CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
Indeed it is very difficult to provide a concluding statement on any study of diaspora as diaspora always remains in a state of flux. A man of literature like V.S. Naipaul always wishes to locate the diaspora in dislocations because it not only provides him the subject matter but also makes him contemplate and bind in a literary framework the changing sensibilities of diaspora and diasporic dislocations. Similarly, a diaspora’s encounter in a social structure and stricture provides a sociologist the dynamism to study and analyse variant paradigms of social stratification. Likewise, a cultural critic always preponderates that culture is never static, it always remains in a state of change and the varying dimensions of diasporic culture provides vitality and vigour to the exploration and scrutinisation of the cultural critic. The investigation and discovery of a new stance in diaspora unbounds the zeal of the anthropologist. And diaspora engages the policy planners of both the host country and the homeland to devise new policy formulations and frameworks to yield from the seeds of diaspora. The politicians of both the host country and homeland read electoral leverages in the diasporic communities (in Mexico the Mexican diaspora enjoys the right to vote and plays a crucial role in the electoral battle, in the USA the diasporic communities including the Indians play a significant role and the diasporic communities sometimes influence the policy of the USA towards their homelands and India has started providing PIO cards and in future that may turn into voting rights). In the economic front diaspora also plays a prominent role. India has shifted from Jagdish Bhagwati’s ‘brain drain’ model of looking at diaspora to the perception of a people with baggage of remittances, a people with an entrepreneurial enterprise and a people who can be engaged in many pecuniary engagements.

Instead of concluding a study like this, let’s begin with the reference to the old Jewish joke cited in the beginning of the study, in which the husband asks his wife: “What will happen to the million zloty I invested in the business if the Messiah comes and we return to Jerusalem and I have to leave everything behind?” The wife answers: “With God’s help, the Messiah will not come so soon.” Here the husband does not enquire to know whether or when the Messiah will come because he knows this; the Messiah won’t come, but he wants to hear this from his wife. This is the diasporic predicament, unknowingly and subconsciously the diaspora belongs to the place and the diasporic man wants this kind of approval from others who share the same predicament.
Coming to the second assertion cited in the beginning of the study, quoted from Matthew Arnold’s *Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse*: ‘Wandering between two worlds, one dead, / The other powerless to be born,’ diaspora hovers between two worlds, their ‘own,’ which is dead, and another of the diaspora, not quite capable of being born. This is the other diasporic predicament that drives the diaspora to remain always in a ‘quest.’

Coming to the third assertion cited in the beginning of the second chapter of the study, Jaipal Chamar’s letters to his son and his son’s letters to him cast many of the informative as well as poignant light on the kind of ‘emotional loss’ felt by the indentured labour, who were contemplating their lost ties with their homeland and of the kind of ‘brooding’ for them in the home country at least for the first and second generation Indian diaspora in the West Indies. This search for his heritage by Jaipal Chamar has been endorsed and re-endorsed over again and again by indentured Indians who were regarded and did regard themselves as transients, who were to return home after their indentureship. The quest of the Indian West Indian to seek his roots and his relationship with India, which may not necessarily imply the physical land mass but, a whole complex of attitudes, thought-processes and beliefs, exhibits a dilemma of the Indian West Indian in a land where the Creole value system, the Indian West Indian feels, carrying the major elements of African-Caribbean cultural norms and colonial white socio-cultural glimmer, stands at the apex of the ‘national’ praxis. For an Indian West Indian like Jaipal Chamar, India is physically and culturally very real and exists in his body and mind, hence he does not have any hesitance in identifying with it, but for second and third generation Indian West Indians, torn between East and West, this attempt at identification and illumination can be torturous, even traumatic.

In this respect, another aspect that needs to be understood and analysed is the trauma and tribulations faced by the Indian returned migrants from the West Indies. After completion of their indentured contract, around thirty per cent of the indentured labour returned back to India in the hope of leading a comfortable life with full of prosperity with the money they have carried in their bags. But to their utter surprise and dismay, the India for which they were feeling so proud of, the India for which
they have been pining for so long and the India which was so much ingrained in their mind, body and soul in that distant land was no longer going to accept them with the least respectability as the indentured labour thought of; India was still lingering in primitivism with its caste system and again these people were peeped through very drudging eyes for crossing the sea and mixing with the people of other race. The indentured migrants thought that at least in the West Indies they were enjoying certain kind of respectability for their work proficiency and they were not reminded of their caste and religious hierarchy. So, through their letters of communications to their fellow other indentured Indians in the West Indies, the returned Indian indentured labour urged and requested them not to come back to India as it carried no promise for them and it had no longer remained as the land of their dreams. Some of the returned indentured Indians also re-indentured themselves and were waiting for the ship to carry them once again to the West Indies or other parts of the colonial plantation estates.

Here three aspects need to be marked. Firstly, for the first and second generation Indians the India remains very much alive both in the physical, emotional and imaginary sense and the India fades for the third generation onwards and it remains only in the fairy tales about India being a golden land which their grand parents left and were hovering to return back, and most prominently, the west was gulping the young generation of Indians. Secondly, the indentured Indian took the harsh periods of indentureship with the hope that once he lands in India his period of hardship will be over, the drudgery that had pushed him to this harsh life will end forever and he will be one of the happiest creatures of the world. He started looking at himself as an exile like Lord Rama of the Hindu epic, the Ramayana, who was to serve a banishment of fourteen years from his kingdom in order to keep the promise of his father made to his step mother Kāiκāi. After completion of fourteen years of banishment Lord Rama was welcomed to his kingdom with a grand ceremony, which is being celebrated as an auspicious festival by the Hindus, but for the indentured Indians their landing in the physical land mass of India was a mere frustration and it made them realise their futility; their dream land India became a nightmare for them. And they started loving the ‘Kāiκāi,’ whom they earlier equated her with the colonial and the source of all kinds of drudgery. Thirdly, the integration or assimilation to the West Indian social structure was not acceptable to the Indians because they perceived
it as mere Creolisation with the white standing at the top and the Negro at the bottom mimicking the white master. And in order to be integrated to the West Indian social structure Indians would have to mimic the white, which the Indians thought as the degradation of their immortal civilisational values and ethos, which was so dear to them than their lives.

So with this treasure in the background it is proper to ask, is it possible of a physical return for people like Jaipal Chamar and the younger generation to their homeland? Does a homeland really exist for them? If at all they return and there is a homeland, is the homeland going to accept them? Then coming to the first assertion of the joke, why the man is so interested to hear no about the Messiah to come? And why in ‘unbelonging’ belonging, not belonging only? Coming to the second assertion, if the old world is dead, is it possible for a new world to get born? If yes then how will the new world look like? And what could be the structure of the new world? Will it be a ‘new world’ altogether?

