they could safely raise their children. Researcher Christopher Small, in his study of “musicking,” or the various acts or rituals involved in listening to music, considers smaller communities to be important for the cultivation and promulgation of knowledge pertaining to how people ought to interrelate in that rituals are used as “reaffirmations of community (i.e.: “This is who we are”), as act[s] of exploration (to try on new identities), and as act[s] of celebration (i.e.: “to rejoice in the knowledge of an identity not only possessed but also shared with others”) (Small 1998:95). Special schools and cultural centres, as aforementioned, run by religious groups and organizations with established European connections, were thus well-

esteemed and heavily attended by members of their community who shared similar beliefs pertaining to morality and spirituality.

Because Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics also spoke English at home, besides speaking Latin in the Church (until the post-Vatican II switch to the vernacular), the education system which they supported also functioned in English. This perhaps reflects European, especially Portuguese, colonial policy which at one time strived to instruct and teach subjects in their own languages as the Church, in search of native conversion, had construed that the indigenous languages would prove the most expedient means for its purpose (Garzon and Brown 1998:55). And, as Goans and Anglo-Indians both opted to align themselves with European as opposed to Indian society, the choosing and utilization of English as their primary instructional language and mother-tongue was a sensible decision for them. Despite this, most Catholic Goans residing in Goa had to maintain basic knowledge of the vernacular tongue, Konkani, as this was the language spoken in the market, to household helpers and within the non-Catholic Goan populace. In contrast, of all the Anglo-Indians I interviewed who at some point in their lives lived in India, none of them admitted speaking or learning another language while therein. Blair Williams, in his study, however, finds that this is not usually the case as most Anglo-Indians in India, despite their communal self-sufficiency and relative insularity, have friends from other Indian communities and thus communicate with them in a mixture of English and the local language (B. Williams 2002:46). As middle-class India has more-or-less adopted English as an acceptable vernacular, language today is not as divisive a factor as it may have been in colonial-India (B. Williams 2002:47).

In India many, but not all, Catholics also continue to reject elements of that which they consider to be traditionally Indian or non-European, in order to more fully identify with their

distinctive colonial cultural ancestry. Such individuals, on a day to day basis, opt to wear Western-style clothing, as opposed to the *sari*, *dhoti*, *salwar kameez* or *lungi* that their neighbours wear. Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic brides, rather than donning a bright red sari and copious amounts of gold, signify their distinction from the Indian mainstream with dazzling white wedding dresses. Also, no *mendhi* will be found adorning their palms or feet. In India, a Catholic groom from either of these communities will likely choose to wear a Western-style suit, as opposed to a *kurta*, a *sherwani* with a *churidar pyjama* or a *bandha gala* suit, despite the lack of formal hindrances preventing Catholics from wearing conventional Indian clothing. No elephants or horses are used as modes of festive transportation but rather fancy imported cars, such as Mercedes or limousines, which are considered status-symbols in the Westernized world. Wedding hymns are sung in English, although local instruments are often used to play them, and receptions often follow Western standards and expectations. Gifts are given, wedding cakes are cut and alcoholic beverage toasts are made. In such instances, the choosing of Western garb and traditions allow Catholic Anglo-Indians and Goans to actively place themselves outside of the Indian religious norm and within what they believe is the Westernized Christian ideal. Although fierce antagonisms between Catholics and Hindus in India seldom occur, the desire for communal distinctions between these two groups clearly lingers. Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics in India consider themselves to be a different type of Indian due to their colonial heritage and Western identities, and thus typically identify as “Goan,” “Portuguese-Indian,” “Anglo-Indian” or “British-Indian,” as opposed to simply “Indian” which in their minds would mistakenly place them within the Hindu majority.

In comparison, the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in Canada whom I interviewed no longer fit so tidily underneath the double-minority category. Because of their European and

Anglicized first and surnames, neither Anglo-Indians nor Goans appear to be so “ethnic” on paper. Christian, Western-style first-names are common within various cultural communities today and even transcend religious categories and affiliations. Visibly, these Catholics tend to “stand out” far less because of their European style of dress and their mixed features. Their hybridized-colonial (i.e.: British or Portuguese and Indian) ancestry has given many Goans and Anglo-Indians lighter eyes and a relatively-fair complexion, which causes them to commonly be mistaken for belonging to other cultural groups, such as Spanish, Hawaiian, Brazilian or even Middle Eastern. The command and use of the English language is, in fact, expected in the regions of Ontario where most of them reside; and because many Goans and Anglo-Indians have British-sounding word pronunciation and accents due to their European-styled schooling, their “non-white” status is not easily identified audibly.

Defining aspects of their religious life also cease being unique defining features of the Anglo-Indian and Catholic community in Canada. Crucifix pendants, white dresses and wedding cakes no longer are colonial symbols of resistance to the Hindu-norms of traditional India but rather means of discreetly fitting in within Canada. The sole string of Christmas lights proudly hung by the Catholic family living within a predominantly Hindu neighbourhood in India, now in Canada, serves as visible proof of membership within the Canadian religious and commercialized mainstream. However, alongside neighbours’ fluorescent reindeers and inflatable Santa Clauses, the sole string of Christmas lights hanging on Goan or Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadian’s house seems curiously unnoticeable or even invisible. Suddenly the faith which made Catholics unique in India has rendered them typical in Canada. Accordingly, many of my participants have made conscientious efforts to infuse elements which, although perhaps scorned by some devout Catholics in India, employ aspects of traditional Hindu culture in order

to “spice up” both their religiosity and daily cultural practices. They, in Hobsbawm, Ranger and Giddens’ words, have re-invented their own traditions. In doing so, they have effectively shepherded their own needs by reconfiguring the key conceptual frameworks that animate their lifeworlds in order to reaffirm and/or modify their place in the Canadian system.

Food, for example, is central to the both the Goan and Anglo-Indian self-image within the Indian homeland and diaspora. Not only something to be consumed, food is a realm of life around which meaningful social and genial exchanges occur. Catherine Bell, in *Ritual: perspective and dimension*, considers such shared participation in food rituals as means for “defining and reaffirming the full extent of the human and cosmic community” (1997:123). In many ways, food-related rituals thus reflect the hybridized, re-invented traditions of these communities.

The intermingling of Portuguese Catholic and Hindu culture is particularly reflected in the cuisine of Goa, which is a unique blend of richness, exceptionality and simplicity. And, Anglo-Indian cuisine likewise continues to merge Western and Indian flavours, adding spices to traditional British concoctions and dishes (Blunt 2005:53). For both Anglo-Indians and Goans, meals and their associated consumption practices typically follow what are believed to be European standards. “Appropriate” cutlery is used and “proper manners” are always expected which, in many ways, symbolizes the perceived inherent domestic and social differences between Goans and Anglo-Indians and their non-colonized Indian counterparts.

Paul Connerton notes that practices, such as foodways and gastronomy, particularly for diaspora communities like the Anglo-Indians and Goans, continue to be especially important in the maintenance and promulgation of a collective social memory (1989:87-90). To Connerton, social memory is the shared social aspect of similar memories of past events that are conveyed

and subsequently sustained through ritual performances. The social memory is intimately interconnected with both the individual memory and group memory and thus becomes a segment of the cultural realm as opposed to an individual faculty. My view differs from Connerton's in that, where he believes social memory would motivate Goans and Anglo-Indians to consciously partake in the ritualized aspects of food preparation and consumption so as to pay tribute to and recollect their colonial historic pasts in ways that do not "require explicit reflection on their performance" (1989:102), I consider such actions and behaviours to be reflective of their lifeworld role. I believe Anglo-Indian and Goan participation in such food-related practices (and other cultural and/or religious traditions, for that matter) is deeply engrained within their communal psyches. Instead of ritually repeating meal-related practices so as to recreate and, in many ways, remember their Indian homeland, members of these communities instinctually hybridize and modify them to reflect their post-colonial transnational contexts. Such rituals thus serve as forms of lifeworld assertion and communication that manifest through both the fixed and negotiable elements that they possess. Eating a meal with their hands or sitting on the floor to dine, for example, is inherently oppositional and alienating towards the common Western colonial knowledge which Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics have used to make sense of the world unless, of course, such individuals are eating a special "*Indian-themed*" meal which necessitates such a conscious and palpable change of behaviour, which represents a reinvention of ritual and/or tradition.

Christmastime, to Canadian Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, is one of the most significant religious holidays in their social calendars– a reason for family and friends to gather and celebrate. This holiday, alongside Easter, is a primary location where I found that many members of these communities remember, both obviously and subtly, key elements of their

Hindu past. Many Goan households begin food preparation before dawn, if not a day or two before. From just after sunrise, one can smell spices being ground and fried in *ghee* (clarified butter) for what will become the focal point of their holiday meal, *sorpatel* - a spicy pork and beef curry-like stew made with coconut vinegar (or *todi* vinegar) and strong spices which, like most good curries, takes much of the day to simmer. The pungent progeny of the Portuguese *sarapatel*, Goan *sorpatel* illustrates the intermingling of colonial and traditional gastronomy and culture. Similarly, Anglo-Indians enjoy *almorth*, an authentic British colonial dish which is a medley of beef, pork, chicken and vegetables all simmered in fragrant spices. *Bhoonie* is another key meat dish which many Anglo-Indians whom I interviewed feel is an important cultural tradition. Most oftentimes made with pork, beef and Indian spices, dishes, like *almorth*, *bhoonie* and *sorpatel* set members of these communities apart from other Indians. It is important here to note that the consumption of meat is prohibited within the Jain religion, as is pork within Islam; and beef is not eaten within many Hindu families. Accordingly, the preparation and consumption of *sorpatel*, *almorth* and *bhoonie* in themselves serve as ethnic identifiers thus separating Anglo-Indians and Goans from their non-Western counterparts but also serves as a testimonies of their religiocultural heritage. As such dishes require much preparation and cooking time, especially in the fast-paced Western diaspora, they are almost exclusively reserved for special occasions and, notably, Catholic holidays. And, although *chapatti* or *naan* can easily be purchased at a local Indian grocer, many Goans and Anglo-Indians will spend hours in the kitchen, kneading homemade dough and frying it on their *tava*, which is a steel or cast-iron flat griddle.

The ability to cook authentic dishes on religious holidays is an immense source of pride for Anglo-Indians and Goans alike, especially those living outside of India, as it illustrates cultural authenticity and the knowing and retention of practical ancestral knowledge. And,

despite many of the similarities and intersections between these cuisines and other types of South Asian cuisine as well as the fact that no two *sorpatel*, *almorth* or *bhoonie* dishes will ever taste alike, Goans and Anglo-Indians believe that what makes the food they prepare special is the fact that it has been made by them. As Jack, one of my participants, mentioned:

Goans are very proud of the food they cook. For sure, there's no doubt about it. They think everything is their own...As far as when I was growing up, (remembering) "Oh yeah, that's a Goan dish," "Oh yeah, that's a Goan dish for sure. Nobody else makes it." Then all of a sudden one day you find out that [others] make it, so many other people that make it... "You make that too? You eat that? No!" I mean absolutely food is, at least for Goans, we think that that's our thing. (m33G, Group Interview #1)

Likewise, Jill told me that she considered their cuisine to be one of the most distinctive elements of Anglo-Indian culture as it was a realm in which they had created their own styles, flavours and tastes that intermingled the best of both Indian and Western worlds:

One thing that I think ties in, for me, to all of that is the food – the food traditions – which I think are, you know, fairly different, I think. Like, at Christmastime, my Mum would always make a Christmas cake, and she will, you know, roast and stew, and certain dishes that are not quite Indian and not quite Western... they fit somewhere in between. And, those are things that will always be part of my [cultural] tradition. (f29AI, Group Interview #1)

Jill's family has learned how to express their individuality by combining Anglo-Indian foodways with those of other cultures. Adding particular spices or flavours to diverse recipes from around the world to make particular dishes "their own," Jill's family dinner table, like so many other migrant communities in Canada, is globalized as it utilizes a variety of ingredients, tastes and preparation techniques. Goans and Anglo-Indians, generally speaking, have adapted their traditional foodways so as to make full use of the tools the Canadian system makes available for them. Where traditional *sorpatel*, *almorth* and *bhoonie* may call for freshly-slaughtered meat and home-grown spices and vegetables, members of these communities will happily shop at the local grocery store, use frozen meat and pre-cut vegetables, and take other "short cuts" so as to permit

their continued participation in meaningful lifeworld traditions. Goan and Anglo-Indian ethno-specific grocers, to my knowledge, do not exist in Canada nor would they have any purpose, as members of these communities can alter and recreate culturally meaningful dishes and meals using whatever ingredients they have available, wherever they may be. In shopping, cooking and eating just like any other Canadian migrant community, Goans and Anglo-Indians assert their adaptability. However, irrespective of the fact that other communities elsewhere are enjoying similar combinations of Western and international flavours, what makes Anglo-Indian and Goan gastronomy unique is the community with which such meals are shared. Without one's family or community to prepare, sit and eat with, the cultural significance of any traditional dish is all but wasted.

After preparation, but preceding food consumption, each Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic family takes time to pray and give thanks to God. While most such households in India conduct their grace before meal prayers in English thus clearly designating their place and belonging within the Western, Anglicized Christian world, many Goan families in Canada, on special occasions, opt to say or sing their mealtime blessings in the Goan mother-tongue of Konkani which denotes an enduring connection with Goans in the homeland and around the world who have a daily, albeit non-religious, exposure to the vernacular tongue. For such diaspora Goans, the appropriation of particular phraseology and gastronomical rituals illustrate solidarity with the Indian community, while certain motions (such as the sign of the cross) and prayers declare their simultaneous belonging within the global Catholic Church. The use of Konkani during such festive occasions in Canada highly contrasts with those in Goa who choose to pray in English so as to illustrate their distinction from "non-Westernized" and non-Christian locals. Anglo-Indians, on the other hand, as they do not have an Indian vernacular which is

commonly accepted by all members of their cultural community, conduct their meal-time prayers in English. By doing so, they reaffirm their membership within the global Anglo-Indian Catholic community which also prays in English irrespective of their social environment or location, while simultaneously emphasizing their belonging within what they consider to be the Canadian English-speaking mainstream.

Pertaining to Goans specifically, the making and distribution of the Christmas *cunswa*, or sweet platter, is a tradition with flagrant Hindu roots. Within traditional Indian culture, the gift of food (*annandāna*) is believed to be an outward sign of generosity and charity, as well as a source of merit. In particular, many Hindu festivals, such as Diwali, involve the preparation and distribution of sweets, as just like a box of chocolates, flowers, or a bottle of wine, the giving of such treats symbolizes the recognition of an auspicious occasion. For Goan Catholics, both in India and abroad, the production and circulation of sweets continues to be done, not to celebrate Hindu festivals but rather to mark Christian holidays, especially Christmas. While many Hindus use sesame within their sweets, as within the *Mahābhārata* the seeds are deemed to bring perpetual merit, Goans have adapted their sweets to reflect their colonial roots and subsequent tastes. Cookies heavily seasoned with cocoa, cloves, coconut, cardamom or cinnamon are often filled with custard, lemon curd or jam, and savoury cheese-based fried delicacies are delicately flavoured with chillies or mustard. The *cunswa* literally has a complete medley of flavours within it that reflect the rich and diverse roots of Goan culture.

The Anglo-Indians I interviewed, interestingly, though generally referring to such sweets did not mention a specific title or name for their sweet-platters which are meticulously made and distributed at Christmastime although many of them did mention the practice. Additionally, although there are many books and online websites that list various Anglo-Indian sweet recipes, I

was unable to locate any sources that specifically discuss the historic and contemporary role sweets have within Anglo-Indian society. Despite their obvious place within the Anglo-Indian culture, as a researcher it was very difficult to discover whether the practice of giving sweets is something done to pay homage to their Indian Hindu roots and past, or whether the tradition has, in fact, been renegotiated or reinvented so as to reflect colonial tastes and culinary practices, as is the case with Goans and their *cunswa*. Whatever the case, such delicacies in both instances are given not just to Goans and Anglo-Indians but also to those from other Indian cultures who understand the cultural significance of sweet gifts. I believe this illustrates a reconciliation of faith and ancestry which simultaneously serves to differentiate both communities from the Catholic mainstream. The conjuncture of culture and faith, in the context of Canadian Goans and Anglo-Indians serves to honour the pan-Indian homeland while simultaneously creating a niche for themselves within the general Christian mainstream.

One of the most meaningful symbols that most Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics utilize within their Christmas festivities is that of the Nativity scene, or the *crèche*. A term specifically used to refer to the manger in which Jesus was born in Bethlehem (Stravinskis 1998:291), the *crèche* is an iconic symbol of the Nativity complete with figures of its significant participants: Mary, Joseph, the shepherds and their sheep, the ox and the ass, and of course the infant Jesus. In a miniature cradle, the baby figurine and his family are placed alongside the other characters, symbolizing the eve of Jesus' birth. Popularized by St. Francis in the thirteenth century (Fournier and Fournier 2002:10) when he assembled a representation of the Nativity scene in the woods of Greccio, which was near Assisi, the *crèche* instantly became a symbol of the faith and devotion for Christians.

Goans, with St. Francis of Assisi as their ancestral patron saint (Da Magliano [1867] 2009:492), place great emphasis on the continuity of the practice of crèche display during the Christmas season and even personalize many of its aspects so as to more fully reflect Goan culture. Perhaps the best illustration of this can be found in my own experience. When I was about ten years old, my family and I went on a holiday to Goa during the Christmas season. Staying with family, we were completely engrossed by the bright lights, sounds and foods that animate the Goan lifeworld. Despite myriad new experiences, one of the most poignant memories I have is of my Grand-Aunt's Christmas crèche. Located in her family room, it stood (yes, stood) about two feet high and was more-or-less the size of a three-seater couch. Complete with hay, foliage and lights, the crèche was unlike anything I had ever seen before. And, to my surprised delight, in the middle of the scene were figurines that looked just like me! With brown-skin and dark black hair, Mary, Joseph, the shepherds and even baby Jesus were vastly different from the light-haired, blue-eyed characters that my family place in our crèche back home. Although I did not inquire at the time, in retrospect I believe that my Grand-Aunt chose to use these brown-skinned statues not only because they were more culturally meaningful within a Goan context but also because they, in all likelihood, were simply more available and financially economical than the European-looking figurines that would have been imported from abroad.

As a researcher, I decided to casually inquire with my participants as to whether or not they had ever seen or used "Indian-looking" (i.e.: brown skin and black haired) holy figurines in their own worship. Interestingly, and to my surprise, many of them had. In fact, many of them recalled seeing them in India's Catholic churches, or even in what they viewed to be more progressive Caucasian churches which, they surmised, were attempting to be more realistic as Jesus did not have the European ancestry which could have given him the blonde hair and blue

eyes that he is often and historically portrayed with⁵¹. Beyond this, some informants even expressed wishes that they would, in fact, prefer that all statues of Jesus, Mary and Joseph be brown- or olive-skinned, or colourless (i.e.: made of stone, marble or wood) if possible.

As a researcher it is easy to recognize that having a brown-skinned Jesus demonstrates the complexity of Indian Catholic lifeworld experiences often defy simple generalizations. Not fully able to relate to the often Eurocentric portrayals of Jesus, despite their experiences with European colonialism that arguably would have made them more comfortable with a light-skinned God, Goans and Anglo-Indians have sought to portray Jesus as more aesthetically similar to what they look like. In doing so, they have fluidly recreated the characters of the crèche to represent themselves in new and meaningful ways. Despite their Catholic lifeworlds' pervasive nature, various colonial and geographic factors which shape social location and cultural subjectivities have complicated notions of both "Indian" and "Catholic" for these communities both in Canada and abroad. A brown-skinned, as opposed to Caucasian, black-haired baby Jesus sitting in a Nativity scene for members of these communities thus symbolizes a repossession of religious tradition and culture in light of diversity and tension not just with other Indians but also with non-Indian Catholics.

For Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic households, especially those with young children, the crèche remains a key seasonal devotional object which typically sits near the Christmas tree, or in an honoured position within the high-traffic family or living-room. Growing up, I viewed

⁵¹ Many researchers, especially those from feminist and cultural studies backgrounds, have discussed the impact of erroneously portraying Jesus and his family as blonde hair and blue-eyed. Bibb and Heard, for example, consider a European-looking white-skinned Jesus not only to be historically inaccurate but also very psychologically dangerous in that such imagery suggests that non-white individuals have "something wrong with them" (2002:124). Stroupe and Leach discuss in their study of the multicultural church the impact of having non-white Jesus representations. As an important evangelical tool, the brown-skinned Jesus challenges parishioners to contemplate the power of race and how religion should be, "colour-blind" (2003:70). Such studies, among countless others, depict how individuals and communities struggle to interact more fully with not only their faith but also their god(s). Reflected in their use of the brown-skinned Jesus, Goans and Anglo-Indians consciously or subconsciously challenge traditional Catholic lifeworld assumptions pertaining to Jesus' ethnicity.

the crèche as a “religious dollhouse,” of sorts. With doll-like figures who even had “pets,” as well as a space wherein they could imaginarily play and interact with one another, the crèche was a tool for me to discover and cultivate my Christian faith. Encouraged by my parents to remember the Nativity story and learn about baby Jesus, my siblings and I would spend much time in front of display. Although my participants did not discuss crèches specifically, I believe such memories are quite common for Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic individuals irrespective of where they reside due to the religiosity of these communities. Because of its value as a religious devotional symbol for members of both communities, the practice of displaying the Nativity scene remains something which has been passed down through generations. The construction and preparation of the crèche symbolizes not only a meaningful lifeworld tradition which tangibly animates central beliefs but also represents a time wherein life’s hectic nature is overlooked and special moments are shared with family members, and particularly between children and their parents in a devoted love comparable to that between Jesus, Mary and Joseph.

Finally, in demonstrative irony, many Catholic Goans and Anglo-Indians, especially those living in Canadian communities with large Hindu populations, celebrate Diwali. Khyati Joshi, in his study of Indian America, states that: “Diwali has become a cultural landmark for young [migrant] Indians, but has lost its religious import; it has gone from a Hindu religious holiday to a largely secular [pan-]Indian American celebration.” For years, my parents who are both avid and active members of the Roman Catholic Church have exhibited just this in their annual attending of a Diwali party thrown by two of their closest Hindu friends. I have many fond childhood memories of my parents dressing up in their finest Indian clothing and carrying large platters of sweets to give to the hostess. For a full week before the party, they collected pennies to gamble in various organized games. I remember them returning late in the evening,

with full bellies and smelling of strong-incense. Sometimes they won a few dollars in pennies, and others they came home with empty-pockets. The party always put them in such high spirits that, for the next week or so, *bhangra* music would be playing in our house around the clock. And, unusually, not once did they mention to me that such parties were religious celebrations.

Many Goans with whom I spoke, both young and old, celebrate the Hindu feast in ways comparable to those of my parents. While some told me stories about how they participated in Diwali events as children, living either in East Africa or India, others provided me with examples of how they continue to celebrate the festival because of its cultural import. Christina, a Kenyan-born Goan who migrated to Canada in the 70s, discussed how she remembers her family taking part in the week-long celebrations with their Hindu neighbours in Nairobi, Kenya. She said:

Since Diwali came earlier in the year than Christmas, it was something to look forward to. All the Hindu houses were decorated with coloured lights and along the walkways, there were tiny saucer-like dishes with candles in them. Even though we were Catholics, [my family] joined in the celebration[s] which usually lasted for a whole week. We ended staying up late at night, firing crackers, [which are] little fireworks that burst with a loud bang, and eating wonderful foods that the parents of our Hindu friends prepared and had in their homes. Sometime during the week, the mother of a Hindu household would come over to our home with a large tray of Indian sweets and savoury treats. It was very exciting to eat these... And then, for Christmas, we decorated our homes and took over a tray of Christmas sweets for our Hindu neighbours. (f54G, private email, Tuesday 1 June 2010)

For Christina, as a child, Diwali was a time of great celebration where she could do things that she normally may have been prohibited from doing, such as staying up late, playing with fireworks and eating copious amounts of sweets. It was a time where she could learn about and participate in some of the important lifeworld rituals of other communities. And, although she was not Hindu, Christina neither felt out of place nor as though she was any less Catholic at the neighbourhood Diwali celebrations. Rather, she and her family used the opportunity to

overlook otherwise obvious religious and cultural differences, and celebrate as one community. And, in “returning the favour” during Christmastime by delivering a tray of sweets to their Hindu friends, Christina’s family was able to invite them to join into their own lifeworlds, albeit temporarily. Although Christina today recognizes the important religious significance of Diwali, she claims that her participation in the festival has always been “limited to a ‘cultural’ mode” thus asserting her continued belonging within and devotion to Catholicism (f54G, private email, Tuesday, 1 June 2010).

Anglo-Indians, like their Goan Catholic counterparts, similarly commemorate Diwali despite their non-Hindu status. Sometimes participating in such feasts with an enthusiasm that one would think would typically be reserved for Christmas and other Christian holidays, Anglo-Indians contribute their own tastes to the celebrations with roasts and soufflés to share with their Hindu friends and neighbours (Masani 1990:3). Despite their social and cultural alignment with the British colonizers which rendered all things indigenously Indian as taboo (Moss quoted in Lumb and Van Veldhuizen 2008:135), Diwali was, within colonial India, one of the few occasions when parents acquiesced and allowed their children to celebrate with their friends and neighbours. With transnational relocation, many Anglo-Indians continue to pay tribute to the festival and, in doing so, have found new meanings for it that resonate with them both culturally and religiously. Annabel, for example, told me that she “celebrates Diwali with [her] Hindi friends” whenever she is able to (f61AI, private email, Wednesday 19 May 2010). Recognizing the importance of the festival for other Indian communities and her own Hindu ancestors, Annabel participates in the lighting of fireworks and distribution of sweets, many of which she makes herself, but chooses not to attend any religious ceremonies because of her status as a Roman Catholic.

In participating in particular aspects of Diwali celebrations, Annabel appears to have cognitively transformed the festival of lights from one of spiritual significance to one of national or Indian pride within her own Anglo-Indian lifeworld and the life horizon she interprets. And, while my own Goan parents would likely never organize their own Diwali party, they, like Annabel, continue to happily pay tribute to the occasion by attending the celebrations arranged by their Hindu friends. By sharing in such Diwali celebrations, these Indian Catholics celebrate the things they and their Hindu neighbours have in common. In renewing and further developing local and national frameworks, such Catholics are able to reaffirm their place in the Indian diaspora. What matters the most to these Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics is that they are sharing joy and good-tidings with their neighbours. Although they, for all intents and purposes, are “being” Hindu for the night by partaking in the traditions, foodways and sometimes even in the prayers and rituals of their friends, underneath their Indian-styled clothing, such Goans and Anglo-Indians continue to wear their tiny gold crosses and Virgin Mary medallions with pride.

Other noteworthy intersections of Christianity and Hinduism culture within the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic Canadian populations take place in blatant ritualistic or belief-centred contexts. Because such Catholics living in Canada do not have to take apologist or defensive stances in the practice of their faith, as may be the case in some parts of rural India where Hinduism’s pervasive and ancient influence can be considered the norm, many such individuals have developed a religious identity pliant enough to thwart their own extinction within the Canadian Catholic mainstream. These groups have thus redefined their very selfhood so as to simultaneously embrace their Catholic roots and religiously fit in, while incorporating elements of their Indian heritage to, either consciously or subconsciously, assert their distinctiveness within the Catholic majority. Looking at the promulgation of caste, arranged marriages and at

domestic folk beliefs, this section will move to discuss how some Anglo-Indians and Goans have fused particular elements of traditional Hinduism into their very Catholic core and how, ironically, such traditions permit the idiosyncratic development of an Indian-flavoured Catholicism.

The most common and well-known system of hierarchy that has shaped the development of Indian Catholic culture is that of *varna* or caste. Caste is one of the most pervasive and divisive issues in Indian society (Rinehart 2004:243), as

...caste largely determines the function, the status, the available opportunities as well as the handicaps for an individual. Caste differences even determine the differences in modes of domestic and social life... [A]dministrative functions have also been often divided according to castes... Caste has, further, determined the pattern of the complicated religious and secular culture of the people. It has fixed the psychology of the various social groups and has evolved such minutely graded levels of social distance and superior-inferior relationships that the social structure looks like a gigantic hierarchic pyramid with a mass of untouchables as its base and a small stratum of elite, the Brahmins, almost equally unapproachable, at its apex. (A. R. Desai 2005:38)

Although its roots lie in Hinduism, various key ideals associated with caste (i.e.: social hierarchical categories, rank dependant on birth rather than merit and the improvement/demotion of rank through marriage) have been historically ingrained within Christian Indian communal life (Agrawal and Aggarwal 1991:62). Despite the influence of Christianity within the Goan and Anglo-Indian communities, religious institutions and orders often did nothing to deter the promulgation of caste within new converts, perhaps due to its likeness to class and/or rank. Janet Rubinoff states, “[...] although the Church was able to impose a separate religious and cultural identification on the converts from their Hindu counterparts [,] they could only do it within the context of the indigenous social system” (1995:173). Accordingly, those Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics who converted from a well-to-do and high-caste Hindu background were often

permitted to retain their status. Officially Christianity has never officially recognized caste or *varna* (Lipton 2002:32), and many Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics within India and the diaspora continue to deny its existence, in order to differentiate themselves from the general Hindu population. Herein I suggest not only that *varna* and subsequent caste discrimination has had a long history within both the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities' development in India, but also that it has managed to firmly root itself in Canadian soil where the fundamentally inegalitarian nature of Indian society arguably does not exist. While other South Asian communities have also experienced a transplantation of caste from India to the United States and Canada (Nayar 2004), I argue that for members of the Goan and Anglo-Indian communities, caste has evolved uniquely so as to render it permissible and even desirable within Christianity's caste-free framework through utilization and adaptation of Catholic language, values and symbols.

Growing up, it was very common for me to hear such things as, "Oh, *so-and-so* comes from a 'good' Goan family," or "*Such-and-such-a-person* has very prominent Goan parents." Although such statements admittedly had little effect on me growing up, I later realized that these phrases were subtle allusions that hinted to the retention of caste-prejudice and class-designations. All of my research participants furthered my premonitions, in their admittance (some adamantly, others more sheepishly) that many such Catholics still believe in caste and, to a degree, follow its tenets. Pertaining to Goans, one man named Ernest claimed, "...nowhere else in the world do you have Catholics that have a caste system attached to it...which has an importance...which is understated, but exists" (m41G, Group Interview #4). He also told me:

Within the Catholic community...especially within the Goan Catholic community...you would invariably figure out where [another] person fits within the Goan caste-hierarchy. And, you wouldn't discriminate against someone who

isn't of the same class or caste as you, but you wouldn't associate with them because status-wise and culturally they wouldn't be the same fit as you...even if they were educated or whatever. (m41G, Interview #11)

Although he recognizes the role caste hierarchy has within the Goan community, it is interesting to note that Ernest did not consider social avoidance and exclusion as active forms of discrimination. Anton, another participant in his early forties, concurred with Ernest's view and mentioned to me that his own mother had been treated very badly by his father's mother because she belonged to a lower class than he did (m41G, Interview #10). With a staunch Catholic background on both his parents' sides, Anton expressed to me his surprise that such "Hindu" notions caused so much turbulence within his family. Similarly, because Anglo-Indian society was unable to purge itself of caste-grippings due to its likeness to British class stratifications, many Anglo-Indians continued to abide by (albeit not as strictly as the Hindu population) the caste-system's precepts, especially when seeking to secure upper-scale employment or membership within aristocratic (i.e.: upper-caste) social clubs frequented by members of their own community.

For Indians historically, including both Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, people's lifeworlds were incredibly influenced by caste determinations, as Hindu society for centuries before used caste to both practically and cosmologically organize their society. Children were born into the world, already blessed or burdened with caste designations, and many of their life-decisions would subsequently be made based on their location within the larger system. Catholic Anglo-Indians and Goans, although they subscribed to completely different cosmological and spiritual beliefs, and in many ways rejected fundamental organizational aspects of Hindu-India, oftentimes had no choice but to comply to the over-arching caste regulations. The fact that both the British and Portuguese colonizers frequently did nothing to dismantle the caste system and its

prejudices because of its cogent likeness to European social class levels and its relative use in helping to determine which of the colonized were more “fitted” to be included in the upper-strata of colonial society (including social clubs and higher-ranked bureaucratic positions) in many ways reaffirmed the place, if not the value, of the caste system within their lifeworlds. The transnational migration of both these communities, though oftentimes removing them from the physical and deep-seated social history of caste, in fact gave members of these communities the opportunity to consciously or subconsciously evaluate and reformulate caste’s role in the cultural, social and personal spaces of lifeworlds and the “taken-for-granted” that it subsequently entails.

