Chapter 5

Creolizing Diaspora: Songs of Exile in Paulo Coelho's

Select Novel

This chapter analyses Paulo Coelho's *The Witch of Portobello* (2006) by examining the process of cultural reconstruction among diaspora populations, which involves the mechanism of cultural hybridity through the phenomenon of creolization. Creole forms are sometimes described as not being static and hence never being fully formed; instead, they are constantly adapting to their immediate interaction setting, frequently improvising as they do so. Creolization, as a phenomenon, opposes the notion that cultures are fixed or finished products and instead emphasizes the idea that cultures are mutable, and thus, the mystifying in-betweens, the areas where cultural borders converge and dissolve, are better understood. And it is in these in-betweens that cultural entities merge, remerge and re-emerge, creating cultural hybridization. Therefore, creolization is not only associated primarily with hybrids of limited fluidity, but also with construction of new cultures. It is best understood as an innovative disorder, which challenges simplistic and static notions of culture. Creole cultures construct ways of developing hybrid cultures and identities as they move toward some point of consistency and have the ability to combine things in new directions. The diaspora groups exhibit the physiognomies of creolization, highlighting the fact that individuals of these populations have a "double consciousness, a privileged knowledge and perspective", in agreement with "postmodernity and globalization" (Agnew 14).

The term diaspora refers to the dispersion of large groups of individuals of a similar ethnicity who have been uprooted from their home countries and relocated to various locations around the world. Diasporas are produced as a result of immigration and forced population shifts like war and conflict, which has been apparent in recent years. For instances, Lebanese, Bhutanese, Syrian

and Ukrainian diasporas as a result of the continuation of war and conflict. Through cultural memory, which is a kind of collective memory of customs, traditions, memories and legends shared by a group of individuals who have an identical ethnicity, the diaspora community carries and transmits the components of their culture during the process of migration from the original homeland to a new one. Consequently, as members of the diaspora relocate, the cultures of their former homelands unintentionally converge with those of their new ones. The diaspora population's double consciousness is fostered over time by this process. This process in the course of time cultivates double consciousness in the diaspora population. It can be denoted that the cultural memory of a diaspora population is hybridized, continuously in a state of flux, and therefore, they are "not a monolithic block and are impacted both by the cultural variations among themselves and by the culture of the adopted country" (Sharma et al. xi). A diaspora population requires a cumulative identity in order to blend in a new homeland with new prospects and consequently, identity politics is exemplified as their "songs of exile" while reconstructing their history (Witch of Portobello 107). As discussed in chapter 2, creolization is traditionally associated with the New World's creole civilizations in the Caribbean and Latin America and it is now increasingly recognized as a ubiquitous phenomenon that occurs wherever many cultures come into contact. The cultural theorists like Paul Gilroy (1993) and Stuart Hall (1996), studied the process of cultural hybridity by applying the phenomenon of creolization in the diaspora population. And The Witch of Portobello (2006) by Paulo Coelho is studied based on their evaluations.

5.1. Creolizing Diaspora

For centuries, the term 'creole' has been used to describe people born in the Americas whose ancestors originated on other continents, mostly Europe and occasionally Africa. The term 'creole' is derived etymologically from the Spanish word 'criollo' to identify the descendants of Spanish colonizers born in the Caribbean. Conventionally, it represented someone with foreign origins that had now become relatively localized and formed an emotional bond with the new land occasionally even interbred with the native inhabitants of their new world. The process of creolization is defined as "a syncretic process of transverse dynamic" that continuously reworks and transforms the cultural patterns of distinct social and historical experiences and identities (Balutansky and Sourieau 3). The evolutions of creolization cultivate cultural patterns, the languages and cultures, which are dynamic and mutable subverting any essentialist objectives that signify homogeneity. As said earlier creolization is a process related with the New World's creole civilizations in the Caribbean and Latin America and therefore, it is considered that a key element of the New World experience accompanied with the phenomenon of cultural hybridity can be seen in the Caribbean creolization. And African Diaspora is a significant subject of discussion when it comes to Caribbean creolization. The term African Diaspora is often referred to the widespread dispersion of people from Africa during the Transatlantic Slave Trades, which occurred from the 1500s to the 1800s. And thus, millions of Africans from Western and Central Africa traversed the continent through the diaspora to multiple locations in the Americas and the Caribbean.