Questions like this grapple one’s mind when one steps into the domain of diasporic study. Here it is to be mentioned that diaspora has no longer remained as the monopoly subject matter of any particular branch of study; anthropologists, sociologists, cultural analysts, literary critics, policy planners etc. have looked at, studied and interpreted diaspora in their own varied ways. So it’s very difficult to provide one uniform answer to these questions. Again it becomes confusing to see and speak in the tongues of writers like V.S. Naipaul who present the country of adoption as a Third World trapped in ‘impoverishment’ and mimicry of the colonials and the homeland as an area of darkness with a wounded civilisation. For people like him a self-imposed exile self, fleeing to the metropolis of the First World and adopting the metropolitan attitude seems to be the only escape root where they could discover their certitude, but to their dismay this adds to their problematic trajectory.

In this context one may refer to what Stuart Hall speaks about diaspora and diasporic identity: “diaspora does not refer to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even it means pushing other people into the sea.” Endorsing the views of Hall, diaspora as a narrative of displacement gives rise so profoundly to a certain imaginary
plenitude, recreating the endless desire to return to "lost origins," to be once again with the mother, to go back to the beginning. And this "return to the beginning" can neither be fulfilled nor requited, and hence is the beginning of the symbolic, of representation, the infinitely renewable source of desire, memory, myth, search and discovery. This marks the germination of the trajectory of diasporic discourse making the men of literature, cultural critics, sociologists, anthropologists, policy planners and others to devise variant methodologies and paradigms to frame this diasporic trajectory.

So to be a subject matter of the diasporic discourse and to be a diasporic subject what needs to be aspired for is not the physical return to the motherland or an imaginary plenitude to be once again with the mother, but a 'spiritual' connection with the homeland. It is to be noted that the physical return of the diaspora to the homeland is very much unlikely because neither the homeland wishes to receive them nor the new generation of the diaspora ever exhibits a will to return. Consequently, what can bring the homeland and the diaspora in a binding spectrum is the spiritual connection which can be manifested in many forms. So, the dilemma of the Indian West Indian of being either West Indian or Indian or neither nor or both will always haunt him until he first of all comes to terms with himself and pierces into his 'self'; and this process certainly involves an understanding of his Indian connection with a West Indian bonding.

Keeping these basic ideas and formulations in mind the study moves on to analyse variant paradigms of diaspora, the West Indian social stratification, Indian diaspora's position and role in the West Indian social canvass and how these aspects have been delineated in the writings of V.S. Naipaul. The First Chapter of this study attempts at conceptualising and theorising various aspects, notions, ambiguities and dynamism of diaspora by contesting it with nationalism, trans-nationalism, globalisation, ethnicity, multiculturalism, diversity, indentureship etc., which in turn will help in understanding and comprehending various contours and dynamics of diaspora. A psychological approach has also been made to pierce into the minds and psychology of the diasporic subject, which indeed helps in analysing and critiquing the mental working of the diaspora.
Etymologically derived from the Greek term *diaspeirein*, from *dia-*, “across” and – *speirein*, “to sow or scatter seeds”, diaspora may be perceived as the naming of the ‘other’ which carries a sense of ‘displacement’; that is, communities of people who have been dislocated or separated from their native homeland or national territory, as a consequence of colonial expansion, through the movements of migration, immigration, exile or voluntary aspiration to leave the country and these people contemplating a hope, or at least a desire, to return to their homeland at some point, if the "homeland" still exists in any meaningful sense. Diaspora may result in a loss of nostalgia for a single home as people "re-root" in a series of meaningful displacements. In this sense, individuals may have ‘multiple homes’ (at least in the broad compass of their mental horizon) throughout their diaspora, with different reasons for maintaining some form of attachment to each.

First used in the *Septuagint* diaspora suggests a dislocation from the nation-state or geographical location of origin and a relocation in one or more nation-states, territories or countries. If the gypsies were read as the absolute instance of a nomadic tribe the profound historicity of the Jewish people gave their diaspora a specially privileged position in diasporic theory. Another, but quite different, early historical reference is the Black African diaspora. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the slave trade meant forcibly exporting Africans out of their native lands and dispersing them into the “New World” – parts of North and South America, the Caribbean and other parts of the globe that slave labour was exploited. These early historical references reveal that diaspora is not always voluntary. The abolition of slavery in the 1830s marks the beginning of another phase in the diaspora history with the transportation of indenture labour from Asia, especially from the Indian subcontinent to mitigate the demands of the labour required for the colonial plantation estates left vacant after the abolition of slavery. The modern globalised world has experienced (experiencing) another phase of the diaspora in the 1960s and 70s, especially the migration of skilled labour from the former colonies to the metropolitan centres. Diaspora, in the rapidly changing world that one now inhabits, speaks of diverse groups of displaced persons and communities moving across the globe.

Once conceptualised as an exilic or nostalgic dislocation from homeland, diaspora has attained new epistemological, political, and identitarian resonances as its points of
reference proliferate. The term “diaspora” has been increasingly used by anthropologists, literary theorists, and cultural critics to describe the mass migrations and displacements of the second half of the twentieth century, particularly in reference to independence movements in formerly colonised areas, waves of refugees fleeing war-torn states, and fluxes of economic migration in the post world war II era.

Diaspora is a social construct founded on feeling, consciousness, memory, mythology, history, meaningful narratives, group identity, longings, dreams, allegorical, and virtual elements – all of which play a role in establishing a diaspora reality. But as a social construct the term has shifted its meaning and coverage over time. The term ‘diaspora’ refers not only to such classic groups as Jews, Greeks and Armenians, but to much wider categories which reflect processes of politically motivated uprooting and moving of populations, voluntary migration, global communications and transport. The term has acquired a broad semantic domain and now encompasses a motley array of groups such as political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, expellees, ethnic and racial minorities, and overseas communities.

Diaspora has been theorised from many diverse points of departure – East Asian, South Asian, South-East Asian, Asia Pacific, Caribbean, South American, Latin American, African, and Central European. Recent uses of the term move from essentialist notions of homeland, national or ethnic identity, and geographical location to deployments of diaspora conceptualised in terms of hybridity, metissage, or heterogeneity. Diasporic subjects are marked by hybridity and heterogeneity – cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and national – and these subjects are defined by traversal of the boundaries demarcating nation and diaspora. Thus, diasporic subjects experience double, and even plural, identifications that are constitutive of hybrid forms of identity.

Robin Cohen (1997) has proposed a typology of diasporas each of which has been caused by a different set of precipitating circumstances which result in a variety of social contexts, mythologies and definitions of solidarity. These are: victim diasporas, labour and imperial diasporas, trade diasporas, cultural diasporas, global – deterritorialised - diasporas.
Jayaram (1998: 48) claims that diasporic communities in the world consider the ancestral homeland according to several factors: "(a) the conditions under which it's... ancestors left the homeland, (b) the distance at which their community is now in relation to that homeland, (c) the duration of settlement in the host country, and (d) the socio-economic and political conditions in the host country."

