More than Singular, Less than Plural – Anjuna as a Fractal Place

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Abstract

Drawing on ethnographic research carried out in the Indian coastal village of Anjuna in Goa, this article presents an analysis of the process of the contemporary production of a specific type of place, i.e., former colonies which now function as important tourist and migrant hubs. Using the Actor-Network Theory as a methodological frame, I attempt to show how the practices of diverse social actors in Anjuna construct different, partly overlapping versions of the village. I focus on different variants of the village that are performatively produced by Goans under the influence of and in the face of both desirable and unwanted socio-cultural presences. As context, I also show how the village is constructed by other groups crucial for its functioning, namely, lifestyle migrants, labor migrants and tourists.

Key words

actor-network theory, fractal, Goa, India, migration, place production, tourism

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Anjuna is a small coastal village in Goa state in India. Throughout its history its character has undergone significant transformations. As noted by Goan scholar Teresa Albuquerque, the etymology of the name of the village can be traced to the Arabic term *hanjuman*, signifying a merchant guild – an appellation that unmistakably alludes to Anjuna's pre-colonial mercantile heritage. However, with the annexation of much of present-day Goa by the Portuguese in the 16th century, imperial antagonism toward the Islamic world began systematically erasing vestiges of Arab trade networks from the region. Consequently, commercial activity became increasingly centralized around the larger ports, relegating smaller settlements such as Anjuna to a subsistence-oriented existence centered on agriculture and fishing. During the colonial era this shift transformed Anjuna into a largely self-sufficient, relatively isolated, and insular community (Albuquerque 1988). Reflecting upon this bygone era, native of Anjuna and writer Dominique P. F. Fernandes evocatively captures its essence in a nostalgic exposition, describing the village as: "a virtually godforsaken place, lacking even shops that could sell essential commodities" (Fernandes 2015: 213) and a "pristine, down to earth place, where only peace and tranquility existed" (Ibid.: 212). In the late 1960s, after Goa's liberation from Portuguese rule and the region's accession to the Republic of India, Anjuna underwent another major transformation – into a center of mass tourism, as well as a destination for thousands of migrants from other less affluent Indian states and neighboring countries, Nepal in particular.[1] This process has continued to this day and is the subject of interest of this article.

The postcolonial transformation of Anjuna was made possible by processes that occured in two periods of its history, which were crucial for its current functioning: the aforementioned Portuguese rule,[2] which lasted

1 As a consequence of the growing tourist and migrant interest in Anjuna, this locality of around 10,000 inhabitants (Anjuna Town Population Census) experiences a great seasonal influx of international and domestic visitors. According to the estimates of the former representative of the local council, Panchayat, during the peak of the tourist season (around Christmas time) the inhabitants of Anjuna "host" around 50,000 "guests". These human mobilities are complemented by flows of non-human entities, such as: capital, objects, lifestyles and technologies; both forms of flows play a crucial role in village's day-to-day functioning.

2 Among the extensive body of literature dedicated to the colonization of Goa, noteworthy contributions include: *The Portuguese Seaborn Empire, 1415-1825* written by Charles Ralph Boxer, *Through the Mist of History* by Luis De Assis Correia (2006), and finally the works of the Goa-based historian, Teotonio R. De Souza: *Medieval Goa. A Socio-Economic History* (2009) and *The Portuguese in Goa* (2016).

intermittently for over 450 years (Borges – Pereira – Stubbe 2000), and the period from the late 1960s to the late 1980s, when Anjuna was in the sphere of influence of the international counter-cultural[3] hippie movement (Gemie – Ireland 2017; Graham 2011), which overlapped with the process of decolonial and capitalist transformations of Goa as a part of the Republic of India.[4] The process of transformation was significantly accelerated in the 1990s, thanks to the increasing presence of Indian and "Western" tourists[5]. Over time, the growth of tourism has swept across much of the state, which has led to a steady rebuilding of its economy – tourism today is one of Goa's economic jewels, along with mining and pharmaceuticals. The earning potential offered by tourists in Anjuna attracts waves of migrants from other parts of the country such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan, and also from Nepal. Some migrants have settled permanently in Anjuna, while others migrate to the village on a rotating basis every year, finding employment in servicing the tourist traffic.

3 The meaning of the term "counterculture" that inspires me derives from the concept proposed at the beginning of the 1960s by John Milton Yinger (1960), who in turn, as he himself admits, was inspired by the concepts of Talcott Parsons (1951). For Yinger, "counterculture" is a subsector of society that shares such a normative system that contains at its core a conflict with the values of the society within and against which it is constituted. In the following text, I use the adjectival form "countercultural" to describe phenomena that oppose the mainstream of values shared within a given community or larger collectivity.

4 Robert S. Newman provided an extensive analysis of the economic transformations of the state in his work *Goa: The Transformation of an Indian Region* (1984). Later, the development of tourism in postcolonial Goa was the focal point of Raghuraman S. Trichur's book, *Refiguring Goa: From Trading Post to Tourism Destination* (2013).

5 The tourists in the village constitute an extraordinarily heterogeneous group. Without delving into the finer details – since the focus of this study is not the tourist population per se, but rather the role of one of its subgroups in the production of the village – it is worth noting that they can, broadly speaking, be categorized into foreign tourists and domestic tourists. Among the former, distinct subcategories emerge, including backpacking tourists from Europe, North America, and Australia; Israeli visitors traveling to India post-military service; charter tourists, predominantly from Russia and the United Kingdom; and a vibrant, multinational cohort drawn to Anjuna by the village's renowned psychedelic trance music scene. Among the latter, one can identify, inter alia, ordinary vacationers, party seekers – including individuals celebrating their bachelor or bachelorette parties in Goa, as well as couples spending their honeymoon in the region.

Each of the "mobile" groups present in Anjuna – international and domestic tourists, as well as various groups of migrants, undertakes in the village area specific practices, which are aimed at implementing strategies of their own presence and, consequently, achieving variously defined goals. These practices of the diverse social actors in Anjuna, entering into alliances or often turbulent conflicts with each other, give rise to different, partly overlapping versions of the village. Following the methodology of the Actor-Network Theory (ANT), each of these versions is understood here in terms of the dynamic effects of the operation of network-constructed actors, encompassing in the frame of their structures a heterogeneous complexity of human and non-human entities. The phenomenon of Anjuna that is being embraced by various forms of suprahuman mobility is accompanied by the response of the village's permanent residents, represented by the ethno-linguistic group of Goa state, who, confronted with new presences, have been forced to constantly update their own strategies of inhabitation, aimed at maintaining their position as protectors and distributers of local resources. Consequently, the practices undertaken by Goans, which are partly adaptive, partly remedial, and partly defensive, further contribute to the production of successive variants of the village. This text is devoted to this process. It is based on the results of field research I conducted as part of my PhD project and is supplemented with materials from historical studies and ongoing monitoring of Goan and Indian media.

Below, I present the different versions of Anjuna that are performatively produced by Goans under the influence of and in the face of the presence of other networked and supra-humanly constructed variants of the village. It allows me to show how, in the spaces produced by different presences, a dynamic competition for the resources of the place and the negotiations of its identity occur. In the theoretical excerpts, I present my own concept of place, developed on the basis of Doreen Massey's proposal and selected assumptions of an emerging field of scholarship across the humanities and social sciences called New Materialism. Contrary to intuitive habits, I suggest that the heterogeneity of a constantly reconfigured multiplicity of human and non-human elements, central to the process of place production and differentiating depending on the identity of the actors and the practices they undertake, means that when we examine a particular location we are always dealing with more than one place. To explain as suggestively as possible this seemingly paradoxical multiplicity in unity, I introduce the metaphor of the fractal.

Field research and research partners

As mentioned above, this article is based on my fieldwork in Anjuna. It consisted of eight stays of two to four months between 2016 and 2020. In total, I spent around 18 months in the field. I continued my exploration after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic (2020–2022) in a limited form, conducting audio-video interviews via the WhatsApp messenger. The research was an empirical part of my doctoral project entitled: "The Performative Construction of The Glocal Place Identity. The case of Anjuna, India." I carried out my study using the ethnographic method, which encompassed: in-depth individual interviews (107); informal conversations; observations of the daily practices of my field partners, as well as their interactions and the ways they engage with the material and symbolic resources of space; participation in events that I deemed pivotal for the contemporary dynamics of the village; and, lastly, an analysis of key spaces within the village (including their material, symbolic, and social organization).