Paul Gilroy analyzed the Atlantic African diaspora in his book *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), in which he employed the "image of ship—a living, micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion" and highlighted "the circulation of ideas and activists" and the flow of important "cultural and political artefacts" between Europe, America, Africa, and the Caribbean (Gilroy 4). His groundbreaking work on "black Atlantic" identity constructs an endeavor to refute earlier cultural studies of the Caribbean, which typically arose from essentialist notions of ethnicity, nationalism and purity. He also connotes that, contrary to fixed ethnic purity, the emergence of malleable diverse and heteronomous identities occurs in postcolonial societies. He therefore, emphasizes that displaced ethnic groups can interact constructively with different cultures in order to modify their sense of identity in a dynamic way. This said, Gilroy then develops a discourse on the black diaspora population highlighting the "rhizomatic transcultural structure" that were developed in Latin America and especially in the

Caribbean regions as an outcome of interactions between diverse cultures (Balutansky and Sourieau 2). He coins the term "the Black Atlantic" to describe the transfer of black cultures across the Atlantic and contexts of cultural hybridity that resulted from transatlantic slavery and its repercussions (Gilroy 5). It refers to the "desire to transcend both the structures of the nation state and the constraints of ethnicity and national particularity" (Gilroy 19). The emphasis is basically on the types of creolization and hybridization that followed along with the transcontinental trade and travel. Then, it can be considered that the unconscious hybridity emerges forming a fusion, "the imperceptible process whereby two or more cultures merge into a new mode" which perchance is associated to the concept of creolization (Young 21). Gilroy further highlights that the black diaspora population retains doubleconsciousness emphasizing that Black identity is complex and multilayered and therefore, it is difficult to define as it has transnational position of Blackness. He uses the metaphor of the slave ship to illustrate how Black bodies exist in a location that cannot be adequately described by borders involving two or more territories, cultures and identities. Gilroy further highligts the process of double-consciousness by arguing that "black musical expression" from diasporic populations contributed to the reproduction of "a distinctive counterculture of modernity" (Gilroy 36). He further considers the development of black music in order to concentrate on the cultural processes which is uncertain and segmented as the manifestation of an essential, rigid, independent racial self or as "the effluent from a constituted subjectivity that emerges contingently from the endless play of racial signification" (Gilroy 36).

The black music is a perfect illustration of the current status of the diaspora because Black bodies have existed in a diversity of settings and are not primarily defined by where they have been, are, or are going. The vitality and multiplicity of this musical culture provide a mechanism to transcend the underlying conflicts between "essentialists and pseudo-pluralists" and "totalizing conceptions of tradition, modernity, and postmodernity" (Gilroy 36). Gilroy argues that although the Black experience is intertwined with multiplicity of narratives about culture and history, music often helps to

temper these narratives by facilitating the exchange of Black expression and community across cultural boundaries. Paul Gilroy, thus, highlights every cultural account that has emerged in the Black diaspora has a multiplicity of roots that stem from the uniqueness of the encounter between the African and European worlds. The fundamental intercultural mechanism involved is the process of creolization, which paves the way for the construction of cultural hybridization that serves as a counterbalance to nationalisms and ethnicisms. It is a kind of a polyphonic culture that does not adhere to modernity's constrained political, geographical, and ethical frameworks. Gilroy's arguments consistently depict the diaspora through its "doubleness" and its "unsteady placement simultaneously inside and outside" (Gilroy 73). The black Atlantic developed into "a non-traditional tradition, an irreducibly ex-centric, unstable, and asymmetrical cultural ensemble", the kind of a "living memory of the changing same" (Gilroy 198). The concept of the black Atlantic ruptures "the dualistic structure" that positions "Africa, authenticity, purity, and origin" in direct contrast to the "Americas, hybridity, creolization, and rootlessness" shifting from "the chronotope of the road" (homogeneity/purity) to "the chronotope of the crossroads" (heterogeneity/hybridity) (Gilroy 199). Gilroy emphasizes the challenge of establishing the heterogeneous and heteronomous identities of the cultures of African diaspora population in particular and of postcolonial cultures in general. He argues that in contradiction of ethnic absolutism stands another alternative that of "the theorization of creolization, metissage, mestizaje, and hybridity" which involve the processes of cultural mutation and restless disruption that exceed racial discourse and avoid capture by its agents (Gilroy 2). In this context he appears to echo "Haitian poet, novelist, and critic René Depestre who takes up Kundera's notion of "median contexts" to describe the restless mutations brought on by "creolization (Precolumbian, Latino-American, African, French, English, Portuguese, Dutch, Indian, Syro-Lebanese, Japanese, and also North American and Canadian)" (Balutansky and Sourieau 3).