Drawing from the works of Safran (1991), Sheffer (1993), Bruneau (1994) and Cohen (1997) a migration can be defined as a “diaspora” if four conditions are met: firstly, an ethnic consciousness; secondly, an active associative life; thirdly, contacts with the land of origin in various forms, real or imaginary; and fourthly, there should be relations with other groups of the same ethnic origin spread over the world.

Sheffer (1986) speaks of three sets of actors that are relevant to diaspora theory: (a) the diaspora group itself, (b) the host society and (c) the homeland which may be real or virtual. There is a complex triadic relationship among these actors each of which is differentiated into a range of sub-groups, which may differ considerably with regard to levels of commitment, self-interest, power and interest in each other.

The explosion of diaspora studies in various fields – literature, sociology, anthropology, film studies, queer theory, area studies, and ethnic studies - makes it difficult to ascertain how and why the term is being deployed in critical scholarship. It is often used as a catch-all phrase to speak of and for all movements, however privileged, and for all dislocations, even symbolic ones (Braziel and Mannur 2003: 3). So, the uncritical, unreflexive application of the term “diaspora” to any and all contexts of global displacement and movement should be cautioned.

With these basic ideas at the outset the First Chapter of the study examines, within an interdisciplinary frame, both the historical phenomena of migrations and diasporas and how these movements also inflect identity formation in relation to race, ethnicity, gender, culture, diversity, pluralism etc. If one is to take the lessons of interdisciplinary seriously, it is incumbent on one to examine how work in ethnic studies, communication studies, area studies, and cultural studies, as well as sociology and anthropology, provides one with the tools to understand the lived experiences of diasporic subjects. It is also pertinent to point out the relevant actors and their roles in
diaspora studies, the social and political functions of diaspora, how does diaspora differ from other migrations and how does diaspora theory link to other theories. This study on the theoretical contours of diaspora is based on a number of assumptions:
(a) This study takes into account of the changing reality in which diasporas exist. It also reflects the fluid nature of social processes in diaspora. This means that a group may acquire a sense of diaspora, lose it, regain it, and change it and so on - over an undefined period of time. An ongoing change is an integral part of the diaspora study,
(b) this study on diaspora is structured around three principal actors - homeland, diaspora group, and the host - who interact in a multi-faceted, changing set of relationships which may be viewed on a bifocal or trifocal level. These three actors form the principal components of diaspora theory, and (c) taking into consideration Featherstone’s (1992) analysis of hyper-differentiation in post-modern societies, it can be claimed that diasporas, hosts and homelands take many forms and are characterised by ongoing differentiation into distinct types and subtypes. Different subgroups within the three basic sets of actors are characterised by different orientations, values and attitudes. Therefore, diaspora has to be studied through multidimensional and multi-faceted approaches and parameters with many variables playing a role. The parameters are not necessarily binary.

Of course from time antiquity, multicultural colonial empires like, Hellenic and Roman, Persian and Ottoman have existed and some of the phenomena characteristic of the present day trans-national movement are as old as history: individual exile like Ovid’s, collective dispersion like that of the Jews by the waters of Babylon. But the last five centuries have been a period of fragmentation, heterogeneity, and unparalleled mass dispersion; additionally, the past five decades have been a time of cultural and political regrouping, of renewed confidence for ethno-nations existing across the boundaries of established nation-states. Border has become more symbolical than literal and instead of one crossing borders, the borders (multiple and virtual vectors of energy, power, desire, and capital) cross and crisscross, deterritorialise and reterritorialise one. Perhaps, as Jerry Herron (1993) suggests, we will no longer go to the border: the border will (be) come to us.

So, it becomes clear that the origin of diaspora and the diasporic discourse ranging from the most ancient period and speaking to the very old groups like Jews, Greeks,
Armenians and several other groups to the present day encompassing a motley array of groups such as political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, expellees, ethnic and racial minorities, overseas communities and variant diverse groups, has undergone immense transformations courting variant dynamics and trajectories. Again diaspora has no longer remained as the prerogative, or monopoly subject matter of any particular branch of study; anthropologists, sociologists, cultural analysts, literary critics etc. have studied and interpreted diaspora in their own variant manifold ways. So the theoretical parameters of the diasporic study needs to be broadened to conceptualise and embrace these diverse groups and the variant dimensions of diasporic discourse. Along with these above mentioned theoretical contours and paradigms of the diasporic study, some other methodologies and frameworks like, indenture poetics, cultural persistence, adoption, adaptation, ethnicity, cultural, conjunctural / hyphenated identity, multiculturalism, pluralism, diversity, syncretism, psychological tools like, mourning, melancholy, trauma, memory, and imaginary, globalisation, nationalism, trans-nationalism, linguistic models, core-periphery model and colonial attitude etc. have been applied to study diaspora. This theoretical base prepares a very firm ground in studying and analysing in a very critical and analytical manner the Indian diaspora in the West Indies, the social stratification in the West Indies and the diasporic elements in the writings of V.S. Naipaul.

One of the most prominent strands of the West Indian social stratification and a significant trajectory in the Indian history embarks on the 1830s with the shipping of indentured labour to the distant plantation estate of the West Indies to mitigate the demands of stiff labour required to run the plantation estates after the abolition of slavery and emancipation of slaves. The pattern of Indian indentured labour migration to the West Indies and the harsh and struggling lives of the Indians at the distant plantation barracks and their prime organisational patterns like, language, caste and religion and how these aspects have germinated identity for the Indians form the basic core of the Second Chapter of the study. Other aspects like, food, clothing, family life etc. also have some significance in the Indian diasporic study, but this chapter is confined to the analysis of indentureship, language, caste and religion as these aspects provide broader frameworks in studying and analysing the Indian West Indians and
they have been quite formative in sprouting a socio-cultural and political niche for Indian West Indians.

During the period of indentureship the Indians had to lead a very harsh life in the dark barracks freed by the slaves and they were being labelled as 'new slaves' or 'coolie labour' by the other segments of the West Indian society, especially by the Negroes, who were unbounding the sky limit with their new found freedom, the Creoles and white colonials. This harshness of the plantation barrack life made the Indians to lead a much closed life confined within their Indian ethnic enclave. But after the completion of indentureship a very small number of Indians returned back to India and others stayed back and became small subservient farmers with the subsidised land that the colonial administration had sold to the Indian indentured labour in order to save its purse from the cost of the sea passage that they were legally bound to provide to the indentured Indians after the completion of their indentureship. Gradually a peasant class emerged among the Indians and their participation was extended to other segments of the West Indian life. With the progression of the West Indian society, the facilitation of education to the Children of Indians and opening of the economic opportunities, the world of the Indians enlarged as they attempted to discover for themselves the amenities and opportunities available outside the plantation. In the gradual process priority changed and values became money-based and slowly individuals came into their own, shedding their group-based identity. The society was definitely a forerunner to post-colonial society though its postcoloniality had yet to acquire a definite shape.