Despite its apparent and all-encompassing nature, my research interestingly illustrates that Goan Catholic and Anglo-Indian caste is something that people within these communities do not typically like to discuss openly. Rather, it remains what one participant called, “a cultural boogeyman” (Wayne, m26G, Interview #11), in that people continue to subtly subscribe to it whilst perhaps simultaneously denying its existence in order to appear less judgemental and subsequently look better in other people’s (i.e.: non-Indians’) eyes. As Ernest insisted:

...within the Goan community [caste] still exists, even within Canada, very strongly. It exists very strongly, although it’s not spoken of. But, it does exist. [D]epending on which part of Goa you come from, there is also big divide. So, if you come from North Goa, as compared to South Goa, you’ll see that most people that come from North Goa are far more refined because of the way Goa, you know, was many years ago. So, though it has changed and there has been a lot of intermingling over the years, there are still...Goans from the South in Canada look down on the North...and, the spoken Konkani, the local language, is different in the way it sounds. It’s very funny. The written script is more an Indian script...but the spoken language, the way it’s spoken, is different in both areas. So, people from the South can immediately know that a person is from the North by the way their Konkani is spoken. You see, Goans historically settled depending on what caste they are. High caste families live in the North and low caste in the South. It’s just like the rest of India. (m41G, Interview #11)

Ernest's statement, though referring to Goans specifically, illustrates some of the various social divides that continue to be created and/or emphasized because of caste. He mentions his personal belief that upper-caste members of Goan society have traditionally opted to live in the northern regions of Goa, which may be rooted in the Indian popular belief that the *Brahmins* originated in North India (Alleyne 2002:67). According to Alleyne, this folk belief associates the *Brahmins* with the light-skinned "Aryans" who conquered the darker-skinned "Dravidians" (Alleyne 2002:67). By rendering North Goa as synonymous with both light-skin and upper-caste, it is easy to see how particular social hierarchies gain footing. Ernest also sheds light upon some of what he considered the distinguishing characteristics of those from higher castes, such as having a good education, one's dialect of Konkani spoken and where in Goa one's family hails from. Anglo-Indians, depending on where they were raised, their education and the family they came from, would likely have been subject to similar judgments as they shared with Goan Catholics both historical roots and exposure to the caste system's social tenets.

Geography plays a key role in terms of class- and caste-related bias as, even today for example, many older Catholic Indians I meet here in Canada ask me what village my parents or grandparents come from, as such knowledge will be able to tell them more about my social status and upbringing. Participant Gabriel told me:

So, they will say, "Tell me your last name." You say, "*such-and-such*" and just say who your father or mother is...from which village. And, then they know the worst about you. They already know about you. They say, "Oh, you are a *such-and-such*, and you are of this thing..." They have you slotted into whether you are high-class, low-class, middle-class, who your parents are... (m55G, Group Interview #7)

Although younger Goans and Anglo-Indians who were born in Canada are arguably removed from both class and caste's grasp because of their sheer lack of exposure to it, despite their age,

almost every member of these communities is aware of the fascinating role that caste- and class-prejudice continue to have within the community.

Pertaining specifically to religion, many Catholic churches in India were traditionally arranged by caste so as to permit the higher-caste families to sit closer to the front while lower-caste individuals were forced to sit further towards the back. Chandra Mallampalli, in *Christians and the public life in colonial South India*, illustrates that although many colonial rulers had responded differently to caste, “hierarchy” or caste Catholics from higher levels of Indian society at large continued to apply caste-rules to their churches thus causing agitation among the *Dalit* Catholics. For example, in colonial South India, walls were often erected separating upper-caste from non-caste Catholics, separate entrances were kept for upper/lower and non-caste Catholics and upper-caste Indian Catholics were allowed privileges, such as the ability to perform services at church altars, to touch or have custody of sacred images and items, to conduct certain rituals and to have keys of entry to particular churches (Mallampalli 2004:172-178). Although Mallampalli considers Anglo-Indian Catholics to have much lower retention and observation rates of caste customs and allegiances than those Christians of “pure Hindoo [sic] blood,” (2004:41) my participants’ experiences illustrate that in fact caste-bias does remain a noteworthy force within their lives and social domains. I suspect there is a two-tiered motive for this. First, as within Hinduism, higher castes and higher levels within particular castes are both traditionally considered to be more pure and clean than those lower levels. Accordingly, Catholics who come from such ancestral backgrounds may be deemed worthy of being in closer physical proximity to both the priest and the holy Eucharist. Additionally, from a more practical stance, higher-caste Goans and Anglo-Indians in most cases came from wealthier families and were thus able to donate more to the Church and its causes. Consequently, in a reward-like fashion, those who

gave more money were able to see more of what was taking place in the church. Because no specifically Goan Catholic or Anglo-Indian churches exist within Canada (although there are some churches with relatively high numbers of Goan and/or Anglo-Indian attendees, especially within some Toronto suburbs), such caste-related seating arrangements have not managed to duplicate themselves within diasporic congregations. However, this is not to say that caste is disappearing in terms of influence.

In the dating and marriage worlds, caste- and class-bias has been known to reveal itself in explicit and sometimes offensive ways. Lionel Caplan similarly speaks of the great difficulty many low-caste Anglo-Indian males have in securing Anglo-Indian wives within India. He states, “Those [men] without qualifications, regular work, a steady income, or proper housing, are perceived as being unable to offer any form of security in marriage...” (2001:83). Because women, due to European and Indian influences, are typically viewed as custodians and representatives of collective integrity, men of low-castes who are unable to properly financially and materialistically care for future wives are, even today, forced to marry outside of their community. Of my Anglo-Indian informants, many of them asserted that caste would (or did) not play an important role in their own marriages and likewise in those of their children. Sophia, however, a middle-aged participant, told me of an Anglo-Indian Catholic friend in Toronto who forbade her daughter from marrying her boyfriend because he was not of the “right” caste. Noticing my intrigue, Sophia continued to say that such judgments only occur when dealing with those within particular Indian diasporic communities:

...if her children married [Indians], they would be checked to the hilt. [But if] they married white guys, I think there would not be much fuss or anything. But, if they had married Goans or Anglo-Indians, they would want to make sure that the Goans are of the right caste. And, I can bet the same happens in other families. We have even got calls because we are checked out, and people are asking us, “Oh we hear that you have a son who is this age, and you have a son

who is this age... and we would like to introduce our daughter to them.” People who we know...but certainly they are interested because they want their kids to marry into a good family. (f54G, Group Interview #7)

Sophia believes that when dealing with mixed-cultural marriages, most Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic parents choose to ignore caste so as to perhaps maintain a non-Hindu outward appearance and follow the precept that “Hindus have caste; Catholics do not.” However, if one’s son or daughter is involved with another member of the community, true caste-judgments oftentimes expose themselves because it is considered to be traditionally expected within the communal context. While clearly within Sophia’s social circle, caste remains a noticeable if not seminal force in the selection of dating partners and spouses, I am not assuming that all Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic families in the diaspora adhere to caste-regulations so adamantly. In fact, as evidenced by my research, although many Goan Catholic Canadians are aware and even perpetuate caste-bias, Anglo-Indians seem to have replaced caste with class in terms of social consequences and status so as to distance themselves from the Indian Hindu norm. This substitution of caste with class will be discussed in more detail ahead.

Sophia also raises the important issue of arranged marriages – another ritual that, rooted in Hindu India, has maintained (or perhaps gained) practical footing within the Goan Catholic community in Canada. In Hinduism, marriage unions not only involve the bride and groom but also the entire larger family and often the greater community (Hawkins, Wardle and Coolidge 2002:19-20). Accordingly, such unions are viewed as alliances between two larger groups of people. Within an arranged marriage, the parents select the prospective spouse for their child and, once found, the two families meet to discuss the dowry and wedding-planning. Arranged marriages still occur today within Hinduism and can be pre-arranged even before one or both of the potential spouses are born. In Catholicism, however, arranged marriages are not as common

today. While indeed they existed in earlier times and especially when dealing with Catholic royalty or nobility, within Western society there continues to be controversy surrounding arranged marriages and their place within democratic lands. In spite of the lack of statistics available either from particular dioceses or from Canadian statistical agencies that discuss the percentage of arranged marriages that occur within the Roman Catholic tradition, I believe that the vast majority of all Catholic marriages that occur in Canada are not arranged but are rather love-marriages, or at least claim to be.

Despite this, Goan Catholics, with their Western upbringing, English education and thorough exposure to the European colonial system, have surprisingly found a place for arranged marriages in its community. Many of the participants I interviewed, especially those with children who were at or approaching marrying age, expressed dismay at the fact that Goan youth tended to date and/or marry those outside of their community. Upset at the fact that with intermarriage can come cultural dilution or absorption, such Goans boldly acknowledged that they wished their son or daughter would fall in love with a Goan. Because they themselves married Goans and their parents had married Goans, they believed that life would just be easier for their child if he or she followed in similar footsteps as things, such as religion, upbringing, social and educational expectations, gender duties and even tastes in food, would more likely be mutually held and adhered to with the upbringing of the subsequent generation.

While Goan Catholic parents admitted their matchmaking efforts were restricted to keeping their fingers crossed and praying to their patron saint at night, others prefer to take a much more pro-active role in their children's matchmaking. No better example can be given to illustrate this than an experience relayed to me by my own parents. A few years ago, both were attending a social function which was heavily attended by Goan Catholic professionals. After a

very traditional and lavish dinner had been served and eaten, a middle-aged and well-dressed Goan business woman stood to address the attendees. What followed, according to my parents, was a speech about the importance of keeping “things” within the Goan Catholic community and the need to ensure that Goan culture will not “die out.” My mother, a relatively liberal woman who had fallen in love with my (also Goan) father and subsequently chosen him to be her husband, told me she could not hide her bewilderment as the woman then came around the room carrying a very thick binder. In the binder were pictures of eligible (i.e.: single) Goan Catholic men and women of all ages, as well as important details concerning their appearance, height/weight, likes/dislikes, religious zeal, caste affiliation, education, income and region of residence. Hundreds of men and women were listed for perusal by mothers, fathers, aunts, uncles and grandparents who were keen on finding their loved one(s) a Goan Catholic spouse. While many of the candidates lived in Canada, a substantial number of them came from the United States, Europe and the Middle East. And, interestingly, some contenders actually lived in Goa which, it would appear, made them seem more culturally and religiously authentic. According to my parents, countless Goan attendees spent copious amounts of time flipping through the binder’s laminated pages and many subsequently supplied the woman, who likely was the head of the matchmaking company, with details about their own child(ren) so that they, too, could be entered into the binder’s candidate collection. If there was interest, the two families would arrange for a “chance” meeting in a public place, such as a work-related conference, social event or religious ceremony, and both sides would gently push their son/daughter towards the other. As I listened, I could not help but wonder if the children knew what their relatives were up to.

The woman had told my parents that such unions were not considered arranged marriages as such, as the young couple would never know that their meetings were set up – unless, of

course, parents chose to divulge such information. And, according to the woman who was promoting the cause, her business was just blossoming in Canada and she had more than enough interest from the Goan Catholic community to keep her very busy. This fact alone illustrates that while traditional, fully-arranged marriages typically do not take place in the Goan Catholic community, the matrimonial arrangement still plays an important role within many Goan Canadian families. Jacobsen and Raj suggest that within Christian Indian families in both Europe and North America, arranged marriages function as cultural and religious safeguards that will also protect youth from promiscuity and premarital relations (2008:200). They also suggest that many young adults, such as those whose pictures were in the binder, willingly allow parents to find them spouses as an arranged marriage is better than no marriage (2008:200-201). Although such marriages would, assumedly, take place within a strict Roman Catholic context, their arranged nature would likely not be disclosed to the priest who marries them as the priest or deacon interviewing the couple could, at their own discretion, consider it non-consensual and thus as potential grounds for future annulment.

Many of my participants claimed to know Goan Catholics whose marriages were fully arranged and some of their own marriages had even been arranged by relatives. Although such unions took place decades ago, the husband and/or wife oftentimes had little or no say in their own futures. And interestingly, additional Hindu concepts, such as dowry and caste, often played large roles in such decisions. Sophia said, "... when my father married my mother...my mother's family was very poor and couldn't give him a dowry. But, what Papa wanted was [that] he got upgraded between the two levels of Brahmin. He was upgraded..." (f54G, Group Interview #7). Devoted followers of the Catholic faith, Sophia's mother and father's families had placed great emphasis on what could be considered Hindu matrimonial values within their own children's

unions. Because her maternal family was not financially well-off, Sophia's mother was unable to provide her future husband with a sufficient dowry as was typical within the tradition. However, because her family was of a higher level of the *Brahmin* caste (there are various levels within each *varna*) than her fiancé's family, her family was able to negotiate with his and subsequently promote the groom to a higher class thus giving him augmented social status and recognition, as caste can only be changed through marriage. This greatly contrasts with the traditional Hindu ideal of marriage within the same caste and caste-level. Such subtle yet meaningful modifications to the ancient model of arranged-marriage in many ways serve to emphasize the distinction of Goan Catholics within the wider Catholic community whilst simultaneously reasserting their place within the greater and, in this case, conservative Indian cultural ideal.

Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I was also fascinated to learn that some of the Goan parents I interviewed would arrange the marriages of their children, if it was possible or if their children permitted them to. Even more surprising to me, but congruous with Jacobsen and Raj's findings, was that some of the young adults I spoke with also said that, if they did not find an appropriate spouse by a certain age, they would allow their parents to intervene and arrange a marriage for them. However, many of the adults and youth adamantly admitted they would keep such arrangements secret from their friends, larger family and especially from the Church. Although to many, this re-negotiation of tradition seems bizarre and irrational, Orsi and Hall's Lived Religion framework easily accounts for such hybridities. According to them, negotiating particular aspects of traditional religiosity is both expected and customary within ordinary people's lives, and such dynamic expressions of faith are just as authentic and meaningful as those rites purported by the institutions themselves.

Although, based on the sentiments of those I interviewed, caste- and class-related bias appears to have made its way into Anglo-Indian Catholic Canadian community, arranged marriages continues to be something that they are strictly opposed to. Jill, an Anglo-Indian who was born in India and came to Canada in her mid-twenties, told me that she considers her community's repugnance towards arranged marriage to in fact be a defining and certainly oppositional (in relation to other Indian communities) characteristic for them, "We don't have things like arranged marriages. And people from...Anglo-Indian...communities are quite...I would consider liberal, maybe compared to other Indians" (f29AI, Group Interview #1). Likewise, Annabel said, "In the Indian culture they have arranged marriages, whereas we don't. We date and we choose our own partners" (f61AI, Group Interview #5). Insisting that those within her community both choose their own boyfriends/girlfriends as well as their eventual spouses, Annabel interestingly considers Anglo-Indian culture to be something completely different and thus outside of Indian culture. Despite this assertion, throughout the rest of the interview, she continued to refer to countless practices that many would consider indicative of the semblance with or belonging within the Indian community, including foodways (such as the cooking and eating of pungent meat and vegetable curries), values (such as keeping family first and the maintenance of respect for their elders) and vocabulary (such as calling people "Aunty" or "Uncle," despite not being related to them).

Moreover, although participating in arranged courting and marriages seems to be against the beliefs and values of those Anglo-Indians I interviewed, many of them emphasized particular values and characteristics that they considered fundamental for either their own or their child(ren)'s spouse(s). Being Catholic, coming from a good family with good family values, being educated and self-sufficient, having a good job, ownership of property and (relative)

wealth were all criteria that were typically mentioned as desirable traits for potential spouses. These criteria, interestingly, are all also considered to be traits of individuals from upper-/middle-class families. L. Thara Bhai (1987), in her study of caste and class in South India, has studied the intersections and overlappings of these stratifications and how they manifest within the Indian population. Recognizing that the upper-caste within India typically constitutes the upper-class due to the caste system's enabling of social position perpetuation through status and power, Bhai claims that even when full caste-allegiances and beliefs cease to be followed as such, their consequences continue to transpire due under the guises of class (1987:173-177).

Within India in the post-Independence period, Anglo-Indians typically view marriage as something based on free-choice and "romantic love" (Caplan 2001:211), which follows the Westernized style of spousal selection. In Canada, the Anglo-Indians I spoke with imply a clear disjunction between themselves and what they consider to be the mainstream system of Indian matrimony. Anglo-Indians, unlike Goans, seem in many ways to have renegotiated particular aspects of their lifeworlds so as to perpetuate particular features and traits associated with caste via social class stratifications. Ridding their community of socially restrictive and iniquitous caste bias in order to emphasize their liberalism and alignment with the Western world while distancing themselves from Hindu hierarchical society, the Anglo-Indian Catholics I spoke with, ironically, place great emphasis on class. Many Goans, on the other hand, though claiming to reject arranged marriage for the same reasons that Anglo-Indians do, continue to practice it within their own domestic lives, and behind culturally closed doors hidden from Western society's judgmental gaze.

In comparison, fully arranged marriages remain much more common among other South Asian religious communities in Canada, such as the Sikhs (Ember, Ember and Skoggard

2004:1079). Because of their traditional place within the lifeworlds of the Sikh community, arranged marriages are ways of ensuring the spouse(s) of their child(ren) meet particular reputation, caste/class, education and status criteria. However, within the last few decades, Sikh parents have permitted couples to get to know one another beforehand under supervision perhaps reflecting Western social beliefs (Ember et al. 2004:1079). Whereas until the 80s, Canadian Sikh parents would regularly sponsor a bride or groom for their child from India due to the relatively small number of domestic Sikhs to choose from, now Sikh families recognize the size of the global Sikh diaspora and prefer to search for a spouse in the United States and Europe (namely Britain) only if they are unable to find a mate in Canada for their son or daughter. While arranged marriages are the preference for parents, Canadian-born third-generation Sikhs favour a modified form of or partially-arranged marriage (Nayar 2004:72). Young Canadian Sikhs, in this regard, prove to be somewhat like their Goan counterparts in that they respect the judgment of their parents and admire the steadfastness of the traditional Indian matrimonial model, in comparison to Western love marriages which have high divorce rates. However, where most Canadian Goans prefer to search for their future spouse without their parents' initial intervention, many Canadian Sikhs respect their parents' wishes in mate selection from the beginning of the dating/courtship process.

Lina Samuel, in her study of first- and second-generation Kerala Syrian Orthodox Christian women in the Greater Toronto Area, discovers similar attitudes amongst her participants. Despite living in Canada, first-generation Kerala Syrian Christian women insisted on the importance of maintaining matrimonial customs (L. Samuel 2010:9). Beyond this, parental input on mate-selection is not only expected but greatly appreciated by such eligible females (L. Samuel 2010:8-10). Pertaining to second-generation Kerala Christians specifically,

Samuel found that, because they felt pressures from their parents to marry, such women were “open” to meeting potential mates (L. Samuel 2010). In acquiescing to their parents’ matchmaking desires, they assert their closeness and obedience to both their family and the greater community. But, seeing that such introductions typically do not work out, many female respondents end up dating outside of their cultural community (sometimes in secret), making it challenging to meet parental cultural expectations.

The Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I spoke with are similar to Samuel’s informants in that they all recognize the importance of maintaining communal links and family closeness. While most members of first-generation typically married within their own community, due to larger community populations within their respective homelands, members of the second or third generation tended to date outside of their ethnic groups simply because of the multicultural nature of their schools, workplaces and social groups. There were no instances, to my knowledge, where Goan or Anglo-Indian parents overtly “pushed” second-generation respondents to marry select individuals based on their ethnic background. The youth I spoke with told me that while they were very forthright with their parents in terms of who they date, even when their partners were non-Goan/Anglo-Indian, they still respected their parents’ views and opinions in terms of desirable personal traits. Samuel suggests that experiences of social exclusion by Kerala Syrian Christians, especially members of the first-generation, drive individuals to cling to homeland customs that define their identity as Indians (L. Samuel 2010:15). I, on the other hand, believe that because Goan and Anglo-Indians seek to align themselves with Western society and its dominant culture, they fiercely reject the forced arranged marriages that were typical within Indian traditional society and remain open-minded to wider marriage prospects. Additionally, because members of these communities believe their

lifeworlds fit within urban Canadian society rather well, they have not had to cling to static notions of traditional endogamy.

Whether arranged or not, many Anglo-Indian and Goan couples in Canada interestingly employ traditional Indian or Hindu cultural symbols in order to make their Catholic wedding celebrations a little more exotic than the average Canadian wedding ceremony. Some brides choose to have *mendhi* on their hands or feet while others wear a sari-styled wedding gown thus illustrating a reunion of their faith and their Indian ancestry. And, because no large-scale banquet halls exist in the Greater Toronto area that exclusively cater Goan or Anglo-Indian food, many couples opt to have their wedding receptions in Hindu or even Sikh venues complete with *bhangra* music. Ironically, the same aspects of their Indian culture that would have been suppressed, shunned or avoided in India by Catholics in order to distinguish themselves from the general population become the very elements that serve to differentiate them from the Catholic Canadian mainstream. The paradoxical conjuncture of culture and faith, in the context of Canadian Goans and Anglo-Indians serves to honour both India and the traditions of the past while simultaneously creating a niche for themselves within the generally accepted and even trendy Western mainstream.

For members of these communities, their lifeworlds have concrete implications on their lives and the ways they interact with the wider Canadian system. Within Canada, where personal autonomy and freedoms are esteemed and upheld through existing laws regarding informed consent, legal institutions has systematized such beliefs by embedding them within the constitutional system and various codes of law. This in itself has created an overarching system that can, at times, be counter-intuitive to particular traditionally Indian lifeworld beliefs and practices, including arranged marriage. To exist within the lifeworld, certain value-commitments

and performances need to be constantly reaffirmed and thus establish influence. The Indian system (including the media and governmental powers), through the historical acknowledgement and sanctioning of arranged marriage, continues to reaffirms its place within the lifeworlds of its people. Goan and Anglo-Indian diaspora Catholics, in their simultaneous rejection of the categorical label of arranged marriage and caste allegiance, and acknowledgement of, what I consider to be, recognized class-traits have tailored their lifeworld so as to thwart their lifeworld colonization and thus better fit with the Canadian system. By taking part in communicative action so as to come to common understandings regarding their beliefs and practices, Goans and Anglo-Indians legitimize their lifeworlds. Whereas some South Asians have been colonized by the system (by having to return to India to partake in their arranged marriage, or having to date in secret), the Goans and Anglo-Indians I spoke with have found the means to legitimately continue their traditions within Catholic and Canadian contexts. Publically denouncing arranged marriages whilst concurrently “introducing” their children to potential partners with class- (as opposed to caste) related desirable virtues, members of these groups adapt ancient lifeworld traditions so as to better reflect their Canadian milieu. Members of both communities have, in their own ways, reconfigured themselves so as to permit the continuity of key values within their local lifeworlds whilst declaring their dissimilarity from other Indian communities.

Beyond marriages and on a daily basis, many Catholic Indian couples and families in Canada continue to practice and observe particular cultural beliefs that, in their minds, make them better Catholics. One of the first things that many Goans and Anglo-Indians do when they move into a new home is get it blessed by a local priest or the male family-head. During the course of my university education, which often entailed the frequent movement from apartment to apartment, my father would visit and, as the patriarch of the family, bless my space in hopes

of curtailing evil and invoking my protection. Sophia had a similar experience as she told me, “I know, automatically, when our kids move...we get their new house blessed. All around the house...When we were younger, you bless[ed] the house once and that was it. Whereas now, I would like the house blessed more often...” (f54G, Group Interview #7). To her, blessing the house serves as a testimony to the faith that she and her family possess. Beyond house-blessing (which is still done in my family), my mother and grandmother would often hang tiny crucifixes or pictures of Jesus on top of all the doors and windows leading outside, claiming that Jesus’ presence would look after and protect me. Although sometimes difficult to explain their (i.e.: the crosses and holy pictures) presence to those outside of the community and especially to those who were not Catholic, I remember always taking comfort in knowing they were there. Even today, as a young woman married to someone outside of the Indian community, I continue to practice this small yet meaningful tradition because of its personal and cultural lifeworld meaning.

Shrines and altars are also very common within both Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic households in Canada. In particular, the Virgin Mary, a revered figure especially favoured by Goans for her chaste and devoted love of God, is often given special treatment and a place of her own within such homes. Surrounded by flowers, incense, fruit, candles and a rosary, the Blessed Lady is treated with adoration by those in the family, as prayers are said to her. Such shrines, from my experience, range from small in size to that of a small-room (or even a front lawn!), where she is given central attention. In the few Anglo-Indian households I visited (the majority of our meetings were held at the local Roman Catholic Church), I noticed conspicuous altars with images of the Sacred Heart. According to Laura Bear, in her study on the materialization of Anglo-Indian genealogies, the Sacred Heart image is of great cultural importance and is usually

kept where the family gathers most often (Bear in Carsten 2007:52). Encircled with photos of close dead relatives, many Anglo-Indians give a “...transcendent permanence to the presence of dead family members, and [accordingly] create a sacred continuity of personal and community history” (Bear in Carsten 2007:52). Reflective of a Hindu past wherein home shrines were used to house gods and perform daily rituals, such devotees have simply replaced the Hindu deity(ies) in their shrines with those appropriate for Catholicism. This tradition likely roots back to colonial times when Hindu deity images were forbidden in the homes of new-converts thus forcing individuals to swap their old images with new ones in order to remain on good terms with powerful Christian religious institutions and orders. Such religious imagery fused with genealogical meaning clearly attests to the syncretic nature of these communities as elements from their Hindu ritualistic pasts are utilized with Christian symbols and religious iconography.

This use of home altars and shrines is certainly, however, not unique to Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics. Neither, for that matter, is the syncretism that is so often found within their décor, arrangement and associated rituals. During the colonial period, Latin American Catholic families, for example, constructed often elaborate home chapels which incorporated Mexican spiritual elements, such as the sun, the moon and corn, into Catholic images and objects (Ruíz and Korrol 2005:40). Even today, the linking of Jesus and Mary to the sacred cosmological forces and substances that govern their practical existence allows devotees to simultaneously make spiritual oblations to the religious deities that are promulgated (but not necessarily embodied) by the larger system and the ancient forces that oversee the lifeworlds of both themselves and their ancestors.

Like the Hindu shrine, the Goan or Anglo-Indian shrine is focus for morning and evening prayers where prayers are recited or Bible verses are read. Gabriel, a father of two boys,

told me, "...ever since we came into this house, we put an altar up, right? It's in the centre of the house. I'll tell you why...This [i.e.: the Virgin Mary] is the one who brought us here" (m55G, Group Interview #7). Although Gabriel confessed that his centrally-located shrine occasionally caused others to make remarks or ask questions as to why he has chosen to have such a conspicuous display of his faith, he did not seem to mind as the household altar was an enduring tradition within his family. In setting up a shrine, Gabriel has yielded to a meaningful tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:1) that tacitly inculcates Roman Catholic values within both his family as well as within those who visit his home. Through ongoing exposure to the shrine as well as the lifeworld religious ideologies it conveys, Gabriel explicitly draws attention to his beliefs and priorities. And, by accrediting the Virgin Mary for his Canadian relocation and subsequent success, Gabriel successfully establishes a "quasi-obligatory" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:2) traditional routine of devotion for himself and his family.

Within such Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic households and domestic contexts, many other Hindu-rooted folk-practices also reveal themselves. Especially when dealing with young children or babies, numerous members of these Canadian communities continue to practice traditions and rituals of their ancestors designed to protect and/or ward off evil. *Drishti* or the evil eye, in particular, is something some Goans and Anglo-Indians actively strive to thwart. Rooted in the Hindu belief that particular people consciously or unwittingly have the capability to curse or jinx another through a passing glance or gaze, being given the evil eye by another can result in bad luck, injury or even death. In order to deflect the evil eye, such communities have modified Hindu rituals in order to make them "Catholic-friendly," as no recognized evil-eye removal rituals are recognized or taught by the institutional tradition. Within Hinduism, a holy flame and bunch of entwined chillies placed on a dish is moved in a circular motion around the

individual believed to have been given the evil eye. While this is done, the person performing the ritual chants or recites particular *Sanskrit* mantras. The chillies are then thrown into the nearby fire and the pattern of smoke will indicate whether one has been given the evil eye or not, and whether it has been cured. Goan Catholics, on the other hand, modifying Hindu tradition, wave a small bundle of three chillies and lime around the person who is believed to have been given the evil eye whilst chanting a variation of the Apostles Creed. The bundle is subsequently thrown into the fire, while witnesses make the sign of the cross and pray silently or together as a group. Whether or not the chillies crackle in the fire signifies whether or not one was cured. Although any person within the Goan community can theoretically perform this ritual so long as he or she is familiar with the motions, most typically it is done by a *dishtikar* or a *disht*-remover who is usually an elderly person within the community with previous experience in such matters whereas in Hinduism, a *sadhu* or ascetic typically is called upon to execute the ritual.

Some Goan participants even discussed their own Canadian experiences with the evil eye. Moira, for example, provided me with this story:

My mother used to tell me these stories about people who had evil-eye, and like *disht*. And, I used to work downtown...in Toronto, when my oldest son was born. My secretary was a Goan girl, from....I'm not sure where she's from. Anyway, we were both the same age, and I had my son as a little baby, and she hadn't had a baby yet. She would always ask me, "Show me pictures of him" and she would say, "How is your son doing? How is he keeping?" And that [very] evening he would be sick, with a slight fever, and restless. And this happened two or three times, and my mother said, "Never tell her your baby is fine. When she asks about him, don't show her photographs, and always say, 'Oh, he's not doing well'"...And, she said that this woman may not know she has an evil eye but even though she's not seeing him directly, her evil thoughts are being transmitted through me to the baby. And, I said, "Rubbish, this is rubbish." And, I tested it out several times, and inevitably every time I said that my son is fine, she would talk about him, and he would be sick at night. (f54G, Group Interview #7)

Although Christina did not tell me whether or not she or her family had conducted a ritual to ward off or eradicate the evil eye and protect her son, she did tell me that her mother regularly said prayers thereafter for his well-being. Attributing the evil eye to the other woman's jealousy that she had not yet had a child, Christina believed that, on some level or another, her co-worker indeed had supernatural abilities. Gabriel told me a similar story about *disht* and how his papaya plant had been plagued by it: "...we used to have a papaya tree. We had also some other fruits. And, this particular lady came to our house and said such [jealous] remarks, and the papayas literally fell half-raw. They just ruined..." (m55G, Group Interview #7). While Gabriel laughingly admitted that he did not perform the chilli and lime *disht* removal rite around his tree, he told me that he "baptized" the tree with a little bit of *feni*, which is a fermented liquor indigenous to Goa that is made from cashews. Replacing holy water with a culturally meaningful symbol, Gabriel believes that his actions helped protect and "heal" his fruit thus illustrating that the evil eye, as within Hinduism, is not just limited to human beings but also can negatively affect the plants, animals and special possessions of particular people.

Many of the Anglo-Indians I spoke with similarly knew of the evil eye which can occur when "anything beautiful and charming, when looked upon by a person bent on mischief, prompts him [or her] to do harm..." (Whitworth 1885:225). As with Goans, traditional Anglo-Indian society deems anything which in itself is considered "ugly" to be "safe" from catching the evil eye. Interestingly, despite their full awareness of it within their communities (based on my questions), the Anglo-Indians I interviewed did not participate in *disht*-removal ceremonies or rituals, like their Goan counterparts. Furthermore, I was unable to locate any extant sources or research which discussed Anglo-Indian modifications to traditional Hindu evil eye rituals. Unlike Goans who have re-negotiated and re-invented the role of particular Hindu traditions within their

own lifeworld so as to legitimize the existence of the evil eye within an acceptable Catholic context, my research suggests that contemporary Anglo-Indians have fundamentally modified their lifeworlds in an attempt to distance themselves from obvious practices pertaining to evil eye thus preventing their alienation within what is perceived to be a rational and modern system freed from superstition. Despite this, the very fact that Anglo-Indians continue to talk about the evil eye within a religiocultural context, as evidenced by the fact that my informants were well aware of its presence within their community, attests to its importance.

Although Anglo-Indians to my knowledge do not participate in organized, group-oriented *disht*-removal rituals such as that outlined above within a Goan Catholic context, they do (or did at one point) take part in some rites that, though perhaps less structured, sought to thwart evil eye through individual domestic agency. This, perhaps less conspicuous, way of warding off evil eye is through the use of *kajo* (to Goans)/*kajaak* (to Anglo-Indians) or black coal. Drawn on the face and around the eyes of a newborn baby, Goan parents believe that the black colour will make the child appear imperfect thus distracting the evil spirits and preventing the child from receiving the evil eye. Within traditional Hindu society, black is considered the colour of mourning and is thus looked upon as unlucky, accordingly by colouring anything important or beautiful with a little black “so that the eye may fall, not on the thing itself, but on the black spot” (Whitworth 1885:225), the evil curse is averted. Some of my participants admitted to painting black on their child(ren) at one point or another in their lives. Gabriel told me that when he used to travel to Goa, he would paint black marks on his children not only to ward off evil but also so as to distinguish himself as a local, as opposed to a foreigner (m55G, Group Interview #7). Sophia, another informant who admitted using *kajo*, told me that the coal

also serves a practical purpose (i.e.: to cool the eyes of the baby) thus legitimizing their actions within a Canadian system that heavily promotes child welfare.