Stuart Hall was the next theorist after Gilroy to study the culture and identity of the diaspora in the Caribbean region after Gilroy in his article

"Cultural Identity and Diaspora" (1996). On the basis of his study in relation to the diaspora population he emphasized that the identities that transcend space and time and are constantly shifting. In his article he further connotes that the evolutions of the process of creolization in diaspora population develop cultural patterns, which subvert any theoretical aspects that signify absolutism. The phenomenon of creolization in diaspora populations entail the adventure of the astounding proliferation of cultures that highlights their endless inventive qualities, such as their limitless openness, resilient dynamics, and fluidity, all gloriously communicated through the various components of culture. Hall opens his analysis by referring to the newly emerging Third Cinema in the Caribbean. This new genre of film is regarded as the visual portrayal of the "Afro-Caribbean" subjects—""blacks" of the diasporas of the West the —the new post-colonial subjects" (Hall 222). He then employing the black diaspora, the Afro-Caribbean, discusses the questions of identity, cultural practises, and cultural production. In this brand-new cinematic genre, the Third Cinema, a brand-new cinematic genre, is emerging in the Caribbean and in a post-colonial context it is regarded as the visual embodiment of the Afro-Caribbean. Thus, it can be considered that 'Blacks' are portrayed as the new postcolonial subjects in this digital medium. In his article, Hall then questions about the identities of these newly evolving subjects within the structure of cultural identity. He then goes on to argue that cultural identity should be viewed as a product that is constantly in progress rather than a finished product. He outlines two approaches to understand cultural identity of the black diapora. The first position indicates that "cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self", and according to this framework cultural identity reflects "the common historical experiences and cultural codes" providing a "stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning", beneath the fluctuating boundaries and variations of actual history (Hall 223). In this context, the collective form of cultural identity underlying all the differences becomes "the essence of 'Carribeanness', of the black experience" (Hall 223). The Black diaspora needs to dicover and identify with this self. s being dynamic, metamorphic, and even inconsistent, and it denotes a complex

identity that includes numerou multiplicity similarities and differences. Hall indicates that the Caribbean's uniqueness is made up of ruptures and discontinuities and the cultural identity, in this perspective is "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being' and it belongs "to the future as much as to the past" (Hall 225). Cultural identities have histories and sources but they continually transform, just like anything that is historical. They are not established thing that transcend space, time, history, and culture and "far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall 225). And the Caribbean identity of the black diaspora population cannot be referred as a single identity or experience without acknowledging this new identity. The Afro-Caribbean population, thus, experience "the shock of the 'doubleness' of similarity and difference (Hall 227).

Hall employs Jacques Derrida's idea of "-differance-" to assist his representation of the process of identity construction, and he indicates the temporary placing of identity as strategic and arbitrary (Hall 229). He then employs the concept of setting "the word in motion to new meanings without erasing the trace of its other meanings" in identity and applies the three occurrences that of African, European, and American identities in the Caribbean population. Caribbean individuals, therefore, experience three different cultural identities. The first is the cultural identity of Africans, which is regarded as the location of the oppressed; the second is the cultural identity of Europeans, which is the location of the colonialist; and the third is the cultural identity of Americans indicating a New World and the location of cultural conflict. Subsequently these three cultural identities coexist, it is apparent there is a probability for creolization and locations where something new can emerge. And thus, he identifies the Caribbean identity as the component of the diaspora identity. According to Hall, these signified "a 'new' Africa of the New World, grounded in an 'old' Africa", an indigenous cultural transformation in the Caribbean stemmed out of a spiritual pursuit of discovery and this is Africa, "necessarily 'deferred' - as a spiritual, cultural and political metaphor" (Hall 231). It has always been fused and syncretized with diverse

cultural aspects, "already creolised" (Hall 233). He denotes that the New World sign "-America, *Terra Incognita* –" is then the location of "the beginning of diaspora, of diversity, of hybridity and difference", and this constructs the Afro-Caribbean populaces already "people of a diaspora" (Hall 235). He further indicates that the diaspora experience is "not by essence or purity" rather it is marked "by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity" and a concept of identity established "by *hybridity*" (Hall 235).