One may assume that the immigrants had no intention, consciously or otherwise, of changing their way of life, that they expected to continue to live in the new land in accordance with the institutions to which they were accustomed and it is, therefore, likely that they attempted to maintain in the new setting, the socio-cultural and religious patterns they had learnt at home, and presumably valued. On the other hand, a complete and comprehensive recreation of the culture of the homeland was impossible in such a distant land; with the presence of various other religious and cultural segments in the West Indies it was not possible for the Indians to retain their wholesome religious and cultural peculiarity. In the continuing course the cultural and religious norms of the Indians came in contamination with the socio-cultural and
religious traits of others, hence germinating syncretic norms. This can be discussed more properly by pointing out some of the traits of the Indian institutional pattern in the Caribbean by studying organisational dynamics in reference to language, caste, and religion, which stand at the apex of identity formation of the Indian West Indians.

As a matter of fact the form of the languages which the different diasporic communities carried as a part of their socio-cultural baggage has varied considerably. They have experienced attrition and disappeared altogether, or they have survived in extremely limited spheres of life, or they have been modified and retained, or they continue to exist and are in contact with their ancestral roots, or they have been sought to be revived and revitalised with varying degrees of success. Another interesting dimension to this study of language retention or language change or language attrition on the part of the Indian diaspora is that whereas a particular standard language is used for a particular purpose, the dialect of the same language is used for some other different purposes; in Mauritius, Fiji and Surinam, a local dialect of Bhojpuri is used in all informal spheres and standard Hindi in religious and cultural domains; and in Guyana and Trinidad, Bhojpuri is used in folk songs and standard Hindi in religious services and ceremonies. In the gradual process the kind of Hindi or Bhojpuri or other languages that the Indians had carried to the distant land of the West Indies no longer remained the same, it got attrition and in the gradual process, and a kind of West Indian English replaced these languages. The Government of India, various Hindu and Christian religious missionaries tried their best to spread and preserve the Hindi language, though these religious missionaries had their own agendas of religious conversion or religious perseverance. But gradually the learning in English language opened up new job amenities and opportunities for the Indians and the Indian parents persuaded their children to be educated in English and consciously made attempts not to make their children learn Hindi. The status of Hindi became such that elders used it in front of the children when they had to discuss something secret or it was used in front of a stranger.

At the outset, considering the physical isolation of the Hindu community in Trinidad from its ancestral homeland, the lapse of time since its original emigration, the nature of barrack life and the extent of western influence to which its social institutions and
cultural practices were subjected, it should be remembered that castes don’t form important units, nor are inter-caste relations significant in the community structure of overseas Indians. There is no caste organisation, no caste council, and no set of rules to regulate inter-caste relationships and obligations at either a personal or group level. Children are not initiated into caste, and castes do not discipline their members for breaking caste rules; indeed, there are no rules. Caste is functionally a matter of little concern in the Hindu community. For the Indian West Indian Hindus the survival of Hinduism is much more important than the persistence of the caste system.

It is very much pertinent to analyse, what led to the disappearance of caste in the West Indies which was so much institutionalised in India. The immigrants came from many different localities in India and were unable to reconstruct the small-scale organisation on which caste group and sub-caste group behaviour had been based and because the hierarchical position and customs of the groups within named sub-caste or caste populations often differed from locality to locality in India, there was often no agreement on single standard of behaviour or status in the new country. There could be no agreement on who had the authority to control behaviour, since caste and sub-caste leaders and councils in India had been recognised only by those in the same locality. Thus caste disintegrated in the Caribbean.

The nature of indentured labour recruitment for Trinidad and other colonies of the West Indies adversely affected the structure of caste; unlike the large-scale family migration under the Kangani system of labour recruitment for Sri Lanka, labour were recruited individually by an agency in the case of Trinidad and other West Indian colonies. The labour were recruited from different areas and from different villages and each catchment differed in its configuration of castes and sub-castes. So with variations both in the caste backgrounds of the recruits and in the number of recruits belonging to specific caste groups, it was difficult for them to recreate in the diaspora the caste order of their places of origin.

The plantation estate demanded hard and harsh physical manual labour and the callous West Indian estate setting made caste structure difficult to maintain and caste habits became inconsistent with plantation life. Even the caste ramifications had started eroding during the gatherings at the depots and on the ship; the emigrants on
the ship had to eat with others or eat food cooked or served by others, both of which meant the erosion of the purities of caste. It was not only the cramped condition that constrained the emigrants to mix with people belonging to different caste groups, forcing them to disregard caste taboos, but also the colonial masters or owners made all efforts to crumble down the caste structure as they did not have any vested interest in maintaining the caste structure.

The Canadian Presbyterian Mission in its attempts at proselytising the Hindus and the endeavours of the Hindu religious missions like Arya Samaj and the Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha to unite the Hindus underplayed the notions of caste.

Thus, caste has no relevance to the structure of the wider society in the West Indies, and it has been dissolved as a functional socio-economic form and one finds a transformation from caste as a structural principle to caste as socio-cultural idiom. Though caste has lost its literal value in the West Indies, but it exists in a symbolic sense. Low caste names are common terms of insult and abuse - in Trinidad, “man, you’re jackass and from the lowest ‘nation’ on earth, the “Chamaras,” or in Guyana, “you dirty Chamar bitch.” But this has no reference to the caste of the person abused, who may be...of any caste, or, indeed, a Creole.

During the period of indentureship, the ‘India’ existed in the carried memory of the Indian indentured labour but after the end of the indentureship several developments took place in the socio-cultural, religious and political orientations of their lives; many Hindu and Muslim missionaries made regular visits to the Caribbean founding new sects and schools of thought in the region; the Indian National Movement for independence garnered huge active support and strength from the Indian West Indians; the introduction of Indian movies shown to packed houses in Trinidad and British Guiana and invitation of Indian artists by Indian communities in the region particularly in Trinidad and Guyana to perform and showcase Indian cultural and artistic traits brought about a cultural reawakening in the West Indies among Indians. With these kinds of developments the Indian West Indians renewed their ties with India.
On the other side, in the West Indian social canvass, the Hindus, Muslims, and Christians, Indians, Africans, European colonials, Creoles and other ethnic groups could not resist themselves from their socio-cultural interaction for a long and a kind of syncretic norm germinated in their religious as well as social practices. The Hindu festivals of Diwali, Holi, Ramlila, Kartik Puja etc., the Muslim festivals like Id-ul-Fitr and Hossey (Muharram), Christmas of Christians and Creole festivals like Carnival and All Saints Night were celebrated with great pomp and ceremony and extended participation of all the segments of the society.