Unlike *disht* and *disht*-removal, which flagrantly appear both within Goan Catholic literature as well as within the lives and personal experiences of my participants but remain conspicuously absent from Anglo-Indian narratives, I was able to track one excerpt about the use of coal to repel the evil eye within Anglo-Indian society. Esther Mary Lyons, Anglo-Indian author of *Unwanted*, relays to her readers her mother's practices:

[My Indian] Mum always applied thick black *kajaal* (home-made eye liner made from the soot of the pure ghee and peppermint) around my brown eyes and put a small black dot on my chin. She said the black dot was a beauty spot and would ward off any evil eye. One day Sister Joanna, [a] German nun very gently told me to stop applying the black stuff around my eyes, because she said my pale face was too thin for the thick dark lines. (Lyons 2005:104)

Lyons' account starkly contrasts the superstitious views of her Indian mother with what she considers to be Western notions of beauty and modernism. Within the Hindu-based lifeworld of Lyons' Indian mother, the application of *kajaal* was not only acceptable but in fact socially expected. Because of its use in warding off the evil eye and thus preventing spiritual ugliness and impurity within an individual, drawing black around the eyes and on the chin serve as beauty "fixes" which come to be of dual purpose and practical value. The constant legitimization of the practice made it a lifeworld normativity. A person free or protected from evil eye is viewed as beautiful whereas one who has the evil eye is viewed as unattractive. In this instance, the lines between spiritual and aesthetic causes are strategically blurred. When Lyons' speaks to a German Sister Joanna, who clearly does not have the same Hindu lifeworld history as her mother which not only accepts the use of *kajaal* but has aesthetically legitimized its use, the nun tells her that, in fact, the eye liner is not beautiful. Sister Joanna's lifeworld, as developed and sustained quite differently than that of Lyons and her mother, views beauty as something purely based on

physical appearances, face complexion and shape. Accordingly, young Lyons experiences a lifeworld delegitimization and comes to question her own beliefs.

Especially for Goan Catholics, the use of *kajol/kajal* is often supplemented with novenas or prayers, as those who make use of such rituals for their loved ones continue to have faith in their spiritual purpose. Although some strict Catholics view such rituals as overtly-superstitious and even foolish, the Goan Catholics whom I interviewed all valued their integral role in the daily maintenance of their spiritual lives and as a part of their cultural tradition. Without such rites and rituals, these individuals would not be fulfilling their expected roles and duties as Catholic parents. Their faith teaches them that there are both good and evil forces in the world, and adapting traditional Hindu rites to combat evil only makes sense.

Comparatively, the Anglo-Indians I interviewed, though greatly aware of the use of coal to prevent the evil eye, did not seem to be attached to particular traditions enough so as to continue their practice within Canadian society today. Though all expressed knowledge of the evil eye, few offered a detailed outline or cosmology. Although such participants did not have much to say and typically changed the topic, it is logical to assume that their awareness of the phenomenon points to the place that the belief once had or continues to have within their community. With the often-contrasting influences of British, Indian and Canadian macro-systems, it comes as no surprise that this particular belief has taken the religiocultural “backburner.” Perhaps believing that the Western system does not lend itself well to such superstitious beliefs and traditions, the contemporary Anglo-Indian Catholics I interviewed have all but abandoned their active participation in the fight against the evil eye. This is not to say, however, that no Anglo-Indian families participate in such rites, as my research sample represents a very small minority of the full Anglo-Indian population both in Canada and

globally. Additionally, there are many other Catholic communities who, though living contemporary lives in Western society, have found ways to incorporate their ancestral beliefs into their Christian-based lifeworlds.

Much research has been devoted to Italian-Catholics in North America and their persisting, intergenerational belief and awareness of the evil-eye. Leslie Robertson, in her ethnography of European immigrants living in Fernie, British Columbia, looks at how cursing has become a symbol of discursive political and cultural power which continues to internationally transmit throughout generations. In her interviews with Italians within the community, she discovers that many of them, like the Goans I spoke with, have legitimized traditional folk traditions that may have been created outside of a Catholic context through the incorporation of religiously appropriate symbols and narratives (Robertson in Filson and Robertson 2005:76). Using Catholic prayers and Biblical stories to reinvent traditional beliefs, the evil eye is something that is particularly relevant within older members of the community. Interestingly, Robertson finds that immigration prolongs the life of such beliefs as the evil eye (2005:78-79) which, in my opinion, seems to imply that such lifeworld beliefs are able to persist more fully and functionally within the indigenous context in which they were reinvented. This suggestion, as illustrated through her data, also explains why the Anglo-Indians I interviewed did not actively adhere to any structured ideas pertaining to the evil eye. As Anglo-Indians keenly align themselves with Western, if not British, society, they seek to relatively distance themselves from many of the indigenous Indian folk values that they consider to clash with the Western system.

Polish-Americans also reportedly have a strong ancestral belief in the evil eye. Although any jealous or ill-willed individual is capable of transferring the curse to others, the Polish

believe that those who are marred with a visible scars or physical deformities are especially capable of transmitting the evil eye (Silverman 2000:91). Unlike within Indian society where children are painted with black coal or liner, the Polish affix red ribbons onto themselves and their kin in hopes of transferring ill-wishes to the decorations instead (Silverman 2000:92). Silverman reports that active belief in the evil eye has all but disappeared with only a few of her Polish-American informants referring to it as a superstitions of their “immigrant ancestors” (Silverman 2000:92) However, as with the Anglo-Indian community, although Polish migrants dismiss the evil eye in terms of its contemporary cultural and spiritual relevance, the fact that they are able to discuss the topic at a rather in-depth level, I believe, attests to its importance within the traditional sociocultural lifeworlds of their community.

Superstitions and superstitious beliefs continue to be stigmatized within the mainstream Canadian or Western system. Many scholars have discussed how various components of the macrosystem, such as educational (Filson and Robertson 2005:79), legal (Trachtenberg and Idel 2004:23), medical (C. Kim 2003:223; Spicker 1984:73-77; Magnus 2009) and political (George and Wilford 2005) structures, have skeptically judged and/or deemed superstition, especially religious, to be primitive and irrational, and thus inherently conflicting with the rationality of the modernized system. Within European society, superstition has particularly been historically viewed with deride and mockery. With the inception of both Portuguese and British colonialism, Hindu superstition and folk beliefs were, as discussed in the previous historical context chapter, often dissuaded and even forbidden so as to encourage the spread of Western, “civilized” antics, behaviour and personas. In mainland Britain, churches in the 1800s, for example, “publically targeted magical belief as ‘stupendous monument[s] of national weakness, ignorance and disgrace’” (1818 in Davis 1999:46, in Filson and Robertson 2005:79). Such systemic targeting of

lifeworld folklore would likely have great implications not only for immigrant communities but also for those who consciously or subconsciously wish to ally themselves with or portray themselves as being more sophisticated or civilized and thus accordant with Western society. As illustrated with both Goans and Anglo-Indians, despite the variances in their adherences to and continuing beliefs in particular superstitious beliefs and their associated rituals, these communities have nevertheless re-invented various aspects of pregiven conceptual lifeworld meanings so as to better “fit” within the Canadian, Western system. Goan Catholics, for example, have removed the public elements from many such rites and practices, rendering them meaningful within solely domestic or culturally exclusive contexts. Although such Goans would likely never dare to perform a *disht*-removal ceremony in a Western public school, park or even a North American Catholic church, they continue to believe in the roles such performances have within their spiritual lifeworlds and accordingly transfer appropriate cultural know-hows to subsequent generations who themselves have learned how to re-invent and personalize them according to their own beliefs and contexts. Anglo-Indians, by continuing to discuss the Hindu-rooted traditions of their ancestors and occasionally participating in the less-conspicuous rituals and practices, have reasserted their belonging within what they believe is the Western systemic ideal. And, although seemingly mundane aspects related to food, traditions and superstition testify to the faith of their ancestors, by re-inventing certain Hindu beliefs and values Goan Catholics and Anglo-Indians, to a certain degree, reconcile their Christian faith with their Indian roots by replacing the myriad meanings behind Hindu practices with those of Christianity.

Through their recognition of the often ambiguous and ambivalent nature of the religious worlds people live in and their intergenerational and contextual fluidity, Orsi and Halls’ Lived religion frameworks permit a re-thinking of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic imaginings.

Hobsbawm, Ranger and Giddens' ideas pertaining to how traditions are re-invented and re-created on an ongoing basis clearly illustrate how the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians have, perhaps consciously or unwittingly, undergone both subtle and large changes so as to permit members of these communities to address and/or respond to novel situations within Canadian contexts. As the Canadian system, though in some ways similar to the Indian system, is a product of the interminglings of unique historical, colonial, political and social contexts, it makes sense that the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians have had to in some ways adapt so as to maintain its legitimacy and conceptual relevancy in its interpretation of the life horizon. The Catholic faith which sustains these very lifeworlds, in these instances, thus proves to be something pliant and something supple; something that allows Diwali parties to be attended and something that permits the use of *mendhi* and *saris* within the Catholic weddings. Indian folk beliefs and rituals, especially those pertaining to superstition and *disht*, continue to persist within communities that otherwise pride themselves on being very-Catholic and Westernized in their modes of thought. Bundles of chillies are burnt and alcohol is used to bless objects and plants; statues of the Virgin Mary are treated to fresh fruit and incense, babies are given black markings and holy pictures are proudly displayed above windows and doors. Despite the fact that, in most cases, the Roman Catholic Church does not actively condone or promote such personalizations of the faith, and typically did not within the Indian colonial era, the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed gain comfort in the fact that they are being proactive agents of their own lives. By translating their beliefs into a vernacular that they can both understand and relate to, Anglo-Indians and Goans living in Canada dynamically personify the values they treasure. And, although messy and unclear at times, to such individuals, their faith locates them in a place of

their own within the clearly overlapping realms of their Indian-influenced lifeworld and Canadian systemic belonging.

C. *Goaphiles*, *Gollywogs*, and *Canadesiacs*: juggling a hybridized ethnic identity

Successfully balancing multiple identities can prove to be a tricky if not arduous task, especially within urban Canada, where so many diverse and even oppositional religious and cultural groups collide, interact and intermingle with one another on a daily basis. The Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I interviewed, because of their European colonial experiences, vast migration patterns and rich transnational histories, have developed the innate ability to maintain equilibrium between their religious, national, regional, ethnic, caste, class and professional loyalties. For these people, multiple identities are not generally perceived to be in conflict; rather such individuals have more-or-less learned to successfully juggle not only the multiple social, religious and ethnic memberships they have but also the roles that are entailed with such allegiances (Stryker 1980). How do Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics maintain this equilibrium? And, how exactly do such individuals with varied heritages and colonial ancestries pay tribute to their diverse roots and experiences not only within the domestic realm but also within public and/or social contexts? And, do the identity configurations of these individuals permit their integration not just within smaller social and ethnic group contexts but also within the greater Canadian social system?

This dissertation section explores the uniquely hybridized ethnic identities of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in Canada. Using opinions and data obtained through the course of my fieldwork consisting of one-on-one interviews and group interviews, this section examines how members of these communities have learned to successfully co-balance memberships within

various circles of belonging simultaneously. I primarily suggest that Goans and Anglo-Indians, like most ethnic migrant communities, have various identity and ethnic categories that are both invoked and drawn upon on a regular basis. As my research illustrates, there is neither a singular nor fixed way of being Anglo-Indian or Goan Catholic. Rather, the ethnic attachments and linkages of Anglo-Indians and Goans continue to be varied and heterogeneous - true products of their mixed affiliations, transnational experiences and hybridized ethnocultural interminglings. Moving beyond this, I put forward that although many such individuals easily learn how to seamlessly switch between and co-balance varying identities at a relatively early age in life, their identity affiliations and allegiances remain in a constant state of dynamic flux. How they identify and what particular aspects they choose to reveal and/or disclose to others depend not only on their immediate social context but also on their age and stage in life. Discussing patterns observed in my research, I illustrate that while age and life stage indeed affect how Goan and Anglo-Indian Canadian Catholics generally view themselves ethnically, various external factors (such as the proximity to one's cultural community, frequency of community involvement and peer groups) can drastically alter the ways their ethnicity develops.

In this section, I employ Jean S. Phinney's theory of identity development (1990) to contextualize the experiences of those Goans and Anglo-Indians whom I interviewed. Phinney, and her colleagues, looking at "minority groups"⁵² (Phinney 1996), propose a three-tiered progression of identity wherein individuals ignore and/or overlook, search for and finally achieve their identity status. Stage one, the "Unexamined Ethnic Identity" is characterized by the lack of exploration of ethnicity by the individual, who is typically identified as an adolescent. Within this stage, individuals are not interested in ethnic issues and accordingly are relatively ignorant

⁵² Although Phinney's model of ethnic identity development indeed seems to resonate most heavily within minority and/or immigrant populations, it is important and necessary to recognize that her model continues to have some relevance for white people and/or "majority" ethnic populations. (Sheets and Hollins 1999:52)

of them. Because of this apathy, individuals remain rather vulnerable to peer pressure, social prejudices and discrimination. Such a lack of concern and commitment to their ethnicity can also cause some people to have a diffused ethnic identity (Samuel 2005:132).

The second stage, “Ethnic Identity Search,” is impelled by an encounter that forces individuals to rethink the meaning(s) surrounding their identity and ethnicity. Within this stage, people probe and/or negotiate their ethnicity in a variety of exploratory methods. Phinney believes this stage of ethnic identity formation is most often triggered by an identity crisis or an event wherein particular social contradictions and clashes are posed by one’s minority status in society (Phinney and Rosenthal 1992:150-151). Certain events or occurrences, such as a prejudiced incident or a multicultural initiatives, force individuals to make a choice between the value system of what Phinney describes as mainstream society and, conversely, that of their own ethnic community. After such an incident (or incidents), individuals actively investigate or strive to better understand and/or appreciate their ethnicity and the heritage of their ancestors.

In the third and final stage, “Ethnic Identity Achievement,” individuals discover and subsequently internalize an apparent sense of not only what their ethnic identity constitutes but also what it means to be ethnic within a diverse and multicultural society, such as urban Canada. Within this culminating stage, individuals come to terms with what Phinney, Lochner and Murphy (1990) consider to be two key problems for ethnic minorities: (a) existing and evident differences between their own group and the dominant majority group and (b) the subordinate status of their own community within society.

Using Phinney’s three-tiered progression of identity development, I illustrate that the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics whom I interviewed undeniably have wide-ranging and multifaceted ethnic conceptualizations. Applying particular beliefs, experiences and opinions of

informants to each stage, I reveal the immense theoretical relevancy of Phinney's framework and its pertinence within the daily lives of such individuals. Irrespective of whether or not such Goans and Anglo-Indians were born and raised in Canada, they all demonstrate that in no way do they consider their ethnic identity as something static and unchanging. Rather, it is something dynamic that must both be constantly re-negotiated and grappled with. Additionally, because of their influential colonial and migration histories, members of both the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic communities face additional challenges not only in terms of accessing and understanding their unique ethnic histories but also when striving to explain their ethnic origins to those outside of their ethnic groups. Because of the ways various imminent identifying factors (such as colour, race, religion, language, class and caste) intermingle within their lives, those Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed have had no choice but to learn how to shift between and balance several ethnic identities and affiliations. This ability has, in my opinion, enabled their swift integration within and timely adaptation to the Canadian system.

These multifaceted ethnic identities construe important aspects of Goan and Anglo-Indian Canadian identity. Because of their multifarious histories, their very lifeworlds are designed to accommodate, cultivate and sustain such varying and perhaps even oppositional ethnic identities not only throughout different life-stages and periods but also on a simultaneous, concurrent and daily basis. I further demonstrate that the Canadian system has not only permitted but has in fact encouraged Goans and Anglo-Indians to juggle these very complex and hybridized lifeworld identities that give meaning to their life horizons. The lifeworld framework renders particularly useful when looking at the identity development of both the self and group because of its inherent sense of "mutual participation and community action, the recursive coconstitution of a sense of who 'we' are [or who 'I' am]" (Read cited in Hammack and Cohler 2009:353-355). The

lifeworld thus permits individuals and groups to structure and configure their personal identities in terms of the collective perceptions and intersubjective assumptions that constitute it.

The Canadian system, consisting of governing political, educational, judicial and media powers, supports and reaffirms some of the basic commitments of many (but not all) of the diverse populations it both serves and represents. This, as I illustrate, is in part due to Canada's multicultural policy which, since the 1970s, has worked to reaffirm and defend integral elements of the lifeworlds of its citizens within a socially acceptable context. On a very basic level, multiculturalism is a "philosophical position and movement that assumes that the gender, ethnic, racial and cultural diversity of a pluralistic society should be reflected in all of its institutionalized structures" (Grant and Ladson-Billings 1997:182). Now a key defining element of Canadian identity (Angus 1997), the policy of multiculturalism is considered by some to be an effective way to integrate new Canadian migrants, especially in light of the United States' liberal assimilation model wherein newcomers join the vision of a free American society, irrespective of culture, religion or origins. Although admittedly Canada's institutional system has not always been hospitable towards minority groups, as well as many of their religious and cultural views and practices⁵³, and the broader system remains far from fully inclusive for all Canadians, I consider many Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics today to be relatively privileged in terms of the system's approval and recognition of their hybridized ethnic identity and practices. Looking at particular key values of Canada's system, I explore some of the policies, views and systemic standards which have had great and positive implications for Goan and Anglo-Indian Canadian ethnicity. The Canadian system, in recognizing and upholding certain identity-marking aspects and loyalties of these communities' lifeworlds, legitimates not only the complex identities of

⁵³ Constance Backhouse is one of many scholars who looks at the institutionalization of systemic racism within Canada due to discriminatory federal, provincial and municipal policies (Backhouse 1999).

both groups but renders their overlapping realms of existence fully acceptable and even fashionable.

This section's title, "*Goaphiles, Gollywogs, and Canadesiacs*: Juggling a hybridized ethnic identity," combines three of the transient names and identity-markers used by some of my participants during interviews and group interviews. Illustrating how Goans and Anglo-Indians vary in ethnic affiliation and identification depending on both their stage in life and social milieu, these terms symbolize the interminglings of positive and negative, as well as internal and external, forces. Each term, whose meanings and implications will be discussed subsequently, reflects identity (re-)negotiations that did and continue to occur for these individuals. Agreeing with Phinney, I suggest that most of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics whom I interviewed have not only traversed through each stage to culminate in the final identity developmental phase, that is "Ethnic Identity Achievement," but also that these individuals continue to reflect and draw upon the experiences that occurred in the "Unexamined" and "Identity Search" phases of their lives in order to shape their identity today. Accordingly, while Goans and Anglo-Indians residing in the Greater Toronto Area have internalized their "Canadian-ness" on a very fundamental level, they continue to interact with various other ethnic identifying markers, labels or names thus rendering them truly dynamic and adaptable.

i. Unexamined Goans and misunderstood Anglo-Indians

The first stage of J. S. Phinney's three-level progression (1990) is the "Unexamined Ethnic Identity," which primarily pertains to minority group adolescents (although Phinney suggests this stage can also take place more rarely within adults) who have not yet been exposed to ethnic identity issues and thus have a diffused ethnic identity. Implicit in this stage is that

individuals have minimal or no understanding of issues related to ethnicity therefore making them more susceptible to internalization of the dominant attitudes and beliefs that are more prevalent or readily available within broader and sociocultural contexts (Jackson 2006:182). It is important to note that, until this point, the majority of key ethnic conceptualizations for individuals predominantly took place within the family unit or greater cultural community wherein elders and parent-figures pass down, subsequently indoctrinating, ideas to younger members of the group. Because of the impact of the dominant domestic-centred attitudes and beliefs, minority individuals develop a lack of interest in the exploration of ethnicity-issues and have a low-commitment to their ethnicity because it has always been something “imposed by others rather than having gone through any personal evaluation to form the basis of such a commitment.” (Tewari and Alvarez 2008:122)

Of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I spoke with, it appears that none of them were actively in this preliminary stage of development. Agreeing with Phinney, I suggest that on a very fundamental level this is due to the fact that all of my participants were above the age of eighteen and had thus passed through the adolescent-stage of their lives. As they are inclined to be more steeped in their culture, due to the fact that most often they reside at home and are susceptible to dispassionately acquiring and/or accepting the views of their parents, many adolescents have neither the time nor desire to give serious thought to issues of ethnicity. Because my participants had all journeyed through their early adolescent and teenage years, they had likely passed the point of being apathetic towards their ethnicity. This is not to say, however, that Phinney’s primary stage cannot be located within their lives retrospectively as adults. In fact, throughout the course of our discussions, most if not all of my participants acknowledged that

they had journeyed through a phase in their lives wherein they took their ethnicity for granted and/or had not been interested in their ethnic roots or ancestry.

Many of the younger participants had much to offer about how they developed their own ethnic identity. As Phinney suggests, numerous participants simply took their ethnicity for granted growing up because of the immense impact their parents' and family members' views had on them. Erik, who was born in Goa and migrated to Canada as a teenager, said:

[Ethnicity] tends to be the central point for pulling strings within the Goan community, even though it's like [a] 'shadowed' part of it. It's not something that [Goans] really focus on, it's like a given. So, it would be generally seen as a base...like, it's almost expected of you, not that it's commended of you. (24mG, Interview #4)

Because Erik had been heavily surrounded by Goans and Goan culture growing up in India, he never had the opportunity to ponder how he felt about being part of such a dynamic ethnic community. Rather than making conscious decisions to participate in particular cultural events, Erik reported feeling as though he was expected to attend such functions simply because he was Goan. His family members and his siblings had all accepted such traditions and social commitments to be customary parts of their lives, so why shouldn't he? As he was never truly exposed to other ethnic communities nor their social functions, Erik eventually came to consider his own ethnicity as the norm. If he did not fully identify as Goan, then what else could he be? Additionally, as his social circle solely consisted of other Goans, Erik felt like he was part of a majority population group despite his community's actual status as Indian minorities. In Erik's case, the instigation of Phinney's second stage of ethnic exploration would have likely occurred when he relocated to Canada as an adolescent, when members of his own community suddenly became geographically dispersed and those of other ethnic backgrounds became his neighbours

and friends thus presenting him with new in-group/out-group identity challenges that he did not have within Goa.

Bob, a Goan who was born and raised in the Greater Toronto Area, echoed some of Erik's sentiments relating to how Goan culture had been deeply entrenched in his early life. He told me: "It's the way we grew up. You get ingrained, 'this is Goan food...', 'these are Goan people...' So, you learn all that stuff as you're growing up" (m29G, Group Interview #3). Like Erik, Bob never had the chance to discover for himself what it means to be Goan; rather, from a very young age, Bob's family asserted and imposed their own ideas and practices on his family rendering him somewhat complacent in his ethnicity. For Bob, issues of ethnicity were never truly pertinent to his own life growing up because he had simply been culturally reared to absorb the positive ethnic attitudes from his parents and other knowledgeable adults in the community.

How, one may ask, is it that those who are surrounded by cultural symbols and practices end up feeling so alienated from their ethnicity that they develop a genuine, albeit temporal, disinterest in their heritage? Habermas' ideas pertaining to lifeworld and system are incredibly relevant when seeking to make sense of situations such as those described by Bob and Erik above wherein family and communal indoctrination in fact leads to the ethnic apathy that Phinney locates within her first developmental stage of identity.

As earlier discussed, Habermas asserts that the lifeworld includes the ways in which "interaction is secured by a common set of taken-for-granted meanings, transmitted via socialization mechanisms and normatively enforced" (Jonas and Wilson 1999:31). These systems of meaning which constitute the lifeworld not only provide people with a sense of personal and ethnic identity but also serve to make sense of the individual life horizon. Thus because the lifeworld exists as the pre-given locus of moral, ancestral and practical knowledge within

families and communities, individuals can easily come to unquestionably acknowledge their identity as collectively socialized. Any contradictions, queries or tensions embodied within the lifeworld are typically not recognized and, if recognized or identified, are subsequently viewed as weak systemic incursions on the lifeworld (Calhoun 1995:205).

The system, according to Habermas, plays a key role in causing individuals, such as Erik and Bob, to feel alienated towards their ethnic identity despite being constantly surrounded and influenced by it growing up. Although I later argue that the unique lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians have in fact rendered them capable to positively manipulate the Canadian system and that the latter serves to legitimate the former when dealing with these population groups, when looking at Phinney's first stage of ethnic identity development I consider Habermas' ideas quite accurate and pertinent to their experiences. Because Habermas views the lifeworld and system as decoupled, due to differentiations between the unquestioned tacit nature of the former and the rationalized, market-driven and capital-oriented imperatives of the latter, most identity formation and development has been relegated to the domestic and private realm. Consequently, when individuals who have defined their identity and/or taken it for granted solely within a private- or domestic-centred context enter into and interact with the system, they remain unable to make sense of nor relate to its functionalist imperatives. As Erik and Bob, for example, never had to understand their identity in terms of the larger institutional system, they were less likely to share its norms, values and goals thus causing their sense of ethnic acceptance and obligation to wane and be undermined. In such an instance, because the system was not only unable to interpret and/or make sense of their identities as shaped by their lifeworlds but also in many ways overrode their cultural ethos and collective forms of identity, these individuals ended up temporarily unsettled and ethnically disinterested. Perhaps had these individuals, as adolescents,

learned to acknowledge, recognize and interpret the ethnic meanings and symbols of their lifeworld within a systemic and/or institutional context, they would have felt the identity legitimization required to maintain interest in their ethnicity.

Beyond the indoctrination that occurs within the domestic and communal context that can lead individuals to ethnic disinterest due to its “taken-for-granted-ness,” J. S. Phinney also suggests that members of minority cultures can have a lack of interest due to a desire to suppress their own ethnicity in an effort to adapt to the majority culture (Phinney 1990). For adolescents especially, this desire to ethnically “fit in” frequently manifests within the classrooms, playgrounds and cafeterias that they spend much of their growing up years in. Many of my Goan and Anglo-Indian informants recognized in retrospect that they often simply “downplayed” or “ignored” their ethnicity so as to become more popular and/or to be more like others from the majority population groups. Wayne, who attended school in the Toronto-area, for example, stated:

[I]n high school...identity didn't really matter at all. In my grade in high school, I was the only Goan. [A]t that time...I would not think much of being Goan, it was just more like being a normal teenager. [So], yeah, growing up I did identify with white people, but...culture had nothing to do with it. It was more like, living. (Wayne, m26G, Interview #11)

Retrospectively, Wayne links his ethnic disinterest to a lack of Goan classmates and school friends. Because there were no other fellow members of his community with whom he could share cultural knowledge or participate in ethnic practices with, he had no choice but to learn how to culturally relate to his Caucasian classmates. In order to do so, he admits having to culturally “deprogram” himself (Thai 1999) so as appear less ethnic and to subsequently fit better within the white mainstream. Claiming that culture had “nothing to do with it” (Wayne, m26G, Interview #11), Wayne considers his identification with white people to have been a strategic

life-move, of sorts, wherein he was able build his popularity and social networks by identifying with the majority ethnic group in his school.

Likewise, Charlie, a forty-one year old, claims that because the suburban Toronto public school he and his brother attended was predominantly attended by Jews, he grew up identifying heavily with his Jewish classmates and friends:

...my brother and I were the only Goans. And, we didn't really identify ourselves as South Asian... I grew up in a mostly Jewish neighbourhood. Yeah, so...until grade five, 90% of the neighbourhood was Jewish. Yeah...so I went to more Bar Mitzvahs than most people. (Charlie, m41G, Interview #10)

Charlie continued on to discuss how because his parents came to Canada from East Africa, as opposed to Goa, he was unable to immediately fit within the local Goan community who were predominantly direct migrants from India, despite their shared ancestral histories. And, because he spent most of his days with his Jewish classmates at the public school he attended, Charlie became relatively disinterested in his own ethnic background. Had there been more Goans his age with whom he could proudly discuss his heritage, Charlie likely would have taken his identity less for granted (Charlie, m41G, Interview #10).

Elizabeth, a fifty-six year old twice-migrant, who was born in Kenya but moved to England at a very young age before coming to Canada as an adult, also was not very interested in displaying her personal ethnicity growing up. In fact, she did not even consider herself Goan until later on in her life when she became close with her Goan husband's Goan friends. She told me, "When I went to England, it was in the 60s, there weren't many Goans. My parents did not associate with Goans. I remember not having any Goan friends when I was in England..." (Elizabeth, f56G, Interview #12). Because of the lack of Goan community and cultural influence through which she could learn about and explore her ethnicity, Elizabeth easily aligned herself with the majority white population:

...all of my boyfriends prior to my 20s, let's say, were all white. They were all English. My culture was British; I dated a lot of whites. My girlfriends were all white, I didn't have any Goan girlfriends. I remember my Mum, after she made these little connections to Goans, bringing Goan girls home and saying, "Oh, and this is Vivian, you should be friends with her." "Why?" "Because she's Goan." (Elizabeth, f56G, Interview #12)

Because Goans, outside of her immediate family, were just not around while she was growing up, Elizabeth had no means of learning or promulgating cultural knowledge and thus had no true commitment to her ethnicity. Rather than being proud of her ethnicity and showing interest in her cultural background, she internalized the culture of the British majority. Even despite her mother's occasional efforts to make her befriend another young Goan, Elizabeth could not understand the importance of having a friend of similar cultural roots. As Phinney recognizes, such remarks illustrate the minimal acknowledgment and awareness of ethnic group differences leading to minimal understanding of one's own ethnicity in relation to other ethnic communities (1990).

While older participants did not talk as fervently as their younger counterparts about the unexplored ethnic identities of their youth, perhaps due to the sheer amount of time that has passed between that stage of their lives and today, they often spoke of their children's and/or grandchildren's disinterest in their heritage and cultural roots. Some parents, such as Devlyn, blame outside "North American" influences in preventing their children from taking interest in their ethno-cultural heritage. When discussing the difficulty he and his wife have in teaching their children about the traditional Goan food they themselves grew up eating, he said:

You know, but there's also the influence of outside...the hot dogs, the hamburgers, the stir-fry, and this and that. Those influences are there because [the kids] are there with their friends. You can't ask them to stop that, because then you're isolating them from their friends. (Devlyn, m49AI/G, Group Interview #2)

Even though he wishes his children appreciated the fish curry and rice dinners that his wife or mother occasionally cook for the family, Devlyn recognizes the role peer pressure and peer influence have in shaping not just his children but most adolescents today. Assuming that they would not appreciate and thus accept their Goan foodways, Devlyn insinuates that his children's friends do not fit within and relate to the Goan lifeworld.

Lorna, an Anglo-Indian, told me that she too has noticed her daughter displaying worrisome signs of cultural apathy:

[...] There probably will come a time when she's just not going to be interested [in her Anglo-Indian heritage] at all. She's already... [on my husband's] case. And, I have my mother-in-law staying with me, and they speak the language that people speak from Mangalore, so she's like, "Mum, what is Dad talking like?" And she's not used to listening to him talk. So she kind of disapproves [of] it right now, so I can see it happening as she grows, and she has her own friends and she's going to pick up a lot of stuff...hopefully good habits, and we are going to have to deal with it and somehow in all of that, remind her where she is from and, you know, take something with her. You know, maybe when she grows up, maybe she's in a phase, when she's an adult, maybe she will have some interest into where she's from. (Lorna, f40AI, Group Interview #2)

Because she has not customarily been exposed to particular aspects of their Indian culture, such as language, Lorna's daughter has come to identify more with the English vernacular that she and her family use on a regular basis at home. Although perhaps she may acknowledge her Indian ancestry, the fact that she had not heard her father speaking in his mother-tongue and was taken by surprise at hearing him speak with her grandmother illustrates that Lorna's daughter had never taken the time to consider the true meaning of her ethnicity linguistically. Something so second-nature to her parents, in fact, ended up to be quite unsettling to Lorna's child, even within the domestic realm. While Lorna recognizes that, in her youth, her daughter will likely continue down the path of cultural disinterest, she hopes that her daughter will develop a genuine interest

in her heritage and culture, and that time will bring her through to the next two phases of ethnic identity development: ethnic identity search and ethnic identity achievement.

Ernest, a Goan male with two children, however, is not as sure as Lorna that time will bring his children back to their ethno-cultural roots, as he claimed: "...it's the value system. Because, if you inculcate [kids] at a young age, they don't fight it, and they are used to it. But, for sure, there are going to be problems with society here, and they are going to see kids in school in Mississauga who are not Goan kids" (m41G, Group Interview #4). Considering himself and his wife to be ethnic gate-keepers of sorts, Ernest deems parental and communal influences to be key factors in providing the subsequent generation with all they ever need to know about their ethnicity. Recognizing that he learned how to "be Goan" from his parents and his extended family, Ernest believes that his children should embody the ethnic identities of himself and his wife thus negating their need to ever explore its fundamental meaning for themselves. He suggests, however, that Goan children are not given the exposure that they should have to the culture and beliefs of the older generation, as he said, "...you see the kids that are brought up here [are] feeling totally out of place...they feel just like a fish out of the water. Their parents don't explain their culture to them...they've grown up here. Their parents both work and don't have time to teach them [the differences between] Goan, Sikhs, Gujarats, Ismailis....Kids don't get to learn what Goan is" (m41G, Group Interview #4). In his case, Ernest feels that the predominantly accepted cultural values and attitudes of those of his generation should be adopted by their children without them first independently formulating their own views through cultural exploration and questioning.