Thus, Paul Gilroy's book The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (1993) is unquestionably a significant contribution to the study of the diaspora. And the concept of diaspora developed by Stuart Hall in the article "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" (1996) is equally significant and distinct. Both these works also exemplify the theoretical propositions associated with the advent of culture studies in the 1990s as well as these two works introduce new perspectives on the predicament of Africans in the Americas, "who are figured for Gilroy as the "Black Atlantic" and for Hall as the "Afro-Caribbean" (Chivallon 359). The most important aspect of both of their works is the representation of diasporic populations in a new way by using those who emerged from the traumatic experience of the Atlantic slave trade and consequent slavery. According to Gilroy (1993) and Hall (1996), the Black population of the Americas provides the prototype for a new definition of diaspora unlike the Jewish population, which is postulated as the archetypal embodiment of the classical notion of diaspora. The classical notion of diaspora specifies "the powerful idea of a dispersed people whose unified consciousness is sustained" despite the catastrophic consequences of estrangement (Chivallon 359). The construction of this unity is made possible by preserving a tangible or imaginary connection to the place of origin from which the exiled group was separated. And therefore, the traditional model has a strong affinity for the concepts of a homogeneous, cohesive society emphasizing on memory and territory and centred on the "operative metaphor of roots" (Chivallon 359). However, the model proposed by Gilroy (1993) and Hall (1996) is a hybrid paradigm that emphasizes hybridity. According to their model the notion of the diaspora as a single entity is replaced by the idea that it

is constructed on the grounds of mobility, interrelationship, influences by a multiplicity of cultural traditions and double consciousness. The Black experience in and of the Americas, which developed at the centre of Western modernity, is therefore well adapted to showing an identity constructed through the principle of combining dichotomy: "neither modern nor traditional, it is both at the same time and therefore, the "metaphor of roots is hence forth replaced by that of rhizomes" suggesting the concept "of a network, of ties and ex-changes among various locations" (Chivallon 360). Consequently, the model offered by Gilroy and Hall that breaks the essentialist notions of culture and identity in diaspora population asserting "the principle of mobility, at work even in the construction of identity" unlike the classical concept, which tends "to emphasize the permanence of community through time and space" (Chivallon 360). The works of Gilroy and Hall therefore become significant in order to understand the process of creolization in diaspora population. And both of them postulated concepts indicating diaspora identities as those, "which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" and involving "the aesthetics of the 'crossovers' of 'cut-and-mix'" (Hall 235-236).

It is apparent that the diaspora population transmits and carries aspects of their culture through cultural memory as they move from their original nation to a new one. However, as indicated by Gilroy (1993) and Hall (1996), the diaspora population reconstruct their culture and identity through cultural memory, which is already a creolized structure, indicating the formation of cultural hybridity and thus, their culture and identity in the new land is then different from the traditional culture of their old homeland. Thus, the individuals from the diaspora population have a double consciousness which is in understanding with postmodernity and globalization. Paulo Coelho being a citizen of Brazil, the country that is also a part of a New World and Latin America, experiences the phenomenon of "living in a permanent breeding ground, in a mixture of races unique to the world, with African, indigenous Brazilian, Japanese, European influences" (Arias 154). And thus, he has always celebrated hybridity and impurity in his novels. In *The Witch of Portobello*

(2006), he includes characters representing the individuals from a diapora population to emphasize the concept of double consciousness and rhizomatic transcultural structure in the diasporic culture and identity, which is brought by the process of ceolization initiating the formation of cultural hybridization.