The partners I invited to participate in the research can be divided into four groups. The first consists of members of the ethnolinguistic group of the state, Goans who live in Anjuna. This group includes both Christians (Catholics) and Hindus, women and men, representatives of various varnas, castes and social classes, who were aged between 29 and 78. Among them were entrepreneurs operating in the field of tourism (from hotel and restaurant owners to a beach fruit seller), public sector employees, taxi drivers, priests, housewives and pensioners. The second group, drawing on the discourse of the interdisciplinary research stream devoted to studying human and non-human mobilities, I refer to as "lifestyle migrants". Lifestyle migration refers to the phenomenon of citizens of affluent countries of the Global North leaving their places of origin and migrating to a new area of residence, where lower living costs and more favorable weather conditions allow for a more relaxed and meaningful life (Benson – O'Reily 2009; Korpela 2017: 153). I decided to include in this category representatives of the Global North countries who first migrated to Goa between the 1960s and the 1980s as part of the countercultural hippie mobilities described below, and who are still present in the village (all year round, except for the monsoon season, or just for the sunny half of the year), as well as representatives of the slightly younger generation who followed in their footsteps. Members of this group come from the following countries: Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. They include both women and men aged 46 to 78. Some individuals sustain themselves by engaging in the trade of clothing, jewelry, or souvenirs targeted at tourists, conducted at the Wednesday

flea market, while diverse counterparts engage in the small-scale export of Indian goods to "Western" countries. Others return to their countries of origin for employment seasonally, coinciding with the European summer or the Indian monsoon. The remainder finance their life in Goa from their pensions.

The third group comprises domestic tourists. Due to Anjuna's reputation as the "sin city of India", this demographic initially consisted predominantly of young men. However, in recent years, an increasing presence of young women has been observed. Domestic tourists, typically originating from major urban centers such as Bangalore, Delhi, and Mumbai, often travel in groups, with Anjuna frequently serving as a destination for honeymoons or pre-wedding celebrations, such as bachelor and bachelorette parties. My interlocutors from this group predominantly belong to the 25–45 age cohort and represent the middle class. Their stays in Goa are typically brief, lasting between three and six days.

As representatives of the large waves of labor migrants traveling to Goa from economically disadvantaged states in India, I selected the Banjara community, also known in the studied region as Lamani or Lambani. The majority of my research partners from this group engage in seasonal migration between Karnataka and Goa, spending six to eight months each year in Anjuna during the peak tourist period. A few have permanently settled in the village. Most members of this community are involved in tourism-focused trade, selling inexpensive clothing and hippie-style jewelry, while others market their ethnic identity by offering traditional mirrorwork embroidery and antique tribal jewelry. Of my research partners, women aged between 18 and 46 constituted the majority.

Methodological and theoretical framework

In broad terms, the following discussions are methodologically positioned within the framework of an approach known as Actor-Network Theory (ANT). ANT aligns with the broader current of research trends referred to as "New Materialism" (Fox – Alldred: 2015) and constitutes one of the proposals within the posthumanist ontological paradigm (Ferrando 2016: 20). Among other aspects, these affiliations involve ANT's rejection of the assumption of purely human subjectivity and agency, redirecting attention toward network-constructed collectives or assemblages of various human and non-human entities – collectives recognized as actual actors, subjects, and creators of reality. According to ANT, phenomena traditionally classified as natural, social, or cultural emerge within trans-human performative domains of interaction, shaped by the interplay of numerous

systems and forces within densely interwoven networks of reciprocity and interdependence among the diverse entities involved in a given action. In other words, the constituent elements of the world function within a continuous, dynamic process of production-reproduction-transformation by collectives comprising entities from a more-than-human sphere (Arbiszewski 2008; Latour 2005; Law 1992, 2007; Law – Hassard 1999). ANT exemplifies the application of the performative paradigm (Schechner 2002), wherein the metaphors of the world as a text, characteristic of poststructuralist approaches, are supplanted by theatrical metaphors, shifting the emphasis from meanings to practices and actions.

Consistent with the ontology of doing and acting as briefly outlined, characteristic of the performative paradigm (Franklin – Crang 2001), I assume that places are open projects, dynamically and multilaterally produced within the field of practices of various social actors. The concept of dynamic functioning of space and the radical openness of places to constant transformation is currently shared in the interdisciplinary field by representatives of different disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. It was developed along with the postmodern intellectual project and postcolonial studies as a result of their critique of earlier spatial concepts (Appadurai 1988; Clifford 1992, 1997; Gupta – Ferguson 1992), such as those implicit in anthropological writing and ethnographic *praxis* that dominated within the discipline until the 1990s, namely of places as permanent forms inextricably intertwined with the cultural systems developed by the immobile subjects somehow incarcerated or confined in places of their inhabitation. Anthropologist Setha Low, one of the discipline's leading representatives in the field of spatial phenomena studies, explains the current theoretical challenges of exploring spatial issues for researchers as follows: "contemporary ethnographers require a flexible and mobile conception of space, one that speaks to how space is produced historically and physically, as well as how bodies in motion, dreams and desires, social interactions and environment interrelations create it" (Low 2017: 5).

An interesting proposal for the concept of openness and flexibility of places can be found in the studies of another scholar – Doreen Massey. Her approach responds to the challenge of developing such an understanding of the category of place, which, on the one hand, would harmonize with feelings about the progressive intensification of globalization processes, while on the other, would not return back in time to the approaches already questioned by academy representatives, which think about places in essentializing categories, as permanent territorial units, inhabited by specific communities (2005: 86–87). In her view, place is "constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together

at a particular locus. [...] each place can be seen as a particular, unique, point of their [relations'] intersection" (1994: 154). Massey explains that rather than seeing places through the prism of the boundaries surrounding them, they should be thought of as "articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a larger proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself" (Ibid.). Geographical scales are suspended here – place is not only local, but by virtue of the transcendence of the local scale and by the relations that co-create it, it is also global, or, more importantly from the perspective of contemporary anthropology and social geography, regional.

Both premises about the relational production of place and the interconnection of local with regional and global impacts play a key role in the conceptual framework of this paper. I develop them further by transforming them on the basis of selected assumptions of the Actor-Network Theory, elaborated in the framework of the aforementioned perspectives collectively known as New Materialism by authors such as Bruno Latour (2005), John Law (1992; 1997; 2007) and Annemarie Mol (2002). As one might easily infer, the main transformation proposed here relates to the understanding of the term "social", which within the reflections presented below, in addition to people, includes various non-human beings, considered here in the categories of agential co-creators of reality (Latour 2005; Law 1997). Therefore, I recognize that place-producing constellations of social relations encompass a wide range of human and non-human entities. These entities combine with each other within the framework of various mutual interactions (relations) and together, as supra-human actor-networks acting in the presence of other actors, engage in a variety of practices, within which the process of performative production of place occurs. The nature of the relations performatively producing the various phenomena that make up our reality is scalarly complex – that what works – the actor-network, may include in its structure the connection of what is directly present and what is tens or thousands of kilometers away. Thus Anjuna, which is not a bizarre phenomenon in this area, is produced in the inextricable entanglements of what is local and what is regional or global, in complex constellations of social relations, binding various dispersed beings.

By introducing the aforementioned shift and reconstructing the conceptualization of place formation and functioning as articulated by Massey, I aim to demonstrate that the synergy between the relational approach of the aforementioned geographer and the more-than-human conceptualization of the social, as advanced by Actor-Network Theory, can significantly enrich the analysis presented herein. This approach will enable me, among

other things, to illustrate how non-human factors, such as land or the material and symbolic elements of postcolonial heritage – constituting crucial resources for the village and subjects of contestation – participate agentively in various ways in the creation of different variants of Anjuna, depending on the networks of relations to which they are connected.