In these instances, both the younger and older Goan and Anglo-Indian participants recognize the vast impact peer influence can have on the shaping and formulation of ethnic

identity. While members of the older generation are able to retrospectively look at how they unquestionably accepted the positive ethnic identities imposed on them by their parents and communities growing up, younger members who grew up in Canada often view the cultural values of their parents on par with those attitudes of their school peers whom they spend just as much, if not more, time with on a regular basis.

As it cultivates, fosters and sustains normative conceptual and symbolic meanings, the individual identity (which includes ethnic identity) is heavily reliant on the lifeworld. Thus when others who are outside of or who have been socialized by normative structures beyond their lifeworld come into contact with or those of another lifeworld within the Canadian system, it can result in threatened, diminished or questioned identities within both parties depending on their age and self-awareness. This is because, as they enter into the system, they may be less likely to share the norms, values and goals of larger social groups thus causing their sense of ethnic belonging and responsibility to wane and even erode. The presence of the other majority groups' lifeworlds not only challenges dominant conceptual meanings that perhaps until now have not been scrutinized and/or questioned but also potentially diminishes the influence of the minority groups' lifeworld within their very own lives. Charlie and his brother, for example, may have never thought twice about their Catholic First Communion or Confirmation celebrations but because of the vast influence of the Jewish community in the public school they both attended, they found themselves hesitant to talk about or even carry out such ritualistic events because they were neither relevant nor meaningful within the lifeworlds of their Jewish friends. Feeling ethnically slighted and culturally insignificant, Charlie and his brother sought to fit in more by acting and participating in the normative events necessitated by the Jewish ethnocultural lifeworlds of their school peers.

Ontario's public education system, because it lacks the clear religious mandate that is found within the Catholic school board, is one arena where a multitude of religious identities interact and intermingle on a daily basis.⁵⁴ These collisions of cultures can greatly impact how individuals view themselves and the ethnocultural assumptions cultivated and sustained within their own lifeworlds.

I believe one of the most influential Canadian social features that has shaped the provincial school system is that of multiculturalism, as Ontario Catholic and Public schools both strive to be culturally accepting and ethnically sensitive environments for their staff and students because of the vision of this policy. As a point of embarkation for such an image, Canada's multicultural policy has in many ways enabled cultural and/or ethnic minority groups to surpass social and political difficulties within such institutions as the education system. Originating with the question of Quebec and the French language, multiculturalism first entered into Canadian discussions with recommendations made in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Suggesting that a multiculturalism which recognizes the ethnic diversity of Canada replace the nation's bicultural (i.e.: English and French) policy, the Royal Commission strove to look beyond the two main British and French population groups and be more representative of all Canada's diverse people (Goulbourne 2001:405). Taking official root in 1971 and subsequently incorporated into the Canadian constitution eleven years later, the multicultural policy extended legislation so as to encourage the growth of cultural educational, social and linguistic initiatives thus protecting minorities from discrimination. The policy also importantly encourages and promotes workplace and institutional equality. Pertaining to schools

⁵⁴ Although the vast majority of students in Catholic schools are Catholic, there are noticeable numbers of non-Catholics attending such schools. And, because of the international breadth and scope of Roman Catholicism, countless global ethnicities are also typically represented within such religious institutions (Grace and O'Keefe 2007).

specifically, Canada's multicultural policy allows immigrant students to be proud of their roots and not worry about systemic discrimination on a formal or academic level.

In terms of their ethnic identity, many Goan and Anglo-Indian participants, as illustrated, commented on the fact that either they themselves or their children were heavily influenced by other students outside of their ethnocultural community. Because multiculturalism encourages Canadian students to be confident with and unashamed of their cultural heritage and traditions, post-1971 students are forced to come face to face with those from diverse and majority-group lifeworlds on a regular and socially ubiquitous basis. Accordingly, those from minority communities oftentimes downplay their ancestry or are left feeling as though their own ethnicity is not of consequential import in order to appear more like the majority student population group and thus "cooler." In many ways, although the educational system through its multicultural policy supports and promotes students to wear their ethnicities on their proverbial sleeves, the mere presence of so many multicultural and often-oppositional cultural communities, especially within such an urban centre as large and expansive as Toronto, can cause students to develop complacency, if not apathy, towards their own heritage. Because Toronto has no notorious Goan or Anglo-Indian neighbourhoods that render comparable in size or atmosphere to College Street's Little Italy, Roncesvalles Little Poland, the Danforth's Greek Village or Spadina's Chinatown, and because both communities are, I believe, culturally-reared to fit well within any Western-styled Christian-majority environment, the youth of these communities may find themselves lacking the culturally similar group of peers that those from other "clustering" (Weiss 1988) ethnicities have to support, maintain and uphold their lifeworlds.

Habermas (1987) discusses the de-coupling of the system and the lifeworld wherein feelings of individual/communal belonging and a sense of place diminish in the face of the

system's bureaucratic goal-orientedness (ex.: maintaining its discourse on multicultural diversity through the presence of many lifeworlds). Superimposing this lens on the first stage of Phinney's ethnic identity development when looking at the experiences of the Goans and Anglo-Indian Catholics illustrates that in this instance Habermas' ideas render correct. The alienation that many of my respondents reported in their own lives and those of their children I believe is primarily due to their systemic vulnerability as visible minority (i.e.: non-white) youth. Entry into an educational realm wherein diversity is both celebrated and promoted has, for these individuals, instigated apathy towards previously dominant lifeworld structures that were dependant on family-centred processes to survive. Lorna's daughter who is embarrassed and displeased when her father speaks his mother-tongue and Devlyn's children who prefer eating North American food instead of Indian curried cuisine when around their friends both are clearly influenced by the impositions of the school system which, in these instances, alienate the beliefs, practices and assumptions of their lifeworlds.

If there were increased numbers of Anglo-Indians and Goans populating the classrooms of these educational institutions, such children and other young members of these communities would encounter similar groups of others outside of the domestic setting who would be able to reaffirm and relate to the symbolic meanings of their ethnocultural lifeworlds within an institutionally and systemically relevant context. Eating pungent curries, speaking the mother-tongue and celebrating Indian culture, even on a systemic level, would be positively acknowledged because of Canada's multicultural policy. But, as aforementioned, due to the relatively small population of both Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic agents within the Canadian system, other more prevalent and visible cultural groups, and their lifeworld consciousnesses, are validated whilst the unique ethnicities of smaller minority groups may be eclipsed. Chinese New

Year, Hanukkah, Diwali and Kwanzaa, for example, are ethnic celebrations that many non-Chinese, non-Jewish, non-Indian and non-African youth and adults are familiar with. The education realm and other components of the system acknowledge these aspects of these cultures and the holidays that are associated with them not only because of the increasing social relevancy they have for Canadians but also because their recognized celebration can render profitable in terms of creating capital, social consistency and generating/maintaining order (Sloan 2007:75). Even though the education system in many ways legitimates the existence of visible minority groups, because Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics simultaneously fit within the majority religious group population, I believe many of them are even further alienated. This alienation, however, is fleeting as it triggers Phinney's subsequent stages thus activating superior lifeworld adaptive skills that members of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities have, in my opinion, mastered.

ii. The rediscovery of one's roots

After the "Unexamined Ethnic Identity" stage is the "Ethnic Identity Search" phase of ethnic identity development (1990). Also taking place typically within adolescents or young adults with minority-group backgrounds, J. S. Phinney believes this stage is triggered or instigated by a traumatic encounter that forces individuals to rethink and/or recontextualize not only their ethnicity but also what it means to be ethnic within their everyday lives⁵⁵. Such traumatic encounters can include negative occurrences, such as being racially targeted or

⁵⁵ Not all developmental psychologists and identity researchers agree that a pivotal event, let alone a traumatic one, is required to initiate the shift from the initial Unexamined Ethnic Identity phase to the subsequent Ethnic Identity Search phase (Pizarro 2005:9). However, despite such differences of opinion, researchers agree that the search process is both necessary and essential in order to reach the achieved identity that Phinney, and other researchers (Marcia 1980) views as the final stage wherein individuals are adaptively comfortable and confident with their ethnic identity.

discriminated against and social isolation because of one's minority status, but can also entail more positive events that are not as emotionally scarring upon an individual, such as participation in an ethnic or multicultural event wherein one feels the desire to further explore his or her identity. Following a period of ethnic diffusion and cultural disinterest, individuals experience an identity crisis (Erikson 1968), of sorts, and suddenly aspire to seek out information about their heritage from whatever sources are accessible and available to them. Phinney (1989) found that, within America, over one-fifth of Asians, blacks and Hispanic tenth-graders were in this phase of development demonstrating that many visible minorities indeed are forced to grapple with the norms of the systemic mainstream that contradict with those of their nonmainstream cultures. It is important to note that the tenth-graders that Phinney and her associates studied were all visible minorities, not just minorities. I believe all Goans and the vast majority of Anglo-Indians typically fall into the visible minority category because their mixed, darker Indian features render them distinct from white migrants.

Although not all of my participants discussed with me their unexamined ethnic identities that subsequently would have led to the ethnic identity search phase of their lives, almost all mentioned a period in their lives where they gained renewed interest in the ethnicity that they had, to a degree, until then taken for granted. Unlike with J. S. Phinney's first stage wherein individuals reported increased sentiments of ethnic disinterest and/or diffusion irrespective of their nation of residence, I found that the ethnic identity search phase was always instigated and subsequently took place within a Western context. And, interestingly, because many of the Anglo-Indians and Goans I interviewed, as primary or direct migrants, had spent a great deal of their early lives living within culturally insular communities wherein the vast majority of the people shared similar backgrounds as themselves, a great number of them underwent this stage

of identity development not as adolescents, as Phinney (1989, 1990) suggests, but rather as adults or even as senior citizens when they first moved either to Europe or to North America and were exposed to diverse, multicultural societies.

The most striking types of occurrences that inspired many of the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed to actively learn more about their own ethnicity were those related to out-group racism and/or prejudice (as opposed to in-group prejudice which the later section on race and colourism will discuss in detail). After living in environments abroad, typically in East Africa or in India, wherein brown- or dark-skinned people were not only common but typically made up substantial if not majority community populations, international relocation to Western nations, such as Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, often made such individuals realize that no longer were they part of the majority skin-colour group and subsequently feel less significant and/or socially accepted as before. Larger, more prevalent forms of racism that oftentimes were not evident or even present within their cultural lifeworlds suddenly targeted them, making many Goans and Anglo-Indians feel as though they no longer had advantageous (due to their colonial experiences) positions and status in society. As this thesis subsequently thoroughly explores the roles race and racism both have within shaping the in-group and out-group experiences of those I interviewed, as well as particular traumatic occurrences that may or may not have sparked interest in learning more about their ethnicity, I now only discuss the ethnic identity search phase as opposed to primarily focussing on larger-scale social racism that may have triggered such explorations.

Nuno, as a primary migrant who came to Canada from Kenya as a young boy, admitted to me that he had previously taken his ethnicity for granted because of the pervasive influence his close-knit Goan cultural community had on him growing up (m29G, Group Interview #3).

However, upon arrival within Canada, he discovered that no longer was his Goan status simply enough to distinguish him from the rest of the South Asian community who, at that time, were being heavily discriminated against within his predominantly white Scarborough neighbourhood. In Kenya, the average person could distinguish between a Goan and another type of Indian, such as a Sikh or Hindu, because of the vast numbers of Goans who lived there at the time. This meant that Goans were able to financially and socially capitalize on their Westernized lifeworlds and skill-sets thus avoiding much of the racism that was directed to other Indian migrant communities. In contrast, the Canadians Nuno encountered in the Greater Toronto Area likely knew no better and immediately lumped him in the same group as non-Goan Indians. Recalling being kicked in the back in grade school and called a “fucking Paki” by another student, Nuno feels as though he was wrongfully targeted but laughingly brushes off the attack (m29G, Group Interview #3). Wayne, a Goan who came immigrated as a youth with his family, also reported being called an “effing Paki” when he had once made an amazing catch while playing football (m29G, Group Interview #3). Bob, a member of the same group interview, was born in Canada and had attended small University about an hour from Toronto. He told me that:

I’ve been called “Paki,” *obviously* [my emphasis]... and it’s not Goan-specific. It’s brown-specific, if that makes sense. I went to [university] and it’s a big agricultural university – a lot of small towns feed into there. And, so I was called ‘nigger’ once, and I was like, “Huh? What? Come again?” So, it’s just...I just think it’s [of] lack of exposure with regards to that. (m29G, Group Interview #3)

Bob, like Nuno and Wayne, attribute the racist comments simply to the ignorance of the other students because they neither knew better nor had been exposed to enough brown-skinned people. Interestingly, as all three participants agreed that the comments were wrongfully directed to them, as none of them are from Pakistan and none of them are black, they all seemed to dismiss their experiences as mere “facts of life.” However, all of them later discussed that such

ignorance as those that they occasionally encountered within society eventually helped motivate them to learn more about their own culture and ethnic background.

Although in his fifties now, Savio strongly remembers various experiences with racism in Ontario. He told me:

...there was a trip [my friends and I] were going on, camping, we had to hitchhike. And, nobody picked us up (laughing). And, when they did go by, the ones that did pass us, it was out to the Bancroft [Ontario] area, they rolled down the window, and yelled, “Get the hell outta here, out of this country, you effing Paki.” [...] And there was one particular incident that flared me up. And it was the only incident that really flared me up; there was a young kid, beside me, walking by, who just made absolute fun of my father as I was walking by, with him, as we were pulling a grocery cart to the store, back in 1974. I wasn’t too old. I was a teenager. And I proceeded to turn around, and give that fellow a good shot in the ass. And, you know? That was the end of that. So, it was an important defining moment.” (m51G, Group Interview #2)

Savio, like Bob, Nuno and Wayne, was called a “Paki” by someone he encountered. And, like Bob, the occurrence took place in a more rural (compared to the Toronto-area) region of Ontario which could be indicative of its cultural homogeneity and the people’s lack of exposure to brown-skinned people. The second event which Savio describes took place when he was fifteen years old and had already lived in Canada for approximately four years. As the kid was making fun of his father, Savio took the insult very personally and physically reprimanded him for his lack of courtesy and ignorance. Savio believes that his actions taught the child a lesson thus thwarting any further discriminatory behaviour from him. Such discriminatory encounters taught Savio, and likely his father, that they in fact did stand out from the grain and thus were susceptible to racism in ways that white people were not.

Elizabeth, a fifty-six year old Goan who at a young age moved from Kenya to England, also experienced some racism from members of the majority white population which, she

believes, made her much more aware of her own ethnicity and how much it, at times, differed from and contradicted with mainstream British society. She told me:

When I was about sixteen...I remember I was walking to work [...] And, there was this wonderful granny-type woman walking toward me, in the rushed traffic, and as I came to her, we did this little dance in the street because you're trying to figure out, "Is she going left? Is she going right?" And, this little old lady said, "Move out of my way, you little wog." I was totally stunned, my mouth was open [...] And... I couldn't move, I was just stunned. Let me tell you what a wog is. A wog is a "gollywog." Do you know what a gollywog is? Gollywog was a derogatory term used for black people. In the same way that you would say nigger today...it was a gollywog. (f56G, Interview #12)

After years of living in Kenya and interacting with the local East African population, Elizabeth knew all too well that she was not black. Despite interacting and socializing with local Kenyans on a regular basis, as a young girl, she was very aware that her family's and communal colonial history and the "lighter" colour of their skin rendered them unlike the black community (f56G, Interview #12). At social clubs, school and within the workplace, Goans and Anglo-Indians tended to associate, if not with themselves, with the white community who lived in East Africa. Even in England, Elizabeth's family preferred to align themselves more with Westerners than with either the black or non-Christian South Asian population. After her encounter with the racist senior who lumped her into the same social category as the black community, Elizabeth realized that she was, in fact, not part of the white community, as she said:

...all of my friends were white, all of my boyfriends were white, all of my teachers, all of the people I associated myself with were white. [W]e were living in a white community, you know? And, then slowly more brown people started coming in and...suddenly the term "Goan" came into my life...People [did] not understand that I [had] no linkings with the old country. You know, I don't have any people there...I didn't have a grandmother who lived with us. My father was born in Kenya...It's a term; my parents called themselves "Goan" so I call myself "Goan." But it meant nothing to me. I never cooked Goan meals, I never ate Goan meals. All of our meals were British food. (f56G, Interview #12)

Because she had been raised with relatively British lifeworld and the vast majority of her peers were white, Elizabeth had always been very disinterested in her cultural heritage. However, when others started to view her as something different, Elizabeth suddenly wanted to understand what exactly made her stand out against the normative grain of British society.

Devlyn, like Elizabeth, had a very troublesome experience with racism, not in England, but in Toronto, as an adult, when he was searching for employment. He said:

I've had trouble. I walked into one interview, a job interview, one time, and uh, a junior position...21/22, just staring to get in there and do something. I walk into this institution, and there's a man sitting over there, he's going to interview me, he sees my face and he says, 'You know, job's taken.' (m49AI/G, Group Interview #2).

Although he was fully qualified for the job, Devlyn believes he was not given an interview solely because of his skin-colour. This, of course, came to him as a surprise because, in Pakistan where he had grown up, Devlyn and members of his community were viewed prestigiously and were, oftentimes, preferable candidates for certain jobs. Admitting that the man's views deeply affected him, Devlyn told me that he never before had felt disadvantaged because of his ethnicity and that the experience motivated him to figure out what distinguished him from other "brown people" and subsequently seek out jobs that were more integrated in terms of their employees (m49AI/G, Interview #8).

Most, if not all, of the participants I interviewed considered their own unique ancestry to be the instigator of their ethnic curiosity and cultural explorations. Because Goans and Anglo-Indians neither, as discussed earlier, fit neatly within the traditional South Asian nor Indian diaspora, it is common for members of these communities to have to explain their background and cultural ancestry to others who may or may not be familiar Indian colonial history. Annabel,

Claire and Warren told me that, as Anglo-Indians, they rarely encounter someone who immediately understands their ancestry:

Warren: They know that we are of some foreign background, but, you know, they wouldn't necessarily know. Unless, they've got Anglo-Indian, or Goan or West Indian friends and they'll associate with, "Oh you are probably West Indian...oh, you are probably Goan, and oh you are probably Anglo-Indian." They wouldn't necessarily know. (m60AI)

Annabel: Actually, and our colouring is such that, you know, and of course because we have the genetics of the Europeans, we don't look "Indian," okay? So, I have often been taken as Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, sort of you know, the Mediterranean European races. (f61AI)

Claire: And, for me, my age group, when I explain that I'm Anglo-Indian, that isn't enough. (f23AI, Group Interview #5)

Because Anglo-Indians, like Goans, are neither as demographically significant nor common as other visible minority communities, such as West Indians, Claire, Warren and Annabel admitted that they often not only get mistaken for members of other cultural groups but also that they subsequently have to explain their roots so as to make others fully comprehend why they do not fit within the typical Indian Diaspora. Claire told me that because of her lighter skin, she in particular gets mistaken for being part of another ethnic heritage and that such errors, in many ways, subsequently inspired her to learn more about her ancestry so as to be more capable to teach others about her background (f23AI, Group Interview #5).

Anglo-Indian Charlene also told me that other people's reactions to her own ethnicity has in many ways propelled her own cultural curiosity:

[People will] say to me, "Why are you a different colour? What is your accent?" And, then I'll go on to say, "I am what is known as an Anglo-Indian." And, of course, very very few people even from India know what an Anglo-Indian is now. [So], I've written books, I do a lot of articles on the Internet, I do book reviews on the Internet. For three and a half years, I was the Editor of [an Anglo-Indian magazine]...now I do book reviews and I help other Anglo-Indian authors with their books. I still do articles when I can. (f60AI, Interview #9)

Because so many people were unable to relate to or understand what an Anglo-Indian is, Charlene, like Claire, actively sought to learn as much as she could about her culture. While, of course, she admits this has allowed her to gain literary status within the Anglo-Indian community, her own family has in fact benefited from her renewed cultural interest, as she has been able to teach her mixed-heritage children and grandchildren about their ethnicity so as to hopefully prevent them from experiencing cultural apathy, which she views as a problem within the younger generations (f60AI, Interview #9).

Although J. S. Phinney (1989, 1990), as well as other researchers (W. E. Cross 1978; J. Kim 1981), as aforementioned, believe that certain shocking personal social events dislodge minority group individuals from their previous old views wherein they may have taken their ethnicity for granted, they also admit that non-disruptive experiences can also elicit interest in individuals' ethnicity. Such more-positive experiences were also described by many of my participants. Erik, for example, reported that his involvement with both Goan and non-Goan associations encouraged him to find out more about what makes his own community unique. He told me, "I wasn't really focused on whether there was a Goan community or not. [But] I did some stuff with the South Asian alliance, that's not related to the Goan community. It's more of a Pan-Indian alliance... I [had] a ton of friends who are of other religions, in terms of Hindus, Sikhs, and you name it and I [had] one of those" (24mG, Interview #4). Upon befriending other Indians, both Goans and non-Goans, Erik realized the importance of being able to discuss his heritage in a context that others would easily understand. Despite the fact that he had previously not considered ethnicity to be a "big deal," Erik realized that even within the Pan-Indian alliance that he was a part of, being able to talk about and celebrate one's particular cultural background was important as they were sources of personal and communal pride (24mG, Interview #4).

Rosie, a twenty-seven year old Goan, had a similar experience when she decided to join some of the cultural clubs that her Southern Ontario University offered. Participating in the Caribbean Students Association, the Black Students Association, as well as the South Asian student group, Rosie reported never felt belittled or culturally ashamed of her heritage. However, she admitted to me that she did wish that there was a Goan community or association within her school that she could have been a part of (27fG, Interview #5). Because there were so many students who were unfamiliar with her cultural background, as well as the colonial history that led members of her community from Goa to East Africa, Rosie often found herself explaining her heritage in order to justify her ethnicity and her mixed-features. Seeing the strength and vigour of the student groups made Rosie feel as though her community lacked the ethnic pride that other groups had. This subsequently renewed her cultural interest and resulted in her desire to proudly exhibit her unique heritage in order to compensate for the lack of exposure Goans were getting at her school.

Like Erikson (1968), Phinney (1989) and other researchers found that the ethnic identity search often includes the immersion of oneself into lifestyles or cultures that are not easily found within majority population. Jean Kim (1981), in her study of Japanese Americans, found that her participants sought to better understand themselves and their community through involvement in cultural, social and political movements and heightened ethnic consciousness within both their homeland and the American context. Similar to the other participants mentioned above, Rosie's experiences in many ways dislodged her from her old worldview that there was nothing really "special" about her ethnic heritage that warranted her specific attention. Various encounter experiences with those outside of her community increased her receptivity towards a new interpretation of her identity and served as catalysts for her subsequent ethnic identity search.

Rosie, looking back on her life, realizes that much of her ethnic identity search took place when she returned back to Kenya, years after she had initially moved to Canada. Realizing that perhaps the best way to learn more about her ethnic heritage was to visit the place where she was born, Rosie was able to fully come to terms with her culture and her now-Canadian roots. She told me:

So, I've been back once, I've been back once after high school... It's been like over 10 years since I went back. So, I went back and I was like, "Wow." [I]t was just amazing. It was amazing to go back, it was kind of nostalgic, I was kind of sad, in a way because I went back and was like, "Oh my God, I can't believe we left this place." But it, in a way, I was sort of...I appreciated a lot of what I have here, right? It's like, you can't ever go back... I mean, you don't, you know, you can't ever go back, it wouldn't be the same. But, you can appreciate. Like, I look back and I think, "I love this place." Like, I still consider it home and I would go back in a second but I think, I think of home being Canada too." (27fG, Interview #5)

Interestingly, Rosie did not return to Kenya alone or with family members, but rather one of her best friends accompanied her for the journey. Taking her friend who was not of the same cultural background as her to Kenya in many ways helped legitimize Rosie's own identity as both were able to visually interact with and learn about aspects of her identity and heritage. Recognizing that it is not always easy to explain particular cultural elements with those outside of one's community, Rosie was able to introduce her friend to her heritage and "show" her what it meant to be a Goan who was born in East Africa. She said:

[My friend's] reaction... going down there with her, and seeing her reaction to it was amazing. Like, going on Safari and stuff, you know, it was really unbelievable. [It] was breath-taking for me, [even though] I've experienced that before. But to watch her...her change in attitude before we'd left, compared to when we got back...she didn't know what to imagine. (27fG, Interview #5)

In traveling to Kenya twenty-one years after she had left there as a six year old child, Rosie was able to satiate her longing for "cultural recovery," which K. Joshi (2006:59) considers as the chance to reconnect with and share one's roots and the sights, smells, and activities of childhood. Observing her friend's vast appreciation of her experiences in Kenya, Rosie was able to boost

her own identity with increased senses of confidence, pride and recognition. Because her friend had never experienced Kenyan life, for the first time in her life, Rosie was able to take on the role of “cultural expert and translator” in that she could promote and explain elements of her culture in ways that her friend could both understand and appreciate. Prior to this, parents and other knowledgeable community figures had always taken the role of cultural teachers which, perhaps, had caused Rosie to feel less like a dynamic cultural agent and more like a passive student.

Although Rosie asserted to me that she is Goan by ancestry, it is important to note that she considers a key aspect of her identity to be her Kenyan heritage. In order for her to come to terms with her mixed cultural background, she had to remember what it was like to be Kenyan. Despite the fact that she did eventually travel to India, an experience which she admits was “priceless” (27fG, Interview #5), Rosie talked more about her trip to Kenya in terms of identity development and ethnic pride. Interestingly, like Rosie, a large portion of the twice-migrants I interviewed that were raised in East Africa had, at some point in time traveled back to Kenya, Uganda or Tanzania to re-connect with, appreciate and accept their cultural roots. Journeying to the lands of their childhood, where perhaps they did not take the time to understand or learn about their heritage, such individuals believed that they would not only be able to learn more about their culture and what makes them so different from others but simultaneously foster a greater sense of affinity between themselves and other members of their ethnic community.

Many of the Goans I interviewed had also made the trip back to what they considered their true motherland, Goa, thus supporting Castes and Miller’s idea of the *globalization* of movement (1993). Ranging from the eldest to the youngest of participants, almost all of my Goan informants spoke about the important cultural benefit of going to their ancestral home,

although not all of them had personally made the voyage and many of them wavered in terms of how important they viewed it to be. Sunaina Maira, in her study of Desi Indians, discusses the impact this “ethnic nostalgia” has within Indian youth in particular, as it cultivates in them a yearning for what they consider to be an ethnically authentic consciousness (2002:88). Motivating them to travel and consume ethnic culture and the commodifications that embody them, Maira’s ideology of nostalgic legitimacy reflects John and Jean Camaroff’s description of ethnic authenticity in that the latter is an “articulated system of meanings, values and beliefs of a kind that can be abstracted as [a or the] ‘worldview’ of any social grouping... [which], as long as it exists provides an organizing scheme for collective symbolic production” (as cited in Maira 2002:88).

For such Goans, traveling to the homeland provides them with an opportunity to reconnect with their cultural roots and to remind themselves where they came from. Savio told me, “My birthplace [is] Tanzania, but my roots are [in] Goa. And, that is true for my father [and] my forefathers before me. I’ve been to Goa for the last...in fact, I’ve been in Goa almost every decade of my life...So, it’s very strong for me to identify as a person whose roots are in Goa, India” (m51G, Group Interview #2). Fundamentally associating the Goan homeland with his identity, Savio has made over five trips to India in the fifty-one years he’s been alive. Taking refuge in the fact that he can continue to participate in what he considers to be various authentic rituals and cultural practices, Savio told me that he looks forward to traveling across the world to rekindle his cultural spirit. His children also, he told me, have culturally benefitted from being able to personally see Goan life first-hand, as they better understand and appreciate the family traditions they continue to practice in Canada today (m51G, Group Interview #2).

Maria, the eldest participant I interviewed, told me that she goes back to Goa every two years. She said, "...since I have come to Canada, I go to Goa every second year. It's good to remember what being Goan is like" (f82G, Interview #3). Insinuating that she loses touch with her true Goan heritage by living in Canada, Maria maintained that going to Goa allows her to do the things and live the life that Goans are, in her opinion, supposed to traditionally lead (f82G, Interview #3). Participating in cultural events, eating authentic Goan food and being surrounded by other Goans, including members of her own family, Maria plans to continue going to Goa so long as her health will permit her travel. Saying, "I like to go to Goa because Goa is *my* [my emphasis] place where I was born, [and where] I married. And, I love Goa. I love Goa," (f82G, Interview #3) Maria believes that her continued physical connection to Goa allows her to actively participate in the recreation of various identity-based memories that she would otherwise lose. Throughout the interview, she interestingly referred to the Goan homeland as hers (i.e.: "my Goa") as opposed to Canada which she feels she has no ownership of and thus, perhaps, no long-term emotional or physical obligation to.

Members of the younger generation, despite being born and raised in Canada, also found great value in visiting Goa. Giving them the visual and physical opportunity to truly understand elements of their cultural heritage that, perhaps, they were unable to comprehend or fully connect with within the urban Canadian context, traveling to Goa seems to have awakened their cultural awareness and, in most cases, subsequent pride. "I became a real '*Goaphile*,'" (m41G, Interview #10) Charlie told me proudly, as he recounted to me the vast amount of books and videos he had that dealt with Goan culture and history. Although Charlie, growing up in a Jewish neighbourhood and attending a predominantly Jewish school, admitted he felt a great amount of ethnic disinterest growing up, he told me that he eventually realized that he would have to learn

more about his ethnicity in order to be proud of it (m41G, Interview #10). Quickly becoming addicted to reading books and watching countless films, Charlie marshalled as many resources as he could so that he would be able to appreciate his rich cultural heritage and better explain it to the curious groups of others who frequently spoke to him about his ancestry. Charlie then traveled not just to Goa but also throughout the rest of India so as to reconnect with and learn more about his pan-Indian cultural identity. Despite being born outside of Goa, Charlie felt as though he had returned to his true motherland when he arrived in his parent's village. He said, "I felt quite at home in Goa, [although] I'd never been there before. I didn't speak the language but, I mean, it's very English because of the tour....you know the English language roots because of tourism. So, I felt very comfortable there..." (m41G, Interview #10). Through travel, Charlie was able to surround himself with and immerse himself in the culture that he had spent a good deal of his youth rejecting and being apathetic towards.

In this sense, Charlie felt the pull of what Dianne Wolf (2002) calls "emotional transnationalism," in that, while in Canada, he could only imagine the home that constituted his parents' and grandparents' point of reference. Traveling throughout India, he was able to understand why his parents viewed their homeland as morally and culturally relevant and thus as the foundation for judging behaviours as proper, appropriate and shameful. Charlie's emotional transnationalism led him back to the ancestral roots of his cultural lifeworld and, accordingly, he was able to positively benefit from the ethnic knowledge he gained there.

However not everyone, like Maria, Savio and Charlie, had a positive Goan experience in their ethnic identity search. Elizabeth, who had traveled to Goa for the first time a few years ago with both her Goan husband (who was born in Kenya) and her teenage son (who was born in

England), told me that the trip neither rekindled any sentimental feelings of ancestry nor helped her better understand her Goan-ness:

When I went to [Goa] I said to myself, "...I could have gone to Florida and it would have cost me \$300, but I spent \$2 000 on a flight to Goa." My husband didn't cling to Goa [and] he was as much a stranger – not as much as I – but as much a stranger in Goa, as I was. Yes, we were in Goa and we couldn't wait to leave. My kid couldn't wait to leave. [We] couldn't wait to get on a flight and [get] out of there...because...we were lonely. [I]t was as much of a culture shock to be in Goa. I expected to arrive in Goa and feel this bonding with this motherland, and everyone said it was my "motherland" and I felt as much a stranger, maybe even more so a stranger, in Goa. (f56G, Interview #12)

Attributing their lack of comfort in Goa to the fact that they did not have any surviving family there upon whom they could rely for support and leisure, Elizabeth felt as though she did not belong in Goa at all. Although she had hoped to introduce her son to his Goan heritage, she found herself unable to relate to the people who lived there. Despite the fact that many of her Goan friends had recommended she travel to Goa so as to get a better sense of her identity and ethnic roots, Elizabeth did not appreciate the culture that she now viewed as foreign. The few Goan rituals, foods and traditions that her family had practiced whilst living in England (prior to their Canadian resettlement) were not similar to those the general Goan public subscribed to, because Elizabeth's family had tailored their practices to make them more congruous with British society. Particular ingredients, decorations and forms of Goan cultural entertainment were just not available in Europe when Elizabeth was growing up, so her family, of course, had to adapt. Despite her negative experiences in Goa, Elizabeth is glad that she and her family took the time to visit their ancestral homeland. She said:

I was glad I went [to Goa] though... it made me appreciate life here more. I mean, I did [appreciate it] before, but now I know that I can be Goan on my own terms. Just because I am Goan in ancestry, it doesn't mean that I have to love it there with all these people who I don't even know. They look like me, and boy can they cook. But are they true Goans or not? They probably are because they lived in Goa. (f56G, Interview #12)

Recognizing the fluidity of her culture and her place not within Goan-Indian society but within its dynamic global diaspora, Elizabeth appears to have made peace with her ethnicity and has come to accept that, although she could never reside in Goa, she can still call herself Goan (f56G, Interview #12).