5.2. Songs of Exile in Paulo Coelho's Select Novel

Coelho's novel *The Witch of Portobello*, published in 2006, portrays the narrative of a woman who was born out of wedlock to a Romani Gipsy mother. After her birth she was abondoned by her biological mother, taken in by an orphanage and then later was adopted by a wealthy Lebanese couple who named her as Sherine Khalil. In the later years of her life, Sherine, however changed her name to Athena. The narrative of the book centres on Athena's life, her quest for self-enlightenment, her personal legend. The tale of Athena's life is told by multiple narrators through their memories in the form of anecdotes, which are portrayed as a series of interviews entailing the opinions of her family and friends. In the novel, The Witch of Portobello (2006), the diaspora populations – Gipsies in Romania, Lebanese and Polish population in London signify their "songs of exile" (Witch of Portobello 107). The Gipsies in Romania are represented by Liliana, Athena's biological mother and Vosho 'Bushalo', a Rom Baro meaning a tribal leader of a Romani community. They represent the individuals from the Gipsy diaspora population. Liliana, who was in a relationship with a gadje, a foreigner had been excommunicated from her Gipsy tribe. However, no matter what she had always considered herself a Gipsy and remained connected to her tribe; her Gipsy tribe is her family. And thus, in order to signify her Gipsy community she articulated the word "us" in the very beginning of her interview:

"I speak in the present tense because for us time does not exist, only space." (Witch of Portobello 133)

She gave her daughter Athena away for adoption, as she had feared that her daughter would always be stigmatized as a *gadje*, a fatherless foreigner offspring in her Gipsy tribe. When Athena learnt that she had been an adopted

child from her Lebanese foster parents, she wanted to meet her mother and acquire knowledge about the Gipsy culture. And thus, her journey to Romania commenced. Athena learnt about the Gipsy customs and traditions to some extent on meeting Liliana. Nevertheless, there wasn't much to know because "apart from customs and traditions", the gipsies know little of their own history (Witch of Portobello 146). And they "adopted the beliefs and customs of the places" where they had landed (Witch of Portobello 148). It can be noted that the cultural memory of a diaspora population, then, "focuses on fixed points in the past, but again it is unable to preserve the past as it was" (Assmann 38). Coelho thus, emphasizes that the culture and identity of the diaspora population is "a non-traditional tradition, an irreducibly ex-centric, unstable, and asymmetrical cultural ensemble", the kind of a "living memory of the changing same" (Gilroy 198). Liliana further had informed Athena that in terms of religion the only point that united them is the worship of St. Sarah also known as Kali Sarah, Black Sarah or the Virgin of the Gipsies, and a pilgrimage to her tomb in Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer. The folklore of the gipsy diapora population believed that "Sarah was a Gipsy who happened to be living in the small seaside town when Jesus' aunt, Mary Salome, along with other refugees, arrived there fleeing persecution by the Romans" (Witch of Portobello 146). Sarah had offered to help them without any service in return and therefore, she was converted to Christianity. Though she has never been canonised by the Vatican, yet she is a Saint for the Gipsies. Thus, through the narrative of St. Sarah, Coelho highlights the shifting mechanism in the culture of a diaspora population as established by Gilroy (1993) which indicates the movement of diasporic culture from homogeneity and purity to the heterogeneity and hybridity. It signifies that the culture and identity of a diaspora population do not involve "essence or purity" but it they implicate "heterogeneity and diversity" entailing cultural hybridization (Hall 235). Vosho, the Rom Baro, greatly respected his gipsy culture and therefore, carried the history of his community with pride. However, he also accepted the fact that their "cultural memory is not factual but remembered history" (Assmann 38). He mentioned that they had come from a very distant land and was uncertain of the origin of

their Gipsy culture; he had only been sure of the fact that they were carrying their past or rather amalgamated past:

"We came from far away, some say from India, others Egypt, but the fact is that we carr the past with us as if it had all just happened." (*Witch of Portobello* 125)