Religion has helped the Indians to carve out a niche for themselves in the multi-racial society of the Caribbean and more importantly, the vertical ties of ethnicity were strengthened through the instruments of religion; the rich and the poor, the office goers and the factory workers, the peasants and the labourers all were mobilised together on the basis of ethnicity and through religion. Religious organisations were used as platforms for the formation of political parties, such as the Hindustani Political Party of Surinam, The Democratic Labour Party of Trinidad, which had its origin in the Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha and the Hindu based Peoples Democratic Party, a creation of Bhadase Maraj. Hence, religion was the most significant tool for the Indians in the West Indies at least in the initial stage of the social stratification of the West Indies; it not only gave an orientation and direction in the lives of the Indians and provided solace during the period of hardship but also it stood as a tool of political empowerment.

Here, some of the significant changes or transformations can be marked in the lives of the poor indentured Indian labour. For the first time the Indian indentured labour came out of his village to take the ship to the distant land of the West Indies with the hope and promise that his and his family's fortune will change forever once he returned from the completion of his indentureship. For the Indian West Indians the space of the indenture ships in which Indians were sent to the sugar colonies of the West Indies and other parts of the world, and the experiences of the passage are important elements in the social imaginary of these diasporic people; the production and reproduction of diaspora culture begins with the ship's passage. In the space of the transportation depot and aboard the ship the Indian indentured labour for the first
time meet people who are not his villagers. He mixes, interacts and even eats with people who are not of his religion or caste. For the first time, here he believes that a casteless and religionless world is possible. During this long voyage of the ship a kind of socialisation germinates among the Indians and which begins to be celebrated and respected by all the Indians as Jahaji Bhai. Here Jahaji Bhai carries lots of significant connotations. Here is a world which is not structured on caste or religious lines which was so basic to the Indian social structure at home. This is purely based on Indianness and Indian fraternity. This stands as a defensive shield of protection for the Indians and their ‘Indian’ culture in the West Indies against the rousing encroachments of the white colonials, Africans and Creoles. In the gradual process this makes the Indians to be perceived as a political force not to be neglected, but to be nurtured and taken care of. In a nutshell, this Jahaji Bhai empowers the Indians socially, culturally and politically.

Apart from the sea it was in the barracks and within the confines of the plantation that other kinds of inter-communal and inter-personal relationships developed. In the plantation estates and barracks, for the first time in their lives, Indians found people who were not only different in colour but also in language, culture and religion. As has been mentioned, there is a world outside to which everybody is a part and Indians could not resist themselves from their interaction and mixing with the outside world. Indians’ interaction with the other segments of the outside world brought about a syncretic norm in their socio-cultural lives and orientations and this gradually drove the West Indian society towards pluralism.

The paradox and irony here is that while religion and caste which was dividing the Indians in the homeland, united these Indians in the distant West Indian land. On the other end, the socio-cultural and religious practices and norms of the Indians which was a divisive force enclaving the Indians in a closed ethnic boundary in the beginning and which obstructed them from mixing with people of other races and ethnicities, brought about syncretism and pluralism in the West Indian society in the latter run.

But the most important aspect is that the Indian landless poor indentured labour for whom possession of land was something of a nightmare in the homeland India, felt
proud in his new found identity of being an agriculturist and the possession of land of
his own was something that was unimaginable for him, and this gave him a new sense
of freedom and certitude. Gradually the newly born peasant thought that the West
Indies carries some essence for him and he started feeling rooted. It is of course true
that Indian indentured labour struggled a lot to find a place in the West Indian society,
but his struggle has been paid; at least his children or grand children are reaping on
that. If he would not have struggled his children or grand children would have been
found still ‘crowding’ the streets of Banaras, or cleaning the cow dung in the pens of
landlords in any rural village of Uttar Pradesh or Bihar.

The socio-cultural structure of the West Indian societies lies in a paradox, sometimes
making the social scientists, researchers and cultural critics pierce into the mind and
soul of the West Indian and say, West Indians are similar; and at the other time, to
their surprise West Indians look so detached with their differences. Detachment and
Insularity portray the ‘West Indian’ life in spite of the close geographical
approximation of the islands. This may be due to the experience of colonialism of
different European colonial powers; their islandic insulation and isolation during the
era of plantation economy, diverse socio-cultural norms imparted by the colonial
masters; and the nature of ethnic segregation of the West Indian societies. However,
these kinds of insular feelings, jealousies and rivalries seldom erupt into open conflict.
West Indians differ from each other in terms of speech, character, and mannerisms
and some West Indians persist on these differences as a matter of local pride and also
to express solidarity against outsiders. Though, sparks of differences are to be marked
in the West Indian social structure and ways of life that vary from place to place, but
their basic forms persist throughout the Caribbean and distinguish the West Indies
from Latin America and Anglo-America.

Hence, the paradoxical as well as the interesting aspect of the West Indian society is
that at one end West Indians practice insularity and at the other end they try to
promote their ‘West Indianness’ and this paradox leads the researchers to make
critical endeavours to study the evolution of the West Indian society. At the outset it
should be mentioned that every West Indian island country has a history and society
of its own, but in spite of these differences West Indian countries share much
commonalities in their similar kind of experience of European colonialism and socio-
cultural patterns. Keeping the Indian diaspora in the background, the Third Chapter attempts at studying the socio-cultural evolution of the West Indian society and it also tries to point out the diverse constituents that have formed the edifice of the West Indian socio-cultural structure.

It is highly essential to study the evolution and stratification of the West Indian society not only because it provides the tool in determining the place of the Indians in the West Indian social structure or it provides a framework to critique and analyse the works of V.S. Naipaul, but also because it provides variant amenities in exploring and examining the nature of the ethnic and other kinds of conflicts occurring in the West Indies, and most prominently, why the West Indians have failed in germinating and maintaining a common West Indian identity. Here four or five major interventions in the West Indian social structure need to be discussed and analysed.

The socio-cultural history of the West Indies sets its edifice with the arrival of Columbus and the European colonials, whatever exists before this, subsists only in mystery. With their landing in the beautiful and enchanting land mass of the West Indies, the European colonials found the Amerindians inhabiting these places and they spared no time in annihilating and enslaving them to work for their mines and plantation estates. Under the venomous wheels of European colonial masters the cultural traits and ethos of the Amerindians was crushed and bulldosed leaving no imprints or traces.