Anglo-Indians, because they have no “Anglo-India,” as such, had very different experiences than my Goan informants in their ethnic identity search. Although like the Goans I interviewed, many of the Anglo-Indians had been born abroad, a vast number of them did not feel as though it was as important to travel back to India so as to reconnect with or renew their ethnic identity. Devlyn, perhaps more than any other Anglo-Indian, expressed this when he told me, “I don’t have an Anglo-India back home to go back to, do I? Whereas a Goan has Goa to go back to [and] somebody from Bombay has Bombay to go back to, I don’t have an Anglo-India to go back to” (m49AI/G, Group Interview #2). Because Anglo-Indians never had a region in India to truly call their own, Devlyn, like many of the Anglo-Indians I spoke with, had learned to be very non-reliant on the concept of homeland in order to feel as though he belongs. Growing up as a ethnic (not visible) minority both in Pakistan and in India, Devlyn never learned to link a particular land to his culture and thus remains unable to return “home” so as to reconnect with his authentic identity. He claimed that, even today, returning to Pakistan or India would have no concrete benefit for his personal identity or those of his children:

No, I wouldn’t even go back for a holiday, or take my kids to a holiday because, you know, like that gentlemen in the focus group said, he said that for him to go back to India, he wouldn’t recognize it, and that’s a shame...The same thing, if I was to go to Karachi [in Pakistan] with my children, I wouldn’t think I would see much of what I...[had] enjoyed in life over there. And, why would I take them there? They would never see the same values that I saw. (m49AI/G, Interview #8)

Not recognizing the significance of being able to relive the experiences, feelings and practices of his childhood so as to not only remember his roots but to also teach his children about where their father grew up, Devlyn believes that because both India and Pakistan have changed so much, they have little to offer his Canadian family today. He further told me:

...if you walk into the church where I went to, there's a big cathedral there now. That church is not the same now as it was when I was growing up [...] so, what would I be showing them? Nothing, really. And, what would they get out of it? Nothing, because as soon as they get out of the church and leave... it would be such a strong experience for them that they would want to get the hell out of there...as soon as possible. (m49AI/G, Interview #8)

Devlyn believes that the most he can do to explore and better appreciate his identity is to continue the practices that his own parents taught him growing up. Because such traditions were rooted in the family and so heavily relied on the domestic unit to retain their cultural meaning, as opposed to being linked to a particular geographical place, space or homeland, Devlyn feels that if his children have no interest in their culture then, unfortunately, it will eventually become extinct. He, in this instance, has accepted his powerlessness to rid his children, and himself to a degree, of their cultural and ethnic identity apathy.

Claire, a much younger Anglo-Indian, unlike Devlyn, believes that going to visit India will in fact help her more fully understand her colonial Indian roots. Currently planning an expedition through India, Claire believes that traveling through India will offer her the opportunity to comprehend not only the lifestyles and values her parents were raised with but also to better appreciate the rich Indian influences that continue to shape their Canadian lives today, such as various traditional foods, clothing styles and folk beliefs. Like Rosie, who had a non-Goan friend accompany her on her journey of ethnic self-discovery, one of Claire's good (Caucasian) friends will be joining her. Recognizing the role that social acceptance and legitimization have in affirming her self-identity (Goffman 1963), Claire told me that she is

looking forward to having her friend truly “see” and “understand” what it’s like to be Anglo-Indian (f23AI, Group Interview #5).

Jean Kim (1981: 149-150), W. E. Cross (1978) and other identity theorists suggest that the minority individual’s search for understanding their culture often results in emotional backlash and outrage towards the dominant (i.e.: Caucasian) society that they live in. Because they have learned about fundamental elements of their culture and identity that may or may not overtly clash with, contrast with, or are even typically rejected by society, such individuals may react with irritation and anger that they, unlike members of the white majority culture, have to appropriate roles that others do not. My primary data did not, in fact, reveal any anger or resentment towards the majority- or host-society from Goans and Anglo-Indian Canadians. This, I posit, is because both Anglo-Indians and Goans continue to align themselves with majority population group, despite both the system’s occasional refusal to accept them as part of the majority (due to their non-white status) as well as their participation in particular cultural practices that distinguish themselves from the white Canadian mainstream population. This phenomenon, I believe, is partially due to the fact that both Goans and Anglo-Indians have rich colonial histories (with the British and Portuguese, respectively) which have provided them with the skills and tools necessary to navigate through systems which have been historically designed by and for members of Western society. However, I more importantly suggest that because of their status as Catholics, members of both communities I interviewed are able to comfortably fit within Canadian society which, to an extent as was discussed in the previous section, historically has catered to Christians. Therefore while, unlike Caucasian migrant communities, Anglo-Indians and Goans are not given the advantage of racial or cultural similarity with that of mainstream Western society, they are privileged in terms of their religious similarity. Any

emotional feelings of anger, resentment or even annoyance that members of these community may feel because they have to actively search for the cultural or racial legitimization that, perhaps, members of the mainstream never seek, are dimmed or eclipsed by the experiences of other visible minority groups who are not Christian and subsequently typically have even greater difficulty validating and justifying their identities. In this sense, I suggest that Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics render more similar to European migrant communities in terms of their Canadian adaptation challenges than they would to other non-Christian Indian communities.

Unlike Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, and members of many other non-Christian religious communities, Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics are able to insert themselves in faith-based contexts that agree and meaningfully interact with larger systemic elements (such as health care, the media and the judicial system) designed to fundamentally accommodate many if not most Christian holidays, beliefs and practices. Irrespective of their age and migration history, religiosity proved to be a fundamental defining element of the identities of those I interviewed. As they consider it inextricably linked to their cultural heritage, I believe that, for them, Phinney's identity search does not automatically entail the religious search that those of other spiritual backgrounds may seek. Because Goans and Anglo-Indians all described searching for their ethnic identity, as opposed to their religious identity (which, it seems, though perhaps taken for granted during some periods of their life is never explored as fully or meaningfully as their cultural heritage), I believe that many of them never develop the intense emotional anger towards the Canadian system that Jean Kim and W. E. Cross found in their own studies with black Americans and Asian Americans.

Beyond helping to curb the need for the religious identity search that many minority groups arguably experience within the Western context (Bramadat and Seljak 2008; Eid 2007;

Yousif 2008), the Canadian system plays an incredible role in both spurring and encouraging migrants to seek out and better understand the ethnic identities that both sustain their lifeworlds and animate their life horizons. In other words, the Canadian system not only serves as the catalyst necessitating such a search but also in many ways, for members of these communities, enables and permits such lifeworld symbolic explorations. Recall that the distinction between system and lifeworld represents two related yet distinct realms of society and communicative action (Habermas 1987). The system, as guided by collective principles and norms, Habermas believes, affects the people's lifeworlds which consist of the ontological and epistemological claims which determine how we experience the world. Because of modernization and the rise of instrumental rationality, the lifeworld loses much of its implicit and tacit nature thus resulting in its colonization or decoupling from the system.

Since the lifeworld plays a monumental role in shaping and defining the cultural identities of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I interviewed, their very identities become heavily dependent on the veracity and supremacy of their lifeworlds to survive. Various systemic elements, such as the media, education system and urban capitalistic life, impose the collisions and interminglings of countless distinct cultural traditions and lifeworlds. As discussed earlier, when those, who until this point in their life had been relatively shielded from encountering other people's lifeworlds, come into contact with those who have socialized by structures that contrast or contradict with the normativities of their own lifeworld, such individuals feel challenged in veracity of their own self-identity. Many of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic participants, as they were raised abroad within fairly insular ethno-cultural societies, attending culturally specific schools and events, were never exposed to functional Western systemic standards (such as

multiculturalism and the diversity discourse) and subsequently experienced a threatening of the lifeworld foundations of cultural symbolism and transmission.

Despite its role in facilitating the threatening of their lifeworlds, the system serves to provide such individuals with the tools and drive to explore and search out a truer sense of their identity. The Canadian system, despite its overarching rules of rationalized and instrumental interaction, also subscribes to the notion of institutional individualism. Because of the Western triumph of free-market and liberal democracy, the system has promulgated individualism over collectively-oriented ideologies, such as various form of Socialism and Communism. Such individually-oriented modes of thought oftentimes contrast with more traditional cultures which embrace collectivist ideals, such as many of those within Indian. In order to uphold and support individualist-institutions, the Canadian government has developed and passed various legal and social protections and insurances which are intended to maintain the primacy of the individual. Included in such protections is the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*' commitment to the preservation of minority culture and the multicultural heritage of Canada (Swinton 1994). This, in combination with the multicultural policy of the 1970s has encouraged individuals to seek out their ethnic identity and learn more about their cultural ancestry first-hand. As Rosie told me, "Canada is more about being multicultural...like keeping your culture and being Canadian. And people, right away, want to know your culture, right? And, you want to learn about your heritage. And, you keep that, even within like your peers and stuff like that" (27fG, Interview #5). Likewise, Elizabeth mentioned:

...one of the things that makes me love Canada so much is how we encourage people to explore their heritage and, I think that it's great that...2nd and 3rd generation kids have an opportunity to go and learn their mother-tongue. I was never taught my mother-tongue... (f56G, Interview #12)

Elizabeth and Rosie both believe that the Canadian system promotes individual and communal cultural exploration, as well as ethnic pride. Such beliefs indeed render true, as recent Canadian governments have supported a wide array of symbolic events and actions that encourage cultural pride through state sponsorship of minority celebrations causing a resurgence of ethnicity and ethnic differentiation (Day 2000; Graubard 1989). The great interest in ethnicity and popularity of culture in many ways inspires youth to seek out their heritage and ancestry so as to be able to proudly exhibit it as contributing to Canada's multicultural rubric.

The Canadian system, particularly through the media and educational institutions, also plays a large role in cultivating the desire within today's youth to explore their cultural heritage as various cultural events and associations are both supported and recognized by the government so as to spark interest within members of its community, as well as within those of other ethnic backgrounds. When arranged for community members by community members, cultural events serve to "express the worldview [or lifeworld view] of a social group and thereby help to integrate its members" (Hohendahl 1991:122). However, when fully- or partially-funded, sponsored, organized and/or promoted by systemic institutions such events, although they employ symbolic cultural and lifeworld-specific material, transcend micro-specific communal boundaries and enter into dialogical action with the other systemic institutions. Thus when a group of Goans or Anglo-Indians celebrates a cultural event privately, they promulgate the symbolic norms of their given lifeworlds which, as evidenced by my data, may lead to cultural apathy or disinterest within subsequent generations because of the strong assertion and imposition of ethnic attitudes which serve to render some people somewhat complacent in their ethnicity. However, when the municipal or provincial government recognizes and supports Goan or Anglo-Indian associations or feasts, the events or groups become tools of the system wherein

individuals can proudly exhibit ethnicity on par with other ethnic community groups. Put simply, such lifeworld practices are legitimated and promulgated by the system in a socially acceptable manner.

Promoting the exploration of cultural heritage and ethnicity also has clear financial benefits for the system. In encouraging people to search out and actively participate in cultural events, systemic institutions treat the individual as part of the public to be governed and economically exploited. In accommodating and recognizing cultural events and associations, the system instrumentalizes them as potential sites of profit extraction, as festivals and educational cultural events are all sources of revenue. And, importantly, by supporting such cultural identity searches, the system is able to manipulate and control public opinion through proliferation of its own normative policies, such as that of multiculturalism.

On a global level, because the Canadian system encourages individuals to travel, often internationally, so as to better learn, understand and appreciate their cultural roots, the system is able to benefit through reputation and financially. Nations and regions that are open to and supportive of diversity tend to profit more from cultural tourism (M. Smith 2003). By visiting India or East Africa, Goan and Anglo-Indian cultural tourists are able to introduce Canadian systemic norms and ideals to lands and people that otherwise may not be familiar with North American media, Canadian values and Western society. Concepts, such as freedom of choice, justice, individuality and diversity, manifest in the behaviours, acts and spending-decisions of many Canadian citizens abroad. Christina, for example, told me that she believes in the fundamental equality of males and females, as promulgated by the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (f54G, in-conversation, 16 April 2010). Although Canada has laws designed to protect and ensure the rights of females, Christina recognizes that not all nations have developed such

ordinances. Accordingly, not only have Christina and her husband chosen to sponsor various female children throughout the world through a non-profit organization but they also donate money to the girl's school or orphanage whenever they visit either Kenya or Africa. In supporting female advancement, Christina proudly believes she is promoting Canadian values globally (f54G, in-conversation, 16 April 2010). International travel accordingly can not only serve to endorse the Canadian system but also encourages individuals, such as Christina, to better interact with and embody such ideologies as multiculturalism which thrive upon the recognition of free and diverse people and cultures.

Although I agree with Habermas' (1987) claim that the system accordingly serves to colonize the lifeworld domain, as it influences, manipulates and employs particular symbolic and cultural givens so as to legitimate its macro-focused goals, I do not believe that in these instances the system fully controls the lifeworld. Rather than alienating individuals from the given assumptions of their lifeworlds, through recognizing the value of multicultural and ethnic exploratory searching, the system in fact reassures and reaffirms individual and communal lifeworlds in the long run. Individuals are given the freedom not only to explore their own culture and to travel to their respective homelands but they are also provided with various comparative frameworks necessary so as to give them a fuller, more authentic sense of their identity. Despite the fact that many participants I spoke with who typically emphasized their connectedness with Goa or India, or their knowledge of folk traditions as indicative of their cultural authenticity, I agree with John Fiske in that, "In capitalist societies [such as those regions where the Goan and Anglo-Indian diaspora can be found] there is no so-called authentic folk culture against which to measure the 'inauthenticity' of mass culture" (Fiske 1991:25). In comparison to traditional folk culture in India where people produce cultural goods and services

for their own or communal consumption, capitalist societies, such as Canada, provide its inhabitants with diverse ethnic and cultural industrialized commodities. Accordingly, what measures authenticity is neither production nor proximity but rather the means in which one interacts with available cultural commodities. Thus it is when Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics connect and interact with their heritage, traditions and cultural codes, even if they do so in unique and creative ways, they are truly authenticating their identity.

While indeed many of the Goans and Anglo-Indians, such as Charlie and Rosie who traveled to East Africa or India, returned to Canada feeling better connected with their heritage not all of those who visited their homeland reported feeling accepted by their ethnic peers abroad. Elizabeth's feelings of alienation and unfamiliarity have been echoed among members of other ethnic communities who sojourn internationally so as to discover themselves. Dhingra, in *Managing multicultural lives*, talks about how "transnational ties and experiences do not necessarily lead to a deeper appreciation and connection with one's background, especially when one's expectations are unrealistic" (2007:76). In these instances the Canadian system, through inculcation of the concept of national identity, provides individuals with a basic sense of rootedness and belonging (Suny and Kennedy 2001:62-64). In other words, even if individuals like Elizabeth, after actively searching out their cultural identity, do not feel as though they truly belong within their ethnic or cultural diasporic community, the Canadian national identity can serve as a new and compatible symbolic lifeworld context through which their life horizons can be rendered meaningful. And, for many of the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed, their diverse and adaptive Western colonial histories have provided them with the ability to meaningfully interact with and embrace the Canadian identity as their own.

iii. Accepting it all

J. S. Phinney's final identity developmental stage, taking place after the "Unexamined Ethnic Identity" and "Ethnic Identity Search" phases, is that of "Ethnic Identity Achievement." Phinney (1989) suggests that, within this stage, earlier identity developmental processes result or culminate with the individual attaining a deeper appreciative understanding of his or her ethnicity. Because of earlier identity crises, awakenings or encounters, individuals by this stage have taken the time to learn about their history and have subsequently learned to come to terms with their own ethnic heritage and ancestry as well as the role that it plays not only within their own domestic and culturally communal lives (i.e.: the lifeworld) but also within the systemic realm.

W. E. Cross discusses a similar identity culmination in his study of black Americans and uses the term "Internalization" to connote how "...emotionality and defensiveness are replaced by a calm, secure demeanour. Ideological flexibility, psychological oneness, and self-confidence about one's blackness are evident [in this stage]" (1978:18). For his participants, Cross noted that pre-existing feelings of cultural resentment, bitterness and antipathy either towards their own minority community or towards the majority (i.e.: white) mainstream came to be substituted with more positive and socially constructive sentiments of cultural security and identity buoyancy. J. Kim also found a similar pattern in the ten *Sansei* (third-generation) Asian Americans she studied, as "Subjects feel good about who they are and feel proud to be Asian American. They also feel comfortable with both parts of themselves (Asian and American)" (1981:150). Labelling this peak as "Incorporation," Kim puts forth that individuals finally achieve a healthy and secure identity balance and are consequently able to realistically appraise those of all

cultures via the blending of racial and ethnic categories with other identities (such as religious identity, sexual identity and professional identity).

Almost all of the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed more or less fit within this final stage of development as almost all of them had already journeyed through the unexamined identity and identity searching phases by the time they met with me to participate in my research. As aforementioned, many of them relayed to me difficulties either growing up or as young adults in fully understanding the complexities of their mixed ancestries. For years, they had solely learned about their culture and heritage through their immediate and/or extended families, and thus never had the opportunity as children or youth to fully explore what it means to be either Goan or Anglo-Indian. When they encountered and subsequently intermingled with cultures other than their own (either positively, such as within multicultural events, or negatively, through discriminatory or racist encounters, for example), many of these individuals felt unable to fully grasp, make sense of and defend their ethnicity. Furthermore, many participants relayed an inability to balance their Canadian and Indian circles of belonging at one point in their lives. With a sparked desire to explore their ethnicity, such individuals eagerly devoted time and energy to learning as much about their culture as their situations permitted. To acquire such knowledge, many read books, met and mingled with other members of their community, or learned ancestral languages or how to cook traditional dishes. Others journeyed to India or to the places where they or their families were raised in hopes of reconnecting with their heritage and to develop a positive own group-view. Eventually, after years of living in urban Canada as visible minorities, with constant exposure to other cultures whose beliefs, practices and cosmologies may or may not differ from their own worldviews, members of the Anglo-Indian

and Goan communities have learned how to establish and maintain a positive and comfortable mixed identity.

Primarily, during the course of my research, I discovered four different components that typically contribute to the fully achieved ethnocultural identities of Goans and Anglo-Indians: (a) Goan or Anglo-Indian, (b) Indian, South Asian or Pan-Indian, (c) transnational and (d) Canadian. While completely unique in terms of their roots and socio-practical implications, each identity component simultaneously exists and dynamically interacts with one another. Employing J. S. Phinney's achieved identity stage, this section discusses the realized identities of those I interviewed in terms of their ethnic, pan-Indian, transnational and Canadian circles of belonging. Exploring participant experiences and sentiments whilst remembering not only their ancestral and colonial roots but also their place within Canadian society, I demonstrate that Goans and Anglo-Indians have successfully come to terms with their complex and unique histories. Their multifaceted identities accordingly have, in fact, in many ways equipped them with a broad ethnic legacy that permits their systemic acculturation and belonging whilst reinforcing and perpetuating key cultural elements of their lifeworlds. Coming to terms with being Goan/Anglo-Indian, Indian or South Asian and Canadian has given those I interviewed the healthy and secure identity balance that J. S. Phinney, W. E. Cross and J. Kim speak of.

Ethnically, all of my respondents partially or fully consider themselves as either Anglo-Indian or Goan, or in the case of one participant who came from both backgrounds, Anglo-Indian-Goan. This is easily demonstrated by the fact that each informant responded to my recruitment call thus illustrating that they were not only able to understand what I meant by "Goan" or "Anglo-Indian" but also recognized that they themselves possessed the particular ethnocultural history or ancestry that I sought for my research data. Being able to distinguish the

difference between an “Indian” and a “Goan” or an “Anglo-Indian,” individuals immediately understood the implications of such ethnic tags or labels. Beyond this, none of the participants interestingly ever asked me to clarify what I meant by Goan or Anglo-Indian. If any of them had doubts, reservations or uncertainties pertaining their belonging within such ethnic communities, they certainly did not express such trepidations to me. Additionally, the fact that each participant contacted me him- or herself regarding participation within my study attests to their own cultural and/or ethnic acknowledgement. I merely provided the recruitment calls, and participants decided for themselves that they fit within my categorical variables.

While all participants recognized their place within either the Goan or Anglo-Indian diaspora, they each had their own reason for doing so. When presented with the question, “What makes you [Goan or Anglo-Indian]?” participants were immediately able to justify their belonging within their ethnic community near instinctively with little to no thought, illustrating that they had all, at some point in their lives, taken the time to ponder and/or figure out their ethnicity. Sixty-one year old Armando told me:

I feel I’m Goan because I come from Goa. I grew up in Goa all of my life...I came to Canada directly from Goa, thirty-seven years ago. I have a big association with Portugal for several reasons: I studied in Portuguese, [I’ve] got lot of family in Portugal, and so...all of those things make me Goan by definition. (Armando, m61G, Group Interview #4)

Because he was born in Goa and subsequently lived there for over twenty years, Armando believes that he clearly belongs within the Goan community. With his proximity and connectedness to his homeland increasing his ethnic belonging, Armando links his authenticity to cultural practices and histories from the Goan homeland. As he resided in Goa for so many years, he remains innately connected not only with Goa but also with the Portuguese colonial

power that, he feels, so heavily influenced Goan culture. Family in Goa, as well as knowledge of the Portuguese language, to Armando, further his “Goan-ness.”

Another Goan, Ernest, told me that what renders him Goan is not only the fact that his family comes from Goa but also the fact that he has taken the time to familiarize himself with his ancestral roots. He said:

I believe I am Goan because I’m born Goan. So, my parents are Goan and the last few generations have been Goan. But we’ve managed to trace our roots back to our Hindu roots...on our mother’s side and on our father’s side. And, we managed to find out the Hindu name four hundred or five hundred years ago. (Ernest, m41G, Group Interview #4)

Interestingly, Ernest raises the issue of religious belonging as key in defining Goan ancestry. Recognizing that Goan Christians (more specifically, Catholics) like himself did not always exist within India and only came to manifest due to the pervasive influence of colonial superpowers, such as the Portuguese, Ernest takes pride in the fact that his family pre-dates colonialism in Goa. Based on his remarks about his Hindu lineage, one can also infer that Ernest and his family, at one point in time, took the time to conduct an ethnic identity search, as Phinney (1989) suggests. Although he did not volunteer any further information as to what exactly prompted his family’s genealogical tracing, I believe that his family likely developed an interest in their lineage likely due to the influence of other Goans who, perhaps, were familiar with their own pre-Christian history – something quite common within the post-colonial Goan Catholic community.

My Anglo-Indian participants also demonstrated great comfort with and acceptance of their belonging within their ethnic community. As Anglo-Indians have no “Anglo-India” which they consider to be their ancestral homeland, the vast majority of them discussed the impact British culture has had and continues to have in shaping them as members of the community.

This is quite unlike those Goans I spoke with who typically highlighted of their connectedness with Goa as culturally authenticating and “proof” of membership within Goa’s diasporic community.

As discussed in earlier sections, one of the key distinguishing features of Anglo-Indian society is its perceived rootedness within the larger British cultural circle. Due to the intermarriage of British men with Indian women (technically, although many Anglo-Indians do not base their communal membership on such unions but rather on their ancestral histories, see “What is an Anglo-Indian?” in section II of this study), Anglo-Indians also have British genetics which, in many cases, makes it easy to remember one’s lineage. Lorna, when asked what makes her Anglo-Indian, without hesitation told me: “I do have grandparents who are...my great-grandfather was British and ... my [grand]father, on my mum’s side, was part of the British army at that time in India, prior to the early 1900s” (f40AI, Group Interview #2). Acknowledging the fact that in most people’s minds her great-grandfather’s status as British in combination with her, assumed, great-grandmother’s Indian heritage, renders her Anglo-Indian, Lorna believes her genetics dictate her belonging within the community. Beyond this, however, Lorna mentions her grandfather’s rank within the British army as further legitimization. Clearly a source of cultural admiration and honour for her and members of her family, Lorna is able to draw upon her lineage to not only justify her belonging within the Anglo-Indian diaspora but also to simultaneously illustrate the military contributions her father made to the Crown thus insinuating her British authenticity and subsequent cultural belonging.

Annabel, like Lorna, also comfortably spoke about how her mixed British-Indian history makes her and her family Anglo-Indian. She told me:

We're Anglo-Indian by birth, and I also believe we're Anglo-Indian by culture. And, what I mean by culture is...the history of Anglo-Indians...when Europeans

came to India and intermarried with the Indian women; both societies ostracized these people because the British didn't want people who had married the Indians. And, the Indians each had an air of superiority and figured that the other ones [Anglo-Indians] are the ones that are inferior. So, the Anglo-Indians, these people who have intermarried...by force, they formed their own tight-knit community...with a conservative Western culture and Indian values. And, to me, that's the best of both worlds. (Annabel, f61AI, Group Interview #5)

Interestingly, Annabel's response illustrates that she has taken the time to think about if and where Anglo-Indians fit within not only the greater Indian community but also within European, specifically British, society. Existing as a British/Indian hybrid, she believes Anglo-Indian culture borrows the strengths from two very distinct and rich societies which ultimately renders her and her community incredibly unique. Linking her mixed heritage with what she considers the cultural history of her community, Annabel's thorough explanation of her background exhibits her clear cultural self-confidence.

Beyond coming to terms with their regional and/or colonial ancestral Indian histories, most of the Goans and Anglo-Indians who had reached Phinney's achieved identity phase also have come to embrace their place within the greater Pan-Indian diaspora. Although each interviewee exhibited an understanding and appreciation of what makes them uniquely Goan or Anglo-Indian, they all illustrated the belief that, in varying degrees, they too fit within the greater Indian diaspora. Remember twenty-seven year old Rosie, a Goan who joined the South Asian student club which inadvertently resulted in the desire for her to learn more about her own Goan culture. Rosie told me that, although there were no other Goans in the South Asian club, she was, to a degree, able to relate to quite a few of the cultural norms and practices of her non-Goan classmates (f27G, Interview #5). Taking comfort in the fact that members of the non-Goan Indian community had relatively similar food traditions (such as eating curry), family values (such as getting a good education and respect for one's elders) and even skin colour as those of

her own family, Rosie was able to connect and bond with such students based on the overlapping elements of their lifeworlds as taught and propagated by members of her family and close community. Putting “hot sauce” on foods to make them “edible,” for example, is something that her and her friends could both relate to and subsequently laugh over (Rosie, f27G, Interview #5). Despite the knowledge that her community does not neatly fit underneath the umbrella categories of Hindu or Indian, Rosie took the time to develop her own place within the pan-Indian diaspora by recognition of shared commonalities that, she believes, are aspects that all Indians possess.

Annabel also spoke of shared values that she feels grants her access to the pan-Indian community. Labelling Anglo-Indians as “conservatively Western,” Annabel told me that, although British cultural behaviour and ideals greatly influence her, as an Anglo-Indian, there are many aspects of Indian culture that she continues to hold on to:

When I say conservative, yes we would date, but growing up in India...we didn't go out or [were] drinking as much as the, you know, the Westerners or the teenagers in Western society. Premarital sex was an absolute no-no. Most of us wouldn't have even had the where or how, the places to...we didn't have cars. (Annabel, f61AI, Group Interview #5)

Talking about, what she considers to be, the reserved and traditional culture of Anglo-Indians, Annabel recognizes that particular Indian values continue to be passed on from generation to generation within her family as well as in the greater Anglo-Indian community. Despite their cultural distinction from non-Anglo-Indians within India, due to the pervasive influence of British colonialism, Anglo-Indians retained conservative beliefs not only to commemorate their Indian roots but also because, on some level or another, they were/are unable to completely accept the relative liberalism of Western culture⁵⁶. Despite this, Annabel believes that Anglo-

⁵⁶ Annabel's belief that Anglo-Indians are, by nature, conservative could be a reflection of her family's upper-middle class upbringing. Conversely, although she does not explicitly link her conservatism to her Catholic belief system, I suggest that religiosity may have also influenced Annabel's family's retention of traditional values. Some scholars have studied non-Christian/non-Catholic Anglo-Indians in India and have in fact noted that oftentimes

Indians exhibit particular “Western” traits that in many ways distinguish them from most other Indians:

...when I talk about the conservative Western Culture, I talk about the fact that we speak English, we wear Western clothes...the habits are very Western. In the Indian culture, they have arranged marriages, whereas we don't. We date and we choose our own partners. Most of us...well, actually, all of us are Christians of some denomination. So, I think that's why the, sort of, the skewing towards the European part of their culture rather than the Indian. So, it's a differentiation. (Annabel, f61AI, Group Interview #5)

In maintaining particular cultural beliefs and traditions that she believes separates her community from the greater Indian population, Annabel illustrates a positive sense of social identity through the perception of Anglo-Indians as favourably distinct from other communities on valued dimensions. Henri Tajfel (1978) labels this a “need for positive distinctiveness,” which basically means that groups (and thus individual and communal identity) acquire meaning through in-group/out-group comparisons consequently allowing individuals to maintain and achieve evaluative personal and social identities. In recognizing the perceived strengths of Anglo-Indians, in comparison to the general Indian community, Annabel illustrates that she has achieved a “satisfactory concept or image of the self” (Tajfel 1974:4).

Charlene, a sixty year old Anglo-Indian, despite being a Canadian citizen for over twenty years, still considers herself Indian by nationality. She told me: “I would still say that I’m from India. And, then if they say, “Yes, but what is your culture?” And, then I would say...”I’m Indian by nationality but I’m Anglo-Indian by community” (Charlene, f60AI, Interview #9). Charlene recognizes that while there are many common political affiliations and cultural elements shared by most Indians, only Anglo-Indians have particular communal recollections and experiences that shape their unique perceptions. While nationally Charlene identifies with

Anglo-Indians are labeled or reputed by those outside of their community to have loose morals and possess very non-traditional values (Gist and Wright 1973:52-54).

the Indian state, communally she feels that the common cultural perspectives (or traditions) Anglo-Indians have continue to be, in many ways, independent of political organization as well as national geography and statehood. In identifying as both Indian and Anglo-Indian, Charlene exhibits a comfort not only with the vicissitudes of Anglo-Indian colonial history but also with the wider Indian context that shaped her community in so many ways.

In comparison to direct migrants and those born and raised in Canada, twice and thrice migrants had very distinctive ways of conceptualizing their ethnic identities because of the vast influence of the variety of regions and diasporic contexts in which they lived. Many of them, in some way or another, still continue to identify with the nation(s) that either they were born in, grew up in, or spent a few years in prior to their Canadian arrival. Elizabeth boldly told me that, if asked by another, “I’d say I was British because I grew up from a very young age...I was seven years old when I was in Britain. I never have lived in Goa...I don’t have any roots in Goa whatsoever...If someone asked me what my culture was, I’d say it’s British because that is my culture” (f56G, Group Interview #6). Although Elizabeth was born in Kenya and there resided until the age of seven, she claims to have much more vivid and therefore influential memories of life in Britain. Despite her ethnic roots as Goan, Elizabeth does not feel as if she belongs in Goa because she neither was born nor raised there. Rather, because of her personal history and connectedness in England, she relates more to the values and cultural norms that she there encountered. Her primary schooling years were spent in England, and the majority of her friends were British. Even the “Goan-ness” of her family, she recalls, was heavily filtered through a “British lens” (Elizabeth, f56G, Group Interview #6). Accordingly, upon arrival in Canada, Elizabeth possessed a British accent, British vocabulary and British tastes – something, in fact,

not too unusual for Goan-Canadians, due to many of their upbringing in East Africa under British colonial rule.

John, a gentleman in the same interview group, spoke with similar attachment as Elizabeth to the land of his upbringing. While, like Elizabeth, he is technically of Goan descent, unlike Elizabeth, he spent most of his childhood, adolescent and early adult years in Mombasa, Kenya. It was not until he joined the British army as an adult that he left East Africa to plant roots in Britain and tour around Europe. He claimed, “For many years, I called myself a Kenyan. After I left Mombasa, I always called myself a Kenyan” (John, m61G, Group Interview #6). Even after his Kenyan departure, John recognized the vast influence British East African colonial culture had on him. Because of his Goan heritage, John told me that he found it much easier to simply say he was Kenyan as opposed to aligning himself with mainstream India which, he admitted, oftentimes proved difficult because not too many people knew or understood what a Goan is/was (m61G, Group Interview #6). Like Elizabeth with England, John remains fundamentally connected with Kenya because of personal and cultural tastes and behaviours that were ingrained within him from a young age. Speaking Swahili, listening to African music and insisting a strong preference for the African (as opposed to Canadian) climate and laid-back way of life, John continues to hold on to the culture that so heavily shaped him growing up.