The Khalil family signifies the Lebanese diaspora population in London. The Khalils were the Lebanese Maronite Christians who had escaped to London after civil war broke out in Lebanon. The Khalil family had landed as refugees and lived amongst the Lebanese community in London. They had to familiarize and imitate the other culture of their new homeland while continuing to follow and preserve the culture of their original homeland. For instance, Samira Khalil, Athena's foster mother was unfamiliar with the name Athena, which her daughter had chosen for herself. She preferred her daughter's Lebanese name, Sherine Khalil instead. However, she was also conscious "of the problems an Arab name might bring" in their new home and that the name Athena was, therefore, a better choice than the name, Sherine Khalil (Witch of Portobello 22). Pavel Podbielski, the landlord of Athena's apartment in London embodies the Polish diaspora community living in London. He was also a war refugee like the Khalils. He had arrived in England over fifty years ago after he fled from Poland. The family of Podbielski had survived the Communist regime that was claiming power over Poland after the end of the Second World War. They had succeeded to escape to London from Poland. While escaping, he had managed to carry along some of his treasured possessions and amid them was a Thomas Malthus' book of the nineteenth-century edition. Later, he found two pages of notes engraved by his grandfather inside the book. The notes consisted a narrative of his grandfather's adventurous voyage to Siberia during the Communist Revolution. The narrative provided an account of his grandfather's experiences in the remote village of Diedov in Siberia, where he had fallen in love with a Russian actress. She was a member of a cult and they believed that a particular kind of ecstatic dance form through which the dancer came in contact with the light of the vertex. They considered that it was a therapy, an

antidote to heal all the misfortunes. Podbielski started practicing the ecstatic dance and it became a part and parcel of his own culture. He believed that since the dance was a piece of his memory which is connected to his heritage and legacy, it is therefore, associated to his homeland, Poland. This particular legacy of Podbielski implied that the culture of the diaspora population is a hybridity of diverse cultures as cultural memory is continually "made and remade as people try to make sense of the past" in order to attach an identity and construct "positive image of the self in both the past and the present." (Agnew 9). To quote Coelho:

"despite that physical change,... traditions continue to exist in exile –communities join together again, language and religion remain alive, and in place that will always be foreign to them, people tend to look after each other."

(Witch of Portobello 58).

To draw a conclusion, it may be suggested that the phenomenon of creolization, which challenges the traditional, and essentialist concepts of culture and identity has the potential to combine cultures in new directions and construct hybridized cultures and identities. Consequently, the process of creolization reshapes the culture and identity in diaspora population. It is evident that as members of the diaspora population relocate from their homeland to a new one, they transmit and carry elements of their culture with them through cultural memory and then reconstructs their culture and identity through it, which is already a creolized structure, indicating the formation of cultural hybridity. As a result, they develop double consciousness and their culture and identity in the new land differs from the traditional culture of their old homeland (Gilroy 36; Hall 227). The cultural theorists like Gilroy (1993) and Hall (1996) studied the mechanism of cultural reconstruction in the diaspora population, which involves the process of creolization by analysing the concepts of the "Black Atlantic" and the "Afro-Caribbean" in the New World respectively. And both agreed to the fact that the diaspora experience is

not characterized by essence or homogeneity but rather by the awareness of a required heterogeneity and variety as well as an identity concept based on cultural hybridity (Gilroy 199; Hall 235). Paulo Coelho inhabitant of Brazil, a nation which is also a part of the New World and Latin America, is familiar with the phenomena of living in a perpetual breeding site, where a multiplicity of races like African, indigenous Brazilian, Japanese, and European influences coexist. And thus, he celebrates the phenomenon of cultural hybridization in his novel The Witch of Portobello (2006) where he portrays an ensemble of characters that represent the individuals from numerous diaspora populations to emphasize the idea of double consciousness and rhizomatic transcultural structure in the diasporic culture and identity, which is brought about by the process of creolization highlighting cultural hybridity. In the novel, *The Witch* of Portobello (2006), he includes the diaspora populations of – Gipsies in Romania, Lebanese and Polish population in London. The narratives of the characters representing individuals from the diaspora population in Coelho's novel, therefore, indicate that their culture and identity are not "established thing that transcend space, time, history, and culture" and "far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall 225). These narratives represent a rupture of the essentialist notions of culture and identity in diaspora population emphasizing the perception of flexibility and mutability in the construction of identity. Thus, it can be considered that Coelho's novel The Witch of Portobello (2006) represent the phenomenon of creolization in diaspora population indicating that their culture and identity are constantly constructing and reconstructing themselves over through transformation and difference entailing the process of cultural hybridity.

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