The representatives of the co-creators of Anjuna, each of whom is a partially stabilized actor-network by virtue of the relative permanence of internal ties, interact with each other in a variety of ways. The effects of the practices they undertake, including the various variants of the village in question, are the result of negotiations that produce or share existing resources and allies among the various actors. The agent may act, avoiding the intervention of other actors, with or against their allied participation – the interests of different actors do not always find a point of convergence. In the area this kind of mirage of various agreements, alliances and tensions, diverse versions of Anjuna are constantly proliferating. The village's co-producers – Goans, lifestyle migrants, tourists, investors and labour migrants, with the support of their allies and in the face of opposition from their adversaries, pursue intricately constructed strategies that serve their interests and bring them closer to achieving their variously defined goals – which translates into the emergence of their own versions of the village.

When writing about the different versions of Anjuna, I rely on another ontological assumption derived from New Materialism. Drawing on Mol's (2002) concept, I assume that different actions, undertaken by different actor-networks, produce different materialities. Like the sick body described by Mol, which in the process of diagnosis is split into several versions (body multiple), Anjuna functions in many different variants that emerge from the performative practices of various agents. Thus, the Anjuna produced by the Goans seems to be a very different place from that produced by lifestyle migrants or Indian tourists. Each group has a different goal and each develops a different strategy – according to its own interests it establishes different relations, within which it will undertake activities from which its own version of the locality emerges. In addition, when we reduce the scale of the investigative view, we can see that the complex structure of Anjuna, multidimensionally produced by different analytically classified groups of actor-networks, in the area of each of the groups under study, becomes even more complicated, revealing previously invisible structures that, in turn, with another change of perspective, like a fractal from Mandelbrot's set, reveals to us further levels of their internal complexity.

Due to their suggestiveness, fractal images are a perfect metaphor for the phenomenon of multiplying places. The successive versions of places, and at this point I refer to the considerations of Law (1997: 6), do not function

in completely separate, parallel realities, but are intertwined with each other in various, impermanent and unpredictable ways. In James Gleick's book we find the following passage referring to the Koch curve, which is considered one of the first fractals developed in mathematics: "One-dimensional line fills no space at all. But the outline of the Koch curve, with infinite length crowding into finite area, does fill space. It is more than a line, yet less than a plane. It is greater than a one-dimensional, yet less than a two-dimensional form." (1987: 102) Like Koch's curve, we can also speak of place in fractal terms. Just as Koch's curve is an infinite line that fits on a finite surface, place is a proliferation of rich versions of the same space. Place cannot be captured either in the singular, the plural, or with a fractional number: "The world is not singular. The world is not even multiple, a set of parallel universes. The world is more than a singularity, but it is less than a multiplicity." (Law 1997: 6)

Although the implementation of the fractal as a metaphor proposed by Law resonates most profoundly with my imagination, it is worth noting that, in the social sciences, it has been applied in various different ways. Marilyn Strathern (2004), for instance, employs it to describe anthropologists' shifting perspectives between macro and micro levels of analysis, where phenomena appear fractal-like, revealing complexity at every scale. The individual is as complex an object of analysis as a multi-person corporation claims the researcher (2004: xix). The fractal structure of anthropological objects of study is perfectly illustrated by the nature of the relationship between Goa and one of its parts, Anjuna. A multidimensional identity of Goa, functioning in various forms that can be organized along a continuum between the two variants presented below, *Goa Indica* and *Goa Dourada*, finds its equally complex extension at the level of a single Goan village. In an alternative conceptualization of the fractal, presented in one of her earlier works, *The Mediation of Emotion* (originally published in 1990 and reissued in 2021), Strathern introduces an intriguing notion of the self as an entity that is neither singular nor plural. This notion is grounded in Donna J. Haraway's (2000) analysis of the cyborg – an integrated form of existence that encompasses both human and machine. Strathern had similarly discussed the *dividual* identity of Melanesians, who, in her view, are "often constructed as multiple and complex clusters of relationships that create them" (1988: 13). These individuals should not be understood within the intuitive, Western categories of individuality, as they are intricate beings co-constructed through gifts and "detachable parts of others" (Bialecki – Daswani 2015: 274). In a similar vein Roy Wagner (1991) introduces the concept of the "fractal person," suggesting that identity is formed by dynamic relationships, not a singular or plural entity, and these relation-

ships integrate into one's sense of self, illustrating the interconnectedness of individual and collective identities, resembling the connections between elements of a fractal across different scales.

Given the complexity of the structure of performatively produced Anjuna that progresses with successive approximations, in the text that follows, I wander between scales of analytical scrutiny, inspired by Law, Strathern and Roy. Although I focus on the different versions of the village produced by the Goan people living there, I also draw attention to other social actors physically absent from the village and the variants of the entire Goa state they co-produce, which provides a context for considering the selected Goan village Anjuna. In addition, the reader will find reflections on other Anjunas, provided from a somewhat distant perspective – on versions of the village produced collectively by other actor-networks: Indian tourists, lifestyle migrants from the Global North (for example: Great Britain, the Netherlands or United States of America) and the Banjara community. Following the logic derived from ANT methodology, I am more interested in how Anjuna is produced than in what it is. In doing so, I attempt to answer the question: How do different variants of a theoretically single village, located at one point on the map, emerge from the sets of different practices?

Goa Indica versus Goa Dourada

More than sixty years have passed since the end of 451 years of Portuguese rule in India in 1961, yet traces of this chapter in Goa's history are clearly visible in Anjuna and play an important role in its contemporary production. In the words of Law and Michel Callon, we will call them "present absences" (2004: 6), quoting Amade M'charek and Irene van Oorchot, we will add that the events that make up the Portuguese history of the region "As ghosts are not simply 'of the past' nor something 'of the present'" (M'charek – Oorchot 2019: 237). Goa's colonial past haunts Anjuna in various ways. Drawing on the assumptions of ANT methodology (M'charek – Oorschot 2019; Law – Hetherington 2000), we can say that as part of the process of building and ordering the causal actor-networks responsible for the performative production of Anjuna, there is a mobilization and "folding" of different histories involved (M'charek 2014: 3), and that the networks – the elements that comprise them or the nature of the relations that connect them – evoke and activate different temporalities, including those which are long gone.

The presence of Anjuna's colonial heritage in its contemporary production refers mainly to the different versions of performatively produced Goan identity and the entwined Goan variants of the village. The differences

between them are largely related to the religious split of the state's majority population into Hindus at 66.08% and Christians at 25.1% (Goa Hindu Muslim Population). The high percentage of Christians, when juxtaposed with statistics for the country's general population, is a consequence of the colonial project carried out in Goa, which included a longstanding Christianization of the region, involving a brutal inquisition introduced in 1560, suspended between 1774 and 1778, and abolished in 1812 (Benton 2002: 114–126). The inquisition's persecutions encompassed whole networks of various actors identified with the dissent. Not only Hindus, but also Jews, Buddhists, Muslims and Christian "heretics" were discriminated against, tried, convicted and punished (also burned at the stake); non-Christian temples were demolished, objects of worship destroyed, local traditions suppressed, books burned and local languages banned. As a consequence of Christianization efforts, in 1848 64.1% of Goa's population was Catholic (de Matso – Lucassen 2020: 12). As a result of the return of followers of Hinduism to the secularized region, as well as the progressive emigration of Goan Catholics, this figure fell to 36.3% in the period before Goa's incorporation into the Republic of India (Banthia 2004: xxix–xxx).

One effect of the postcolonial religious division of the Goan people is the internal disintegration of the performatively produced identity of the state into a proliferation of hybrid forms, straddling two extreme and never fully completed projects: the *Goa Dourada* (Trichur 2013: 19–23), rooted in colonial times but including further interweaving of "Western" cultural fibers, and the *Goa Indica* (Ifeka 1985; Trichur 2013: 24–31), born in the field of Goan resistance against the Portuguese and further developed in the era of decolonization. These forms are neatly enumerated by Goan writer, Victor Rangel-Ribeiro, who asks: "Do we think of ourselves as a) Goans first? b) Indians first? c) Goans who are Indians? d) Indians who happen to be Goans? e) Goans who are also Portuguese by right? f) Portuguese who happen to be Goans by accident of birth?" (2009: 5). The positions invoked by Rangel-Ribeiro are clearly discernible in the postcolonial debate on regional identity. The voice declaring Goa's "self" to be Portuguese *sensu stricto*, expressed by, among others, the Goan philosopher, theologian and folklorist Jose Pereiro, who at earlier stages of his intellectual work suggested that Goan identity was a product of the Portuguese military and administration, is slowly losing its persuasive power (Rangel-Ribeiro 2009: 2). Although Goans, especially professing Christians, are keen to take advantage of provisions that allow them to exchange their Indian passports for Portuguese ones, this practice usually precedes emigration to Schengen countries and is a step motivated by practical, not identity, considerations.