A relatively large number of twice and thrice migrants, prior to their Canadian migration, lived in other countries for school or work related purposes. Unlike Elizabeth, who moved with family to live abroad, these individuals typically relocated by themselves while their family remained in their place of birth. Moira, for example, a fifty-two year old Goan, moved from Kenya to Madison, Wisconsin to pursue higher education when she was just nineteen years old. As her first experience living abroad without her family, Moira was struck by the noticeable

absence of ethnic community in the American mid-west. Moira told me: “[T]here was no community [in the United States]...that’s what I missed a lot. Not just ethnic community, but just no sense of community...That’s all I ever knew in Kenya, was a Goan community. So, when I went to the United States, that’s what I missed most, having that infrastructure around me” (f57G, Interview #2). As she had, until that point, been heavily reliant on her family to sustain what had become cultural and communal lifeworld norms, Moira quickly adapted so as to create a new infrastructure based on friendships with others from diverse backgrounds. She learned how to be self-sufficient and self-reliant which, she believes, helped shape her to be the independent adult she is today (Moira, f57G, Interview #2). Although Moira does not identify as American at all, she continues to remember the immense impact her American experiences had in contributing to her self-determination and success.

Despite their status as direct-, twice-, thrice-, or non-migrant (i.e.: born and raised here), all of the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed expressed sincere contentedness and appreciation of the fact that they currently reside in and belong to Canadian society. Irrespective of their place of birth, the region they were brought up in or the land they went to school or worked, respondents all displayed a positive attitude toward being Canadian while continuing to exhibit strong attachment(s) to other aspects of their ethnic identity.

Rosie, a twenty-seven year old female, spent a long time discussing her ethnic identity with me and how she responds when people ask her “what she is.” She said:

I go into this long explanation. I will say, “I’m Goan.” I think of myself as Goan, but when I tell people that, they kind of don’t know exactly what that is. And, the other thing is that...I was born in Kenya, but I’m Goan. So, then I have to bring it back, especially in Canada I kind of bring it back to, “Well, [I’m] Canadian, but ethnically [I was] born somewhere else.” A lot of people are, right? So, I kind of go into that whole explanation, and it’s so funny because you’d think that people find that easy to understand. But [other people] still go, “Well, you’re Kenyan.” And, I’m like, “Yes, I was born there, but you know

ethnically, my parents are from Goa.” It’s a long explanation kind of thing.
(Rosie, 27fG, Interview #5)

After years of struggling how to explain her background to the curious other, Rosie told me she has decided to simply tell people the truth. Growing up, however Rosie chose to abridge her cultural background so as to make things easier for people to understand. And, when other people continued to struggle to comprehend her origins, Rosie experienced an ethnic crisis of sorts and became ashamed of her roots. With time, education and much thought, Rosie told me that she realized the amazing nature of her mixed background and international experiences. Accordingly, today she views her diverse ancestry as a blessing. Prefacing any discussion with the fact that she is Canadian, Rosie talks of her ethnicity and cultural belonging with passion, giving her audience the opportunity to not only absorb the complexities of her background but also to ask questions. She said:

To an average person...I mean, people usually think it’s actually pretty amazing. They think it’s a positive thing, they’re like, “Wow, that’s really cool.” So you kind of identify with somebody with two different, sort of cultures...because yes, I’m Goan. My parents ethnically were Goan, I was raised in Kenya, I now live in Canada. So, I’m Goan-Kenyan-Canadian. You know? [...] And most people think of that as a positive thing, but it takes some explaining, you know? (Rosie, 27fG, Interview #5)

Realizing that her ethnic, national and cultural positioning do not necessarily have to be antagonistic towards one another and that, in fact, they have proven to be quite complimentary within her and her family’s life, Rosie now displays her deterritorialized migrant (Cohen 1999) ethnicity with pride. She, like so many of my informants, have arrived achieved a true sense of their ethnic identity.

Likewise, Claude, a thirty-three year old Goan, told me that he considers himself a “Canadesiac,” in that he is so proud and near obsessed with Canadian culture. As a proud Canadian citizen, he could not imagine living anywhere else. He told me:

I think it was helpful to, at least for my personal growth, to be able to learn about other cultures and whatnot because there's a lot to offer. I'm a major "Canadesiac," you know? I think it was about six or seven years after migrating that I decided to check it out, see what's going on. (Claude, m33G, Group Interview #1)

Recognizing how learning about other cultures simultaneously encouraged him to contemplate his own ethnic background, Claude values Canada's multicultural policy and the positive impact it has had within the nation. Possessing a keen knowledge of Canada's history, geography, politics and contemporary issues, Claude's title as "Canadesiac" is, in my opinion, well earned. Acknowledging that part of being Canadian includes having ethnic pride, Claude heavily personifies multiculturalism's goals of mutual understanding and cultural acceptance.

When asked how they ethnically identify, many participants illustrated just how proud they are of their Canadian status by "hyphenating" their ethnicity (for example, "Goan-Canadian," "Anglo-Indian-Canadian," "British-Indian-Canadian" and so forth). By adding "Canadian" to their ethnicity, such individuals wish to symbolize to others not only their ancestral roots, which continue to shape their thoughts, beliefs and actions, but also their national affiliation which they believe is just as influential as their ethnic heritage. Nuno, who was born in East Africa but lived most of his adult years in Canada, illustrated this to me, saying: "I consider myself Goan-Canadian. Yup! The other side, as well, along with the expose to the Goan culture, there is also the exposure to the Canadian culture that I have as well – other friends, and stuff" (m29G, Group Interview #3). Despite his contact with Goan traditions and culture in his everyday life, Nuno continues to analyze and interpret various aspects of his being and selfhood through, what he considers to be, a Canadian lens.

The hyphen, for the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed, seems to serve as a bridge between two unique, albeit overlapping at times, cultures. Uniting two ethnicities that perhaps

otherwise would be viewed as distinctly separate, many of my informants used the hyphen to illustrate their shared domains of belonging. For them, they appear to view the hyphen as something interesting, fascinating and even trendy. It allows them to maintain their status as Canadians and as Indians (or Goans, Anglo-Indians, etc.), and identify with others who share similar affiliations. For them, the small hyphen serves to highlight the uniqueness that separates them from either mainstream. It gives them the “dual [or triple] frame of reference” that Suarez-Orozco (1997) found within Central American immigrant youth that allows them to relate to various, distinct ethnocultural contexts without feeling confused and/or threatened.

Interestingly, as Anglo-Indians already employ the hyphen to distinguish themselves not only from Indians but also from normative Anglo (or British) society, the addition of “-Canadian” to their identity serves to further their distinction in multicultural Canada. Even some Goans, with their colonial history, add “Portuguese-” to their self-identity to relay the undeniable impact Portuguese colonialism and culture has on their lives. Because there are no set rules on how to identify, especially within two communities who have found themselves in pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and diasporic contexts, individuals are free to experiment with how they view and label themselves so as to permit the full achieved realization of their ethnic belonging. Making a place for themselves amidst the smorgasbord of cultures and ethnicities found within urban Canada, members of these communities thus use the hyphen to testify the fluidity of their very cultural cores.

Despite their positive usage of the hyphen, many scholars have viewed the hyphen not so favourably when studying its role within the lives of mixed race communities and immigrants. Gillian Rose, in her feminist critique of the phallogentric self/knowledge, examines how the hyphen effectively produces spaces of distance (1995). She believes that the perceived and actual

“distance-difference” between ethnic and national positionings are clearly exhibited and propagated through the labels that people use to identify themselves and others. Richard Gwyn further considers the hyphen to be disadvantageous and, even, morally wrong when assessed in light of Canada’s multicultural policy which advocates that immigrants should maintain their ethnic identity first and foremost (1996:234). In both Rose and Gwyn’s research, the hyphen is used by individuals not as a way of proudly revealing one’s heritage and overlapping cultural affiliations but rather as a way to either consciously or subconsciously distance non-Canadian ethnicities outside of what is hegemonically viewed as “Canadian.” Interestingly, Richard Hanchard, in his study of African-Americans, views the hyphen as something complicating which renders the process of self-definition both drawn out and draining (1990:212-214). Although Hanchard does fully explain that hyphens often necessitate qualifiers, such as explanations of history, migration and geography, I suggest that with Goans and Anglo-Indians, the hyphen in fact serves to liberate many of them from what they consider to be otherwise arduous tasks of relaying colonial histories, political takeovers and geographical diasporas. As Nuno and Rosie illustrate, the hyphen can give individuals the freedom to create a space where, although perhaps creating distance on some level, their mixed colonial, cultural, regional and national ethnicities do not collide or compete for affiliation but rather are sympathetic of and accepting towards one another.

Mavis, a Goan who came to Canada over twenty-five years ago, initially expressed similar sentiments in that she views her identities not as distanced from one another but rather as complimentary: “I consider myself Canadian. I wouldn’t be anything else” (Mavis, f62G, Interview #6) but then qualified her comment, saying, “I don’t consider myself pre-eminently Goan...my primary identity is Canadian and always has been. But because of my social

associations with other people in my life, there is always that Goan-ness that I have. And there is no conflict between them” (f62G, Group Interview #4). Illustrating that being Canadian and Goan does not present a conflictive situation wherein each identity is viewed as oppositional to each other, Mavis’ Goan identity, like Nuno’s, seems to have expanded so as to accommodate and embrace a Canadian one.

The shifting of one identity affiliation so as to make room for another is a common occurrence within North American immigrants. Baha Abu-Laban and Sharon McIrvin Abu-Laban, in their study of immigrant family life, notes similar patterns of perceived identity-shifting and balancing within the parents of Arab-Canadian youth (Abu-Laban and Abu-Laban in Suleiman 1999:140-154). Although levels of identification with the Canadian and Arab communities varied depending on the migrant’s place of birth, their age and even their gender, the researchers note that participants appear to be well integrated into Canadian society and comfortable with their national identity whilst simultaneously maintaining a positive view of their Arab heritage.

Despite the fact that Abu-Laban and Abu-Laban’s participants feel they are becoming more and more “Canadian” on a daily basis, almost all of them do not view their Arab-ness to be diminishing proportionately. This idea was firmly echoed by my own respondents, and is easily illustrated through Armando’s statement:

I would say that my Goan-ness stays the same, and my Canadian-ness is increasing. But I do not feel any less Goan than I was, I just feel more Canadian as I move forward. First of all, I still have family back [in Goa]. Brothers and sisters, they’re still back home, even my mother is still back home. Plus, you know, my school friends and college friends a lot of them still go. So for me, it’s still difficult, even though I’ve been here for thirty-seven years and my ancestry is Indian, I do not feel as though I am Indian. Politically and economically, I identify... I am very entrenched in Canada. For example, the way that I get goose-bumps about Canada with some great achievements with athletes, it

doesn't do a thing for me if an Indian does the same for India. So, it doesn't lessen my Canadian-ness at all. (m61G, Group Interview #4)

Armando, though he feels increasingly Canadian with each passing day, insists that his Goan allegiances remain the same as they were thirty-seven years ago when he first came to Canada. While, not all of my respondents reported feeling just as connected with India (or wherever they migrated to Canada from) after the passing of so many years, they all recognize their ongoing relationship with their homeland through the presence of family members and/or the continuation of ritualistic practices and lifeworld normativities. In Armando's case, he believes the fact that he still has family and friends in Goa has enabled him to maintain his attachment to Goa. However, despite Goa's reunification with the rest of India, Armando feels neither obligation nor commitment to India as a nation, as he, like most of my informants, recognizes a distinction between Goan and non-Goan Indians. Armando appears to be at peace with his mixed heritage and affiliations, and thanks to Canada's multicultural social rubric which accepts those fuzzy gray areas of mixed heritage and ethnicity, he does not feel that his Canadian belonging has been diminished. Rather, he, like Rosie, views his cultural diversity as something wonderful and special, and that he fits perfectly within Canada's multicultural society.

When applying Habermas' notions of lifeworld/system to those Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed, it becomes apparent that the Canadian system in many ways has enabled members of these communities to accept and positively acknowledge the pregivens both sustained and animated by their lifeworlds. Whether growing up abroad or in Canada, many of those I spoke with took their cultural identity for granted, as it was viewed by them to be nothing more than a lifeworld normative given. As children, teenagers or even adults, those living in relatively insular ethnic communities with no, little or limited exposure to the norms and symbolic meanings of the lifeworlds of other cultural communities would either develop feelings of cultural apathy or

diffusion. Many Goans and Anglo-Indians, because of the relatively close-knit nature of their communities, grew up with little or no real educational or interactive exposure to other cultures. Consequently, many of them simply learned how to “be” Goan or Anglo-Indian not because they chose to but rather because they believed there was no other option available to them. Since the Canadian system, due to various ideological tenets and policies (such as multiculturalism, ethnic diversity and equality), encourages those from diverse cultures to interact and communicate with one another, those individuals who have never had their own lifeworld identities challenged by the presence of other dissimilar lifeworlds may feel uncomfortable, displaced, challenged or even belittled. Particular occurrences, either positive (such as a multicultural festival) or negative (such as a discriminatory encounter) oftentimes spark new, fierce interest in one’s own culture. And, as various participants exhibited, the ignorance of others only encouraged them to learn about their own ethnicity more fully and thoroughly. Such events serve as catalysts in prompting an ethnic identity crisis that initiates Phinney’s ethnic identity search phase (1989).

The Canadian system, in its encouragement of multiculturalism and its cultivation of ethnic pride within its inhabitants, also propels individuals to take the time to learn more about their cultural roots. Various educational events, multicultural parades, student associations and celebratory festivals, according to my informants, all seek to ignite interest not just within members of their own Goan and Anglo-Indian communities but also within the greater Canadian population. In publically endorsing and financially backing such events, the Canadian system is thus able to tailor individuals to recognize and support such pervasive and hegemonic conceptual ideologies as multiculturalism and the acceptance of diversity, while simultaneously purporting its (i.e.: the system via its components, such as the media and the education system) own survival through the acquisition of capital and positive repute.

Promoting its citizens to get in touch with their own ethnicity so as to be able to contribute to the Canadian cultural mosaic, the system even encourages individuals to travel abroad in order to reconnect with their heritage. International travel in these instances not only encourages individuals to participate in the global economy, which of course benefits Canada in terms of international revenue and taxation, but also disseminates the values and goals of the Canadian system on a global scale. Encouraging communication between its own systemic agents and those of other nations, the Canadian system is able to propagate its ideals for a fraction of the financial capital and effort such a task would have demanded otherwise. The Goans and Anglo-Indians I spoke with clearly have benefitted from returning to either the place of their birth or their Indian motherland. While Goans have a region which they can call their own wherein its members share various similar assumptions and cultural norms, Anglo-Indians lack a true ancestral region within India and consequently have been geographically dispersed throughout their colonial and post-colonial history. Some of those respondents who were able to return to India, as discussed earlier, preached the innumerable benefits to be had in interacting and communicating with members of their own community. Such communication, in their opinion, firmly reaffirms various lifeworld assumptions and the practices and traditional rituals that give symbolic meaning to their life horizons. However, because of the incredibly distinct milieu and life horizons of those Goans and Anglo-Indians living within India compared to those in Canada, simultaneous aspects of their ethnicity and belonging that are structured or only make sense within the Canadian systemic context can be diminished or challenged. Despite feelings of disconnect or uprootedness with the Indian homeland, even with travel there and interaction with family abroad, the Anglo-Indians and Goans I spoke with appear to better appreciate their own hyphenated Canadian-Indian lifeworld assumptions.

After much education and various encounters that serve to reiterate their lifeworlds within a globally meaningful and diasporic context, Goans and Anglo-Indians appear to have found a balance between their pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, diasporic and Canadian identities. Allowing them to feed off one another and constantly interact so as to evocatively make sense of their ever-changing, dynamic and multicultural life horizons, the lifeworlds of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics indeed serve as the lenses through which they can positively manipulate and interact with the Canadian system. While traveling through J. S. Phinney's three-tiered ethnic identity developmental phases may present them with a variety of challenges, I posit that the innate diversity and flexibility of Goans and Anglo-Indians permits their fluid exploration of what it means to be both ethnic and Canadian. Jürgen Habermas' belief that the lifeworld remains fundamentally disentangled and decoupled from the system, though true in particular phases of Goan and Anglo-Indian diasporic existence, renders in this instance ultimately incorrect as neither community found the system to be alienating in terms of their ethnic identity development. In fact, when asked, the clear majority of my participants suggest that their mixed or hyphenated heritage has permitted their lucid comprehension and acculturation within the Canadian system. The hyphen has located them a space of their own within Canada's multicultural mosaic. The micro-level components comprising the meanings and symbols animating the lifeworlds of Goans and Anglo-Indians prove in many ways to be consistent with the macro-level systems of relations that constitute Canada's comprehensive institutional structure.

After months or years of ethnic self-discovery, the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed were all able to retrospectively reflect on their experiences with wisdom and with pride. Many of them specifically located their ethnic apathy growing up, irrespective of where

they lived, and were subsequently able to discuss how they reconnected with their ethnic ancestry. Being as culturally “mixed” as both Goans and Anglo-Indians are, members of these communities have learned how to use what they consider to be the best features of various ancestries in order to steer through a system that too often has been considered overwhelming by migrant communities. Asserting their Canadian pride, those I interviewed, irrespective of their age and stage in life, truly exhibit the cultural confidence and ethnic buoyancy that J. S. Phinney (1989, 1992), W. E. Cross (1978) and J. Kim (1981) speak of. Recognizing the importance of both positive and negative life-shaping experiences and occurrences, they understand that ethnic identity is not something set in the proverbial stone but rather is something vibrant and ever-changing that, in their cases, fits perfectly within that fuzzy gray area that multiculturalism legitimates.

D. Light eyes and *wheatish* skin: on the pervasive role of race

Race has been an immense shaping factor in the lives of Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics, both historically and within contemporary society. At the onset of this project, I had not envisioned discussing the wider issue of race, as I believed that the topics of religion and ethnicity would provide me with enough data so as to write a comprehensive dissertation. However, during countless discussions and interviews, issues of skin-colour constantly revealed themselves within a variety of contexts that, interestingly, did not explicitly have to do with constructions of race. Because of their diverse and multifaceted histories, members of both communities have interacted with and lived amidst other cultural groups thus introducing them to various, and often contradicting, racial ideologies. Goans and Anglo-Indians had and continue to have unique conceptions of race and subsequent ideas about if and where they fit on the colour

spectrum. Looking at one particular biological aspect of race, that is skin tone (pigmentation or colour), this section looks at how socially constructed and adhered to conceptions of colour have been introduced, promulgated, perpetuated within these communities. Recognizing the vast impact of European influence within Anglo-Indian and Goan Indian society, I explore the topic of skin colour in light of pertinent aspects of Indian history and culture, as well as its affects on members of these communities. Because such conceptions have both subtly and explicitly transplanted themselves within non-Indian diasporic contexts, especially in East Africa and subsequently within Canada, I also survey the development of such racial ideologies chronologically and intergenerationally. Unlike the portion of the ethnicity development section that touched upon external racism and colour-prejudices that many Goan and Anglo-Indians have dealt with in their migratory and Canadian experiences, this section solely discusses how skin colour has maintained itself as a salient force in determining members of these communities' boundaries of belonging. I herein suggest that there are not only many shades of brown but also of white and black. Additionally, as evidenced by the experiences of my Anglo-Indian and Goan informants, skin colour is not simply inherited from one's parents but rather is a subjectively defined concept which often depends on class, caste, upbringing and other factors.

Moving beyond basic historical and contemporary conceptions of colour within the Anglo-Indian and Goan communities both in Indian and diasporic contexts, this section also discusses the materialization and embodiment of such ideologies through colourism. Cedric Herring, a sociologist of the phenomenon, defines colourism as the "discriminatory treatment of individuals falling within the same 'racial' group on the basis of skin colour" (Cedric in Rondilla and Spickard 2007:1-2). Jayne Ifekunigwe, in her analysis of mixed-races discusses how colonized communities are indoctrinated into the colourism hierarchy of their colonizers

subsequently creating “their own histories as oppressors and justifiable mistrust” (2004:179). Ifekunigwe believes that mixed colonized races eventually begin to mirror the socially constructed prejudices of their colonizers despite, perhaps, the knowledge that such judgments are unreasonable and erroneous. Looking specifically at the black Caribbean community, Mama considers colourism as the “desire [of black women] for long flowing hair, lighter skin and aquiline features’ (1995:150). Using such definitions, I thus view colourism as the coding and designation of beauty, class and social status based on skin shade gradients within members of the same ethnic and/or racial community. Building upon the historical and colonial contexts of colour preference, I illustrate how “shade prejudice” (Mirza 1997:118) continues to affect the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed. Despite the “politically incorrectness” of colour discrimination in modern Western society, many Goans and Anglo-Indians not only have been discriminated based on their skin colour by members of their own racial (i.e.: South Asian, Indian, or even Goan/Anglo-Indian) community but also, in many ways both subtle and explicit, continue to subscribe to and perpetuate such ideologies in their own cultural beliefs as reflected through their systemic encounters.

This section simultaneously looks at how religion has been racialized. Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994) define racialization as the “ideological process shaped by history, prejudice, and the human tendency to use conceptual categories to simplify their ascription to nonidentical experiences” (Omi and Winant in Joshi 2006:95). Because, for Anglo-Indians and Goans that I interviewed, the colonialism that touched their Indian homeland was both cultural and religious, Catholicism at one point in time came to be identified with real or imaginary racial distinctions or features. Particular phenotypical characteristics subsequently became attached to religious belonging and ideologies. Specifically, I argue that within colonial India and even

within the East African diasporic context, race oftentimes became proxy for religious affiliation. Within such contexts members of the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic communities not only were subjected to racialized categories that oftentimes restricted or permitted their status and involvement within the Church but also such individuals often used the very oppressive categories that were imposed upon them to subsequently judge others (both converted and non-) in their communities.

Despite its insidious influence in religious and social practices both in India and within the East African diasporic context, my research illustrates that colourism has neither maintained its full strength nor influence within Canadian society. Although small remnants of racialized traditions and beliefs occasionally surface within the lives and experiences of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I interviewed, typically such sentiments carry weight only within older generations of the community and/or within those who have more recently come to Canada from lands abroad where colourism, unfortunately, remains a highly subscribed to fact of life. Although newer generations of Goans and Anglo-Indians are most certainly aware of the historical roots of colourism and the vast impact it had on the lives of their parents and ancestors, all of my younger participants consider such prejudices to be dated and thus irrelevant within contemporary Canadian society.

Using Habermas' ideas of lifeworld and system, I illustrate that Indian society, especially within a colonial context, may have institutionalized such forms of colourism through prevailing policies, cultural beliefs and social norms which encouraged such biases to be propagated on a domestic (i.e.: lifeworld) level, especially by those who aligned themselves with colonial (as opposed to indigenous) society. Additionally, although most of colourism's influence within Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic society was attributable to British and Portuguese colonialism, I

argue that the Indian system also had various institutional mechanisms in place that not only reified the conception that “lighter is better,” but also promulgated such notions within the general lifeworlds of non-Christian Indians. Because, in both cases, the Indian and European colonial system’s ideology of colourism was able to colonize and heavily impact the lifeworlds of all Indians, such cultural preferences and expected norms were easily promulgated. The cross-community lifeworld contact that occurred within daily Indian life thus served to fuel such cultural biases. Even within the diasporic East African context, the influence of British colonialism’s normative cultural preferences continued to impact members of the Anglo-Indian and Goan communities.

With migration into Canada, I argue that although the lifeworlds of many members of these communities in fact had legitimated colourism as not only a fact of life but even as necessary on some level or another, the Canadian system has both permitted and encouraged younger Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics to abandon such beliefs. The social and religious collision of various lifeworlds has encouraged these individuals to reflect on whether or not judgements related to phenotypes and colour are salient within today’s society. The open-minded and non-prejudiced normative values these youth encounter within their daily lives are easily interpreted by their lifeworlds which, oftentimes, are quite different from those of their parents and grandparents who, understandably, remember life abroad under colonial rule. Interestingly however, the Canadian system simultaneously allows (but does not promote) such elder community members to retain and/or hold on to such biases under the guise of tradition, belief or even habit. Although some older individuals see the error in their skin-tone prejudices because of various systemic norms and hegemonies concerning cultural freedoms and social equality that are envisioned and perpetuated through its institutional components, they continue to covertly

subscribe to colourist notions both in their own lives and in their dealings with other members of the community. The very Canadian system which has encouraged Goan and Anglo-Indian youth to dispose of colourism and poke fun at the outdated shade prejudices of their parents and grandparents concurrently permits older generations to meaningfully preserve such beliefs.

Skin colour, for my Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic respondents proves to be a powerful force within many of their daily lives. Despite its apparent irrelevancy in Canada's colour-blind system, this section demonstrates how race can manifest and impact many of the thoughts, beliefs and practices not just in their domestic lifeworlds that animate and give meaning to their life horizons but also in Goan and Anglo-Indian systemic dealings and communicative social relationships. In illustrating the how the diverse histories of Goans and Anglo-Indians have not only given rise to colourism but also have, at times, quelled its impact, I illustrate that members of these communities, despite some of their attempts, neither fit neatly within the black and white (or in this case, brown and white) categories of Indian and Western but rather comfortably sit between both categories, shuffling their normative beliefs accordingly.

i. The colonial roots of colourism and its religiocultural proliferation

Colour prejudices abounded in colonial India. British and Portuguese imperialist discourses relied on conceptions of race so as to not only justify colonial invasion and takeover but also to depict the colonial subject or "other" (Said 2003; Loomba 2005) as inferior thus validating the imposition of political ideologies and, more importantly to this discussion, cultural values that may or may not have contrasted with those of Indian society at the time. This segment discusses how colonialism encouraged and promulgated colourist biases within both the Anglo-Indian and Goan communities. Looking at various social facets that permitted it to breed

within all levels of the white and local Indian social strata, I talk about how colourism not only shaped Goan and Anglo-Indian relations with their colonial rulers but also greatly impacted the development of their own lifeworlds either consciously or subconsciously. Because many such lifeworlds were, from the colonial onset, fashioned to reflect the particular cultural preferences of their imperial rulers, such individuals, in opting to align themselves with Western society and thus distancing themselves from non-Christian mainstream India, came to embrace patterns of inequality involving skin colour that were common within both British and Portuguese society. Providing some examples of where and how colouristic biases passed through generations within cultural and communal contexts, I illustrate the incredible role that one's skin colour had in affecting their everyday thoughts, beliefs and behaviours both within India and the non-North American diaspora. I also herein briefly discuss how Indian Catholicism, despite countless exhortations from Popes, bishops and clergy to follow Jesus' laws of universal love of all people, perpetuated the colourist colonial system.

Darkness, and subsequently dark skin, acquired negative associations within the Western (i.e.: European) consciousness as early as the 3rd century, when various Early Christian Father depicted "blackness as synonymous with sin" (Gabriel 2007:12). Especially in Egypt, Christian asceticism promulgated such colour biases by linking darkness with evil and attaching demonic and bestial qualities to those with black or dark brown skin (Davies 1988:7). Christian theology simultaneously began to portray light and light incarnate in Jesus as white so as to present a metaphysical antithesis between light (good) and darkness (evil).

Five thousand years earlier, before the development of Christian theology and such ontological dualism, the Indians⁵⁷ were exposed to similar notions of racial prejudice. With the mixing of the Aryans, a light-skinned people with the darker Dravidians, some dark-skinned Indians were held by their lighter rulers in servitude for many years however this colour line eventually dissipated due to intermarriage (Wilson 1996:37). Although it has been suggested that such colourist assumptions were present in the founding of the caste system, such cannot be fully proven but rather remains, by some, as historically suggested or assumed.

What can be known for certain, though, is that European colonialism thousands of years later instilled Indian society much more concrete and enduring notions of skin-colour preference and subsequent bias towards dark skin. Rooted in Christian colonial teachings, dark Indians were viewed as “other” who thus needed to be conquered, dominated and taught morality (i.e.: Christian morality). White-skinned colonials, with their establishment in and takeover of India, among other nations, began to assign privileges and rights to other light-skinned members of Western society who also resided in India. After individuals born in Europe, those born locally with European heritage were given the next highest social rank, “followed by a large intermediate group, such as individuals with mixed heritage [and] finally those with pure native lineage were at the bottom of the social order” (R. E. Hall 2008:177). Accordingly, the general public began to view skin colour as the most salient criterion for social and professional advancement within the colonial world and subsequently developed an indigenous social hierarchy based on pigmentation.

Within Goan society specifically, Alfonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese conqueror, in his attempts to bring Christianity to the land, encouraged his men to marry the “white and

⁵⁷ It is important to note that there was no “India” as a nation during this time. The name India is derived from the word Indus, which served as the local appellation for the Indus River. I employ the term India simply for the sake of simplicity.

beautiful” widows and daughters of those Muslim men he had just killed in battle while simultaneously discouraging (albeit not forbidding) them from associating with the darker lower-caste Dravidian women, whom they referred to as “Negresses” (Nicholson 2000:56). Despite Albuquerque’s hopes, “all of the great majority [of Portuguese men] [were] married to Negresses, who they [took] to church on horseback” (Neill 2004:61). While this clearly contrasted with de Albuquerque’s hopes of maintaining a lighter-skinned mixed colonial race, it reflected the fact that most of the Indian women who were willing to marry European men were either lower-class or were separated from their families for one reason or another. Additionally, it reflected the simple fact that Brahmins and Ksatriyas, who often had light(er) skin themselves, maintained their caste and racial pride after conversion (Seixo 2000:262). As new generations of mixed-race Goan Christians were born, those younger members of society with mixed heritage (as evidenced by lighter, more “European” features) were decorated with more prestigious social positions and recognition by their colonial rulers.

The British, like their Portuguese colonial counterparts, used skin colour to socially discriminate. Early British colonial overlords viewed the darker “Hindus of the plains and the Muslims of Sind to be weak, cowardly and eminently untrustworthy...[b]y contrast, they judged India’s light-skinned, Indo-European frontier people to be racially, morally and intellectually superior” (Margolis 2002:211). As more and more intermarriages occurred between the British colonials and their Indian subjects, those with Indians light skin or mixed-ancestry were viewed as preferential candidates for employment and were thus typically more successful than their dark-skinned neighbours in climbing the social ladder and gaining communal status. Within Anglo-Indian society, women with light skin were more actively sought after for marriage and child-rearing by both Indians as well as by their colonial rulers who were unable to marry

women from their own background due to a shortage of British women within colonial lands. Light-skinned mixed-race Anglo-Indians could more easily pass for European or even British while those with dark skin could not evade, deny or conceal their “otherness.” However, with the massive amounts of intermarriage occurring between the British and Indians that resulted in the expansion of the Anglo-Indian community, many Anglo-Indians came to have incredibly fair skin-colour and Europeanized features. This fact often made it difficult for administrators and colonial rulers to distinguish between those of “pure” British blood and those who have indigenous Indian ancestry mixed in with their European heritage. Accordingly, in such situations, skin colour worked simultaneously with other British social markers, such as education, religious affiliation, social class and, even, family name so as to determine the status and rank of these individuals, as well as their marriage eligibility.

The Catholic Church in India, because of the embeddedness of the aforementioned light/dark dualisms within Christian ontology, also propagated notions of white skin preference. Observing and venerating the imported European iconography of the Blessed Virgin, Jesus and the holy Apostles with light eyes and shining white skin, above which hung bright halos, dark-skinned converts could not help but notice that the Christian God, most oftentimes, did not look like them but rather more like their colonizers. Additionally, those lighter-skinned converted Indians with increased social status due to the systemic preference for more Europeanized individuals were also treated preferentially within the Church. Many churches, especially within the early years of colonialism for example, racialized their congregations by only allowing upper-social classes to sit nearer to the front. While this was not always overtly reflective of one’s skin colour, most typically those with lighter skin were always of higher social eminence. Interestingly, this most often coincided with caste-roots and designation. Because those of higher

castes were often of lighter skin⁵⁸, churches often were racially and colour organized. Mallampalli discusses how with Indian Catholic converts, those from upper-castes (and most often with lighter skin) were permitted greater religious privileges, the ability to perform services at church altars, to touch or have custody of sacred images and items, to conduct possessions and to have keys of entry to particular churches (2004:172-178). Priests also, as they were recruited by class (under the assumption that those from upper-castes were more spiritually pure and capable of teaching the Catholic faith to new converts) subscribed to common notions of colourist biases. Those with lighter skin were treated preferentially not only in the churches but also in the religious orders that supported and sustained them. For examples, the Jesuits, although they originally had no colour bar, eventually succumbed to the Portuguese ideology of white superiority and, for a long time, refused to admit mixed and dark-skinned recruits because they were deemed less suitable candidates for representation of the European Church and promulgation of the faith (Seixo 2000:262).