As the Amerindians were insufficient and inefficient to run the plantation estates and mines, the white colonial masters transported white servants, who comprised of indentured servants, redemptions and convicts. The white servitude was also proved unfit for the plantation work. As the free and stiff labour was required to run the sugar plantation estates, in order to sweeten the European coffee bowls and fill the European treasures, and as the white servitude and Amerindian slavery were proved insufficient and inefficient, the white plantation owners looked towards Africa, which was a land of inexhaustible source of labour and the physical macho of the Africans was compared to none.
Then came the turn of the slaves and with their arrival was enacted one of the dark episodes of human civilisation. By stretching their physiques, dragging their minds and snatching their souls, the European colonials shaped and taught the slaves only to mimic. But the abolition of slavery in the 1833 and the subsequent emancipation of slaves marked a change in the social stratification of the Negroes as well as the West Indian society; the Negro climbed up the social, economic and political ladder. The Creolisation for the Negroes, that is, the acceptance of white values brought about manifold privileges for them. At the educational and economic level the status of the Negroes got upliftment and they moved from being mere subservient agriculturists to white tied professionals, giving rise to a Negro middle class. Gradually the Negroes entered into the political domain and just waited for their turn to take power from the weak white ruling minority.

By 1830s the West Indian social structure got a new impetus with the arrival of many ethnic indentured labour immigrants like, Indians, Chinese, Syrians, Javanese and other white labour. After the abolition of slavery and emancipation of slaves these labour were brought to run the plantation estates. Once the indentureship was over, some Indians returned to India and most of them stayed back and stepped into the agricultural sector, which the blacks departed considering it a demeaning work. In the process, with many struggles and hardships Indians were also able to develop a professional middle class and exerted their presence felt in every sphere of West Indian life. The other immigrants from Asia, especially the Chinese had already entered into the retail shopping in most of the parts. Other white and ethnic indentured labour gradually stepped into the occupational mobility of the West Indies.

At the socio-cultural front, in the beginning the immigrant communities especially, the Indians were not willing to mix with other races with the fear of the loss of their civilisational and cultural pride which they considered more dear than their lives, and on the other end, the colonial masters never wanted these races to meet, following their age old tactics of divide and rule and may be the fear of rebellion. But with the passage of time and manifold progression in the social, cultural, political and economic structure of the West Indian society West Indians developed harmony and practiced tolerance among manifold races, colours, and creeds, preparing the ground
for mixing. This mixing led to syncretism in variant forms, and this syncretism was the stepping stone to the West Indian societal pluralism.

With the rise of small scale industries in the West Indian islands and the interest and investment of Europeans and Americans in the Caribbean oil sector created many economic and employment opportunities and many educated West Indians from all sections got employed in these sectors, hence a new professional class emerged among the West Indians and in the later run their value system changed. So the economic prosperity in the Caribbean marked an amalgamation of various races, colours and religions at the socio-cultural front and in the latter run this was going to structure the political sphere also. Then in the 1950s and 60s with the arrival of independence and practice of constitutional democratic ideals, governments of various West Indian countries acted hard to limit the chances of conflict among different ethnic groups, and to maintain, or increase the opportunities for acculturation; and the economic system tried to embrace the entire population, although in different degrees and ways. Gradually with the progression in all aspects of the West Indian society a sense of common West Indian feeling germinated, along with the respect for and celebration of the communitarian and ethnic values and essences, leading to the carnival of pluralism in the West Indies. The people began to feel and tell themselves, let’s not look back to India or Africa, we are West Indians and this is our identity. Indeed pluralism can be the only norm to make such a diversified structure of the West Indian society survive. It is pluralism that not only creates an identity for its people but also it brings prosperity in manifold ways. So, the West Indian people and the governments should be conscious to maintain this pluralism.

Behind the realm of a diasporic writing or diasporic 'discourse' the core genesis of perception and understanding principally relates to the historical and socio-cultural junctures and dimensions through which the populace of a country has undergone alteration and transformation in the critical process of immigration, adaptation and adoption. The kind of inner conflict and tension germinating out of the critical process of immigration and the individual’s attempts at adaptation and adoption, though it overlaps so much of the diasporic culture or expatriate literature, also accounts for striking new identities.
As is mentioned, the immigration of a populace of a country and the consequent formation of diasporas have been propelled by many number of reasons like, economic, political, sociological, military and other pressures or compulsions, but the kind of literary, critical, or intellectual creation that has come as a ruse of immigration carries the most significant concern and interest. And that moves on to speak of the relationship between immigration, exile, and literary imagination. Exile, immigration and professional preference become synonymous and mutually indistinguishable.

The descendant of the slave, the indentured labour and the immigrant was enthused to recreate this kind of literary production, based on history, imagination and documentation, as a resource of memory and creative fulfilment. In the gradual process and with the passage of time these literary, cultural, social, political and other forms of expressions and writings of the various diasporas not only carried the feelings, sentiments, views and insights of these diasporic people but also became classed as the most authentic documents for studying diaspora.

Almost all the diasporic writers have sought to record their experiences of adoption and adaptation in the new environment and the issues of loss, nostalgia, selfhood and identification provide them their diasporic canvass in which they paint the variant pictures of their new and old homelands. Culture, religion, ancestry, literature and history provides a strong sense of bonding in diasporic condition, but where this bonding moves or strives for new patterns of ethnic identity, it brings sometimes itself in a conflicting situation or even exclusion in the metropolitan zones of the west.

In this world of globalisation and trans-nationalism, not only the commodities move, but also the human beings cross borders in search for the promise and prosperity that the metropolis makes them dreamt of, hence begins the process of trauma and tribulations of dislocations, broodings, identity quest, nostalgia, loss of selfhood, issues of diasporic sensibility or notions of exilic self and so on; thus marking the beginning of the germination of diasporic discourse making the sociologists, cultural critics, historians, cultural anthropologists, men of literature and policy planners to trace out the answers to these concerns. Here it should be remembered that diaspora is not a recent phenomenon, neither the diasporic discourse; as has been discussed in the
previous chapters of this study, from the very ancient period human history is encountering this notion of diaspora and diaspora has occurred in many forms.

Since the diasporic experiences are varied, the diasporic literary works are differentiated in terms of tone and tenor, vision and values, and the complex combinations of experiences. Diverse countries and socio-cultural structures and stratifications have their distinct diasporic backgrounds and experiences through which the resonances of respective writers' works have to be understood and analysed. But at this point it should be remembered that colonialism was the prime pushing factor in diasporic movements and settlements, so, many common experiences and pangs of colonialism are marked in near parallel patterns of diasporic creations. So, what is pertinent to note that racial, national and regional are the first features that foreground diasporic writing. The expatriate writing, which is very close or sometimes used as synonymous to the diasporic discourse, records and illustrates in certain ways the variety of interesting issues like, how the national consciousness resurfaces in changed geographical and socio-cultural climate of various nations with a diasporic socio-cultural setting or the metropolitan zones of the west.

But for an individual or writer like, V.S. Naipaul, who is twice or thrice born, having an ancestry in India, born in the West Indies (Trinidad), a dwelling in the metropolis (England), courting a diasporic consciousness and possessing an exilic sensibility, it becomes very complex to bind him and analyse his works or writings. In the Fourth Chapter of the study, keeping the diasporic framework in mind an attempt has been made to examine some of the early novels of V.S. Naipaul, basically focusing on the struggles of Indians, their identity quest, occupational mobility, cultural confusion of the West Indians, especially, Indians, other socio-cultural dimensions of the West Indian society and Indians’ encounter with the other West Indians in the West Indian socio-cultural setting. At the same time the diasporic and exilic sensibility of V.S. Naipaul, as that of Indian West Indians have also been pointed out.