On the other hand, one can clearly hear pro-European sentiments, which include references to the colonial legacy as the main source of the presence of Occidental elements in the socio-cultural system of Goa, determining its difference from the Indian cultural system in general. This is the dominant position among my field partners who weave reflections on the effects of Portuguese colonialism into their identity statements. According to their interpretation, the project of domination imposed on Goans by the Portuguese led to the development of a unique, cultural and social specificity of the state, when compared to the rest of the country, situating it in a symbolic intercultural space. In interviews conducted during the fieldwork, the Goan cultural system is described as "a bridge between the East and the West". These kinds of beliefs are reflected in popular sayings, functioning in the discourse of Goan self-identity, as well as in the "Goanness" constructed by people from beyond, such as "Goa is not India" or "Goa is the poor cousin of Europe". The Goan intellectual João da Veiga Coutinho takes a slightly perverse view of such a position, writing that Goa is "a hybrid of East and West, a mixture of all the cultures that once dominated our ancestors," while the Goan people are like "coconuts [...] brown outside, white inside" (Rangel-Ribeiro 2009: 3). When examining the debate over the state's identity, it is impossible to overlook pro-Indian positions. Their advocates refer to the religious roots shared by the Goan people dating back to the precolonial history of the region and support their arguments with the fact of the region's contemporary nationality. In discussions of the desired shape of Goan identity, there are also compromise approaches that emphasize the hybrid nature of Goan identity, which, although it has never fully embraced either Portuguese, "Western" or Indian culture in general, weaves together its collective self, drawing from each. As Rangel-Ribeiro writes: "Goan identity, like the identity of so many peoples, really consists of a multiplicity of layers that history from time to time has fused together." (2009: 17)

Internally differentiated state identity, emerging from discursive and textual practices of Goan elites, according to the logic of fractal structure, is even more complicated in the Anjuna area. When we look at the specific networked actors – the Goan inhabitants of Anjuna – and the practices they undertake, we can see successive Goan versions of the village emerging, drawing not only on the colonial legacy and postcolonial statehood, but also on the historical presence of the hippie countercultural project and the contemporary intensive development of tourism. This is also reflected in the statements of my fieldwork partners from Goa when asked about the identity of the village. One of them, Ravi a 55-year-old Hindu taxi driver, who identifies as an Indian nationalist, said: "*We are part of India, Goa is*

*India, Anjuna is India… Look around, not only are most of the residents Hindus, but also most of the tourists. For every foreign tourist, there are 100 Indian*s." (Ravi, 30.10.2019, p. 2) Similarly, though from a culturally different perspective, 67-year-old Tony, the owner of a tourist-oriented restaurant, addressed the cultural nature of Anjuna: "*For 500 years we were part of Portugal, Europe, or, if you prefer, the West, and that's why we are closer to you than to India. This is also why the hippies found their home here, and tourists like you are more likely to visit us than other parts of the country.*" (Toni, 10.01.2020, p. 8)

Anjuna Indica versus Anjuna Dourada

Although the majority of Goans living in Anjuna are followers of Hinduism and nurture their religious and national identity, and the *Goa Indica* elements present in the actor-networks construct an important dimension of the identity of the place, in many spaces this tourist village seems to be an enclave of the latter identity project. On the one hand, we find places like St. Michael's Vaddo, an area inhabited mostly by Christians, where Portuguese cultural patterns, either coercively or voluntarily adopted by the Goan people, and often accompanied by explicitly expressed colonial nostalgia, are enacted in various forms, such as religious practices carried out in accordance with the liturgical calendar; the style of celebrations; the rhythm of work, which not infrequently includes a siesta; the construction and furnishing of houses referring to the style of Portuguese colonial residential architecture and interior design; dressing practices; naming children after Christian saints; political sympathies; preparing food dishes based on beef, which is a taboo for Hindu believers; and recounting sentimental tales about the times of colonial peace, security, and supposed prosperity.

However, *Anjuna Dourada* is not only about places like St. Michael Vaddo and the phenomenon of practicing ancestral religious and cultural traditions within Catholic families. Components of this type of Goanness also make their presence felt in the Anjuna produced for the purposes of tourist consumption, within which elements recovered from the colonial past function dispersed in various commodified forms. In other words, *Anjuna Dourada* also emerges contemporaneously from the practices of selling the village to tourists, which is undertaken by various *Anjunkars* – Catholics and Hindus, and it is worth bearing in mind that in the production of this form of the village, the Goans are accompanied by other social actors – political and business stakeholders[6]

6 The specific dynamics of Anjuna's grassroots transformation into a tourist hub – originating from its interactions with the hippies who began arriving in the late 1960s – have, to a significant extent, shielded the village from the influx of international investment capital. The needs of this group of visitors,

– who come from outside the state and are not necessarily physically present in it. According to the assumptions of ANT, the character of relations linking individual entities into an actor is primal to the properties of the forms of existence that build it, which emerge only within the network structure as a consequence of the relational connections between entities. Therefore, using the language of ANT, we will say that the elements of "golden Goa" are relationally connected to the contemporary actor-networks that co-create the tourist dimension of the village, and as a result, their networked identity and the form of participation in the actor-network's practices are relationally transformed. Thus, dishes characteristic of Goan cuisine whose roots can be traced to the Portuguese presence, such as *vindaloo*, *xacuti*, *cafreal*, *caldeirada de peixe*, *balchao*, or spicy pork chorizo sausages, are now served in most tourist restaurants in Anjuna, and they appear in the "Goan food" section of restaurant menus. Furthermore, every tourist bar offers the homemade alcohol made from cashews or coconuts known as *feni*. Portuguese houses referring to the colonial past are becoming guesthouses or boutique hotels, commonly known as *casas*. A marketing text posted on the website of one such object reads: "*Casa Anjuna is a romantic boutique hotel styled like an old Goan heritage home. One feels almost as a guest of a wealthy Goan family.*" (Casa Boutique Hotels) Inside, the hotel is furnished with massive colonial-style furniture, deer antlers hanging on the wall, fabrics in rustic Portuguese patterns and coherent wall paintings.

An important component of the practices in the field of which *Anjuna Dourada* is produced for the benefit of tourists is the capacious term *susegado*, which is mobilized for promotional purposes and appears in online or printed descriptions of various accommodations or restaurants, on menu cards, in the names of bars or on store signs located not only in Anjuna but also in other tourist spaces of Goa. *Susegado* seems to be a key word in the Goan identity constructed for tourism.[7] The word is derived from the Portuguese *sossegado*, which

ranging from accommodation and transportation to gastronomic consumption, continue to be met predominantly by local, family-run Goan enterprises. However, like other parts of the state, the village is witnessing a growing presence of external investors who are progressively diversifying the tourist infrastructure. This expansion introduces large resorts alongside modest family guesthouses and grand, multi-storey facilities featuring swimming pools, VIP lounges, and extensive bars, complementing the smaller dance clubs scattered along the beach or tucked away in the jungle.