Between 1562 and 1572, Portugal passed official laws which decreed that religion and not skin colour should be the criterion of Portuguese belonging and citizenship in hopes of permitting all Indian converts to be treated equally with fellow members of their religious community. Likewise, the British Charter Act of 1833, which calling for the fair and impartial treatment of Indians, especially in matters pertaining to their selection for state service to the British, accorded the “subject race equality of status with the ruling [i.e.: colonial British] community” (Agarwal 1981:31). Despite such policies, racial ideas and colourist sentiments continued to be promulgated within Indian Christian communities and especially within Goan and Anglo-Indian society. Goans and Anglo-Indians actively sought to find lighter-skinned marriage partners, not only so as to increase their own status but also to hopefully give them fair-

⁵⁸ This notion of light-skin and higher-class will be discussed in length subsequently.

skinned or *wheatish*⁵⁹ children (i.e.: resembling the colour of wheat). Additionally, in marrying fair coloured partners, they were actively mimicking the marriage patterns of their colonizers thus appearing to be even more European. Beyond this, Goan and Anglo-Indians, desiring to more visibly resemble their European counterparts often partook in various preventative measures, such as staying out of the sunlight and avoiding outdoor work or play that would hinder their skin from darkening. Such attempts, I surmise, were reflective of the inherent desire of converts to align themselves with traditional British and Portuguese society which deemed white skin as superior to darker skin. Distinguishing between those with lighter and darker skin, Indian Catholics whether Goan or Anglo-Indians were able to, whenever possible, actively separate themselves from their purely Indian past whilst simultaneously giving themselves augmented status.

I believe European conceptions of colour-bias were able to root so successfully within India because the nation, prior to colonization, already was quite familiar with colourism's social hierarchy. As aforementioned, some scholars have suggested that the light-skinned Aryans disliked the indigenous dark-skinned Dravidians. Resulting in the pushing of the latter community to the South, this theory has been used by many to explain the ethnographic fact that skin colour becomes increasingly darker as one proceeds from the north of India to the south⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Wheatish (or wheaten) is a skin-colour designation that was predominantly used in colonial police reporting referring to individuals whose colour resembles that of growing wheat (i.e. pale or very light brown). Despite its roots in colonial times, this term is still widely employed today (Bayly 2001:315).

⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that some have attempted to disprove this theory and its relation to race by illustrating that, scientifically speaking, there is no such thing as an Aryan or Dravidian race, as both are members of the same Mediterranean branch of the Causcasian race. The darker skin of the Dravidians can be attributed simply to the fact that they reside closer to the equator and their skin colour has adapted evolutionally. For a fuller discussion of the theory of racial development as it pertains to the Aryans and India's subsequent development (van der Veer 2001; Feuerstein, Kak and Frawley 2005).

Beyond this, however, the linking of caste with colour has enabled colourism to permeate Indian society for centuries. Also attributed to the invasion of the Aryans, the racial significance of caste reflected beliefs of racial superiority that were pervasive in Persia. Sir Herbert Risley, in “Caste, Race and Religion,” concluded that “...caste was an institution evolved by the Aryans in the attempt to preserve the purity of their own stock, and afterwards expanded and adapted, by the influence of a series of fictions, to fit an endless variety of social, religious and industrial conditions” (Risley, 1931:xxvii-xxxix). Accordingly, conceptions of colour-prejudice, though originating in Persia, were tailored and adapted so as to reflect Indian society and its inhabitants. Because of the extreme divergence in skin colour between the Aryans and the Indians, colour became an incredibly salient and socially-deciding factor. Bringing with them the caste system, the darker Dravidians were stratified by the Aryans into the lower-segments of the social hierarchy. And, although there was a prohibition of inter-caste marriage which was based both on racial prejudice and cultural pride, such unions nonetheless occurred and races were subsequently mixed. Despite this, promulgation of common conceptions of colour preference and social normative expectations continued. Three ancient Indian proverbs, for example, reflect the common idea that there was an alleged correlation between caste and colour (i.e.: higher casters are fairer while lower castes are darker):

“A dark Brahmin, a fair Chuhra [Shudra], a woman with a beard – these three are contrary to nature.”

“Trust not a dark Brahmin or a fair Holeya.”

“Do not cross a river with a Black Brahmin or a fair Chamar⁶¹.” (quoted in Beteille 1968:174)

⁶¹ Chamar is a worker class in India, existing as a sub-caste of the Dalits. Derived from the Sanskrit word *chamakara* (meaning leather-worker), the Chamar are among India’s many Scheduled Castes (Das 2008:69-73).

These snippets of cultural wisdom not only illustrate just how engrained conceptions of colour-superiority were within the general Indian public, but simultaneously demonstrate how caste interacted with other important social markers so as to either profit or disadvantage individuals.

Many of my informants alluded to the Indian belief that wealth is also often associated with skin colour. Within traditional Indian society, whether or not one had indoor occupations would contribute to his or her darker complexion which subsequently came to be associated with caste. For example, as those working long hours in fields performing manual labour would likely not be of the highest social caste or *varna* nor would they be wealthy, as those with enough money would hire others to do such “menial” labour. Light skin tones thus came to be associated with indoor lifestyles which, typically, were linked with nobility (Alleyne 2002:66).

Nuno, although he has never lived in India, is very familiar with the traditional conceptions of colour that affect not just Goans but rather all Indians irrespective of their religion or ethnicity. He told me:

If you watch any Hindu movie and film in Hindi, you will find that the dark skinned actors are the comedy relief. They are the villains or the main ones that sort of provide comedy relief. They are the ones that, you know, jump around, they are bumbling fools, they are the side-actors, and it's actually prevalent...in Goan theatres. And, the light-skinned ones are the ones that are the heroes... You know, when you consider beauty, when you consider models out there [in India], you know...it's primarily directed towards more light-skinned people and all of that...And the reason is...if you have darker skin is, back in the colonial day, you were considered most likely the ones that worked on the farms or worked outdoors, you are not the ones that enjoyed the office jobs or didn't have to work or anything like that. So, it was the labourers, the servants, the indentured workers, they were the ones that were out there in the sun. (Nuno, m29G, Interview #15)

Nuno speaks about how the colour discrimination that grew with colonialism has created social polarization and stigmatization within mainstream Indian society today. Associated with darker skin are also less socially desirable characteristics, such as goofiness and malice, while those

with light skin are depicted as honourable and principled characters worthy of being in the spotlight, be it in the real world or in the films that depict everyday Indian life. Spilling over into other social realms, like the media, such subtle colour-biases affect individuals from a vast array of social and cultural backgrounds thus propagating notions of inter-race and intra-race colour inequality quite effectively.

Because of India's built in hierarchy of *varna*, conceptions of race and skin-colour were able to easily attach themselves to pre-existing stigmas social stigmas in contexts that everyday Indians would be able to make sense of. Various facets of India's pre-colonial system, such as the economic realm and the commonly shared values that made up the national ideologies, in acknowledging the importance of caste historically simultaneously legitimized colour-prejudices that had been propelled by caste. Despite rules and policies designed to change India's system, thus redefining prevailing hegemonies, which called for equality of all Indians irrespective of their skin colour, the personal lifeworlds of most Indian communities had already been shaped and moulded so as to acknowledge and perpetuate colourism and skin-colour bias. Communal, ethnic and even religious ideologies reaffirming such views had been constructed, justified and even intergenerationally disseminated. Personal and social preferences pertaining to skin colour, as reflected and sustained by various lifeworld symbols and dualism, continued to exist.

With the arrival of British and Portuguese colonialism, Indian society was introduced to European conceptions of light skin preference and racial superiority, as originated in and perpetuated by Christian cosmology, theology and ontology. Goans and Anglo-Indian Christians specifically, because of their desire to culturally and ethnically align themselves more with their Western rulers than the broader Indian community, also began to adopt such colourist preferences and incorporate them into their lifeworlds. The desire to have fair-skinned marriage

partners and children became so engrained within these colonial-based communities that such characteristics became socially expected givens. Even in the early stages of European colonialism, Indians did not truly have to question their colourist attitudes and social values because, in many ways, their own caste system employed and operated under similar assumptions.

Despite the eventual cessation of colonial rule in India, the colour-biases of the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic communities continued with robust vigour. Years of lifeworld propagation and social acceptance that had permitted such biases to exist did not, and arguably could not, change as such partialities were oftentimes, what accorded members of these community their higher social status in comparison to the darker-skinned non-Christian Indians that lived within their wider communities. As discussed earlier in this study, with the departure of the British and the Portuguese colonizers, many members of these communities feared that repatriation would deprive them of their higher social positions and the lifestyles they accorded which they had gotten so used to. Accordingly, prior to and upon repatriation, many Goan and Anglo-Indian Christians chose to emigrate from India and resettle relatively nearby in various regions of East Africa (such as Kenya) which were still under British rule. Viewing themselves as more European than Indian, such individuals and their families believed they would be able to maintain their status and prominent careers as the British would recognize their affinities with European education, institutions, religion and culture and thus favour them over other ethnic communities, such as the indigenous African population. A great number of Goan Catholics, despite never being formally ruled by the British, recognized the cultural and ethnic similarities between the Portuguese and the British and subsequently also chose to relocate in East Africa. And, as they had expected, they were able to continue their prosperous ways of life relatively

undisturbed amidst other members of their ethnocultural community and with their European counterparts. Eligible for access to better jobs, more exclusive social clubs and more prestigious schools, light-skinned Goans and Anglo-Indians were viewed by the British as preferable candidates than the native Africans who had dark black skin and were not Christianized. Indian practices and rituals surrounding their colourist attitudes did not have to be altered so as to make sense within the British African colonial system, as many of the same institutions and socially accepted normativities existed within East Africa because the British had brought them there as well. Additionally, social class and rank continued to persist and maintain its insidious relationship with colour-based prejudice, despite the fact that, in many ways, African society was far removed from the reach of India's caste bias⁶². Even those Goans and Anglo-Indians who had been relegated to lower social classes within India, in part due to their darker pigmentation, were now placed in socially superior positions than the general African population. In essence, the Africans had come to replace the dark-skinned non-Christian Indians that the colonial system in India had demoted to the outskirts of class rank and social acceptability.

Parminder Bhachu, in her study of Sikh twice migrants, reports similar patterns of behaviour with the East African Sikhs she studied. Many of these Asian migrants left India so as to improve their status and their quality of living (Bhachu 1985:8-10). And, like the Anglo-Indian and Goan community, the Sikhs actively sought to distinguish themselves from other community groups, especially the Muslim Pakistanis and indigenous Africans (Bhachu 1985: 23). What renders the Sikh community different from the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics I spoke with is the fact that, unlike the Sikhs, my informants who moved to East Africa already

⁶² It is important to note here that, despite East Africa's lack of the institutional and socially accepted class hierarchy or *varna*, the immigration of Goans and Anglo-Indians oftentimes instated and legitimized such biases as higher-ranked members of these communities, despite no longer identifying as Hindu but rather as Christian, continued to hold on to their socially ascribed status while simultaneously discriminating against those they viewed as subordinate to them caste- or class-wise. See the previous section on History for more detail.

possessed the familiarity with the Western, and even British, apparatus through educational, professional and administrative experience in colonial India which, arguably, gave them an upper-hand in their ease of settlement. Whereas Bhachu recognizes that the Sikhs were able to maintain distinct elements of their religion and culture that separated themselves from not only Africans but also from other Indian communities within East Africa, the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics I interviewed preferred to align themselves with their European colonizers and, through utilization of colourist biases, were able to assert their preferential belonging and augmented social status.

Consequently, even with transnational migration across the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean, various Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic lifeworld assumptions remained unquestioned. Although members of these communities acknowledged that repatriation with India meant, on many levels, that the status that was bequeathed to them based on their association and similarities with normativities of their colonizer's European lifeworlds most likely would be revoked, moving to East Africa allowed many of them to retain the sociocultural values and assumptions that they had come to value. Because East Africa at that time was very much under and affected by British colonial rule, and subsequently their social values, Goans and Anglo-Indians neither had to renegotiate the meanings behind their colourist assumptions nor their practical and social implications in their life horizons. Rather, by simply replacing the dark-skinned Hindu, Muslim or even Christian Indian with the black-skinned African, Goans and Anglo-Indians were able to continue invoking the symbols of their lifeworlds that not only justified their privileged social position (in comparison to the Africans) but also promulgated their views that they fit in more with "civilized" European colonial society than with their indigenous black counterparts.

ii. Colourism as it manifests today

Attesting to India's cultural history and as a legacy of colonialism, colourism (or skin-colour prejudice or inter-group racial bias) has long affected both Goan and Anglo-Indian communities. The ancient Aryan encounters introduced Indian society not just to what would eventually become the caste system or *varna* but also to preferential or prejudicial forms of treatment based on the colour of people's skin. Such colourism impacted all wakes of Indian life, as its inhabitants naturally ranged in skin pigmentation from ivory white to the darkest of black. Linking itself with other social designators, such as caste, colour became an easy way for rulers, sovereigns, administrators and even the general public to pass judgement on members of their community who, despite belonging to the same racial umbrella category, were believed to be unequal to others. The introduction of Western colonial rule brought European conceptions pertaining to colour and social belonging to India. Deeply embedded within Christian religious ontological and theological narratives, darkness and dark colours were believed to represent the impure antithesis of Jesus' messianic light. Accordingly, those Indians with dark skin came to be seen as particularly inferior and subordinate to their white-skinned colonizers who, consequently, represented spiritual and moral redemption. The colour biases of European society easily intermingled and bred within India's socio-political rubric which, because of the caste system, was already exceedingly accommodating towards and accepting of socially hierarchical stratification systems.

As living ethnocultural and religious products of European colonialism, the hybridized Anglo-Indian and Goan communities in many ways challenged traditional conceptions of race. Their conversion from Hinduism to Catholicism while levelling the field of difference between

them and their colonizers simultaneously reinforced notions of colour superiority. Despite the colour-blindness of the Church, many of its members continued to practice and adhere to ideologies pronouncing the supremacy of lighter skinned individuals. Consequently, although Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics were able to more fully align themselves with European society not just religiously but also ethnoculturally and even racially, due to the impact of intermarriage had on lightening and Europeanizing their features, they oftentimes were restricted to lower-level positions within both the colonial world and in the Church than their white-skinned counterparts. Despite such prejudices, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics proudly continued to identify with their European ancestries so as to not only distinguish themselves from the general non-Christian Indian population but in order to also gain social status and advancement. Embodying the cultural biases of their British and/or Portuguese colonial rulers, members of these communities subsequently began to judge one another, as well as other Indians, based on their skin tone. Attempting to imitate their white-skinned colonizers, it became very common for such individuals to partake in rituals and traditions so as to encourage the continuation of light skin within subsequent generations (through encouraging family members to marry light-skinned partners, for example) and also prevent their own skin from darkening (by staying out of the sun, for example). In such instances, light skin not only attested their belonging within the greater European sociocultural realm but also symbolized their upper class status, as the latter eventually became proxy to lighter skin.

With the transnational migration of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics, one could hypothesize that many of their colourist biases would lose meaning within their lifeworlds as the Indian life horizons and systemic contexts that gave rise to them no longer impacted on them in their day to day lives. Additionally, as no other country either has the unique historical and

political contexts that India has or, in particular, has such a pervasive system of *varna*, the socially stratified colour hierarchy could arguably lose its full meaning. My research, in fact, challenges such notions as many of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I interviewed who migrated to Canada from a vast array of geographical regions and continents continued to subscribe to colourist ideologies on one level or another. Interestingly, however, I found that notions of colour preference predominantly persist within the older members of the community who, arguably, maintain vivid cultural memories and mental connections with their Indian land of birth.

Annabel, an Anglo-Indian in her sixties, who migrated from India through Australia to Canada, admitted to me that, "...you know, colour is important. And, I guess that's kind of part of what we've got from the Indian side of things. So, to say that [Anglo-Indians] are not really conscious of colour, I think that would be untrue" (f61AI Group Interview #5). Claiming the importance of colour not just within her own life, but also within her greater Anglo-Indian community, Annabel attributed any colour bias that she has to her Indian ancestry, as opposed to her British genes. Clearly aware of India's history with colourism via the institutionalization of caste, Annabel's comment depicts that despite aligning herself with her Western roots, Indian influences continue to affect her life. Although she herself has very fair features, Annabel told me that her siblings did not all share similar physical characteristics which oftentimes led to preferential treatment of some over others. She said:

...there are five of us in my family. And, we vary in shades. My youngest brother is probably the darkest of us. We have a cousin who is very closely related to us; she says that my youngest brother is her favourite cousin. And, she...says that she thought because she was related to him...because she's darker. But, while we were overseas...the topic of colour came up. We were talking to my sister-in-law's sister-in-law. My sister-in-law is European, and so is the sister-in-law. And, [the sister-in-law] made the comment that she doesn't see any sort of colour difference between us. We see the difference, but...to her, we're all

brown. You know? [Laughing] We see the differences, and the subtleties and the shades. But, she doesn't see that at all. (f61AI, Group Interview #5)

Because Anglo-Indians have very mixed British and Indian genes, oftentimes members of the same family and extended family have ranging skin tones, from white to dark brown with eyes ranging from light to near-black. Annabel's youngest brother, clearly contrasting with her own light features, because he was dark-skinned was the favourite of her cousin. Her cousin believed that because of his skin tone, he was more so related to and thus understanding of her own life situation. Taking refuge in their similar skin colour, Annabel's cousin and her youngest brother were likely able to better cope with the fact that they were not as fair as other members of their family who were given preferential treatment. Additionally, Annabel's story relates that, although she and her family had always noticed their differences in skin colour, it was not always evident to the general public. Claiming that she and her family had been generationally reared and honed to pick up on the subtle "differences" and "shades" of skin tone, Annabel attributes her own colourism to her Indian heritage, as white skinned people would, assumedly, not be able to recognize such nuances (f61AI Group Interview #5).

Charlene, an Anglo-Indian in her sixties, had similar sentiments in her family as those Annabel reported, as she told me:

My brothers are all brown-skinned, but my sister is, you know, from light to medium...My grandmother and perhaps my mother did, because they were, let's face it, there's bigotry among Anglo-Indians too – especially my grandmother was very European, she was Irish and Scottish in her bloodline. My father's father had Spanish and Indian down his bloodline, but my grandmother's side was all very fair – red hair and green eyes. So, she was very much the English lady, and she didn't like us playing with the Indian children and things like that. So, there was...there's been bigotry and racism among Anglo-Indians too. (f60AI, Interview #9)

Like Annabel, her siblings ranged in skin-tone because of their very mixed Anglo-Indian blood.

While Charlene admitted that skin colour did not matter to her in the love and acceptance of her

siblings, she did recognize the colourist preferences of her mother and grand-mother. Unlike Annabel, however, Charlene charges their very European roots as blame for their bigoted tendencies. To Charlene, because her grandmother's side was historically very fair and properly "English," they superimposed British notions of European superiority and white-skin bias on the younger generations who, were more dark-skinned and mixed. Forbidden to play with the, assumedly brown-skinned, Indian children, Charlene was taught at a very young age that not all colours of skin are equal, even within the same family unit where members ranged in pigmentation levels.

Despite such prejudices, Moira, a fifty-seven year old Goan, told me that she has noticed attitudes changing in the Goan community. She said:

Actually, things are changing...As a Goan, you want your [child] to marry a certain profession and stuff like this. And, maybe the girl is quite dark, and nobody will say anything because now it's not politically correct to say stuff like that. (f57G, Group Interview #6)

Interestingly, Moira admits that Goan parents aspire to have their child marry another who fits particular professional and social criteria. Bringing up the issue of colour, Moira mentioned that, even though it does matter within a marriage, many Goans in Canada will opt not to comment on skin-colour because it is not viewed as politically correct. The issue of political correctness is an interesting one here as it implies that, although people still hold and subscribe to such values, they will choose not to discuss them publically so as to fit within the Canada's social expectations and multicultural ideologies. This, of course, is not to say that the dark skin colour of the hypothetical girl Moira speaks of goes unnoticed by herself and other members of the Goan community.

Moira, as she was born and raised in Kenya, was arguably quite removed from India's caste system and its pervasive effects. Nevertheless, even those who had moved from the place of their birth to other colonial nations, such as Kenya, were able to sustain and cultivate conceptual beliefs of colour superiority by simply replacing the Indian dark-skinned "other" with, for example, the indigenous black-skinned African. Because Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics continued to align themselves with their European colonizers on a more comprehensive religiocultural level, they were able to view themselves as meaningful and belonging components within a Westernized society. Because Kenya had a very active and substantially sized Goan community, which ranged in levels of colour and social class, older generations (i.e.: Moira's parents and their friends) were able to maintain colour ideals that were fostered and cultivated within their Indian, albeit Catholic and hybridized, lifeworlds. Accordingly, although Moira had relatively liberal parents who permitted her to have a love marriage, as opposed to one that was arranged, she was indoctrinated from a very young age to believe that her marriage options were limited to those within her skin-colour category or lighter (f57G, Group Interview #6). Now living in Canada, Moira recognizes the sociocultural necessity of being politically correct and refrains from actively and audibly subscribing to lifeworld notions that would portray her as fitting against the multiculturally accepting grain.

Both Annabel and Moira illustrate the deep-seatedness of the colourist values they were raised with. Now living in Canada, they have come to recognize that preferentially treating some colours better than others is no longer systemically acceptable. The hegemonic ideologies and social norms embodied not only by the nation's governing forces but also manifested through various institutional facets, such as the media and the legal, health care and education systems, espouse notions of equality and parity as upheld through the *Canadian Charter of Rights and*

Freedoms. Moira, not wanting to look or sound outlandish and ignorant towards dark-skinned people, uses political correctness as a shield, placing the values of the greater Canadian system and its general public above those perpetuated by her own lifeworld within particular contexts. Implied, though, is that behind closed doors, Moira, her family and other members of her Goan community continue to subscribe to colourist biases and impartialities in domestic contexts where they cannot be judged by other members of society. In keeping her colourist sentiments to herself, Moira illustrates that, although she recognizes the fundamentally erroneous nature of her skin colour-biases, she remains more so attached to the values and fundamental givens of her lifeworld. Adapting not how she interprets actors on her life horizon but rather how she embodies her beliefs and opinions, Moira has managed to maintain her place within both the Goan and Canadian circles of belonging.

Annabel, on the other hand, also recognizes that colourism is not systemically acceptable within Canada, as social equality fits within the accepted mores of the community. Accordingly attributes her colourist beliefs to her Indian heritage, as opposed to her British roots which she seems to view as more congruous with the general values of the Canadian system. Unaware of the great role the British had in propagating and proliferating sociocultural ideals of white-skin superiority, Annabel believes that it is her British ancestry that has enabled her to balance her views. Using her Indian ancestry as justification for the fact that she does not fully subscribe to the notion of systemic “colour-blindness,” Annabel has revised the origins of her traditional Anglo-Indian lifeworld values in light of her belonging within Canada.

Informants Gabriel, Christina and Joseph got into a heated discussion about the continued importance of colour within Goan society:

Gabriel: Here there was our neighbour...And, this [Goan] lady is telling me [that the]...first child, her grandchild of hers happened to be a little dark. And my

mother's grandson, so my sister's son, had to be fair...So, this neighbour said to my mother, "You know, when my daughter was expecting, she was drinking coke. And, so that's why [the child was dark skinned]..." And, my mother was smart too, she said, "Second expectance, let her drink club soda." It will be a fair child. So, this is how they....they would go to that level. (m55G)

...

Joseph: The first question my mother-in-law asked me [when my daughter was born], [was] not how is my daughter doing, but is the baby fair. (m59G)

Christina: You know, in today's society, I still meet with friends my age who live here who would say, "Okay, I would like my son to marry a Goan, ideally. If my son is not marrying a Goan, I would like them to marry a white person. And, then I would like them to marry a Hindu." But when it comes to blacks, they say, "Oh no, I don't want black. We don't want our children to marry black people." (f54G)

Gabriel: I'll tell you...I have the same feeling. Why? I don't know. But, it's a prejudice imposed on us.

Christina: I have a Goan friend whose son...these people grew up in Kenya, they are our age. Their children were born in Kenya, and now they've settled in Kenya. And, this boy, only child, is dating....for all purposes, she looks like a black girl. Very pretty, very sweet, from the little I know about her. But she's black, and from the Islands. Okay? The parents are not saying anything. The parents are quite happy with the girl. But, the uncles and aunts...I asked them, because I know them quite well. I said, "What do you think and feel about this boy seriously dating this black girl?" And, it just poured out. "Oh, you know what? It is just not right." They're Goan, they're Catholics...very good and devout Catholics who firmly believe to treat all of God's children equally...He said, "I have told my children from day one that I don't want my children to marry blacks. So that now, by the time they are in their 20s, it's been ingrained that they will not evens fall in love with a black person because it not an option." It's like how you grew up knowing that you know not to go after a married man. You go and meet the most wonderful, handsome married man, your mind is closed because that's unattainable. So...this is how he's said his children are brought up. No blacks. (Group Interview #7)

This very illustrative and lively conversation clearly denotes how colourism has transplanted itself within the Canadian context. Christina, Gabriel and Joseph were all born abroad but have each lived in Canada for over least fifteen years. Despite their clear familiarity with the Canadian system, as based on many of their other comments made within the interview, they continue to

subscribe to colourism's social norms, as historically and culturally engrained in them and their lifeworlds.

Gabriel, with his story about the pregnancy and cola consumption, demonstrates the very pervasive nature of colourism. Impacting areas beyond courtship, dating and marriage, he like Joseph (and his experience at his daughter's birth) and admits that many Goan parents do care about the colour of their child(ren). With a lifeworld bred given preference for light skin over dark, parents and even grandparents look like they are concerning themselves more with the colour of their children than with their health and well-being. This, I believe, is actually to the contrary, as such individuals, in expressing concern and apprehension over the skin colour of their child(ren) are actually doing what they feel is necessary to protect and encourage their best interests. Remembering what it was like living in India and East Africa, where skin colour had clear implications on one's social status, class, ancestry and subsequent life opportunities, these parents only want the best for their child(ren). It just so happens that, for them, within the contexts they grew up in, being of light skin was advantageous. As Christina so rightly said, "...the ideal would be that the more you associate with Portuguese, the better it is" (f54G, Group Interview #7).

Christina, talking about her Goan friends who forbid their children from dating black people, accentuates the important role that parents and extended family play in promulgating notions of colour and skin-tone superiority. Like Gabriel's neighbour and Joseph's mother-in-law, who did not hide their colourist beliefs when communicating and dealing with other members of their ethnocultural community, Christina's friends were very open about their dating and marital expectations for their children. While likely neither Gabriel's neighbour, Joseph's mother-in-law nor Christina's friends would have had the same discussions with their non-Goan

friends, so as to maintain their political correctness and Canadian social acceptability, these individuals illustrate their belief that such views are common and assumed within the Goan lifeworlds, especially those of older community members. Because they had all been exposed to relatively comparable sociocultural and political forces either growing up in India or East Africa, both regions which were under colonial rule at the time, the need and desire to have light-skinned children was understood to be implied. Preventing pregnant women from drinking dark cola and forbidding children to marry black people so as to avoid dark-skinned descendents, while considered racist behaviours today, were simply socially accepted conventional norms of Goan Catholic society that, as discussed earlier, the colonial system did nothing to dissuade and in fact oftentimes encouraged.

Christina also reveals an interesting colour-ladder that is oftentimes imposed on their children who have been both born and raised in Canada. In an ideal situation, a Goan marriage partner is preferred. Implicit however in her statement is that by Goan, one is referring to Goan Catholic, as opposed to Goan Hindu, who would fit into the third category. As Sophia said, “My first choice [of marriage partners for my sons] would be Goans, and I’m not saying what caste” (f58G, Group Interview #7). Her noting of caste is important, as being Goan Catholic comes with caveats as the community is hierarchically arranged, as there are various castes and classes that its members continue to subscribe to despite Catholicism’s informal rejection of it.

If it is not possible to marry a Goan Catholic, the couple Christina speaks of (and many other Goan Catholics, as a matter of fact), would prefer for their child to marry a white person. But this, like being Goan, comes with the stipulation that the partner is Catholic. As Gabriel said, “That would be my...preference, for a Catholic... If the boy or girl is white and he’s a Catholic, then I would give preference” (m55G, Group Interview #7). Because Goans, like the Anglo-

Indians I interviewed, place great value on their religiosity, being Catholic is something that parents hope that their children will never abandon or move away from. As Moira said:

Yeah, to me it's much more important that my children marry Catholics so that, as a married couple, they could bring up their children as Catholics. To me, that's much more critical [than being just Goan]. Then again, if they've fallen in love with somebody who's not Catholic, it's important that the spouse understand [sic] that the children will be raised Catholic and that they're supportive of my child raising their children Catholics. (f57G, Interview #2)

Recognizing that, within Canada's ethnically diverse and multicultural society, the chances of her children finding and marrying Catholic Goans are relatively small in comparison to them falling in love with those from other cultural backgrounds, Moira has decided that she would rather her children share their religion with their spouses than their culture if, of course, push came to shove. Despite the fact that Moira and her husband were not arranged and married out of love, they luckily were able to appease the wishes of their parents at the time by fitting the given criteria of being both Goan and Catholic. However, acknowledging the importance of religion within their own Goan family, Moira hopes her children will marry within the faith so as to make sure the faith she and her husband passed to their children will continue to be passed on to her eventual grandchildren. Mavis, in another interview, echoed similar sentiments when she simply stated, "I would certainly be happier if [my daughter] would marry a Catholic boy" (f62G, Interview #6). Like Moira, Mavis hopes that her daughter would marry a Catholic boy rather than someone from another religious tradition. She, however, does not really care whether or not her children marry Goan. This is clearly attributable to the fact that she herself married a Dutch man which makes their children mixed-race. Placing more weight on religiosity than ethnicity, Mavis maintains the importance of having faith and its generational continuity.

In spite of the clear presence of colourism within most of the older Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics I spoke with, the younger members of the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic

communities, despite their parent's acknowledgement of the traditional and cultural importance of skin colour, did not share similar sentiments. Each and every one of my younger (i.e.: between eighteen and thirty years old) participants recognized that colourism still exists and the impact it has within their own communities, as well as within the greater global (not just Canadian) system. However, not one of them admitted to me that they believed in or subscribed to such ideologies in the slightest, nor that they would allow such colourist notions to impact their lives or their choice of partner and/or friends. In fact, many of them laughed about the naiveté of their parents and/or grandparents for thinking that colour is so important.

Wayne, for example, who was born and raised in the Greater Toronto Area, told me that he finds colourism to be dated and irrelevant in contemporary Canadian society. Because of its removedness in social relevancy, he now pokes fun at those Goans who continue to subscribe to its ideas:

[I] make fun of it (laughing). "Wheatish"⁶³...But it's definitely there. Like, I remember going into, we got into this cab with some poor Goan – and he took us to his village, and they were definitely darker skinned. [And] I have heard a girl tell me that her skin colour is lighter than she would normally see. And, it never occurs to me because "brown is brown." (m26G, Interview #12)

Raised in Canada, within the multiculturalism era (post-1971), Wayne does not see the multitude of shades of brown that his parents and the older members of his community see. Arguably, as mentioned above, this is because Wayne has never lived in a society, like India or in various parts of East Africa during a time when one's colour had clear social and professional implications. Living in Canada, where modern systemic ideals of rationality and communication negate such racist and prejudiced views, such biases seem contradictory to the institutionalized ideas of democracy, right and public good. Those who continue to subscribe to such notions

⁶³ Wayne here is referring to the tendency of some Goans to actively seek out dating or marriage partners with light skin resembling the colour of wheat.

Wayne views with humour, as they, in his opinion, are holding on to past lives lived elsewhere (m26G, Interview #12).

Despite his belief that colourism is outdated, Wayne simultaneously illustrates that he is all too aware of some of the biases it entails. When discussing his trip to Goa, he immediately equates the dark skin of the fellow passenger to the economic plight of the village he or she lived in. Although I did not inquire about the financial well-being of the village or about the skin colour of the other passenger, in volunteering this information Wayne illustrates his own colourist biases which link poverty to dark skin. While riding in the cab, or even afterwards, Wayne must have made the mental connection that, on some level or another, the dark skin of the village members had caused them to be less fortunate than those, like himself and his own family, who have light skin. In mentioning that a girl was not used to seeing such light-skinned Goans, Wayne unknowingly distances himself from the members of the poor Goan village who he categorized as “darker-skinned” (m26G, Interview #12). This may subconsciously reflect his desire to portray himself as financially stable or better off than other Goans, or it may just have been a coincidence. This, of course, is just speculation. But what is clearly evident is that by saying, “...it never occurs to me because ‘brown is brown’” (m26G, Interview #12) Wayne actively rejects colourism as a meaningful conceptual framework in his own life despite the fact that his cultural lifeworld has both condoned and sustained it historically.

Another Goan who was born and raised in Canada, Nuno, was not as sure as Wayne as to whether or not colourism is still pertinent within today’s society. He told me:

Well, I don’t think [colourism exists] in Canada....well, yeah, even within Canada, actually. Yes, I think there is definitely colourism...And with social classes, okay within India definitely it exists. I think to an extent that it’s again all driven by media, as well, things have changed. You know, when I travelled to India, I saw a lot of people staying in, not wanting to go out. I happened to see lots of people in India walking around with umbrellas, so there’s that extent,

where you never see local people enjoying their beaches... Yeah, so, for me...the sun has never been a deterrent for me in terms of not wanting to go out, whether it's on a fishing trip or going out anywhere. But I've always had comments like, "Do not go out, you're going to get darker." So, you know, definitely that exists... (m29G, Interview #15)

Although Nuno does not explicitly address how colourism exists within Canada on a social or communal level, he does go into great length about his experiences in India. Despite never living in India, Nuno interestingly makes the same link as Wayne did between social class and colour, implying that lighter-skinned people are better off and/or preferentially treated. Rightly believing that the media plays a huge role in broadcasting such values, Nuno understands just how pervasive colourism is within Indian society even today.