In the diasporic discourse especially that of the West Indies, the question and the positioning of cultural identity has to be seen and understood against several diverse issues of race, nationality, colonialism, and the way it has become problematised. The other most vital aspect is the experience of dispersal and fragmentation which is the
history of all enforced diasporas. The history of transportation, slavery and indentured migration holds the prominent key in understanding and comprehending the forgotten connections, the rift of separation central to the West Indian experience. The ruptures and discontinuities which constitute West Indian uniqueness provides significant dimension in exploring and examining the notions of cultural identity in a diasporic framework.

As Stuart Hall has argued, far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, cultural identities are “subject to the continuous play of history, culture and power.” Here Hall tries to focus that identity in diasporas such as the Caribbean are far from being fossilised, fixed or monocentric; indeed they are the names given to the different ways one is “positioned,” and positions oneself within, the narrative of the past. And the past is always constructed through memory, narrative, fantasy and myth. Moving with Hall, the Caribbean cultural identities, beyond *Presence Africaine*, *Presence Europeene*, and *Presence Americaine* (which constitute the past and the present positioning) include other cultural ‘presences’: Indian, Chinese and others, the New World ‘collisions’ that made strangers break up a ‘home’, and peripheries in search of an eternal centre. Being partly ‘positioned’ by the ‘rupture’ and ‘rapture’ of the New World ‘collisions,’ with an exilic sensibility and diasporic self and sitting in a detached and objective place in the metropolis, Naipaul prepares a broad canvass in which the vast discourse of diaspora can be painted and encountered.

Indeed through these early diasporic writings V.S. Naipaul not only exhibits his own and his fellow diasporic beings’ sensibilities but also open up new paradigms in which the lives of these people are understood and revisited in the most proper manner. V.S. Naipaul’s stance as a West Indian by birth with Indian ancestry, having training in English craftsmanship with English attitudes, experience of meeting the globe through his travelling, exilic contemplation and diasporic self, makes him stand in an extremely superb position to analyse various dynamics and vitalities of these people.

Diasporic consciousness and exilic self, and the resultant sensibility that stands as the core genesis to cross-cultural or expatriate or diasporic discourse or writing is the perspective through which Naipaul’s Janus-faced relationship and affiliation with
India needs to be studied and analysed. Most prominently, diasporic consciousness is being perceived as the mental flights of a people, who are in continual pursuit of reconstructing their present from a past that is lost to them. Sometimes this search and discovery, or rediscovery lands one in a terrain of anxiety, ecstasy and frustration as the very individual or author discovers the homeland different from what he had been dreaming of and what he had been told of the 'purity' of the homeland.

Discussing about the writings of Afro-Caribbean women in the US, Carole Boyce Davies claims: “Migration creates the desire for home, which in turn produces the rewriting of home. Homesickness or homelessness, the rejection of home or the longing for home become motivating factors in this rewriting. Home can only have meaning once one experiences a level of displacement from it” (Davies 1994: 113). V.S. Naipaul has this sense of displacement and then subsequent ‘discovery’ as his recurrent theme in his writings. Unlike those who dream of ‘imaginary homelands’ to adjust to the trauma of displacement, he has opted for homelessness. This homelessness offers Naipaul greater liberty and a broader framework in analysing the variant nuances of diasporic ‘essences.’

V.S. Naipaul as a migrant as well as a creative writer treads on a very fertile cross road between an immediate homeland, his family history and the compulsions of migration as he draws the picture of his home country. By questioning the identity of India beyond geography and place, the point of view of the migrant writer helps to broaden the framework within which India is defined. Naipaul's world view strikes an ambivalent relationship with his experiences in India.

With this framework and treasure in the background; Naipaul’s status as ‘twice or thrice born or removed’ individual and writer with diasporic consciousness; his exilic self laying in mediation, alienation, and syncretism; a kind of cultural dislocation, or shock, or collision characterising his writings on Third World people and societies; and his celebration of ‘nationlessness’ as a mark of liberty of exhibition of sensibilities, Chapter Five of the study attempts at examining and critiquing V.S. Naipaul’s representation of India in his writings.

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Without any doubt, V.S. Naipaul's writings on India stems from his individualistic perception of India, which has been structured through his variant experiences in Trinidad, his interaction with the Indian communities in the West Indies, encounter with the 'other' in the West Indies, the cultural inheritance in his grandmother's house, and his anxieties and fears for his own identity and self-hood. One of the most prominent strands that were quite formidable in shaping and influencing Naipaul's idea and vision of India was the Hindu India of the West Indies in which he was born and brought up; his grandmother's house provided the first link with his Hindu self and with the India of his ancestors. Although Naipaul did not understand much about the Hindu religious strictures and rituals of his grandmother's house, yet there was always something sacred and purity in the very idea of India. He was next introduced to the Hindu India of his father's stories, which epitomised for him the unity of the old world. And Naipaul from his grandfather as well as from other Indians in the West Indies used to hear fairy tales of India as a golden and enchanted land, full of prosperity and purity. So, as a child Naipaul grew up with a highly eulogised idea of India.

As gradually Naipaul grew up in the social stratification of the West Indies, he came in encounter with the 'other' segments of the West Indian society and he felt and considered the 'other' as people of no worth and the land came to be perceived as a waste land where nothing worth and meaningful happens. So, here what is to be marked is Naipaul's observance of a chasm between the two worlds; one was the colonial world of Trinidad, his place of birth or the land of adoption, which he was trying to flee away and the other was the Indian Hindu world, the land of his ancestry, which was the land of his dream, as he says in one of his writings, he had never felt rooted in Trinidad, he had grown up to believe that his roots lay in far off India – the sacred land that his grandfather came from. But a 'true' return to this land was not possible for Naipaul.

As Naipaul grew up and was in quest of opportunities in shaping his writing career and making himself known in the world, the metropolis England attracted Naipaul's imagination and here he thought that he could produce something worth. Though England became his residence and English his attitude, yet he could not be able to fully integrate himself to 'Englishness.' But landing in the metropolis, Naipaul began
to perceive the West Indies (Trinidad), his place of birth and the Whole Third World as the domain of people trapped in impoverishment and colonial mimicry. Here three aspects need to be marked; Naipaul as a diasporic migrant with an exilic self (of leaving the country), having a residence in the metropolis (England) with English attitude, if not Englishness and India laying in his dream as a sacred land. So with this background when Naipaul lands in India and encounters the ‘realities’ of India, what gets yielded is frustration and hopelessness, that Naipaul attempts at releasing through his book, *An Area of Darkness*.