7 This term is not confined to the realm of tourism; Goans also use it in their everyday lives. A compelling illustration of how this expression operates within the Goan vernacular can be found in a remark I overheard from a neighbor, directed at my fieldwork partner as we sat comfortably in armchairs on a veranda cooled by an electric fan during an interview: "*This is the life to die for! No worries, just susegado*!"

can be translated as calm and relaxed. It is a frequently appearing element in discursive and textual practices undertaken in tourist areas, whether it be by Goan people, investors from outside, or other actors involved in tourism development in the state. Meela, a 42-year-old owner of three homes which she rents to lifestyle migrants, expressed her frustration with the influx of tourism-focused investors from other Indian states: "*They like the way we live. They won't find this in another state.* [...] *They see how we live, that our susegado sells well. Hippies liked it, so do tourists.*" (Meela, 10.12.2016, p. 4) According to the assumptions of Actor-Network Theory or New Materialism more broadly, linguistic, discursive or textual entities are each time relationally linked to different forms of materiality (Law 1992: 2). Their meaning derives from the configuration of relations with various other types of existence, including material ones, in which they are entangled at a given moment and at the same time they themselves participate in granting attributes to other components of the actor-network, as well as to the main agential instance – the networked structured actor. In the context under study, the word *susegado* is an important component of the networks whose strategy is to promote the Goans as friendly people and their lifestyle as carefree and in line with tradition. Like other elements of the region's colonial heritage sold on the tourist market, the term simultaneously appeals to both types of the most desirable addressees: it orientates the state towards visitors from so-called Western countries and occidentalizes it with domestic tourists in mind.

Critical voices draw attention to the successive semiotic layers encasing the word *susegado* with negative connotations, referring to the alleged laziness, political and social passivity of the Goan people, as well as to the colonial nostalgia it contains (Routledge 2000: 12). However, it is worth noting the positive effects of incorporating it into other networked strategies. The interviews and observations conducted in Anjuna suggest that the villagers have also internalized *susegado* for other purposes than purely commercial ones, and that they have reclaimed it from the promotional networks of the region, in which the word and related material elements function as a catchy marketing slogan, and incorporated it into a strategy of salvaging their own cultural distinctiveness, which is necessary in the face of the growing presence of people from other parts of India. The rapid growth of tourism in the state has brought not only new sources of earnings but also new sources of anxiety. Goans now face the fear of losing their position as "hosts" of the state and as stewards of local resources, as well as the fear of the unfavorable distribution of the latter, which includes fears associated with losing their land to visitors; the expansion of tourist infrastructure and the environmental degradation it entails; migrants taking over jobs in areas considered highly profitable such as catering, accommodation ser-

vices, and passenger transport; and the socio-cultural Indianization of the state and the disappearance of Goa's unique characteristics. In this context, the recovery of select elements of Portuguese heritage, such as *susegado*, is not simply a "colonial nostalgia" of Goan Christians, but part of a broad strategic effort to preserve regional distinctiveness.

Anjuna as a "hippie colony"

The other form of fractally expanding Anjuna is produced by complex networks of social actors drawn from yet another aforementioned historical presence – the hippie settlement of the 1970s and 1980s. Along with the hippies came many different entities to Anjuna, such as distinctive costumes, elements of which usually came from overland travels on the hippie trail through Afghanistan, Pakistan, and other regions of India, music, money, psychoactive substances such as LSD and cocaine, and finally various images of the "East" as the cradle of a spirituality that had been lost in the "West". All of these, along with Anjuna's beautiful beaches, tropical flora, low cost of residency, a cautious tolerance for hippie eccentricities rarely seen in other parts of India at the time, and easy access to psychoactive drugs such as marijuana, hashish, and opium, were built into the network structures of the hippie presence, enabling this group of visitors to pursue their own countercultural and escapist projects. By making their resources available to the newcomers, the Goan people learned to take advantage of their presence, gradually replacing the old ways of earning a livelihood – farming or fishing, which were considered arduous – with easily profitable services of a tourist nature. This was accompanied by the reconstruction of the space of Anjuna, as well as the neighboring coastal towns of Goa – gradually filling them with tourist infrastructure – i.e., material signs of the change in the place's character.

My Goan partner in the field clearly traced Anjuna's contemporary tourist character back to the earlier hippie presence. Anna Rosa, a 41-year-old Goan, responded succinctly to my question about the origins of tourism in Goa with the phrase: "*First came the hippies, then came the tourists*." (Anna Rosa, 10.12.2016, p. 1) In their narratives, Goans are eager to share explanations of the transformations in local actor-networks initiated by the arrival of hippies. Tony, who was quoted previously, elaborated:

> "*Floors in houses used to be just packed earth.* […] *We smeared them with cow dung, which kept ants away. Without it, you couldn't live normally. The hippies didn't like the smell of cow dung* [laughs]*, so we started laying tiles.* […] *In the past, every Catholic had pigs at*

> *home. We made chorizo sausages from them, but they were also useful for emptying the waste pits in toilets* [laughs]. *While the hippies tolerated them, tourists didn't like stepping barefoot into pig mess* [laughs]." (Tony, 10.12.2016, p. 7)

As outlined above, the hippies – understood here as supra-human agent structures encompassing not only human actors but also a multitude of non-human factors – initiated the transformation of Anjuna into a tourist hub. This occurred within the framework of a broader reconfiguration of Goan social actors. Village hosts began renting out rooms to visitors, establishing small cafés and eateries, and offering scooters and motorcycles for hire. The income generated from these activities was reinvested into further developing their tourism-oriented enterprises, such as constructing rental properties or opening restaurants. Over time, tourists began arriving in Goa in greater numbers – from the Global South, drawn by the stories of a paradisiacal coastal land inhabited by hosts who saw themselves as Europeans. This image of Goa was spread by hippies in their home countries, and it travelled to other regions of India, inspired by accounts of a "little Europe" nestled in the heart of the Indian subcontinent. The influx of new capital and the tourist consumption needs that motivated these migrations significantly accelerated the process under consideration. This transformation, which eventually encompassed all of Goa, is insightfully analyzed by Raghuraman S. Trichur in his book *Refiguring Goa: From Trading Post to Tourism Destination* (2013). Among other things, the study reflects on the grassroots nature of this process. It notes how members of Goa's coastal communities, who had previously depended on physical labor for their livelihood, became entrepreneurs, achieving financial independence from the traditionally dominant upper classes – landowners and large-scale traders. Trichur writes: "For coastal communities, the incoming tourists meant new opportunities for generating income, which in turn led to enhancing their status within their community. The members of coastal communities now rent their houses as tourist accommodations, operate restaurants and as far as possible have withdrawn from the labor market." (Trichur 2013: 23)

In his work on the geographies of tourism development criticism in Goa, Arun Saldanha claimed that, as in other poor countries, in India tourism primarily benefits the upper middle classes, large hotel owners, tax collectors, and various shady figures exploiting the deeply corrupt mechanisms of the Indian state (Saldanha 2002: 96). However, the case of Anjuna – characterized by the socio-economic mobility of former farmers and fishermen enabled by tourism, the professional activation and growing financial independence of women, and the village residents' active resistance to radical transforma-

tions in the local restructuring process – challenges the universality of such claims. Owing to the distinctive local dynamics of its development, which from the very beginning engaged the lowest social strata, tourism in Anjuna has, to this day, remained predominantly in the hands of small-scale local entrepreneurs, i.e., ordinary residents of the village.

Concluding the digression on the nature of tourism development in the village, let us now return to the hippies. They settled along the coastline, renting rooms or entire houses from Goan people, sometimes living directly on the beach, in self-built shelters, or under coconut palms. Furthermore, they reconstructed the space they occupied by incorporating elements of the Indian cultural system annexed to their own style, such as colorful sari fabrics or statues of Hindu deities, which in the new networks of relational dependencies slowly became components of the performatively produced, eclectic "hippie" style. Their lives in Anjuna were spent on social gatherings, beach relaxation, preparations for new trips, psychedelic practices and artistic activities. As one of my field partners, 75-year-old Mike from the USA, who arrived in Anjuna in the 1970s during the wave of hippie mobility, recalled:

> "*We lived day by day, leaving behind the values of our parents.* […] *Instead of working from eight to four, we preferred just living 24 hours a day. Instead of pursuing a career, we chose to be together in beautiful surroundings, in our own paradise* […]. *We swam in the sea, smoked ganja, took LSD, danced, sang* [laughs]." (Mike, 21.12.2018, p. 4)

On the occasion of the full moon, hippies would organize music and dance parties on the beach, for the benefit of which, between 1980 and the 1990s, they created a unique genre of electronic music – Goa trance. An important part of the hippies' presence were the flea markets they held every Wednesday. Initially, these flea markets served as a place for the cashless exchange of various products such as clothing, jewelry, textiles, psychoactive substances, and cameras. Over time, Goans and small traders from other states of India began to participate in them.