Discussing how Indians, not just Goans, are reluctant to do participate in any activity which would cause their skin to darken by sun exposure, Nuno expresses his lack of concern for whether or not his skin gets tanned outdoors. Because he was born and raised in Canada, he clearly did not have as regular access to the beautiful golden-sand beaches of India nor the intense tropical sunshine. Accordingly, when on vacation, Nuno wished to spend as much time as possible enjoying such novelties that he could not get back home. As beaches and sunshine are regular parts of daily life for many Indians and most Goans, those living there find good reason to avoid them in that they believe darker sun-kissed skin would render them less socially acceptable and/or less beautiful. Nuno, although he himself does not subscribe to such notions, admits that his older family members constantly told him to stay out of the sun, growing up. Wanting him to maintain his light complexion, his family discouraged him getting darker by going outdoors. Although Wayne does understand the socio-political and historical context which gave rise to such colourist sentiments in his family and community, he may not have been aware of the fact that, to his family, what made them distinct as Goans was the fact that they

have mixed European-Indian ancestry as attested by their light skin. Having “wheatish” skin and light eyes, to his family, were designations of belonging within the greater Portuguese and Western milieus, and they were what separated them from mainstream Indian society. By maintaining his light complexion, Wayne would be (in their opinions) embodying his privileged and visually testifying to his hybridized ancestry, even here within Canada. Regardless of the fact that he himself does not allow such sentiments to guide his life or influence his thoughts or actions, Wayne identifies colourism as an important and relevant issue for members of his community and wider Indian society, “I think colourism is more...of a problem” (m29G, Interview #15). Recognizing the negative social and psychological impact such biases have on individuals and communities in general, Wayne reflects the commonly accepted and promulgated social values perpetuated by the greater Canadian system.

As many of my informants illustrate, colourism is not just a remnant of colonial days abroad. Rather, it remains a powerful and significant motivator for many Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics today, not just in India and East Africa but even in a land such as Canada, which is quite removed from the caste system or *varna*’s historical clutch. Many of those I interviewed, in emigrating from India to other colonial lands, were able to sustain the light/dark dualisms that were ingrained within them from a young age both by the Catholic Church and mainstream Indian society by simply replacing actors of one race and ethnic group with those of another. This is because the symbolic meaning of Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic lifeworlds, although fostered and developed within an Indian colonial context, were easily capable of being reinterpreted and manipulated so as to simultaneously not only reaffirm their distinction from the non-Europeanized general public but to also confirm their privileged social position. Although many colourist conceptions were often publically endorsed and sanctioned by both rulers and

lay-people systemically, the bulk of skin-prejudices were disseminated within a domestic context through mate and partner selection values, and in-family preferential treatment towards those with fairer features. Because, in these instances, system and lifeworld (as influenced both by culture and by their Catholic faith) were able to draw upon one another, feeding off their shared biases and colour partialities, older Goans and Anglo-Indians were unable to see the error in their ways and, rather, were conversely made to believe that colour did in fact matter.

However, with their migration to urban Canada, Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics experienced the decoupling of their system and lifeworld in that one's colour no longer dictated the amount of opportunities available to an individual nor was it indicative of one's social class or status. The children of such migrants (i.e.: those who were born and raised here), as they were not exposed to the same sociopolitical factors as their parents, developed lifeworld values that did not place as much (if any) emphasis on the importance of colour. Intermingling with Canadian hegemonic views, such as equality and multiculturalism, their lifeworlds rather developed so as to become critical of such seemingly irrational preferences. Accordingly, as my data illustrates, all of the younger participants, while acknowledging the role colourism had and continues to have within their own lives in so much as their parents and older family members maintain such beliefs, the lifeworlds of these youth have in fact empowered them to move beyond colour-based judgments of members of their own community. As Wayne said, "brown is brown" (m26G, Interview #12).

The lifeworlds of these youth, although they have been heavily shaped by the values and symbolic interpretive frameworks of their parents and community elders, remain dynamic and ever-changing just like those of their parents which, at one time for example, allowed them to continue to subscribe to colourist beliefs by replacing the dark-skinned "pure" Indians with the

black-skinned Africans in East Africa. Because the Canadian system promotes and embodies the rational ideals of equality and democracy, Goan and Anglo-Indian youth have learned how to politely reject what they believe are outdated and inappropriate social biases. This is not to say, however, that the older generations of these communities do not see the flaws in colourism. In fact, most of them acknowledged the unjust and erroneous nature of their skin-colour preferences and thus relied on some forms of justification to explain the presence of such beliefs in their lifeworlds. As their lifeworlds continue to encourage individuals to dynamically reconfigure and renegotiate the symbolic categories that construe them, Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics have been successfully able to reach what they consider to be acceptable points of resolution with regards to colourism in their own lives and, oftentimes, in greater society.

PART IV: CONCLUSION

As a person who admittedly straddles various realms of existence (daughter, student, mother, wife, Goan, Indian, South Asian, Catholic, Canadian, and so many more) on a daily basis, I embarked on this project seeking to make sense of how Goans and Anglo-Indians in Canada have managed to maintain a distinct sense of who they are despite their diverse sociocultural roots. Originating as religious and cultural minorities in India, living amidst others with different traditions, values, languages and even gods, Anglo-Indians and Goans have journeyed across the globe, taking with them their stories and beliefs in search of better opportunities and better futures. Heavily influenced by the religion and culture of European colonialism, these groups identify with the Western ways that moulded them. However, through their continued rituals, members of these communities assert that they have not forgotten their traditional Indian roots, although they appear to consciously reject full membership within mainstream Indian society. Many of those I interviewed have fluidly replaced Hindu or non-Christian practices and symbols with those of Catholicism, reinterpreting them to be personally meaningful within what they consider to be a religiously acceptable context.

The Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics I interviewed truly believe the values they espouse allow them to successfully navigate through Canadian society. In other words, their very lifeworlds that enable them to not only make sense of a Western world that in many ways challenges and even contradicts the traditional ideals of their Indian homeland but also serve to reaffirm many of their own sociocultural norms. Despite their familiarity with and general acceptance of both Western culture and religion (i.e.: Christianity), as taught to their ancestors by colonial rulers centuries ago, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics have concurrently adapted and

invoked key Indian beliefs, values and rites so as to ensure their concurrent belonging within the greater Indian sub-cultural stratum. In order to ensure mutual harmony and respect between Goans and Anglo-Indians and the greater non-Catholic or non-Indian communities in which they live, Goans and Anglo-Indians have remained both flexible and adaptive in terms of their lifeworld views. Reconfiguring conceptual ideas, such as that of the caste system, and revising practices, such as arranged marriage, members of these communities have indeed exploited and drawn upon their exposure to Western society and their unique lifeworlds so as to effectively uphold a distinctive sense of Indian identity whilst simultaneously challenging dominant conceptions pertaining to race, religion, ethnicity and national belonging, in order to fit and accelerate within Canadian society. In making such adaptations “Catholic-friendly” and Westernized, Goans and Anglo-Indians illustrate their religious and cultural elasticity. Retaining the essence or core of their beliefs, the Goan and Anglo-Indian populace has managed to prosper in diverse conditions and maintain their identity through the creation and sustenance of a palpable communal identity.

Interestingly, although my participants continue to be obedient to the principles of the Catholic Church, many of them do not blindly accept the Church’s beliefs and ethics as irrefutable truths. Especially in the younger generations, the fundamental views of the Church are, in many cases, weighed against the Western liberal values Goans and Anglo-Indians espouse. In these cases, obedience today proves to be something subjectively determined and dynamic as opposed to a more static submission that may have been archetypal of previous generations. Almost all of my participants stated or alluded to the fact that they themselves remain in ultimate control of their spiritual destiny. In other words, they view themselves as both the sheep and shepherds within the Catholicism of their lives. I suggest this unique vision of their

faith and their personal roles therein is indeed reflective of the adaptability of the Goans and Anglo-Indians I spoke with. The histories of these communities indeed reveal countless instances wherein its members took heed of their own needs by renegotiating key cultural and religious elements so as to more fully reflect their life experiences.

Employing Edmund Husserl's phenomenology of *Lebenswelt*, or lifeworld, as further developed by Jürgen Habermas, this project addressed three key theoretical concerns: (1) how Goan and Anglo-Indian Canadians conceive their lifeworlds (2) how members of these communities have constructed and renegotiated their migrant identities; and (3) how individuals and the communities in which they belong preserve their sociocultural and religious identity within transnational and multigenerational contexts. Anchoring their lifeworlds in India's Portuguese and British colonial histories respectively, I argued that for members of these communities the Catholic faith serves as an indispensable and multi-dimensional lens which shapes their perceptual and contextual fields of everyday existence. Mundane everyday occurrences in Canada, such as receiving an education or giving to charity, are all interpreted and subsequently rendered meaningful within an underlying socioreligious context. Participation in such events, as well as many others, not only reaffirms the place Goans and Anglo-Indians have within Canadian society but also emphasizes their belonging in the global Roman Catholic Church. The cultural assumptions and religious givens which fabricate and animate their lifeworlds indeed endure as primary and shared reference points for these communities. Their migrant identities accordingly remain fundamentally intertwined with Catholic and Western values, as reared during colonial times, within varying diasporic contexts.

Pertaining to lifeworld specifically, the religious foundations of these communities were thoroughly discussed herein, as well as how the beliefs and practices that constitute them interact

with the values advocated by Canada's macro-system. Looking at the development of specific Goan and Anglo-Indian family values and the modifications many of them underwent with Canadian settlement, I addressed how these Catholics have reconciled their ancestral, colonial and contemporary histories while maintaining intergenerational cultural relevance. Their ethnic development, social location, context and history were all deemed influential in the construction of how such individuals view themselves and others, especially in terms of pan-Indian relations and inter-ethnic dialogue. Regarding race, I finally talked about how skin colour and subsequent colourism has uniquely shaped conceptions of colour and notions of social desirability in relation to cultural and religious bias as well as in-group/outgroup Anglo-Indian and Goan belonging. Complimenting this analysis, wherever possible, I provided grounds for comparison by discussing relevant experiences, values and/or other empirically researched phenomena within other cultural and religious groups, namely other South Asians. Doing so not only provides a sound basis for cross-cultural and inter-religious comparison but also proves to emphasize how both Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics, in many ways, continue to defy popular conceptions of what it means to be Indian.

Many of the Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholic individuals I spoke with believe they are unlike any other Indian, or global for that matter, community due to their unique colonial and diasporic histories. The precedential placement of religion in their lives renders their sociocultural and religious distinction. The views and traditions passed down from their ancestors, to these individuals, are what render them matchless in terms of how they interpret, cope and interact with their life horizons. This project sought to determine if and how such Goan and Anglo-Indian "particulars" have either enabled or hindered their adaptation within the Greater Toronto Area, wherein most of Canada's Goans and Anglo-Indians are believed to

reside. Indeed, as illustrated by my data, the lifeworlds of both communities have allowed them to meaningfully interact with the Canadian system while simultaneously enabling them to maintain a distinct sense of who they are as a migrant community.

Would Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics residing in other Canadian cities report similar experiences as my Toronto-based participants? Would they be just as successful professionally and socioeconomically? And, if so, would they attribute such success to their colonial roots? Would they also invoke similar Indian symbols and rituals within a Catholic framework? Unfortunately, such answers lie beyond the scope of this project. However, assuming a relative uniformity of experiences of both Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in terms of their ancestral histories, transnational migration patterns, religious upbringing and motivations for entering into Canada, I believe that members of these communities living in Vancouver, for example, would have much in common with those I spoke with who reside in Toronto. Assumedly, such individuals moved to the west (i.e.: North America) because they, as with those I interviewed, viewed their lifeworlds to be more compatible with Western society than with traditional, Hindu-based India. Similarly, many of the macro-system elements that members of these communities recognize and positively interact with, such as the education system and multiculturalism, are sanctioned and adhered to on a national level thus permitting Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics on the west coast to theoretically interact with the system in ways comparable their cultural counterparts in central or eastern Canada. Beyond this, as many key democratic values such as those reflected in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* are similarly esteemed in most Christian-founded European and North American major cities wherein substantial numbers of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics can be found, I believe that my results can in fact be generalized to reflect these Western diasporic urban communities at large.

While indeed not all Goans and Anglo-Indians are Catholic, let alone Christian, I believe that those who identify religiously as such in India continue to relate more to their colonial European roots so as to set themselves apart from those Indians outside of the faith. Viewed as a source of distinction within contexts wherein Christianity is not the majority religion, Goans and Anglo-Indians, such as those in India, are able to actively assert their lifeworlds via cultural traditions and religious beliefs imparted to them in colonial times. Thus quite a few of their experiences and views would in fact be comparable to those of my Canadian participants.

However, would a Goan Indian who identifies as Hindu be able to relate to the lifeworld givens of a Goan Catholic Indian? Would an Anglo-Indian who continued to practice the ancient traditions of his or her ancestors make sense of the Indian lifeworld in ways comparable to those of Anglo-Indian Catholics? Probably not. I believe that those Goans and Anglo-Indians who are not of the Christian faith, though perhaps able to identify with Christian members of their community in terms of food tastes, leisure preferences, regional roots and some traditional values, would likely not share too much in terms of lifeworld commonality with their Christian Canadian counterparts. This is due to the fact that, as illustrated by this project, the lifeworlds of both Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics remains fundamentally shaped by colonial (be it Portuguese or British) culture and religion. Those Goans and Anglo-Indians who converted from Hinduism to Catholicism, although they may maintain residence in India thus impacting the scope of their life horizons, continue to evoke their religiosity and its associated culture as means of separation from the greater Hindu population.

Likewise, another interesting question is whether or not other Christian Indian communities in Canada, such as those from Kerala who do not have as explicit systemic connections with colonialism as the Goans or Anglo-Indians, would share views and experiences

comparable with those I interviewed. Would they, lacking the culturally-reared familiarity with the Western institutional system, thrive within the Canadian urban macro-system as do Goans and Anglo-Indians? Or, would they experience sociocultural alienation because the meaningful symbols of their previous non-Western lifeworlds yield insufficient to make sense of the Canadian life horizons that they will encounter?

Additionally, how do Canadian Hindu Goans and Anglo-Indians differ from those who at some point in time converted to Catholicism? Do they share the same optimism as the Goans and Anglo-Indians I interviewed, in terms of their potential for professional and social success in Canada? Are they as comfortable and confident in terms of their religiocultural compatibility with Canada's prevailing discourse(s)? Without the existence of such comparative studies, one can only hypothesize. However taking the findings of this project into account, it would seem relatively safe to surmise that lacking the same lifeworld givens which allow Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics to easily interpret, make sense of and interact with larger Canadian systemic facets, Hindu Indian migrants (as well as those from other non-Christian backgrounds) may not experience as easy an adjustment to Canadian life as my informants. Various factors, such as having English as a mother-tongue, participation within a Western-styled education system, familiarity with the Western judicial system, among others, I believe, give Anglo-Indian and Goan Catholics advantage over their non-Catholic counterparts in terms of making sense of and successfully navigating through Canada's dominant system and its ideologies.

While there are many excellent ethnographies exploring Indian sociocultural and religious adaptation in North America, and some pertaining specifically to Canada, there remains a noticeable absence of comparative research which not only investigates how different South Asian communities acclimatize but also their in-group dynamics and interactivities. Although it

would require much more resources than I as a graduate student had available at the time of this project, such a study would be a great contribution to the fields of immigrant and Canadian studies among others. While this issue also raises many questions to which there lack sufficient empirical answers, it widely opens the door for future research endeavours.

Although the Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholic communities may distinctively stand out in comparison to other Indian Canadian communities who have not had similar colonial experiences or migratory paths, it is important in terms of policy development and implementation to understand that such characteristics do not necessarily distinguish these individuals from other Catholic migrant communities in Canada. In fact, Goan and Anglo-Indians may arguably share more similarities with non-Indian predominantly Catholic migrant communities, such as the Spanish, Hungarian or Italian, than with Sikh, Hindu or Jain Indians simply because of their European religious and cultural subscriptions. Such a discussion, however, could not take place within the span of this study due to space and time constraints. It is critical to remember, however, that Anglo-Indian and Goans who live in Canada are in fact able to draw upon both their European and Indian cultural values and traditions, and meaningfully understand them within a Catholic-centred context. Such overlapping and dual areas of belonging have subsequently sanctioned a more-or-less seamless adaptation process for members of these groups. The reconciliation of fundamental elements of their faith and ethnic traditions emphasize their distinction within Catholicism's tapestry through the religious incorporation of particular Indian cultural elements within systemically (i.e.: Canadian) acceptable, and lifeworld meaningful contexts.

Accordingly, the insight and findings rendered from my research have clear implications for policy makers and government officials. There are countless factors which positively

influence the cultural and religious adaptation of migrants to Canada; however these factors intermingle uniquely within in each community they manifest. Sure fire ways to determine which “types” of migrants are best equipped for success in Canada do not exist, nor would they be helpful additions to our current migration guidelines and policies. As my Anglo-Indian and Goan informants reveal, countless historical and contemporary factors intermingle so as to determine and shape their views, goals and values. Such factors oftentimes also serve to distinguish migrant communities from larger cultural and religious mainstreams in a variety of ways. And, although the presence, beliefs and experiences of Anglo-Indians and Goans problematize larger umbrella categorical constructs, such as Indian and Roman Catholic, their existence is by no means problematic. Essentializing them through compartmentalization of their histories and experiences would only serve to eclipse their voices in Canada’s multicultural tapestry. What policy developers can take away from this research is the recognition that generalizations can never be made when seeking to predict the successes and relative failures of Canadian migrant adaptation. Assumptions regarding particular cultural and religious groups, such as those made by European colonizers and leaders like General Idi Amin, can affect community morale in unpredicted, even inspiring, ways. And, the enduring spirits of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics indeed illustrate just this.

The lifeworlds of Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics in the Greater Toronto Area have permitted members of these communities a relatively quick and effective adaptation process within Canada’s democratic, individualistic and market-driven society. Equipped with the skills and the know-how to capitalize in a land quite different than the traditional Indian society of their ancestors, these individuals have learned how to maintain a sense of security and achievement amidst the myriad cultures and religions that can be found in Canada’s diverse

mosaic. 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. Their communal memory may encourage them to hold on to conservative cultural aspects but it is their lifeworlds that animate such precious recollections, making them momentous regardless of where they reside and who their neighbours may be. With such practical adaptation skills as well as a God who blesses and watches over them, Goan and Anglo-Indian Catholics indeed have a promising future ahead of them with infinite possibilities. Keeping their faith as the constant, unwavering determining force of their lifeworlds, these communities remain free to culturally evolve and socially progress as they see fit.

PART V: APPENDICES

Appendix A: Recruitment forms for all interviews

Do you fully or partially identify as GOAN or ANGLO-INDIAN?

Do you live in the Greater Toronto Area?

Have you resided in Canada for at least ONE YEAR?

Are you 18 years of age or older?

And, are you ROMAN CATHOLIC?

If so, you are invited to participate in a focus group discussion about Religion, Culture, and Adaptation within Anglo-Indian and Goan Communities.

There is almost no research exploring the sociocultural and religious adaptation of Goans and Anglo-Indians in Canada. Therefore, this focus group is designed to look at if, how, and why Goans and Anglo-Indians have managed to “fit in” both religiously and culturally. In particular, I would like to ask for your input on:

1. you or your family’s migration to Canada,
2. central aspects of your culture,
3. what is important to you about Catholicism,
4. some of the cultural benefits/challenges of life in Canada,
5. some of the religious advantages/disadvantages of life in Canada, and
6. the changing role of religion and ethnicity in your life.

My name is Kathryn Carrière, and I’m a PhD student at the University of Ottawa. I hope to conduct a total of 6 focus groups⁶⁴ (3 Goan, 3 Anglo-Indian), as well as some follow-up interviews. Your opinions, views, and feedback will be used as a research base for my thesis under the supervision of Dr. Peter Beyer, at the University of Ottawa.

As a member of the Goan or Anglo-Indian community, your views and experiences are extremely valuable in helping contribute to the field of migration and Canadian studies. As a member of the Goan community in Canada, I recognize the need to for a study which will illustrate the diversity not just of Indians but also of Canadians today.

Although I hope you will join me for this project, participation is voluntary. Be assured that all findings will be fully confidential and anonymous. If you have any questions or if you are interested in participating, please contact me at (insert email address). I hope you will be able to join me for this important, informal discussion.

Thanks.

⁶⁴ Although I initially envisioned conducting focus groups, a shortage of participants and scheduling difficulties caused me to change the focus groups to group interviews.

Appendix B: Moderator's guide: group interviews

Title of the study: *Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities*

Introduction:

- Provide an overview of my research project, as well as the rationale for study.
- Explain confidentiality, as well as why the interview is recorded.
- Explain the right to withdraw from the study at any point in time.
- Have the participant sign consent form.

Warm Up:

- What makes you Anglo-Indian/Goan?
- Why do you think many people choose to identify as Goan/Anglo-Indian, as opposed to just Indian?
- Do you think most people know what an Anglo-Indian/Goan is? Why/why not?

Key Content Section:

- Do you think Anglo-Indian/Goan migrants fit well into Canadian society?
- What are some challenges that Anglo-Indians/Goans face?
- Would you attend an all-Goan/all-Indian Catholic church, if one existed? What differences would there be from a non-Goan/non-Anglo Indian church?
- Do you think tensions exist between the Goan/Anglo-Indian community and other Indian communities in India? What about in Canada?
- Do you consider the Goan/Anglo-Indian community to be more tight-knit than other communities in Canada? What are the benefits/disadvantages of a small community?
- Why do you think some ethnic groups struggle to fit in or encounter difficulties within Canadian society?
- Will Anglo-Indians/Goans in India today be able to identify with you ethnically?
- Is fitting in even that important, and how do you know a group fits in?
- What are some cultural traditions that are in danger of becoming extinct in Canada with future generations? Is this worrisome?
- What are key ways to protect your ethnic heritage in future generations?
- Have you ever been faced with racism or ethnic discrimination? How about religious discrimination?
- What are some key Goan/Anglo-Indian values that are "accepted" in Canada? What about those that are less-accepted?
- Do you think there is any generational conflict within Canada's Goan Catholic community? If so, what? Are these conflicts typically religious or ethnically based? Why does such conflict exist and how could it be rectified?
- Why do you think Goans/Anglo-Indian associations have become so popular for many within the community?
- Do you experience religious challenges that you feel are unique to being Goan/Anglo-Indian?
- Do you think you would have had more difficulties fitting in Canada if you were Indian but not Christian?
- Have Goan/Anglo-Indian associations helped migrants adapt to Canadian life?

- Is there a difference in Canadian ideas of success than Goan/Anglo-Indian ideas of success?

Closing:

- Invite last comments.
- Discuss follow-up interview, and ask interested members to fill out the given card upon which they will signify their intent to volunteer for an interview. I will contact follow up interview candidates at a later date.
- Thank everyone for their contributions, time and energy.
- Invite everyone to contact me for further information.

Appendix C: Moderator's guide: one-on-one interviews

Title of the study: *Brown Baby Jesus: The Religious Lifeworlds of Canada's Goan and Anglo-Indian Communities*

Introduction:

- Provide an overview of my research project, as well as the rationale for study.
- Explain confidentiality, as well as why the interview is recorded.
- Explain the right to withdraw from the study at any point in time.
- Have the participant sign consent form.

Migration:

- Ethnically, how do you identify?
- Would you identify as first, second, or third generation Canadian, if at all? (go to appropriate question section)

i: First Generation:

- Where were you born?
- Tell me about life in _____.
- How would you describe your religious life in _____? How did you/your family worship?
- Was religion your primary connector to the rest of your community back in _____?
- What role did religion have for you back in _____? Preserving tradition? Social reasons? Celebrating Goan/Anglo-Indian culture?
- Tell me about why you left _____. Whose decision was it? When did it happen? Who left with you?
- Where did you first move to after leaving _____? How was life there different than life in India?
- When did you move to Canada, and why?
- Why did you settle in the Greater Toronto Area?
- How was life in Canada different?
- Do people routinely ask you where you're "from"? What do you say?
- Do people know what you're talking about when you say Anglo-Indian? How does this make you feel?
- What were some of the initial adjustments you had to make?
- What things did you not have to adjust to, or easily adjusted to?
- Did religion make it easier or harder to adapt to life in Canada? How?
- What were some of the changes that occurred in your religious life?
- Were there other Goans/Anglo-Indians here when you first migrated?
- Who were your first friends in Canada? Did/do they share similar cultural/religious beliefs?
- Did you, or do you ever consider yourself different from other people in your community? How?
- Are you or have you ever been part of any ethnic or cultural associations or social groups? If so, which ones?
- Tell me why such membership important to you.
- Did you, or do you relate to Indians, such as Hindus or Sikhs, better than you do to other people?

- Do you relate to non-Indian Catholics better than you do to other Indians?
- Are you or have you ever been part of any religious associations or social groups? If so, which ones?
- Tell me why such membership is important to you.
- What role does religion play in your life today? How religious are you?
- Do you go to church regularly? How often?
- Why do you go to church today? Preserving tradition? Social reasons? Celebrating Goan/Anglo-Indian culture?
- How important is maintaining your religious identity in Canada? Is it the same as it would be if you were still in India? How does this differ from your children?
- How do you think your ethnic community fits in with the rest of Canada today?
- How do you think your religious community fits in with the rest of Canada today?
- Have you been back to India? Tell me about this (with regard to culture and religion).
- Do you think religion complicates adjustment into Canada for non-Catholic Indians? How or why not?
- As you become “more Canadian” does that mean you will become “less Indian”?
- Is there anything that we did not touch upon or discuss fully in this interview? Would you like to clarify anything?

ii: 1.5ers/Second Generation/Third Generation:

- Where were you born?
- Tell me about life where you were born/raised.
- How would you describe your religious life there? How did you/your family worship?
- Was religion your primary connector to the rest of your community in _____?
- What role did religion have for you and your family when you were raised? Preserving tradition? Social reasons? Celebrating Goan/Anglo-Indian culture?
- Tell me about why you left _____. Whose decision was it? When did it happen? Who left with you?
- When did you move to Canada, and why?
- Why did you settle in the Greater Toronto Area?
- How was life in Canada different?
- What were some of the initial adjustments you or your parents had to make?
- What things did you or your parents not have to adjust to, or easily adjusted to?
- Did religion make it easier or harder to adapt to life in Canada? How?
- What were some of the changes that occurred in your religious life?
- Who were your first friends in Canada? Did/do they share similar cultural/religious beliefs?
- Did you have friends of the same background as you? How were they different than other friends?
- Do people routinely ask you where you’re “from”? What do you say?
- Do people know what you’re talking about when you say Anglo-Indian? How does this make you feel?
- Did you attend a public, private, or Catholic school? How did this impact your religious beliefs? How did it impact your ethnic identity?
- Did you, or do you ever consider yourself different from other people in your community? How?

- Are you active in any ethnic or cultural associations or social groups? If so, which ones? Why?
- Are these groups important in safeguarding traditions and your ethnic heritage?
- Are you or have you ever been part of any religious associations or social groups? Which ones? Why?
- Do you relate to Indians, such as Hindus or Sikhs, better than you do to other people?
- Do you relate to non-Indian Catholics better than you do to other Indians ?
- What role does religion play in your life today? How religious are you?
- Do you go to church regularly? How often?
- Why do you go to church today? Preserving tradition? Social reasons? Celebrating Goan/Anglo-Indian culture?
- Do you think your community struggles to fit in today? Why? Why not?
- Why do you think some Indians struggle to fit in?
- What are your priorities regarding raising your children, or with your family?
- What are some of the key religious / cultural lessons you would like them to learn?
- Have you been (back) to India? Tell me about this (with regard to culture and religion).
- Do you think your community struggles to fit in today? Why? Why not?
- Why do you think some Indians struggle to fit in?
- How important is maintaining your religious identity in Canada? Is it the same as it would be if you were still in India? How does this differ from your parents? Your children?
- Do you think religion complicates adjustment into Canada for non-Catholic Indians? How? Or why not?
- As you become “more Canadian” does that mean you will become “less Indian”?
- Is there anything that we did not touch upon or discuss fully in this interview? Would you like to clarify anything?

Closing:

- Invite last comments.
- Thank participant for their contributions, time, and energy.
- Invite subject to contact me for further information, etc.

Appendix D: Participant list and breakdown

*Please note that participants names and identifying information has been anonymized in order to protect the informants' identities *

Group Interview Participants						
Name, gender	Age	Goan/Anglo-Indian	Years in Canada	Years in the GTA	Other nations of residence	Profession
Claire (female)	23	Anglo-Indian	23	23	n/a	Student
Wayne (male)	26	Goan	26	26	n/a	Draft technologist
Bobby (male)	29	Goan	29	29	n/a	Student
Jill (female)	29	Anglo-Indian	20	20	India and Saudi Arabia	Student
Nuno (male)	29	Goan	20	20	Kenya	Software support
Claude (male)	33	Goan	17	17	India	Marketing manager
Dom (male)	36	Goan	33	33	London, England	Sales director
Lorna (female)	40	Goan	6	6	Bombay, India	Administrative assistant
Ernest (male)	41	Goan	6	6	India	Information technology
Devlyn (male)	49	Anglo-Indian / Goan	30 +	30 +	Karachi, Pakistan	Police officer
Savio (male)	51	Goan	40	40	Tanzania	Civil servant
Christina (female)	54	Goan	35	33	Nairobi, Kenya	Health care worker
Gabriel (male)	55	Goan	30	30	Kenya	Retired
Elizabeth (female)	56	Goan	30	30	United Kingdom	Administration
Vincent (male)	56	Goan	15	15	London, England	Credit analysis
Moirra (female)	57	Goan	33	33	Nairobi, Kenya	Business manager
Angela (female)	58	Goan	34	34	Nairobi, Kenya	Operations manager
Nicola (female)	58	Goan	34	34	Nairobi, Kenya	Operations manager

Rose (female)	58	Goan	34	34	Kenya	Operations manager
Sophia (female)	58	Goan	32	32	Kenya	Housewife / nurse
Joseph (male)	59	Goan	29	29	East Africa	Financial planner
Rui (male)	59	Goan	33	33	Goa, UK, Switzerland	Computer programmer and analyst
Warren (male)	60	Anglo-Indian	48	48	India	Operations manager
Annabel (female)	61	Anglo-Indian	30	30	India and Australia	Clerical assistant
Armando (male)	61	Goan	37	22	Goa, India	Financial planner and Engineer
Helen (female)	61	Goan	35	35	Nairobi, Kenya	Administration
John (male)	61	Goan	35	35	Uganda	Business
Richard (male)	61	Goan	40	40	Nairobi, Kenya	Physician
Mark (male)	62	Goan	30	30	England	Retired
Mavis (female)	62	Goan	40	40	Karachi, Pakistan	Pharmaceutical consultant
Thomas (male)	72	Goan	34	34	East Africa, England	Retired

One-on-one Interview Participants						
Name, gender	Age	Goan/Anglo- Indian	Years in Canada	Years in the GTA	Other nations of residence	Profession
Eddie (male)	21	Goan	10	10	Tanzania	Student
Erik (male)	24	Goan	12	12	Goa, India	Information technology
Julia (female)	24	Goan	18	18	Nairobi, Kenya	Civil Servant
Wayne (male)	26	Goan	26	26	n/a	Draft technologist
Rosie (female)	27	Goan	21	21	Nairobi, Kenya	Multimedia designer
Nuno (male)	29	Goan	20	20	Kenya	Software support
Judy (female)	34	Goan	33	33	East Africa	Corporate fundraiser
Lorna (female)	40	Goan	6	6	Bombay, India	Administrative assistant
Charlie (male)	41	Goan	40	40	Nairobi, Kenya	Information technology
Ernest (male)	41	Goan	6	6	India	Information technology
Richard (male)	61	Goan	40	40	Nairobi, Kenya	Physician
Devlyn (male)	49	Anglo-Indian / Goan	30 +	30 +	Karachi, Pakistan	Police officer
Elizabeth (female)	56	Goan	30	30	United Kingdom	Administration
Moirra (female)	57	Goan	33	33	Nairobi, Kenya	Business manager
Charlene (female)	60	Anglo-Indian	33	33	India, England	Corporate hostess
Mavis (female)	62	Goan	40	40	Karachi, Pakistan	Pharmaceutical consultant
Maria (female)	82	Goan	31	28	Kenya	Retired banker

Type of Migrant	Number of Participants
Born Here	4
Direct Migrant (came to Canada in their youth)	28 (10/28)
Twice Migrant (came to Canada in their youth)	7 (1/7)
Thrice Migrant	1

Professional Trends	Number of Participants
Business / Finance	15
Health Care	4
Engineer	1
Information Technology	5
Administration	4
Skilled Trades	3
Civil Services	3
Student	5
Retired	4

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