Another aspect that needs to be analysed is that unlike other postcolonial critics who find the roots of devastation in the Third World countries in the seeds of colonialism, Naipaul marks the Third World countries’ inability to come over the devastations of colonialism and he criticises the Third World for mimicking the colonials. However, it is to be understood that through the pathos of the Third World people Naipaul sees a ray of hope emerging. Though in his first book on India, *An Area of Darkness*, Naipaul gapes open the bare nakedness of India, in his second book, *India: A Wounded Civilisation*, he finds that India has been subject to devastations through many conquests from the Aryans to the British colonials, but he wishes and hopes India to rise from the ruins of devastations. In *India: A Million Mutinies Now* he makes an attempt to establish the long lost connection with India; he is now an insider because the dirt or distress that he sees does not throw him into a spasm of revulsion and he can stand and look beyond what strikes the eye. The whole unconscious working of the diasporic consciousness is laid out in Naipaul's works and comments on India.

Though Naipaul has been criticised for his bitter resentment and presentation of India, yet it is to be understood that as a diasporic writer Naipaul lands in India as a quest of his root and what he discovers in India, his and his ancestor's dreamland is mere frustration. But Naipaul should not be misunderstood. Naipaul makes a well-ordered search for the roots of the maladies that ail India. The other aspect is that Naipaul always wishes to be in a state of homelessness that provides him more opportunities and amenities for ‘exploration.’ This is in fact a predicament of a diasporic writer. So, Naipaul's writings on India are not only the outcome of his quest for India but are also a unique record of the making of a diasporic writer, of his development, of his
anguish, rage, search, and finally of his successful mental restoration of India from a pattern of painful fragmentation to wholeness.

Thus, from the above discussions, it becomes clear that homeland plays a prominent role not only in the quest of the diasporic being but also in the diasporic discourse emerging out of this quest. Homeland carries different meanings and connotations for variant diasporic subjects; for some it is being perceived as a mental prism, for others it becomes a sacred home to be returned at any cost, for others it is a root to be discovered and for some others ‘homelessness’ becomes their homeland. So, the concept of homeland in diasporic studies can’t be fixed to certain parameters and the diasporic subject should not be expected to develop that nostalgia in his physical or mental self to return to a certain homeland. As is mentioned the diasporic being can have many homes carrying different essences for him at different points.

Here one may refer to the Surinami Hindus who migrated to Netherlands perhaps when the Dutch was handing off its possession of Surinam as a colony, fear of Creolisation and marginalisation of Indians in Surinam. The Surinami Hindus who settled down in the Netherlands thought that they are the pure Hindus than the Hindus residing in Surinam and even the Hindus of India. If one is studying the Surinami Hindus as a part of diaspora in a sense of returning to a (Hindu) homeland, physical or mental, then which homeland it will be, India from where their grandparents had migrated to Surinam, or it will be Surinam from where they or their fathers had migrated to the Netherlands. Then which Hinduism will be pure to them; the kind of Hinduism that their grandparents had taken from India which got syncretised in Surinam, may be without their knowledge or consciousness, or the (syncretised) Hinduism (which again got contaminated in the Netherlands) they are practising in the Netherlands, or the Hinduism practiced in India.

Again the same can be applied to others in the West Indies. Many Indian origin people from Trinidad, Guyana and other parts of the West Indies have settled in Canada, US, UK and other countries of Europe, how will these people be perceived, Indo-Trinidadian-Canadian, or Trinidadian-Canadian or something other and another interesting dimension will be if that person leaves the third land (Canada) and settles in some other country. Here one may analyse the case of V.S Naipaul; who is V.S.
Naipaul, Indian, or Indo-Trinidadian, or Indo-English, or Trinidadian-English, or English-Trinidadian? Being born in Trinidad (West Indies), having an Indian ancestry and residing in the metropolis, V.S. Naipaul’s identity dwindles in indeterminacy and complexity and this sometimes gives him more freedom. Here another complexity occurs when one uses the expression, West Indian or Caribbean diaspora and the question that immediately strikes one’s mind; do the Indian origins fall into that? If the answer is yes then the intricacy is that do they also fall in the analysis of Indian diaspora?

Coming to the Indian diaspora, another complex issue that also needs to be addressed is that of the (Indian) origin Muslims in the West Indies. When they left the Indian land mass they were a part to the undivided India and India was their motherland, but when the country got divided in 1947 some people started looking at Pakistan as their motherland, even during the period of partition some Muslims in Trinidad, Guyana and other parts of the West Indies supported the Muslim League and its demand of Pakistan. Here, the interesting dimension is that the perception of motherland or homeland and so also the diaspora changes at a point in history.

What could be the best answers to these complex and intricate dimensions is the unbounding of the strictures and structures of the homeland. That will not only provide the utmost freedom to the diasporic subjects to express their sensibilities in the immense varied ways but also it will explore immense amenities for the trajectories of diasporic study. The Surinami Hindu will discover his self through Netherland-Surinam-India, Indian origin Trinidadian residing in Canada will discover himself through Canada-Trinidad-India and the Indian West Indian will discover himself through West Indies-India. This is indeed a very complex process and involves many ambiguities, but the diasporic being has no escape from this.

Undoubtedly ‘India’ remains in the West Indians, but it takes with itself diverse connotations for different beings and indeed it is a very difficult process for the Indian West Indian to come into being with India. By presenting a dark India with a wounded civilisation, Naipaul tries to make to the (Indian) West Indians clear of the fact that India has no longer remained as their dreamland of return and a true return to India is neither requited, nor possible, nor required. On the other end, by presenting
the West Indies as the Third World trapped in ‘impoverishment’ and mimicry, Naipaul presents the unique predicament of the Indian West Indians, as he says, “we couldn’t go back. There was no ship of antique shape now to take us back. We had come out of the nightmare, and there was nowhere else to go.” In Naipaul’s work, *A House For Mr. Biswas*, the protagonist Mr. Biswas is instilled with the idea that “ought oughts are oughts,” but he succeeds in building his ‘Cosmos’ out of this ‘Ought.’ So, the Indian West Indians have to build (and they have indeed built) their cosmos in the West Indies, but at the same time nothing takes away ‘India’ from the Indian West Indians, as it is said and believed that one can take one out of India, but one can not take India out of one. So, a kind of spiritual connection binds Indian West Indians with India.

And for Naipaul, he seems to have chosen homelessness as his home. It not only fulfils his personal brooding and quest, but also provides him a broader canvass to draw the trajectories of diaspora in magnanimity. To quote Edward Said from his book *Orientalism*, “the man who finds his homeland sweet is still a tender beginner; he to whom every soil is as his native one is already strong; but he is perfect to whom the entire world is a foreign land.” And Naipaul seems to be perfect in his ‘foreign’ land.