Both the memories of the Goans, the inhabitants of Anjuna, and the two-decade long presence of hippies in the village show that their arrival was not perceived as an unwelcome invasion. One of my Goan field partners, nearly 60-year-old Raju, recalled: "*As a child, my older brothers and I would sneak down to the beach. Hiding in the bushes, we watched the naked hippies doing their thing* [laughs]. *Our parents knew and turned a blind eye. They were curious too. Only our sisters had to keep their distance.*" (Raju, 21.12.2021) Initially, hippies were simply a curiosity that broke the many years of isolation of

the village, the subject of jokes and gossip, but over time they became a source of new and stable income for the inhabitants of Anjuna. The hippies were treated by the Goans on special terms. Permission to be present in the village did not include participation in the life of the local community. Contact was largely limited to the purchase of goods and services, and the hippies' freedom was restricted by a variety of control and disciplinary practices, including physical persuasion. The dynamics of contact were governed by specific rules, with an organizing meta-rule according to which Goan people were the ones who made all the rules. For example, the Goans ensured that various practices constituting the local variant of the "flower children" revolution, such as psychoactive substance use, nudity, sexual freedom, or musical events that conflicted with Goan cultural sensibilities and Catholic mores, did not encroach on Goan-settled village areas and took place on the beach or in the jungle. The accounts of the hippies I collected indicate that they were aware of their position in their relationship with the Goan people. Recollections by representatives of both groups suggest that, apart from fairly rare instances of conflict and disagreement – verbal confrontations or those involving fists and bamboo poles – the two groups coexisted in relative harmony. As 67-year-old English woman Eva recalls:

> "*The Goans tolerated us, and maybe even liked us, but only up to a point. As soon as you stepped on someone's toes, you could expect a little discipline. Every now and then, one of the boys would get a bamboo massage* [laughs]. *The whole neighborhood would gather around then*. [...] *For example, when they caught a thief, they'd tie him to a tree and beat him mercilessly with bamboo sticks. It was a lesson for the others. We had to know who the boss was* [laughs]." (Eve, 12.05.2021)

Elements of the former presence of the "flower children" haunt contemporary Anjuna in ways that are in some respect similar to the "ghosts" of Portuguese colonialism present in the village. In the form beach parties or clothes and jewelry sold by Goans to tourists on the market of goods and services, they appear as components strategically embedded by the Goans in the actor-network structures responsible for the process of production of another version of Anjuna – a hippie village. For example, the dance music scene created by the hippies has been almost completely taken over by the Goans and is now one of the main and most profitable tourist attractions of the village. During the tourist season, visitors to Anjuna can attend dance parties organized by the "hosts" almost every night for

a usually substantial fee. It is worth keeping in mind that the owners of these clubs are among the richest and most influential residents of the village. The dominant music in the clubs, played by DJs from different parts of the world, is a variety of genres derived from the Goa trance created by the hippies. The dark side of this phenomenon is the wide availability of psychoactive drugs, the sale of which is another important source of income not only for Goans but also for drug traffickers from other parts of India and other countries. The aforementioned musical genres clearly dominate Anjuna's soundscape – they can be heard not only in clubs, but also in bazaars and in bars and restaurants decorated in a colorful, eclectic style derived from the hippie aesthetic.

Anjuna as a hippie village is also produced within the village's other main tourist attraction – the flea markets organized by Goans every Wednesday of the tourist season. Although nowadays, in their performative production, the trading side consists mainly of small entrepreneurs from other parts of India, the sale of regional goods, cheap clothes produced by Goan factories and "hippie" jewelry or dresses made of old saris, the spirit of the 1970s and 1980s is clearly present. This is due to the presence of the minority of traders from the "West". These are former hippies or representatives of younger generations who followed in their footsteps, who sell hand-made jewelry, clothes, art or goods brought to Goa from other Asian countries. The presence of former hippies who seasonally inhabit the village lends credence to the variant of Anjuna as a hippie village. Using the language of Actor-Network Theory, we can say that they embed themselves and are simultaneously embedded in the actor-networks that produce this variant of the locality, in which as allies of the Goans they function as an important tourist attraction of the village. The place is produced by them as a "second home", and they themselves are often referred to by the Goans with the oxymoronic phrase "local foreigners". The specificity of the group is perfectly captured by the category of "lifestyle migrants" (Korpela 2014), due to the practice of mobility that characterizes it, motivated by the search for friendlier existential conditions conducive to personal development. The sets of practices they undertake include frequent social gatherings, psychedelic practices, motorcycle rides, swimming in the sea, spiritual development and artistic activities. In doing so, they seem to performatively re-enact their own, once experienced youth and at the same time produce another version of Anjuna – as a youth paradise, a place beyond time, where they can carry out the same scenarios of rebellion, play, and contestation, this time in a less radical, vacation formula.

Anjuna as a land to fight for

The allied presences of former hippies, contemporary lifestyle migrants, and a significant proportion of tourists are accompanied by potentially conflicting presences that mobilize village resources in order to implement competing strategies of residence, which is not accepted by a large proportion of Goans. These result in the production of versions of the village that are undesirable to the "hosts" of the state and involve some Indian tourists and economic migrants.

As far as the first group is concerned, contrary to expectations and to the dissatisfaction of the Goans, taking advantage of the elements of Anjuna as a hippie colony, their representatives attach them to their own causal network structures, in the area of which versions of the village as a "sin city of India" are produced. The origins of this phenomenon can be traced back to the period of the 1970s to the 1980s, when Anjuna's unexpected transformation as an important tourist spot on the map of India began. In the process of transformation, the hippies and Goans in the village were supported by other important social actors – the media. The presence of hippie colonies in Goa, mainly in Anjuna, which was considered the epicenter of the movement, resonated with both the regional and national media, who expressed the moral panic of a concerned section of society. For example, in 1970, the Indian *Navhind Times* newspaper wrote:

> "*We can give you only verbal pictures* [...] *Picture... of a nude girl lying on the sands, her legs spread wide* [...] *Picture... of a lustful bouncing girl, sprinting like a gazelle across the sands and plonking herself down by the sleeping young man* [...] *We saw sights straight out of the fables of Sodom and Gomorrah, scenes that reminded us* [of] *chapters in banned books and blue films* [...] *These tribalistic and obscene young men and women are plundering with impunity the traditional and honored morality of this peaceful territory*." (Saldanha 2007: 183)

These kind of media reports gave rise to the myth of the Goa coast as a nudist colony and made hippies, especially sunbathing women, a tourist attraction, arousing the interest of Indian men, who were the first domestic tourists to visit Anjuna. They came from nearby and distant cities such as Mumbai and Pune, filling buses heading towards the coastal belt of the state in increasing numbers (Saldanha 2007: 182–183). The stereotypical image of an early domestic visitor is a man in semi-formal clothes, spending whole day on the beach observing and taking pictures of sunbathing

hippies, eating peanuts, being chased away by Western men and leaving the next day.

Today Indian tourists are the largest group of visitors to Anjuna. Over time, their practices have developed from watching and witnessing events such as parties and beach leisure, into full participation on an equal basis to foreigners. Indian tourists, still mostly men, mostly middle class, and mostly in their 20s and 30s, come to Anjuna to pursue their own scenarios of fun and recreation. For many of them, the village is a space of freedom where they can engage in practices that are forbidden or not tolerated in their home regions. In doing so, they take advantage of the village's resources, such as the all-night music that dates back to the hippie era, the variety of liquor options that are rarely found in other states and can be purchased in Goa at low prices due to low taxes, the easy access to drugs, the water sports services offered on the beaches, the hippie-initiated freedom of dress that allows Indian tourist women to be less strict in their clothing choices, and the moral tolerance that allows couples to publicly display their affection for one another. It is out of these practices that Anjuna has emerged as India's "sin city". As an illustration, consider the explanation of 28-year-old Pandita from Mumbai:

> "*My parents think I'm in Calangute! They would kill me if they knew I was in Anjuna.* [...] *You know, Anjuna is a party place, my parents would never imagine* I'm here! [...] *That I'm drinking whiskey, taking ecstasy, and staying up partying until morning.* [...] *Especially since I'm from a very traditional, conservative family.* [...] *I have a bikini, but I'll have to hide it when I get back home*." (Pandita, 01.05.2018)

The Goans, who financially profit from the entertainment sector, the drug traffickers, as well as the travel agencies and media throughout the country that advertise the state as a place of limitless entertainment opportunities are allies in its networked production. Flyers, brochures and websites that encourage people to travel to Anjuna or Goa in general show pictures of dance parties in various localities of the region, accompanied by descriptions of the village or state as the "party capital of India", offering "racy nightlife", "endless chances to have fun and entertainment", "night parties, pleasant weather, vibrant music festivals, (...) and the grand celebrations of Christmas and New Year's Eve".

Anjuna, and often Goa as a whole in its version of "sin city of India", "party capital of India" or "Indian Vegas", provokes opposition from a large section of Goans who would like to see more sustainable and community-

friendly tourism development. It is not so much the Indian tourists as such that Anjuna's residents object to, but the specific behaviors that are also often shared by backpackers from the "West" travelling on a budget. The subsistence versions of the village produced by both groups are at odds with the inhabitation strategies of the majority of *Anjunkars* who, although extremely hospitable and, on the other hand, economically highly dependent on tourism, feel that their tourist-consumption versions of the village as a place of unique Indo-European heritage and, at the same time, as a friendly and colorful hippie village, cannot survive the onslaught of quite different expectations, strategies and practices. One of my field partners in Goa, Suresh (62), expressed similar concerns thus:

> "*I have nothing against tourists, but they should behave properly, like they would at home. Let them come, relax on the beach, visit our temples and churches, taste our food.* […] *Not come here, drink, take drugs, rent cars, and race on our poor roads. And on top of that, throw trash out of their car windows straight onto the street. If this continues, we'll drown in their garbage, and all of Goa will turn into a gutter.*" (Suresh, 01.11.2019)

Depending on the resources available, Goans are taking various countermeasures to eliminate undesirable tourist presences in the region. State policymakers, for example, are developing successive strategic plans to "Make Goa the most preferred destination around the year for high-spending tourists in India by 2024, and a world-class international tourism destination by 2030" (Government of Goa 2020: 4). Such actions are accompanied by media campaigns that draw attention to undesirable tourist practices, the focus of which is clearly aimed at the majority of Indian tourists, who are accused of littering the beaches, alcohol and drug abuse and irresponsible drunken behavior, the harassment of women, aggressive behavior towards other users of village spaces, and the violation of laws (Bhutia 2018; Herald Team 2020). Widespread outrage was caused by a particularly clumsy statement from Goa's Town and Country Planning Minister, Vijai Sardesai, who in 2018 publicly referred to tourists from northern India as "scum of the earth" and blamed them for the state's contemporary problems (Times of India 2018). The minister was echoed by the leader of the Goa Forward Party, Durga Kamat, who rejected the calls for an apology demanded by representatives of other political parties (Ganapatye 2018). The residents of Anjuna and surrounding villages are unlikely to count on the development of tourism that was announced by the state government and are quietly pursuing their own strategies for dealing with unwanted presences. As

a result, Indians suffer various forms of discrimination: For example, until recently, some bars and restaurants did not cater to Indian tourists, accommodation providers still overcharge them, while some do not accept them at all. Moreover, it is often the practice to contemptuously refer to them as "peanuts", and it is also common to hear of violence being used against them. Such practices, while usually harmful to tourists, contribute to the Goans' production of yet another version of the village – the family home under threat or the ancestral land that needs to be defended.

As mentioned above, investors from outside the state and labor migrants are another ambiguous or not always welcome presence in Goa. As for the latter group, the most resented are representatives of the Banjara community, also known as Lamani or Lambani. Under a series of laws introduced between 1871 and 1924 by the British colonial administration and collectively known as the "Criminal Tribes Act", this once nomadic merchant community was declared dangerous and subjected to rigorous surveillance. This resulted in restrictions on educational and professional development, which for many years led the community in question to impoverishment and multi-generational social degradation. Today, as the Other Backward Class in the state of Maharashtra, the Scheduled Tribe in Andhra Pradesh, and the Scheduled Caste in Karnataka (Burman 2010: 13–19), Banjara representatives are the beneficiaries of governmental and non-governmental assistance programs to combat poverty and discrimination (Halbar 1986: 114–127). Easy to note achievements in the economic area are accompanied by a failure to combat stigmatization and social exclusion. The criminal heritage of the Banjara, constructed from the top down in the framework of the colonial project, has not been forgotten, and this group continues to be the victim of oppressive stereotypes and related forms of discrimination.

Today the Banjara often migrate in search of employment. Many have come to Goa, joining the ranks of low-skilled blue-collar workers, small entrepreneurs or, on rare occasions, taking up jobs in the white-collar sector. Those who stay in Goa during the tourist season come mainly from Karnataka. In Anjuna, the presence of small Banjara traders selling cheap hippie-style clothes and jewelry bought mainly from Goan factories, but also traditionally embroidered fabrics brought from their homeland, is clearly visible in the tourist spaces. Most rotate between Goa and their place of origin, but some have chosen to settle in the village permanently. To the dissatisfaction of many villagers, the Banjara successfully pursue their stay strategies, creating networked structures of relations. These include: cheap apartments rented from Goans; stores and patches of land on which they build their trading points; the beach, which seems to be the largest employer of Banjara representatives in the village; goods purchased mainly

from Goan factories; elements of their own ethnicity, commodified for tourist viewing; immeasurable crowds of tourists and their money, and much more. These enable them to undertake practices in the village from which their own version of Anjuna emerges – a land of promise, a place where dreams of prosperity and social mobility come true. They use the money they earn in Anjuna to raise the social status of their families, who were left behind in the highly hierarchical communities from which they came. They buy gold, pay off debts, and save for dowries for their daughters and weddings organized for entire villages. They save for school fees for their sons, for houses and for patches of land. Sunita, a 34-year-old member of the Banjara community and the owner of a small shop offering cheap clothing to tourists, explained her motivations behind her seasonal, pendulum-like migration to Anjuna from Karnataka as follows:

> "*In Karnataka, I worked in the garden and on the fields of wealthy farmers. I didn't even earn a quarter of what I can make here. When the season ends, I stay for a few more months and help prepare for the monsoon.* […] *In the fields, with cleaning. Goans pay more than Karnatakans do. That's why I only go home for four months.* […] *My eldest son is not even of age yet, and we've already built him a house. The rest will go towards weddings for my daughters.*" (Sunita, 04.11.2019, p. 2)

Although the Banjara's presence brings financial benefits to many Goans, they undertake various practices to reduce it. Their nature indicates that the Banjara's production of Anjuna as a promised land comes into conflict with Goan designs of the village, produced not only in terms of tourism, but also as a place to live – the land of their ancestors. The Goans, placing themselves in the position of the only rightful hosts of Anjuna, stigmatize the representatives of the Banjara in various ways, expecting them to be subdued due to their lower socio-economic status and their bad reputation resulting from their colonial heritage. Although the Goan people who live in Anjuna do very limited trade in tourist goods, the Banjara monopolization of the beach trade does not escape the critical Goan eye. Traders roaming along the coast are bound by an etiquette that is enforced by restaurant staff. The Banjara's insistence on contact with tourists is met with a swift reaction, which usually includes attempts to chase them away, insults, gestures of contempt, pushing and shoving.

Some Banjara people run tourist-oriented businesses in Goa in the areas of water sports, car rental, lodging services, restaurant management and tattoo studios. As a result, the Goans, concerned about their large but still

limited income from the tourism industry, feel that they are abusing the hospitality of the state. Although the presence of tourists and the income they bring for both Goans and Banjara families is an important subject of strategic competition of both groups, the stakes go far beyond the financial benefits. The Goans in this study almost unanimously reported that the presence of the Banjara spoils the image of the state. Remedial actions are taken at different levels and involve different strategies depending on the resources available. Some Goans living in Anjuna willingly slander Banjara by talking about their alleged laziness, criminal tendencies, lack of hygiene and involvement in prostitution. One of my landlords, Angelo (45), warned me against interacting with the Banjara, saying: "*They're a bunch of thieves and cheats. Before you even notice, they'll take your wallet out of your bag.* [...] *You have to be careful; they carry strange diseases — you could catch something just by breathing near them.*" (Angelo, 04.12.2017, p. 5) Others opposing the influx of migrants in general support or join central government lobbying organizations such as the Goa Movement for Special Status, who demand protection for resources and the state's unique characteristics against the presence of "outsiders". At the national political level, the media is mobilized into practices that make life difficult for the Banjara community. A good example is the statements of the state's tourism minister, Manohar Ajgaonkar, who in 2017 publicly stated that the Banjara must be removed from Goa because they did not fit with the local culture (Kamat 2017). In 2019, in his stark reaction to a UK Goa vacation advertisement, which was illustrated with a photo of a Banjara woman walking on the beach, he said the community's members are spoiling the image of the state (Herald 2019).

The growing opposition of many Goans towards immigrants in general is an important bargaining chip in politics, which is becoming more evident with each election. In their campaigns, successive political activists strengthen social resentments and willingly play the role of defenders of the state against the "invasion" of unwanted visitors. The most radical stance against the growing presence of migrants is currently being taken by a political party with an equally radical name – Revolutionary Goans. In preparation for the elections held in 2022, its leader, Manoj Parab, promised Goans that he would introduce the POGO (Person of Goan Origin) Act, which had been developed by party activists with the aim of reserving for Goans resident in the state before 1961 and their descendants 100% of government jobs, 80% of private jobs and 100% of housing projects (Herald Goa 2021). Promises made at subsequent press conferences were accompanied by statements aimed mainly at the Banjara community, accusing them of carrying out criminal activities or harassing Goans and tourists, as well as video recordings published on the social media of the

party that allegedly provided evidence. Under a growing sense of threat, Banjara representatives are trying to defend themselves, in demonstrating their multi-generational presence in Goa and their participation in the development of the state's economy. However, although some Goans take their side, recognizing their contribution to the welfare of the state and their right to be treated equally as citizens of the Republic of India, they are in an exceptionally difficult position. They lobby the Goan government for special protection, which would be guaranteed by inclusion on the Schedule Castes list, but in the current situation these demands have little chance of being implemented.

Although limited, the resources of the smallest but richest state attracts to the region scores of migrants dreaming of a better future. They are now said to make up about 40% of the region's total population and that number is growing. Their presence creates growing fears and xenophobic attitudes, which translates into the radicalization of Goan regionalism – a scenario familiar from many places around the world. Although the Banjara, including seasonal migrants, make up only 20% of the migrant presence, it is this community that has become the face of unwanted arrivals and the target of countermeasures, involving, at various levels, networks of various available resources. Following a fractal logic, the radical regionalism of the state unveils its successive, equally complex forms within each of the constituent villages of Goa, such as Anjuna. The various elements of this fractal structure interact with each other in various ways. Mobile politicians structure their causal networks as they crisscross the state, competing for votes with the migrant card. Their actions, in turn, like the daily newspapers regularly read by Goans, fuel social anxieties, which translate into further practices of resentment, such as aggression, protests, the termination of tenancy agreements, police harassment, and participation in online forum discussions. All of these actions, while certainly hurtful to the Banjara, represent a particular group of practices further contributing to the production of a version of the state and of each village nurturing resentment against the Banjara that my *Anjunkar* field partners referred to when trying to explain their actions against immigrants as the family home under threat, the ancestral land in need of protection, and a land to fight for.

According to the Goan people, the solution to many of the problems that Goa faces today is to reduce the presence of migrants, or in a more radical form, remove them from the region. It is difficult to predict what the future holds – whether regionalism will intensify and achieve its desired aim or whether Goa will lose its unique character. As scholars of globalization processes, we know that compromise solutions are also possible, but only a handful of people in Goa seem to believe this.

Conclusions

Anjuna, a small village located in the coastal belt of the Indian state of Goa, provides an excellent example of the dynamic functioning of contemporary culturally and socially heterogeneous places. In analyzing it, I have sought to demonstrate that in spaces of limited resources and capacity, occupied by diverse presences – different networks of social actors, guided by sometimes conflicting interests – performative place-making occurs in an interactive, scalar-complex process of negotiating the available resources required to pursue particular strategies of habitation and residence. Despite the focus on the Goan people living in Anjuna, I have also considered other presences central to village functioning and selected Goan practices of regional scope. Drawing on concepts from New Materialism, according to which different practices generate different realities, I have tried to show how the Goans, who position themselves as custodians of local resources in response to different desirable or undesirable presences, construct different versions of the village: *Anjuna Dourada* and "Anjuna – the hippie village" produced for the accepted part of the tourist presence; "Anjuna as a land to fight for" in response to the "Anjuna – sin city of India" label emerging from the behavior of Indian tourists; and finally "Anjuna as land of promises" emerging from the practices of immigrants. The fractal metaphor allowed me to clarify the concept of place developed in the text as more than singular, less than plural.

As I have endeavored to demonstrate, the increasingly dense network of diverse, supra-human mobilities encompassing Goa (including Anjuna) places members of the region's ethnolinguistic group in a position requiring the continual adaptation of their dwelling strategies. This phenomenon manifests itself in the ongoing reconstruction of Goan actor-networks and, consequently, the dynamic transformation of the practices they enact and the material-symbolic variants of the village they produce. In the face of intensified in-flows perceived as "alien" presences, Goans explicitly articulate the need to safeguard their collective identity and the unique specificity of their region, while maintaining their role as managers and guardians of variously understood local resources. This stance is inevitably challenged by the claims of the incoming groups pursuing their own interests. These dynamics collectively generate a distinctive, deeply intra-active, and processual "throwing togetherness" (to borrow Massey's term), delineating a compelling arena of negotiated power production. A more nuanced exploration of its geographies – the geographies of power that permeate the processes of the construction of specific variants of the material-semiotic fractal village – emerges as a compelling trajectory for further inquiry which

would advance the reflections offered herein on the performative production and dynamic operation of such multiple places. A critical question remains: which conceptualization of power is most apt to grapple with the labyrinthine interdependencies that underpin the multiple Anjuna? Should we invoke Steven Lukes' framework of "power over" (1974)? Or does the "power to," championed by theorists like Hanna Arendt (1970), Barry Barnes (1988) or Michel Foucault (1979) offer more analytical traction? Alternatively, could Law's articulation of "power as an effect" (Law 1991) better illuminate the complex dynamics at play?

An inquiry into the power practices embedded in the production of relationally interconnected variants of the fractal-like constructed village by the diverse social actors shaping its performative emergence would not only deepen insights into the region's complex social dynamics and the interplay of material and symbolic resources but also offer a significant contribution to broader debates on the nature of power within tourism networks traversing colonial and postcolonial trajectories. Is tourism, as Dennison Nash (1989) suggests, a reconfiguration of imperialism? Or, conversely, do tourists themselves, as So-Min Cheong and Marc L. Miller posit (2000), become Foucauldian subjects of power? Moreover, are *Anjunkars*, as members of the receiving community, capable of establishing a stable position of power within this complex matrix? If so, through what mechanisms and strategies? These pivotal questions concerning the region of interest remain unresolved and merit further scholarly engagement.

January 2025

Interview list

Interview with Angelo, 04.12.2017, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Anna Rosa, 10.12.2016, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Eve, 12.05.2021, online, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Meela, 10.12.2016, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Mike, 21.12.2018, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Pandita, 01.05.2018, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.

Interview with Raju, 21.12.2021, online, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Ravi, 30.10.2019, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Sunita, 04.11.2019, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Suresh, 01.11.2019, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Tony, 10.01.2020, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.
Interview with Tony, 10.12.2016, Anjuna, interview conducted by the author.

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